

1882.  
NEW ZEALAND.

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# TAWHIAO'S MEETING AT WHATIWHATHOE IN MAY, 1882 (REPORTS OF).

*Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by Command of His Excellency.*

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## No. 1.

R. S. BUSH, Esq., R.M., to the Hon. the NATIVE MINISTER.

SIR,—

Native Office, Auckland, 27th May, 1882.

I have the honor to report, for your information, that, in accordance with instructions received, I left Opotiki on the 24th April, arriving at Alexandra on the evening of the 28th of same month, to be in readiness to attend the Native meeting at Whatiwhathoe, which was advertised to commence on the 1st instant. I found that none of the southern tribes had arrived, consequently no business was transacted on the day appointed, but postponed at their request to give them time to reach the meeting place, which they did not do until the 7th and 8th of May. None of the chiefs seemed to know when the meeting would begin, or what would be said; everything was wrapt in mystery, consequently several Europeans, who had come up from Auckland in response to the general invitation, finding that no accommodation had been provided for them, waited at Alexandra for a few days, but as they were unable to procure any definite information as to when a commencement would be made they returned to town. The whole of the Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto tribes were present; there were not, however, many representatives from the Thames and the North, but there were some five hundred Natives present from Wellington, Whanganui, and Taupo Districts; there were also a few from Napier. The East Coast Natives, with the exception of a few from Tauranga, were conspicuous by their absence. None of the Arawa attended, owing possibly to their being engaged with their Land Courts. I estimate the number in the encampment at Whatiwhathoe at about three thousand.

Nothing was done until the 11th instant, when a meeting took place between Tawhiao, his chiefs, and the southern tribes. Notes of that day's proceedings are attached hereto, also the *waiata* or *ngeri* of Hoani Puihi, of Muaupoko, which was joined in by all the Ngatiraukawa. The same is not translated; the purport of it, however, is that they should all unite. Tawhiao, when replying, at the conclusion of the day's proceedings, accepted their offer to unite. The other speeches made on this day were of the usual stereotyped nature used on such occasions, expressing joy at meeting, and grief for those who were no longer in their midst. The day's proceedings concluded with the usual presentation of mats and *hūia* feathers.

The following day was then appointed for the commencement of the real business of the meeting, but, when it arrived, Te Ngakau came forward, and read a notice adjourning the discussion to the next day, saying that that was the mode of procedure practised in our Courts, which never met to transact business on the day appointed, but simply to adjourn to another day; therefore, in making this notification, he was only following out our custom.

On Saturday morning, the 15th instant, the people assembled in front of Tawhiao's camp, the spot having previously been staked off with ti-tree sticks and flax lines. When the people had all congregated, Tawhiao came on the ground accompanied by his principal chiefs. There were about two thousand five hundred people assembled at this time. In a few minutes Tawhiao rose to speak; his speech was listened to with marked attention by all. Both the Maori and translation of it are attached hereto. The burden of his speech was "that all sales, leases, surveys, and roads should cease; that no one should (at present) say he had claims to land at Kawhia, or interfere with Mokau, or prospect for gold on Native lands; that Parliament should be brought to Auckland, in order that he might go there and have a voice in its discussions; that Major Te Wheoro, M.H.R., was to lay these matters before the Govern-

ment and Parliament, with a view to having them approved. If he was unsuccessful, he was to resign." This speech was made in paragraphs, each of which terminated with one of the following expressions: "Kia tirotirotahi," "Kia whawhatahi," "Kia hamuhamutahi," "Kia koni atu." These expressions in their ordinary and literal sense do not bear the same interpretation; but I am of opinion that they were used by Tawhiao on this occasion with a view to avoid tautology, and that he intended them to bear the same meaning—namely, that all these matters should be left in abeyance until he was in a position to participate with them, and have a voice in their disposal.

When it is considered that the Kingite faction do not admit the right of those tribes who originally ceded their lands to Potatau to sell or lease them, arguing that they have never handed back those lands, or given permission to them to dispose of them, I cannot see what other interpretation can be placed on these words than that given above.

Rewi also, in his speech, tells the people, "I do not know under what ancestor you claimed these lands; they have never been returned to you from the time you gave them over to Potatau; they are still in our hands." Rewi no doubt means by this that the land the people passed through the Court, claiming it through their different ancestors, was surreptitiously obtained, as the claim of their ancestors had been ceded to Potatau, therefore any claim after that cession should be made through Potatau, he having become the general ancestor of all the tribes who acknowledged him at the time he was made king.

It will be observed, on reference to the speeches, that at last the idea of claiming the return of Waikato has been abandoned, and that the discussion on this occasion has been strictly confined to the Native side of the confiscated boundary, Paora Tuhaere stating in his speech that he was going to speak of the land outside of the confiscated line—that about Taupiri, and other parts of Waikato, had been numbered by the surveyors [*i.e.* gone from them]. The meeting was consequently confined to this boundary, one speaker only going outside of it—namely, Aihepene Kaihau, who was called to order by Rewi.

Rewi subsequently pointed out two boundaries, the first from Whatiwhatihoe to the Wairaka Stream [this stream is between Wharepapa and Maungatautari], saying that this was to be for Tawhiao. The second one was to commence from this stream to the Mangare River, which falls into the Waikato River, and then on to Tongariro; within this boundary Tawhiao's mana could not have sway, that that was for him. I took his meaning to be that the lands within the former boundary were free from leases, &c., but that within the latter they were not; that he desired to ascertain the exact position of the lands within his boundary; hence his survey, which was to include the whole of his boundary, even to Mokau—namely, the whole of the country he ceded to Potatau.

Major Te Wheoro pointed out that if they desired his mission to be successful they must strengthen his hands by discontinuing these objectionable practices for the time; unless they did so he could not hope to succeed. They must therefore give up these things; and he would commence on behalf of Waikato, by saying that the bridge now in course of construction should come no further than this side of the river; it should there stop for the present. That Te Ngakau had promised to discontinue his surveys, and there remained nothing but for Te Rerenga to forego his Court for Mokau.

Te Rerenga agreed to postpone the Court, after stating that he had been compelled to take the step he had in consequence of the action of Ngatitama, who were taking money upon lands in that locality to which they had no right, and that he had interviewed the Hon. Mr. Rolleston with respect to a payment of £300 which Ngatitama were endeavouring to obtain, and which he had prevented. That the Hon. Mr. Rolleston had pointed out the advisability of settling the question in the Native Land Court, to which he had agreed; he was, however, willing to postpone the Land Court for a short time, if that would assist in settling their difficulties.

Subsequently Rewi stated that he would not forego the Mokau Court, as that was a part of his policy.

During the first three days of the meeting many shades of opinion were expressed by the different speakers; but it was ultimately agreed that they should unite in strengthening the hands of Major Te Wheoro, giving him their support, and also requesting their members to co-operate with him, so that he might successfully carry out Tawhiao's views as expressed in his speech.

The question of Kawhia, alluded to in Tawhiao's speech, arose out of an application made by an European to him to be allowed to occupy certain land there, which he had leased from Mr. Nathan, at Takatahi, South Kawhia. It is argued by the Kingite Natives that Kawhia, being outside the confiscation boundary, is still theirs; the Waikato lands within the boundary having been taken from them and occupied by us, while those at Kawhia had been in their occupation ever since they drove the European residents away at the time of the war, who had never re-occupied it or obtained possession of it since—*a fortiori* that was theirs on the same principle that Waikato was ours.

The reference to Mokau is a direction, in my opinion, to Ngatitama not to interfere. It appears that these people have given some Europeans permission to prospect for gold, who are now to be turned off. My reason for putting this interpretation on this part of the speech is a statement of Wahanui's made to the meeting—namely, that Ngatitama, on their return from the South, asked for permission to occupy part of these lands; he acceded to their request on condition that they would simply live there and cultivate, without attempting to exercise any right of ownership.

The gold question arose out of some of the Kaimai people requesting permission to throw open their lands to prospectors.

The request for the Parliament to be moved to Auckland, he tells us, emanates from himself. On this point he is a great deal more persistent than on the others. It would appear from what he said, when closing the meeting, that his object is to be permanently there—namely, "I shall then be able to get up and contradict statements which are made about me which are untrue; and, if true, I shall be able to say, 'Yes, that is true.'" This refers to his people committing acts to which he is opposed, and who, to strengthen themselves, say it is done by his orders. Years ago he cautioned me never to believe what Natives said in his name; if he had anything to say, or objection to make, he would speak to me himself, and that I was not to listen to any one else, as they only made use of his

name to give weight in carrying out their own views. I have always acted on this, and have always found it correct. Probably this part of his speech may have a dual meaning; the above, as well as a desire to enter Parliament and have a voice in making the laws which affect his people.

During the afternoon of the second day Wahanui spoke, the only fresh matter introduced by him referred to this day being "the day for unloosening all the matters mentioned in Tawhiao's speech" [probably, day of forgiveness and settling]. That being so, he considered that Te Whiti and Tohu should be included, and they thought that they should be permitted to discuss Te Whiti's grievances with us. The speech and translation are attached.

The following day terminated the speech-making, and the tribes commenced to disperse.

Wahanui again spoke, but the only fresh matter he introduced related to their appointing one person to manage their affairs (literally one head, *hei omaoma i te takiwa*)—Tawhiao was to be that person, and the proposal to establish a Press.

About 3 p.m. Tawhiao awoke from his sleep, nearly free from the effects of drink, and made a speech, the translation of which is attached hereto, and closed the meeting. It will be observed, upon reference to it, that he spoke very strongly on the subject of nothing evil being tolerated or approved by him in the future; all of which he now trampled under his foot, never to rise again. He did this in consequence of a conversation which had passed between him and the Hon. Mr. Whitaker. This can only refer to Natives committing such acts as Winiata's, and then seeking shelter in the so-called King territory, and is his way of informing them that they must not expect any countenance from him. He again alluded to the removal of Parliament to Auckland, reiterating it more than once. He told the people that if Sir Donald McLean were alive he would have gone over to him, gone with him to Wellington, and ultimately brought him back with him as his adviser; and that if he meets any European who speaks as Sir Donald did "he will bear me off, and you will be powerless to prevent my going." He continued, "Let the future management be better than the best [his words being, *He mea ake naku kia tika rawa te whakahaere kia tika atu i nga tika katoa kia riro au, he mea naku tenei i taku mahunga tae noa ki taku uma*]. This is the sincere wish of my head and breast." He also desired that Te Whiti, Tohu, and Hiroki should be permitted to come and see him at Whatiwhatihoe, the same as those present. He further stated that he must go amongst his Europeans, and that they could not prevent him. He concluded by saying the Press was his: he wished them to support it.

It will be observed that the pomp and ceremony in vogue at the previous meetings were altogether laid aside on this occasion. There were no sentries round their camp, or an armed escort present during the time of meeting. The usual Hauhau prayers, hitherto used several times a day, and always after every speech Tawhiao made, were entirely abandoned during the whole time. Although amongst them every day I never heard their prayers once.

There cannot be the least doubt as to the pacific intentions of Tawhiao and his people; the idea of ever again resorting to arms seems to be unanimously abandoned.

The stoppage of leases, &c., appears to be only temporary; the object, doubtless, being to prevent further alienation of land until the King party have ascertained for themselves definitely how much land is left upon which no advances have been made. Having once accomplished this, I take it that Tawhiao desires he shall be consulted with regard to all lands within these districts, formerly ceded to Potatau, before they are put through the Court, roads made through them, leased, sold, or dealt with in any way. I believe when they have ascertained this, then all these forbidden things will be allowed; the stoppage being only temporary for the purpose above mentioned, and to give time to come to some understanding with the Government.

The road from Alexandra to the bridge over the Waipa, the bridge, and the request that the railway should be brought to Alexandra, are very great indications of Tawhiao's intentions as to the future. It can scarcely be argued that these things are to terminate at the bank of the river; such an argument would be contrary to reason, and certainly not in accord with facts, as two out of the three things mentioned are even now in a fair way of completion. Besides, this view is borne out by Tawhiao's persistent desire for nothing but good works, and also by Wahanui's statement of this being the day for the unloosening (a new era in fact).

It must also be remembered that, as a guarantee of his good faith, Tawhiao has ordered the re-occupation of Maungatautari, Pukekura, and Puahue; blocks of land which, since the murder of Sullivan, have been utterly useless to their European owners—in fact, in the occupation of the Natives. All these re-occupations he has confirmed, giving a document bearing his seal to the lessees. This seal was presented to Tawhiao by the Taranaki Hauhau prophet, Te Ua.

There is one case, however, of a lease in the Taupo country in which Topia is concerned, which is the best proof of the genuineness of Tawhiao's intentions. In this case it appears that a Mr. Walker some years ago leased this block of land, stocking the same, and occupying it. Topia, though he had signed an agreement to lease, subsequently refused to allow a removal of the wool and stock. Mr. Walker, having satisfied Tawhiao and his advisers that the transaction, so far as he was concerned, had been carried out, and the terms strictly adhered to, has received a document from Tawhiao confirming his lease for the remainder of his term; also another document addressed to the obstructing Natives, informing them that they must for the future abide by their agreement, and no longer interfere with Mr. Walker and his property. This document is given to Mr. Walker to show to these Natives in case they should doubt his word. Topia has expressed regret for his past conduct, and Mr. Walker will now be left in peaceable possession of his lease.

From the two boundaries laid down by Rewi, it would appear that it is his intention to leave to Tawhiao the sole management of the first, while he and his tribe retain that of the second, merely obtaining Tawhiao's consent as a matter of form.

The question naturally arises, how are these lands to be administered? In my humble opinion it would be a great mistake at the present time for the Government to attempt to undertake the management of these lands, which probably would prove distasteful to the Natives, and delay their being opened up; but I think they should be made strictly inalienable, except to lease for a term of

twenty-one years, with a restriction as to the area each person should be allowed to hold, which in any case should not exceed 2,000 acres, the Government guaranteeing to the lessees a renewal of their term, so as to give intending settlers an inducement to lease and improve their holdings.

What is required is to open up the country and populate it as speedily as possible; to enable this to be done we must work with the Natives for the time being, instead of in any way opposing their views, simply pursuing some such course as that indicated above, so as to prevent the alienation of the whole of this land, or its alienation in large areas, which would not conduce to the successful settlement of the Native difficulty. If some such plan as that suggested could be followed for a few years, I have not the slightest doubt but that long before the expiration of the first term the whole of these lands could be administered under some reserve scheme; but such a scheme for the next few years would be unbearable to the Natives, and one not likely to be appreciated. I am inclined to think that the policy just now with reference to these lands should be to conciliate the Natives, and not force them, because I am sure their intention is to open up the country very shortly. It would, however, be necessary for the Government to pass some measure through the Legislature, which would enable them to take action with respect to these lands at any moment.

It appears to me what Tawhiao requires is that he should be recognized as the head of those tribes who agree to place him in that position, and that no negotiation affecting the lands of those people should be entered into without his being first consulted. He has no expectation of ever being recognized as King by us, and it matters very little by what title the Natives choose to designate him. This, I think, is one of the proposals of Sir Donald McLean which he dwells upon, when he says (e rua nga kupu a te Makarini), "He made two proposals which drew me to him; if any one else makes similar proposals he will bear me off."

The second, I think, refers to the return of certain confiscated land still unsold, and situated within that district commencing from Alexandra, then along the west bank of Waipa to Ngaruawahia, and then by west bank of Waikato River to its mouth. I am not aware how much land is still in the possession of the Government within this boundary. There are, however, two large compensation awards to friendly Natives, the one the Akau Block of ninety-six thousand acres given to Tainui and Ngatitahinga, which takes in all the coast country from Waikato to Raglan; the other contains about twenty-five thousand acres, awarded to William Barton's tribe, and extends from the Waipa River to the head of the Raglan Harbour. There was also a proposal to appoint certain chiefs who were to be paid, and who were to assist Tawhiao in maintaining good order within his district: besides this, Tawhiao was to receive £500 a year; this is probably the money to which he refers in his speech.

Rewi told me that Tawhiao wanted Te Kooti to come and reside at Whatiwhatihoe, but he (Rewi) objected, considering it advisable that he should remain at Te Kuiti for a time. As far as I could gather from Rewi and other chiefs, it appears they are under the impression that Te Kooti, Purukutu, and those implicated with them, would ultimately be pardoned, but they evidently do not think this in the case of Winiata. I could not ascertain anything as to the whereabouts of the latter; none of the Natives seemed to know where he had got to, one and all saying that since Tawhiao's visit to Auckland nothing had been seen or heard of him; that when they returned from their visit to Auckland he was not to be found. Possibly, Winiata came to the conclusion that the opening of the country would follow this visit; therefore, deeming it unsafe, has removed to some other place where he is not known, and where he could preserve his incognito, and thus evade capture.

There is a great probability of many of the hitherto friendly Natives, who have parted with the lands they obtained through the Land Court and also their compensation awards, joining with Tawhiao in the hope, no doubt, that they may be permitted to participate in what is left. It appears to me that it will be impossible for Tawhiao and his Kingite people to keep the lands locked up but for a very short time; the real owners of the soil will bring so much pressure to bear on them that they will be forced to give way, if they desire to be recognized and consulted by the bulk of the people.

There is no doubt that the King movement, as an opposing power, is played out, and Tawhiao will have to be most careful in the management of matters if he desires to possess the confidence of the people, who I am inclined to think are tired with the past state of affairs. They are one and all anxiously looking forward to derive some benefit from their long locked-up lands, and unless something is done very speedily Tawhiao will lose all control over his people.

I do not quite comprehend the action of the southern people in uniting with the Waikato King party at this late hour, as their interests and mode of life apparently are quite different from that of the Hauhaus. The only way in which I can account for their conduct is to attribute it to a desire to receive an interest in what is left to Tawhiao and his people. For their grievances they have no one to thank but themselves; they are, as a matter of fact, simply wailing over spilt milk. Having parted with their lands, they are now regretting that they cannot get them back again to sell a second time. Though listening most attentively, I could not discover any other.

There are some three hundred Natives under the leadership of Te Awha, of the Akitai Tribe, who are dubbed "Tekau ma rua," the Twelve Apostles. These people are adherents of Te Whiti's, and have for years been in the habit of paying a periodical visit to Parihaka. They keep aloof from Kingite affairs; consequently they did not attend the late meeting.

Te Kooti, Purukutu, or other similar characters, did not come to Whatiwhatihoe. The Tekau-ma-rua reside at Kuiti. I believe Wahanui is shortly to visit the Taupo and other districts with the object of inquiring what lands are free, and also to compel those Natives who have entered into leases to carry them out.

So far as I can gather, after the present term of these leases has expired, then Tawhiao will have to be consulted in all future disposals of these lands; that is what he desires. It remains, however, to be seen whether he will be able to carry them out.

From a long talk I had with Hone te One, the leading Kawhia chief, I understood that he and his people were anxious that Kawhia should be opened, and that they had spoken to Tawhiao on the subject. I have no doubt that this harbour will shortly be opened.

Trusting that it will be considered that I have faithfully carried out your instructions,

I have, &c.,

The Hon. the Native Minister, Wellington.

R. S. BUSH, R.M.

### Enclosure No. 1.

SPEECHES made when welcoming the Ngatiraukawa, Muaupoko, Ngatiapa, Whanganui, and Rangitane Tribes, on the 11th May, 1882.

*Hauauru Poutama*: Welcome to you, O people, from the head of the fish. Welcome, come and see us, and let us sympathize with one another over those that have passed away. Death has thinned our ranks, for death has been in all time, and there is no way to avoid it. We who are now left greet each other. You have come in response to the invitation. Come to the appointed day. Come and see what is left of that which you were instrumental in putting up. Do not attach blame to us, we are all that are left, the rest are gone like the land. This is all that remains of our work, and may be likened unto a sinking canoe, with the water rushing in at both stern and bows, which cannot any longer be kept afloat the same as a canoe with a simple leak. Come and witness the sinking, the sinking, the sinking. Sinking are the relics of your ancestors. All are gone; only one is left to welcome you.

*Moroati Kiharoa* said: We are coming, bearing in mind the utterances of past times, and the assurances of the present time. Here are we travelling onward, the portions of Waiwaia. [Waiwaia was supposed to be a supernatural tree on the Waipa River, near Rangitoto, giving power to priests and other persons, who resorted to the charms of Waiwaia. Those who believed in that magic are in various parts of New Zealand, and the reference by the Ngatiraukawa to-day is an acknowledgment of their belief in it.] The birds of Tane and Te Hokioi are calling us to come hither. [Tane is the god of forests and birds. The term "birds" is a figure of speech, referring to men and tribes. The hokioi is a bird long since extinct. It was the title to the Maori King newspaper, published in 1858.] We have come hither to listen to your sentiments, to obey your call of to-day. Wisdom is dying out. Rise! rise upwards! Shake thyself from the dust of the earth. Loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of Zion! May you live long! May your word prosper!

*Major Te Wheoro, M.H.R.*, who had a koka [a kind of mat] thrown over his shoulders, said: Welcome! welcome! the people from the head of the fish [the tribes inhabiting the southern portion of New Zealand]. Come hither with your sympathies. Condole with us. Come to the house, the building of which has been completed. Come to the canoe; it is still at anchor. Assemble yourselves to hear the utterances, no matter as to who shall be the speakers. There is but one man to call you. This is the only word demanding your attention—namely, the invitation asking you to come to your house. Let us gather together and discuss various points. The words of our ancestors and the pledges given are still fresh in our minds. Although they are dead their words live.—The following is the translation of the first few lines of a song sung by Major Te Wheoro:—

Thy spirit comes to me in the watches of the night,  
And when I wake at morning tide thou art in the distance far beyond.  
O! lips that speak so freely while I linger here,  
What boon hast thou conferred upon me?

*Kereopa* said: Call up the spirits of your ancestors, that we in spirit may respond to their words. Let your sympathies meet our sympathies. No one can check the progress of death. We are assailed on every hand by its ravages. It is not new to us. Our forefathers were the subjects of its power, and we feel its hand upon us now. We have travelled thither in accordance with your notification. It is right that our eyes should see and our hearts should know.

*Manga* followed. His speech and *waiata* alluded to those that were gone, and to words of welcome. Manga was inaudible.

*Hoani* (of Muaupoko): Salutations to you, King Tawhiao, whom Providence caused to take into consideration the Maoris of this Island. Greetings to you, Tawhiao, whom we upheld from the commencement of the King movement. We present ourselves here on the day appointed, according to your seal.—The speaker spoke at some length, defending the King movement, and rehearsed a lengthy chant referring to various tribes of New Zealand, and referring to birds and the representatives of the tribes, the chorus of which song was,—

Tuia, tuia, tui tuia [Bind in one, in one, in one, all in one].

*Pakukowhatu* said: Welcome, my friends. Haul up, haul up the canoe. Come from Pipiriki; come from Tararua [the mountain range near Wellington]; come from Tongariro [Taupo]; come from Titiokura [a mountain chain between Napier and Taupo]. [The speaker also mentioned several other places, bidding the Natives from those parts welcome to the meeting.] Welcome to Waikato! There is no necessity for disputations. We committed no error in regard to the King movement. Our ancestral mountains have disappeared, but we live on, and you know that men are greater than mountains. Although the lands have been taken, the people still appear to proceed with their word [the King movement]. We are now out in the open. All is clear [meaning that the King movement is an established fact]. The lips of men were continually uttering their ideas of things in connection with this movement. Will any one blame me? [the King party.] No blame can be attributed to me [the King party]; and now I say, come forward, ye tribes, and uphold it. Many of those who condemned our movement did so in accordance with their own line of argument, but we have discovered no wrong in the course pursued by us. You say that the Waikatos are to blame; I say, No, no! O brethren and sisters, it is to you I call—to you, the people of the Island, for the Island is your

home. Abide by your own sayings uttered previously. What though the land be gone, we still live. Who shall find fault? Who shall condemn, if there be no tribunal to pass judgment? I say to-day that the work [the King movement] is right, quite right. Let the bonds of your ancestors be cemented. Take up the cause, for there will be an end of these March meetings. Who will assist me to climb? Those who will not assist stand out of the way, and those who will aid me come forward. I shall be borne on the backs of others. Complete your promises, and let us be bound together. [The following is a translation of the first few lines of Pakukowhatu's song:—

The star Kaku is sinking into night,  
O Hinetu, come near and let us be as one,  
And not as tho' the people were no more.]

*Karanama*, after usual terms of affection, stated: It is true I have not been here before. I remained away because I was tired of the repeated visits paid you by our people, which resulted in nothing. Rewi is a chief, so is Wi Tako; they both tried to manage affairs, and got us into a mess. There is no occasion to bear malice for what is past, but let us talk of to-day; people know from the notices received; therefore, they are talking to-day. [This refers to the notices previously sent leading to meetings which resulted in nothing.] I do not care about them, they should not be alluded to. Let me ask the last speaker if he is a chief, that he should stand up to find fault with me. Who is your father, and who is your mother? Manga is a chief, Te Rerenga another. Let me tell you your talk will not be approved by me. The King is a chief, you are chiefs by birth, but your works belie you.

*Tawhiao* then said: Hearken, hearken all ye that have passed away from the earth! They have all assembled here, and that is the reason why I have called you. Hearken all ye who are below in Hades! Oh my ancestors! oh my fathers! hearken. You who have all gone hence. You have gone to your homes beyond, but *marekura* is here. [Marekura is a bright red pigment indicative of great chieftainship, and the reference here is to Ngatiraukawa. This pigment is put on the face of each as a mark of rank.] Let the living representatives of the tribes come hither. The chiefs are dead, and *Karanama* is here. Welcome my ancestors! Welcome my fathers! All the chiefs came heretofore, and they are dead, and *Karanama* is found here at last. What has brought you here, and who are you? My other associates have departed this life; and you, who were marked with the same *marekura* [red ochre], stand before me now. Come in confidence, that I may look upon you in remembrance of the countenances of my dead friends. It is *Karanama*, Te Ika, Te Whakatuathea [the great one left of those who have died]; come ye people from the four winds, responding to my invitation; let the chiefs come. [Tawhiao then sang the following song, his people joining:—

Closer and closer come to me, oh Maikuku!  
Closer and closer draw near to me, oh Maikuku!  
Now only is the knot tied, now only is the knot tied, and permanently fastened;  
Now only is the knot tied and fastened—permanently fastened.]

Welcome my fathers, welcome now while the sun is shining. In reference to Hoani's song, I appreciate this proffer [namely, their friendship, in token of which Tawhiao put his hand in his coat pocket, signifying reciprocity of feeling].

These Native visitors came on the ground with a white flag with a figure representing Tawhiao, and the name "Tawhiao" underneath. It appears that every tribe which joined the King movement had a flag, and this is the one these people manufactured. Ngairo, of Wairarapa, had another flag, which was not used on this occasion, but was on the first day.

## Enclosure No. 2.

### NOTES OF SPEECHES made at WHATIWHATIHOE.

SATURDAY, 13TH MAY, 1882.

*Tawhiao*: My word is, listen attentively, and consider carefully. I speak with reference to leases; let them remain in abeyance. This is this word of mine. This is another with reference to surveys. Let me speak plainly. Remain quiet. Presently another person will arrive [meaning himself]. Root it out. I wish you to remain quiet; that is why I say with respect to surveys, let them remain in abeyance until we can participate in them together. That is all I have to say with respect to this. The land will not go away. This word of mine refers to gold [prospecting]. I desire that the gold shall not be disturbed until I can join with you. I cannot help the determination I have come to; if people do otherwise, I shall persist in this, and matters will not be quickly settled, but draw wearily on. Let it alone until we can handle it together [*koni noa* is used here in same sense as *tirotirotahi* and *whawhatahi*]. It will be said my determination will be productive of delay. This word of mine refers to that man [the Native Land Court]. I say, let it cease. Let its working cease until I can go there. This refers to the Land Court. For the above reason I want it to cease, and remain quiet there [at Auckland]. Listen to my wish. I now refer to that man [Te Wheoro], and tell him to go to Parliament and lay my desires before it; if my requests are not listened to by it, I will say to him resign. This is another word of mine, if it is not taken notice of I cannot help it. This is another word of mine [ma hau e whakarongo mai], let the winds spread it abroad. It refers to the Parliament; the reason of this is myself. That is why I say to the Parliament, cease to remain there [at Wellington]. Let it be brought to Auckland, so that I may enter there with you and take part. That is all I have to say with reference to this subject. Another word of mine refers to Kawhia, and other places elsewhere. Leave Kawhia to me to consider about. I wish people not to say I own Pouwewe [Charlton's place], or I Takatahi [Nathan's place], or I some other place. Leave it to me to carefully consider it, and, when I consent, it will be right for you to go there. That is all on this subject. With reference to Mokau. Mokau to Tongaporutu. That is mine. I appointed a man to manage

affairs there, telling him to remain there quietly, and manage properly. Te Rerenga is the man in charge there. What is there at Kawhia? I am the person of that place [in charge of it]. That is all on this point. From Whanganui to Tongariro I own all the lands [*i.e.*, these lands were placed under Potatau's *mana* by the owners, and are now under mine]. There are persons in charge at those places. Let things remain quietly until the whole have been put through the sieve, and the husk and decayed matter separated from the good. These are all my words. I will not say they will end, but they are laid before you [proposed].

*Te Wheoro*: If you have these things written out it will be well for you to read them out, and explain them to the people assembled.

*Wahanui*: This is the meaning of Tawhiao's words: (1) With respect to leases, he is speaking to both Europeans and Maoris, requesting them to discontinue it until he is in a position to join in with them. (2) Surveys, (3) roads, (4) Land Court, same as before. (5) Gold, the same as before with this addition: The one asks for permission to prospect, and the other gives consent. (6) Kawhia. Tawhiao refers to those Europeans who say they have land there, and says he will carefully consider; give time for consideration, do not go there until permission is given. (7) Mokau and Whanganui, &c., same as Tawhiao's speech. (8) Refers to yourself, Te Wheoro. You are to lay these matters before Parliament; if they are not entertained you are to resign your position and return to us.

*Te Wheoro* also said, appealing to myself and other Europeans, that we must assist him in carrying out Tawhiao's wishes.

*Te Ngakau* said: I agree to discontinue further surveys. I have been surveying, but will discontinue it. My idea is that all these matters should be settled here; there is no occasion to take them elsewhere.

*Hote te Waharoa* said: Tawhiao is mine; Waikato is mine; land leasing and selling are mine [referring to his father, William Thompson, who made King, &c., and was the first to lease land]. I want money; how am I to get it without leases and sales? [Here this speaker was interrupted by his own people, and sat down.]

*Mr. A. McDonald* (to Te Wheoro): It will at last be said that you are a Native member. Yes, I have only one word to say. Be clear in laying these matters which Tawhiao desires before Parliament. Be clear, you are at last a chief; be clear in laying it down; above all be clear in expressing Tawhiao's words. If they are entertained we shall be saved and linked together, as suggested by Muaupoko; but if they are not noticed do not be grieved, but be patient and return to him without sorrow.

Paora Toki, Te Raihi, Paora Tuhaere, and Karanama spoke a few words, saying that they had come to hear.

It commencing to rain at this time, Wahanui proclaimed the meeting adjourned to next day, which, however, being Sunday, nothing was done until the following morning.

#### MONDAY, 15TH MAY, 1882.

*Paora Tuhaere*: I get up to request that whatever is said to-day should be in plain language, such as men can understand, and not in that of gods or kings.

*Hauauru*: What you say is correct. The talk is for men, and plain words only will be used.

*Wahanui*, after enumerating the boundaries, stated that the proceedings closed on Saturday at Mokau, Te Rerenga being the person mentioned; to-day would be commenced with Whanganui, Okurukuru, Kiritaha, and Tararua. He then said: It was said the other day that all the things then mentioned were to cease. I am now going to introduce a new matter, which refers to Te Whiti, Tohu, and their companions; let me have a voice about them. This is the day of unloosening everything between us. I say to my friends who are sitting there [Europeans?] unloosen the leases and sales from our lands. This word of mine refers to Te Whiti and his companions. This is the day for untying everything with respect to people and land [condoning?]. If this can be brought about by us, we shall then know to-day that we have a God in Heaven, and that we are influenced by his Divine will here on earth. I would say to the people, let one person be appointed to go about and consider the word. The person meant is not at another place; he is in our midst, living with us, going about with us, and eating with us; we all know this.

*Karanama* said that all the people assembled were aware of all the old talk; they had not heeded it. He then read the invitation to the meeting, and suggested that the discussion should be confined to the object for which the meeting was called.

*Waaka* (Wellington, Ngatiraukawa): We have heard the subjects mentioned. To-day is the day to reply. You have often spoken to us, but we have never taken any notice. Rauparaha cut the throat of the land. Wi Tako sold Wellington; Potatau was alive at this time. In consequence of this work no notice was taken of you. Your teachings were not listened to; but I preferred the man with money. Do not speak of the land, but of the people. The land is all gone; the people only are left.

*Paora Toki* (Ngatikahungunu, Napier, a Chatham Island prisoner): What you say is correct. Old and young participated in the King movement. I am not selling land now; but I have a sword hanging over my head. I am waiting to see what is to be my end. I am like the remains of Matakiki Pa, and I came to-day out of the midst of the sea. I have no land. I am floating in the sea. All I have are the people. I shall not be lost to-day or to-morrow. I said one word when I came to Rangiaohia with Hapuku. It was, give me Waitara. You would not agree, but set fire to the country. If my wishes are gratified, I will throw my hat down in front of you.

*Manga*: Karanama, you asked for something new. I will speak it to you. It is that you remain at Whatiwhathoe. You say there is no land, but you are my land, and are in my heart. I will consent to you becoming my land, and that you should stay to assist us in our councils. Paora Toki, I will now reply to you. You say you are floating in the sea with a sword over your head. I say you have two swords over your head; mine as well as the pakeha's. You say you have no land. I answer yes, you have; remain at Whatiwhathoe. I will look for it. You remain here.



*Karanama*: I agree, but my consent is not like that of Ngatiraukawa, who visited Tokangamutu, and made similar promises, but on their return home failed to fulfil them.

*Mr. McDonald*: I would like Manga to explain what he means by telling you to stay here. I want to ask if this refers to the giving of the land to Potatau?

*Manga*: I say I have never given back the lands handed to Potatau.

One of the Ngatiraukawa Natives here requested Mr. McDonald not to interfere, as this day was set apart for them to reply to the previous day's proposals.

*Kereama* (Tauwhare): The reason I stand up is to get an explanation from Manga. What the European says is correct. Who handed the land back? Never mind if the land has been sold. Both Maori sellers and European buyers have stolen it. Tawhiao never gave his consent for this land to be sold. [This speaker is notorious for having sold all the land he could possibly get hold of.]

*Rewi*: The lands which were pledged under the mana of the King are still in my hands, and all the assurances are still intact, and all the flags, all the tribes, are well aware of the assurances they gave—the pledges of this man and that man. I still hold them to their pledges; for I have never given up the land; never handed it back. No, no! Those who brought the flag the other day from Wairarapa said they came to speak to us relative to the old pledges. Those who have the other flags will come back, one by one, to let us know the result of their actions. I handed back to none of you the lands that were pledged to Potatau. O Ruaimoko!—[a supernatural being, supposed to be in the bowels of the earth, and the author of earthquakes]—hold it [the land], embrace it firmly, firmly! Go now and settle your disputes with the Europeans to whom you sold your land. I cannot tell on what ancestor you based your claims which induced you to annihilate your pledges by selling your land. The word that was spoken to us on Saturday, was that we should both take part in the proceedings [kia hamuhamutahi]. This is my request to the three speakers (*Karanama*, *Paora Toki*, and *Wi Waaka*), that you stay here and help to settle these points, for you say that the land has passed away; but I have not said that the land has passed, because I have not restored it to you.

*Te Ngakau* said: The Maori people should be cemented. Never mind the land. The Europeans say they are a great people, but wherein does their greatness consist? I say to the Europeans, you should have some consideration apart from personal selfishness. Cease your work of leasing lands, &c., and then I shall know you are a great people. I said, when I stood up formerly, I am one, I am one, I am one! But now my head droops upon my own breast. I intermeddled with surveys at Maungatautari. Now I speak about the land that was disposed of, but it lies there still. I speak now of the portion of land left in my hands; therefore, I say to Wahanui, this day I cease to intermeddle with the portion of land that was held in my hand. [That is, he ceases to lease, &c.]

*Karanama*: I say your talk is correct. *Kereama* is wrong. The people are all the land that is left in every tribe. What is the good of Ngapuhi coming to you every year. The reply of the South and West is that the people are the only land. The King movement has been the cause of our losing all the chiefs, as also the land.

*Whiti Patato* charged *Te Ngakau* with having surveyed lands at Manukatuhi, which did not belong to him.

*Te Tumuhua* (Ngatihaua) said he was opposed to the survey alluded to by *Whiti*; he had endeavoured to prevent surveys.

*Karanama*: Let us follow Manga and Wahanui, not other things. This is a new day. Let us hear the word. Manga's talk requires explaining for the benefit of the people.

*Whiti Patato* and *Karanama* took up a considerable amount of time to themselves, terminating in a rather warm argument, which ended in both being called to order.

Several friendly chiefs then addressed the assembly, and were replied to by

*Major Te Wheoro*, who said: The points put forth by Tawhiao were intrusted to me, to be placed before the Parliament, which points you are still discussing. There is no necessity to say anything further about these matters, because they have been committed to me to take to Wellington; but, if I am to proceed to Parliament and place before the Assembly the points in question, it is clear if you go on with your leasing and land-selling and holding of Land Courts and executing surveys during my absence that no attention whatever will be paid to what you have said, and my mission will become null and void. What you have to do now is to pledge yourselves that you will relinquish all action in respect to matters bearing on my mission to Parliament. *Te Ngakau* has already said that he will give up his survey arrangements on behalf of Waikato. I say the bridge in course of construction shall come across the river and then cease for the present; that the bridge shall come across the river, and nothing further shall be done at present. Now, then, let us hear what *Wetere* has to say about the Mokau Court, to be held on the 25th instant, so that my mission may be supported by all parties concerned, so that it may be discovered that you mean what you say. Let *Te Rerenga* stand up and say, "I have no Courts." This matter is within your own house [*i.e.*, within the King country], and, therefore, you have the power to say Yes or No to prevent it. I can guarantee nothing in regard to the removal of the Parliament to Auckland. There are many members from the other Island, and they may not agree. We can make these demands, but the result will remain with the Parliament.

*Te Rerenga*, after a somewhat lengthy explanation, assured the meeting that his claims had been handed over to *Major Te Wheoro*—*i.e.*, that he withdrew his claim from the Court: "Kaore aku Kooti; ma Te Wheoro e hari atu." *Te Rerenga* admitted he had asked for a Court for Mokau, but that was only done to enable him to establish his claim against the Ngatitama, who had attempted to sell certain lands to the Government, and that he had been instrumental, through Mr. Rolleston, in preventing the payment of £300 to these people. In deference to the wishes of the people, he was agreeable to postpone this Court. [*Rewi*, however, further on, said he intended to carry through this Court, as it was a part of his policy.]

*Ngakapa* (Hauraki): If the people of Hauraki tell you they will give up surveys, Courts, &c. do not listen to them; they will not fulfil their promise. Listen! I have several Courts waiting for me, and I am off to attend.



Hone Puihi, of Muaupoko, and Arekatera, of Ngatiraukawa, spoke with reference to matters proposed; but these speakers introduced nothing new in their speeches.

*Paora Tuhaere*: I think the matters with reference to Te Wheoro are agreed to, and should not further be discussed. But let us consider some of the other points, such as Kawhia. This place is excluded from the confiscation boundary, being outside of it, within that country which belongs to Tawhiao, and I am of opinion that it should not be interfered with. This confiscated boundary should be respected by Europeans, the same as it is by Tawhiao, who does not attempt to interfere with our side of it. I am not going to say anything about Land Courts; our Courts do not interfere with your side of the boundary.

*Hauauru*: In years gone by, Tawhiao invited all the clever people of the different tribes to come to his assistance, but they never came; and land leasing became his enemy, as also sales. He persisted in inviting your aid, but it was not proffered. When he moved to Hikurangi, he gave up this plan, and commenced a new policy, which has been laid down by us. Do not leave it to us to carry out, lest it prove unsuccessful, as before. Come and help Tawhiao; I have left him to go about amongst us.

*Arekatera*: I say, let Tawhiao arrange matters. He got us into this difficulty; let him find a way out of it.

*Heuheu* (Taupo): I do not know how we have become separated from the King movement. We are altogether the same as we were in the days of Potatau. I say, I have no European to whom I can say, Give up your lease. If they were here, I might ask them to consent; my consent would be of little use without theirs. Hapuku and his people are the only ones who have withdrawn from the King movement.

*Paora Toki* (Ngatikahungunu): I say, let Tawhiao manage matters himself.

*Wahanui*: We have nothing to add to what has already been said. It is for you to consider whether to-morrow's talk should take place in the big house or out here. I say, let every one speak, whether he is a chief or not. I have only a well of tears, but to-day I breathe freely in consequence of its being said that we are linked together. I am of opinion that both the land and people should be joined together. I say, let all of you come under Tawhiao.

TUESDAY, 16TH MAY, 1882.

*Te Raihi* (Ngatihaua): I think the visitors should speak first. The time has now arrived for us all to speak. Listen, Mr. Bush. You have heard what King Tawhiao has said; be clear in laying his wishes before the Government. I say, let the Parliament be brought to Auckland, so that Tawhiao may enter there and take part in its discussions. Let this be done; do not treat this lightly.

*Aihepene Kaihau*: I think all the lands to Mangere should be included in Tawhiao's boundary, as they were originally ceded to Potatau. I do not know how the stopping of leases, surveys, and roads, is to be brought about; perhaps you do. Unless the people consent to these things being discontinued, I do not see how they can be. Let every one speak plainly. Then we can fix upon a certain boundary which can be given to Tawhiao, let it be small or large. All this difficulty has arisen through your not listening to his advice during the last ten years. Never mind if European lands are included in the boundary. Tawhiao has said that he will take care of his Europeans.

*Karamoa* (Ngatihinetu): I am going to petition Parliament respecting some land which other persons now present have disposed of. They did not think of Tawhiao, myself, or Horowai. I am following McDonald, who supported Tawhiao yesterday. The tribes who are going to appoint this person to assist Te Wheoro are myself, Ngatihaua, Ngatikoura, and Patukoukou. Let other tribes join us. I have no boundary to define; the whole belongs to Tawhiao.

*Te Ngakau* here stood up on the opposite side of the assemblage, walked across to the last speaker, took out of his hands the petition, and returned to where he had been sitting with his people. Standing up, he said: "This is my petition, written before this meeting. I will now destroy it. I agreed the other day to give up my surveys, and I adhere to that. I do not agree with Wahanui when he says there is a God in heaven. How is it he has not thought of that before? It is too late now to talk of that. Let us talk about the land—a question which must be settled on earth."

*Paora Tuhaere*: Do not be angry at what I am going to say. Let every one be afforded an opportunity to express his views freely. I shall not go outside the confiscated boundary. I am one of those who have suffered. I will confine myself to lands outside confiscated boundary, from Maungatautari to Tongariro, Mokau, Karioi to Pirongia, and thence to Maungatautari. The land outside this has been numbered [by surveyors]. I say, let all these things mentioned by Tawhiao be unknown within this boundary, where he is standing: his authority [mana] is over this land. It may be likened unto a piece of fat pork. The people are all trying to take possession of this piece of fat pork. Dogs are snarling over it, and pulling at it from all sides. I have no doubt people are now present who have entered into negotiations with their Europeans to lease and sell some of this very land. The Treaty of Waitangi says the property in our lands shall be vested in us; the same applies to this bit of fat pork: hence I say do not bring any of those objectionable things within these boundaries. If you persist in these things, you will find out your mistake—the same as I have—when it is too late. Your *mana* is over this land. The name of king is known throughout the whole country. I say to Waikato and Maniapoto, Do not part with this land. I have heard it stated in the European newspapers that the King has no lands. "What right has he to interfere with lands belonging to others, who," the papers say, "will not permit the Maori King to exercise his authority to prevent their dealing with what is their own?" Our sufferings will therefore still go on. Mr. Bryce (Native Minister) has said that as a canoe is being paddled along it comes into contact with a snag, and it is overturned. Goodness will not continue always. What do you expect us, the tail of the fish, to do? It is for you, the belly of it, to act. You must look after yourselves.

*Rewi* then advanced and drew a circle on the ground, indicating his outside boundary, and said that surveyors had been sent up to carry out his wishes in defining the boundary. He said: I have not encouraged in any way the survey for the selling and leasing of lands. If I accomplish what I

am endeavouring to carry out, I shall be able to establish Tawhiao here; and then I shall be able to look after my interests outside. When this boundary is defined, there will be a house for Tawhiao to live in for ever. The boundary from Whatiwhatihoe to Wairaka Stream is for Tawhiao; from that to Mangere is for me. Do not blame me. My object is to secure this land—that reserve upon which we may remain undisturbed. You say that Waikato has suffered calamity, but the people did not bring this calamity upon themselves. The calamity was brought about by the fact of our electing a King. I said that I put up the King. This is not a new thing on my part. It is an old matter, this boundary line of mine. It is the same as I handed over to Potatau. This is the fourth time I have endeavoured to have my boundary defined. [Rewi then said he intended to go on with the Mokau Court, that being part of his policy, as indicated above.]

*Te Ngakau* said: I confess my fault—Maungatautari survey. I will now adhere closely to Tawhiao. Let others do the same.

*Major Te Wheoro, M.H.R.*, said that certain land in Waikato had been granted to the Ngatihaua Natives, at Maungatautari. Tuahueki and a number of the King party who had claims to the land were ignored because they did not appear at the Court. He wished the Ngatihauas to explain in a document the case, and sign their names, so that a petition might be presented to Parliament praying for the abrogation of the Crown grant, so that the rightful owners might be admitted. As to his mission, *Major Te Wheoro* said: If you intend to carry on your leases and surveys, as heretofore, I must refuse to convey to the Parliament the points mentioned by Tawhiao.

*Rewi* said: I suppose the question of extending the King boundary, as suggested by *Aihene Kaihau*—namely, that it should extend to Manukau, I can settle that matter with you some other day. At present I have one thing to look after—namely, my [the King party's] interests in regard to the leases. We have assembled here that we might come to a decision relative to the boundary line, but if we extend it to Manukau, no decision can be arrived at. Now, that you are all assembled here, let the boundary line of the King party be determined—this boundary line of mine that I have been trying to carry out for so long a time.

*Whitiora* said: Your wrangling about your boundary lines and other things seems to me to be out of place. I have no land, and what do I want to know about your discussions in regard to these things? I want the other questions settled. You have sold all your land, and come here to wrangle about it. [Addressed to the people.] I am the one left to Waikato, although I smashed the jaws of the white people. [There were exclamations of applause at this remark. *Whitiora* commanded the Maoris at the fight of Rangiriri.]

*Tawhiao* said: I rise to say, proceed with your discussions; put forth anything you like; and after your discussions are over I will speak.

*Wahanui* said: It is the old talk of the March meeting—namely, first, that one man should traverse the country from north to south, and from east to west, to look after all the lands with Tawhiao; second, it was decided that the chiefs should assemble in the month of December to discuss the various points regarding the action of the King party. If my word had been attended to, our deliberations would have been amicably carried through—namely, the deliberations of the chiefs. From the 7th December up to March one person was to have gone through the whole of the districts. Look at these two propositions. The third point I speak of is the circular boundary. Because we are at Whatiwhatihoe, put forward your views. Let your ears be open to listen, and let your hearts be open to receive facts; and do not wrangle over these matters. Do not let us be trifling with these important matters, and let a decision be come to.

*Whiti Patato* said *Rewi* was bringing trouble by his persistency in the matter of his boundary lines.

*Karanama* said he would have come in December if he had known Tawhiao had taken this residence at Whatiwhatihoe, and sang a song in commemoration.

Several speakers then urged that Tawhiao should traverse the country, not be kept in Waikato, as had been the case up to the present time, but *Rewi* objected to this.

*The Rev. S. Williams*, of Te Aute (Napier), said that hearing that the road to Waikato was open he came, being anxious to visit the old Maori friends of his late father, whom the Maoris knew had always a kindly feeling towards them. The speaker said he had heard much about the bad qualities of the pakeha, and he was not going to say they were all that was good. He knew they were like others, not without faults; but he would ask them to consider if the Europeans had not many good qualities. Supposing any one of the tribes here present had the same power as the pakeha, the same command of men, arms, and ammunition, would they have shown the same consideration to the neighbouring tribes as they had received at the hands of the pakeha? He feared they would, as they had done before, have made slaves of them. He therefore spoke of the goodness of the pakeha as shown this day. [The Natives admitted the justness of these remarks.] He would say to them, "Now that you have made peace with the son, do so with the father:" and before bidding them good-bye would say that the Europeans had many kinds of food—some good, others bad; since he had been in Alexandra he had noticed with regret that many of them had given way to drink, that was food of the bad kind, which he trusted they would avoid, and patronize those kinds not likely to be injurious to them.

*Mr. C. O. Davis* expressed his sympathy with the Natives of New Zealand generally, and called to memory the great many who had passed away since he had first made their acquaintance, and wished the assembly success in all that was wise and good. *Mr. Davis* sang a Maori lament for the dead, and a Maori song.

*Tuohenua* (Ngatihaua): I am a man whose lands are all passed through Court, and are now leased; roads are made through them by Europeans. I am a European and appreciate good roads. It is not my place to interfere with these matters; you, Tawhiao, can see these Europeans. If they choose to agree to your request, it is nothing to do with me. I am not in a position to consent to you.

*Potangaroa* (of Wairarapa), and *Hoani Puihi* (of Horowhenua), upbraided Waikato for keeping the King to themselves, saying it was through this that the people quickly became lukewarm with the

movement and kept aloof. They were neither allowed to have the King amongst them nor to take part in their councils. If Tawhiao was to be kept away from them as heretofore, what was the good of asking them to assist.

*Karanama* : This is the first I have heard of invitation to come in December. Had I known it, I certainly should have come.

*Wi Waaka* (Wellington Native) : There is only one word which has been uttered during the last three days. I do not want to listen to what the people say, but I approve of one man being nominated to go about [omaoma]. I am willing to come to you, but I say wait a while; give me time to look round the stations [teihana]. I will come back when we can act together. If this can be carried out I shall be satisfied, for we shall then have the Parliament here, and one person to go about [*i.e.*, head to arrange everything].

*Manga* : The boundary from Whatiwhatihoë to Wairaka is for Tawhiao; outside that, for myself. I will not admit his authority over that. I say to Tawhiao, you remain, and I will be the opponent of both Europeans and Natives who have purchased land, &c.

*Topia* spoke, saying he had no leases, and that his territory always had been under Tawhiao, where it still was. It transpired, however, that Topia had leases to Europeans in the Murimotu country—this, however, did not come out until a day or two later, at Wahanui's camp, where Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatituwharetoa, and Ngatiraukawa were laying down their intertribal boundaries.

*Te Hura* (of Ngatiawa, one of the liberated prisoners implicated in Mr. Fulloon's murder) : I have been waiting many years for the end to come. To-day I am satisfied it has come. I shall therefore prepare to return to my own home.

#### WEDNESDAY, 17TH MAY.

When the people had assembled to-day, Tawhiao came into the marae in an intoxicated state, whereupon

*Paora Tuhaere* rose, and said : I have waited until to-day to hear Tawhiao's word. Let the talk of yesterday be laid aside. I think this day should be devoted to hearing his proposals; if they are not made known to-day the people will leave. My opinion is that to-day there will be nothing done. I heard before I left Auckland that it had been published in the newspapers that the sale of spirituous liquors was to be stopped at Alexandra, and that persons bringing the same to Whatiwhatihoë would be punished. This was done with a view to prevent any disturbance taking place. Knowing that Tawhiao had travelled through all these districts, and even been to Auckland, I fully anticipated hearing something which would gladden my heart and enable me to go home satisfied; but I see there is little chance of anything being done. If the same talk as yesterday takes place I have nothing to say. There will be nothing done to-day.

*Mr. C. O. Davis* said he supported the utterances of Paora Tuhaere in relation to the drink question. He had come a long way to ascertain for himself what was to be said, but he must go back in ignorance. He said the Natives could never raise themselves so long as they encouraged drink amongst the people. Other points on the same subject were mentioned in the course of his address.

*Te Wheoro* : My word to you, Paul, and to all of you. If you are desirous that what Tawhiao has said should be considered, I will take it to Parliament. All I ask you to do is, if you approve, give me all the assistance you can, you and your European friends. If you do this, the Government will know that I am supported by you all. Mr. Bush is here, and will hear what is said. I do not want you to assist me here only; but I want you to support me in carrying out these things in Wellington. I wish to say a few words with respect to spirits. I do not approve of their use. You can easily see why I disapprove of them. Look at its effects to-day. The fault lies with the chiefs. Owing to its influence to-day we are simply at a standstill. I have seen the wrong it does; to-day it is interfering with our business. The people are tired out. I say, return to your homes. I need not say any more. If the chiefs themselves indulge, it will never be put a stop to. It is for the chiefs to prevent its use. If the people will not listen to them, let them be left for the law to deal with. You all see its effects. I am much displeased with the state of affairs to-day. What can we do to-day. I say, let it end. Do not let any one step in and undo what has already been decided upon. I have heard what Paul has said with reference to drink. I have no power to prevent it. It is the duty of the chiefs to set a better example. Manga is of the same opinion as myself on this subject, but we are both powerless to prevent its use.

*Paora Tuhaere* : I agree to assist you to the utmost of my power. Our member shall be requested to co-operate with you.

*Hauauru* : I admit what you say about drink is correct. There is Tawhiao lying there, but kings sometimes get drunk; yet the affairs of the nation are carried on without them. He is our mouthpiece, we are his councillors; therefore I say his condition need not prevent us from carrying on our discussions.

*Patara te Tuhi*, an important Hauhau chief, said : All the chiefs have spoken, and that is the reason why I get up to say a few words. The lamentations of the people have been heard from the head of the fish even to his tail [all parts of New Zealand]. I say this because a parliament has been established at Auckland by Ngatiwhatua and the other tribes of that place, and a parliament has been established at Waitangi, the place about which we have heard so much. These parliaments were constituted because of the many grievances of the people. Therefore, say I, the whole of the tribes are weeping. You that lift up the ark of God's covenant, and you that administer the law, are to blame, and the sufferings have been brought down by you. Harken to the grievances of all these people. Their sufferings are real, not imaginary. You Europeans stated that you came to cherish the Maori people; that you did not come to do evil, but to promote all that is good. I say, therefore, that your administration must be very bad, otherwise the Maori people would not be found weeping. You wished all the people to adhere to your laws, but your administration must really have been wrong. Therefore the tribes of the Island said, "We will seek out one from amongst ourselves to guide us."

You possessed great knowledge, and yet you manifested a large amount of ignorance in regard to us. You said that you were first in knowledge, but we have seen that you are not. If the calamity came upon us, the Waikatos, only, then the cause might have been imaginary. But all the tribes of the Island are complaining in consequence of your maladministration. I heard the assurances of the chiefs in the earlier times. I was one of the documents. [Patara te Tuhi took an active part in the beginning of the King movement.]

*Karanama*: I was at the meeting in 1856, at Pukawa [Lake Taupo], and at Paetai in 1857. For twenty-five years you have been deliberating. What have you accomplished? What a length of time you have been considering this matter! This is 1882, and you have practically done nothing. When will you complete your promises? If you had been in earnest, as are the Europeans, much would have been done before this; but you have been carried away by your own selfishness—stealing land for your own selfish purposes; stealing Tawhiao's land, and still proposing to be in perfect accord with him. You said you gave up your land to Tawhiao, and then sold it; and now, in your landless condition, you have come to give fresh assurance. Regarding you, oh member [to Major Te Wheoro], Tawhiao has intrusted you with the points to take to Parliament—for you, the four Maori members, to put before Parliament; but if no regard be taken of Tawhiao's wishes, then of what value are you four members? What will you four members be to us hereafter, if your proposals are disregarded.

Karanama, Hoani Puihi, Potangaroa and other Southern chiefs reviewed the action of the Native members from their entrance into the House of Representatives, finishing by urging their present members to work unanimously and together, agreeing to give them all the assistance they could to carry out Tawhiao's wishes.

*Major Te Wheoro* stated that they were acting together as one man. He was not going to make any promises, but he hoped they would be judged by their actions in Parliament.

*Te Tuihi* said: If you four members cannot help Tawhiao in carrying out his wishes, what is the use of your going back again? I will assist you all I can.

*Wahanui* said: I stand up to express my own sentiments. I have no roads, therefore it is easy for me to consent to proposals. Let the member take these proposals to Parliament. Tawhiao's utterances were addressed to various parties, various districts. I am bearing in mind what transpired in 1856, and therefore I should not think of electing any member of Parliament. Five points were put forward by Tawhiao, but I will put forward my own thoughts, for I am my own member (of Parliament). You have often tried through the members of Parliament to achieve something, but you have failed. I have nothing but fountains of tears left, and pangs of heart; but now I breathe more freely, because it has been said to-day, "Let us be bound, bound, bound together." It is no use my taking my troubles to the Europeans, because I have no friends or relations among them. I am my own relative, and must look after myself. My Native Land Court is in my breast. I have been told that if I remain here I shall have trouble, and that if I go to the Native Land Court I shall have trouble. Therefore I want no Land Court. Let us look, look, listen, listen, and search out; but, although you look, you will not be able to find what is transpiring everywhere. Take from among the people of the various tribes three, or four, or five, to consult together and adjust matters, prior to the points being submitted to Tawhiao. Another project I have to propose is the establishment of a printing office, so that our utterances and opinions may be quickly and widely disseminated. Let us have a printing office, and let that office be Tawhiao's.

*Tawhiao*, being somewhat revived, spoke as follows: Let the Parliament be brought to Auckland, so that I may go to it, so that I may go there and speak. Let that man, the Parliament, come up to Auckland. Sir D. McLean spoke two words, and they were so powerful that I could not resist their influence. Although he is dead his words live; and if he had lived I would have been taken by him to Wellington, and he by me. I will travel hither and thither in the district. I speak of Te Whiti, Tohu, and Hiroki. I should like to have seen them with my own eyes as I see you here. What man is without love for his grandfather, or father, or mother, or sister, or brother? Therefore I say it would be well for me to look on these people. I do not speak for myself only. If I find the words of the Europeans to be similar to those of Sir D. McLean, I shall be taken away, and I shall take them away. Let all the arrangements be carried out rightly, that I may secure these good and kindly things. Therefore let your actions be just. I will carry in my own arms that which is right and that which is good. Let your administration be just, and my word will be fixed upon that. Let us be united. Whatever results you come to will be submitted to me. In my conversation with Mr. Whitaker I said that all the evils, the troubles, and the darkness should be crushed under my feet, and I trample them under my foot. Let everything be peaceful. Let this assembly do right. I rest on what is right, and if what is wrong be proposed to me I will not accede to it. Do what is just, so that we may all sit together and be united. The printing office is mine. It is right. The reason I want the Parliament to be brought here is that I may go there and hear what is said. I shall then be in a position to deny what is said of me if untrue. I wish to go there so that I can hear what is said and take part in it. Do not think I should get angry. I should not. I am the person who has advocated peace. Listen. Do not let the Parliament remain where it is. Let it come here, so that I can go there. I want to speak there. I want to go to it. The people are present, and it is but right that they should hear my views. If Parliament were here I should go to it. I would argue, but I will not say it would end there. I wish now to refer to Sir Donald McLean. If he were here I would have gone to him; you could not have kept me [prevented]. Sir Donald McLean proposed two things which were good and great; I could not resist them. Sir Donald McLean is dead; his words, however, still live. Had I done as I ought to have he would have taken me with him, and then I would have brought him back with me to manage the affairs and advise me. I will manage; I am the person to go about from place to place. Money was offered to me by Sir Donald McLean; I refused it, telling him to place it in the bank. Money is like dust to me; I do not value it. My word to you is, agree to what I ask; I wish that matters for the future should be peaceably conducted. Let me be able to say that work is right, and this work is right. I will not approve of what is wrong, never mind who is the author of it. No, no. I wish to see Te Whiti, Tohu, and Hiroki with my own eyes here the same as I see you all. How many people are

there who have no love for their grandfathers, fathers, brothers, and sisters? All have; so have I for these people. Hence my desire that Parliament should come to Auckland. It is not only for myself, but for all you people's sake that I desire this. I wish all the people to understand that I am the person to manage the whole of the affairs [hei omaoma i te takiwa nei]. If I find things being done either in the north, east, south, and west which are good I will approve; if otherwise I will not countenance them. If I meet another European who speaks to me as Sir Donald McLean did I shall be borne away by him. Sir Donald would have taken me to Wellington, and elsewhere, and in the end he would have come here and been my adviser. I shall persist in being the manager—Wahanui, Paora Tuhaere, Kerei Mangonui, Topia, and others will be appointed to help me. No one is to precede me. I want everything managed in such a way that the greatest good will result [*i.e.*, nothing evil shall occur]. This is my wish from my head to my heart [the dearest wish of my heart]. I will support everything good, but all evil I will tread under foot. Whatiwhatihoe is the *kainga*, I am the man, and Alexandra is a European settlement. It is for me to go there and elsewhere. I tell you this lest you say hereafter I never informed you. I wish you all to agree to this. Some of you people may wonder why I want to go outside our boundary. I want my breakfast and my dinner with the pakehas, and although I go amongst them I am still in New Zealand. I am following out my views, views which I think are correct. I shall be all over the place. Let everything be carried out for good. Listen, everything evil will be trodden under my feet, nothing bad will be permitted. Everything evil is stamped out to-day. I told the Hon. Mr. Whitaker that all evil, trouble, and darkness should be crushed under my feet, and to-day I trample them under my feet. I will have nothing but good, that alone shall receive my countenance. The press is mine, let it be supported by you.

Paora Tuhaere said he had collected £25 for the printing office, and Rewi stood up and said he had himself subscribed £9 towards that object. The Wairarapa and other Natives then handed a sum of money over to Rewi and Wahanui for the press.

*Mangonui* (Ngapuhi chief) said that in former times there was complete concord of feeling between Potatau and the Ngapuhi, but in the time of his son the Ngapuhis were disregarded, so that whatever the propositions of Tawhiao might be now they would be unheeded by them, for they had their own work to do, and had sent a petition to the Queen in relation to their own grievances.

