

MAORI AT TE AROHA AFTER THE OPENING OF THE
GOLDFIELD IN 1880 (MOSTLY THROUGH PAKEHA EYES)

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Abstract: *As the Maori population continued to decline, the aged rangatira admired by Pakeha (even including those who had fought against the Crown) gradually died off, to be replaced by Maori more noted for their drinking and occasional violence than their prestige. Although concerts and haka were popular with many Pakeha, much Maori behaviour was mocked, including by children. Many Maori were seen as being unsophisticated, unable to express themselves properly in English, and prone to drunkenness and laziness, whereas those who adopted Pakeha ways were praised.*

Some Pakeha sympathized with poverty-stricken Maori and regretted the decline of their language. There were many examples of close and friendly relations and of Maori assisting Pakeha in trouble, but in general they lived geographically separate lives. To earn money, Maori were forced to work at road making, timber cutting, gum digging, and farming what land remained in their possession. Most Maori struggled financially, their limited resources being stretched by holding expensive tangi and entertaining visitors – resulting in more land sales. They used the court system to defend their economic interests.

Ngati Rahiri (including supporters of the Kingitanga) were seen as 'loyal' to the Crown, and visiting Maori kings received kindly treatment from Pakeha as well as from Maori.

Poor health prompted some government assistance, but poor housing remained, although some attempts were made to improve it (partly to protect Pakeha from diseases). Before the twentieth century only a few children, mostly 'half-castes', were educated. Most Ngati Rahiri were members of the Church of England before being attracted by the new Mormon faith.

Ngati Rahiri participated with Pakeha in horse races, sporting contests, and, especially, rugby, and a few joined the Volunteers. Much less desirable to most residents was their heavy drinking (encouraged by some publicans and their Pakeha drinking buddies), and occasional fights, very occasionally with Pakeha. Overall, Pakeha ways, both good and bad, of necessity were adopted, and Ngati Rahiri became inextricably a subordinate part of the Pakeha community, although still retaining some distinctive features.

(Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all those named in this paper, both Maori and Pakeha, were shareholders in claims in the Te Aroha district.)

POPULATION DECLINE

In August 1883, a settler referred to ‘the few remaining natives in our district’.¹ Writing four years later, one miner, John McCombie,² recalled his first visit to Te Aroha, in 1880, when ‘the Maori population was quite numerous’. Now there were few. ‘Here, as elsewhere throughout the North Island’, there was ‘evidence of the rapid decadence of the native race, and long before the end of the present century there will be but a small remnant of the once numerous and powerful “Ngatirahiri tribe”’.³

In the census, as most Ngati Rahiri lived at Omahu (soon to be known as Tui Pa) and at nearby Mangaiti their number was subsumed into the totals for Ohinemuri County and cannot be determined. Nor can the number living within the Piako County and the later Te Aroha Borough be separated from the general total. An indication of the size of the population can be obtained from census figures for the Piako County. The 1896 census, which like all others included children in the totals, gave a total of 290, comprising 145 males, 131 females, and eight male and six female half-castes living as members of the tribes.⁴ In 1901 there were 202 males and 182 females, with six male and three female half-castes.⁵ Five years later, there were 289 males and 280 females, plus six male and one female half-castes.⁶ In 1911, the number of males had fallen to 133 and females to 90, with five male and three female half-castes.⁷ In 1916 the decline continued: only 71 males and 57 females, one male half-caste, and four female half-castes being recorded.⁸ However, the enumerator for this and counties as far away as Coromandel and the northern King Country considered that part of this low figure could be explained by fear of providing information,

¹ H.E. Whitaker to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 7 August 1883, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

² See paper on Billy Nicholl.

³ ‘Aboriginal’, ‘On the Wallaby’, *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1887, p. 3.

⁴ ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *AJHR*, 1896, H-13B, p. 13.

⁵ ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 21.

⁶ ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *AJHR*, 1906, H-26A, p. 31.

⁷ Malcolm Fraser, *Report on the Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand, Taken for the Night of the 2nd April, 1911* (Wellington, 1913), Appendix A, p. iv.

⁸ Malcolm Fraser, *Report on the Results of a Census of the Dominion of New Zealand, Taken for the Night of the 15th of October, 1916* (Wellington, 1918), Appendix A, p. vii.

for he understood the King Movement to have warned that the government would use this information to conscript Maori.⁹ Certainly the subsequent census, taken in 1921, showed an increase amongst the males: the county had 148 males, 14 females, and one male and four female half-castes.¹⁰

Far fewer lived in Te Aroha township than at Tui pa. In 1926, there were 30 Maori compared to 2,294 Pakeha; in the previous year, 18 electors had lived at the pa.¹¹ In 1936 there were five compared with 2,361, in 1945 64 as against 2,362, and in 1951 'exceptionally few Maori inhabitants', 54, lived amongst 2,610 Pakeha.¹²

PAKEHA ATTITUDES TO MAORI

Tattooed Maori were a curiosity. In 1909, the *Auckland Weekly News* published a photograph captioned 'Happy Old Age: A Study of a Well-Known Te Aroha Identity', but did not bother to include the name of this tattooed man;¹³ Te Aroha people would have known, and others would not care. Possibly it was Toro Mohi, who lived until 1938, when he died aged 91.¹⁴ His obituary, headlined 'Old Maori Passes', did not record a tattoo, but then these were not mentioned for any Maori:

A familiar figure in Te Aroha for many years was old Toro Mohi, whose bent form and smiling, wizened face made him well-known to most businessmen. His death occurred last week, and though no-one knew his age, old Toro must have been well past the allotted span. It is assumed that he knew much of early Te Aroha, and had probably lived in these parts long before the gold rush of 1880.¹⁵

By which it is clear that, although he was regularly seen around the main streets, no Pakeha had talked to him about his life. The antiquity of

⁹ *Results of a Census Taken on 15th of October, 1916*, Appendix A, p. xi.

¹⁰ 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1921, H-39A, p. 7.

¹¹ A.J. Metge, 'The Distribution of Character of the Maori Population of the Auckland Province: a Contribution to the Regional Geography' (MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1951), p. 102.

¹² Metge, p. 102.

¹³ Photograph, *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 July 1909, Supplement, p. 14.

¹⁴ Death Certificate of Toro Mohi, 1938/30317, BDM.

¹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 16 May 1938, p. 4.

other Maori always attracted comment; when ‘one of the best known Maoris in the district’ died at Tui Pa in 1912, his age was estimated to be nearly 100. He had ‘resided near the Waihou River for close on 90 years’.¹⁶ Another ancient Maori, Hemi Kare,¹⁷ who had died in 1885, allegedly at the age of 112,¹⁸ was not considered to be of sufficient prominence to deserve an obituary.

Pakeha were interested in the lives of rangatira, as indicated in the papers on Ngati Rahiri rangatira who invested in mining. Tutuki, who did not, was of interest because of his great age and his claim to have seen Captain Cook land at Thames¹⁹ (which Cook never did).²⁰ Upon his death in 1888, when Maori gave his age as 124, the local newspaper printed an obituary:

Tutuki was a great chief who had moved in many adventures and was very old, his age being set down by the Maoris at 124. He was highly respected by all the natives on the island, and was chief of four tribes.... He had seen Captain Cook when a boy, at Coromandel, and was one of the defenders of the Totara pa near Shortland, when it was attacked by Hongi, the great Ngapuhi chief.... He was severely wounded in this engagement. Tutuki afterwards took a leading part in retaining Te Aroha against Waikato and Tauranga natives.... Tutuki’s last words to those around him were:- “Be kind and good; listen to what your old father says.”²¹

¹⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 September 1912, p. 23.

¹⁷ See Native Land Court, *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 March 1869, p. 4; he did not invest in Te Aroha mining.

¹⁸ Hemi Kare, died 19 June 1885, burial no. 96, Church of England, Register of Coromandel Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials 1874-1904, 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

¹⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 30 May 1885, p. 3.

²⁰ See *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 209-210; John Robson, *Captain Cook’s World: Maps of the life and voyages of James Cook RN* (Auckland, 2000), map 1.15.

²¹ *Te Aroha News*, 18 August 1888, p. 2.

It reported the preparations for his large tangi and gave details of Maori from elsewhere who attended.²²

Also of interest were valiant foes. When Piniha (sometimes Pineha) Marutuahu,²³ a leading rangatira, died at the pa in 1890, the *Te Aroha News* described him as ‘one of the earliest converted natives in the North Island, and was connected with the Wesleyan Mission visiting Australia and South Sea Islands some fifty years ago in their Mission vessel. During the native rebellion’, otherwise New Zealand’s land wars, ‘he took an active part against the Europeans, being in every engagement up to that at the Gate Pah’.²⁴ Another foe was Hohepa Tauhou,²⁵ who, when he welcomed King Mahuta in 1911, was referred to as chief of the ‘Tui Pa Tribe’.²⁶ Upon his death, reputedly aged 95, in the following year, he was referred to as ‘one of the oldest and best known denizens of the native settlement’.

Hohepa was a chief of one of the hapus of the Waikato tribe, and was a famous fighting man in his younger days under the leadership of William Thompson (Waharoa). He was present at the battle of Rangiriri, where it is understood he was wounded. He had some knowledge of English and no little share of the polish of civilization.²⁷

(He was, therefore, not of Ngati Rahiri but had been one of their opponents during the nineteenth century contests over ownership of Te Aroha.) Like other rangatira, to encourage his son and namesake to learn English and acquire ‘the polish of civilization’, Hohepa sent him to school for about three years, until aged 11.²⁸ (By that age he had only reached the Primer 2 class.)²⁹ But Hohepa senior cannot have had a good reputation in polite Pakeha society. In 1882 and 1883 he was sued in for not paying his

²² *Te Aroha News*, 18 August 1888, p. 2, 22 August 1888, p. 2, 29 August 1888, p. 2, 12 September 1888, p. 2, 29 September 1888, p. 2, 6 October 1888, p. 2.

²³ He did not invest in Te Aroha mining.

²⁴ *Te Aroha News*, n.d., reprinted in *Waikato Times*, 18 November 1890, p. 2.

²⁵ He did not invest in Te Aroha mining.

²⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 26 October 1911, p. 2, 4 November 1911, p. 2.

²⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 September 1912, p. 24.

²⁸ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1885, November 1886, December 1887, November 1888, YCAF 4135/16a, 4135/19a, 4135/22a, 4135/24a, ANZ-A; School Committee, *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1888, p. 2.

²⁹ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for December 1887, YCAF 4135/22a, ANZ-A.

debts and threatened with imprisonment to force him to do so.³⁰ In 1881, he pleaded guilty to a charge of assault and was fined £1.³¹ Two years later a quarrelsome lawyer accused him of ‘using provoking and insulting language’.³² At the end of that year he and his wife were both in court, he being accused of being drunk and disorderly in the street and his wife of being drunk. As they did not pay their fines, they were imprisoned, he for six hours, she ‘during the sitting of the Court’.³³ They told the police they were both aged 30,³⁴ contradicting the belief that he was about 95 in 1912. After some years of not coming to the attention of the police, in 1891 he was convicted of stealing a bottle of whisky and part of a bottle of brandy from a publican.³⁵ He told the magistrate that ‘he only did what he saw others doing, Europeans among them, who were helping themselves and taking the liquor outside to drink. He thought it was just like a Maori feast, and that they could help themselves’.³⁶ Nine years later, an interpreter charged him with assault.³⁷ In 1908 a heavy blow to the eye by Wharepapa Ngakuru³⁸ caused actual bodily harm.³⁹ The local newspaper, reporting this row between ‘Young Mick’, otherwise Wharepapa, the son of Meke (or Mick) Ngakuru, the former policeman,⁴⁰ and ‘Joe’ (Hohepa), believed them both to

³⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 28/1883, Judgment Summonses dated 3 January 1882, 5 June 1883, BCDG 11221/1a; Civil Record Book 1889-1896, Judgment Summons 138/1883, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

³¹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 6/1881, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

³² Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 20/1883, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

³³ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.

³⁴ Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 18, 19/1883, in private possession.

³⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 18/1891, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 7/1891, in private possession.

³⁶ Te Aroha Police Court, *Thames Star*, 26 November 1891, p. 2.

³⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 22/1900, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

³⁸ Not involved with Te Aroha mining; name recorded as Ngakura.

³⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 51/1908, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁰ See paper on Maori Te Aroha before the opening of the goldfield.

have been ‘more or less under the influence of liquor’. Their ‘difference of opinion’ led to a blow that required the services of a doctor and the fear that Hohepa would be blind in one eye.⁴¹ Pakeha, not interested in the intricacies of whakapapa, may have considered Hohepa to be an inappropriate person to lead his people, but, as the lives of other rangatira indicated, fondness for drink, involvement in scuffles, and financial embarrassment did not affect status in Maori society.

Fancy dress balls provided an opportunity to mock local Maori. At the Skating Rink Ball in 1887 the editor of the *Aroha Gazette* appeared as ‘Polynesian Gazette’;⁴² no details were given of what this might imply. In 1908, in a hockey match between men and women, the former wore women’s clothing, including one in a ‘Tui Pah blouse’,⁴³ which must be assumed to have been voluminous, garish, and unflattering. Later that month, cross-dressing was a feature of the Fancy Costume Football Match, with one man dressed as ‘our old and much beloved Maria, of Tui Pa’, probably a reference to Meraea Mere Peka,⁴⁴ and another ‘portrayed the character of our worthy friend Kerehau [Kau Hou?]⁴⁵ with magnificent verve’.⁴⁶ Seven years later, the ‘Ard Hup’ Social featured ‘a prominent townsman’ as a ‘Maori Wahine’.⁴⁷

Some Pakeha found wahine very attractive. In 1890 one snippet of gossip asked: ‘Why did the Manawaru stockman desert his fair colleen last Monday night at the Band of Hope meeting? Was it to make room for a better man than himself, or gain the charms of the dusky beauty?’⁴⁸ (‘Dusky’ was a common euphemism for Maori, as illustrated in the paper on George Lipsey and his family.)

Maori concert parties were popular, if well performed, as in 1895:

About 30 natives belonging to the Hauraki tribe gave an entertainment of big shoe dancing, war dance, hakas, etc, in the Town Hall on Saturday last. The natives were very well patronized, the back seats being crowded, while not a few availed

⁴¹ *Te Aroha News*, 21 November 1908, p. 2.

⁴² *Te Aroha News*, 1 October 1887, p. 2.

⁴³ *Te Aroha News*, 3 September 1908, p. 2.

⁴⁴ See papers on Keepa Te Wharau and Reha Aperahama.

⁴⁵ See paper on Piahana/Kau Hou.

⁴⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 27 September 1908, p. 2.

⁴⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 3 November 1915, p. 2.

⁴⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 13 December 1890, p. 18.

themselves of the front seats. The programme was a lengthy one, and well worth the price of admission. A big shoe dance by some ten young men being worthy of special mention, and they well deserved the hearty applause accorded them.⁴⁹

(The ‘shoe dance’ was probably a soft shoe dance, a variant of a tap dance popular in vaudeville,⁵⁰ and therefore not a traditional item.) In contrast, two years later a correspondent reported, with racist overtones, a visit by the Tauranga Maori Fife and Drum Band, which performed English music:

In the evening they paraded the main streets, marching to the tune of “Ta-Ra-Ra-Boom-De-Ay,” at least I guess it was that or “After the Ball.” The fact is the instrumentalists were either too short of wind or they were too thick lipped to manipulate their instruments properly, for they could only be heard at very close quarters. At the conclusion of the marching, the Darktown Band gave an indifferent entertainment in the Public Hall, for which they made a modest demand of 2s and 1s for three-quarters of an hour of agony.⁵¹

In 1909, the *Te Aroha News* lauded ‘the projected visit of a picked troupe of our native fellow countrymen and countrywomen to New York’ as an excellent way of advertising New Zealand, apart from the performances using poi:

Nothing impresses the mind more than a really first-class spectacular display, especially if music of a grand order be added to the entertainment. And there is no question as to the grand, sonorous quality of the Maori voices. Music under native interpretation is a fresh revelation, it is the reinvestiture of song with “the native wood-note wild” which a too civilized life destroys. One notices this melodious quality in the Maori voices in song and recitation alike....

No doubt the hakas will make a telling impression. But though it may be accounted heresy to say so, we must confess that some of the languid movements of the poi dances admit of comparison with the displays of an English physical culture class, which is decidedly in favour of the English class.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 31 July 1895, p. 2.

⁵⁰ ‘Soft shoe dance’: Google.

⁵¹ ‘The Porcupine’, ‘Te Aroha Notes’, *Waikato Argus*, 20 May 1897, p. 2.

⁵² Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1909, p. 2.

By 1915, local Maori had formed a troupe that provided ‘variety entertainment’ throughout the north island.⁵³ At a wedding at the pa in 1929, the music was provided by the ‘Tui Pa Native Instrumental Band’.⁵⁴

Pakeha children found their Maori peers both interesting and unintentionally amusing. They were taught romantic tales of bygone Maori, as shown when an entertainment put on by the schoolchildren included 15 ‘waxworks’, of which one was ‘Hinemoa’. All the other waxworks, like the programme over-all, ignored New Zealand’s heritage.⁵⁵ In 1903, a 14-year-old schoolgirl wrote an essay about a school excursion to Rotorua. When the train stopped to let another one pass, ‘we saw a number of Maori children who danced the Haka dance for a few apples that were thrown to them by the passengers, who were much amused at their antics’. At Whakarewarewa they ‘were met by a number of Maori boys, who, for a penny, would jump from the bridge into the water below’. Entrance to ‘a beautiful Maori meeting house’ was ‘unfortunately’ forbidden. They were impressed with the springs; ‘the most interesting sight of all was the brain pot – in it the Maoris were supposed to boil the brains of their enemies’. The last event was ‘the Haka and Poi Poi dance, which amused us very much’.⁵⁶ That haka amused rather than impressed Pakeha was indicated by a newspaper comment about ‘two native celebrities displaying their prowess in Haka fashion to the evident amusement of visitors’ attending the 1910 celebration of the opening of the goldfield.⁵⁷

Ronald McIndoe, born in 1890 to Thomas,⁵⁸ a saddler who was a prominent member of the Te Aroha community,⁵⁹ recalled some local Maori unflatteringly:

The Maori tribe of Te Aroha was a poor type of Maori, could have been of slave extraction and always cadging for money and clothes. “Ahiwera” had tattooed lips and was a really pleasant old lady and my mother always had something in food and clothes

⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1915, p. 2.

⁵⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 30 December 1929, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 2 October 1889, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Alvina Crombie, ‘School Excursion to Rotorua’, *Te Aroha News*, 4 March 1900, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1910, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Birth Certificate of Ronald McIndoe, 1891/3768; Marriage Certificate of Ronald McIndoe, 1 March 1916, 1936/3267, BDM.

⁵⁹ See paper on his life.

[for her]. My mother-in-law handed over Dad's dress suit (long tails) and she walked the town showing herself off. The food was always kept for the piccaninny. Another character was "Kiri Kau" with no roof to his mouth, hard to understand, but if we rattled a few stones in one of the old match boxes he would make a great show of friendliness, but when opened made a dash at us with a long stick he always carried. Another was old Tamati with a huge scar across his forehead. If asked he would tell us how he had fought in the Maori War and was ridden down by a white officer riding a white horse.⁶⁰

Ahiwera was Ahiwera Te Arero, sister of Te Meke Ngakuru, and widow of Ngatupera Kapiunga, who died in 1883.⁶¹ When obtaining an old age pension in 1908, she gave her date of birth as 1835.⁶² Kiri Kau may have been Kiritau Tutuhi,⁶³ a widower who had been born at Horotiu, near Maungatautari, in a year he did not know, but sufficiently long ago for him to apply for an old age pension in 1900.⁶⁴ Alternatively, he may have been Kirikau Te Hemopo,⁶⁵ who was aged 53 when arrested for drunkenness in 1893.⁶⁶ 'Old Tamati' may have been Renata Tamati, who applied for an old age pension in 1906 even though he could not prove his age.⁶⁷ However, all his early life had been spent in Ohinemuri and he had not fought the

⁶⁰ Ronald McIndoe, Reminiscences entitled 'Te Aroha Goldfields Opened 1880', typescript, n.d., p. 2 [badly typed; obvious 'typos' corrected], McIndoe Papers, MS Papers 3806, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁶¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 15, p. 154.

⁶² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Old Age Pension Claim Register 1899-1909, no. 105, BBAV 11503/1a, ANZ-A; for photograph giving different date of birth, see Charles Kingsley-Smith, *This is Te Aroha* (Te Aroha, 1980), p. 12.

⁶³ Not involved in Te Aroha mining.

⁶⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Old Age Pension Claim Register 1899-1909, no. 37, BBAV 11503/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁵ Not involved in Te Aroha mining.

⁶⁶ Armed Constabulary Force, Register of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 6/1893, in private possession.

⁶⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Old Age Pension Claim Register 1899-1909, no. 74, BBAV 11503/1a, ANZ-A.

Pakeha;⁶⁸ perhaps the scar had a much less dramatic cause, but it made a good story.

Maori lack of sophistication was a source of constant amusement. When the first motor car arrived in 1902, ‘a Maori, in describing the motor to a companion, was heard to say “By golly; you see the buggy, lun away from the horse” ’.⁶⁹ In 1918, the local newspaper overheard a conversation outside the cinema. ‘Himi: By golly, dis de fine picture tonight; bosing first-class; I see him at Paeroa last night. Moko: Well, what for you come again tonight? Himi: The white chap he win last night, but I reckon the black fellow beat tonight!’⁷⁰

Maori difficulty in enunciating the English language correctly was referred to several times in the early twentieth century. In 1915, when several Maori were before the court, the newspaper commented that because, ‘as usual’, they ‘could “no te speak te Pakeha talk,” an interpreter’s services had to be obtained’ at a cost of ‘about sixpence a word’.⁷¹ Two years later, a paragraph was published for the entertainment of its readers: ‘A Tui Pa Maori has become so impressed with the necessity for economy in wartime that he has decided, in his own words, to take out a “Presbyterian order” against himself. His pipe, however, he firmly refuses to forego. This last remaining solace he intends to keep to “break the monopoly” ’.⁷² (A Presbyterian order was a prohibition order forbidding his being served alcohol by publicans.) At the time of the influenza epidemic of 1918, the *Te Aroha News* published the following paragraph:

Thus a district Maori:- Werry bad te influ. Lot of Maori got it. Te Maori don’t know what he goin’ to do. When he pad he go in te whare. Newer open te window, and te dog and all te utter pheller walk in and out. Newer get te disinfec. He no like to smell te disinfec, but he get te smell all te rubbish about te pah. I tink te Helt Board must get te nurse and te man to burn up all te

⁶⁸ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, p. 205; no. 36, pp. 80-88; no. 45, p. 262; Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 November 1878, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1890, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Thames Star*, 10 May 1902, p. 2.

⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 25 October 1918, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1915, p. 2.

⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1917, p. 2.

rubbish about te pah, and look a'ter te Maori. Werra, I must go now and get some disinsec for myself.⁷³

Two weeks later the newspaper printed another account of Maori wisdom about the epidemic; as it was part of a column about precautions for avoiding infection, perhaps this was its concept of a public health notice:

Hemi called in at the office on Friday to see if we were still alive. "Good-day, Mistah Noospaper!" "Good-day, Hemi, not got the influenza?" "Oh, no, not yet, might be soon." "How is the baby, Hami?" "No good, he's dead." "Very worry to hear that; how is the Missus?" "Oh, he's orright, he's dead too. By gorry, te frooenza no tam good. Soon might be no Maori, he never ora die. Two week twenty-five dead. I terra you to Maori no rike te infectant, too much tink. When he get sick, he close him ora te window, then he rie down on te froe. Te dog, te cat ora te ferrah walk bout, plenty dirt, he no never mind. Te Maori he no rike te medicine, that te way he die ora te same te try. Werra, good-bye I go get some euchcerptis, dat te ferra for te infrooenza. I say, you terra te Heft Pord ferra for him to burn ora te rubbish down te pa, make him creap. Might be no infrooenza then. Good-bye."⁷⁴

Dogs and their filth had always been of concern to Pakeha; previously the *Te Aroha News* had mentioned 'the usual curse in a Maori kainga, the ubiquitous Maori dog'.⁷⁵

One year later, reputed Maori laziness and dissolute behaviour concerned 'Spectator', who doubted whether offences against the peace really resulted from 'immoderate consumption of liquor' provided, illegally, by Pakeha.

Many of the Maoris seem to be entirely lacking in the most elementary notions of morality and, with or without beer, they often deport themselves in a manner which may easily vitiate the minds of children, and which is certainly most offensive to those more mature people whom it has power only to disgust. I fear that little can be done towards improving the ethical standard of the natives themselves ... but I do not see any reason why the Maoris should not be prevented by the authorities from loitering in the public street – more particularly around the fire-bell – where many of them loaf day after day, droning away their time,

⁷³ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1918, p. 2.

⁷⁴ 'Hemi on the Flu', *Te Aroha News*, 2 December 1918, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1909, p. 2.

and ready for any prank or impropriety that may occur, or be suggested to them.... It is only a small section of the Tui Pa natives whose conduct deserves reprobation – perhaps not more than a score – I have some reason for thinking that those offending Maoris would not carry on at the pa itself in the way they are permitted to do in Whitaker-street. I believe there is such a thing as social restraint even in such a primitive community as Tui Pa affords, and this always counts for something, even with the most abandoned.⁷⁶

Despite the years of peace after the 1860s and early 1870s, after the wars ended some Pakeha still feared Maori, as indicated by the recollections of one resident, published in 1912. Referring to the difficulties of delivering mail to Te Aroha during the gold rush, he said that Maori ‘were at that time giving considerable trouble, and it was considered necessary to arm the mail carrier in case of accidents’.⁷⁷ Any ‘accidents’ would have been caused by Ngati Hako, who lived south of Paeroa, not by Ngati Rahiri.⁷⁸ The murder of Himiona Haira in early 1881 caused considerable tension between Maori and Pakeha,⁷⁹ heightened by rumours that utu would mean attacks on innocent Pakeha;⁸⁰ in consequence, Pakeha were ‘armed to the teeth’, according to one sensationalist.⁸¹ This alarm soon faded, and Maori mingled with Pakeha once more on friendly terms.⁸² Maori in Ohinemuri were considered more likely to seek revenge, as the murdered man was a Ngati Koe, from that district.⁸³ Over 20 years later the *Thames Advertiser* correspondent then based in Te Aroha was still telling ‘a hair-raising story of his breakneck ride from Te Aroha to the Thames, through what he believed to be hostile Maori country, with the first particulars of the murder’.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Letter from ‘Spectator’, *Te Aroha News*, 20 October 1910, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Recollections of D. Robertson, *Te Aroha News*, 20 April 1912, p. 2.

⁷⁸ See paper on the Daldy McWilliams ‘outrage’.

⁷⁹ See paper on the Te Aroha murder.

⁸⁰ For example, Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 19 February 1881, p. 2.

⁸¹ *Observer*, 23 April 1881, p. 339.

⁸² For example, Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 5 April 1881, p. 2.

⁸³ See *Thames Star*, 15 February 1881, p. 2, compared with *Thames Advertiser*, 16 February 1881, p. 2.

⁸⁴ *Observer*, 21 April 1906, p. 4.

A Waiorongomai correspondent reported alarm in 1898. 'We nearly had a war scare on Tuesday last when a number of Maoris, some of them carrying guns, rode into Waiorongomai and camped in the ti-tree near the school-house'. It was suggested that an urgent telegram be sent 'to call out the Te Aroha Rifle Volunteers for our protection'. As they had 'camped in Waiorongomai only with the object of gum digging',⁸⁵ the alarm was brief.

Maori who fitted into the Pakeha world were favourably viewed. In November 1918, one victim of the influenza epidemic was a farm worker at Mangaiti, whom the local newspaper described as 'a general favourite', being 'a prominent young footballer in this district and an enthusiastic worker on behalf of the Red Cross funds'.⁸⁶

Despite some personal conflicts and misunderstandings, a common Pakeha practise was to praise Maori (in general) and to laud themselves for treating them so well. For instance, in 1909 the *Te Aroha News* wrote that 'we are proud of our native countrymen and countrywomen', and was pleased that some were going to perform in New York.

What will ... appeal to our American cousins is the decidedly fine physique of the Maoris, and their pleasing manners.

Further, the object lesson which this troupe will afford to all who have eyes to see, of the way in which Great Britain treats her subjugated peoples, makes it seem a great pity that the trip does not extend to Europe. Nothing could afford a more telling lesson, a more convincing proof of the beneficence of British rule than the happy and dignified bearing of our Maoris.⁸⁷

PAKEHA SYMPATHY

In the winter of 1934, the *Te Aroha News* received a letter from 'Deeply Concerned':

Cannot something be done to see that the little Maori children of Te Aroha are better clothed than they are at present? Repeatedly on these bitterly cold mornings I have seen little Maori boys and girls going barefooted to school. They are practically blue with the cold, and often their clothing is ragged and ill-fitting. One little chap on a recent morning was making his way along from the Morgantown end of the town in only a pair of very short trousers

⁸⁵ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 7 May 1898, p. 2.

⁸⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 27 November 1918, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1909, p. 2.

and a ragged shirt. His teeth were chattering with the cold, and by the way he walked his feet must have been practically numb. I suppose our Relief Committee undertakes the care of Pakeha and Maori alike, and I would very much like to see these unfortunate little mites decently clothed during the winter months. Good useful second-hand clothing would, I feel sure, be forthcoming if an appeal for Maori children was made. I trust they will not be overlooked.⁸⁸

Two days later, 'Mother' wrote that this letter 'was most timely. For a long time I have thought for the native children who pass my door on the way to school. One does not worry about them in the summer, but their condition when the cold weather sets in is most pitiable'. She also hoped the relief committee would 'not overlook these poor Maori children'.⁸⁹ The mayor, Robert Coulter, a future Labour Member of Parliament, who chaired the relief committee, responded that no distinction was made and he hoped teachers would indicate pupils requiring better clothing.⁹⁰

In 1951, the *Te Aroha News* was concerned that New Zealanders knew little about Maori language, history, and customs, and noted that 'many' had asked why Maori was not taught in schools in preference to other languages. 'An unfortunate aspect is that there are many Maoris themselves who cannot speak in their native tongue', which was a 'strong argument in favour of the language being taught thoroughly'. It cited the former Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, in support of preventing the language and customs being 'lost for all time. The Maori language has been described as one of the most beautiful and it is a pity to see that such a casual interest has been shown in it. We can learn a great deal from the Maori', and learning more about them and the language 'would be of benefit to both the Maori and the Pakeha':

There is no other country in the world where the native race has been placed on such an equal footing with white people as the Maori has in New Zealand, but at the same time it is deplorable that we know so little about him yet we expect so much from him. If, for example, the Maori language was taught in every school it would automatically break down the barrier which exists between the two races. It would then be far easier for the Maori to take his

⁸⁸ Letter from 'Deeply Concerned', *Te Aroha News*, 18 June 1934, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Letter from 'Mother', *Te Aroha News*, 20 June 1934, p. 4.

⁹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 20 June 1934, p. 4.

rightful place in the community just as we so earnestly desire him to do so.⁹¹

RELATIONS WITH PAKEHA

In late 1880, as John McCombie recalled, Te Aroha was ‘infested by a herd of Maori pigs, regular Captain Cookers with long snouts and lean bodies’. One managed to get its head stuck in the kerosene tin containing the ingredients for soup, and rushed blindly into the river, ‘which finished its career’.

Next morning, when mustering his stock, the Maori owner realized that one of his pigs was missing. Enquiries led up to the loss being traced right home to the owners of the “soup kitchen.” The Maori went straight to the bell tent, asked for 30/- as “utu” for the loss of his pig, and backed up his demand by a torrent of abusive language. His grievance was redressed by [Hugh Robert] “Manukau” Jones,⁹² who fired him out of the tent saying, “Damn your pig, bring back our stock pot.”⁹³

At the beginning of 1881, the editor of the *Te Aroha Miner* described a Maori viewing its printing press becoming entangled in the machinery. ‘Fearing that my colored visitor might still further act the part of the bull in the china shop, I enticed him out to have a whiskey, and for the present I have had enough of aborigines of an enquiring turn of mind’.⁹⁴ Pakeha technology fascinated Maori, and later that month they were taking ‘a great interest in’ the battery then being erected.⁹⁵

There were occasional reports of Maori assisting Pakeha. In 1883, residents of Omahu pa saw an empty whaleboat, belonging to a local store, floating downstream, and secured it, with difficulty, ‘for there was a very heavy fresh on, and the current was running at a great rate’. The *Te Aroha News* believed they deserved ‘credit for the plucky way in which they

⁹¹ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 21 February 1951, p. 4.

⁹² See *New Zealand Herald*, 26 August 1922, Supplement, p. 1, F.W. Weston, ‘Thames Reminiscences’, 27 January 1923, p. 11.

⁹³ John McCombie, ‘Early History of Waihi Gold Mining’, n.d., pp. 2-3, [expanded variant of his article in *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 December 1910, p. 17], MS 838, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁹⁴ *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 3 January 1881, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 28 January 1881, p. 2.

effected the salvage'.⁹⁶ Later that year, when a Pakeha boy drowned in the river, a number of Maori dived to find his body, without success.⁹⁷ In 1900, when a farmhouse burnt down, 'a number of natives from the Pah, which adjoins the property, rendered any assistance in their power'.⁹⁸

Charles Hirawani, a farmer at Mangaiti, who had enrolled in the Piako Mounted Rifles in 1901 when aged 28,⁹⁹ in 1903 received a silver medal from the Royal Humane Society. When the Governor, Lord Ranfurly, was in the district, a meeting in the public hall praised his 'conspicuous bravery' in rescuing people from fires, the first occasion being in February 1902, after his whare caught fire during the night.

After helping out his wife and two children he returned and rescued his nephew, Waratau, forgetting in the excitement his niece Arani. The whare was enveloped in flames and the roof was falling in, when Hirawani rushed to the back room where she was sleeping and found the burning rafters falling on her. He rolled her in a blanket and carried her out just as the whole roof came down. He was severely burned about the head and shoulders.

Four months later, he saved a 30-year-old man from his burning house at Komata. During this rescue his 'head and eyes were severely scorched. For several days he could not see and suffered great pain'. After these details (and more) were read out, Hirawani was 'called to the front of the platform, and, amidst the cheers of the spectators, the medal he had so pluckily earned was pinned on his breast by the Governor, who addressed the audience in words suitable to the occasion'. He was the first Maori to earn this medal. 'After the formal ceremony in the hall an informal one was performed outside. Hirawani was captured by his admirers, and, mounted on the hose reel, was drawn in triumph through the streets'.¹⁰⁰

In other examples of good feeling, in 1885 a Maori Wesleyan clergyman 'addressed (in English) a good congregation of Europeans in the Wesleyan chapel' one Sunday evening.¹⁰¹ As symbols of unity, during the

⁹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 28 July 1883, p. 2.

⁹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 15 September 1883, p. 2.

⁹⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1900, p. 2.

⁹⁹ Piako Mounted Rifle Volunteers, Nominal Roll to 28 February 1902, Army Department, ARM 41, 1911/66x, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 May 1903, p. 38.

¹⁰¹ *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 10 September 1885, p. 3.

celebrations of Queen Victoria's jubilee celebrations a puriri tree was planted in memory of Hone Werahiko, a totara labelled 'Mokena Hou – In Memoriam', an English oak for 'Tutuki Puhi, for Natives', and 'Queen Victoria's tree', another English oak, was planted by 'Mrs Geo. Lipsey', who was Mokena Hou's daughter.¹⁰² In 1948, a former Te Aroha schoolgirl recalled being 'one of the little girls with the Maori girls that held the red, white and blue ribbon across the tracks when the first engine came through to join the Paeroa line' in 1895.¹⁰³

In the twentieth century, there are some indications of close and friendly relations between some Pakeha and some Maori. For instance, when Joseph Pearson, otherwise Peani, died suddenly in Thames aged 23, the *Te Aroha News* recorded his being 'well known in this district, having on various occasions assisted as a violinist in local orchestras'.¹⁰⁴ When a prominent local employer, David McLean Wallace,¹⁰⁵ died in 1931, 'floral tributes' were received from Tui Pa.¹⁰⁶ But some friendly contact was deplored as being bad for Maori. For instance, in 1927 Maori and Pakeha sometimes shared bottles of beer on a vacant section behind a billiard saloon, despite those Pakeha involved being liable to a fine of £50 for providing Maori with alcohol. The local constable said this 'had a bad effect on the conduct of natives, which had led to complaints from boarding house keepers'.¹⁰⁷

At the celebrations held for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Te Aroha, some Maori women were included in the photograph of 'old identities' of the district.¹⁰⁸ Clara Wipera, daughter of Rewi Mokena¹⁰⁹ and granddaughter of Mokena Hou, who spoke through an interpreter, greeted 'her pakeha school associates and expressed her good wishes to the people of

¹⁰² *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

¹⁰³ Annie Jones [née Judkins] to Town Clerk, Te Aroha, 27 March 1948, Te Aroha Borough Council file of 1948 letters, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; *Te Aroha News*, 21 December 1895, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 4 September 1924, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ See paper on his life.

¹⁰⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 12 October 1931, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 9 May 1927, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸ 'Old Identities of Te Aroha, Auckland: Early Settlers of the District Gathered to Celebrate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the District' (photograph), *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 December 1910, Supplement, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ See paper on his life.

Te Aroha and earnestly prayed that the same good feeling which had always existed between her people and the Europeans would continue for all time'.¹¹⁰ She told the local newspaper about Warden Harry Kenrick's closeness to Maori,¹¹¹ stating that it was 'through his instrumentality that the Pakeha and Maoris lived amicably ever since'. When visiting the newspaper's offices she 'asked that her great gratitude for the honour the Maoris and her own family had received at the Jubilee celebrations' be published by it, and wished all residents the compliments of the Christmas season.¹¹²

Despite all this interaction, Maori and Pakeha largely lived in separate parts of the district, Pakeha at Te Aroha and Maori mostly living at the pa. The extended Mokena family was an exception, living close to the hot springs and in Lipseytown. During the gold rush Hone Werahiko was the only other Maori to acquire a residence site in the township.¹¹³

WORK

Many Pakeha regarded Maori as lazy, only working when forced to by necessity. A visitor in early 1881 described Te Aroha as a typical goldfields town, including 'Maoris lounging about, or galloping through the township'.¹¹⁴ In 1884, the *Te Aroha News* reinforced this perception of Maori laziness:

The vaunted superiority of the pale-face is evidently not recognized by the noble Maori, as the following incident will show:- A well-known mine manager on the hill, having a small parcel of quartz ready for trial at the battery, endeavoured to procure the services of some of our dark-skinned brethren in order to have it transported to its destination. A glance at the ground to be travelled over, and the laborious character of the work to be performed, was sufficient for the aborigines, who quickly made tracks, exclaiming, "No good for the Maori, you give it to the Pakeha."¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 15 December 1930, p. 5.

¹¹¹ See paper on his life.

¹¹² *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1930, p. 4.

¹¹³ See paper on his life.

¹¹⁴ 'XYZ', 'To Te Aroha by Waikato and Back by Thames', *Auckland Weekly News*, 5 March 1881, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1884, p. 2.

The previous year, George Thomas Wilkinson,¹¹⁶ the native agent, had referred to Ngati Rahiri as having been for some time ‘noted as a very improvident people’ who had sold all their lands, apart from the reserves, and

nearly all these they have leased at such a low rate as to be of little or no use in providing them with the means of sustenance, so that before long they will be dependant upon their relatives in other tribes – unless, indeed, they turn over a new leaf, and, taking pattern from their European neighbours, go to work for a living.¹¹⁷

Wilkinson was probably referring to the lease of the Wairakau Reserve, of 3,250 acres, to Charles Stanislaus Stafford and Henry Ernest Whitaker.¹¹⁸ This land was inalienable but could be leased for 21 years. Stafford, who had leased it in 1880 for 12 months, obtained approval for the longer lease because, he stated, the owners ‘don’t live on the land and are anxious to lease it as they have land elsewhere’.¹¹⁹ The rent paid was not made public, but was believed to be ‘considerably under one shilling per acre’.¹²⁰ Shortly before leaving the district in 1884,¹²¹ Stafford addressed a Te Aroha meeting called to discuss making more land available to settlers. ‘Although he had large personal interests involved he disclaimed any selfish motive in the part he had taken in bringing this question before the meeting’. He wanted freehold title granted for Maori land ‘to facilitate *bona fide* settlement upon these reserves, after setting apart such portions as absolutely required for the use of the native owners’. The meeting concurred,¹²² and no Pakeha ever opposed this concept. Maori views went unrecorded, but their practice of leasing and selling land indicated either

¹¹⁶ See paper on Merea Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

¹¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ See paper on Harry and Charles.

¹¹⁹ C.S. Stafford to Minister of Lands, 6 September 1880; Memorandum by Under-Secretary, Native Office, to Minister of Lands, 10 September 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W; *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1880, p. 2.

¹²⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 25 July 1882, p. 2.

¹²¹ *Waikato Times*, 16 September 1884, p. 2, 9 May 1885, p. 3.

¹²² *Te Aroha News*, 16 August 1884, p. 2.

that some agreed or that economic circumstances compelled the unwilling to enter the Pakeha economy on its terms, as illustrated by the dealings of Maraea Mere Peka and William Hetherington.¹²³

At the end of 1880, Ngati Rahiri were reportedly 'agitating for a road to the Thames'.¹²⁴ As one existed already, they were really seeking to improve it, they presumably to be employed for this task. Timber also provided income; in May 1883 the warden ordered that no timber licenses be issued to Pakeha over two blocks of Maori land 'set apart as timber reserves for certain natives who have small holdings' nearby.¹²⁵ In early 1884 a 'few' were 'employed at bush work'.¹²⁶

Some Maori showed initiative in earning money. For instance, during a race meeting in 1883, 'a Maori, who had brought a wagon-load of watermelons from Paeroa, disposed of them in a manner worthy of a London costermonger'.¹²⁷ Three years later, 'many' were 'busily engaged' preparing to plant potatoes. Those living at the pa had 'already a good deal of ploughing done', whilst a number of others had, 'in a most creditable manner, fenced (post and three rails) in some twenty to thirty acres' alongside the road to Paeroa. They were 'now clearing and burning same, after which it will be ploughed, and as much as possible planted with potatoes'. The newspaper considered it 'pleasant to see the native owners of the soil displaying such practical interest in the improvement of their land', and hoped their labour would be 'amply rewarded by good crops'.¹²⁸ In early 1888, 'many' Maori were employed saving grass seed on a Waitoa estate.¹²⁹ One example of initiative earned a fine of £1 or in default three days imprisonment for a man hawking without a license.¹³⁰

Gum digging was profitable, briefly. In February 1884, the 'Pah Natives' were 'displaying an amount of energy just now, which is certainly far beyond their wont. About twenty of them are gum digging towards

¹²³ See paper on Reha Aperahama.

¹²⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 December 1880, p. 7.

¹²⁵ Harry Kenrick to Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, 17 May 1883, Thames Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 16, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 2.

¹²⁷ *Waikato Times*, 17 March 1883, p. 3.

¹²⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 25 September 1886, p. 2.

¹²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 14 January 1888, p. 2.

¹³⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 5/1894, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

Waitawheta, and many of them are making fairly good wages'.¹³¹ George Stewart O'Halloran,¹³² after failing to make a success of the Hot Springs Hotel on his second attempt, 'gave it up in disgust and determined on again going into the Gum purchasing business, the natives having started digging for that commodity in the ranges'.¹³³ In mid-March, Maori were digging 'some 16 miles distance' from the township, the local newspaper commenting that their 'general impecunious condition' having 'no doubt made this a necessity'. O'Halloran had 'gone into the gum business with a whirl', not only having 'a large number' of Maori digging gum for him but having also 'started a general store at the diggings and put on a team of pack horses to bring in the gum'. Good prices for gum had been obtained recently, 'and we are informed that as much as three quarters of a hundredweight has been obtained by one man in a day; this is surely encouraging. We heartily wish Mr O'Halloran success in his new venture'.¹³⁴ Such was not to be, as O'Halloran recalled:

This necessitated a considerable outlay for Horses Saddles Stores &c, the latter as is usual in the trade I had to give the Natives [on] credit for trusting to be paid in Gum, which I had to pack from their camps in the bush. In this I was also unlucky, losing several Horses owing to the almost impassable state of the tracks and the Natives not obtaining sufficient gum to pay me for Stores &c advanced, so I was reluctantly compelled to give it up.¹³⁵

His involvement had lasted about three months.¹³⁶ Gum digging was next mentioned in late 1888, when 'a good number' of residents of the pa were digging 'in the Wairakau ranges. There are some good patches of kauri gum land in this district'.¹³⁷ In the following January a Waiorongomai correspondent reported a party of Maori having obtained 'about one ton of

¹³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 2.

¹³² See paper on his life.

¹³³ G.S. O'Halloran, Unpublished Reminiscences (1894), p. 125, MS 1345-2, Alexander Turnbull Library.

¹³⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 15 March 1884, p. 2.

¹³⁵ G.S. O'Halloran, Unpublished Reminiscences (1894), p. 125, MS 1345-2, Alexander Turnbull Library [punctuation added].

¹³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 26 April 1884, p. 2, 21 June 1884, p. 2.

¹³⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1888, p. 2.

gum in this district in the course of a few days'.¹³⁸ In mid-1892, 'a number' who had 'been fossicking in the Waiorongomai bush' for two or three weeks 'found a great deal of gum' and made 'very good money'.¹³⁹ There was still a floating population of gum diggers in 1901.¹⁴⁰

Ngati Rahiri grew their own food, but only sufficient for their own needs, judging by a correspondent's concern when King Mahuta and his party stayed for a night in June 1895. 'The natives will probably be severely pinched in their food supplies, owing to this visit, before the spring comes round again'.¹⁴¹ In 1896, Maori in the Piako County had 64 acres sown in potatoes, 46 in maize, ten and a half in other crops, and 185 sown in grass. They had 20 sheep, 60 cattle, and 61 pigs, and eight acres of 'other crops' were in 'common cultivation'.¹⁴² Maori settlements at Mangaiti and Waitoki were included in the Ohinemuri County, and cannot be separated out from the total for this, but their land was farmed. In the following year, a Maori farmer whose address was given as Te Aroha gave a lien on the clip of 700 sheep for money due to a Waitoa farmer.¹⁴³ To assist with transporting their produce for sale, when the railway was extended to Paeroa a station was constructed at Tui Pa.¹⁴⁴

In 1901, after assisting with the census of the Maori population, Gilbert Mair¹⁴⁵ blamed the influence of the King Movement for preventing the development of individualism. Consequently, its supporters compared 'very unfavourably with Natives in other districts as regards cultivation, live-stock, and comfortable dwellings. The Piako County is an apt illustration of this baneful influence'.¹⁴⁶ However, John William Richard Guilding,¹⁴⁷ sub-enumerator for the census in the Piako and Ohinemuri

¹³⁸ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1889, p. 2.

¹³⁹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 20 August 1892, p. 19.

¹⁴⁰ Gilbert Mair to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 18 May 1901, 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 9.

¹⁴¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 June 1895, p. 23.

¹⁴² 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1896, H-13B, p. 13.

¹⁴³ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette of New Zealand*, 14 January 1897, p. 20.

¹⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 19 March 1898, p. 2, 7 June 1898, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ See R.D. Crosby, *Gilbert Mair: Te Kooti's nemesis* (Auckland, 2004).

¹⁴⁶ Gilbert Mair to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 18 May 1901, 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ See paper on his life.

counties,¹⁴⁸ noted that in the latter Maori were ‘cropping their lands most successfully this season’, a comment that might apply to those living at Mangaiti and Waitoki.¹⁴⁹ Their cultivations were susceptible to disease and weather: in 1906, potatoes were destroyed by blight and maize by summer frosts.¹⁵⁰ Other food was available with a minimum of effort, as indicated by a 1909 report that ‘duck shooting was taking place in the vicinity of the Pah lagoon on Sunday afternoon’, over a month before the shooting season opened.¹⁵¹ The census of 1911 revealed that 93 1/4 acres were planted in potatoes, six in wheat, 25 1/2 in maize, and 171 1/2 in other crops. There were 375 acres of sown grasses, and 258 acres of unimproved grasses were grazed. Maori in Piako had 248 horses, 67 cattle, 30 dairy cows, and 80 pigs. The category for food grown communally no longer existed, presumably because little was produced in this fashion.¹⁵²

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

According to a local historian, writing in 1936, in the early days of Te Aroha ‘no small part of the storekeepers’ profits were due to ‘the prolific spending power’ of Maori. ‘Not estimating accurately the value and importance of money as a medium of exchange’, they ‘lavished it foolishly on goods of little use but often of great ostentation’.¹⁵³ Maori understanding of the value of money cannot be determined from contemporary sources, and there was little evidence about what they purchased. Whilst a considerable amount of ‘native revenue’ was being collected, for instance £1,125 18s 6d between 12 October 1895 and 18 July 1896,¹⁵⁴ this did not go to all Ngati Rahiri but to its principal members, especially the Mokena and Lipsey families. As they parted with their interests over time, much ‘native revenue’ was distributed to Pakeha, not Maori.¹⁵⁵ Those receiving rents

¹⁴⁸ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 February 1901, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 February 1901, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *AJHR*, 1906, H-26A, p. 26.

¹⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 23 March 1909, p. 2.

¹⁵² *Results of Census Taken on 2nd of April, 1911*, Appendix A, p. viii.

¹⁵³ C.T. Harris, ‘The Upper Thames Valley’, *Te Aroha News*, 19 June 1936, p. 8.

¹⁵⁴ Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, to Warden, 17 August 1896, with appendices, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, pp. 319-323, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁵ See, for instance, papers on Ani Edwards and Akuhata Lipsey.

were very dependant on them; in September 1897, for instance, they asked for their money to be sent 'as soon as possible'.¹⁵⁶

Whether spent wisely or foolishly, money received from land sales and rents was soon gone, and many had difficulty in meeting debts to storekeepers. For example, in December 1880 a Thames storekeeper successfully sued two Ngati Rahiri for goods valued at £1 17s and £16 1s.¹⁵⁷ Probably because of revenue from the new goldfield, in the following year only two Maori were sued for unpaid debts.¹⁵⁸ In 1882, ten were sued for amounts ranging from £1 13s to £19 2s 6d.¹⁵⁹ The following year, apart from those indebted to Edward O'Brien Moore,¹⁶⁰ as noted below, 13 were sued, the lowest amount being £1 6s 10d, the largest £25 5s 4d, and judgment summonses were issued to enforce payment.¹⁶¹ An indication of how storekeepers' willingness to grant credit enticed Maori into debt, to the detriment of some storekeepers, was the bankruptcy of Moore in 1883. The trustees of his estate sued all those with book debts owing, which included 11 Maori and one 'half-caste'; their indebtedness totalled £173 17s 2d.¹⁶² The following year, there were 22 suits against Maori, the smallest amount sought being 10s 6d and the largest £13 0s 3d.¹⁶³ In 1885 five of these cases

¹⁵⁶ Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, to Warden, 30 September 1897, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Letterbook 1773-1900, p. 432, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁷ Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1881, entry for 16 December 1880, BACL 13737/11b, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 41/1881, BCDG 11221/1a; Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1870-1884, 17/1881, BACL 13818/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, nos. 2, 3, 8, 32, 48, 52, 53, 56, 54; Judgment Summonses dated 31 January 1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁰ See *Thames Advertiser*, 20 June 1873, p. 2, District Court, 6 August 1873, p. 3, 20 November 1877, p. 3, 9 September 1878, p. 3, 30 November 1880, p. 3, 1 April 1881, p. 2, 26 June 1882, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 23 October 1883, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, nos. 84 [at start], 12, 28, 108, 133, 138, 139, 140, 143, 154, 155, 158; Judgment Summonses dated 27 February 1883, 13 March 1883, 10 April 1883, 24 April 1883, 5 June 1883, 4 December 1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 28, 141, 142, 159, 160, 161, 187-190, 194/1883; 28/1884, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶³ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 28, 52-57, 60, 76, 154, 155, 158, 189, 206/1884, Judgment Summonses dated 8 January 1884, 19 August 1884, 28

were still before the court, two judgments being given for plaintiffs and the three other being struck out.¹⁶⁴ Only one Maori was sued in addition to these during that year, by two plaintiffs: the first amount, £1 13s, was paid into court, and the second, for 16s 1d, was not paid as ordered, but the subsequent judgment summons was withdrawn.¹⁶⁵ Only one was sued in 1886, twice.¹⁶⁶ The very few suits from the late 1880s onwards indicated Maori lack of creditworthiness. 1893 saw three judgment summonses with two defendants required to pay their long outstanding debts (£12 13s 11d and £15 11s 6d) within a specified time or be imprisoned for two months for having had the means to pay but not doing so.¹⁶⁷ Alexander Watson Edwards, a draper,¹⁶⁸ may have attracted custom from Maori through his marriage to Ani Lipsey, but he did not make exceptions for them in his conduct of business, in January 1896 suing nine for amounts ranging from 12s 6d to £11 9s.¹⁶⁹

Occasional newspaper comments indicated that tangi were costly. For instance, in 1883 one for a child of Aihe Pepene¹⁷⁰ attracted visitors from outside the district, 'large quantities of food' being 'cooked for their entertainment'.¹⁷¹ By 1915, when a 'tangi on a large scale' was held for William Grey Nicholls,¹⁷² the catering was provided by Pakeha,¹⁷³ creating additional costs.

October 1884, BCDG 11221/1b; Civil Record Book 1884-1889, 206, 231, 232, 239, 240/1884, BCDG 11221/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1884-1889, 28, 60, 206, 231, 232/1884, hearing of 9 June 1885, BCDG 11221/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1884-1889, 73, 81/1885, Judgment Summons dated 22 December 1885, BCDG 11221/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1884-1889, 7, 16/1886, BCDG 11221/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, Judgment Summonses 138-140/83, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁸ See paper on Ani and Alexander Watson Edwards.

¹⁶⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 11-15, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁰ See paper on his life.

¹⁷¹ *Waikato Times*, 24 April 1883, p. 2.

¹⁷² See paper on his life.

¹⁷³ *Te Aroha News*, 16 July 1915, p. 2.

Sometimes visitors staying at the pa stretched its resources. In February 1887, for instance, a 'large number' from the East Coast 'rested for the night'.¹⁷⁴ A month later, the Tohurangi tribe, driven from their homes near Tarawera by the eruption, spent a night there.¹⁷⁵ In early 1884, a correspondent wondered whether the visit of Te Kooti and his 'numerous followers' had left Ngati Rahiri 'impecunious'. Tired of waiting for summer to end, they 'determined to wait no longer for the annual crop of "herrens" [shillings?] and "hickapennies" [sixpences?] which their peach groves bring in. In despair they have commenced to gather the fruit in an unripe state, and large quantities of it in this condition have during the week been hawked about the town'. Presumably this 'premature stripping of the trees' produced little income.¹⁷⁶ The following year, a visit from Tawhiao caused embarrassment because 'from all accounts the natives are rather hard up, for they are barely able to support themselves'.¹⁷⁷

As the goldfield declined and the government changed the rules, those owning land complained at the decline in goldfield revenue, as Wilkinson sympathetically reported.¹⁷⁸ One way to obtain money was to sell their land. In 1898, when Tamati Hutana, otherwise Hutana Karapuha,¹⁷⁹ owed a storekeeper £55 3s 5d, to enforce payment a judgment summons was sought; hearing of the suit was adjourned 'to enable Deft to arrange with his father and creditor as to giving some of the land as payment', and was withdrawn at a later hearing,¹⁸⁰ presumably because the debt had been paid. In 1912, Guilding, acting on his behalf, requested a survey of his two blocks of land, one of 42 and the other of 62 acres, both near the township,

¹⁷⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 19 February 1887, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 19 March 1887, p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 19 February 1884, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 20 June 1889, *AJHR*, 1889, G-3, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 4, pp. 65, 67-68, 75, 77-80, 146-149; no. 19, p. 23; no. 28A, pp. 30, 38; no. 36, p. 128; no. 44, pp. 17-18; no. 46, p. 363; no. 49, pp. 287-288; no. 52, p. 338; no. 53, p. 371; no. 59, p. 304; no. 65, p. 65; *Te Aroha News*, 27 May 1914, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, Judgment Summonses heard on 10 January 1898, 1 April 1898, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

which he wanted to sell or lease.¹⁸¹ Five weeks later, Guilding wrote that Hutana was ‘anxious to know when the survey will take place, the land is valuable near Te Aroha Township and people are anxious to take it up’.¹⁸²

In 1912 a Maori boy aged 14 convicted of stealing about £5 or £6-worth of pennies from an amusement parlour was sent to an industrial school in the South Island for seven years.¹⁸³ His father, Mata Pitapu,¹⁸⁴ was taken to court to be required to contribute to the cost:

Constable Mackle deposed that Mata spent money freely at hotels, and had a horse and buggy. He should be able to contribute towards the keep of the boy.

Mata said he had property at Tauranga, but the block had not been subdivided and was of little value. He had no property here, and worked on his wife’s land, but got no money.

The Magistrate explained that if he worked as he should he should easily be able to pay towards the cost of his son,

who was being taught a trade, and ordered him to pay 5s each week.¹⁸⁵

In 1929, the *Te Aroha News* found the following amusing:

A well known Te Aroha firm wrote to a Maori requesting payment of an outstanding account, and received this reply:

“Dear Sir, -

Sorry. I had five pound but went to the trots and now I have not got five pounds, but next week I will have more money and there is races at Hamilton so maybe I can pay you then.”

What a lot depends on the turf these days!¹⁸⁶

From 1899 onwards, poverty in old age was ameliorated because Maori could apply for old age pensions; between 1899 and 1909 seven local Maori were granted a pension.¹⁸⁷ The right for aged Maori to obtain pensions

¹⁸¹ J.W.R. Guilding to Chief Surveyor, Auckland, 26 October 1912, Aroha Block IX Section 30, Lands and Survey Department, 20/556, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

¹⁸² J.W.R. Guilding to Chief Surveyor, Auckland, 2 December 1912, Aroha Block IX Section 30, Lands and Survey Department, 20/556, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

¹⁸³ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1912, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ Not involved in Te Aroha mining.

¹⁸⁵ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 28 August 1912, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 24 April 1929, p. 5.

¹⁸⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Old Age Pension Claim Register 1899-1909, nos. 30, 31, 37, 74, 81, 104, 105, BBAV 11503/1a, ANZ-A.

prompted a cynical comment by the *Te Aroha News*: ‘We can remember the time when the old and time-worn Maoris were looked upon as of little value, but things have changed since then. The ancient native is nursed and looked upon as a valuable asset, and the way in which he is handled by his friends – on pension day – is a treat to behold’.¹⁸⁸

DEFENDING THEIR INTERESTS, USUALLY BY USING THE LAW

Clearly responding to a complaint, one mining inspector, George Wilson,¹⁸⁹ in May 1888 wrote very forcefully to a timber cutter about bush near the Tui track:

You will please refrain from cutting any timber below the line cut by [Hutana] Karapuha & on which line a rata tree was marked by you at my request this day. Any timber which may have been cut by you below the line mentioned must not be removed by you. The Natives have the sole right to all timber standing or cut from the entrance to the bush up to the rata tree. The Warden has also directed that the Natives may use the road made by you.¹⁹⁰

In 1883, ‘a case of considerable importance’ was before the court when a Maori sued John Coleman¹⁹¹ for £30, the value of two horses. Evidence showed that a farmer had sold the horses after he found them on his farm without first informing the relevant authorities when the owner was not known. Judgment was given for the plaintiff, ‘the amount to be reduced to 1s if the horses were given up within 48 hours’.¹⁹² In 1888 Nathaniel Baskett¹⁹³ was sued for damages of £3 10s for illegally detaining a horse for four days; despite explaining that he took it by mistake and only kept it for a few hours, he was fined £2 7s 6d.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 28 September 1909, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ See paper on his life.

¹⁹⁰ George Wilson to W.E. Beresford, 9 May 1888, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 270, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁹¹ See section on publicans in paper on drink.

¹⁹² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 17 April 1883, p. 2.

¹⁹³ See *Thames Advertiser*, 16 July 1883, p. 2, 1 October 1883, p. 2, 6 June 1886, p. 2, 8 November 1887, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1883, p. 2, 12 July 1884, p. 2, 8 October 1887, p. 2.

¹⁹⁴ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 7 November 1888, p. 2.

A settler in conflict with Maori in 1892 over a road to their camp at Wairakau sent a sketch map to the Commissioner of Crown Lands 'showing where their camp lies'. The road 'lies halfway in their own block' and the route they used went 'through my place instead of through their own', and as they had pulled down his fence recently 'and went where I had some crops', he wanted the road closed.¹⁹⁵

Wharepapa Ngakuru, a son of Te Meke Ngakuru, otherwise 'Mick (Native Policeman)',¹⁹⁶ as he described himself in an advertisement seeking lost horses,¹⁹⁷ in 1899 unsuccessfully sued a Pakeha for the theft of 4s 4d.¹⁹⁸ As such a small amount was involved, this case may have resulted from a quarrel. The following year, Meke Ngakuru sued a farmer for the possession of a cow or £3 10s was non-suited, and next month sued the same person for the same or £5 10s, again being non-suited.¹⁹⁹ Nine years later he sued the borough council for £25 for illegal trespass in erecting pipes for the water supply on his land, but the case was 'Dismissed for want of jurisdiction – abode of defendant not being stated on plaint note'.²⁰⁰ Not deterred by this rebuff on a technicality, he sued once more but settled out of court.²⁰¹

When Hutana Karapuha sued a farmer who owed £16 3s in rent in 1906 the money was paid into court.²⁰² Six years later, his suing of a Maori to recover £6 10s was successful.²⁰³ By the twentieth century, Maori were used the courts in criminal cases, as for instance when two Maori sued over

¹⁹⁵ James Orr to Joseph Orchison, 4 January 1892, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102a, ANZ-A.

¹⁹⁶ See paper on Maori in Te Aroha before the opening of the goldfield.

¹⁹⁷ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 7.

¹⁹⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 23/1899, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁹⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 5, 9/1900, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1907-1911, 35/1909, BCDG 11221/2b, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 24 June 1909, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1907-1911, 54/1909, BCDG 11221/2b, ANZ-A.

²⁰² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 23/1906, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁰³ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1911-1914, 49/1912, BCDG 11221/3a, ANZ-A.

assaults in 1902.²⁰⁴ In 1906 the magistrate determined the custody of the children of a failed marriage.²⁰⁵ And Maori exerted their rights in other ways, as illustrated by a 1908 notice: ‘Impounded in Te Aroha Public Pound and for trespass, by Tamati, the Maori, Tui Pa, 1 Dark Roan Mare’.²⁰⁶

POLITICS

That most Ngati Rahiri were seen as loyal to the Crown was indicated in 1881 by ‘about 15 of them’ being permitted to buy sporting ammunition and gunpowder.²⁰⁷ In that year, Tawhiao tried to weaken their allegiance by inviting some rangatira to his meetings.²⁰⁸ The following year, ‘the chiefs of the Te Aroha district’ were ‘very indignant at the treatment they received’ from the Native Minister, who ‘only stayed with them for a few minutes while horses were being changed, and would not entertain any of those who were ready to deputationise him’.²⁰⁹ Despite this seeming affront, most remained loyal, though one man still living in Te Aroha in 1930 was recalled as being one of the local Maori ‘who, as a protest, late in the day, against the settlement of Europeans in the King Country’, had been involved in the capture of surveyors there in 1883.²¹⁰ At the time, the involvement of any Maori from Te Aroha in this action went unrecorded.²¹¹

In mid-May 1883, Tawhiao ‘telegraphed to the principal Maori chiefs in the Te Aroha district’ that he would visit ‘at an early date’, but then ‘passed through Wairakau en route for Tauranga’ a week later, going via what is now the Tuahu track, ‘there being no natives at Te Aroha to welcome him’,²¹² which may imply a slight. In the following month a much more alarming visitor (for Pakeha) arrived: Te Kooti and 52 of his followers.

²⁰⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 2, 3/1902, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 36/1906, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁶ Public Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1908, p. 2.

²⁰⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 11, 12 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 September 1881, University of Waikato Library; *New Zealand Herald*, 12 September 1881, p. 5.

²⁰⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 28 March 1882, p. 3.

²¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 19 September 1930, p. 9.

²¹¹ See paper on William Morris Newsham.

²¹² *Thames Star*, 14 May 1883, p. 2, 25 May 1883, p. 2.

He was travelling to Ohinemuri to inform members of his religion 'of his conformity with the views of the Government', and expected to, 'and would be glad to meet all old friends, some of them erstwhile enemies, on his tour'. While staying for a time at the pa, he accepted an invitation from John Coleman,²¹³ landlord of the Hot Springs Hotel, to visit the township.²¹⁴ A correspondent recorded this visit, on a Saturday,

accompanied by his body guard of about 50 men. They were very quiet and orderly. Te Kooti was an object of interest, and was interviewed by a number of the residents. The chief, when in Mr Coleman's bar, asked all Europeans present to have a drink; some complied with the request, and others drew the line.²¹⁵

The local newspaper provided more details:

He came in a double-seated buggy with three of his compatriots, a young native acting as charioteer. He was accompanied by a large cavalcade of natives of both sexes, mounted and on foot, but there was little curiosity and no excitement whatever. A few white people went to Coleman's to see him, and some, but not many, drank with the visitor at his expense. He appeared to have plenty of money, and certainly did not present the appearance of the bloodthirsty savage of the past.²¹⁶

When he returned, he again stayed at the pa. 'Though there was no formal korero, he has, throughout his trip, earnestly exhorted the natives to throw over the mock potentate Tawhiao, and obey the Queen's laws'.²¹⁷ Te Kooti revisited early the following February, as the *Te Aroha News* described under the headline: 'A Brown John Falstaff':

The famous - or infamous - chieftain Te Kooti arrived at Te Aroha from Paeroa on Sunday morning last, accompanied by a cavalcade of men, women and children. The equipment of the roving squadron was as motley as that of John Falstaff's celebrated contingent. A few wore the primitive blanket but the majority appeared to have rigged at a second-hand clothes shop. Te Kooti, who insisted in thrusting his delicate classic hand towards every

²¹³ See section on publicans in paper on drink.

²¹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 23 June 1883, p. 3.

²¹⁵ *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 28 June 1883, p. 3.

²¹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 30 June 1883, p. 2.

²¹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 7 July 1883, p. 2.

European he met, wore a light brown suit of fashionable cut and a pair of patent leather slippers. Four or five stalwart natives formed his bodyguard and accompanied him with furtive glances cast around everywhere he went. After two or three hours rest here, the cavalcade remounted and proceeded on its way to Waikato.²¹⁸

Ngati Rahiri fed them during the stopover.²¹⁹ His last visit, this time with about 50 followers, was in mid-1885, when he stayed overnight. ‘Very little notice was taken of him by the European residents’.²²⁰

A month previously, Tawhiao and his ‘suite’ had visited, first living at the pa and then in Mokena’s house while the latter was away. Being ‘a martyr to rheumatism’, he was using the sulphur springs.²²¹ A correspondent gently mocked the ‘titular king of the Maoris’ who was ‘peregrinating from one settlement to another subsisting on the hospitality of his majesty’s devoted subjects’, but at the same time revealed that Pakeha treated him well. When Ngati Rahiri heard Tawhiao ‘complaining of the torture of his malady, they handed him over’ to George Wilson, chairman of the domain board:

Mr Wilson kindly put a bath at the disposal of the noble monarch, into which his attendants deposited him. The remainder of the party unknown to the caretaker found their way to No. 2 bath, which they enjoyed to the exclusion of European visitors for the time being. Tawhiao said it was very nice indeed and that he liked the whole thing immensely, particularly gratified by the liberality of the domain board who put the luxury at his disposal. There is no doubt he recognized the full force of the compliment when it is considered that the local clergymen are not allowed the free use of such a luxury. After a prolonged simmer in the hot water, his majesty was carefully enshrouded in a heap of wrappings, and deposited in a sort of state conveyance. In this manner he was conveyed through the town back to the settlement, his attendants evidently impressed with the grave nature of the whole proceedings.²²²

²¹⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 9 February 1884, p. 2.

²¹⁹ *Waikato Times*, 19 February 1884, p. 2.

²²⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 26 June 1885, p. 3.

²²¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 2; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 30 May 1885, p. 3.

²²² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 3.

‘A worthy pakeha Maori, well known in this district’, meaning George Lipsey, ‘who undertook the duty of introducing the deputations’ to Tawhiao, ‘received a gentle hint that subsidies in the shape of food would be acceptable’. The ‘butchers, bakers, and grocers were soon busily engaged in supplying orders. It is noteworthy that the publicans had no share in the spoil, the king having forbidden the use of anything in the way of strong liquor’.²²³ These supplies were needed because ‘provisions were rather scarce’ at the pa, the residents ‘being “just out” of almost everything’. Lipsey made ‘a substantial present of some potatoes and a fat bullock, authorizing the natives to go out and shoot the latter. There was an awkward mistake, the natives shooting the bullock of the wrong man’, whom Lipsey recompensed. Their poverty meant that Ngati Rahiri hoped Tawhiao would soon move on.²²⁴

Tawhiao ‘derived very considerable benefit’ from using the baths.²²⁵ His party left for Waikato a few days later, ‘highly pleased with the kind entertainment received from’ Ngati Rahiri.²²⁶ He was ‘much benefited by his frequent visits to the baths’, and a correspondent praised him and his followers for their behaviour. ‘During their stay at more than a week in the township and though temptations lay thickly in their way, not a single case of drunkenness was seen or observed among them’.²²⁷ Tawhiao returned later in the year to use the baths once more, and a Maori Methodist clergyman used the opportunity to visit and preach to some of his followers.²²⁸ In mid-1887, Tawhiao’s brief visit caused a ‘considerable stir’ amongst ‘the Natives of this and surrounding districts’.²²⁹ He returned in October that year to stay at the pa with a small group of followers, again seeking a cure for his rheumatism at the baths.²³⁰

In mid-June 1895, Ngati Rahiri were ‘jubilant at the prospect of a visit of the new Maori king’, who, accompanied by 500 followers, would stay for a night on the pa. ‘Both Europeans and Natives are combining to give His Royal Highness a right loyal reception’, the local newspaper capitalizing his

²²³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 30 May 1885, p. 3.

²²⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 3.

²²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 30 May 1885, p. 2.

²²⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 5 June 1885, p. 2.

²²⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 6 June 1885, p. 2.

²²⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 10 September 1885, p. 3.

²²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 4 June 1887, p. 2.

²³⁰ *Waikato Times*, 6 October 1887, p. 3.

title for the first time,²³¹ probably in jest. Some Ngati Rahiri were ‘canvassing for subscriptions towards the expense of entertaining him, and have met with fair success’.²³² An advertisement headed ‘A Word of Thanks’ and signed by ‘Ngatirahiri (Tribe)’ expressed gratitude ‘to the Citizens of Te Aroha for their liberality in subscribing towards the Buying of Food for the Reception’, and listed their names ‘as a token of appreciation of their kindness’. Most of the 33 individuals and firms listed were storekeepers, and included ‘Friend, Te o Hokena’ and ‘Friend, Maata’, presumably Pakeha choosing not to make their names public.²³³ Whatever festivities were associated with the king’s overnight stay went unrecorded, whereas those at Paeroa were given in detail.²³⁴ When Mahuta, ‘known as the King of the Maoris’, revisited in 1911, ‘“the king” was received with due ceremony by Chief Hohepa Tauhou and in the evening a tangi was held in his honour’,²³⁵ a report revealing that the journalist know nothing about tangi and was not impressed with Mahuta’s credentials.

Support for the King Movement continued into the twentieth century. Reha Kau Hau, son of Piahana Hou,²³⁶ stood for the Western Maori seat in 1951 on the platform of establishing a Maori parliament on lines similar to Tawhiao’s plans, meaning it would control everything involving Maori.²³⁷ Despite these attitudes he was ‘loyal’: in 1964 he greeted the Governor General, whose wife was presented with flowers by his granddaughter and a Pakeha girl.²³⁸ Afterwards, on behalf of the ‘Ngati Tumutumu sub-tribe’, he thanked the mayor and councillors for allowing him to participate in the welcome.²³⁹

Little interest was taken in parliamentary elections. In 1884, only six votes were cast in Te Aroha for the Western Maori seat, all for Major Wiremu Te Wheoro,²⁴⁰ formerly an opponent of the King Movement but now

²³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 8 June 1895, p. 2.

²³² *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 June 1895, p. 23.

²³³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 15 June 1895, p. 2.

²³⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 19 June 1895, p. 2, 22 June 1895, p. 2, 29 June 1895, p. 2.

²³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 26 October 1911, p. 2.

²³⁶ See paper on his life.

²³⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 28 August 1951, p. 6.

²³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 20 March 1964, p. 1.

²³⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 24 March 1964, p. 7.

²⁴⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 26 July 1884, p. 2.

its supporter.²⁴¹ Two years later, in a by-election, only eight voted, seven of them for Te Wheoro.²⁴² Many more must have supported the King Movement, for the Piako County was cited in 1901 as an example of its deleterious effects, allegedly keeping Maori 'in a state of turmoil and unrest, with the result that there is no individualism among them' and their standard of living compared 'very unfavourably' with other Maori.²⁴³

In 1885, Ngati Rahiri held a meeting to protest at the proposal to remove Henry Kenrick, the warden and magistrate.²⁴⁴ After his death, they 'evinced their desire to express their sympathy' by attending the local memorial meeting. The *Thames Advertiser* believed they regretted his death because 'their position under his administration was vastly improved to what it was' under his predecessor.²⁴⁵ In November that year, when John Ballance, the Native Minister, held a meeting, 'their speeches were very friendly' but raised 'some old-standing grievances and complaints'²⁴⁶ about free use of all the baths in the domain.²⁴⁷ 'A good number' attended this meeting, at which Ballance 'delivered a most friendly address' that in part referred 'in feeling terms to the death of their chief, Mokena. Several Ngati Rahiri welcomed him, 'making known some small matters they wished set right', which he 'promised to attend to'.²⁴⁸

RELATIONS WITH OTHER HAPU

Ngati Rahiri were involved in the rituals of other hapu, as when taking part in a tangi for the removal of the bones of Wiremu Tamihana of

²⁴¹ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand* rev. ed. (Auckland, 1995), pp. 106, 168, 226, 234, 273-274, 287, 291-292.

²⁴² *Thames Advertiser*, 29 December 1886, p. 2.

²⁴³ Gilbert Mair to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 18 May 1901, 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 9.

²⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2.

²⁴⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 3 August 1886, p. 2.

²⁴⁶ See 'Notes of a Meeting held at Parawai, Thames, on the 12th February, 1885, between the Hon. Mr Ballance and the Hauraki Natives', *AJHR*, 1885, G-1, pp. 37, 39; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 February 1885, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 2.

²⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 May 1886, *AJHR*, 1886, G-1, p. 9.

²⁴⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 14 November 1885, p. 7.

Ngati Haua to Mangakawa in 1888.²⁴⁹ Likewise, other hapu attended important rituals at the pa, known by the 1890s as Tui Pa.²⁵⁰ In September 1896, 'there was celebrated with considerable pomp and circumstance the opening of a new meeting house', attended by 'distinguished representatives of the race' from 'various parts of the island' including Otaki, Hauraki, Paeroa, Coromandel, and Katikati. Ngati Maru, Ngati Kawa, and Ngati Tamatera were all officially represented.²⁵¹

On at least one occasion Ngati Rahiri were involved in disputes outside their territory. In 1881, a large meeting was held at Komata to discuss permitting the construction of a road across this land to link Paeroa with Thames. 'Several of the Te Aroha chiefs intend trying their persuasive power on Tukukino, and, if possible, get him to consent at once to open that portion of the road'.²⁵²

HEALTH

In 1883, a doctor visited sick Maori at Wairakau, and possibly elsewhere, on behalf of the Pakeha lessees, but refused to continue 'without fee or reward'.²⁵³ The following year, a Maori whose leg was broken by being knocked down by a bullock was sent to Thames hospital.²⁵⁴ Aged 70, the compound fracture was treated successfully during his 65-day stay, for which he was not charged.²⁵⁵ Despite this use of Pakeha medical treatment, in that year or the previous one, as Ranapia Mokena²⁵⁶ recalled, one Pita was brought to Hauraki by Ngati Tumutumu 'as a medicine man to cure the sick'; but he would live at Puriri, not Te Aroha.²⁵⁷

In 1886, the domain board was informed by the Native Minister that 'a subsidy towards providing a medical officer for the natives could not be given, owing to their limited number, but thought a grant in aid might be

²⁴⁹ *Waikato Times*, 8 September 1888, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 6 October 1888, p. 2.

²⁵⁰ See *Te Aroha News*, 7 June 1898, p. 2.

²⁵¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 25 September 1896, p. 2.

²⁵² *Thames Star*, 15 January 1881, p. 2.

²⁵³ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 12 May 1883, p. 122.

²⁵⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 6 September 1884, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 11 September 1884, p. 3.

²⁵⁵ Thames Hospital, Register of Patients 1884-1901, folio 3, entry for Peter Kake, YCAH 14975/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁵⁶ See paper on his life.

²⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 24, p. 64.

allowed'.²⁵⁸ Four years later, 'La Grippe', otherwise influenza, was prevalent.²⁵⁹ In 1901, in taking a census of Maori Guilding noted that they 'all seem in good health; they seem to live better than they did some five years ago'.²⁶⁰ The sub-enumerator for the 1906 census recorded their health as being 'very good', having had no epidemic or sickness for 'some considerable time past'. Yet their settlements retained their old-time appearance, with no signs of 'newness nor sign of particular care about their dwelling-places',²⁶¹ which would be a problem during the 1918 influenza epidemic. A Maori who contracted smallpox in 1913 was sent to an isolation camp at Morrinsville, and for the next few months Maori were 'not allowed to visit Te Aroha at all'.²⁶² In 1916, the census enumerator for this and adjacent districts reported no further epidemics since this smallpox outbreak, but 'continual cases of fever and other ailments' had 'taken a steady toll of a race which it is obviously difficult to educate to an appreciation of the laws of hygiene and sanitation'.²⁶³

During the influenza epidemic, the more than 50 residents of Tui Pa were debarred from entering Te Aroha, 'for the natives are unfortunately specially prone to catch the disease, and once established in the kaiangas the influenza will take sad toll of the inhabitants'. Two of their leaders obtained 'necessary commodities' from the township, without having personal contact with them. When news came that five Maori had died at Waitoki Pa, midway between Te Aroha and Paeroa, the mayor sent a doctor and arrangements were made to transfer the remaining eight 'to Paeroa for remedial treatment'.²⁶⁴ Residents of Tui Pa were treated at a temporary hospital at Paeroa because of Te Aroha's 'too parochial' spirit. A Pakeha nurse supervised the 'splendid work' with the 'willing assistance' of

²⁵⁸ Domain Board, *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1886, p. 3; Domain Board, *Te Aroha News*, 12 June 1886, p. 3.

²⁵⁹ *Waikato Times*, 3 June 1890, p. 2.

²⁶⁰ 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 11.

²⁶¹ 'Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, 1906, H-26A, p. 10.

²⁶² New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1903-1917, 49/1913, BADB A303/12; Peter Gilchrist to President, Waikato-Maniopototo District Maori Land Board, 9 October 1913, Aroha Block IX Section 24, Block Files, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BCAC A102/5172, ANZ-A.

²⁶³ *Results of Census Taken on 15th of October, 1916*, Appendix A, p. xi.

²⁶⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 20 November 1918, p. 2.

volunteers, and another visited all the Maori settlements.²⁶⁵ The *Te Aroha News* noted that those assisting Maori were ‘not infrequently discouraged by the manner in which the natives slip back into their own ways as soon as the Pakeha’s back is turned’, citing the example of a feverish Maori, told to remain in bed and keep warm, who ‘plunged in for a swim. Although this is a time-honoured Maori remedy for colds’, it was ‘not the correct method of curing influenza’ and he ‘was dead within 36 hours’.²⁶⁶ A week later, its editorial on ‘unsanitary Maori settlements’ called for ‘drastic reform in our methods of dealing with the Maori race’. It did not know whether it was ‘from sentiment’ that there was ‘a reluctance to upset’ their ‘customs and traditional habits’, but knew they had adopted ‘many European customs’ that, combined with their ‘particular style of living’, made them ‘easy prey to every disease there is’. As their unsanitary settlements were ‘a serious menace’ not only to Maori but also to Pakeha living in proximity or having contact with them, these ‘plague spots’ should be removed. Maori were ‘free to adopt whatever European habits he likes – too often, unfortunately, with disastrous results to himself’. They should ‘submit to the same sanitary laws’ as Pakeha, and it wanted the temporary ban on tangi imposed because of the epidemic to become permanent. It asked why Maori should ‘be permitted to live in a hovel, far too often amid squalor and filth that is nothing but a hot-bed for every disease known’. Typhoid was unavoidable whilst Maori were allowed to obtain water

from any well or hole that will yield it. For all this the Maori cannot be blamed, but his white brother is undoubtedly sadly to blame if he allows it to continue. The time for sentimental nonsense that the Maori customs cannot be interfered with is past, long past, and to safeguard the health and well-being of Maori and white alike immediate measures are demanded to improve the sanitary conditions of Maori settlements.²⁶⁷

In March the following year, the county council agreed with the suggestion of the Tauranga Hospital Board that all Maori pa be

²⁶⁵ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 November 1918, p. 2.

²⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1918, p. 2.

²⁶⁷ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 13 December 1918, p. 2.

inspected.²⁶⁸ To prove the need for this, in November several children at Tui Pa contracted typhoid.²⁶⁹

Bad housing conditions continued during the twentieth century. In December 1927, a health inspector and a nurse visited the 'shacks' provided for his Maori employees by the Pakeha owner of the Stoney Creek quarry 'to carry out wholesale disinfection, owing to an outbreak of Scabies'. The shacks were 'in a deplorable condition', and even if repaired would not be fit for habitation:

These places are of one or two small rooms with a stud height of about 7ft, and are built of any old timber. There are no windows or floors in some of them, and in most of them the roofs leak. In the majority the boards are open between the joints and it is necessary to have sacks and other material hung on the walls, to try and keep out the weather and draughts. In some the only window is a sliding panel of wood.

'Knocked up as temporary dwellings' about four years previously, there was no sanitation or drainage, 'and some of the employees have as many as six children in about a ten by twelve shack'.²⁷⁰ The following January, an inspection of the 11 huts revealed earthen floors, leaking roofs, and unlined walls that were not weatherproof, partly because of holes. Some were without windows (just 'holes in walls'), one had 'no door – an opening only', another had a roof 'of packing case wood & packing case tin lining', and one was constructed mainly of 'kerosene tins & casewood'. There was 'no water laid on to the huts, no drainage from them, & no privy accommodation of any kind – they probably pollute their own water supply, a creek'.²⁷¹ The Medical Officer of Health's recommendation that they be demolished as unfit for human habitation was carried out within a month.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 17 March 1919, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁶⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 November 1919, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ Inspector of Health, Thames, to Medical Officer of Health, Auckland, 19 December 1927, Health Department, BCAA 1900/346d, ANZ-A.

²⁷¹ H.B. Turbott, Memorandum for Ministry of Health, Auckland, 17 January 1928, Health Department, BCAA 1900/346d, ANZ-A.

²⁷² Medical Officer of Health to Town Clerk, Te Aroha, 25 January 1928; Town Clerk, Te Aroha, to John Clarkin [owner of the huts], 9 February 1928, Health Department, BCAA 1900/346d, ANZ-A.

It should be noted that some Pakeha also lived in rotting and dirty houses without sanitation but with a plentiful supply of rats, requiring either immediate repair or demolition.²⁷³ Poor housing, and therefore related health issues, continued to be a problem: the 'deplorable housing conditions' of some Maori were described and lamented in 1949.²⁷⁴ The following year, some of those in the county were being re-housed; three families had 'really deplorable' houses.²⁷⁵ A 1953 editorial complained about the poor standard of Maori houses, but blamed occupants for not looking after them. 'Many Maoris in this district have land of their own but very few, if any, ever build new homes of a standard type'.²⁷⁶

In the early 1930s, Wharepapa Ngakuru²⁷⁷ became a healer. Refusing payment, he cured hundreds of Maori and Pakeha both locally, 'cycling from place to place', as well as in Auckland.²⁷⁸

EDUCATION

In November 1882, the Te Aroha school included four Maori children aged from eight years four months of age to 11 years and two months, and one 'half-caste', Augustus Lipsey, aged five years five months.²⁷⁹ The following year, only two children, different ones, attended: one aged eight and a half, who had attended for three months by November, and a 14-year-old, who had attended for one month.²⁸⁰ Nine half-castes, from the Guilding, Lipsey, Nicholls, and Smallman families, were attending in November 1884.²⁸¹ One from the Nicholls family and two Lipseys attended in 1885,

²⁷³ Inspector of Health, Thames, to District Health Officer, Auckland, 16 September 1919; Inspector of Health, Thames, to Medical Officer of Health, Auckland, 27 May 1921; Medical Officer of Health to Town Clerk, Te Aroha, 1 June 1921; Senior Inspector of Health, Thames, to Medical Officer of Health, 9 May 1923, Health Department, BCAA 1900/346d, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁴ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1949, p. 4.

²⁷⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1950, p. 5.

²⁷⁶ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 4 July 1953, p. 4.

²⁷⁷ See *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1949, p. 4.

²⁷⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 15 June 1932, p. 5, 29 June 1932, p. 1, 22 August 1932, p. 1, 9 January 1933, p. 1.

²⁷⁹ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1882, YCAF 4135/7a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁰ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1883, YCAF 4135/10a, ANZ-A.

²⁸¹ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1884, YCAF 4135/13a, ANZ-A.

along with three Maori, one of whom was still in the Infants class despite being aged ten.²⁸² Two Lipseys and two Maori attended in 1886.²⁸³ Another child from the Nicholls family was attending in December 1887, along with two new entrants from the Lipsey family and one Maori.²⁸⁴ The following year, several half-castes attended, but the only Maori enrolled attended just over half the days in the month to early July and had left by the end of the year.²⁸⁵

Records have been lost for 1889, but in 1890 the oldest child in the school was a Maori, aged ten years and four months; the next oldest Maori was seven and a half. According to class lists for November that year only one other Maori, Aihe Pepene's daughter, attended, and 11 half-castes.²⁸⁶ In fact, others were enrolled during the year, but, as was common, many did not remain for very long, as illustrated by the children of Meke Ngakuru. One, aged 10, enrolled on 14 August but left on 3 December, and a 12-year-old enrolled on 6 October but left seven days later.²⁸⁷ Wharepapa, aged 7, enrolled on the same day, left four days later, re-enrolled in February 1892 and left again in September; a sibling who had enrolled on the previous day left in July 1893, whilst another who enrolled a week later left in October.²⁸⁸ On 13 June 1893, Wharepapa re-enrolled, to leave on 7 July, for the last time.²⁸⁹ In 1891 only half-castes and Aihe Pepene's daughter attended, and she, aged ten years and one month in December that year but still in Primer 1, had left before the end of the next year, when only half-castes were enrolled.²⁹⁰ Apart from six Maori children in 1893, three in 1894, and two in 1895, only half-castes attended for the remainder of the

²⁸² Te Aroha School, Class Lists for October 1885, YCAF 4135/16a, ANZ-A.

²⁸³ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1886, YCAF 4135/19a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁴ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for December 1887, YCAF 4135/23a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁵ School Committee, *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1888, p. 2. Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1888, YCAF 4135/24a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁶ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1890, YCAF 4135/27a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁷ Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), nos. 665, 671, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁸⁸ Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), nos. 673, 758, 759, 767, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁸⁹ Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), no. 845, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁹⁰ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for 1891, YCAF 4135/30a; Class Lists for 1892, YCAF 4315/34a, ANZ-A.

1890s.²⁹¹ The attendance of the children of Rewi Mokena and Aihe Pepene in 1895 was ‘Irregular and unpunctual’.²⁹²

More Maori children attended during the twentieth century, although because a new school was erected at Mangaiti in 1905 the Te Aroha one lost ‘a number of Maoris and other scholars’.²⁹³ As Maori preferred to send their children to this school, in 1930 they opposed its closure because many Maori families lived alongside the main road and others lived on the far side of the river, being canoed across to school. If children helping with milking missed the bus to Te Aroha, they would lose a day’s schooling. A settler recalled being present when this school was opened, and ‘the bond of fellowship created by Maori and Pakeha children attending the same school was remarkable’. He said Maori ‘all preferred the country schools, one reason being perhaps that the parents could not afford to dress their children as were fitted at the bigger centres’.²⁹⁴ Another probable reason, not mentioned, was the higher proportion of Maori pupils.

In the twentieth century, Pakeha authorities took steps to ensure that Maori children were educated; for instance, in 1907 when the truant officer sued one father for failing to send his child to school, he was fined a modest 2s.²⁹⁵ At the high school prize-giving of the following year, ‘special mention was made of the aptitude for free hand drawing and elementary design displayed’ by two Maori boys, one in Standard 1 and the other in the Primer Department, who were ‘awarded special prizes’.²⁹⁶ Whether Maori were fully versed in the three R’s was questionable, for although many could read and write this was not always to a high level, as indicated by a letter that amused the *Te Aroha News* in 1918: ‘Thus writes a Maori recently to a well-known local purchaser of pigs:- “We let you know today I have few big for sell. If you have time to come, come Wednesday, to see the young big. By Korry, might not be, I sol for you prenty rittie big soon, suppose I got a rot

²⁹¹ Te Aroha School, Class Lists for 1893-1899, YCAF 4315/37a, 4135/41a, 4135/45a, 4135/46a, 4135/47a, 4135/49a, 4135/42a, ANZ-A.

²⁹² Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1895, YCAF 4135/45a, ANZ-A.

²⁹³ *Te Aroha News*, 21 September 1905, p. 2; for examples of Maori and half-castes moving to this school, see Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 3 (1898-1904), nos. 1602, 1603; Admissions Register no. 4 (1904-1918), nos. 1835-1836.

²⁹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 16 May 1930, p. 7.

²⁹⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 98/1907, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 19 December 1908, p. 3.

ruck” ’.²⁹⁷ The age of the writer was not revealed. (As shown in the papers on William Nicholl, Thomas Gavin, and Henry Hopper Adams, some prominent Pakeha miners also had difficulty expressing themselves in written form.)

RELIGION

Apart from the active involvement of members of the Mokena family in the Church of England,²⁹⁸ other Maori were not mentioned as participating in religious services, apart from an 1881 report of a number attending the soiree for the opening of the Wesleyan church. They had ‘seemed quite delighted with the arrangements (especially the pastry department)’.²⁹⁹ In 1884, when almost all Te Aroha Maori were Christian, Mokena preached a weekly service at the pa.³⁰⁰

The first recorded arrival in Te Aroha of a Mormon missionary was in late January 1883. Alma Greenwood had walked from Paeroa, where nobody would give him and his companion, one Williams,³⁰¹ any food, arriving at six o’clock. ‘We commenced to plead and beg for food and lodgings’, but after being refused by six people paid for a bed for the night at a restaurant. There was no hall in which to hold a meeting, but they handed out some tracts. ‘The people will not feed us, therefore, we cannot stop and preach to them’, and they left for Cambridge.³⁰² It appears they had tried to convert Pakeha; when they concentrated on Maori their preaching fell on much more receptive ears. In December 1886, the local newspaper reported ‘a considerable stir and revival in religious matters’ produced by what were clearly Mormon missionaries:

It appears two clergymen, having a thorough knowledge of the native language, and who it is stated came from Rotorua, arrived at the pah at the beginning of the present week and spent several days in discoursing with the natives respecting the necessity of preparing for another world, the uncertainty of human life, and

²⁹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 16 January 1918, p. 2.

²⁹⁸ See papers on Mokena Hou and his family.

²⁹⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 August 1881, p. 3.

³⁰⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 7.

³⁰¹ *Waikato Times*, 8 February 1883, p. 2, 10 February 1883, p. 2.

³⁰² Diary of Alma Greenwood, entries for 26, 27 January 1883, Brigham Young University Papers, MS 4292, folder 16, Alexander Turnbull Library.

on spiritual matters generally, and were listened to with great attention. They also, when some of the natives expressed a wish to be baptised in the manner so common amongst the Christian churches, explained to them that the baptism taught in the Bible meant total immersion, by which the Saviour Himself had set an example to be followed by all believers. They further explained in simple language their views by saying the former baptism by merely sprinkling the face with water they did not agree with, as when one portion of the body died all the rest died with it, &c &c. The result of the visit was that some twenty of the natives (in fact all then at the pah, with the exception of three) were baptised by immersion in the river in true Baptist fashion. These missionaries urged the natives to be industrious and sober and to entirely avoid strong drink.³⁰³

In October 1888, three 'Mormon preachers' were 'spreading their doctrines to the Maoris at the Pah, who, it is said, receive their teaching with much favour'.³⁰⁴ The first to enter the church, in December that year, was Rewi Mokena. By December 1900, 51 Maori at Te Aroha and two at Waiorongomai, including children, had been baptized. For some reason, no confirmations were held until May 1900.³⁰⁵ By mid-1893, Te Aroha was such a centre of this religion that Maori from settlements between Waipa and Raglan attended a Mormon meeting there.³⁰⁶ At the beginning of January 1896 'several' elders were at Te Aroha, spreading a faith that reportedly had the allegiance 'of upwards of 3,500 natives in the colony'.³⁰⁷ Just over a year later, when the president of the church in the Hauraki district was being farewelled at Te Aroha, Omahu, and Kirikiri (near Thames) before his return to America after two years of proselytizing, there were 175 Mormons in this district. Kirikiri had 45 members, nearly all the residents.³⁰⁸ 'About 60 or 70' attended this service in the church 'recently

³⁰³ *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1886, p. 2.

³⁰⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 13 October 1888, p. 2.

³⁰⁵ Church of Latter Day Saints, Register of Baptisms and Confirmations in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, entries from December 1888 to December 1900, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

³⁰⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 7 June 1893, p. 2.

³⁰⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 7 January 1896, p. 2.

³⁰⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 27 February 1897, p. 2.

built' by Maori and capable of seating 200, and several hymns 'were splendidly sung in Maori'.³⁰⁹

In early 1899, trains took Maori from Te Aroha and elsewhere to a large Mormon meeting at Kirikiri.³¹⁰ 'During the past week', it was reported in late July, Tui pa was visited by 'a quartette of Mormon elders, who appear to take great interest in the welfare of the Maoris'.³¹¹ In September, several elders were 'labouring amongst the Maoris in the Te Aroha district', and were planning to hold a public service.³¹² When one was held in the public hall in January 1900, it was noted that several Mormons had been 'labouring amongst the Maoris in this district for some time past'.³¹³ Mormons were not so newsworthy in later years, except when, as in 1908, large meetings were held at the pa.³¹⁴

Being a Mormon did not prevent drunkenness, as the lives of Reha Aperahama, Maraea Mere Peka, and others indicated. A Mormon labourer was arrested for being drunk in 1893.³¹⁵ Several prominent believers, including rangatira, were excommunicated, although usually restored to the church a year later; out of 53 baptized between December 1888 and December 1900, 17 were excommunicated, three for adultery, one 'by own acts', and the remainder for unspecified reasons.³¹⁶ Of the six who obtained posts in the church between 1886 and 1900, four were excommunicated, 'through sin' in one case, the others for unrecorded reasons. One, Rewi Mokena, was later restored to the priesthood.³¹⁷ One of Piahana Hou's sons, recorded by the church as being born in 1897, was baptized as a Mormon when aged ten, but excommunicated 'through sin' at an unspecified date, before and probably because of the circumstances of his wedding; in 1912,

³⁰⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 March 1897, p. 29.

³¹⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 11 February 1899, p. 4.

³¹¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 July 1899, p. 2.

³¹² *Thames Advertiser*, 8 September 1899, p. 2.

³¹³ *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1900, p. 2.

³¹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 9 July 1908, p. 2.

³¹⁵ Armed Constabulary Force, Register of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 6/1893, in private possession.

³¹⁶ Church of Latter Day Saints, Register of Baptisms and Confirmations in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, entries from December 1888 to December 1900, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

³¹⁷ Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Ordinations to the Priesthood in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

when he gave his age as 16, he was married in the Tui Pa meeting house by the rites of the Church of England.³¹⁸ Others also dropped their new faith for an older one. A son of Te Meke Ngakuru, when arrested for assault in 1904, said he was a Mormon.³¹⁹ The following year, he was drunk and disorderly,³²⁰ another indication that he, like so many others, did not follow all the precepts of their faith. When he assaulted the daughter of Rewi Mokena in 1910, his religion was recorded as Church of England.³²¹

In the early twentieth century, the Anglican Church revived its efforts to gain Maori adherents. It started from a very small base, for in 1902 only two Maori communicants lived in the district.³²² The first baptism recorded as taking place in Tui Pa (and the only one before this register ended in 1937) occurred in December 1907,³²³ and two years later a female teacher at the high school started a Sunday School class there. ‘The first visit was paid on Sunday last, and augers well for its ultimate success’, according to the local newspaper, but no more was heard of her endeavour, and she left to teach in Auckland in 1912.³²⁴ Also in 1912, a Maori living at the pa was buried under the rites of the Church of England, as were some children in later years.³²⁵

³¹⁸ Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 90M, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Marriage Certificate of Reha Piahana Hou, 4 May 1912, Maori Marriage Register, Piako, 1908-1943, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

³¹⁹ New Zealand Constabulary, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, no. 5, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

³²⁰ New Zealand Constabulary, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, no. 24, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

³²¹ New Zealand Constabulary, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, no. 146, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

³²² Church of England, Register of Baptisms in Waikato District 1837-1902: Maori: 1902, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

³²³ Church of England, Register of Te Aroha Baptisms 1908-1937, no. 1463, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

³²⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 9 November 1909, p. 2; ‘Burrator Weekly News’, 27 July 1912, 3 August 1912, printed in Ted Axford, *A Childhood in Te Aroha 1907-1913* (Wellington, 1992), p. 52.

³²⁵ Church of England, Te Aroha Burial Register 1889-1934, nos. 219, 233, 260, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

In 1892 one Maori described his religion as 'Hau Hau'.³²⁶

HORSE RACING

Maori enjoyed racing their horses, and Pakeha enjoyed watching them doing so. At the first race meeting, held in February 1881 'on the Native course below the township', Maori from Thames attended.³²⁷ The two Maori Races were not major events, for the winning horses would only receive £5, whereas the lowest prize for the other races was £15 and the highest was £75.³²⁸ The horses raced had to be 'owned and ridden' by Maori, and it cost 10s to enter; only three horses competed, the same one winning both races, which 'caused some amusement, as Maori races usually do'.³²⁹ According to the son of an early settler, 'the highlights' of these events 'were the impromptu Maori races put on between those on the programme. Everyone rode his own horse and rode to win'.³³⁰ Presumably, therefore, although Maori Races were not listed in the official programmes in later years, these occurred spontaneously. One in 1883 attracted three starters.³³¹ According to the *Waikato Times*, 'not a few' Maori attended a race meeting later that year; the *Te Aroha News* expressed the same point differently: lots of 'happy-go-lucky Maoris' attended.³³² 'A strong contingent of Maoris' attended the 1890 meeting, and in the hack race held in February 1900 a Maori-owned horse won.³³³

SPORT

Sporting contests were a good way for Maori and Pakeha to mingle. In the first athletic sports at Waihou, held in January 1881, the race for boys

³²⁶ Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 1/1892, in private possession.

³²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 February 1881, University of Waikato Library; *Waikato Times*, 8 February 1881, p. 2.

³²⁸ *Thames Star*, 7 February 1881, p. 3.

³²⁹ *Thames Star*, 9 February 1881, p. 2, 10 February 1881, p. 2; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 9 February 1881, p. 3.

³³⁰ Recollections of Frederick Marychurch Strange, *Te Aroha News*, 30 April 1948, p. 2.

³³¹ *Thames Star*, 17 March 1883, p. 2.

³³² *Waikato Times*, 1 December 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 1 December 1883, p. 2.

³³³ *Te Aroha News*, 19 March 1890, p. 2, 13 February 1900, p. 3.

under 14 years old ‘was won by a half-caste lad, to the great delight of the Maoris’. A Pakeha won a ‘well contested’ running high jump against a man named Rapana. ‘There was a stiff contest for the prize offered for vaulting with the pole’, won by ‘a native lad’.³³⁴ In the Boxing Day Sports of 1883, a Maori won the under-16 boys’ race.³³⁵ The regatta in November 1886 included a swimming match, in which ‘Joe (Maori)’ came last of the four competitors; no other Maori was involved in either swimming or rowing.³³⁶ Twelve years later, in the sports held to celebrate the opening of the Cadman Building on the domain, ‘Mick (Maori)’ was second in both the 150-yard Maiden Race and the high jump.³³⁷ In 1901, one Maori easily won a challenge race against a Pakeha for £50, as well as the 150-yard handicap; he had earlier won several races at the Parawai sports.³³⁸ In 1910, a ‘Maori Sports Meeting’ to be held at Waiorongomai was shifted to Lipsey’s paddock at Te Aroha, where they ‘had a big time’.³³⁹

Rugby was always popular. In 1895, two members of the Lipsey family and four Maori playing for the Te Aroha team against neighbouring ones, plus ‘Morgan’ (Rewi Mokena?).³⁴⁰ By 1898, Augustus Lipsey was captaining the team.³⁴¹ Four other Maori played, either for Te Aroha, the Suburbs, or for both teams when Volunteers played Civilians.³⁴² In 1909 one played for Waiorongomai.³⁴³ One who played ‘consistently and well’ for Te Aroha in 1918 was noted as being ‘well worth his place’.³⁴⁴ In 1935, Wharepapa Ngakuru and another rangatira were elected vice-presidents of the Waikato-Maniapoto Rugby Football Advisory Board.³⁴⁵

³³⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 January 1881, p. 17 [the sports were incorrectly reported as being held at Waitoa].

³³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 29 December 1883, p. 2.

³³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 13 November 1886, p. 2.

³³⁷ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 May 1898, p. 2.

³³⁸ *Thames Star*, 25 May 1901, p. 2.

³³⁹ *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 21 April 1910, p. 2, 19 May 1910, p. 2, 4 June 1910, p. 2.

³⁴⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 5 June 1895, p. 2, 15 June 1895, p. 2, 22 June 1895, p. 2, 3 July 1895, p. 2, 10 July 1895, p. 2, 14 August 1895, p. 2, 31 August 1895, p. 2.

³⁴¹ *Te Aroha News*, 18 June 1898, p. 2.

³⁴² *Te Aroha News*, 28 April 1898, p. 2, 2 June 1898, p. 2, 9 June 1898, p. 3, 16 June 1898, p. 3, 7 July 1898, p. 2.

³⁴³ *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1909, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1918, p. 2, 10 July 1918, p. 2.

³⁴⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 12 April 1935, p. 4.

VOLUNTEERS³⁴⁶

Two half-castes, James Gordon³⁴⁷ and Akuhata Lipsey, enrolled in the Te Aroha Rifles in 1892.³⁴⁸ In November 1897, Rota Haate enrolled, giving his occupation as 'settler'.³⁴⁹ In 1901, two Maori farmers enrolled in this corps, now known as the Piako Mounted Rifles, and another two in 1902.³⁵⁰ Three others enrolled in 1903, two being flaxmillers, and the other, Wharepapa Ngakuru, a farmer.³⁵¹

None of these volunteers participated in the First World War. Two half-caste sons of Guilding volunteered, one leaving for the war in the Te Aroha Contingent of 1914 and the other training in 1917 before being called up in the 1918 ballot.³⁵² In the latter year, two Te Aroha Maori were balloted to serve overseas.³⁵³

DRINK

Wilkinson, who had close personal (indeed, intimate) contact with many Maori,³⁵⁴ stressed in 1880 that it was important that Ngati Rahiri's cultivations, residences, and the pa be kept inalienable, for they were 'a most reckless and improvident people, having no thought at all for the future, and with a few exceptions' were 'much given to drunkenness'. They did not think of the future either for themselves or their children, and

³⁴⁶ Apart from James Gordon, none of those listed had any involvement with mining.

³⁴⁷ See paper on his life.

³⁴⁸ Te Aroha Rifles, Parade Register 1892-1903, nos. 3, 52, MS 2000/69, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³⁴⁹ Te Aroha Rifles, Nominal Roll to 28 February 1898, Army Department, ARM 41, 1911/66t, ANZ-W.

³⁵⁰ Piako Mounted Rifle Volunteers, Nominal Rolls to 28 February 1902, 28 February 1903, 19 February 1904, Army Department, ARM 41, 1911/66x, 1911/66y, 1911/66z, ANZ-W.

³⁵¹ Piako Mounted Rifles, Nominal Roll to 29 February 1904, Army Department, ARM 41, 1911/66z, ANZ-W.

³⁵² *Te Aroha News*, 12 August 1914, p. 2, 16 November 1917, p. 2, 5 July 1918, p. 2.

³⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 5 July 1918, 4 October 1918, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ See paper on Mereia Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

should not be allowed to lose their lands.³⁵⁵ Three years later, he wrote that they did not have ‘a good character as regards sobriety’, being ‘particularly’ noted ‘for habits of intemperance’. During the past year, prohibition orders had been issued against three of them.³⁵⁶ In December that year, an editorial in the *Te Aroha News* (a newspaper which supported temperance) claimed Maori were ‘quickly drinking themselves off the face of the earth’. Maori ‘in and around our own township’ came ‘in two or three times a-week, and always by some means or other get sufficient liquor to make them nearly all drunk, some of them disgustingly so. Then follow rows and fights and other glorious exhibitions’. It wanted prohibition orders ‘most vigorously’ enforced. Only by ‘strict measures’ might some ‘be rescued from the fate that now appears to await them’ of ‘becoming a drunken and lazy lot of public-house loafers, useless to themselves and to every body else, and a monument to the thoughtful Government they live under’.³⁵⁷ This outburst was prompted by a spectacle recounted on the same page:

No doubt it is as easy to make a fish live out of water, as to keep Maoris from drinking grog; at any rate they always manage to get it somehow around town. Last Saturday was no exception to the general rule, and for a time things were very lively. On one side of the road could be seen two of the gentler sex in close, but not loving, embrace. Near them a hard fight was going on between a couple of males – father and son – each of whom had hold of the bridle of a horse about which they were disputing. The agility the young man displayed as he tried to place his foot on the fourth button of his pa’s waistcoat, should have been seen to be understood. In the end one of the onlooking Maoris – who was also “not well,” but who had little to do with the row – was run in, whilst the man who was at the bottom of the whole business rode quietly away on the “bone of contention,” and once more there was a deal of peace.³⁵⁸

At the subsequent court hearing, the man ‘run in’, fined £1 or six hours imprisonment for being drunk and disorderly, ‘elected to take it out’. His wife, charged with being drunk, ‘was confined during the sitting of the

³⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson to Under Secretary, Native Department, 10 December 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

³⁵⁶ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 6.

³⁵⁷ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.

³⁵⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.

Court'.³⁵⁹ That Maori could abstain from drink was indicated by the tangi for Mokena, whose strong temperance views meant that 'not a drop of strong liquor in any form was allowed', as the local newspaper noted. 'To their credit be it said, not a native during the time exhibited any sign of liquor'.³⁶⁰ A Pakeha visitor wrote that the tangi 'passed over with the greatest decorum'.³⁶¹

In October 1880, when arranging for the possible opening of a goldfield, Warden Kenrick urged the immediate sending of police to Te Aroha 'for the security of the settlers from the vagaries of drunken natives or miners'.³⁶² Publicans made plenty of money from Maori, sometimes illegally, as when William Dibsell³⁶³ was fined £5 for selling liquor on a Sunday 'to certain natives not being bona fide travellers'.³⁶⁴

The native policeman was examined, and his evidence went to show that he had cautioned defendant against supplying liquor to the natives in question, but he disregarded the warning.- Two native women deposed that they had been supplied with drink by defendant on the day in question, while in a state of intoxication.- His Worship said that under the new Licensing Act publicans in out-lying districts were not supposed to supply liquor to natives under any circumstances. He did not wish to enforce this rule too stringently, so long as they did not sell to natives who were already under the influence of drink.³⁶⁵

Few Maori were arrested for drunkenness, probably because they were usually drunk at the pa rather than in the township. Until his discharge at the end of August 1889, the Maori policeman, Meke Ngakuru, dealt with drunks at the pa without arresting any apart from Maraea Mere Peka in

³⁵⁹ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.

³⁶⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 7.

³⁶¹ Ida Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 6 July 1885, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, p. 119, Auckland Public Library.

³⁶² Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Gold Fields, 22 October 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 12/353, ANZ-W.

³⁶³ See paper on his life.

³⁶⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 1/1882, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

³⁶⁵ Te Aroha Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 January 1882, p. 3.

1881 and another one in 1884.³⁶⁶ Pakeha policemen arrested any who were drunk and disorderly in the township: three were arrested in 1881, one in 1882, three in 1883, two in 1884, one in 1886, three in both 1888 and 1889, two in 1893, but no more before the new century.³⁶⁷ The few Maori arrested for public drunkenness thereafter were far outnumbered by Pakeha. An Irishman arrested in 1900 for being ‘Disorderly while drunk at “Tui Pah” ’ failed to pay his 5s fine and was imprisoned for one day with hard labour.³⁶⁸

Maori fondness for drink was a Pakeha stereotype; for example, a 1904 *Observer* cartoon of three ‘Te Aroha Townies’ included ‘The Thirsty Native’ saying ‘My froat try’.³⁶⁹ Numbers fitting this image were diminishing if Guilding was correct when reporting, after taking a census in 1901, that ‘in many cases’ Maori were ‘abstaining from drink’.³⁷⁰ Presumably the increasing influence of Mormonism was relevant. Guilding had noticed the same trend in the Ohinemuri County: ‘the influence of drink once so noticeable’ was ‘now conspicuously absent’.³⁷¹ This was not the view expressed by a Methodist minister seven years later: ‘Our own streets in Te Aroha are frequently disgraced by visible drunkenness amongst the natives. With all the restrictions upon Maori drinking, and the illegality of supplying women, we are shocked at the exhibition we have of feminine drunkenness’.³⁷²

Probably the name of the man organizing a Maori sports meeting in 1910, Brandy Hui Hui, indicated his liking for strong drink.³⁷³ During that year a woman was ‘badly hurt’ in ‘a drunken brawl with two companions. The trio were driving along Whitaker Street in a cart and indulged in a

³⁶⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 4/1881, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 44/1884, in private possession; Brian Walters, *A History of the Waikato Police: 1886-1986, New Zealand police centenary* (Hamilton, 1986), p. 16.

³⁶⁷ Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, nos. 8, 10, 14, 34; 7, 18, 19/1883; 31, 44/1884; 42/1886; 33, 38, 40/1888; 33-35/1889; 1, 6/1893, in private possession.

³⁶⁸ Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 18/1900, in private possession.

³⁶⁹ Cartoon, *Observer*, 24 December 1904, p. 16.

³⁷⁰ ‘Census of the Maori Population’, *AJHR*, 1901, H-26B, p. 11.

³⁷¹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 February 1901, p. 3.

³⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 3.

³⁷³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 21 April 1910, p. 2.

heated argument which resulted in the woman being thrown overboard, and her face lacerated'; a doctor 'attended to the injuries'.³⁷⁴ 'Unbiased', who observed this 'disgusting' drunken brawl, wrote that there was 'far too much drunkenness, especially amongst Maori men and women'.³⁷⁵ The two women who wounded their companion were convicted of using threatening language and ordered to pay costs, £1 15s.³⁷⁶ The newspaper report of 'the recent drunken brawl and hair-pulling contest' recorded their lawyer asking the magistrate 'to take into consideration the excitable nature of the natives'. He may have, for after pointing out 'the great harm they were doing to themselves' through heavy drinking and asking 'the accused to endeavour to abstain from such', as 'the disgrace of being brought into Court was far greater punishment than any fine', he did not impose one.³⁷⁷ The *Te Aroha News* applauded this 'straight talk and sound advice as to their excessive drinking habits'.³⁷⁸ Drink was blamed for an 'affray' two months later, when a Maori had tried to jump on the train as it left Tui Pa station. When the guard, fearing an accident, took hold of him 'to help him down', he was struck so severely on the ear that 'severe bleeding' was caused.³⁷⁹

These events prompted the *Te Aroha News* to publish a special article on the licensing law and Maori, in an edition now lost. 'Spectator' applauded its views, agreeing about 'the nuisance' which Maori, 'aided and abetted by some degenerate whites', were creating. He regretted it was almost impossible to detect 'those worthless persons' who brought alcohol from the hotels to Maori.³⁸⁰ A month later, in reporting a haka at the celebrations marking 50 years of the goldfield, the newspaper wished it 'could be demonstrated without the lubricant apparently necessary to set them in motion', as was implied had occurred.³⁸¹

In January that year, the *Te Aroha News* had opined that it was 'high time some steps were taken to prevent Maori women from getting so much

³⁷⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 31 May 1910, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ Letter from 'Unbiased', *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1910, p. 3.

³⁷⁶ *Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1918*, 38/1910, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

³⁷⁷ Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1910, p. 2.

³⁷⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1910, p. 2.

³⁷⁹ Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 25 August 1910, p. 3.

³⁸⁰ Letter from 'Spectator', *Te Aroha News*, 20 October 1910, p. 3.

³⁸¹ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1910, p. 2.

intoxicating liquor. Someone deserves gaol for this sort of thing, and the sooner they are dealt with the better'.³⁸² Possibly encouraged to act by both prompts and displays of public drunkenness, in November a Pakeha and a Maori were both fined £2 for 'Unlawfully supplying liquor to a female Maori not being married to a European'.³⁸³ Another Pakeha was fined £1 for 'Supplying liquor to a Native' two years later.³⁸⁴ But alcohol continued to be provided and drunken Maori continued to be seen in public places. In 1914 a drunken labourer was 'found in a helpless state of drunkenness in Whitaker Street'.³⁸⁵ One month later, a Pakeha was caught putting 'liquor in a native cart. He had done it very openly, but the practice was frequent', the constable stated. 'Maori women got hold of the liquor and became a nuisance'.³⁸⁶ In July 1915, a Maori, fined two months previously for being drunk, was charged with supplying liquor to others. 'Sergt. Wohlmann said the offence was a serious one, and one which the police wished to stamp out in Te Aroha'.³⁸⁷ A drunk Maori was killed near the pa by a train two years later.³⁸⁸ That wartime restrictions on drinking hours provoked discontent was indicated by the newspaper's attempt to record 'Maori English': 'Thus a local native: " By gorry him his o'crok crosing no good, might be, me knock off four o'crok now. Me work five o'crok, no time for te boose" '.³⁸⁹

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century Pakeha continued to be fined for supplying beer to Maori.³⁹⁰ In 1930, a letter to the editor queried why Maori were not permitted to buy liquor 'for his own private consumption in his home?' He considered Maori would much prefer this 'instead of being a regular frequenter of the hotels', where he tried 'to fill his internal two gallon barrel with four gallons in the quickest possible time'. If

³⁸² *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1910, p. 2.

³⁸³ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 73/1910, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 101/1912, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁵ New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, 8/1914, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 25 February 1914, p. 2.

³⁸⁶ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 18 March 1914, p. 2.

³⁸⁷ New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, 34/1915, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 16 July 1915, p. 3.

³⁸⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 7 March 1917, p. 2, 9 March 1917, p. 3.

³⁸⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 7 December 1917, p. 2.

³⁹⁰ For instance, *Te Aroha News*, 7 May 1925, p. 5.

not allowed the same privileges ‘as his European brothers’ he would ‘always indulge in an overdose of alcoholic beverages and be jeered at by passers-by’.³⁹¹

CRIME

The first criminal offence recorded, in December 1880, was very minor: a Maori who entered the warden’s office and ‘swore an unnecessary oath’ in his presence ‘was promptly fined 1s’, which ‘he paid like a man’.³⁹² The first person to be arrested and taken to the lock up, then not a building but a tree stump,³⁹³ was one Heta, who was charged in the middle of that month with ‘Malicious injury to property breaking & sinking the punt at Te Kawana running across Waihou river’.³⁹⁴ He had the honour of being the only case heard in the first sitting of the police court. Evidence was presented that, after placing two horses on the punt, during the crossing ‘accused tickled the animals, causing them to become restive, and in prancing about they knocked the railing off the punt, and otherwise damaged it. On reaching the river bank the punt filled and sank, and considerable difficulty was experienced in raising it’. Despite denying he had tickled the horses, he was convicted and fined £2, the cost of repairs.³⁹⁵

Physical conflict between Maori and Pakeha was rare, and did not always lead to prosecution. For instance, in December 1882 the Waiorongomai *Observer* Man commented ‘That Maori must have seen stars after the blow from Tim’.³⁹⁶ The only Maori accused of assault in 1881 pleaded guilty and paid his fine.³⁹⁷ The next criminal charge (apart from several for drunkenness) was in 1887, when a 14-year-old ‘quarter-caste’ (the police were always careful to note such details) was accused of stealing a horse from the Maori policeman. After being discharged, he admitted to

³⁹¹ Letter from ‘Haurangi’, *Te Aroha News*, 8 January 1930, p. 1.

³⁹² *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 20 December 1880, p. 2.

³⁹³ See account of how the alleged murderer of Hamiona Haira was secured in chapter on the Te Aroha murder.

³⁹⁴ Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 1/1880, in private possession.

³⁹⁵ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 18 December 1880, p. 3.

³⁹⁶ ‘Waiorongomai’, *Observer*, 23 December 1882, p. 234.

³⁹⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 6/1881, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

stealing a horse from a Maori woman and was fined £4, four times its value, but was not convicted on the charge of stealing a mare from another Maori.³⁹⁸ The following year produced a dramatic affray:

About three o'clock on Monday a considerable commotion was caused at the Palace Hotel through Mr [George] Ebert,³⁹⁹ the landlord,⁴⁰⁰ attempting to eject a troublesome native, named Reweti Kohika,⁴⁰¹ or Long Davie, as he is generally called. The native threw Mr Ebert and had him down. John Medhurst and several others came to rescue him, other Maoris then joined in, and a number of blows were freely exchanged from both sides, one of the pakehas using a chair very effectually, and inflicting a nasty cut upon the head of a Maori named Kau [Piahana Hou], who bled profusely. When the police arrived the natives gave Medhurst in charge for assaulting Kau.⁴⁰²

According to the local newspaper, this 'disturbance of a rather serious nature' was between 'about half a dozen natives from the Omaha Pah and some Europeans'. Its cause was 'a debate on the relative worth of the Maori and the Pakeha, which was taken up with much vigour, particularly by the dark-skinned brethren, some of whom claimed the best of the argument and demanded drinks from their opponents'. When the Pakeha refused, 'both sides became very noisy', and the landlord, fearing trouble, 'called a separation'.

The whites and Maoris accordingly betook themselves to separate rooms, the former going into the big room whilst the latter were relegated to the bar-parlour. Peace remained until the white man's quarters were invaded by a Maori rejoicing in the appellation of Long Dave, who wished to be sociable to the extent of a pint of beer. After a while the occupants of the room went

³⁹⁸ Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 5-7/1887, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 6-8/1887, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 2 April 1887, p. 2.

³⁹⁹ Neither he nor the others mentioned in this fracas, apart from Kau (=Piahana Hou) were involved with Te Aroha mining.

⁴⁰⁰ See *Thames Star*, 6 May 1892, p. 2; *Auckland Star*, 9 April 1900, p. 6; *New Zealand Herald*, 24 July 1905, p. 4.

⁴⁰¹ Spelling of his name corrected by use of official records.

⁴⁰² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 25 October 1888, p. 2.

into the passage, when they were again molested by the other natives. A disturbance followed, in the course of which the landlord was thrown down and trampled upon, and a native was struck with a chair, inflicting a scalp wound of a very ugly nature.

After the police arrived and marched 'two of the delinquents' to the lock-up, the chemist treated the wounded Maori. 'The fracas of course created a considerable amount of excitement, such scenes being of a very rare occurrence in the township'. In the subsequent court case, Medhurst pleaded not guilty of causing a disturbance, the sergeant said the wounded Maori had pointed to Medhurst as having inflicted the wound, and four Maori gave evidence 'of a very conflicting nature'. (The evidence concerning Piahana Hou is given in the paper on his life.) Ebert then gave evidence:

The Europeans were having drinks, and the Maoris were annoying them, asking them to shout. He told them to leave the white men alone, and leave the bar. They all complied except a man named Davey. He (Davey) followed them into a private room, and one of the men tried to put him out; but he would not go. The Europeans entered the passage and they were again annoyed. He told Davey he must go to the bar-parlour or leave the house. He said he would [do] neither.

Ebert tried to push him out, but when he got him to the back door Rewiti 'drew his sheath knife', which Ebert threw outside. In the following scuffle, Ebert was kicked on the knee and chin when on the ground. 'Some lamps were broken'. Rewiti pleaded guilty to being drunk and disorderly and refusing to leave the premises, and stated that both groups 'had all been drinking freely during the afternoon, and they all got very noisy'. He 'did not know how the knife came out, as it was fixed tightly behind him'.⁴⁰³ The charge against Medhurst was dismissed, and Rewiti was discharged with a caution. The magistrate 'appeared to be of the opinion that both parties were deserving of blame, in that the native had received a fair amount of punishment in the treatment he got during the scuffle'.⁴⁰⁴ He was particularly critical of Ebert for giving everyone 'liquor until they were drunk'.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ *Te Aroha News*, 24 October 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁴ *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 25 October 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 24 October 1888, p. 2.

The following month, ‘two turbulent natives from Ohinemuri’ were gaoled for a night before being convicted of being drunk in charge of a horse and resisting two Pakeha policemen.⁴⁰⁶ Despite one of them striking ‘the native Constable several times’,⁴⁰⁷ he was not charged with this offence.

An ‘amusing scene’ of ‘three persons marching down the street in single file’ that seems to have involved Maori but which did not reach the courts was observed by the *Observer* Man in 1890. ‘The leading man was observed to be the Copper, carrying a swag; the second a female, who I understand had run away through bad treatment; and in the rear was a man of higher rank, with a large stock-whip in his hand’.⁴⁰⁸ Two years later, a Maori accused of ‘cruelly ill-treating a horse by flogging it with fencing wire’ was fined £2.⁴⁰⁹ A minor example of criminality in 1900, presumably by a member of Ngati Rahiri, was notable for the penalty imposed, as explained by the *Observer*:

Maori J Ps are keen on stiff penalties. At a recent sitting of the Land Court at Te Aroha, a quarrel arose between two litigants, and one of them called the other an unparliamentary name, for which he was summoned later on to appear before a native J P. The case was heard last week, and after some evidence the defendant was fined £11 7s 6d. What a glorious thing for the surplus if we had a Maori J P or two to try the pakehas cases.⁴¹⁰

In the twentieth century, a few Maori were convicted for being drunk, disorderly, and violent,⁴¹¹ but their behaviour was not exceptional. What was exceptional, from a Pakeha perspective, was the support Maori gave to offenders. When three Maori, including Wharepapa Ngakuru, otherwise

⁴⁰⁶ *Waikato Times*, 15 November 1888, p. 2; Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 38, 41/1888, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 55-58/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁰⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 14 November 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 26 July 1890, p. 18.

⁴⁰⁹ Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 1/1892, in private possession.

⁴¹⁰ *Observer*, 10 November 1900, p. 15.

⁴¹¹ For example, in 1905: New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, 24/1905, BADB 11355/1a; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 1/1905, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 5 October 1905, p. 2.

Wharepapa Meke, 'an old offender', were tried for threatening behaviour in 1908, 'nearly every Maori' belonging to the pa, 'both young and old, put in an appearance'. The *Te Aroha News* believed this was 'an old Maori custom, and dies hard'.⁴¹² Another old custom, wife beating, coupled with his earlier offences earned Wharepapa one month of hard labour in prison.⁴¹³

Outside the Palace Hotel one Saturday night in 1911 occurred another rare example of violence between a Maori and a Pakeha:

The latter was not inclined to fight but was content with standing his antagonist on his head in the gutter twice in quick succession. This, however, failed to quieten the coloured man who, forgetting the conformed rules of fisticuffs succeeded by foul means in laying his opponent insensible on the ground. Not content with this he attempted to kick his opponent, but was prevented in time by some of the bystanders.⁴¹⁴

Despite this ill treatment, the Pakeha did not complain to the police. Two years later, a drunken Maori labourer who resisted and assaulted a constable was fined £5, in default seven days imprisonment.⁴¹⁵

The first sex charge was in 1916, when two sons of Piahana Hou, aged 22 and 30, 'both well known in this district', were charged with indecent assault and carnal knowledge of a girl aged between 12 and 16, but as the evidence was insufficiently robust, the case was dismissed.⁴¹⁶ Four years previously the younger brother had created great interest amongst schoolchildren by leaving school (from Standard 3) to get married. A 14-

⁴¹² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 22, 23/1908, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A; Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 7 May 1908, p. 2.

⁴¹³ *Te Aroha News*, 11 August 1910, p. 3.

⁴¹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 21 February 1911, p. 2.

⁴¹⁵ New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, 2-4/1913, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

⁴¹⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1913-1918, nos. 74-77, BCDG 11220/2b; New Zealand Constabulary, Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1902-1917, 42, 46/1916, BCDG 11355/1a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 5 July 1916, p. 2, 17 July 1916, p. 2.

year-old Pakeha schoolboy believed he was aged 15 or 16;⁴¹⁷ he was in fact 16, as was his bride.⁴¹⁸

CONCLUSION

When Reha Kau Hau (otherwise Reha Piahana Hou),⁴¹⁹ a son of Piahana Hou, was married in 1912, a photograph of the wedding party dressed in Pakeha clothing in front of the meeting house at Tui Pa and with an Anglican clergyman as celebrant was published with a caption noting the ‘gradual adoption of European customs. In the steady absorption of the Maori race, old customs are vanishing’, for the wedding ‘was accompanied by all the rites observed by Europeans’.⁴²⁰ Amongst their newer customs was professing loyalty to the powers that be; when the Governor visited in 1899 and ‘a suitable address’ was being prepared by the mayor it was noted that the Maori residents would ‘also be represented and will doubtless present His Excellency with a few words of welcome’.⁴²¹

Nevertheless, Ngati Rahiri retained some customs and to some extent their own space, not only at Tui Pa but with having their own cemetery nearby.⁴²² But it was a decaying and unhealthy space. In 1937, with the approaching centenary prompting communities to create permanent memorials, the *Te Aroha News* considered the finest local proposal had been made by ‘a lady subscriber’ who proposed building a model pa ‘on the site of that dilapidated settlement’ known as Tui Pa:

⁴¹⁷ Ted Axford, ‘The Burrator Weekly News’, 6 July 1912, printed in *A Childhood in Te Aroha 1907-1913* (Wellington, 1992), pp. 45-46.

⁴¹⁸ Church of England, Maori Marriage Register, Piako, 1908-1943, entry for 4 May 1912, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton; this age is confirmed in Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 90M, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

⁴¹⁹ The Te Aroha and District Museum has photographs of him in later life.

⁴²⁰ *Weekly Graphic*, 19 June 1912, p. 21; for the identity of the bridegroom, see Church of England, Maori Marriage Register, Piako, 1908-1943, entry for 4 May 1912, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

⁴²¹ *Thames Star*, 19 April 1899, p. 4.

⁴²² For instance, Church of England, Te Aroha Burial Register 1889-1934, no. 337, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

Here today we have a population of Maoris varying from thirty to fifty, and confined in less than a dozen small and ill-built whares. Being beyond the Borough they are practically denied modern facilities, which means a continual menace to the town from a hygienic point of view, should an epidemic ever occur, apart from being distinctly unfair to the inhabitants themselves. What could be better from the tourist point of view – and Te Aroha prides itself on possessing its status – that is to see a decently drained Pa, or other Kainga with carved lintels to the gateway and neat well-built whares therein. Here the natives would be given a new start in fresh, healthy surroundings, and if we are any judge of the Maori nature there would be a ready response on their part to keep it clean and take a pride in the place. Already there is a local Rangatira, who could perhaps be asked to take charge and answer for the good conduct of his people, who would be expected on their part to live up to the new standard, and on special occasions and holidays provide native entertainment for tourists and visitors.

To those who might argue that, being in Ohinemuri County, the pa was no concern of Te Aroha, it responded that the township was where they shopped, worked and sent their children to school. ‘Surely there is some responsibility the town owes in return, and in doing such will benefit itself as a resort for a model Pa so adjacent to the town would be a unique attraction which would have a special fascination for overseas visitors’. Providing ‘fresh water, drainage and other town facilities would make a wonderful difference’, inexpensively, ‘for the structures themselves would only need to be of the simplest nature’.⁴²³ Nothing resulted from this plan to create a tourist trap by smartening up both the pa and its inhabitants. However, in the 1970s Ngati Rahiri were fund-raising to renovate the old band hall that they had bought in 1967 with the intention of turning it into a meeting place for all, with a marae to be established later.⁴²⁴ In 1980, the marae committee of Tui Pa was planning to erect a new meeting house to replace that burnt down in 1919; nine hapu would be involved.⁴²⁵

Well before the twentieth century, Ngati Rahiri lived in financially straightened circumstances, and for most this did not change. For instance, all the judgment summonses issued in the 1920s were for small sums,

⁴²³ Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 9 April 1937, p. 4.

⁴²⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 13 April 1972, p. 1.

⁴²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 5 August 1980, p. 1.

ranging from £1 3s 6d to £10 13s 6d.⁴²⁶ However, as individuals gained skills, their income increased. A few learnt the skills of mining, notably Murray Hemopo, who after working in the Tui mines for Norpac became a hero of the rescue effort at the Kaimai tunnel cave-in of 1970.⁴²⁷

Through the sale of their land, failure to obtain highly-paid employment because of poor educational achievement, and what Belich described as ‘swamping’, meaning ‘the massive outnumbering of a shrinking or static Maori population by a growing Pakeha one’,⁴²⁸ Maori here as elsewhere were marginalized. In 1935, a local historian mentioned that they were seen in Te Aroha ‘only on Farmers Days, or when the meetings of the Native Land Court take place and they can participate in the litigation they love’.⁴²⁹ They continued to be a part of the community, but a subordinate part with little impact on Pakeha society apart from social friendships and some intermarriage. Maori had dominated the area before 1880, but the discovery of gold, the draining of the swamps, and the development of a modern capitalist society quickly displaced rangatira from any semblance of power. As the ‘romantic’ aged rangatira died their successors were not treated with the same respect by Pakeha, who regarded Tui Pa as an example of an outmoded way of living that had to be brought into the modern world.

Appendix

Figure 1: Burton Bros, ‘Maori Whares Te Aroha’ [at Omahu pa], 1884, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

Figure 2: Meeting house named ‘Hinerupe’, n.d., Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

⁴²⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Record of Judgment Summonses 1894-1928, 25/1920, 20/1921, 40/1922, 23, 36/1924, 30/1926, 42/1927, BBAV 11222/2a, ANZ-A.

⁴²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 12 September 1978, p. 4.

⁴²⁸ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders: from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Honolulu, 2001), p. 249.

⁴²⁹ C.T. Harris, ‘The Upper Thames Valley’, *Te Aroha News*, 19 June 1936, p. 8.



Figure 1: Burton Bros, 'Maori Whares Te Aroha' [at Omahu pa], 1884, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.



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