

KEEPA TE WHARAU: A NGATI RAHIRI RANGATIRA

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## KEEPA TE WHARAU: A NGATI RAHIRI RANGATIRA

**Abstract:** *Keepa Te Wharau's whakapapa linked him, unusually, to both Ngati Maru and Ngati Haua. Through these connections he was associated with the Te Aroha district from an early age, visiting it on several occasions and even cultivating there, briefly. When the block was before the land court he gave evidence – though his evidence in a later succession case was clearly wrong, deliberately so. Having interests in several blocks of land, he falsely claimed not to have received money for the Aroha Block, using the excuse of drunkenness, for which he was before the court on several occasions. He would sell land, as would his children, to meet living expenses. He invested in two goldfields, Thames and Te Aroha, very modestly. A leading rangatira, he was notable for his loyalty to the Crown.*

### HIS LIFE BEFORE THE FOUNDING OF TE AROHA

Keepa (sometimes Kepa) Te Wharau was born in about 1841, according to the age he gave in 1880.<sup>1</sup> According to the ages recorded when he was buried, he was born either in 1827 or 1836.<sup>2</sup> The latest date was the most likely, for in 1871 he described himself as having been 'a youth' in 1856.<sup>3</sup> Born at Puriri, his father was Te Wharau, who was 'partly' Ngati Haua, with whom he had lived for 'some time'.<sup>4</sup> Keepa thought his father was the only member of Ngati Tumutumu 'connected with' Ngati Haua. 'At the time of the war', presumably referring to Taumatawiwi and the subsequent conflicts, 'he was a kind of mediator. He went between the parties'.<sup>5</sup> Keepa described himself as being a member of Ngati Maru, Ngati Haua, Ngati Tumutumu, and Ngati Teruinga.<sup>6</sup> In 1876 he gave the whakapapa that entitled him to be an owner of the Aroha Block:

Te Ruinga

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<sup>1</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 14/1881, in private possession.

<sup>2</sup> Church of England, Coromandel Register of Maori Burials 1885-1925, entry for 6 December 1885, 1091; Coromandel Register of Maori Baptisms, Marriages, and Births 1874-1904, no. 105, 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

<sup>3</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 215, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 213, 215, 222.

<sup>5</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Books, no. 2, p. 243; no. 3, pp. 181, 183.

Te Awe

Te Rangitumamao

Koropango

Roki

Te Aorangi, a woman, who married Haua of Ngati Haua

Te Wharau, his father, who married his mother, Takoto, 'a slave from the South'.<sup>7</sup>

When Rihia of Ngati Haua gave Okeroa to Te Wharau as a wife, as he was part-Ngati Haua 'Te Wharau gave an eel weir called Te Maire to her brothers. Okeroa was a N. haua'.<sup>8</sup> Clearly she was a second wife, not Takoto under another name. Other ancestors were Paritu and Pareraukauro.<sup>9</sup>

In 1869 he told the hearing of the Aroha Block that 'I was a small boy when I first saw this land, my uncle brought me on to it'.<sup>10</sup> Two years later, he was sent by the Ngati Maru living at Te Aroha to ask Ngati Haua and Waikato whether they intended to occupy that contested place.<sup>11</sup> He told the rehearing held in that year that when he was 'a youth' he left Puriri to travel to Ngati Haua territory. 'I went in reaping time to Matamata I cultivated wheat and returned when the wheat was well up'. He dated this to before when Te Konorehua 'stole the powder from Kawau (1856)'.<sup>12</sup> He had been accompanied by two Ngati Haua, Porokuru and Te Awaawa. 'Tioriori's sister gave me a canoe at Parapara above [William] Nicholls' place'.<sup>13</sup> It was given through aroha, as was flour provided by Ruihi. On his return down river from Matamata, his party slept at Waiharakeke in the house of another Pakeha Maori, Albert James Nicholas.<sup>14</sup> When they continued down river to Waiotahi, at Thames, Porokuru pointed out the land near Te Aroha belonging to Ngati Maru, information that he had obtained from Te Wharau.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 182.

<sup>8</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 183.

<sup>9</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 182.

<sup>10</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 184.

<sup>11</sup> Special Commissioner, 'The Opening of Ohinemuri', *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1871, p. 3, 16 May 1871, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 218, where the island was recorded as Kauwau; this quote repeated his statement on p. 215.

<sup>13</sup> See paper on William Nicholls.

<sup>14</sup> See paper on Maori land in Hauraki.

<sup>15</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 216-217.

After this I went back to Matamata, about the commencement of the war at Taranaki. We remained at Matamata four weeks. I went by Piako. I came back by way of the Aroha. I came by land this time. I remember the part of the road at Manawaru – the foot and horse road joined there. A man going by that road would not see the cultivations at Manawaru. They are on the side of the stream. The road is a considerable distance off by the edge of the swamps, the bush intervenes. There is a belt of forest between which hides the view. I point out on the map the line of road I came by. A man of N. haua, named Hoani Te Heihei came to guide us. Te Pepene was with me.<sup>16</sup> We came to Manawaru and slept there. Hoani asked me to get permission from my elders for him to have Manawaru for a cattle and sheep run I replied that we were but youths; it would rest with the elders. We came on to Waipuaka, Paharakeke. There we met the children of Mohi Pane, of N. maru. They were living and cultivating there. We crossed the river, and they asked us to go to their settlement to sleep. We slept there and came on to Hauraki the following day. Hoani had returned from Manawaru.<sup>17</sup>

Ngati Haua wanted to run cattle and sheep at Manawaru ‘because the place was handy for getting cattle to market’ as ‘there were Europeans living at Hauraki who would buy them’.<sup>18</sup> Keepa himself had sold cattle to two Pakeha settlers.<sup>19</sup> He knew where the best land was, and gave more details of the attempt of Ngati Haua and others to acquire it.<sup>20</sup> When questioned, he gave a detailed description of the countryside.<sup>21</sup>

Keepa recalled who were cultivating on the Aroha Block, ‘at the time of the Taranaki war’, at Totoro ‘near the mouth of Te Ruapa, on the East side of the Waihou’. He ‘saw those people there cultivating wheat and potatoes. There were cultivations at Mataura, Kawakawa, and Ohaeanga’, as well as at Waipuia, the future Hot Springs Domain. Kawakawa was ‘a large cultivation extending to Waipuia’, and he named those living there.<sup>22</sup> There were ‘many, about 40’ people living at Te Aroha when he first visited. His second visit was ‘shortly after the first time, about the time of Taranaki

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<sup>16</sup> See paper on Aihe Pepene.

<sup>17</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 217; see also pp. 219, 212.

<sup>18</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 222.

<sup>19</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 224.

<sup>20</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 217-218.

<sup>21</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 219.

<sup>22</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 215.

war'.<sup>23</sup> 'I went there first to cultivate after the Shortland township was formed. It was a short time before the Court at Cambridge. I went to Omahu', the Ngati Rahiri pa, 'and Tunakohoia', a nearby stream where he may have had a whare. 'I used to go there and stay four weeks or so, and then come back to Hauraki, and so on up to the present time. I came now from Shortland'.<sup>24</sup> In 1869 he said he had 'been to the Aroha 6 times'.<sup>25</sup> Two years later he stated that, 'when I first went to Omahu I saw a cultivation of N. maru at Matauraura', and he named those living there.<sup>26</sup> Under questioning, he confirmed that he had 'first planted' at Omahu 'when the Hauraki gold was first opened' at Thames. He saw Harata Nicholls, daughter of William, running pigs there, and had lived near her uncle Te Wharenui's house.<sup>27</sup> 'I never had a house on it. When I came to cultivate on the land I lived in the house of Rihia's people' at Te Aroha. 'I have made many eel weirs in the streams on this land'.<sup>28</sup>

When the first hearing about the Aroha Block was to be held at Cambridge in 1869, he was at 'Hauraki' and 'was deputed by the tribes to go with Pineha to stop it (got it adjourned)'.<sup>29</sup> Later he left Omahu (at Te Aroha) to attend the subsequent hearing at Matamata. His party broke the journey catching 'a great many' eels at Te Ruapu, near Omahu, most of which they left behind, for the only food they took to the hearing were 'biscuits – a light load'.<sup>30</sup> Under questioning, he explained that 'if a visitor had taken his own food, the tangata whenua would be disgraced'.<sup>31</sup>

When we returned from the Matamata Court we made a clearing at Manawaru. I saw houses there when I went to the Court occupied by Tauaru and his brother in law, I saw them when I came back. Parties in a canoe could not see the houses from the river, nor could they be seen by anyone going along the road.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 218.

<sup>24</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 213-214.

<sup>25</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 243.

<sup>26</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 214.

<sup>27</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 223. This statement confirmed his briefer evidence given in 1869: Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 244.

<sup>28</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 184.

<sup>29</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 214.

<sup>30</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 220-221.

<sup>31</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 225.

<sup>32</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 214.

As with other rangatira, not all his evidence should be taken as accurate, for in at least one case it was false. In 1883, he gave evidence about successors to Mere Peka Tutuki in Section 49 Block XII of the Aroha Block, part of the Wairakau reserve, on behalf of Horea Hitari and the seven children of Mere Peka Tutuki, one of whom was 'Maraea Te Wharau', his wife. Horea, 'the child of a cousin' of the deceased, had, he stated, been promised by Mere Peka 'that he should succeed to a share of her interest in this block along with her own children'. Immediately it was objected that 'Horea's relationship to the family was very distant; and that she had never heard of the promise to him that was now alleged'. Keepa then produced 'a paper' dated April the previous year 'purporting to be a notification to Mr [George Thomas] Wilkinson [the 'native agent']<sup>33</sup> that the deceased desired Horea to be admitted as a successor', and continued his evidence:

I was present when this paper was written, and saw Mere Peka affix her mark. – Reha [Aperahama]<sup>34</sup> & Te Meke [Ngakuru]<sup>35</sup> put their names at the time, having seen her do so; - Rihia Te Kauae signed it subsequently, - the evening of the same day: he had not been present when she signed the papers; but Mere Peka wished his name to be attached to it, as further evidence of her signature.

The clerk noted: 'Apparently, - of a verbal acknowledgement & confirmation of the document'.

I cannot say who drew up the paper; - I saw it being written; I am not sure, but I think it was Hohepa Tauhou who wrote it out. Each of the witnesses personally signed it.

I wrote Mere Peka's name, - but not the body of the paper.

Mere Peka's husband, at present at Te Aroha, was present. Others also were present, and saw the signature; but I do not see any of them here....

[Witness was here furnished with pen and ink, and desired to write the name "Mere Peka Tutuki". A letter bearing the signature of Hohepa Tauhou, and apparently in the genuine handwriting of Hohepa, was also produced for comparison.]

Keepa Te Wharau desired to withdraw the name of Horea Hitari.

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<sup>33</sup> See paper on Mere Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

<sup>34</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>35</sup> See paper on Maori Te Aroha before the opening of the goldfield.

The Court expressed itself far from satisfied at the genuineness of the document produced; and allowed the name to be withdrawn.

Those who had opposed Keepa's attempt to make Horea Hitari a successor became trustees for the three children who were under age.<sup>36</sup>

## LAND OWNERSHIP

In 1868, Keepa was recognized as an owner of Kauaeranga Nos. 5, 5A, 8, and 12.<sup>37</sup> When the first plan of the Aroha Block was made in 1873, he was noted as being one of the applicants.<sup>38</sup> At the end of the year, he became an owner of Waihekau No. 4,<sup>39</sup> near Waitoa. In 1876, the court awarded Orongomairoa, abutting the Aroha Block on its western boundary,<sup>40</sup> to rival claimants, but gave him an interest.<sup>41</sup>

When the Aroha Block was carved up in August 1878, Keepa asked James Mackay 'to give him some bush land and Mr Mackay gave him 30 acres', comprising Section 29 Block IX. He 'built a wooden house adjoining this block' at Omahu, where he received an additional 100 acres.<sup>42</sup> His family was allotted 'a large interest', 300 acres, in the Wairakau reserve.<sup>43</sup> The native agent, George Thomas Wilkinson, noted that he caused trouble when the subdivision began in 1881 by wanting changes made to the northern and southern boundaries and the back line brought lower down

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<sup>36</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 15, pp. 33-35.

<sup>37</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books no. 1, pp. 151, 153, 158; no. 2, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Plan of Aroha Block, 1873, ML3062, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

<sup>39</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 114.

<sup>40</sup> See map appended to 'Waiharakeke and Hungahunga Blocks (Further Papers Relating to the Purchase Of)', *AJHR*, 1883, G-8.

<sup>41</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 196.

<sup>42</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 30; for other details and plans of his portion of land, see Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 101; Te Aroha Block, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W; Plan of Omahu Native Reserve, Te Aroha, December 1880, SO2796; see also SO11529 for 1899 plan showing this land, near the Tui Track, DOSLI, Hamilton.

<sup>43</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 30; Te Aroha Block, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W; Plan of Wairakau Native Reserve, June 1879, ML1968, DOSLI, Hamilton.

the hills; his requests were over-ruled.<sup>44</sup> He was one of the four owners of the reserve provided for Ngati Rahiri at Manawaru, owning 200 of its 616 acres.<sup>45</sup> In 1883 he succeeded to his deceased son's interests in two Aroha blocks.<sup>46</sup>

He was made an owner of Ohinemuri No. 20C, of 500 acres, in 1884.<sup>47</sup> In 1906 it was recorded that he had had an interest in 100 acres at Poverty Bay but that Maori living at Te Aroha had forgotten the name of the block.<sup>48</sup>

## INCOME FROM LAND

At an 'important native meeting' at Parawai concerning income from the Thames goldfield, figures were produced showing that between August 1867 and the end of June 1869 Keepa had received £20 from miners' rights.<sup>49</sup> After the actions of the Superintendent, John Williamson, were explained, he spoke about losing revenue through land being confiscated:

I am satisfied with the explanation given in reference to Mr Williamson, and I am much pleased if it shall be seen that he is a good man; then I will approve of him. (The speaker then referred to several pieces of land belonging to him which had been included in the confiscated blocks). That is the reason that my mind has been dark. These places were taken, and I have not received any money for them. It is well for Mr Williamson to come down here and speak to us, and we to him. In relation to my lands, which have been taken from me, and included in the confiscated land, I never went to war, but my lands have been confiscated. If Mr Williamson is to be our friend I shall speak to him about the restoration of the lands. (The speaker named several pieces of land which were at Katikati, Tauranga). If Mr Williamson will be the means of having my confiscated lands

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<sup>44</sup> G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

<sup>45</sup> Te Aroha Block, 1878, Schedule No. 3, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86; Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1800, p. 164, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>46</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, pp. 353, 354.

<sup>47</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 406.

<sup>48</sup> Aroha Block XII Section 14, Memorandum of 12 October 1903, Maori Land Blocks, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/317, ANZ-W.

<sup>49</sup> According to 'Return of Revenue Received from Miners' Rights at the Thames Gold Fields', *AJHR*, 1869, B-15, this amount was received up to the end of January.



returned to me, then will I know that he is disposed to do us good. I shall know that he is a just man, and all the people will honour him.<sup>50</sup>

One of the eight owners of Kauaeranga No. 12, just over four acres, on the Thames foreshore, he sold his interest in May 1873 for £2 10s.<sup>51</sup>

When the Aroha Block was considered for the last time, in 1878, in giving evidence about Ngati Tumutumu's claim Keepa mentioned an 1876 meeting with Mackay held at Wiropo Hoterene Taipari's meetinghouse, Pukerahui:

I had taken money long before this meeting on account of Te Aroha. I told Mr Mackay to charge it against the swamp on the Western side [Waihekau], it is inside of the block. I do not know how much I received part of it was received in Spirits he gave me Orders in Public Houses. I am not aware of having received £50 [on] 12 February 1873. All the monies I received about that time were on account of Waiharakeke Block. I was one of the owners but received no money from Mr Mackay on account of it. Said he would keep it on account of my debts, with respect to £100 said to be received on 28 April /74 It is an invention of Mr Mackay's. I know nothing about it. Mr Mackay, [Mackay's clerk Gerald Richard Disney] O'Halloran<sup>52</sup> and all of us had a conversation respecting the debts of N'Rahiri asking to give a portion of this land for their debts, and it was agreed there that my debts should not be brought against me again but should all be charged against Waihekau. I do not know if ever I signed any receipt, these things used to be done when I was drunk. It is true that I received £152 [on] 13 Novr /76. It was paid to me by Mr [Edward Walker] Puckey [the land purchase officer], on account of Te Aroha. I am not aware that I received £100 on /11 Septr /77. I have received £20 this year from you. £10 – 16 March /78, and £10 [on] 21st June /78. This £20 was advanced on account of Te Aroha.... I appeared at Pukerahui as an objector to the sale of Te Aroha – although I had previously received money on account of

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<sup>50</sup> 'Important Native Meeting Held at Parawai, Near Shortland', *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 October 1869, p. 18.

<sup>51</sup> Auckland Provincial Government Papers, box 26, Session 20, MS 595, Auckland Public Library.

<sup>52</sup> See 'Ohinemuri Miners' Rights Inquiries Committee', *AJHR*, 1875, p. 1; *Thames Advertiser*, editorial, 7 August 1875, p. 2, 30 August 1875, p. 3.

it. I received none at the time of the meeting as I objected to the taking of any.<sup>53</sup>

The press reported his saying that ‘Mackay gave him orders upon public-houses in lieu of cash’, and that the £20 he had received in 1878 ‘was for the Aroha, but not for any particular portion’.<sup>54</sup> The register of payments for this block reveal that he received £150 in 1873, £200 in 1874, £152 in 1876, £100 in 1877, and £26 16s in 1878, a total of £528 16s.<sup>55</sup> In addition, Keepa, his wife and two children, and his sister had equal shares in ‘Keepa Te Wharau’s Block’ at Te Aroha. Between December 1880 and December 1881, when payments ceased, they received £50 10s.<sup>56</sup>

Keepa quickly sold several of his interests to the Crown. With 46 others, in August 1878 he sold Waihekau No. 4, of 564 acres, for £264.<sup>57</sup> In November 1879 he sold his interest in Manawaru for £324 13s 6d.<sup>58</sup> In June 1880 he sold his interest in Ohinemuri No. 18 for £14 15s.<sup>59</sup>

## MINING

In 1868 Keepa invested in one Thames claim, the Dinner Time at Karaka, as one of five owners, mostly Maori, with one sleeping share, half of which he promptly sold for £40.<sup>60</sup> His only other involvement in mining was at Te Aroha, between November 1880 and May 1881, obtaining a miner’s right on opening day and in the next two months acquiring shares in three

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<sup>53</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 436-437.

<sup>54</sup> Native Land Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 18 July 1878, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Lands 1873-1880, Te Aroha, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>56</sup> Waihi Warden’s Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, p. 81, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>57</sup> Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A806, box 3, no. 142, ANZ-A.

<sup>58</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 164, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Block’, Appendix H, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a; Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 223, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>60</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Claims Register 1868-1869, no. 466, BACL 14397/2a; Register of Agreements and Licenses 1868-1870, folios 105-106, BACL 14417/1a, ANZ-A.

claims, selling his interest in one.<sup>61</sup> He was one of 12 Maori who marked out the Black Diamond, in the Tui district, but did not register it.<sup>62</sup>

## FINANCES

Despite obtaining large sums from owning and selling land, between 1878 and 1884 Keepa was sued for not paying some debts. The first time he was taken to court was in 1878, when Henry Driver, then a Thames ironmonger,<sup>63</sup> successfully sought payment of a promissory note for £34.<sup>64</sup> At the end of the following year, as part owner of Aihe Pepene's steam launch,<sup>65</sup> he was sued for £30 1s 7d owing on coal.<sup>66</sup>

In July 1880, a draper, William Wilson,<sup>67</sup> sued for £15 6s. 'Defendant said he would have paid if his lands had passed through the Lands Court'.<sup>68</sup> When this debt remained unpaid in the following January he was ordered to pay this amount plus legal fees within one month or be imprisoned for two months.<sup>69</sup> Wilson next sued for £4 3s 5d in October 1882, but the case was adjourned for him to produce the accounts; when they were, a month later, Keepa was ordered to pay.<sup>70</sup> Because he did not a judgment summons was sought, but the amount was paid into court in February 1883.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 999, issued on 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1b; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 157, 193, 212, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>62</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 227, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>63</sup> See *Thames Electoral Rolls, 1878*, p. 21, 1880, p. 7; *Thames Advertiser*, 7 April 1876, p. 3, 5 May 1888, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1878-1880, 366/1878, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

<sup>65</sup> See paper on Aihe Pepene.

<sup>66</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1878-1880, 499/1879, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 10 January 1880, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 25 March 1878, p. 3, 26 March 1878, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1881, 273/1880, BACL 13737/11b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 20 August 1880, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Thames Star*, 14 January 1881, p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 47/1882, hearings on 24 October 1882, 21 November 1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>71</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, Judgment Summons heard on 27 February 1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

The estate of a bankrupt Te Aroha storekeeper successfully sued for £11 13s 11d in late 1883.<sup>72</sup> In July the following year he was ordered to pay James Forgie, a Thames baker,<sup>73</sup> £5 10s 6d (or £4 19s according to the press report).<sup>74</sup> As he did not pay, three months later Forgie sought a judgment summons for £5 4s. ‘The Clerk of the Court read a letter from defendant stating that he was willing to pay, but had been ill, and sickness in his family. He forwarded £1 12s, all he could spare’. The case was adjourned for three months,<sup>75</sup> and as this was the last time he was taken to court he must have paid the remainder.

## DRINK

As noted, when trying to deny having knowingly received money for the Aroha Block, Keepa used the excuse that he might have been drunk, and mentioned that he had received some payment in spirits instead of cash.<sup>76</sup> There were other mentions of his being drunk, the first in 1870, when Frederick Cock, then landlord of a Thames hotel,<sup>77</sup> was charged with assault:

Kepa Te Wharau deposed that on Saturday he went into the public-house kept by the defendant, with a friend of his, to have a drink. There were five or six present besides complainant. Complainant, after having the drinks, felt for his purse, but found that he had not got it with him, and told defendant he would pay for some them other time. Defendant threw off his coat and jumped over the bar. He pulled the chair in which complainant was sitting, letting him fall on the floor. Afterwards caught him by the coat and tore it. Complainant made use of no insulting language.... Had been previously at defendant’s hotel. When complainant went in defendant was standing at the counter

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<sup>72</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 141/1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>73</sup> See *Thames Electoral Roll, 1880*, p. 8; advertisements, *Thames Advertiser*, 24 March 1882, p. 2, 28 September 1886, p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1883-1885, 300/1884, BACL 13735/2a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Star*, 11 July 1884, p. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Thames Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1883-1885, 300/1884, BACL 13735/2a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Star*, 31 October 1884, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 436-437.

<sup>77</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 854.

talking to some gentlemen. Did not remember seeing defendant at the Empire Hotel. He ordered the liquor from Mrs Cock. Defendant saw the liquors brought in, and asked for the money to pay for them. He came back and paid for the drinks, and then asked defendant to pay him 5s for the damage to his clothes. He afterwards asked for £5. He did not shake hands with defendant, nor asked him to shout.... Complainant did not offer to settle for a few shillings.<sup>78</sup>

A rather clearer account explained that, after the drinks were served, Keepa found he had left his purse at home.

He promised to pay on Monday, but, this arrangement not meeting the landlord's views, the latter took off his coat, shut one of the bar-room doors, and proceeded to "take it out" of the defaulter, who swore that the landlord pulled a chair he was about sitting on from behind him, and so "let him down by the run," and then struck him in the shoulder, and tore his coat. (Rents exhibited with becoming gesticulations). The drinks were subsequently paid for, and the complainant demanded 5s, and afterwards £5, as compensation for the damage done to his "Paget"'.<sup>79</sup>

Pereki, who saw him being dragged off the chair, said Keepa 'was caught as he was leaving the house to go for the money to pay for the liquor'. A witness for the defence said Cock was preventing him getting to the door. An interpreter stated that he had been drinking in Cock's hotel on Saturday when Keepa came in, 'said he had a row with Mr Cock, and asked Mr Cock to shout. He said he did wrong by asking for the drinks without money, and asked Mr Cock to shout and be friends. Defendant did so'. The last witness, a detective, had seen Keepa 'trying to get out of the yard', but did not see Cock use violence. The magistrate fined Cock 40s and costs, 'not so much for any damage that was done to the native, but on account of the consequences that might arise out of such affairs'.<sup>80</sup> So, on disputed evidence Cock was fined to pacify Maori sensitivities. A week later, 'Kepa', presumably him again, was fined 10s for drunkenness, or in default be imprisoned for 24 hours.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 8 November 1870, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 November 1870, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 8 November 1870, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 November 1870, p. 3.

Three years later, ‘Emma, a native’, was charged with stealing £3 from him, but the case was adjourned to seek evidence.<sup>82</sup> The following day, the police reported that Keepa ‘was drunk at the time the charge was alleged to have been committed. He was now sober, and was not so sure about what money he had, or whether the prisoner took it all – the prisoner was discharged’.<sup>83</sup>

Keepa was involved in another squabble involving a Thames hotel in 1876, when he and Tauhou were charged with threatening behaviour in the street after being put out of it after ten o’clock at night. They had wanted to go back in, and while Keepa had not caused trouble Tauhou was ‘excited’, possibly a euphemism for being drunk. Keepa ‘said he was only trying to stop the quarrel, and the language they made use of’ was to tell the publican that, ‘in consequence of his conduct to them, they would not allow him to take his wife to the Hot Springs at Te Aroha, again’. The case against Keepa was dismissed.<sup>84</sup> The last time Keepa was known to have been drunk was when he was taken into custody in December 1881 for being drunk and disorderly in Te Aroha and fined 10s and costs, or in default 24 hours in gaol; he paid.<sup>85</sup>

#### A LEADING RANGATIRA

Despite his occasional public drunkenness, Keepa was regarded as an important member of the community, and he took advantage of some of the more positive opportunities provided by Pakeha settlement, for example being able to read and write and to read maps.<sup>86</sup> In March 1869 he sent a letter to the *Thames Advertiser*, which commented that he was ‘entitled to speak with authority’:

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<sup>82</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 August 1873, p. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 29 August 1873, p. 3.

<sup>84</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 May 1876, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 14/1881, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 2/1882, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>86</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges Taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 14/1881, in private possession; Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 181; Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 219, 224.

This is a proclamation from me to the Europeans of all Hauraki. Listen to my speech. Do not be afraid of the tidings which have come about the Hauhaus. It is right so far as concerns their own boundaries as fighting ground for them; but, as for all the district of Hauraki, they will not come here. I say so, because I have come from the Hauhau districts, and I heard from them that they have no disposition to make any evil in any part of Hauraki.<sup>87</sup>

In August he was one of eight rangatira to sign a letter sent to the government protesting at its plan to seize the Thames foreshore.<sup>88</sup> The following year he attended the Governor's Levee at Thames.<sup>89</sup> In 1873 he was one of the rangatira who spoke at a meeting of Thames Maori condemning Waikato hapu over the murder of Timothy Sullivan, a surveyor, near Cambridge.<sup>90</sup> He was regarded as so 'trustworthy' that the native agent recommended that he be permitted to buy gunpowder, shot, and caps for sporting purposes.<sup>91</sup> When the first steamer visited Omahu pa in December 1874, in the evening Keepa, 'a really fine specimen of a native, who showed the utmost anxiety to make us comfortable, then rose, and in true Maori style, with proper emphasis and gesticulation made a long speech of welcome'.<sup>92</sup>

Amongst Ngati Rahiri, as a local official, Charles John Dearle,<sup>93</sup> later explained, 'he was a man of Rank' but 'Karauna Hou<sup>94</sup> was above' him.<sup>95</sup> He was one of the 73 'principal men' of Hauraki who signed the 1869 petition seeking a rehearing of the Aroha case.<sup>96</sup> In 1873 he helped drive off cattle

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<sup>87</sup> Letter from Te Keepa Te Wharau, 22 March 1869, *Thames Advertiser*, n.d., reprinted in *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 March 1869, p. 23.

<sup>88</sup> Letter from 'the council of Ngatimaru to 'the Council at Wellington', 5 August 1869, translation printed in *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 August 1869, p. 6.

<sup>89</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 January 1870, p. 11.

<sup>90</sup> Own Correspondent, 'Navigating the Thames River: A Holiday Excursion', *Thames Advertiser*, 16 May 1873, p. 3.

<sup>91</sup> E.W. Puckey to Daniel Pollen, 3 May 1873, Agent for the General Government, Auckland, ACFL 8170, 73/565, ANZ-A.

<sup>92</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 30 December 1874, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> See paper on Alice Grey Dearle.

<sup>94</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>95</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 34.

<sup>96</sup> Petition of April 1869, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1869/133, ANZ-W.

placed on Waiharakeke by Henry Alley by Ngati Haua.<sup>97</sup> When in the late 1870s Ngati Rahiri claimed land at Waitawheta, he ‘joined in sending Mokena to lay off the line’, and seized the clothes of some of Te Moananui’s people ‘because they went to survey without consulting with us’. He had asked the government to buy the kauri trees on the block.<sup>98</sup> When Te Kooti travelled to Ohinemuri with 52 followers in 1883, he stayed at Te Aroha ‘as a guest of Keepa Te Wharau’.<sup>99</sup>

#### MARAEA MERE PEKA

Maraea Mere Peka named one of her children Tutuki in honour of his great-grandfather, Te Tutuki Peehi, who died in 1888.<sup>100</sup> He had been ‘chief of the plains’ around Te Aroha when Hou was chief of the mountain.<sup>101</sup> She told the land court that ‘on our coming into Hauraki to live in this district we went to live on’ Wairakau ‘with our grandfather’.<sup>102</sup> According to what she told her church, she was born in Hauraki in 1860; according to her second son’s death certificate, she was born in Wanganui, and was a member of Ngati Paraeoutawa.<sup>103</sup> One whakapapa listed her Ngati Rahiri ancestors, ending with her mother:

Rakiteuru married Mihikiterangi

Tutuki 1

Mahuika

Rangihinu

Tutuki 11

Merepeka.<sup>104</sup>

Her father was Te Rua Whakahoro, and her mother Mere Peka, also known as Mere Peka Tutuki after her father and as Merepeka Te Rua

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<sup>97</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 9 June 1873, p. 3; for details, see paper on Maori land in Hauraki.

<sup>98</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 12, pp. 356-358.

<sup>99</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 23 June 1883, p. 3.

<sup>100</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 20, p. 6; no. 28A, p. 38.

<sup>101</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 28 April 1910, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 28.

<sup>103</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 3F, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Death Certificates of Maraia [recorded as Maria] Merepeka, 8 August 1927, 1927/12810; Tutuki [recorded as Tutaki] Te Wharau, 28 July 1928, 1928/14144, BDM.

<sup>104</sup> Aroha Block V Section 6, Block Files, H1102, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.



Whakahoro after she married. Her mother died at Te Aroha in 1882, and her father in 1897; both were Ngati Tumutumu.<sup>105</sup> Through Tutuki she was a member of the Ngati Ruinga hapu as well as of Ngati Haumia and Ngati Kopirimau.<sup>106</sup> Her mother was living on the Aroha Block at least as early as 1854, and after the Waikato War never left it.<sup>107</sup> Her parents had seven children, Maraea being their second one and their eldest daughter.<sup>108</sup>

In 1873 Maraea Te Wharau was listed as an owner of Waiheka Nos. 2 and 3, with her mother being an owner in one of these.<sup>109</sup> It is not known when Maraea married Keepa, but it must have been before September 1877, when a son of 'Kepa, one of the Aroha chiefs', died at Te Aroha.<sup>110</sup> In her evidence when seeking ownership of most of Aroha Block IX Section 29, at Omahu, Maraea said that when married to Keepa she had lived on this land, which once had belonged to her grandfather. 'Te Keepa lived on this Block' and his sister Harete 'lived there and cultivated – I cultivated on the river and extended easterly. Harete's cultivation joined mine and extended to the road'. All three lived in the same house.<sup>111</sup>

Maraea was granted part ownership of several blocks of land through ancestry.<sup>112</sup> One, Aroha Block V Section 5, was known as the Te Tutuki family block.<sup>113</sup> After the death of her husband, she sought to have 80 acres cut out for herself from the 100-acre Aroha Block IX Section 29. She claimed that 'Tutuki and others arranged I was to have eighty acres' and that Keepa had arranged for her lot to adjoin the 20 acres intended for himself, sister,

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<sup>105</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 14, pp. 350-351; no. 15, p. 34; no. 25, p. 247; no. 47, p. 34; Pare Ruakawa Te Ruawahakoro to Registrar, Native Land Court, 28 December 1918, Aroha Block V Section 6, Block Files, H1102, Maori Land Court, Hamilton; Death Certificate of Rewi Te Turua, 20 November 1923, 1923/10827, BDM.

<sup>106</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, p. 244.

<sup>107</sup> Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 254, 340.

<sup>108</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, pp. 350-351.

<sup>109</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, pp. 111-112.

<sup>110</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 September 1877, p. 3.

<sup>111</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 28-29.

<sup>112</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, pp. 111-112; Hauraki Minute Books, no. 25, p. 244; no. 46, p. 11; no. 28A, pp. 28-30; no. 47, p. 34; Peter Gilchrist to W.H. Herries, 14 August 1902; E.G.B. Moss to James Carroll, 16 October 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1059; Declaration by Maraea Mere Peka, 17 July 1897, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 08/164, ANZ-W.

<sup>113</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 30.

and his children.<sup>114</sup> Maraea's spokesman said that she had first been allotted ten acres of the 750-acre Omaha Block, but wished to have 168 acres. 'We had compassion for her and her children and it was through them that we gave her' the larger amount. 'Te Keepa said we and Te Karauna', who also wanted this land, 'ought to be kind and Maraea and her children [were] to have the 80 acres in the Western portion of the block'. This verbal arrangement was made in the presence of 'a great many'. There was 'a quarrel between her and her father – I don't know that Te Rua told her to go to her husband to supply her with lands'.<sup>115</sup> Maraea stated she dropped her claim for a share of Wairakau so that she could have this land at Omaha.<sup>116</sup> When her sister-in-law opposed her claim, the land, just over 66 acres, was divided between them.<sup>117</sup>

Maraea may have been the woman recorded as Maraea Meke who, in 1881, was charged by a Maori with being drunk and disorderly and fined 5s.<sup>118</sup> The police obtained a prohibition order against 'Maria Peka' four years later.<sup>119</sup> In 1903, she was arrested for being drunk and disorderly, and paid the 10s fine.<sup>120</sup> In 1920, she was again charged with being drunk, this time at the Te Aroha railway station, and had to pay 10s and costs or spend 48 hours in the local lock-up.<sup>121</sup> Especially when drunk, Maraea fought other Maori, once, she explained, 'through a matter of the deeds of the tribes in early days'.<sup>122</sup> Her feisty nature was illustrated by her response to her name being confused with that of Rewi Mokena's wife when the *Te*

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<sup>114</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 24, p. 133.

<sup>115</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 244-247.

<sup>116</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 25.

<sup>117</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 26, 38-39, 82; see sketch map on p. 82.

<sup>118</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 4/1881, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>119</sup> Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 14 November 1885, p. 2.

<sup>120</sup> Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock Up 1880-1903, 8/1903, in private possession.

<sup>121</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1919-1921, entry for 5 October 1920, BCDG 11220/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>122</sup> Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 22/1893, BCDG 11220/1a; Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 10/1904, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 16 July 1915, p. 3.

*Aroha News* reported the latter's attempted suicide.<sup>123</sup> The newspaper received 'a deputation of Maoris, who with great volubility, and a variety of gestures', explained the mistake, which it corrected. 'We trust this explanation will be accepted by Maria, to whom the error in identity has given much pain, more especially as she was careful to explain that she would not think of doing such a thing'.<sup>124</sup>

## CHILDREN

As noted, a son of Keepa died in September 1877.<sup>125</sup> The first child whose name was recorded was a daughter, Kera Tupeora, also known as Tupeora Te Wharau. Referred to in 1887 as being his eldest child by Maraea, she was born before December 1880 and died in about 1882.<sup>126</sup> A second child, a son, Paerutu, was born before 1880, when he was recorded as being entitled to receive goldfields rent.<sup>127</sup> An accident with fatal consequences was recorded in January 1883:

Last night a native boy named Paerutu, son of Keepa Te Wharau, of Te Aroha, was brought to the Hospital having both arms broken. The injuries to the right arm were very severe, the fracture being a compound one. From the father's statement, it appeared that the boy fell from a peach tree, and almost immediately after the accident was treated by some one in the district, who administered medicine until mortification set in, when he advised the father to take the child to the hospital. After consultation, the doctors concluded that the case was too far gone, and the patient too weak to submit to amputation. The father took the boy home this afternoon. No hopes are entertained for the poor little fellow's recovery.<sup>128</sup>

Paerutu died during the return trip to Te Aroha.

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<sup>123</sup> See paper on Rewi Mokena.

<sup>124</sup> *Te Aroha News*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Advertiser*, 28 June 1899, p. 2.

<sup>125</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 September 1877, p. 3.

<sup>126</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, p. 81, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 101.

<sup>127</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, p. 81, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>128</sup> *Thames Star*, 20 January 1883, p. 2.

The parents of the child chartered the steamer *Memsahib* and left here for their home at one o'clock yesterday morning with the invalid and an infant child, who was suffering from some chest complaint. About four o'clock in the morning the baby died, and an hour later the poor little sufferer Paerutu passed away. Much sympathy has been expressed for the chief Keepa Te Wharau and his wife, on account of their sad bereavement. Upon their arrival at Omahu, they were met by a large number of the natives, who were much affected by the deaths, and betrayed, in native fashion, their manifestations of grief.<sup>129</sup>

Thus they suffered two bereavements on the same day. A Te Aroha chemist who 'endeavoured to set one of the arms broken' had 'assured his parents that it would be "Alright in a few days." It was not until mortification set in that the child was brought to the Thames Hospital'.<sup>130</sup>

A daughter, Pititi, was born either in 1882 or 1884, and lived until the influenza epidemic of 1918.<sup>131</sup> Was she the girl born on 1 January 1884 and baptized into the Church of England under the name Mere Tahatu Te Wharau?<sup>132</sup> If so, this name was never used again, apart from a variant in the school records, which recorded Mere Peka, daughter of Maria Peka, as being born in July 1885, clearly an incorrect date if she was aged four in October 1886, as her aunt stated.<sup>133</sup> According to the age given when he enrolled in the Te Aroha Rifles in 1903, Keepa's last child, Tutuki, otherwise Paerutu Tutuki,<sup>134</sup> was born in October 1883.<sup>135</sup> When enrolled at the Te Aroha school his date of birth was given first as 1887 and then as

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<sup>129</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 January 1883, p. 2.

<sup>130</sup> *Thames Star*, 23 January 1883, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 31; Death Certificate of Pititi Te Wharau [recorded as Petiti Tewharau], 1 December 1918, 1918/16515, BDM.

<sup>132</sup> Church of England, Piako Register of Maori Baptisms 1901-1909, no. 36, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>133</sup> Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1880-1897), no. 929, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha; Maori land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 31.

<sup>134</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 16; Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 15M, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>135</sup> Te Aroha Rifles, Parade Register 1892-1903 [no pagination], no. 296, MS 2000/69, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

'c.1887',<sup>136</sup> which was two years after his father's death. Tutuki was baptized into the Mormon faith in 1894,<sup>137</sup> but Pititi was not.

## DEATH

In June 1885, the local correspondent of the *Thames Advertiser* briefly noted that 'Kepa te Wharau, an influential native of this district, died at his temporary residence, Te Aroha'.<sup>138</sup> The *Te Aroha News* mentioned that hearings of the land court were suspended to enable Maori to travel to Te Aroha to attend his tangi,<sup>139</sup> but did not print an obituary. He was given a Church of England burial.<sup>140</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Keepa was a leading rangatira both in Hauraki generally and Te Aroha in particular. Having both Ngati Haua and Ngati Maru affiliations, he visited Te Aroha many times before it was acquired by the Crown, even cultivating there briefly. His evidence given to the land court was on at least one occasion false, and when trying to deny having received money for Te Aroha used the excuse of having been drunk when receipts were signed. He was known for being drunk (and would marry another drunkard). He was viewed favourably by Pakeha because of his loyalty to the Crown.

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<sup>136</sup> Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), nos. 752, 819 [as Tutuki Aperahama, after his step-father], Primary School Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>137</sup> Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members, Early to 1919, Te Aroha Branch, no. 15M, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

<sup>138</sup> Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 June 1885, p. 3.

<sup>139</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 20 June 1885, p. 2.

<sup>140</sup> Coromandel Register of Maori Burials 1885-1925, entry for 6 December 1885 [date as given], Register 1091, Anglican Archives, Auckland.