

HONE WERAHIKO: THE DISCOVERER OF GOLD AT TE AROHA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
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## HONE WERAHIKO: THE DISCOVERER OF GOLD AT TE AROHA

**Abstract:** *Originally Hone Kahukahu, when he was living at Ohinemutu in the 1860s he became known as Hone Werahiko, an Arawa name he retained for the rest of his life. His father, a member of Ngati Kahungunu, had been captured by Arawa; his mother was a Waikato. A widow living at Maketu chose him as her second husband because he was ‘a good looking fellow & understood English’.*

*In the late 1860s and much of the 1870s, he prospected in Hauraki and even in the King Country, and worked underground in a Thames mine, the only Maori known to have done so. But in the early 1870s he gave up mining to be a pioneer publican and storekeeper at Ohinemutu, at Rotorua. He acquired land and property there, but after his wife died he returned to prospecting full-time.*

*Werahiko’s first investigation of Te Aroha was in 1877, when he was ordered off by the local hapu. He returned in 1880 as the head of a prospecting party subsidized by the government. After finding gold, he was granted the Prospectors’ Claim and, in due course, a reward, and for a time supervised its development. Investing in other claims, he traded in shares. When his discovery turned out to be a duffer, he explored other parts of the mountain, first having high hopes for the Tui portion but then, after four months of exploring over winter with the support of three other Maori, he announced the discovery of his New Find at Waiorongomai. Once again he acquired partners, mostly Pakeha, and traded in shares, and for some time supervised the opening up of his new find.*

*Later, he was invited to prospect the King Country, but this did not eventuate. His last involvement in mining was at Karangahake. Because of the hardships of his prospecting at Te Aroha, he died at an early age, leaving a young second wife. His memory lived on, amongst Pakeha miners in particular, because he had the rare distinction for a prospector of being regarded as totally honest, and he was admired for succeeding when so many others had failed.*

[Note: Especially when he first came to public attention, many Pakeha struggled with Hone Werahiko’s name, which was recorded in a variety of incorrect forms, the worst example being Hoani Whaekareka.<sup>1</sup> Even the

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<sup>1</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, 6 November 1880, p. 2.

warden at first gave his name as Hone Wharekino.<sup>2</sup> Many Pakeha found it simpler to refer to him as ‘Johnny the Maori’.<sup>3</sup> In this paper, his name is given correctly throughout.]

### HIS REPUTATION

In 1887, an amateur Thames poet, known only as D.T. (could he have been Daniel Tookey),<sup>4</sup> published a poem, ‘Legend of Te Aroha’:

Upon that mountain Aroha,  
 They tell in Maori lore,  
 There came a mighty Taniwha  
 To rest upon the shore;  
 She brought great treasures with her  
 From out the “vasty deep:”  
 Then stretched herself upon the land  
 And rocked herself to sleep.  
 When the ocean tide had left her  
 On that mountain top alone;  
 What was once the “Taniwha”  
 Became the Golden Stone.  
 Wonders sure will never cease,  
 When new discoveries so increase:  
 “Johnny,” the Maori, late come down  
 With golden stone from the Buck Reef Crown;  
 Which ancient miners oft times swore  
 Was a barren lode and nothing more.  
 T’was left forsooth to Johnny the Maori  
 To show it was equal to Waitekauri;  
 Now, the “miner” is wrong: the Maori is right;  
 Correct is the brown, wrong is the white.  
 Entirely unassisted, this native of the soil  
 Traced up the indications with unabated toil;  
 Till under the verdant moss he autoptically spies  
 King Solomon’s hidden treasure; a Monte Christo prize!  
 The lode is many fathoms wide,  
 And plainly to be seen,

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<sup>2</sup> Henry Kenrick (Warden) to Frederick Whitaker (Attorney General), 25 October 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 12/353, ANZ-W.

<sup>3</sup> For example, *Waikato Times*, 13 October 1881, p. 2; reminiscences of John O’Shea, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 November 1930, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See paper on Maori in Hauraki in the Nineteenth Century.

Outcropping on the mountainside;  
A veritable Queen.

It will take one hundred batteries  
To reduce the golden ore;  
And give employment plentiful  
To one thousand men or more.

So give all praise to Johnny,  
That man of color brown;  
Who made the grand discovery  
Upon the Buck Reef Crown.

#### REQUIEM

Now poor Johnny had left us;  
He will prospect here no more;  
He's gone to mark another claim  
Upon the other shore.

I shed a tear for Johnny,  
That man of Aroha;  
Who lost his life in prospecting  
That mighty "Taniwha."

In his Prologue, D.T. explained that Maori,

(being essentially of Eastern origin) have amongst themselves a tradition that not only the land upon which they at present reside, has been drawn up from the ocean depths, but that monsters such as described by Job were the progenitors of both land and people, and were known by the old race as the "Taniwha"'.<sup>5</sup>

This amateur versifying was a genuinely sincere salute to Hone Werahiko, whose discovery caused the goldrush that founded Te Aroha. He subsequently found a far richer goldfield in the adjacent Waiorongomai Valley, and did indeed die from the physical strain caused by prospecting in difficult conditions. Unfortunately the gold was not as valuable as claimed. This is the only long poem that has been traced that praised just one prospector: others were mentioned in topical verses, but the references were usually brief and often jocular; 'D.T' wrote such a poem on the Waihi discoveries of 1881 (in which he described himself as 'a regular one horse-poet').<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> D.T., 'Legend of Te Aroha', *Thames Advertiser*, 9 March 1887, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> D.T., 'Ode on Waihi Plains', *Thames Advertiser*, 4 October 1881, p. 3.

## BACKGROUND

No Pakeha sources give any details of Werahiko's family background. Even his age was uncertain, and as no photographs or sketches were made of him, it is not possible to obtain an impression of his age and physique. One Thames newspaper believed he was aged about 30 in 1880, the other that he was about ten years older.<sup>7</sup> When he died in May 1883, one journalist gave his age as 39.<sup>8</sup> Werahiko himself gave his age as 42 when he married in December 1881.<sup>9</sup> Concerning his tribal affiliations, one expert advised that the name 'Werahiko' was (and continues to be) 'pretty well unique to the Te Arawa ... people, more specifically, the subtribe Ngati Whakaue'.<sup>10</sup> Certainly one contemporary of his who was living at Ohinemutu had the name Werahiko or Werahika.<sup>11</sup> However, in July 1873 this hapu denied he was a member.<sup>12</sup> According to one obituary, he was a member of 'the Arawa tribe, having been born near Lake Rotorua'.<sup>13</sup>

Originally, he was Hone Kahukahu, but when living in Ohinemutu in the 1860s and 1870s he was known as Hone Werahiko, which other Maori said was an 'alias'.<sup>14</sup> In 1864, Tereanuku, a member of Ngati Whakaue and Ngati Te Roroaterangi, and the first husband of Arihia Kahawai, died at Maketu. 'Hone Werahiko had been their tangata',<sup>15</sup> meaning one of their people.<sup>16</sup> Werahiko's 'father was a captive taken from' Ngati Kahungungu, an East Coast hapu.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3, 22 May 1883, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Auckland Correspondent, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Marriage Certificate of Hone Werahiko and Mihi Hora, 22 December 1881, Church of England, Marriage Register, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

<sup>10</sup> Ngahuaia Te Awekotuku to David Bettison, 6 April 1976; in possession of Philip Hart.

<sup>11</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, advertisement, 15 May 1879, p. 5, 20 January 1880, p. 2, 6 March 1880, p. 2, 31 August 1880, p. 3, 22 November 1883, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> 'All Ngatiwhakaue' to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 7 July 1873, Auckland Provincial Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>13</sup> Auckland Correspondent, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Books, no. 40, pp. 233, 236, 258, 268; no. 41, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 193.

<sup>16</sup> P.M. Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Auckland, 1974), p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 193; Henry James Fletcher, *Index of Maori Names*, [www.waikato.ac.nz/library/resources/nzc/fletcher/](http://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/resources/nzc/fletcher/).

His mother was of N’Haurua, of Waikato – Te Tapuae had been Hone’s rangatira in Waikato before he was taken by Tereanuku & Arahia to Maketu – After Tereanuku died, Arihia took Hone Werahiko as a husband (her tane mana) [influential husband]<sup>18</sup> – She took him because he was a good looking fellow & understood English.<sup>19</sup>

Arihia, also known as Arihia Taurarua,<sup>20</sup> was older than Werahiko, and ‘a chief woman’ of Ngati Rangiwewehi.<sup>21</sup> One of the four main divisions of Arawa, this hapu lived on the northwestern shores of Lake Rotorua.<sup>22</sup> Her father, Kahawai, was killed when leading Ngati Rangiwewehi in the battle of Te Tumu Pa, near Makutu, in 1836.<sup>23</sup> In one whakapapa, he was recorded as having four children: Makuini, Arihia, and two brothers, Eruera and Te Ito.<sup>24</sup> On another occasion an extra sister, Te Nanati Kahawai, was listed.<sup>25</sup> Te Ito and Eruera Kahawai were the only ones to have children.<sup>26</sup> In 1854, Eruera, of Pohirua, the Ngati Rangiwewehi pa on the edge of Lake Rotorua, was appointed an Assessor by the government.<sup>27</sup> A Ngati Rangiwewehi rangatira, he was also a Church Missionary Society teacher.<sup>28</sup> At the Kohimarama Conference of 1860, he was an outspoken supporter of both Christianity and the Crown, and strongly rejected the Kingitanga

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<sup>18</sup> Ryan, pp. 24, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 193.

<sup>20</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 242, 258.

<sup>21</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 227.

<sup>22</sup> Vincent O’Malley and David Armstrong, *The Beating Heart: A political and socio-economic history of Te Arawa* (Wellington, 2008), p. 28; D.M. Stafford, *Landmarks of Te Arawa: vol. 1: Rotorua* (Auckland, 1994), map 42.

<sup>23</sup> Stafford, *Landmarks*, pp. 27-28, 89-90, 134, 144; D.M Stafford, *Te Arawa: A history of the Arawa people* (Wellington, 1967), pp. 236-240.

<sup>24</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 247.

<sup>25</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 196.

<sup>26</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 16, p. 255.

<sup>27</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 6 January 1854, p. 2; Stafford, *Te Arawa*, p. 227; O’Malley and Armstrong, p. 28.

<sup>28</sup> O’Malley and Armstrong, p. 28.

movement.<sup>29</sup> Also known to Thomas Chapman, a missionary based in the Rotorua area, as Eruera Hikairo, in 1855 Eruera caused great distress to the latter by being discovered 'secretly living in adultery'.<sup>30</sup>

In July 1871, Arihia successfully claimed ownership of Otairoa No. 4, at Maketu, less than one acre, formerly owned by her deceased uncle, Hikairo. He and Kahawai were joint leaders of Ngati Rangiwewehi, and had led their hapu in several battles, notably against Hongi Hika of Ngapuhi in 1823.<sup>31</sup> Wiremu Hikairo died between 1849 and 1855.<sup>32</sup> Arihia told the land court: 'I have a house there and [am] living there at the present time. The whole of the land is not fenced in only portions round the house'.<sup>33</sup> In January 1871, when her sister Makuini applied for Otairoa No. 5, she stated that she was a member of Ngati Kereru, was living at Maketu, and referred to 'my sister Arihia who was also wife to Tereanuku'.<sup>34</sup> She explained that 'Tereanuku did not own any land at Maketu, he was cultivating my land, I was a wife of his',<sup>35</sup> a puzzling statement. Tereanuku fathered a son, Rewe Tereanuku,<sup>36</sup> by another woman. When Rewe was an adult, he told the court that he was a Ngati Whakauae, was living at Maketu, and had first gone there from Rotorua in 1841. 'I found Tereanuku and his wife', unnamed, 'cultivating this piece'. In 1842, with his grandmother, Henepapa, he cultivated there until 1843 on land owned by 'Makuini's uncle Hikairo'.<sup>37</sup> Three days previously, when applying for Ohineahuru, five acres near Maketu, Makuini said she had cultivated it because it belonged to Hikairo; 'my cultivation there has not ceased'.<sup>38</sup>

## EARLY PROSPECTING

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<sup>29</sup> *Taranaki Herald*, 4 August 1860, p. 3, 18 August 1860, p. 4; O'Malley and Armstrong, pp. 45, 53. For details of the conference, which concentrated on statements by Crown officials, see *AJHR*, 1860, E-9.

<sup>30</sup> Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 341-342.

<sup>31</sup> Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 180, 182, 195, 212, 236, 257, 264, 266, 274.

<sup>32</sup> Stafford, *Te Arawa*, pp. 324, 342.

<sup>33</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 2, p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 1, p. 348.

<sup>35</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 1, p. 349 [punctuation added].

<sup>36</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 1, pp. 348, 349.

<sup>37</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 1, pp. 346-347.

<sup>38</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 1, p. 328.

Werahiko's prospecting during the late 1860s and the 1870s covered all the North Island, according to contemporaries,<sup>39</sup> who exaggerated the extent of his explorations. A reporter who saw him superintending prospecting at Te Aroha in 1880 wrote that it was 'a position for which he is well qualified, having been engaged in prospecting and other mining work on the Thames and in various parts of the North Island for the past twelve years'.<sup>40</sup> One area he had prospected was the Tuhua district of the King Country,<sup>41</sup> between Taumarunui and Ohura.

According to a Thames reporter, writing in 1880, he was 'one of the original prospectors of the Long Drive claim',<sup>42</sup> a leading Thames mine registered in late 1867.<sup>43</sup> In 1892, 'an old Mining Reporter' recalled him as being the only Maori who was willing to work underground.<sup>44</sup> His obituary in the *Bay of Plenty Times* stated that 'in the early days of the Thames goldfield he was well-known amongst the miners, and soon acquired a reputation for handling pick and gad with the best of the European miners. He worked for some time in the famous Long Drive, and subsequently pegged out claims of his own'.<sup>45</sup> (No claims were recorded as being pegged out in his name: iif the story of his pegging out was true, a mate's name must have been used.) Another reporter described him as 'a most intelligent native, who should be well-known to old Thames hands as working in the Long Drive in the very early days'.<sup>46</sup> If 'the very early days' meant 1867 or 1868, he must have been working someone else's interest, using a miner's right issued in the name of a sleeping partner, a common practice,<sup>47</sup> for a

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<sup>39</sup> For example, *Te Aroha Miner*, 17 February 1881, reprinted in *Thames Star*, 19 February 1881, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 January 1882, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Fred W. Weston, *Diamond Jubilee Souvenir: Thames Goldfields: A history from pre-proclamation times to 1927, gathered from authentic documents and living witnesses* (Thames, 1927), pp. 125, 127.

<sup>44</sup> 'The Thames Goldfield. Reminiscences of the Past. From an old Mining Reporter's Note Book', *Thames Star*, 24 December 1892, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Auckland Correspondent, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Miner's Rights 4221-4224 issued to William Brook Smith, an Auckland merchant and mining investor, 26 July 1869: Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1869, BACL 14358/3a, ANZ-A.



miner's right for 'John (Native)' was not issued until 27 January 1869.<sup>48</sup> Assuming this man was Werahiko does not mean he had not prospected there previously, for he was regarded as being an experienced Thames miner.<sup>49</sup> One of his fellow miners at Te Aroha recalled that he 'had learned something of prospecting' at Thames.<sup>50</sup>

#### PUBLICAN AND STOREKEEPER AT OHINEMUTU

The first store on the shores of Lake Rotorua, near Ohinemutu, was reportedly erected in 1855, a questionably early date.<sup>51</sup> In the 1870s the land on which it had been built was leased to Gerald Phillips, who established another store and butchery.<sup>52</sup> According to Wiremu Matenga Te Waharoa, a member of the Kotahitanga, or Maori parliament, in the 1890s,<sup>53</sup> Werahiko's sister-in-law provided the money that enabled him to become a storekeeper and publican there:

Makuini Kahawai had found the money for the erection of the Lake House, wh. was occupd. by Hone Werahiko & Arihia – This is how she became possessed of money – When she went to Kaipara, the Uriwhau gave her two casks of powder – It was Wiramu Tipene who gave them to her – She brought them to Maketu – That was the period when the Waikato War was going on....

When the powder reached Maketu, certain persons of the Tawere section of N'Awa heard abt it, & came to "tono" [command]<sup>54</sup> it – They offered 18 cows for the two casks, but Makuini sd that she wd only sell one, & wd do so for the 18 cows – They agreed – Taimona Te Keunga went to Rangitaiki to get the cattle – He & I

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<sup>48</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1868-1869, no. 631 of 1869, BACL 14358/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>49</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Recollections of John O'Shea, *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1940, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 2, pp. 23, 25, 29, 30; Stafford, *Landmarks*, pp. 117-118.

<sup>52</sup> Death Certificate of Gerald Phillips, 1883/2315, BDM; D.M. Stafford, *The Founding Years in Rotorua: A history of events to 1900* (Rotorua, 1986), p. 105; Stafford, *Landmarks*, p. 118.

<sup>53</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 309.

<sup>54</sup> Ryan, p. 46.

drove them to Tauranga & sold them to Mr Buckland<sup>55</sup> – Taimona Te Keunga was in Mr Buckland's employ – Makuini also went with us to Tauranga – Mr Buckland gave £50 for those cattle.<sup>56</sup>

'Some time' after his marriage to Arihia, Werahiko 'suggested that Arihia shd tono Makuini to give the money to enable them to start a store at Rotorua – I cannot give date – Hone & Arihia were in Rotorua a long time – They were here before we (the Arawa) went to occupy Ohiwa'.<sup>57</sup> This occupation, intended to repel Te Kooti, occurred in early 1870.<sup>58</sup>

Makuini Kahawai had kept her money for some years – I cannot say whether she gave them the whole of the money that she recd. from Mr Buckland or only a part of it – I think that she must have given them the greater part of it, as they built a weather-board house here – the start of what is now Lake House Hotel – Makuini Taiwhanga [another name for Makuini Kahawai] was living at Maketu at the time that Arihia asked her for the money – She was living at the same kainga as Arihia & Hone – They came to Rotorua – that is Arihia & Hone – Makuini Kahawai followed afterwards – Then later on this land was purchased ... Later on Arihia & Hone - & also Makuini – purchased land called Te Tapuae, near Lake House – still out of the proceeds of that money – They bought it from Ririhi Te Whanatu – a relative of Makuini - & also related to us - £8 was paid for that portn.<sup>59</sup>

After Lake House was erected, for less than £50 according to Te Waharoa, 'Hone kept it as a hotel – He sold liquor there'. Although the proceeds of the sale belonged to Makuini, 'Hone awaruped<sup>60</sup> the proceeds – No part of the orig. money was retd. to Makuini – only the lands purchased remained – that is, Te Turanga-o-Hikanui & Te Tapuae – I did not know that the building of Lake House cost £150 – It was afterwards enlarged by

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<sup>55</sup> This farmer has not been traced.

<sup>56</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, pp. 192-193.

<sup>57</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, pp. 193-194.

<sup>58</sup> James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: vol. 2: The Hauhau Wars, 1864-72* (Wellington, 1956), pp. 419-421.

<sup>59</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 194.

<sup>60</sup> This word has not been traced; clearly means purloined or squandered.

Mr R[obert] Graham',<sup>61</sup> a prominent settler who was one of the superintendents of the Auckland Province.<sup>62</sup> probably a mistake for his brother David, as will be shown. Te Naera Te Houkotuku recalled living as a young boy with Werahiko and his wife 'in the house wh. was the start of the present Lake House Hotel',<sup>63</sup> implying that the original building was very small. According to a younger witness, Henare Mete Amohau, although Werahiko 'was the proprietor' of the hotel, it belonged to Ngati Whakaue, and he was paid 'for his services by the iwi'.<sup>64</sup> It should be noted that Te Amohau was one of those opposing Werahiko having a hotel license in 1873;<sup>65</sup> no other witness supported his statement.

When Werahiko started his store is uncertain. Don Stafford has estimated that it was 'established perhaps as early as the mid-1860s', with accommodation being added by 1870.<sup>66</sup> In 'the very early 1870s' he used the Te Miringa subdivision of the Utuhina Block, on the west of the Utuhina Stream, as the horse paddock required for his hotel.<sup>67</sup> It is clear that facilities for guests were basic. In 1870, when Charles Ollivier visited Ohinemutu, the hot bath he mostly used 'was the creek at the far side of the settlement, close to the store.... There is fair accommodation for a limited number of travellers to be obtained at the store, which is kept by a most enterprising native, who is also most civil and obliging'.<sup>68</sup> A Tauranga correspondent described it in July 1871 as 'a tolerable house of accommodation'.<sup>69</sup> A visitor in early 1872 described arriving at 'the Maori imitation of an hotel, which is fitted up for the reception of English travellers'.

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<sup>61</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 221.

<sup>62</sup> See George Cruickshank, *Robert Graham, 1820-1885: An Auckland pioneer* (Wellington, 1940).

<sup>63</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 268, 272.

<sup>64</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 258-259.

<sup>65</sup> Petition by nine members of Ngati Whakaue, 14 July 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>66</sup> Stafford, *Landmarks*, p. 131; Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 80.

<sup>67</sup> Stafford, *Landmarks*, p. 49.

<sup>68</sup> Charles Morton Ollivier, *A Visit to the Boiling Springs of New Zealand; Including a trip to White Island* (Christchurch, 1871), pp. 12-13.

<sup>69</sup> Tauranga Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 27 July 1871, p. 2.

Just outside the door of our raupo hotel the dinner, on our arrival, was set to cook, where a shallow pool was fretting and fuming among the stones; and, after dinner, when night came on, we stepped out in our blankets to a large and less hot pool a few yards further off, and, with our heads only above the water, chatted and smoked for half-an-hour before turning into bed. The accommodation, except in respect of hot water, is not first-rate; but already, in anticipation of the completed road, the erection of a really good hotel by English proprietors has been seriously discussed, and the building is probably by this time under weigh.<sup>70</sup>

In August 1872, Werahiko was granted a publican's license for the Ohinemutu Hotel.<sup>71</sup> Two Napier merchants had financed its erection.<sup>72</sup>

In 1923, Gilbert Mair recalled that when he was at Ohinemutu recruiting Arawa to fight against Te Kooti, there was a 'little wooden store, where Lake House now stands, then kept by ... Hone Werahiko'.<sup>73</sup> In November 1872, William Wigley Moffatt, of whom nothing is known, obtaining pork, brandy, flour, tea, sugar and cash from him by false pretenses, a loss valued at £27. Werahiko gave evidence in the Supreme Court:

On the 1st November last, the prisoner came to his public-house at Ohinemutu, and bought a bottle of spirits, for which he did not pay. Witness told him that he did not give Europeans credit, and he gave witness the document produced, which he said was a cheque for £25. [The document was in the form of an ordinary bill of exchange drawn at 30 days' sight, payable to the order of William Wigley Moffatt, drawn on Hone Werahiko, and signed by William Wigley Moffatt]. The prisoner said the cheque was to be presented to Mr Thomas Wrigley, storekeeper, at Tauranga,<sup>74</sup> with whom he had £300 in an iron chest. Witness was to supply him with goods to the amount of the cheque. At the request of prisoner witness gave him an I.O.U. for £25, which was due to be torn up when all the goods were supplied. Witness sent his son to Mr Wrigley's with the cheque, who said he knew nothing about it.

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<sup>70</sup> 'Jottings of Journeyings in the North Island', *Wellington Independent*, 2 April 1872, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 9 August 1872, p. 267.

<sup>72</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 80.

<sup>73</sup> Gilbert Mair, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories* (Auckland, 1923), p. 10.

<sup>74</sup> See *Bay of Plenty Times*, 8 March 1876, p. 3, advertisement, 4 December 1891, p. 3, 17 October 1894, p. 2.

(This was the only mention of Werahiko having a son: was he really a son, or was he a near relative of his wife, or perhaps the son of her first husband?) Moffatt claimed the document was ‘security for payment for the public-house which it was arranged should be transferred to him’, but Werahiko ‘adhered to the statement that the document was given to him for goods to be supplied’. The jury believed him, finding the prisoner guilty without having to leave the jury box.<sup>75</sup>

The virtues of Werahiko’s new hotel were advertised in Tauranga in March 1873:

Ohinemutu Hotel. Tourists to the Hot Springs will find excellent accommodation at the above Hotel. Good paddocking. First class spirits.

Hone Wera Heko  
Proprietor<sup>76</sup>

From 9 January until 8 April, his advertisement in the Auckland press assured ‘travellers and tourists’ that the hotel was ‘replete with every convenience and comfort. The Hotel is close to the Hot Springs, which for their medicinal qualities are unrivalled’. Travellers would receive ‘every attention’.<sup>77</sup> In June, a visitor noted that there were two accommodation houses, ‘one kept by a European, the other by a Maori. The charges are moderate and the attendance good’,<sup>78</sup> meaning that guests were well looked after.

In April 1873, he applied for the renewal of his bush license,<sup>79</sup> going through his attorney, David Graham,<sup>80</sup> formerly a storekeeper at Te Papa, the mission station that became Tauranga.<sup>81</sup> Aged 51 in 1873, David was

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<sup>75</sup> Supreme Court, *Daily Southern Cross*, 11 January 1873, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, 15 March 1873, p. 1; Evelyn Stokes, *A History of Tauranga County* (Palmerston North, 1980), pp. 47-49.

<sup>77</sup> Advertisements, *Daily Southern Cross*, 9 January 1873, p. 4, to 8 April 1873, p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Overland from Napier to Auckland’, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 June 1873, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Hone Werahiko to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 14 April 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2207/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>80</sup> See *New Zealand Herald*, 2 June 1873, p. 2.

<sup>81</sup> See *East Coast Electoral Roll, 1872*, p. 4; Tauranga Correspondent, *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 May 1872, p. 3; Tauranga Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 June 1872, p. 3.

the younger brother of Robert, a notable land speculator.<sup>82</sup> After arriving in New Zealand in 1840, in partnership with his brother (until 1850) he became a leading merchant who had helped to establish the New Zealand Insurance Company, the Bank of New Zealand, and the Auckland Gas Company. For a time he was chairman of the Auckland City Board. As he had filed as bankrupt in 1868,<sup>83</sup> this would explain his more modest subsequent enterprises in the Tauranga and Rotorua districts. He spearheaded an attempt to prospect in the Kaimai area in 1872.<sup>84</sup>

In May 1873, Werahiko sent £10 to pay for his license, apologizing for not being able to attend the licensing meeting at Maketu 'on account of the late Mr D. Graham being ill in my house'.<sup>85</sup> Graham would die of 'paralysis' at Ohinemutu in mid-May.<sup>86</sup> Werahiko's application was supported by 39 Maori, who were all living at Ohinemutu: 'we have seen no worry in his work'.<sup>87</sup> Writing from Maketu in June, Werahiko reported that the local magistrate and the Maori Assessor both recommended the renewal.<sup>88</sup> On receipt of the Assessor's consent, and with the fee having been paid already,

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<sup>82</sup> For a critical account of Robert Graham's acquisition of Wairakei, see Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'amalgamation' in nineteenth century New Zealand* (Auckland, rev. ed., 1995), p. 256.

<sup>83</sup> Index to Deposited Documents, Department of Lands and Deeds, Auckland, vol. 1, pp. 180-182, BCAT A1009; Probate of David Graham, BBAE 1568/523, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of David Graham, 14 May 1873, 1873/7534, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, 15 May 1873, p. 2; see Cruickshank, pp. 21, 25, 30, 37, 105; *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. A.H. McLintock (Wellington, 1966), vol. 1, p. 870; Stafford, pp. 82, 149-150.

<sup>84</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 27 April 1872, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> Hone Werahiko to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 25 May 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>86</sup> Death Certificate of David Graham, 14 May 1873, 1873/7534, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, Thames Correspondent, 13 May 1873, p. 3, 15 May 1873, p. 2, 19 May 1873, p. 2; *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 May 1873, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Memorial to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 25 May 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>88</sup> Index to Superintendent's Letterbooks 1867-1872, folio 399, letterbook 68, folio 863; letterbook 69, folios 76, 515, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8182; Hone Werahiko to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 6 June 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

he was promised his renewal.<sup>89</sup> The following month, the Maketu magistrate, Francis Edward Hamlin,<sup>90</sup> contacted the Superintendent: 'Met a strong deputation of Ngatiwhakaue chiefs Strongly object to license being granted to Hone Werahiko - Request it to be withheld - will send objections in full by post'.<sup>91</sup> Hamlin's letter detailing the objections was sent on that same day; although claiming to be from all Ngati Whakaue, it had only nine signatures:

We will now point out to you the wishes formerly of N'Whakaue regarding the requirements of our pa Ohinemutu. During late years our thought showed itself, viz, to search out some plan for our village of Ohinemutu whereby on the coming of strangers of the two tribes, of the white skin and of the red skin, they might be accommodated, and that plan ... became a settled one, and we decided to throw forth that thought. [They wanted a license] for the stranger's house. This you granted under the provisions of the law to appoint a white man and his native companion to take care of that stranger's house which now stands in our permanent pa of Ohinemutu, and we collected money from the whole of the great tribe to find work, etc for those persons who might come to lodge with that pakeha and that native. Our money was lost in consequence of the manner in which those persons acted, and from our having no authority over the first house, therefore for these reasons, great is the confusion among us regarding Hone, and for these reasons we thought it best to apply to you for a new license for this year which you granted, and which amidst our confusion and the loss of our money greatly rejoiced us all. We again ask you to withdraw the first license, and drive forth that man to his own tribe at Waikato, or where ever his tribe may be, and let there be only one license, the new one for our settlement at Ohinemutu.<sup>92</sup>

Despite some of the sense being mangled in the translation, the import was clear: Werahiko was to go, and they were to have the hotel's license and profits. Their request was ignored, for the government had no power to

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<sup>89</sup> Memorandum on F.E. Hamlin to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 7 July 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>90</sup> See *Colonist*, 13 July 1885, p. 3; Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 119.

<sup>91</sup> F.E. Hamlin to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 7 July 1873 (telegram), Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>92</sup> 'All Ngatiwhakaue' to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 7 July 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

withdraw the license, which was duly gazetted in October.<sup>93</sup> Two months later, it was reported that Werahiko had sold his interest in the hotel to Isaac Wilson<sup>94</sup> and his presumed partner, one McKenna.<sup>95</sup> Wilson later stated that the deeds had been transferred to him in 1874, upon payment of £163.<sup>96</sup> The woman who later acquired the hotel from Wilson stated that Arihia as well as Werahiko had had an interest in it.<sup>97</sup> When Wilson took over the hotel, Werahiko and his wife were living on the Te Tapuae block, adjacent to Ohinemutu.<sup>98</sup>

On occasions Werahiko's hotel was managed, presumably in his absence, by Arekatara Rongowhitiao Te Puni,<sup>99</sup> 'a well-known local Maori who for a time conducted a very modest accommodation in a small house he had built near the Utuhina Stream'.<sup>100</sup> Known to Pakeha as Harry Carter, his hapu had a settlement beside this stream, where the present Tarewa Road runs.<sup>101</sup> In 1872, he was a 'Native Policeman', and five years later was a steward at a race meeting.<sup>102</sup> An 1872 English visitor, who reminded readers of his travels that he was 'M.A., University College, Oxford, late Editor and Originator of the Eton College Chronicle, and Oxford Undergraduate Journal', was unimpressed with Arekatara's management, and described the rival hostelryes:

The first is kept by a Maori, Ari Katera, or Henry Carter, and the food and lodging are said to be excellent of their kind, but his house was full of semi-intoxicated natives from Napier, whilst outside the door groups of young girls were dancing the

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<sup>93</sup> Memoranda written on two letters to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 7 July 1873, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A; *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 11 October 1873, p. 220.

<sup>94</sup> See *Bay of Plenty Times*, Rotorua Correspondent, 20 November 1875, p. 3, advertisement, 29 April 1876, p. 1, 24 August 1880, p. 3 (including letter from C.M. Wilson), advertisement, 30 October 1880, p. 3, Magistrate's Court, 2 May 1882, p. 2, 22 November 1882, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, 10 December 1873, p. 3; Stafford, pp. 80-81.

<sup>96</sup> Letter from Isaac Wilson, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 11 September 1880, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> Letter from Ann Robertson, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 30 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 195; see Stafford, *Landmarks*, map 4.

<sup>99</sup> For his full name, see Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 245.

<sup>100</sup> For its location, see Stafford, *Landmarks*, map 4.

<sup>101</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, pp. 72, 80, 142.

<sup>102</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, pp. 74, 120.



voluptuous and disgusting “haka,” so we preferred taking beds at Bennett’s where we found nothing but a semi-Anglicised hut, with execrable accommodation.<sup>103</sup>

A footnote to Werahiko’s career as a publican was a telegram, written in Maori, which he sent from Maketu to the Superintendent in June 1874: ‘My money was wrong for the license of last year, June 1873. I was in error and sent £10, it should have been £5. Return the difference to me. Do you pay for the wire’.<sup>104</sup> The wire was not paid and the money could not be refunded.<sup>105</sup>

#### ACQUIRING LAND AT OHINEMUTU IN 1874

Werahiko periodically lived at Maketu, including in 1873 and 1874.<sup>106</sup> At a hearing of the land court in Rotorua in 1899, his former partner, Akeratera, described how a theft led to Werahiko owning the Te Turanga-o-Hikanui block, between the Utuhina River and the Kuirau lake.<sup>107</sup> The original name for this block was Te Korokoro.<sup>108</sup> He said a portion of this land ‘was sold on account of “hara” [offence]<sup>109</sup> committed by Matene Karaka – He stole goods belonging to a Jew named [Gerald] Phillips’.<sup>110</sup> This offence appears to have been the theft of blankets, shirts, and trousers at Maketu in December 1867, when Werahiko was one of the witnesses for Phillips.<sup>111</sup> As Akeratera explained,

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<sup>103</sup> J. Ernest Tinne, *The Wonderland of the Antipodes; And other sketches of travel in the North Island of New Zealand* (London, 1873), p. 18.

<sup>104</sup> Hone Werahiko to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 19 June 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>105</sup> Note on Hone Werahiko to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 19 June 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>106</sup> See his correspondence from Maketu in 1873 and 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2206/74, ANZ-A.

<sup>107</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 89; Stafford, *Landmarks*, map 4, p. 129, and photograph of the general area on p. 42.

<sup>108</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 23, p. 22.

<sup>109</sup> Ryan, p. 12.

<sup>110</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 245.

<sup>111</sup> Letter ‘from all the Arawas’, *Daily Southern Cross*, 3 January 1868, p. 3.

At that time I was the Sergt of Police here – I & my men arrested Matene – The matuas [parents]<sup>112</sup> of Matene came to me to secure his release by their making payment – I went to Mr Phillips & asked him whether he wd. agree to that course of procedure, & he sd. that he wd. – The people looked around for a person to purchase the piece of land.... They found a purchaser in Hone Werahiko – He pd. £8 for the land.<sup>113</sup>

Phillips was a relative by marriage of Taekata Te Tokoihi, who was present when the purchase was made.<sup>114</sup> Fears that Matene Karaka would be imprisoned had prompted his relatives to sell this land.<sup>115</sup> Wiremu (commonly Wi) Matenga Te Waharoa confirmed his account, adding that Miriama Waitohi, Matene's aunt,<sup>116</sup> asked Arihia, Makuini, and Werahiko for £8, in return offering them 'land at Te Korokoro, adjoining land owned by them'.<sup>117</sup> The latter, of unknown extent on the northeastern boundary of the Te Tapuae block,<sup>118</sup> had been given to Arihia; she would later sell it to a tohunga's wife for £6.<sup>119</sup>

She sd. that she wd. give them the piece called Turanga-o-Hikanui – They agreed, & gave her the £8 – to her & others with her.

At the same time, after the money had been pd, the boundaries of the land were pointed out – on the same day – The money was paid at the Lake House....

After the bdies [boundaries] of the land had been pointed out, an agreement in writing was made bet. the sellers & purchasers – It was then that Hone Werahiko was made the kaiwhakahaere [organizer],<sup>120</sup> as he understood "tikanga Pakeha" [Pakeha customs]<sup>121</sup> – Only his name was inserted in that agreemt.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ryan, p. 25.

<sup>113</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 245-246.

<sup>114</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 89.

<sup>115</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 199.

<sup>116</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 235.

<sup>117</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 189.

<sup>118</sup> For its location, see Stafford, *Landmarks*, map 4.

<sup>119</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 2, p. 27.

<sup>120</sup> Ryan, pp. 16, 51; alternatively, 'one who conducted business': H.W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language* (Wellington, 1921), pp. 36, 102.

<sup>121</sup> Ryan, p. 44.

<sup>122</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, pp. 189-191.

Taekata Te Tokoihi, who was elected in 1896 to the Kotahitanga or Maori Parliament,<sup>123</sup> also ‘heard that the land was really purchased by Arihia, & that Hone was simply acting as kaiwhakahaere in the matter’.<sup>124</sup> He later said that he ‘looked upon Hone & Arihia as one – they were husband & wife – The land was purchased by both’.<sup>125</sup> Under the agreement, dated 22 August 1874, four owners ceded the land to Werahiko ‘in consideration of £8 pd re “he” [wrong]<sup>126</sup> of Matene Karaka’.<sup>127</sup> Arekatera recalled that ‘we all ... went to Hone Werahiko’s house – Lake House’, where the agreement was written.<sup>128</sup> Werahiko gave the money to Miriama Waitohi, who gave it to Arekatera, who, as he explained,

gave it to Mr Phillips – Thereupon I & my policeman released Matene – We were acting under Mr [Francis Edward] Hamlin, R. M. – I wrote to him asking instructions on subject & he sd. that he wd. allow Mr Phillips to settle it as he pleased – That was the first case of “hara” here, & that was why it was so arranged. The agreement was made & signed before we went upon the land – After it was signed, we went on the land to get boundaries pointed out, so that Hone might know – The agreement was not read out upon the land – That had been done at the kainga before we started for the land – The bdies. pointed out on the land agreed with those mentd. in the agreement – In that agreement the land was called Te Turanga-o-Hikanui – it was portn. of that piece.<sup>129</sup>

‘Arihia was present when the agreement was signed & the money paid - & also when the bdies ... were pointed out on the land’.<sup>130</sup> Another witness confirmed that the money was paid ‘at the kainga of Arihia & Hone – the Lake House Hotel’.<sup>131</sup> Te Naera Te Houkotuku, who was living in Lake House at the time, recalled ‘a very great amount’ of Ngati Whakaue being

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<sup>123</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 309.

<sup>124</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 92.

<sup>125</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 108.

<sup>126</sup> Ryan, p. 12.

<sup>127</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 191.

<sup>128</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 237.

<sup>129</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 246-247.

<sup>130</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 250.

<sup>131</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 258.

present when the boundaries were determined.<sup>132</sup> Reportedly Arihia selected the eastern portion of the block ‘as it adjoined land owned under her “take tupuna” ’,<sup>133</sup> meaning land she had inherited from her ancestors.<sup>134</sup>

The land was swampy and dangerous, and not until 1896 was the overflow from the large Kuirau spring running into the Utuhina Stream controlled.<sup>135</sup> Te Waharoa recalled that most of the land was ‘covered with manuka – Makuini Kahawai was then living at Te Korokoro Ngawha [ngawha = hot springs]<sup>136</sup> – Arihia Kahawai also lived there<sup>137</sup> – They sometimes lived there & sometimes at the Lake House’. Makuini then ordered them to clear the manuka off the land as far as Kuirau Ngawha.<sup>138</sup> According to Taekata Te Tokoihi, Werahiko started clearing the eastern portion, which Taekata claimed was part of his Te Kuirau Block. ‘Hone persisted that it was included in his purchase’, but Taekata believed that his purchase was limited to the portion already cleared for cultivation at the time of the sale.<sup>139</sup> Werahiko and Arihia were the first to do any work on this land.<sup>140</sup>

‘Some considerable time’ after the sale, Makuini gave Te Waharoa the agreement ‘for safe custody’. He ‘found that only Hone Werahiko was named, whereas she had told me that she & Arihia were included – I sought some way of getting Hone’s name expunged’, but as ‘he had gone away to Hauraki’, the agreement remained unchanged.<sup>141</sup> Under cross-examination, he found ‘fault with’ its wording, as only Werahiko’s name was recorded. He could not say that Werahiko had created these agreements: ‘You may know whether there was another agreement wh. was suppressed by him’. Another witness, Henare Mete, ‘alleged these agreements to be forgeries’ because one signature was in the wrong handwriting and two people had the wrong

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<sup>132</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 268, 271.

<sup>133</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 106.

<sup>134</sup> Ryan, pp. 41, 48.

<sup>135</sup> Stafford, *Founding Years*, pp. 406-407.

<sup>136</sup> Ryan, p. 29.

<sup>137</sup> Te Korokoro became linked to the Te Turanga-o-Hikanui block: see Stafford, *Landmarks*, p. 38.

<sup>138</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 192.

<sup>139</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Books, no. 23, p. 16; no. 41, pp. 90, 91.

<sup>140</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 23, p. 43.

<sup>141</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 196.

names.<sup>142</sup> Te Waharoa accused Werahiko of cheating because Arihia and Makuini's names were not included despite the land being 'rightfully the property of these women – Hone had the management of the transaction'.<sup>143</sup> He insisted that 'Hone Werahiko acted fraudulently in getting only his own name put in' and none of the others were 'to blame for Hone's wrongdoing'.<sup>144</sup> Arihia 'had been tinihanga'd', meaning tricked, 'by her husband'.<sup>145</sup>

A proposed main road had been surveyed but not made at the time of the purchase.<sup>146</sup> In 1876 Werahiko sought payment for Lake Road being made across his land, but the government declined 'to pay as land had not been injured by road, but rather improved'. In August that year, after paying an additional £1 he was acknowledged as owner of 'Whole land from Utuhina Stream to Kuirau Ngawha on both sides of road'.<sup>147</sup> The land had been swamp before the road was made.<sup>148</sup> This block was the only land he owned at Ohinemutu.<sup>149</sup>

One year after acquiring the land, Hone erected houses and lived there with Arihia. 'They had not been living there long when Arihia died'.<sup>150</sup> She was 'scalded in the Waikite Ngawha, just below the land at Te Tapuae'<sup>151</sup> wh. had been bought – She died from effects of scalding'.<sup>152</sup> This hot spring was close to Lake House, and as 'the scalds never healed', she 'died some time afterwards'.<sup>153</sup> One Maori stated that she 'lived eight days after she was scalded'.<sup>154</sup> Waitoa, a tohunga, who lived at Te Tupuae, 'attended her', and as the owners of Te Tapuae 'were afraid of being makutu'd by him',

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<sup>142</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 218.

<sup>143</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 220.

<sup>144</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 222.

<sup>145</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 221; Ryan, p. 45.

<sup>146</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 192.

<sup>147</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 191.

<sup>148</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Books, no. 40, p. 229; no. 41, p. 229.

<sup>149</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 228.

<sup>150</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 244, 247.

<sup>151</sup> For location of these sites, see Stafford, *Landmarks*, map 4.

<sup>152</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 195.

<sup>153</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 106.

<sup>154</sup> Evidence of Pererika Ngahuruhuru: Maketu Magistrate's Court, *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 December 1874, p. 5.

they ‘agreed to his request for inclusion’ in that block.<sup>155</sup> After her death, the owners of this land ‘all went to take her to Orangikahui’, the burial ground.<sup>156</sup> She did not leave a will.<sup>157</sup>

The date of her death was incorrectly recalled in the lands court,<sup>158</sup> and the cause of her falling into the ngawha was never mentioned in it, but magistrate’s court hearings at Maketu in November 1874 revealed the circumstances: Albert Fisher, an Ohinemutu publican, had ‘his license cancelled for serving a drunken native woman named Arihia’.<sup>159</sup> On 18 November, Thomas Bennett<sup>160</sup> lost his license after a rival hotelkeeper, Isaac Wilson, charged him with not occupying his hotel for more than 30 consecutive days.<sup>161</sup> Bennett, who ran the Rotorua Hotel, the only other hotel at Ohinemutu, had sold it in April that year, but, because the Licensing Act did not provide for a transfer of the license, officially still ran it eight months after the sale.<sup>162</sup> ‘The defendant pleaded ignorance, but at the same time admitted the charge’, leaving the magistrate ‘no alternative but to cancel’ his license’.<sup>163</sup>

At the same hearing, on the basis of information provided by Werahiko the police charged Bennett ‘with a breach of Licensing Act for supplying certain quantities of alcoholic liquors to Arihia Hone, her mental and physical faculties being at that time affected by alcoholic liquors’. After Bennett pleaded not guilty, Werahiko was the first to give evidence:

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<sup>155</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Books, no. 2, pp. 19, 21, 27; no. 23, p. 35; no. 41, p. 194.

<sup>156</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 195; Stafford, *Founding Years*, p. 413.

<sup>157</sup> Maori Land Court, Maketu Minute Book no. 4, pp. 12-13.

<sup>158</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Books, no. 40, pp. 295-296; no. 41, pp. 226, 255.

<sup>159</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 November 1874, p. 3.

<sup>160</sup> See *Bay of Plenty Times*, 10 October 1878, p. 3, 15 July 1880, p. 6, advertisement, 14 September 1880, p. 3.

<sup>161</sup> Maketu Correspondent, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 10 December 1874, p. 2.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas Bennett, petition, April 1876, Justice Department, Inward Letters 1875, J 1, 16211, 1875/1719, ANZ-W; advertisement, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 3 January 1874, p. 2, 15 April 1874, p. 2 [including advertisement], Rotorua Correspondent, 25 April 1874, p. 3; ‘A Visitor’, ‘Taupo and the Hot Springs’, *Wanganui Herald* 26 February 1874, p. 2.

<sup>163</sup> Maketu Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 28 November 1974, p. 2.

Arihia was my wife. On the 1st Sept., 1874, I accompanied her to Bennett's. I left her about 9 o'clock a.m. in defendant's house. I subsequently learned that about 10 o'clock a.m. of that day she was scalded in a boiling spring at Ohinemutu, and died in consequence. She and I went to the Rotorua Hotel. I had three glasses of rum, and left.

Mita Mekai then gave evidence:

She came to Morrison's hotel, the place where I was employed as cook. She was sober when she came, but drunk when she left. I saw her drink six glasses, and I gave her the seventh. She was drunk then. When she left I saw she was very drunk, and I predicted she would fall into a boiling spring. If she had not taken the seventh I believe no accident would have happened. The house I call Morrison's is the property of the defendant.

Under cross-examination, Mita stated that 'Arihia paid for all. Nobody had any money but her. I drank six glasses, Arihia had seven, Taro had four, Mihikorama had perhaps six, Pererika had three. I got drunk and went to bed, and could not cook'. Taro Mekai corroborated his evidence, adding that 'Arihia was scalded, and placed in the hands of the Maori doctors. Their decision was that her death arose from scalding and witchcraft'. A Pakeha witness, Alfred Andrew Fuller Allom,<sup>164</sup> testified to having seen Arihia enter the hotel sober and leave it drunk, and had commented to Te Matatu, 'That he had often seen Arihia drunk before, but never saw her in such a state that she could not keep her legs'.<sup>165</sup>

The hearing was adjourned until the end of the month, when Werahiko gave further evidence. On the morning of 1 September 'I received £5 from Wilson. I gave Arihia £1 to pay a debt due to Te Retui. I also gave her 10s in Morrison's hotel. After Arihia died Te Retui came to me, and asked me for that pound'. (Clearly Arihia had spent it drinking with her friends.) A Pakeha witness staying at Ohinemutu for his health saw Arihia supplied with only one drink, and did not consider she was drunk when she left the hotel. He 'was very much surprised to hear that she had become drunk and was scalded'. A policeman stated that after her death he had seen Mihikorama, 'who informed him that she was in Arihia's company the

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<sup>164</sup> See *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Death Notice, 21 March 1903, p. 2, advertisement, 20 April 1903, p. 4.

<sup>165</sup> Maketu Correspondent, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 10 December 1874, p. 2.

morning she got scalded. That they had both got drunk together' in the hotel. Te Tehi had confirmed that 'drunkenness was the cause of her being scalded'.

Paro, re-examined, stated that John Smith was with him previous to his coming to Maketu to attend the Court; that he asked him to give evidence in favour of Robinson, and that he would be compensated for doing so. – Hone Werahiko, re-examined, stated that he knew John Smith. That some time during September he asked him to give evidence in favour of Bennett and Robinson; that they would be "winners" by the transaction. He proposed that we should state that Arihia obtained four glasses and one bottle of brandy from Wilson's. Smith offered me £5. I declined and said I should tell the truth. – Nothing of any importance was elected from the cross-examination.

The first defence witness, Tautari, a policeman based at Ohinemutu, said he had one drink in the hotel 'and saw Arihia have one, then he and Hone left for Maketu'. Pererika Ngahuruhuru claimed that Arihia was sober. 'He saw her leave the hotel in company with his wife, Mihikorama'. He denied that in his letter asking the magistrate to inquire into her death he had stated she was drunk at that time. Te Tehi deposed that Arihia had 'shouted for some natives. She had two or three glasses, but left sober, in company with Mihikorama. I did not see her drunk on the day she was scalded, and I never told Constable Maltravers so'. The next witness, Mihikorama, said she was 'in her company during the whole time she was at the hotel. We left together. She was sober. She had three glasses of spirits. She was not drunk at any time during that day'.

Alfred Robinson, who had been in charge of the hotel at the time, had come from Auckland to give evidence. 'He supplied Arihia with two glasses of spirits.... She might have had more, but that was all he saw her drink'.

In cross-examination he stated that it was true that Mita got drunk at the hotel on that day, but it was in the afternoon about three o'clock. He was not drunk when in company with Arihia. He obtained liquor on the sly from other natives. He saw Arihia and others leave the hotel. She was sober, and walked in her usual manner.

The last point made by Bennett was that 'it had not been proved that at that time he was the holder of a publican's license'. The magistrate, 'after commenting very strongly upon some portions of the evidence adduced,



dismissed the case, with costs against the informant', Werahiko, who would have to pay £64 16s 2d.<sup>166</sup> A journalist commented that this imposition was 'rather a warning to persons who, without serious grounds, bring serious charges against others'.<sup>167</sup>

As Werahiko did not pay these costs, in 1875 Bennett petitioned the government for payment. As he explained, he had leased his Rotorua Hotel in April 1874, but, as the Licensing Act did not provide for a transfer of the license, the it remained in his name. Because the police had prosecuted him, he had been 'compelled to go to much greater expense and trouble than I should have been, had' Werahiko 'conducted his own case'. Although he won the case against him over Arihia's death, Werahiko 'now either is or pretends to be without money, but to the great annoyance of my witnesses he is at large at Maketu, and rather laughs at the idea of being made to pay'. Since the trial 'my witnesses have repeatedly applied to the Court for their expenses but can get no satisfaction'. As his position was one of 'great hardship', he hoped it could 'be met out of one of the Contingency votes'.<sup>168</sup> He asked Donald McLean for his assistance, but, not wishing to create a precedent, McLean informed him that the government had 'no power to interfere in this matter'.<sup>169</sup> The magistrate confirmed not only the truth of Bennett's statements but also confirmed his belief that Werahiko had no effects that could be seized to meet the debt.<sup>170</sup> The final comment on the file was that Bennett was 'a very troublesome and michievous person' who was 'living amongst the Narives and would find it to be against his interest to enforce payment'.<sup>171</sup>

Probably because of his financial position, 'shortly after' Arihia's death, 'Hone went away to his work of prospecting for gold - He left all their ... property behind.... After he had gone, Makuini, wife of Matenga

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<sup>166</sup> Maketu Correspondent, *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 December 1874, p. 5.

<sup>167</sup> Maketu Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 21 December 1874, p. 2.

<sup>168</sup> Thomas Bennett, Declaration of 27 April 1875, made at Maketu Magistrate's Court, Justice Department, J 1, 16211, 1875/1719, ANZ-W.

<sup>169</sup> Thomas Bennett to Donald McLean, 30 March 1875; Donald McLean to Thomas Bennett, 6 June 1875; Donald McLean to Thomas Bennett, 14 July 1876, Justice Department, J 1, 16211, 1875/1719, ANZ-W.

<sup>170</sup> Memorandum by T.E. Hamlin, 4 July 1875; memorandum of Thomas Bennett, 29 April 1875, Justice Department, J 1, 16211, 1875/1719, ANZ-W.

<sup>171</sup> Memoranda dated 13 February 1877, 2 March 1877, Justice Department, J 1, 16211, 1875/1719, ANZ-W.

Taiwhanga, took possession of the houses & property' because she was Arihia's niece.<sup>172</sup> 'The houses erected by Hone' near the road 'went into disrepair'.<sup>173</sup> In January 1899, Perepe Tapihana, of Maketu,<sup>174</sup> produced an agreement signed by Werahiko and himself on 14 August 1876. It was a mortgage given because Perepe had obtained a judgment against him for £8 8s; if not paid before 31 May 1877, his land would become Perepe's property.<sup>175</sup> Perepe was told by Werahiko that 'he alone found the money to pay for it' in 1874.<sup>176</sup> 'At date named in agreement ... Hone Werahiko was unable to pay me the money due to me – I spoke to him abt. it – He sd. that he cd. not pay, & that the land wd. be the paymt'.<sup>177</sup>

Te Waharoa denied this sale to Perepe because the latter 'was here when Hone Werahiko & we were living together on this land & Te Tapuae – He never then sd. that Hone had sold this land to him'. The agreement was made when Werahiko was living on the land and Te Waharoa was absent.<sup>178</sup> Te Waharoa gave the only evidence to be given in a court of law, or in any other forum, critical of Werahiko:

It is quite possible that Hone Werahiko may have made such an arrangemt. with Perepe Tapihana – He was a man of that sort – he tangata tahae [a man who stole or cheated]<sup>179</sup> – I discovered at Cambridge some years ago a silver badge (or locket) [produced] wh. had been given by Govt. to Te Hinapouri Kahawai Tawakeheimoa in recognition of loyalty (dated 28.4.64) – It appeared that Hone had sold it to Mr [Alfred Andrew] Allom, the horse-doctor [a veterinarian at Rotorua],<sup>180</sup> & he had sold it to a European in Cambridge – Te Raihi & I had gone to that Pakeha to sell sheep, & it was then shown to Te Raihi by the European –

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<sup>172</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 247; confirmed on p. 296.

<sup>173</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 252; confirmed in Minute Book no. 41, p. 51.

<sup>174</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 227.

<sup>175</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, pp. 225-226, 230.

<sup>176</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 231.

<sup>177</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 231.

<sup>178</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 206.

<sup>179</sup> Ryan, pp. 12, 40, 41.

<sup>180</sup> See *Waikato Times*, 24 April 1880, p. 2; Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 2, pp. 17, 19, 21, 27, 30; Death Certificate of A.A.F. Allom, 1903/2969, BDM; Stafford, *Founding Years*, pp. 79, 107, 119, 120, 276, 301.

When the position of matters was explained, that European gave it up to me.<sup>181</sup>

### PROSPECTING IN OHINEMURI

It is possible that Werahiko participated in the Ohinemuri rush of 1875. Adam Porter's party,<sup>182</sup> which sought the Number One South claim at Karangahake in April, included five Maori, one of whom was Hone or Hona.<sup>183</sup> In May, a miner named Hone, still with no surname, held shares in the Mazeppa Company of Karangahake.<sup>184</sup> If this man was Hone Werahiko, it was the beginning of his long association with Porter.

Werahiko certainly prospected at Waitekauri off and on for some years, possibly commencing in 1875. An obituary recalled him being 'an energetic prospector in the early days of Waitekauri'.<sup>185</sup> The following tale, written in 1887 by 'Native' (almost certainly a leading mine manager, John McCombie,<sup>186</sup> whose usual pseudonym was 'Aboriginal'),<sup>187</sup> mentioned his ability as a prospector. The scene was a campfire at Maratoto, across the range from Waitekauri, with 'old hands' relating their experiences. One man asked:

Do any of you fellows remember the Black Doctor who used to be gum-digging and fossicking in these parts about seven or eight years ago, and who was supposed to have met an untimely fate while endeavouring to cross one of the rivers somewhere in the neighbourhood of Mercury Bay? Those of you who were at Waitekauri in the early days of that place will doubtless remember that he officiated as cook in Corbett's boarding-house....

The Black Doctor was a native of Mexico, and he had been raised at one of the silver-mining centres in that country. He was a

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<sup>181</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 41, p. 207.

<sup>182</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>183</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Warden's Ohinemuri Notes 1875-1877, p. 44, Hearing of 7 April 1875, BACL 14566/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>184</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 May 1875, p. 329.

<sup>185</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>186</sup> See paper on Billy Nicholl.

<sup>187</sup> The style was similar to McCombie's other writings, the pseudonym was almost identical, and the description of Werahiko as 'a born prospector' was repeated in John McCombie, 'Early Days of Te Aroha', *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 December 1910, p. 7.

fairly educated man, spoke English fluently, and professed to be well up in all matters connected with mining. He was dubbed the Black Doctor, because of his copper-coloured skin together with his ability to compound medicines and lotions from herbs.... Unfortunately for himself however, he was a pewterologist of the first water - that is, he knew more about pints than quartz.... At the time of which I am about to speak he had been digging gum in the direction of Waitekauri, and after a few weeks' work went down to Bob Kelly's hotel, Hikutaia, to "lush" the proceeds.

On his return journey, he became lost in the bush.

Before he had gone many chains [upstream] from his starting point, he came to a reef running at right angles to the course of the gully and outcropping so much above the level of its bed as to make a waterfall, over which he had some difficulty in clambering. This lode was about 10ft thick, and upon examining the stone he saw that it was rich in gold as well as in what he called "sulphureth" of silver, which he said, was also present in a metallic form. To break the samples of the stone from the lode was no easy matter, seeing that he had neither pick nor hammer to assist in the work, but, with the aid of a hard stone, he managed to get a few rich pieces which he placed in his handkerchief, and fastening the bundle on his waistbelt, resumed his journey. In due course he regained the gum track, and, while taking a spell thereon he thought he would make a fresh examination of the samples of ore. Back went his hand mechanically to the place where he had fastened his handkerchief with its precious metals to his waist belt, only to find that it was not there. It had been torn from its fastening from some of the underscrub through which he had forced his way in coming from the ravine, and was lost. At first he thought of going back to get more samples, but the day was now far advanced, and he dreaded having to spend another night in the bush. Besides, he was hungry and tired, and was anxious to go home to Waitekauri, so as to make final arrangements for taking up the ground and prospecting the discovery. Then he never entertained the slightest doubt his ability to find the place, and, upon reaching the camp, the very first man to whom he communicated his news was the late Hone Werahiko, who subsequently made the gold discoveries at Te Aroha. Hone, who was a born prospector, and was then fossicking at Waitekauri, listened impatiently to the Black Doctor's story, and, at the conclusion thereof, summed up the whole business with that expressive Maori word "Hori Hori Hori" [rubbish].<sup>188</sup> The Black Doctor persisted with the statement

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<sup>188</sup> Ryan, p. 14.

to such an extent that in the end Hone was prevailed upon to accompany him to the scene of the new find, and they started off at daylight the following morning. They were out day after day for several weeks, but they failed to locate the Doctor's reef, and whenever Hone was questioned he invariably replied "Hori, Hari te Kare o te taketa."<sup>189</sup> Certain Europeans started out on the same wild goose chase, but none of them ever tumbled across the Doctor's reef, and of course they all united in pronouncing it a swindle.<sup>190</sup>

(James Corbett had established his store and hotel at Waitekauri in late 1875,<sup>191</sup> and Robert Kelly opened his hotel at Hikutaia in the middle of that year.)<sup>192</sup> This story was remembered and told to newcomers over the years.<sup>193</sup> As usual with oral transmission, the details changed somewhat over the years, but the essential core remained. Harold Sparkes, the last miner to live at Maratoto, told visitors in the late 1950s that the Black Doctor, 'a dark-skinned South American who claimed to be a herbalist', lived in that valley. 'He also claimed to be a lucky prospector and when he had had too much to drink, which was apparently often, he would shout out in Spanish: "I am the Golden Man" '. In Sparkes' version, the 'doctor' was returning from Thames after drinking heavily. Drinking rum along the way, he lost the pack track in the dark, spent the night in the bush, and next day found the reef in a creek, broke off the samples, and then lost them, as in the original account. When he returned to the valley (whether Maratoto or Waitekauri was not made clear), 'the first person he told of his find was a well-known Maori prospector Hone Werahiko, but Hone was

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<sup>189</sup> According to Tom Roa of the University of Waikato, this is gibberish; from the context, clearly he was saying that there was no such reef.

<sup>190</sup> 'Native', 'On the Maratoto Diggings: the Black Doctor's Reef', *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1887, p. 2.

<sup>191</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, Ohinemuri Correspondent, 17 November 1875, p. 3, 18 April 1876, p. 3, 2 October 1877, p. 3, 27 October 1877, p. 2, 19 December 1878, p. 3, Ohinemuri Correspondent, 7 January 1881, p. 3.

<sup>192</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 10 June 1875, p. 402; *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 18 September 1875, p. 503, 5 September 1876, p. 350; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 26.

<sup>193</sup> For example, Patrick Keegan, 'Working Around the North Island, 1890-1920: The Goldfields and Whakatane', *Historical Review: Bay of Plenty Journal of History*, vol. 38 no. 1 (May 1990), pp. 49-50.

doubtful about the story and as the weeks went by and the Black doctor failed to relocate the reef Hone became openly sceptical. “Porangi te takea” - “the Doctor is mad!” he would say’. This version (which was notable for spelling Werahiko’s name correctly) ended with the Black Doctor continuing to search for his reef before disappearing. When the Lowrie brothers discovered the valuable Golden Cross mine near the saddle of the range 16 years later, his skeleton was found on a rocky ledge near a gully matching his description of where he had made his find.<sup>194</sup>

### PROSPECTING ELSEWHERE

It is possible that a March 1876 report about a gold discovery in some creeks running into the Waihou River referred to Werahiko. A newspaper was informed of this discovery ‘by an intelligent native some time ago. The gold was good creek gold, quartz well impregnated with the metal, and is declared by a gentleman who saw the specimens to be excellent’.<sup>195</sup> (Could the ‘gentleman’ have been Porter?) In November 1876, Werahiko and Charles Morgan wrote from Tauranga seeking a license to prospect in the Kaimai district.<sup>196</sup> Since at least 1868, there had been rumours of a large deposit of gold there, and hopes were expressed that the Maori landowners would permit prospecting.<sup>197</sup> The area Werahiko was especially interested in prospecting appears to have been across the range, at or near Te Aroha mountain. In 1880, Charles Featherstone Mitchell,<sup>198</sup> when applying on Werahiko’s behalf for the reward for discovering gold at Te Aroha, wrote that not only had Werahiko tested Te Aroha in 1877 but he had ‘applied to the Provincial authorities in 1876 for a Prospector’s License on behalf of himself and Charles Morgan’. As the land had not gone through the court, ‘the license could not be granted’.<sup>199</sup> No Charles Morgan was recorded on the electoral rolls for the Tauranga or Thames areas in the 1870s, apart

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<sup>194</sup> Ann Bale, *Maratoto Gold* (Auckland, 1971), pp. 106-107.

<sup>195</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, n.d., cited in *Thames Advertiser*, 29 March 1876, p. 3.

<sup>196</sup> Hone Werahiko and Charles Morgan to Reader Wood, 20 November 1876, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFL 8170, 2806/76, ANZ-A.

<sup>197</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 December 1868, p. 3; *New Zealand Herald*, 11 September 1871, p. 2; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 6 November 1872, p. 3.

<sup>198</sup> See papers on the Thames Miners’ Union and the Te Aroha rush.

<sup>199</sup> C.F. Mitchell to Premier, 1 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

from Eli Charles Morgan, a bootmaker at Thames,<sup>200</sup> who did invest in mining.<sup>201</sup> (As members of the Mokena family, who lived at Te Aroha, were commonly known as Morgan, could Charles have been one of the sons? If he was, this name was never used on any other occasion by either Akuhata (Augustus), Ranapia (Lanfear), or Rewi (Davy). The only son it could have been was the youngest, Rewi; but it was most unlikely that any of them were involved.)

Despite not having received permission, Werahiko prospected Te Aroha in 1877. After finding signs of gold, he ‘was stopped by the owners of the land, as he was not a member of the hapu’.<sup>202</sup> The main owners of the land where he was to find gold in 1880 were the Mokena family, but other rangatira may have turned him off, even if Werahiko had been prospecting with one of Mokena’s sons. In 1877 he ‘saw sufficient ... to convince him that the spur’ on which he would make his 1880 discovery was auriferous.<sup>203</sup> His most detailed account of his 1877 explorations was given to a journalist on 24 October 1880:

In 1877 he had prospected the Aroha range, and met with encouraging results, having washed in half a day from a creek near the new “find” 4dwt of good quality gold. Shortly after starting work he was ordered off the ground by the Aroha natives, as he did not belong to that part of the country, and left for the East Coast.<sup>204</sup>

It had taken him two hours’ work to obtain this result.<sup>205</sup> He did not stay on the coast, for in 1878 (as Hone Warihiko) he was issued with a miner’s right for Ohinemuri and with another (as Honi Werahekao) on 5 May 1880.<sup>206</sup> An ‘Old Hand’ who knew him recalled, in 1910, that he ‘spent

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<sup>200</sup> *Thames Electoral Rolls, 1874*, p. 53; *1878*, p. 55; *1880*, p. 15; see also Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 2 April 1880, p. 3.

<sup>201</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, advertisement, 13 November 1875, p. 2, advertisement, 7 August 1879, p. 2, Ohinemuri Warden’s Court, 23 October 1876, p. 3.

<sup>202</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2.

<sup>203</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1880, p. 2.

<sup>204</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>205</sup> C.F. Mitchell to Premier, 1 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>206</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Ohinemuri Miners’ Rights 1876-1892, no. 216 of 1878, no. 278 of 1880, BACL 14441/2a; Index of Hauraki and Ohinemuri Miners’ Rights 1879-1880, no. 278, BACL 14357/2b, ANZ-A.

more of his time in the Ohinemuri district than he did in Te Aroha, though he himself belonged to the East Coast'.<sup>207</sup>

In the late 1870s, Werahiko was, according to his own account, living on the East Coast,<sup>208</sup> probably at Maketu. Arekatara recalled that he attended the great Kingite meeting at Whatiwhatihoe (near Pirongia) in May 1879 before returning to Thames.<sup>209</sup> This meeting, really at Te Kopua beside the Waipa Rover, was the largest since the Waikato War and was attended by 'about six thousand'.<sup>210</sup> Although Werahiko, being of lowly rank, did not speak,<sup>211</sup> he must have made or have renewed contact with some King Country rangatira, for they would remember him when deciding to open their land to prospectors in later years, as will be shown.

### THE DISCOVERY OF 1880

According to his own account, as given on 24 October, Werahiko was on the East Coast in 1880:

Reading in the newspapers that Government had set aside a sum of £200 to aid in prospecting the Aroha district, he returned to it about three months ago, and, in company with two Germans [never named], was employed by Mr Porter (on behalf of the Government) to prospect the hills there, their remuneration being £1 per week. I may here mention that I was informed by a settler that the reasons why Johnnie was employed were because of his former knowledge of the district, and his having been prospecting in various parts of the North Island for the past ten or twelve years. After working for some weeks his mates threw up their billets, and he and another native (David Morgan, I believe), prosecuted the search for the precious metal, and about five weeks ago lighted upon the reefs and boulders from which the quartz he showed us yesterday came from. Fifteen men's ground

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<sup>207</sup> Letter from 'Old Hand', *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>208</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3; others confirmed that he lived on the East Coast before coming to Te Aroha: *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3, and letter from 'Old Hand', *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>209</sup> Maori Land Court, Rotorua Minute Book no. 40, p. 248.

<sup>210</sup> R.S. Bush to Native Minister, 2 June 1879, *AJHR*, 1879, G-1, p. 15.

<sup>211</sup> W.H. Grace to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 22 July 1879, *AJHR*, 1879, G-1A, p. 2; 'Te Kopua Meeting', *AJHR*, 1879, G-2.



was pegged out, an arrangement being first made with Mokena Hou.<sup>212</sup>

It seems unlikely that Mokena had been opposed to prospecting in 1877.<sup>213</sup> In 1880, on an unspecified date, he gave written permission for Werahiko and Arama Poata to 'do work on his lands at Te Aroha'.<sup>214</sup> Nothing is known of the latter, and there were no reports of his assisting Werahiko, as Mokena's youngest son Rewi did.

As a *Thames Advertiser* reporter believed that Porter was claiming to have discovered the gold, to refute this he gave a detailed account of the background to the find:

The fact is Porter, who claims to be the Simon Pure, is not the discoverer at all, but Hone Werahiko, a most intelligent native.... Hone hails from the East Coast, where he was until a few months ago, and seeing that the Aroha was to be prospected he came back to the Thames, when a party was wanted he offered his services, knowing where the most likely spots were. He was one of the party which Porter undertook to write to the Government about, and get the necessary assistance for. The Germans, who were also of the same party, went to the Wairakau district, whilst he remained at the Springs, and was soon able to produce some nice prospects, not half a mile away from the springs, and gave Mr Porter a sample of stone he had found.... All the talk about the discovery being on the High School reserve, or near the Wairere Falls, was simply a ruse to throw others off the scent. The fact that the men who were prospecting in that direction went back to Waitekauri nearly two months ago, is evidence of this. Hone was afraid, after what he had done, that Porter would claim not only the credit, but the land, too, if he could get it, and his surmise was verified by subsequent events.<sup>215</sup>

Porter denied these accusations, explaining that he had applied in June for some of the money available to assist prospecting and at the end of July had sent four men to Te Aroha after giving them 'all the information' he had about the district.<sup>216</sup> This was correct, except for the date of the

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<sup>212</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>213</sup> See papers on his life and on Maori and mining at Te Aroha.

<sup>214</sup> Authorisation (written in Maori) by Mokena Hou, n.d. [1880], Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W [translation provided by Tom Roa, University of Waikato].

<sup>215</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>216</sup> Letter from Adam Porter, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1880, p. 3.

party starting work; but how did he gain this ‘information’? In January 1880 he had written to the Auckland Waste Lands Board asking it to reserve from sale the portion of the Aroha Block from Mangaiti Creek to ‘the large Creek above the Hot Springs as in that portion of the Block there are several Quartz reefs that are auriferous’.<sup>217</sup> As he did not claim that he knew this from personal investigation, it was probable that Werahiko had told him of his 1877 find. On 13 July, the warden, Harry Kenrick,<sup>218</sup> had recommended that Porter’s party receive a grant-in-aid; at the end of the year they would receive £31 16s.<sup>219</sup>

On 4 August it was reported that Porter’s prospecting party would leave for Te Aroha in five days’ time.<sup>220</sup> Porter’s account continued:

Two of the party only stayed a short time, and they wrote to me on the 28th of August, saying that they had not obtained sufficient prospects to justify them in staying longer in the district, and they then went back to Waitekauri. Hone Werahiko, in the meantime, had met with prospects sufficient to convince him that good stone would be found, and with John [Mc]Sweeney<sup>221</sup> put in several cuttings on the hill that has since been pegged off. At the beginning of September Hone gave me some good stone which he picked up on the surface, and asked me to get protection to try the ground. This I at once applied for.<sup>222</sup>

So Porter was not claiming he discovered gold, instead organizing the prospecting party and arranging for the subsidy. Werahiko had the ‘working management’ of the party, because he was, in Kenrick’s words, ‘an experienced Maori miner, well acquainted with the district’.<sup>223</sup> Once the two Germans abandoned the party, Werahiko continued to explore alone. This

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<sup>217</sup> Adam Porter to Chairman, Waste Lands Board, Auckland, 7 January 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>218</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>219</sup> Warden to Under-Secretary for Gold Fields, 13 July 1880, Mines Department, Register of Inwards Correspondence, MD 2/1, 80/690; Warden to Under-Secretary of Gold Fields, 28 December 1880, Mines Department, Register of Inwards Correspondence, MD 2/1, 80/1190, ANZ-W.

<sup>220</sup> *Thames Star*, 4 August 1880, p. 2; see also Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary of Gold Fields, 2 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, H-17, p. 12.

<sup>221</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>222</sup> Letter from Adam Porter, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>223</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary of Gold Fields, 2 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, H-17, p. 12.

was hard work, but George Stewart O'Halloran,<sup>224</sup> the local hotelkeeper, came to his assistance, as his memoirs recalled (and incorrectly extended the period of prospecting considerably). Earlier in the year, O'Halloran had employed John McSweeney, 'a strapping young fellow', as a labourer:

He remained with me for some months when a Maori called Hone made his appearance and for some time camped in the bush near the Hotel. It afterwards transpired that he was prospecting for gold and he admitted to me that he had he thought got a good show and produced a few small specimens. He was not very strong and the work [was] too much for him, and he wanted a mate who would go shares with him in anything they might discover. On this, I introduced my man Jack, told him I had nothing further for him to do, that I would pay him up and recommended him to throw in his lot for a few weeks at any rate with the Maori. He consented, and not to dwell too long on the subject in a couple of months they had found a gold bearing reef.<sup>225</sup>

During the jubilee celebrations of 1910, when it was stated that McSweeney had found the gold jointly with Werahiko, 'Old Hand' and 'Fair Play' immediately refuted this claim. The former wrote that Werahiko found the gold

when on his way from Te Aroha to the East Coast, and while his horse was having a drink at the foot of the hill (where the native track then was) at the creek ... he saw something shining in the water. He dismounted and found it was a piece of quartz with a good show of gold in it. Well, Hone did not go further on his journey but returned to the Pa, and started next morning to prospect this creek up to the Prospector's Spur. After prospecting there for some time he traced the gold up the spur to where he found the leader.<sup>226</sup>

This account was a conflation of Werahiko's first discovery in 1877 coupled with his prospecting in 1880. 'Old Hand' correctly recalled that

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<sup>224</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>225</sup> George Stewart O'Halloran, untitled memoirs, (1894), pp. 120-121, MS 1345, Alexander Turnbull Library [punctuation added].

<sup>226</sup> Letter from 'Old Hand', *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

Werahiko went to Waitekauri in 1880 with some samples to show his two friends, Porter and James Corbett.<sup>227</sup>

Mr Corbett was in a big way in business at that time in Waitekauri, and as this was the part of Ohinemuri that Hone lived in, Mr Corbett was a good friend of his. One could hardly help to be a friend to Hone, for he was such a fine native.... Mr McSweeney at that time was like a good many more of us, on the lookout for a job, and Hone having got to know him at the Hot Springs,

gave him a job helping to open up the ore, his reward being a share in the claim.<sup>228</sup> 'Fair Play' agreed that McSweeney's only role was 'to put in a trench to strip the lead'.<sup>229</sup>

According to one of Werahiko's applications for a reward for finding a payable goldfield, he discovered gold, with Mokena Hou,

on a Spur of the Te Aroha Mountain, behind O'Halloran's Hot Springs Hotel, about the 16th of August, 1880. The stone in which we found gold was dark brown quartz Sandstone, and the Specimen is the one handed to the Warden ... by Mr C.F. Mitchell. Other Stone that we pounded up yielded at the rate of about one ounce to the ton.

They claimed the reward 'conjointly',<sup>230</sup> but Mokena had not been involved: his son Rewi had assisted Werahiko, and the claim on behalf of his father was a devise to enable him to claim some of the reward. That Werahiko was grateful to Mokena for permitting him to prospect was indicated by the fact that while Pakeha, including his friend Corbett, had to purchase an interest from him, he gave interests to the Mokena family.<sup>231</sup>

Because Werahiko feared that others would discover and 'jump' his find before he had obtained a legal title, he kept its location secret. Late in September, when a few other prospectors had been attracted to the area,

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<sup>227</sup> For his life see *Thames Star*, 27 August 1908, p. 2; for his one investment in the district after the rush, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 181, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>228</sup> Letter from 'Old Hand', *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>229</sup> Letter from 'Fair Play', *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>230</sup> C.F. Mitchell to Premier, 1 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>231</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 19 November 1880, p. 3, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

Peter Ferguson<sup>232</sup> and David Martin McIntyre<sup>233</sup> found gold that, they claimed, had been traced for one mile. According to Ferguson's letter to Kenrick, 'we came back to where the wash gave the best prospect near a reef - here we met Hone Werahiko; I asked him if he had got any gold, he said no - he couldn't get anything in the stone'. When Ferguson reported finding prospects in the creek, 'Hone then told us he had got surface stone shewing gold, and we picked up several pieces shewing stone - we found a Leader about seven 7 inches thick shewing gold - a Large Reef that I am sure will have runs of gold in it at a depth'.<sup>234</sup> Whether this 'we' included Werahiko is uncertain, for Ferguson and McIntyre were attempting to prove they were the first discoverers.

Aware that others sought to profit from his find, Werahiko continued to be discreet. By the end of October,

altogether about a hundredweight of good picked stone and specimens have been obtained from Hone's ground, and for safe keeping it has been lodged at the chief Morgan's house. It appears it was Hone's custom, when he obtained gold-bearing quartz, to "plant" it in the vicinity of his workings. He had hidden about 70lb in this way....

He ... kept his discoveries a secret for a little time, planting the stone showing gold in various quarters. When he gave to Mr Adam Porter a parcel of these showing gold, he continued to find and hide others, and it is said that these are some of the plants which have been sprung.<sup>235</sup>

This last comment referred to the fact that, after the announcement of the discovery, several prospectors who rushed to Te Aroha claimed to have found gold. A pigeonogram, sent on 1 November by a special reporter, reported that

Hone, and his mate [Mc]Sweeney, both told me that they feel confident that the stone Grant exhibited in Grahamstown was a piece they obtained and "planted," and this impression is pretty generally shared in. They say that [Obadiah Daniel] Grant was

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<sup>232</sup> See paper on Peter Ferguson and his New Era.

<sup>233</sup> See *Tames Advertiser*, 7 January 1875, p. 2, 11 January 1876, p. 3, 12 June 1878, p. 3, 31 January 1881, p. 2.

<sup>234</sup> Peter Ferguson to Warden, 18 October 1880, in Thames Warden's Court, Letters and Telegrams 1879-1892, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>235</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

seen going on to their ground, and that he refused to show them the stone, when they, hearing he had found one, went to see it.<sup>236</sup>

Grant, a Thames baker,<sup>237</sup> would participate in the rush and become part owner of one claim,<sup>238</sup> but had not found gold beforehand. Another example of Werahiko trying to hide the location of his discovery from rivals was his telling Mitchell, on the latter's first visit to the find, that there was no reef. Mitchell, who had been prospecting, spotted a reef he estimated was five or six feet thick:

My friend, the prospector, whom I had known before-time, whether from his being only an unsophisticated savage or not I can't tell, was not quite so adept at lying as other people; but even he declared that what was in the stone was not gold, but he admitted having, some time ago, washed out of the adjoining creek 4dwt of gold in half a day.<sup>239</sup>

The 'some time ago' probably referred to his 1877 discovery, and the 'unsophisticated savage' comment may have been how Mitchell saw Maori rather than his opinion of Werahiko; indeed, it was less a criticism of Maori than of Pakeha liars.

Interviews given by Werahiko provided the most detailed picture of his personality. Two different accounts of a meeting with him and some members of the Mokena family at O'Halloran's hotel on Sunday 24 October were given by special reporters from the rival Thames newspapers. The *Thames Advertiser's* account was published first:

Amongst those present was Mokena Hou, the owner of the land on which the claims are situated, three or four of his sons [he had three], and Hone Werahiko, who may be considered the original prospector. Of course, as soon as I was aware of the position he stood in, I entered into conversation with him, and endeavoured to extract from him the fullest and most reliable information regarding the discovery, or to show me over the spot; but, as I

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<sup>236</sup> Pigeongrams, *Thames Star*, 1 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>237</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, Magistrate's Court, 21 August 1875, p. 3, 14 August 1879, p. 3, 18 July 1881, p. 3.

<sup>238</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 548, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1d; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 173, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>239</sup> Paeroa Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 20 October 1880, p. 3.

anticipated, he declined to do either of these things, his reasons for refusing being that he was afraid if he told me anything that the publication of it would complicate matters, and perhaps have the effect of causing some persons to “jump” his claim. He is a man of about thirty, and the most intelligent and well-educated native I have met for some time. Notwithstanding that he declined to divulge any information whatever, he very kindly showed the party several pounds of quartz which he had taken off the ground he had pegged out.<sup>240</sup>

The *Thames Star* managed to slip in a dig at its rival, and included the only direct speech attributed to Werahiko:

I found “Johnny” and Davy Morgan, a son of the chief’s, very intelligent natives and able to converse in fluent English. When they learned the object of my mission it was exceedingly difficult to bring them out of their shell. I argued with Johnny, and showed him the advantage of letting the public of the Thames become well-informed concerning the goldfield, reading them extracts from different papers as instances of the contradictory nature of the reports respecting the goldfield. When I referred to the “200 ounces to the ton” of the Advertiser’s correspondent [Charles Featherstone Mitchell],<sup>241</sup> the natives grinned and said “gammon” [nonsense, humbug].<sup>242</sup> Johnny said, “You think because I’m black that you can have me soft. No fear, cocky! When I was in Auckland they charged me sixpence for a newspaper, and the news that I could give you would sell a lot of papers for you. You must give me something,” and the other native grunted in consent. We parleyed for some time, and it was not until some vigorous “shouting” at O’Halloran’s had been done that they could be induced to loosen their tongues a little.

Werahiko then told them of his 1877 exploration, said he had found a reef, and gave details of the rich gold he had found in some boulders. ‘One of the party offered him a pound if he would take him to this leader and show him gold in it, but the native declined - for what reason I do not know, unless it was that he feared the pakeha making the offer had sinister designs on his claim’.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>241</sup> See paper entitled ‘The Discovery of Gold at Te Aroha and its Consequences’.

<sup>242</sup> Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8 ed., ed. Paul Beale (London, 1984), p. 444.

<sup>243</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2.

OBTAINING AND COMMENCING TO WORK THE PROSPECTORS'  
CLAIM

On 3 November, 'Hone and Davy Morgan' arrived at Thames, 'having business with the Warden regarding their prospectors' area'.<sup>244</sup> Werahiko arranged for this to be surveyed, and, after Kenrick decreed that the Prospectors' Claim would be nine men's ground in size, Werahiko received four of the shares; three were awarded to Porter, and two to McSweeney.<sup>245</sup>

On his first visit to Te Aroha on 25 October, Werahiko and Porter showed Kenrick the find,<sup>246</sup> which he described in a letter to Frederick Whitaker, the Attorney General:

At the top of the cleared part of this Spur Hone Werahiko had put in a cutting or drive about ten feet. In this there was a well-defined leader of about six inches thick, but no gold visible in the stone that was taken out while I was there. About sixty feet lower down the spur another cutting has been put in for a few feet upon a well-defined leader.... Hone Werahiko states that he has seen gold in this leader and has crushed a little of the stone roughly, obtaining the color from the stone. Later in the day he brought me down two pieces of stone, with a speck or two of gold showing in them, that he said (I believe truly) had been just taken out of the leader.<sup>247</sup>

In notes not included in this report, Kenrick recorded that it was 'only fair' to Werahiko 'to state that he appears honestly anxious to work on his leader and show that it is payable'.<sup>248</sup> Werahiko did indeed continue to prospect, and showed a visiting reporter on 1 November 'about 70lb of stone obtained from the surface a few days ago, several of the pieces being worth fully 1/2 an ounce per pound'. At his claim, the reporter 'found Hone and his mates busy trenching. Hone showed me the leader from which the crushing was taken.... Johnnie discovered most of the surface stone by burning off the

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<sup>244</sup> *Thames Star*, 4 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>245</sup> *Thames Star*, 8 November 1880, p. 2, 17 November 1880, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 18 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>246</sup> *Thames Star*, 27 October 1880, p. 2.

<sup>247</sup> Harry Kenrick to Fred Whitaker (Attorney General), 27 October 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 12/353, ANZ-W.

<sup>248</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1880, p. 3.



fern and scrub'.<sup>249</sup> Another reporter was guided to the claim by the leader of another party because the prospectors were 'down on the flat enjoying a respite from their labours'. He described the hard work that had been done in digging trenches and taking auriferous boulders down to the foot of the mountain on their backs:

Six men are now working the ground - three extra hands have been taken on during the past week - but with two exceptions none are practical miners. Hone Werahiko, the chief claimant of the ground, superintends their operations, a position for which he is well qualified.... Three of the men are Europeans, one is a recent arrival, and the others are William Clotworthy and John McSweeney.<sup>250</sup>

(William Clotworthy, one of the first miners at Thames, had later mined at Owharoa.<sup>251</sup> He would participate in the Te Aroha rush and be part owner of two claims.)<sup>252</sup>

On returning from my visit to the claim I had a long conversation with Hone at his whare at the foot of the spur, in the course of which he informed me that he had made application to the authorities for fifteen men's ground, the area for which the Warden has granted protection until this day week. Should his request be complied with, he intends to give Messrs McIntyre and Ferguson a share each, as they had been prospecting near him, and assisted him, to some extent, in his endeavours to discover a payable reef. Mr Porter is to receive a share, Mrs [Ema] Lipsey one, and the rest Hone intends to keep for himself.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Pigeongrams, *Thames Star*, 1 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>250</sup> Special Reporter, 'A Visit to the Prospectors' Ground at Te Aroha', *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>251</sup> See Thames Warden's Court, Miners' Rights Register 1867-1868, no. 131, issued 2 September 1867, BACL 14358/1a; Thames Claims Register 1868-1869, nos. 492, 661, BACL 14397/2a; Register of Agreements 1868, folio 426, BBAV 14417/2a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 9 March 1874, p. 2, 17 May 1876, p. 3.

<sup>252</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 314, issued 25 November 1880, Miner's Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 192, 227, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>253</sup> Special Reporter, 'A Visit to the Prospectors' Ground at Te Aroha', *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

(Mokena Hou's daughter Ema was married to George Lipsey.)<sup>254</sup> Werahiko continued to manage the mine, and on 11 November, when being assisted by William McLean, formerly a Coromandel prospector,<sup>255</sup> he struck rich gold in the lode.<sup>256</sup> Two days later, it was reported that Werahiko was 'directed and assisted by' McLean in cutting the lode by trenching.<sup>257</sup> A Thames journalist checked on the latest find:

After an early breakfast we set out for Hone's whare, where we found all the prospectors assembled - viz, Hone Werahiko, John McSweeney, David [Rewi Mokena], and Ranapea Morgan [Mokena]. Some of our party wished to go up the spur at once, without waiting for the prospectors, and have a look at the leader, but the natives objected to such a proceeding, their reason for so doing being, I believe, that they were afraid some of the auriferous stone might be appropriated by us, or broken out and allowed to remain on the ground for some one else to take away. It appears that the morning before my visit a digger, wishing to see for himself what the reef was like, in order to furnish reliable information for the Press, walked up the claim before the prospectors were astir, and broke out several pounds of nice gold-bearing stone with a pick. Although he did not take away one ounce of the quartz, the proprietors of the claim were greatly incensed at the liberty he had taken with their property, and in consequence of his action they have determined in future not to allow persons to inspect the claim without one of them is present, and I am informed that during the past two or three nights they have taken it in turn to watch the leader. The spur is too precipitous to allow of a tent or whare being placed near the lode, otherwise there would be no necessity for a watch to be kept on it.... Nothing further was done on the lode until the arrival of Mr William McLean, an experienced miner from Coromandel, who soon showed the prospectors where the precious metal was situated. I believe the discovery was the result of a wager made in a sort of jocular way. McLean, in conversation with Hone, said he knew where the gold was. Hone said he did not think that he (McLean) did, but if he pointed out the locality he (Hone) would give him a few pounds. McLean accepted the offer, and got to

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<sup>254</sup> See paper on George Lipsey and Ema Mokena.

<sup>255</sup> For his career at Coromandel, see Thames Warden's Court, Register of Mining Claims, Coromandel, 1868-1872, no. 130, BACL 14396/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 23 January 1879, p. 2, 23 May 1879, p. 4.

<sup>256</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3, 13 November 1880, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 12 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>257</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 November 1880, p. 3.

work, and in a short space of time succeeded in breaking out some excellent golden stone from a portion of the leader distant about ten feet from where the test crushing was obtained.... The prospectors have, I believe, arranged with Mr McLean to manage the claim, and under his direction have started to put in a low level tunnel.<sup>258</sup>

Another reporter gave a different account of how McLean found the leader. He had told the prospectors that if they made him their manager and gave him an interest, he would find the reef within two days, and after they accepted his offer he found it 'in less than two hours, showing the value on a new field of skill and experience'.<sup>259</sup> This version, with its moral, was undermined by McLean not being given an interest<sup>260</sup> and being only very briefly the mine manager: within ten days James Corbett replaced him.<sup>261</sup> Werahiko continued to play an active part in directing the work. On 19 November he met with Porter, McSweeney, Corbett, and Matthew Vaughan, a Thames and Ohinemuri publican and storekeeper,<sup>262</sup> who took up interests in this and other claims and companies at Te Aroha and Waiorongomai.<sup>263</sup> They decided to appoint Corbett as manager and to have a crushing as soon as possible.<sup>264</sup>

No further finds were reported before the opening of the goldfield, and the first crushing, of two tons for the Aroha Gold Mining Company, did not take place until early December. At first it was reported that Werahiko, 'one of the principal shareholders in the company', who had 'accompanied the parcel', was to 'superintend its crushing' with Porter,<sup>265</sup> but in fact Corbett

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<sup>258</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>259</sup> Hamilton Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1880, p. 9.

<sup>260</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>261</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>262</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 19 September 1870, p. 3, 25 February 1875, p. 3, 10 July 1876, p. 3, 18 August 1876, p. 3, 29 May 1878, p. 2, 15 June 1878, p. 2.

<sup>263</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 3, 4, 6, 8, 14, 22, 25, 39, 156, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1796, 20 January 1881, p. 1101, 23 March 1882, p. 490, 22 June 1882, p. 895, 10 August 1882, p. 110, 16 November 1882, p. 1752, 14 December 1882, p. 1885, 22 November 1883, p. 1675.

<sup>264</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>265</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 December 1880, p. 3.

supervised both crushing and retorting, observed by Werahiko and the others.<sup>266</sup>

### BENEFITING FROM HIS DISCOVERY

Werahiko, like all prospectors, sought to reap financial rewards from his find. Once awarded four of the nine shares in the Prospectors' Claim, he immediately 'received a very liberal offer', apparently £500, for all his interest, but declined it.<sup>267</sup> He gave Corbett one share because 'at one time' he had given him 'considerable assistance while out prospecting',<sup>268</sup> a reference to Corbett having been his sleeping partner when prospecting at Waitekauri. By now he was sharing a tent with Corbett, his mine manager.<sup>269</sup> The *Thames Advertiser* stated that Corbett's interest share was not a gift but had been purchased. Vaughan, who acquired a quarter of another share, also bought his interest, but the remaining three-quarters of this share was given by Werahiko to the Mokena family, who soon received another quarter share.<sup>270</sup> As interests had been 'sold at the rate of £240 per share',<sup>271</sup> Werahiko, the only owner selling, was receiving a good price for what turned out to be worthless interests. His selling of shares created the threat of legal action, Lipsey and 'the Morgans' travelling to Hamilton to consult a solicitor, 'intending to proceed against the prospector for disposing of property in which others had an interest, and without consulting them'.<sup>272</sup> This threat came to nothing; perhaps a private arrangement was made to share the proceeds.

With the opening of the field on 25 November, the Prospectors' Claim was the first to be registered, with the shares as allocated by Kenrick being officially recorded. On opening day Werahiko transferred two shares to John Frater, a sharebroker at Thames,<sup>273</sup> two days later he transferred one-and-a-quarter shares to Corbett, and on 30 November the last three-

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<sup>266</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 7 December 1880, p. 3, 8 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>267</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1880, p. 9.

<sup>268</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1880, p. 9.

<sup>269</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>270</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 19 November 1880, p. 3, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>271</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>272</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>273</sup> See *Thames Star*, 22 September 1927, p. 5; *New Zealand Herald*, 27 September 1927, p.

quarters of this share was transferred to Frater.<sup>274</sup> No record of the prices obtained for these transfers has survived, apart from the sale of one share to an unnamed person for £240.<sup>275</sup> Presumably the transfer to Corbett formalized the gift made just before opening day, and Frater must have arranged the transfer of the share to the Mokena family. The transfer of the other share to Frater would certainly have been for a good price: Frater Brothers sold a half share on behalf of McSweeney for £110, and a quarter share was sold for an undisclosed seller for £80.<sup>276</sup> When the Aroha Gold Mining Company was formed to develop this claim, those holding interests received £1,800 plus 6,000 of the 12,000 shares valued at £1 each.<sup>277</sup> Werahiko must have sold most of his interest, for when this company was registered on 10 December he had only 166 scrip shares.<sup>278</sup> He probably sold more of these, but without the company's records this cannot be traced.

### OTHER INVESTMENTS

Werahiko held shares in three other claims. He had one of the 13 shares in the Morning Star, registered on 30 November; he did not sell his interest, instead taking 830 scrip shares (out of 12,000) in the Morning Star Company in January 1881.<sup>279</sup> Also in January, he bought three-quarters of another's share in the Sunbeam, for an undisclosed price.<sup>280</sup> In May, he applied for the forfeiture of Sailor's Home for non-working, but the clerk of court recorded: 'No appearance of Complainant. Case struck out'.<sup>281</sup> Also in

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<sup>274</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 150, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>275</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>276</sup> *Freeman's Journal*, 26 November 1880, p. 7.

<sup>277</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 11 December 1880, p. 10; *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1796.

<sup>278</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1796.

<sup>279</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 153, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 January 1881, p. 111.

<sup>280</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 159, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>281</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 25/1881, 12 May 1881, BBAV 11547/1a ANZ-A.

May he bought one share in the Stout claim from Karaka Kamura, a future fellow prospector,<sup>282</sup> for £2.<sup>283</sup>

On opening day, Werahiko applied for a business site in the middle of the settlement, which he used for his house and allotment.<sup>284</sup> That his first, temporary, house was of a reasonable size was indicated by a report in December that ‘the shareholders of the Morning Star held a meeting at the residence of Hone Werahiko’.<sup>285</sup> He saw other possibilities for making money, and when the first restaurant was being built, early in December, it was reported that ‘Hone Werahiko, the well-known prospector, intends to go into a similar business’, and a ‘large building’ was being erected for him opposite the Hot Springs Hotel.<sup>286</sup> Presumably for financial reasons, he would not conduct this restaurant.

On 14 December Werahiko was elected one of the directors of the Morning Star syndicate,<sup>287</sup> but did not become one when it was transformed into a company on 3 January.<sup>288</sup> The interest he held in the syndicate is unknown, but he had 830 scrip shares in the company.<sup>289</sup> He was not appointed a director of any other syndicates or companies.

#### PROSPECTING OTHER PARTS OF THE MOUNTAIN

As further mining soon revealed, the Prospectors’ Claim was a duffer,<sup>290</sup> as indeed were all the Te Aroha claims. Not discouraged, Werahiko immediately set out to prospect elsewhere on the mountain. At first, he searched for the mother lode of the auriferous boulders he had discovered. In January 1881, when work started in his claim ‘to test a large body of stone which outcrops somewhat lower down the spur than where the main level was started’, Werahiko described this as ‘the lode from which

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<sup>282</sup> See below.

<sup>283</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1881, 13 May 1881, BBAV 11582/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>284</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, 12/1881, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>285</sup> *Waikato Times*, 14 December 1880, p. 2.

<sup>286</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 8 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>287</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 16 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>288</sup> *Thames Star*, 5 January 1881, p. 2.

<sup>289</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 January 1881, p. 111.

<sup>290</sup> See paper on this claim.

some of the richest of the specimen stones picked up on the surface have detached themselves'.<sup>291</sup> He was over-optimistic, and, indeed, no mother lode has ever been found. On 2 April, his next find was reported:

It having been currently reported that a new discovery of importance had been made at Te Aroha, and that Hone Werahiko was connected with it, our reporter, seeing that worthy in town, interviewed him. "Johnny" said that the report was true enough. During the past month he had been prospecting by himself, and somewhere in the vicinity of Omahu - the locality of Catran Bros.' Claim [at Tui]<sup>292</sup> - he found the outcrop of a new reef. Its average breadth is 17 feet, and he has traced it for upwards of a quarter of a mile, finding good gold in it. He could see colors in most of the stone he broke and feels convinced that it will astonish the people who have duffered the Te Aroha. Hone said: "I have seen Waihi and know what it is. The reef I have found is better." He has pegged out the claim, but nothing more will be known concerning it till he returns from Auckland. We place the greatest reliance on Johnny's veracity and good faith, and give the story as we heard it believing it to be perfectly genuine.<sup>293</sup>

A week later, a surveyor, Thomas Goodman Sandes,<sup>294</sup> informed the press that Werahiko had told him 'that he has got a golden reef, but the locality will not be disclosed until he secured his title on his return from Auckland'. Werahiko considered it 'pretty good', and Sandes had 'every reason to believe' the find was genuine.<sup>295</sup> Upon his return from Auckland, Werahiko traced gold in the reef for over 100 yards and spoke 'very hopefully regarding the prospects, considering it the best yet found for miles around'.<sup>296</sup> Although no stone was produced for inspection, his reputation for honesty meant that, unlike fraudulent claims made by prospectors seeking a financial windfall, his story was believed. This was illustrated by the 'Mining Review of the Week' in the *Thames Star*, which on 23 April

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<sup>291</sup> Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 January 1881, p. 21.

<sup>292</sup> For details of the finds at Tui Creek and the Catran brothers, see paper entitled 'The Te Aroha Goldfield from its Opening until Christmas 1880'.

<sup>293</sup> *Thames Star*, 2 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>294</sup> See *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 12 May 1897, p. 2.

<sup>295</sup> Letter from T.G. Sandes, *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 April 1881, p. 2; see also *Thames Star*, 12 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>296</sup> *Thames Star*, 20 April 1881, p. 2.

reported that nothing had been heard ‘of Hone Werahiko’s find, though there is every reason to believe that it is genuine’.<sup>297</sup>

Werahiko spoke at the luncheon held in April to celebrate the starting of the battery. ‘He felt quite sure of the future of the goldfield, and he hoped soon to bring to light a new discovery that would cause not a battery of ten head to crush the stone, but one of forty head’, prompting his health being ‘toasted by the hopeful diners’.<sup>298</sup> As no proof was forthcoming, in early May a mining reporter wrote that there were ‘all sorts of rumours of Hone Werahiko’s supposed find, and as he says it is all right I suppose it is so. A few days will decide the matter’.<sup>299</sup> Then, on 26 May, Werahiko with 11 other Maori pegged out the Black Diamond at Omahu, in the Tui district. Two other partners were William Werahiko and another Werahiko with no first name;<sup>300</sup> nothing is known of these namesakes, who may have been dummies to give Werahiko extra shares. Two tons were treated on 31 May,<sup>301</sup> but as the result was not published, clearly it was disappointing. Nothing more was heard of this claim, which was not formally registered; clearly the ore proved not to be better than that at Waihi, another example of a prospector being ‘over sanguine’, to use the contemporary phrase.

The next mention of Werahiko’s activities was on 9 July, when he pegged out ‘Half Past Twelve known as the Prospectors Claim Te Aroha’.<sup>302</sup> His partner was John Calder, an artist,<sup>303</sup> who had recently failed in his attempt to become a contractor.<sup>304</sup> Calder had invested in Hauraki mining since 1869 and been a legal manager and director of several mining companies.<sup>305</sup> He had an interest in one Te Aroha claim and would have

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<sup>297</sup> ‘Mining Review of Week’, *Thames Star*, 23 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>298</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>299</sup> *Thames Star*, 9 May 1881, p. 2.

<sup>300</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 227, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>301</sup> *Thames Star*, 30 May 1881, p. 2.

<sup>302</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 231, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>303</sup> See *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 December 1870, p. 4, 24 October 1874, p. 5, Supreme Court, 31 October 1874, p. 11, 16 January 1875, p. 4, 3 August 1878, p. 8, 15 July 1879, p. 8, 24 March 1883, p. 1.

<sup>304</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 16 February 1880, p. 2, Police Court, 21 February 1880, p. 3.

<sup>305</sup> For examples of his investments, see *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 11 August 1869, p. 679, 27 August 1869, p. 831; *New Zealand Gazette*, 15 June 1876, p. 419,



shares in three Waiorongomai ones.<sup>306</sup> A local correspondent commented that the application by Hone Werahiko, Calder, and others meant that ‘this looks as if the Maori (the prospector) had still some faith in the ground’.<sup>307</sup> No doubt he did, but it was so short-lived that he did not proceed with the application. His association with Calder continued, and in late October he marked out the Yalapa claim at Waiorongomai ‘on behalf of John Calder’.<sup>308</sup>

### DISCOVERING THE WAIORONGOMAI GOLDFIELD

In July 1881, the mining inspector noted that there were ‘only 12 miners working at Te Aroha, and about the same number of Maoris out prospecting’.<sup>309</sup> Amongst the latter must have been Werahiko and his party, as by then he was prospecting the buck reef at the mouth of the Waiorongomai Valley. This was not the first time that he had been interested in this area, for on 31 May he was one of 13 Maori who owned the Three Brothers there.<sup>310</sup> As Kenrick wrote in his 1882 annual report, after the rush,

the hard belt of country met with in driving and sinking in the various claims so disheartened the men engaged that the field was deserted by all but a few believers in its future. Strange to say, little or no prospecting was done on the eastern slope of the mountain. The heavy timber and precipitous nature of the country might, perhaps in a measure, account for this. However,

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13 July 1876, p. 495, 28 September 1876, p. 675, 23 November 1876, p. 810; *Thames Star*, 24 September 1881, p. 3; for his being a legal manager, see *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 15 December 1871, p. 343; for his being a director, see *Thames Advertiser*, 28 March 1876, p. 3, 2 October 1876, p. 3.

<sup>306</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 202, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 10, 30, BBAV 11500/9a; Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 109, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 16 March 1881, p. 3.

<sup>307</sup> ‘Te Aroha’, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 July 1881, p. 3.

<sup>308</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, October 1881, no. 266, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>309</sup> J.M. McLaren to Harry Kenrick, 7 July 1881, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/990, ANZ-W.

<sup>310</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, May-July 1881, no. 226, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

during the winter of 1881, Hone Werahiko, the original discoverer of gold at the Aroha, thoroughly prospected the valley or basin on the eastern slope of the main Aroha Range, at the head of the Waiorongomai Creek, in the face of obstacles of no ordinary kind.<sup>311</sup>

Kenrick was most impressed with Werahiko's prospecting, later writing that 'for many months after Field was practically deserted Hone Werahiko alone and unaided prospected the east side of the mountain range under circumstances of considerable hardship and difficulty'.<sup>312</sup> In October, he estimated that Werahiko had prospected the buck reef for the previous five or six months.<sup>313</sup> The mining inspector wrote that Werahiko

continued prospecting on a large reef known as the Buck Reef, near the Waiorongomai Creek, which, although its existence was well known, attracted but a limited amount of attention from the miners during the first rush to this field. After several months of patient industry and by following the line of the reef ... in a northerly direction he was fortunate in discovering gold about a mile and a half distant from where the reef crops out near the flat.<sup>314</sup>

The first hint of these months of hard work in forbidding conditions was a passing reference in early August: 'At Te Aroha there is some talk of sending out a strong prospecting party in the vicinity of Hone's supposed find, as he gave the Warden some good gold-bearing stone on his last visit'.<sup>315</sup> As no such prospecting party was formed, Werahiko obtained some assistance from other Maori. In mid-September, 'Hone and the other

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<sup>311</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary of Gold Fields, 18 April 1882, *AJHR*, 1882, H-19, p. 11.

<sup>312</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 September 1884, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>313</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 17 October 1881, Mines Department, MD 1, 81/1118, ANZ-W.

<sup>314</sup> J.M. McLaren to Under-Secretary for Gold Fields, 12 May 1882, *AJHR*, 1882, H-19, p. 16; letter from 'Old Miner', *Te Aroha News*, 31 January 1911, p. 3, confirmed that Werahiko prospected from 'the Waiorongomai Flat' along the line of the reef to the New Find.

<sup>315</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 August 1881, p. 3.

natives' were 'still out prospecting on the buck reef'.<sup>316</sup> In early October, when Werahiko took the first parcel of ore from Waiorongomai to be tested in Thames, 'the natives' were seeking a prospecting claim.<sup>317</sup> In late October, Karaka Kamura informed Kenrick that he had prospected Waiorongomai with Werahiko, Parata, and Hori Aperahama: all four were to be owners of the first claims registered, 'we all being of the same party'.<sup>318</sup> Karaka Kamura, who lived at Ohinemuri,<sup>319</sup> had participated in the Te Aroha rush and become part owner of a claim there and of another at Tui, as well as being a shareholder in one of the first companies.<sup>320</sup> In May, he sold Werahiko a share in a claim for £2.<sup>321</sup> Parata, otherwise Parati Harawira, also of Ohinemuri,<sup>322</sup> had not arrived at Te Aroha until mid-January.<sup>323</sup> He immediately acquired shares in two claims, one at the mouth of the Waiorongomai Valley, where he had assisted to peg out two other claims.<sup>324</sup> He assisted to prospect the Buck Rock in January and May.<sup>325</sup> Hori Aperahama also lived in Ohinemuri,<sup>326</sup> and arrived at Te Aroha in late January, when he acquired an interest with Parati in a claim

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<sup>316</sup> *Thames Star*, 13 September 1881, p. 3.

<sup>317</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 11 October 1881, p. 3

<sup>318</sup> Karaka Kamura to Warden, 24 October 1881, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11582/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>319</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Complaint Book 1880-1898, 1/1883, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 February 1881, p. 258.

<sup>320</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 463, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1c; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 203, 219, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 February 1881, p. 258.

<sup>321</sup> Share Transfer, Karaka Kamura to Hone Werahiko, 13 May 1881, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Warden's General Correspondence 1881, BBAV 11584/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>322</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 12, p. 324; no. 48, pp. 216, 224; 'Goldfields and Mines Committee', *AJHR*, 1906, I-4, pp. 2-3; Death Certificate of Parati Harawira, 27 August 1931, 1931/11775, BDM.

<sup>323</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 1728, issued 17 January 1881, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1881, BBAV 11533/1h, ANZ-A.

<sup>324</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1889, folios 219, 224, BBAV 11567/1a; Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 163, 226, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A; *Thames Star*, 21 January 1881, p. 3.

<sup>325</sup> *Thames Star*, 21 January 1881, p.3; Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 163, 226, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>326</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 14, p. 186; no. 49, p. 136.

at the mouth of the Waiorongomai Valley.<sup>327</sup> Neither Karaka Kamura nor Hori Aperahama held interests in any of the original Waiorongomai claims, but Parata was included in the New Find Nos. 1 and 2 and the Diamond Gully.<sup>328</sup> Werahiko must have convinced Kenrick that any assistance they provided for his prospecting was at best spasmodic. Being the only skilled prospector, he probably used the other three to bring him food and supplies while he camped out for days if not weeks, at a time, and to assist with making tracks and clearing outcrops as required.

Werahiko had four shares in the New Find, as he called his main discovery, and may have allotted interests to some of his party; certainly he gave one to Karaka Kamura after he complained that his name was not included.<sup>329</sup> Werahiko had sold one share in the Young Colonial to him in November 1881 for £20.<sup>330</sup> However, as he and Hori Aperahama continued to feel deprived of their just rights, in the following March they took legal action. On 14 March, Karaka Kamura sued Werahiko ‘for specific performance of an agreement’ to transfer shares in unnamed claims, which he was required to do ‘within one week’.<sup>331</sup> On the same day that this order was made, Werahiko sold one share in both Werahiko No. 1 and No. 2 to Karaka Kamura for £8, and obtained from the latter the transfer of one share in the Three Fools, or in default £25 and costs.<sup>332</sup> For his part, Hori Aperahama on 14 and 21 March unsuccessfully sued Werahiko for ‘transfers of certain shares’.<sup>333</sup> Relations with his former assistants remained cool, as

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<sup>327</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 1746, issued 26 January 1881, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1881, BBAV 11533/1h; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 219, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>328</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 4, 30, 33, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

<sup>329</sup> Memorandum on Karaka Kamura to Warden, 24 October 1881, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11559/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>330</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 2, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 15, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>331</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Plaints 1880-1898, 21/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>332</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 16, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no.212, BBAV 11581/1a; Register of Plaints 1880-1898, 28/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>333</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Plaints 1880-1898, 22, 27/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

illustrated by Karaka Kamura suing him in January 1883 to enforce payment of £40.<sup>334</sup>

On 6 October, the *Thames Star* wrote that ‘Hone Werahiko, the well known native prospector’, had arrived in Thames with the news that he had ‘found a rich gold-bearing reef on the High School Reserve. He has some of the stone with him, and it shows gold freely’.<sup>335</sup> In reporting this discovery the *Thames Advertiser* commented that he seemed ‘determined, if possible, to prove that the auriferous character of the country was not over-rated by him formerly’.<sup>336</sup> Werahiko showed his samples to anyone interested, and sought protection from rivals for his find.<sup>337</sup> He had first marked it out, as the New Find, on 29 September, but only registered it after marking out 15 men’s ground on 4 October.<sup>338</sup> The parcel he gave Kenrick produced 2oz 7dwt per ton of fine gold, with no base metals present.<sup>339</sup>

Pending his getting protection, he naturally kept the locality of his “find” a secret, and in consequence nothing was known of it or its prospects except at second hand. On the prospector’s return from the Thames ... on Sunday [9 October], Johnny piloted a party to the reef and showed them where he had obtained his specimens.<sup>340</sup>

A correspondent described this inspection:

The advent on the Thames last week of the famous Te Aroha prospector, Hone Werahiko, with specimens of quartz, showing gold freely, from Te Aroha, caused quite a sensation in mining circles. For some time Hone has been known to be prospecting in Te Aroha and there have been rumours afloat that he had found payable gold, but till he came down himself, the rumours were disbelieved. The known truthfulness of Hone caused more attention to be given to his tale than would otherwise be given to anyone else from such an unpopular district. The stone brought

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<sup>334</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Plaints 1880-1898, 1/1883, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>335</sup> *Thames Star*, 6 October 1881, p. 2.

<sup>336</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 7 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>337</sup> *Waikato Times*, 8 October 1881, p. 2.

<sup>338</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 234, 235, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>339</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 11 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>340</sup> *Waikato Times*, 11 October 1881, p. 2.

down by Hone was seen by a number of mining experts, who agreed that if the reef was as good as [the] sample, it would be the salvation of Te Aroha. Some of the stone was tested in the Bank of New Zealand, and the Union Bank, and was found to average 3oz to the ton.

Under the invitation of the Prospector, a number of Thames experts agreed to accompany him, to judge by ocular demonstration the correctness of the reported discovery.... Gathering all our energies together, mustering our forces, with half Te Aroha at our heels, under the guidance of Hone Werahiko, we commenced a laborious ascent to the new find....

The only track to Hone's claim is by the top of the mountain and down its eastern side, which means full five hours' walking. To enter into particulars of that awful journey is too much for human nature, the memory of it shall remain green. I heard one of the party express an opinion that he would not undertake the journey again for £50, and he and I are one in sentiment. But there is an end to all things; at last we came to where the gold was found....

Hone has called his claim the "New Find," and there is every chance that it will prove a rich find....

About seven o'clock our party returned to Morgantown, weary, wet, hungry, and generally miserable, but quite satisfied with the prospects of Werahiko's find.<sup>341</sup>

The mountainside where Werahiko had been working throughout winter created universal respect for his efforts. One local correspondent wrote, after this first inspection, that he deserved 'all he gets for the energy and perseverance he has shown'.<sup>342</sup> An Auckland journalist called him 'a veteran prospector' and hoped 'his latest discovery may turn out a "pile" for him'.<sup>343</sup> In contrast, there were some doubters at Te Aroha:

There are many here who do not believe that "Johnny, the Maori," had found anything worth while; one person laid a wager of a "fiver" that Johnny had not discovered a find which would be the cause of bringing 100 men ... into Te Aroha by the end of this month. The money was staked, and is now very likely to be won by Johnny.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> A Correspondent, 'The New Find of Gold at Te Aroha', *Thames Star*, 12 October 1881, p. 2.

<sup>342</sup> Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>343</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1881, p. 17.

<sup>344</sup> Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 13 October 1881, p. 2.

It was. By late October, a visitor to Te Aroha was reported as saying that ‘so much is thought of the find that five hundred pounds a share is asked, and the prospector and his backers are naturally jubilant’.<sup>345</sup>

### SLEEPING PARTNERS

Who paid for his prospecting? For Werahiko and his helpers, to prospect for months meant sleeping partners had meet their expenses, these partners being promised interests in any discoveries. Whilst it is not possible to be certain of the identity of all of them, the following were his partners in the New Find No. 1 Licensed Holding, registered on 23 December 1881. Thomas Leitch Murray, bank manager, of Thames;<sup>346</sup> Edward Mann Corbett, mine manager, of Waitekauri;<sup>347</sup> John Glasford Corbett, self-styled ‘gentleman’ of no particular occupation or abode;<sup>348</sup> John Bullock, shopkeeper and mining agent, of Te Aroha;<sup>349</sup> Rachel, wife of Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, miner, of Te Aroha;<sup>350</sup> George Stewart O’Halloran, licensee of the Hot Springs Hotel; Adam Porter, miner, of Thames; Parati, Werahiko’s fellow prospector; Patrick Quinlan, licensee of the British Hotel at Te Aroha;<sup>351</sup> Nicholas Cleary, policeman, of Te Aroha;<sup>352</sup> Charles David Lindsay McLean, mine manager, of Thames;<sup>353</sup> Henry Baskiville, miner, of Te Aroha;<sup>354</sup> Charles Jenkins, miner, of Thames;<sup>355</sup> and Charles Gemmings, miner, of Waitekauri.<sup>356</sup> All bar the last

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<sup>345</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, n.d., cited in *Thames Advertiser*, 24 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>346</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, pp. 96-97; *Thames Star*, 19 January 1900, p. 2.

<sup>347</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 501; *Thames Advertiser*, 22 January 1898, p. 2.

<sup>348</sup> See *Waikato Times*, 16 April 1889, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 17 April 1889, p. 5.

<sup>349</sup> See *Te Aroha News*, 23 April 1887, p. 2.

<sup>350</sup> See *Te Aroha News*, 1 October 1887, p. 2, 10 November 1888, p. 2.

<sup>351</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>352</sup> For his career in the police, see *Thames Advertiser*, 30 March 1875, p. 3, 10 December 1875, p. 3, 18 September 1880, p. 2, *Te Aroha Correspondent*, 3 February 1882, p. 2, 8 November 1882, p. 2.

<sup>353</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 502.

<sup>354</sup> See paper on Patrick Quinlan.

<sup>355</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, Warden’s Court, 27 April 1876, p. 3, Magistrate’s Court, 21 July 1877, p. 3, 26 November 1880, p. 2.

three were owners of New Find No. 2, registered on the same date.<sup>357</sup> In October, George Wilson, shortly to become Inspector of Mines,<sup>358</sup> had one share, but on 28 October Werahiko informed Kenrick that this had been transferred to Thomas Aitken Dunlop, a Thames mine manager.<sup>359</sup> James Barrett, butcher and farmer, of Paeroa,<sup>360</sup> had his share revoked by Werahiko on that date.<sup>361</sup>

Of these people, Parati was a working, not a sleeping, partner, and perhaps Rachel Joy was given the interest because her husband was assisting Werahiko to open up the New Find. Referring to her 1,000 scrip shares in the later New Find Company, Charles Joy said these 'had been given over to his wife by Hone Werahiko ... as a matter of kindness'.<sup>362</sup>

In the Young Colonial (the future Colonist), Werahiko's partners were Quinlan, Thomas Gavin, earlier a mine manager at Thames and later one at Te Aroha,<sup>363</sup> and Robert Z. Maitland, miner, of Te Aroha.<sup>364</sup> When he pegged out the Smile of Fortune on 12 October, Werahiko included his three Maori fellow-prospectors (Karaka Kamura disguised by his Anglicized name of Clarke), Gavin, and Bullock.<sup>365</sup> One day later, he pegged out the Queen of Beauty, listing his fellow owners as the same three Maori plus his future father-in-law, Hoera Te Mimiha,<sup>366</sup> Bullock, Maitland, Adam Menzies,

<sup>356</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, Ohinemuri Correspondent, 11 July 1881, p. 3, 1 November 1881, p. 3.

<sup>357</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 110, nos. 32, 33, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>358</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>359</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, pp. 479, 866; *Observer*, 11 November 1905, p. 4; *Thames Star*, 11 May 1908, p. 2.

<sup>360</sup> See *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May 1926, p. 12.

<sup>361</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaints 1881, BBAV 11572/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>362</sup> District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 6 February 1884, p. 2.

<sup>363</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>364</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 105, no. 16, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A. No records exist for Maitland's career, apart from his shareholdings: see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 2, 4, 38, 53-55, 62, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 17 August 1882, p. 1131, 14 September 1882, p. 1264.

<sup>365</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 248, BBAV 11557/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>366</sup> See paper on his life.



policeman, of Paeroa,<sup>367</sup> and John Frederick Cocks, shopkeeper, of Thames.<sup>368</sup> Werahiko held one-third of the interests, all the others having one-fifteenth apart from Maitland's two-fifteenths.<sup>369</sup> The original owners of Diamond Gully were, apart from Werahiko, Parata, Gavin, Maitland, Menzies, and Bullock, Thomas Veale, shopkeeper, of Thames,<sup>370</sup> and William McLear, miner,<sup>371</sup> of Te Aroha.<sup>372</sup> In the Canadian, Werahiko's original partners were Bullock, Gavin, Veale, Maitland, Quinlan, and George Henry Arthur Purchas,<sup>373</sup> a surveyor then working at Te Aroha.<sup>374</sup> As Bullock marked out this claim at ten o'clock on the morning of 4 October, the identical time to when Werahiko was pegging out his New Find,<sup>375</sup> Werahiko must have told him where to place the pegs. Werahiko, Purchas, Maitland, and Bullock applied for the Young Prince of Wales,<sup>376</sup> later taken up under another name.

The main sleeping partners probably were the publicans, shopkeepers, mine managers and mining agents, with Porter the probable organizer of the New Find syndicate. The original shareholders who were miners probably received their shares because they worked these claims; there were no indications that they funded Werahiko before his finds were made public. Twice in late 1881 Werahiko specified Veale's store at Te Aroha as

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<sup>367</sup> For his career in the police, see *Thames Advertiser*, Ohinemuri Correspondent, 1 September 1879, p. 3, 2 March 1881, p. 2, 17 March 1882, p. 2.

<sup>368</sup> For his being a draper and upholsterer, see *Waikato Times*, 8 January 1881, p. 3, advertisement, 8 February 1881, p. 4, 19 July 1883, p. 3.

<sup>369</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 254, BBAV 11557/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>370</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 6 (Christchurch, 1908), pp. 112, 124; *Te Aroha News*, 16 September 1931, p. 5.

<sup>371</sup> See paper on 'Pakeha Bill': William John McClear.

<sup>372</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Licensed Holdings Grant Book 1888-1882, no. 10, BBAV 11549/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>373</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 58.

<sup>374</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 110, no. 30, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>375</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 235, 236, BBAV 11557/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>376</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Application for Young Prince of Wales, 26 November 1881, Warden's General Correspondence, BBAV 11584/1b, ANZ-A.

the place where notices could be served on him,<sup>377</sup> and on one occasion he designated Quinlan's hotel for this same purpose.<sup>378</sup> This suggests a relatively close link with these two men and the likelihood that they were sleeping partners.

### OPENING UP THE NEW FIND

The first mine manager of the New Find, Thomas Gavin, went with the Volunteers to arrest Te Whiti at Parihaka in October.<sup>379</sup> As an indication of the respect in which he was held, Werahiko was the first to be listed as attending a shareholders' meeting in Quinlan's hotel, when he 'was requested to supervise the work' during Gavin's absence.<sup>380</sup> After Gavin returned, Werahiko continued to work the claim, as illustrated in February 1882 when the Premier, John Hall, was taken to view the workings on the main reef: 'On the face of the reef where it is exposed, and forming a sort of cliff, can be seen where the native prospector, Hone Werahiko, and his mates have made an inroad into the reef. At present the natives work here by lowering themselves over the top with ropes'.<sup>381</sup>

### TRADING IN SHARES AND COMPETING FOR GROUND

John O'Shea, a miner who had interests in one claim at Te Aroha and seven at Waiorongomai,<sup>382</sup> 60 years later recalled that, although Werahiko had interests in all the first Waiorongomai claims, 'Hone gave them all away except the New Find, which he kept for himself.... He made quite a bit of money out of the claim'.<sup>383</sup> This recollection exaggerated Werahiko's generosity, for although he did give shares to Rachel Joy and may have given some to others, he also made money through share trading. With

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<sup>377</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11559/1a; Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 287, BBAV 11557/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>378</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11559/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>379</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>380</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>381</sup> *Waikato Times*, 25 February 1882, p. 2.

<sup>382</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 164, 288, 289, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 6, 8, 28, 65, 121, 150, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

<sup>383</sup> Recollections of John O'Shea, *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1940, p. 5.

three-and-a-half shares, he was the largest shareholder in the New Find No. 1, the next-largest interest being one share. Before the remainder went to the New Find Company in March 1882, he had sold one and a quarter of these shares for £100.<sup>384</sup> He had a similar stake in the New Find No. 2, and sold the same number of shares for the same price.<sup>385</sup> The Diamond Gully was particularly profitable for him: when registered in December 1881, he had one of the 15 shares, and in the following March he bought another full share for £20; by July 1882 he had sold these (in quarter or half shares) for a total of £175.<sup>386</sup> He had one of the 19 shares in the Queen of Beauty but soon sold it for £70.<sup>387</sup>

Not all his share dealings were as successful as other speculators'. For example, after he sold two shares in the Lady Ferguson for £24, the purchaser resold these six days later for £40.<sup>388</sup> On another occasion, he sold a half-share in Diamond Gully to Bullock for £20, who resold it on the following day for £45.<sup>389</sup> One sale, of a full share in the Smile of Fortune to Henry Dalton, captain of a river steamer,<sup>390</sup> for one shilling, whereas another full share had been sold for £25,<sup>391</sup> must represent the repayment of a debt. Once companies were formed, Werahiko continued to trade in

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<sup>384</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 30, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 3, 56, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>385</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 33, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 4, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>386</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 4, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 42, 48, 58, 68, 135, 275, BBAV 11581/1a; no. 468, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>387</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 55, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 274, 279, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>388</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 80, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 452, 453, 464, 465, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>389</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 4, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 468, 472, 474, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>390</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, 17 November 1874, p. 3, 14 January 1880, p. 3, 4 January 1881, p. 3, 3 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>391</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 13, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 157, 389, BBAV 11581/1a; no. 539, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

shares, for instance selling an unrecorded number of New Find shares to O'Halloran for £98.<sup>392</sup>

His share-dealings gave him some financial prosperity. In April 1882 he was 'running up a comfortable house ... which will cost him some £147'.<sup>393</sup> He was the only Maori to have a residence or business site in the township.<sup>394</sup>

As on all goldfields, after Werahiko and his party pegged off claims there were squabbles over the surplus ground that subsequent surveys revealed. He was forced him to give up such ground in five claims, and in turn sued owners of three claims.<sup>395</sup> Charles McLean's demand for surplus ground was withdrawn when Werahiko gave him an interest in the New Find.<sup>396</sup> Rivals attempted to take five claims off him by charging him with not working them, successfully in two cases, and he made three attempts to obtain claims by the same method, withdrawing his plaint in two cases.<sup>397</sup> When Quinlan sued him over the Diamond Gully, as he had already abandoned this claim he had nothing to forfeit.<sup>398</sup> In a claim for the forfeiture of the Golden Crown (later Premier), Kenrick, as in many other cases, used his discretionary powers to fine him 1s 'in lieu of Forfeiture'.<sup>399</sup> In another case, which revealed collusion amongst miners to give each other shares, Bullock managed to have the Queen of Beauty forfeited by Werahiko and Hori Aperahama for non-working and granted to a new party

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<sup>392</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490; Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1883, p. 2.

<sup>393</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 19 April 1882, p. 3.

<sup>394</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Register 1881-1899, folios 71, 386, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>395</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaint Book 1880-1898, 56, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 80/1881; 1, 4, 5, 7, 9/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, Te Aroha, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 January 1882, p. 3.

<sup>396</sup> Warden's Court, Te Aroha, *Thames Advertiser*, 8 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>397</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaint Book 1880-1898, 43, 83, 91, 92/1881; 32, 35/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, Te Aroha, *Thames Advertiser*, 8 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>398</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 10 November 1881, p. 3.

<sup>399</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaint Book 1880-1898, 43/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

that included all three men.<sup>400</sup> When Bullock and Gavin sought the Smile of Fortune because of non-working, Werahiko lost one-third of the ground.<sup>401</sup>

Werahiko also sought to make money by constructing a water race for a battery at the mouth of the Waiorongomai Valley. In October 1881 he applied for a two-mile long race ending at the latter and for another of three-quarters of a mile further up the stream to link up with another proposed by a mining agent,<sup>402</sup> Samuel Cochrane Macky.<sup>403</sup> Granted the second race, within a month he sold the license to Bullock for £20.<sup>404</sup>

### SEEKING A REWARD

Werahiko very quickly claimed the reward offered by the government for discovering a payable goldfield. Three weeks before the Te Aroha field was officially proclaimed, with Mokena Hou he asked Mitchell to contact the Premier on their behalf.<sup>405</sup> As this application was unsuccessful, he sought the reward in October 1881, again without success.<sup>406</sup> The following March, Werahiko and Porter approached the Minister of Lands, referring to an allegedly joint correspondence early in 1880 with the Auckland Waste Lands Board about prospecting the area, although the only known letter was signed by Porter alone.<sup>407</sup> They wrote that, despite the withdrawal of the offer of a reward, 'we respectfully submit the following reasons why the Government should favourably entertain our claim to a portion' of it. These

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<sup>400</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, *Plaint Book 1880-1898*, 83/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>401</sup> Te Aroha Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 January 1882, p. 3.

<sup>402</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, *Register of Applications 1880-1882*, folios 41, 42/1881, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A: for plans of these races, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, *Applications to form a Water Race 1881*, 11289/8a ANZ-A, and G.H.A. Purchas, 'Te Aroha Goldfield: Rough Plan of Waiorongomai Water Race Surveyed for Hone Werahiko', 23 November 1881, Te Aroha Museum.

<sup>403</sup> See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 465; *New Zealand Herald*, 3 November 1914, p. 7.

<sup>404</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, *Applications to form a Water Race 1881*, BBAV 11289/8a, ANZ-A.

<sup>405</sup> C.F. Mitchell to Premier, 1 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>406</sup> Hone Werahiko to Native Office, 26 October 1881, Maori Affairs Department, *Register of Inwards Correspondence*, 81/3910, MA 2/19, ANZ-W [the file has been lost]

<sup>407</sup> Adam Porter to Chairman, Waste Lands Board, Auckland, 7 January 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

reasons included the fact that they had spent ‘much time and capital in discovering gold’, a statement that prompted the under-secretary to note, ‘With government’s assistance’ in the margin. ‘Notwithstanding its failure as a payable goldfield up to the present, it nevertheless attracted a considerable influx of miners and others, many of whom have become permanent settlers’. The discovery had proved there was gold ‘in the neighbourhood, which led to the formation of another prospecting party, and the discovery by the native prospector, Werahiko, of a gold bearing locality south of the mountain which promises to become the greatest on the peninsula’. The under-secretary advised his minister that there was ‘now no money available for rewarding gold discoveries, and that Porter’s party had received a subsidy of £31 16s and was granted a good claim on the new field’. And as the field was not payable, their application was ignored.<sup>408</sup>

They then petitioned parliament for the reward, which was not considered by the Gold Fields Committee until September 1884, by which time the granting of a reward was too late to benefit Werahiko personally.<sup>409</sup> Asked for his views, Kenrick wrote that ‘Hone Werahiko alone would have been entitled to claim to be the discoverer’, Porter’s role being merely to organize the party and arrange its funding. Werahiko had worked ‘alone and unaided’ when prospecting Waiorongomai, and he suggested giving a small reward to his widow.<sup>410</sup> On Richard Seddon’s motion, the committee resolved that ‘a good claim for a reward has been established for the discovery of the Aroha Goldfield by the late Hone Werahiko and that such reward should be paid to his legal representative’.<sup>411</sup> Not until August 1885 was £350 allotted to his widow, on the motion of William Fraser,<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Hone Werahiko and Adam Porter to Minister of Lands, 2 March 1882, with memorandum by Under-Secretary, Mines Department, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>409</sup> Gold Fields and Mines Committee, 1884, Petition 163, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1884/14, ANZ-W.

<sup>410</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Gold Fields, 27 September 1884, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1884/14, ANZ-W.

<sup>411</sup> Gold Fields and Mines Committee, Meeting of 8 October 1884, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1884/14, NA.

<sup>412</sup> Gold Fields and Mines Committee, Meeting of 21 August 1885, Legislative Department, LE, 1, 1885/3, ANZ-W.

the former warden and then a Member of Parliament for Thames and a prolific investor in mines at Waiorongomai and elsewhere in Hauraki.<sup>413</sup>

### PROSPECTING THE KING COUNTRY?

Utilizing Werahiko's prospecting skills was seen by Pakeha as one possible way of opening the King Country to settlement. An obituary stated that he 'made several attempts to prospect' this area.<sup>414</sup> In January 1881, ostensibly on his own initiative, Werahiko wrote to Tawhiao seeking permission to prospect a reportedly auriferous belt of country between Pirongia and the Tuhua district, in the headwaters of the Whanganui River. A year later it was reported that 'Hone was willing to undertake the task of prospecting, promising the king an interest were anything discovered, and the king wrote in a strain favourable to the proposal, likewise asking Hone to meet him in Kopua in March'.<sup>415</sup> According to a report published in February 1881, Tawhiao's letter stated that, at this meeting,

Hone will be required to report on His Majesty's dominions as a field for mining enterprises, and to instruct the native landholders in that region as to the benefits to be derived from the discovery of payable gold, and the consequent influx of a gold-mining population. Hone is a very intelligent native, and one who, from his long mining experience, will be able to give his fellow-countrymen a thorough explanation of everything in connection with gold-mining matters. The result of Hone's mission will be anxiously looked for by miners, who have for many years entertained the idea that this terra incognita - the King Country - will be found to be one vast Eldorado of mineral wealth.<sup>416</sup>

The *Te Aroha Miner*, after noting that 'at various times during the past decade, vague rumours have reached the denizens of the more civilised portions of the colony' of rich gold in this area, commented that Werahiko,

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<sup>413</sup> For his investments at Waiorongomai, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 176, 192, 202, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 103, BBAV 11505/3a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 69-71, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

<sup>414</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>415</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 January 1882, p. 3.

<sup>416</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 19 February 1881, p. 5.

who has travelled over the island from one end to the other informs us that Tuhua has every appearance of being a goldfield. Quartz reefs are to be met with in every direction. He was not able to prospect owing to the espionage of the natives. Thoroughly impressed with the idea of the existence of gold, he quite recently made the following proposal to the Kingites - That he should be allowed to prospect the district, and in return would instruct the natives in the art of mining for gold. Should he discover anything, he would require the services of two white men to work a battery. The proposal was very favorably entertained by a large section of the Hauhaus, and Werahiko has been invited to attend the great Maori meeting at Hikurangi [near Te Kuiti] to be held next month, when his proposal will come under discussion, and no doubt be decided on. Hone is one of the shrewdest and most intelligent natives we have ever come across, and, in addition, is a first class prospector, combining with the necessary knowledge, indomitable pluck and endurance. We feel certain if "Johnny" has his request granted, that he will render a good account of himself.<sup>417</sup>

The meeting, at Hikurangi, was held on 26 April. At the start of that month, a Thames newspaper reported that 'quite lately Hone has received a pressing invitation from Te Ngakau, the dusky Premier' to attend it.

The natives are evidently taken with Johnny's proposal, and if there is a man in New Zealand who can with a chance of success prospect the King Country, that man is the hardy prospector of Te Aroha. Johnny combines shrewdness and sagacity with good practical knowledge, and we will watch with interest for the result of his visit to his sable majesty's dominions.<sup>418</sup>

For unrecorded reasons, Werahiko did not attend, but in January 1882, when Tawhiao visited Auckland, through unnamed 'Auckland gentlemen' he reopened negotiations about prospecting the Tuhua district. The first report of these discussions noted that 'a hard-headed practical man like Hone Werahiko, who has already traversed the country', was 'not likely to enter upon such an expedition without having very good reason to believe that a successful result will crown his efforts'.<sup>419</sup> He was invited to

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<sup>417</sup> *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 19 February 1881, p. 2 and *Wanganui Herald*, 26 February 1881, p. 2.

<sup>418</sup> *Thames Star*, 2 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>419</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 January 1882, p. 3.



attend a meeting in May at Whatiwhatihoe, near Pirongia, to obtain permission. 'It appears Tawhiao wrote to him a short time ago stating that he would give the desired permission himself, and also use his influence to induce all the other chiefs of the inland tribes to grant a similar license'.<sup>420</sup> Werahiko was quoted as saying that he knew 'where there is payable gold, and will prove it within four months'.<sup>421</sup> During the meeting he invited leading rangatira to a champagne dinner at a Pirongia hotel, presumably using money provided by his financial backers.<sup>422</sup> At this dinner, 'the subject of gold prospecting was not mentioned', and when Rewi Maniapoto was asked about it privately, he replied: 'I will not allow it until all differences are arranged between the Kingites and the Europeans'. Afterwards, Tawhiao said, 'About the gold, let it lie quietly that we may both look at it and handle'.<sup>423</sup>

Although this meeting continued for several more days, as his mission had failed Werahiko returned to Thames. 'What prospect he has secured of liberty to search for gold in the King country does not appear. Hone keeps his own counsel, and bides his time'.<sup>424</sup> In May 1883 it was reported that he 'had made several attempts to prospect the King Country, and only a few weeks ago he received from the leading Kingites permission to visit the supposed El Dorado'.<sup>425</sup> Had he done so, he would soon have discovered that the reported finds of gold, along with his own earlier impression of a multitude of quartz reefs, were mistaken.

#### MINING AT KARANGAHAKE

Instead of prospecting the King Country, Werahiko turned to the much more promising Ohinemuri district. In late August 1882 he was living at 'Ohinemuri',<sup>426</sup> and in October applied for two claims at Karangahake, the Retreat and the Wheel of Fortune. In the former, another miner, Maurice

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<sup>420</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>421</sup> *Bay of Plenty Times*, 6 May 1882, p. 2.

<sup>422</sup> *Waikato Times*, 13 May 1882, p. 2, 16 May 1882, p. 2.

<sup>423</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 15 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>424</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 18 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>425</sup> Auckland Correspondent, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>426</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 539, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

Kelly,<sup>427</sup> held an equal number of shares.<sup>428</sup> When two miners pegged out a claim that included part of the Wheel of Fortune, Werahiko laid a plaint against them because they overlapped his claim and were not working their ground, ‘so that it is certain to be awarded to Hone’; it was.<sup>429</sup> In December he was granted the Golden Gate at Karangahake with Timiuha Taiwhakaea; they had equal shares.<sup>430</sup> Timiuha Taiwhakaea, a rangatira of Ngati Koi,<sup>431</sup> had been an owner of a Tui claim and had assisted to mark out two other claims.<sup>432</sup>

### AN EARLY DEATH

This was Werahiko’s last mining venture. In the middle of January 1883, he was admitted to the Thames Hospital suffering from dropsy, otherwise known as oedema, usually caused by heart disease.<sup>433</sup> He died on 21 May, as the *Thames Star* reported:

An enterprising native breathed his last in the Thames Hospital yesterday. Hone Werahiko was one of the first discoverers of gold both at Te Aroha and Waiorongomai, and the Te Aroha district in a great measure owes its present prominent position to his searches. He also was an energetic prospector in the early days of Waitekauri. The cause of his death was heart disease and dropsy.

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<sup>427</sup> See *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1882*, p. 14; *Thames Advertiser*, advertisement, 31 July 1885, p. 2, 17 October 1885, p. 3, 10 December 1886, p. 2, 7 December 1888, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 16 October 1894, p. 2.

<sup>428</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Applications for Licensed Holdings 1878-1886, folio 92, BACL 14452/1a; Thames Claims Register 1882-1884, no. 1095, BACL 14397/14a, ANZ-A.

<sup>429</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Applications for Licensed Holdings 1878-1886, folio 93, BACL 14452/1a, ANZ-A; Warden’s Court, *Thames Star*, 1 December 1882, p. 2.

<sup>430</sup> Thames Warden’s Court, Thames Claims Register 1882-1884, no. 1114, BACL 14397/14a, ANZ-A.

<sup>431</sup> See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 13, p. 101; no. 23, p. 293; *Thames Advertiser*, 18 March 1879, p. 3.

<sup>432</sup> Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 178, BBAV 11567/1a; Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 131, 163, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

<sup>433</sup> *Thames Star*, 18 January 1883, p. 2; *Black’s Medical Dictionary*, 36 ed., edited by C.W.H. Hevard, (London, 1990), p. 497; *The Cambridge Historical Dictionary of Disease*, ed. Kenneth F. Kiple (Cambridge, 2003), p. 100.

About eighteen months ago he married a young wife, but leaves no family. He was over 40 years of age.<sup>434</sup>

A briefer obituary in the *Thames Advertiser*, which mistakenly estimated his age as ‘not much more than 30’, stated that he would be ‘greatly missed in the upper country, where he was generally well-known and as generally liked’.<sup>435</sup>

### HIS SECOND WIFE

Before he died ‘his wife had been in attendance on him for some time’, and only left his bedside on his death.<sup>436</sup> Mihimera, otherwise Mihi Mera Hoera, Memere, or Mihimera Hareata, was the daughter of Hoera Te Mimiha, a rangatira of Ngati Koi, and Hariata Marakai.<sup>437</sup> In 1890 it was stated that Hoera had been an early prospector ‘under’ Werahiko, apparently at Waiorongomai,<sup>438</sup> but there were no contemporary mentions of this. When Werahiko first became aware of Mihimera’s existence, early in 1881, she was 17-years-old, and married, under Maori custom, to her first cousin, Himiona Haira, aged (probably) 22.<sup>439</sup> After he was murdered at Te Aroha on 12 February 1881, her evidence and that of her father at the trial of his alleged murderer gave hints of their relationship. Hoera stated that he knew Himiona ‘well; we lived in the same house’.

I have seen Himiona with rings on his fingers, two silver ones and a brass one, before and since Christmas.... I saw the new silver ring being made by Himiona from a shilling.... I have seen one of the three rings in the possession of my daughter: she had the new one on her hand. Himiona made it for her; the shilling belonged to her.... I cut with a knife the word “Mihi” inside the larger silver ring worn by Himiona; it was on when it was in my daughter’s possession; I took it off her hand.... The brass ring produced is similar to the one worn by Himiona, and which I have seen in my daughter’s possession.... I cannot say whether the brass ring

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<sup>434</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>435</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>436</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>437</sup> See paper on Hoera Te Mimiha.

<sup>438</sup> Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 11 February 1890, p. 2.

<sup>439</sup> *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 27 March 1878, p. 41, 4 December 1878, p. 176; *Thames Advertiser*, 12 February 1881, p. 3; *Freeman’s Journal*, 18 February 1881, p. 7.

which I have seen in my daughter's possession belonged to herself or Himiona. Himiona's mother was my sister. It is a very strong custom amongst native relatives to wear each other's jewellery.<sup>440</sup>

Mihi Mera, the next witness, deposed that she lived near Paeroa, and that 'she knew the deceased intimately'. She confirmed her father's evidence about the three rings Himiona had worn and that her name was inscribed inside one. 'The ring she wore she gave back to deceased before Christmas.... Himiona lived with her father. It was a custom among natives to wear each other's rings and jewellery'.<sup>441</sup> Another newspaper report, after recording her statement that 'Himiona lived with her father', added: 'Witness was married'.<sup>442</sup>

At the coroner's inquest into Himiona's death, Werahiko 'deposed that he only knew the deceased by sight'.<sup>443</sup> In his evidence at the subsequent trial, he stated he 'did not know deceased; I know nothing at all about him'.<sup>444</sup> Almost ten months later his acquaintance with Mera Mihi led to their marriage. Her age was recorded as being 21, his as 42; both were probably incorrect, she having been reported in March that year to be 17.<sup>445</sup> The press took an interest in this 'marriage in Maori high life'.<sup>446</sup> 'A large number of influential citizens' attended the wedding, conducted in Maori by a Maori clergyman in the Parawai Maori Anglican Church. The bride was 'tastefully attired in pale blue silk', and the 'sumptuous wedding breakfast' was held in the Queen's Hotel,<sup>447</sup> operated by Werahiko's fellow shareholder in the Prospectors' Claim, Matthew Vaughan.<sup>448</sup>

Werahiko built a house for his bride at Te Aroha,<sup>449</sup> and two-and-a-half months before his death he did what very few Maori did in those days,

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<sup>440</sup> *Thames Star*, 2 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>441</sup> *Thames Star*, 3 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>442</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 3 March 1881, p. 3.

<sup>443</sup> Coroner's Inquest, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 February 1881, p. 3.

<sup>444</sup> *Thames Star*, 1 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>445</sup> Marriage of Hone Werahiko and Mihi Hora, 22 December 1881, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland; *Thames Advertiser*, 3 March 1881, p. 3.

<sup>446</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>447</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 December 1881, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>448</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 23 November 1880, p. 2, 25 November 1880, p. 2, 7 December 1880, p. 2, 11 December 1880, p. 2.

<sup>449</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 19 April 1882, p. 3.

namely make a will, leaving all his property to his wife.<sup>450</sup> Included in this property was land he had purchased for his father-in-law.<sup>451</sup>

Only five months after his death, his widow remarried. Her new husband, Hare Arokura, a farmer, recorded his age as being 20.<sup>452</sup> However, when he died in December 1935, his age was recorded as 80, making him 28 when he married.<sup>453</sup> It is impossible to determine whether this relatively prompt remarriage implied that her marriage with Werahiko had been in any way unhappy, though it is reasonable to surmise that a one-year difference in age created more compatibility than a probable difference of 25 years. Her second wedding was held in the Anglican Church at Thames. 'Quite a fashionable wedding will take place at St George's Church tomorrow when Mera, widow of the late Hone Werahiko, will be joined in wedlock to Hare Arokura Wickliffe, nephew of a well known and influential native chief.<sup>454</sup> The latter was Wikiriwhi Hautonga, an assessor and a leading rangatira of Ngati Tamatera,<sup>455</sup> who had held shares in two claims at Tui.<sup>456</sup> Once again, the 'fashionable classes' attended the wedding,<sup>457</sup> their attendance reflecting the popularity and respect that Werahiko had gained in the Pakeha community.

#### PAKEHA ATTITUDES TO WERAHIKO

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<sup>450</sup> Will of Hone Werahiko, 2 March 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>451</sup> Evidence of Mere Kuru, 23 April 1884, Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 15, p. 297.

<sup>452</sup> Notices of Intentions to Marry 1883, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/28, folio 223, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of Hare Arokura, 18 October 1883, 1883/3377, BDM; Church of England, Thames Marriage Register 1880-1884, folio 43, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

<sup>453</sup> Death Certificate of Haare Arakura Wikiriwhi, 18 December 1935, 1935/26207, BDM; Death Notice, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 December 1935, p. 1.

<sup>454</sup> *Thames Star*, 17 October 1883, p. 3.

<sup>455</sup> See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 5, pp. 301-302, no. 13, pp. 123, 125; 'Correspondence Relative to Ohinemuri', *AJHR*, 1870, A-19, p. 11; *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 April 1871, p. 164; *Thames Advertiser*, Ohinemuri Correspondent, 27 November 1874, p. 3, 5 April 1880, p. 3, 8 September 1887, p. 2.

<sup>456</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 203, 211, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>457</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 19 October 1883, p. 2.

Praises for Werahiko's skill, generosity, and truthfulness have been noted several times, and several more examples can be given. When probate was applied for, the judge referred to his will, which had been written in English before being read to him in Maori:

Were it not for the absolute justice of the will & my personal knowledge of the capacity of the testator to understand such a disposition of his estate I should hesitate to grant Probate of such a will without a Maori translation which had been read to testator and attached - In most cases interpreters are incapable of interpreting and Maoris of understanding the effect of technical phrases used in making wills in English form.<sup>458</sup>

Werahiko's known relationships with Pakeha were amicable. Like other Maori, he participated in the social life of the infant Te Aroha settlement. In his evidence at the trial of Himiona Haira's alleged killer, he assured the defence lawyer that he had 'no difficulty in understanding English', adding, more modestly, 'I do know how to speak English a little'. He then described how on one evening, after the hotels had closed at ten o'clock, he went to the billiard room.<sup>459</sup> As an indication of the esteem in which he was held by the respectable, his wedding was attended by, amongst others, the previous Native Minister, the chairman of the county council, a former warden (James Mackay), a former inspector of miners' rights, and mine managers, legal managers, mining agents, and lawyers. 'At the banquet Mr [Roderick] McDonald Scott occupied the chair, and Mr G[eorge] N[athaniel] Brassey the vice-chair';<sup>460</sup> the former was a leading mining agent and legal manager,<sup>461</sup> the latter a prominent lawyer.<sup>462</sup> The guests went to the church 'in carriages in company with the wedding party, having congregated for the purpose at the invitation of the bridegroom'. The clerk of the magistrate's court escorted the bride to her carriage.<sup>463</sup> When Werahiko made his will, one of the witnesses was the magistrate.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>458</sup> Probate of Hone Werahiko, Probates, BBAE 1568/1167, ANZ-A.

<sup>459</sup> *Thames Star*, 1 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>460</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 December 1881, p. 2.

<sup>461</sup> See *New Zealand Herald*, 15 June 1905, p. 5; *Observer*, 17 June 1905, p. 17.

<sup>462</sup> See paper on Harry Kenrick.

<sup>463</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>464</sup> Will of Hone Werahiko, 2 March 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-A.

There were other indications of his close relationship with Pakeha. Just before the goldfield was opened, a newspaper mentioned ‘the tent of Hone and Corbett’ below the Prospector’s Claim.<sup>465</sup> James Corbett had been his friend and sleeping partner from early Waitekauri days.<sup>466</sup> Here, as elsewhere, the Pakeha was referred to by his surname, the Maori by his first name; at this time neither Werahiko nor any other Maori was given the honorific ‘Mr’. When he managed the Prospectors’ Claim, three Pakeha mined under his direction,<sup>467</sup> just as two Germans and McSweeney had prospected for him earlier. One man who was proud to state that he had worked under him for wages was Denis Murphy,<sup>468</sup> a miner, farmer, and future local government politician.<sup>469</sup> As well, a Pakeha worked his interest in the Sunbeam early in 1881.<sup>470</sup>

### PAKEHA TRY TO EXPLOIT WERAHIKO

Some Pakeha associated with Werahiko to gain personal benefit. The *Thames Star* noted that three Pakeha prospectors, Charles Featherstone Mitchell, David Martin McIntyre, and Peter Ferguson had included ‘the lucky native’ as a member of their prospecting party in October 1880. It was not surprised that these old friends ‘should all at once conceive a friendship for’ him, but they would ‘be very smart indeed’ if they could convince the warden that their ‘claim to a partnership’ was anything ‘other than a desire to participate in’ his ‘good fortune’.<sup>471</sup> Kenrick was well aware of such motives, and protected Werahiko’s interests on this and other occasions, in particular by supporting his claim to be the sole discoverer of the gold. When Kenrick first visited Te Aroha, Porter was claiming that, as the head of the prospecting party, the Prospectors’ Claim should be in his name. As Kenrick informed the Attorney General, this claim was ‘disputed’ by Werahiko, who explained that he was the prospector and Porter had ‘simply acted as his agent in getting the subsidy’ and that he ‘alone worked the

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<sup>465</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>466</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1880, p. 9; letter from ‘Old Hand’, *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1910, p. 2.

<sup>467</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>468</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 18 February 1909, p. 2.

<sup>469</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>470</sup> Evidence of John Moore, *Thames Star*, 2 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>471</sup> *Thames Star*, 27 October 1880, p. 2.

ground with men.... He also states that it was on his previous knowledge of the ground that he started to work in this locality. Mr Porter claims that he supplied the information.<sup>472</sup> Kenrick consistently rejected Porter's claims. When Porter again sought the reward after Werahiko's death, Kenrick described Werahiko as 'the working head of the party' who alone had found gold at both Te Aroha and Waiorongomai.<sup>473</sup>

In October 1880, Werahiko informed a *Thames Advertiser* reporter that Porter was claiming credit for the discovery, and indicated a distrust of Porter that had apparently existed for some time. 'Hone was afraid ... that Porter would claim not only the credit, but the land too'.<sup>474</sup> Three days later, this newspaper wrote that Porter was looking after his own interests by seeking a lease of the find. Werahiko 'also thought so, because we next find him making his own application [for protection] to the Warden, and setting forth all the circumstances of the discovery'.<sup>475</sup> Whilst willing to give Porter a share, according to a later report, Werahiko feared that

some influence may be brought to bear to wrest the prospecting area from him. He says Porter now sets himself above him, leaving him underneath, but the fact is that he (Hone) ought to be above and Porter beneath, if Government take into consideration the claims of one who discovered the gold years ago, and again when assistance was forthcoming to enable him to leave his home on the East Coast for that purpose.<sup>476</sup>

Kenrick settled this disagreement by allotting Werahiko the largest number of shares, and presumably Porter and Werahiko reached a private understanding, for they worked together to develop the Prospectors'

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<sup>472</sup> Harry Kenrick to Frederick Whitaker, 27 October 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 12/353, ANZ-W.

<sup>473</sup> Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary for Gold Fields, 27 September 1884, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1884/14; Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 September 1884, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>474</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>475</sup> Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>476</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.



Claim.<sup>477</sup> In 1882, when they jointly applied for the reward, Werahiko's signature was written above Porter's.<sup>478</sup>

In addition to their joint involvement in mining, they had a financial relationship. On the opening day, Werahiko was granted a business site, allotment 2 in block 1, and this allotment and the house he had built were in July 1881 'mortgaged to Adam Porter, to secure repayment of the sum of £68/12/6'.<sup>479</sup> The following April, Werahiko sold his residence site in Lipsey's Block to Porter for £5.<sup>480</sup> In July his business site was transferred to him: no record of the price paid has survived, and it may have been given because of the debt.<sup>481</sup> In his will, Werahiko made Porter the sole executor.<sup>482</sup> Porter settled the estate,<sup>483</sup> suing Quinlan for a cheque for £50 that had been dishonoured.<sup>484</sup> This large sum had presumably been paid to Werahiko to buy shares, as was the case when Porter obtained judgment against O'Halloran for £98 for the latter's purchase from Werahiko of a share in the New Find.<sup>485</sup>

How much his widow derived from his estate is unclear. In January 1885 she told the Minister of Native Affairs that Porter had 'sold a good deal of Hone Werahiko's property at Te Aroha and I did not receive any of the proceeds'. She wanted any reward for finding gold to be given to Kenrick, so that she would be sure of being paid.<sup>486</sup> The reward, of £350, was paid in August of that year to Werahiko's 'legal representatives',

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<sup>477</sup> For instance, *Thames Advertiser*, 6 December 1880, p. 3, 8 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>478</sup> Hone Werahiko and Adam Porter to Minister of Lands, 2 March 1882, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>479</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 7-8, no. 12, BBAV 11505/3a; Register of Residence and Machine Sites, Water Races, and Tramways 1880-1882, folio 9, BBAV 11537/2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>480</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Memoranda of Assignments Butt Book 1882, folio 152, BBAV 11535/1d; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 307, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>481</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Register 1881-1899, folio 386, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>482</sup> Will of Hone Werahiko, 2 March 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>483</sup> See his notice calling on those having claims against the estate to forward these to him, *Thames Star*, 21 November 1883, p. 3.

<sup>484</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1884, folio 92, BAAC 13737/13a, ANZ-A.

<sup>485</sup> Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1883, p. 2.

<sup>486</sup> Mihimera Arokura and Hare Arokura to Minister of Native Affairs, 25 January 1885, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

meaning Porter.<sup>487</sup> As there were no legal proceedings by his widow against Porter after that date, it must be assumed that he gave her all or most of this money, along with any outstanding monies from the estate.

## RECOLLECTIONS AND COMMEMORATIONS

After his death, Werahiko was recalled with respect, gratitude, and affection. The United Press Association described him as ‘well-known and liked’.<sup>488</sup> In December 1883, a ‘Special Reporter’ wrote that, when the Te Aroha reefs were found to be unpayable,

it will be remembered by most of those who took an interest in the field that Hone did not despair, but bravely went to work to search for gold in the ranges eastward of his first find. After some months’ work - and those who have since visited the district can realize the hardships he had to endure in a precipitous and thickly wooded country, without roads - he discovered gold.<sup>489</sup>

At the banquet held that month to celebrate the first crushing at the Waiorongomai battery, Josiah Clifton Firth, after praising Porter, said that ‘the next name that I shall mention is that of one whom I should have been pleased to have seen here, namely, the actual discoverer of the goldfield. (Hear, hear.) I will mention his name, and I desire that it may be long remembered - Hone Werahiko. (Cheers)’. He added that it was ‘a pleasant comment’ on how the two races could help each other that the field was discovered by a Maori.<sup>490</sup> Kenrick began his speech by reminding them

that it was owing to Hone Werahiko’s indomitable perseverance and “never say die” policy that they were able to meet there that night. In all Hone’s prospecting his pluck, endurance, and faith in the field never failed, and it was while out hunting for gold that the disease which brought on his death was contracted.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>487</sup> Report by Goldfields Committee, 21 August 1885, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

<sup>488</sup> United Press Association, by telegraph, *Evening Post*, 22 May 1883, p. 3.

<sup>489</sup> Special Reporter, *Thames Star*, 12 December 1883, p. 2.

<sup>490</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 7 December 1883, p. 3.

<sup>491</sup> *Thames Star*, 7 December 1883, p. 2.

Another version of Kenrick's speech quoted him as praising 'poor Johnny Werahiko', for 'There was no doubt that during the long winter he spent in prospecting the mountain that he sowed the seeds of the disease which cut him off. He was disinterested and generous to a fault, and though he had passed away his good deeds remained to perpetuate his name'.<sup>492</sup>

In 1885, when complaining of the lack of prospecting at Waiorongomai, a correspondent cited him as an example to Pakeha. 'Surely the spirit cannot have disappeared which moved the late Hone Werahiko when the goldfield on the Te Aroha side of the mountain was, to appearances at the time, duffered out, to seek fresh indications of the precious metal'. He lamented that 'the favourable results which followed the labours of the energetic Maori prospector' had not inspired those who had gained wealth from his 'perseverance' to do likewise.<sup>493</sup> Four months later, when some Te Aroha residents who had been amongst the first to arrive in 1880 commemorated the fifth anniversary of the opening, one of the toasts was 'the miners,' coupled with the name of the late Hone Werahiko'.<sup>494</sup> In May 1886, at a banquet to honour Henry Ernest Whitaker,<sup>495</sup> after his health was toasted a toast to 'the memory of Hone Werahiko, the original prospector of Te Aroha, was then drunk in solemn silence'.<sup>496</sup> In 1892, an 'old Mining Reporter', muddling the cause of his death, wrote that: 'Though in the last stages of consumption, this man performed herculean feats single handed, scaling precipices, cutting tracks through the primeval forest, and opening ground in a thoroughly workmanlike manner'.<sup>497</sup>

Werahiko was immortalized in various ways. During his lifetime, Quinlan named a racehorse 'Hone Werahiko'.<sup>498</sup> After his death, in December 1883 it was proposed that the Thames High School should call one of its scholarships the 'Werahiko Scholarship' in his memory: 'Hone Werahiko has claims to grateful remembrance from the Thames High

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<sup>492</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 3.

<sup>493</sup> Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 21 July 1885, p. 3.

<sup>494</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1885, p. 2.

<sup>495</sup> See paper on Harry and Charles: Henry Ernest Whitaker and Charles Stanislaus Stafford.

<sup>496</sup> *Thames Star*, 21 May 1886, p. 2.

<sup>497</sup> 'The Thames Goldfield. Reminiscences of the Past. From an old Mining Reporter's Note Book', *Thames Star*, 24 December 1892, p. 1.

<sup>498</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 28 December 1881, p. 3; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 28 December 1881, p. 2.

School', as its revenue was 'derived chiefly from Waiorongomai'.<sup>499</sup> When this was agreed to, an existing scholarship was renamed.<sup>500</sup> (This scholarship no longer exists.) In the following year, a Te Aroha sharebroker told the local newspaper that 'it would ill become us who are reaping the benefits' of the Waiorongomai field

to forget him who though living was an aboriginal native and is now passed away from amongst us, by his steady and indomitable energy and perseverance, was the means of leading us to where is now being found in such abundance that which will, in all probability, enrich us and future generations to all time.

His name should be held 'in grateful remembrance by everyone who is now earning an honest living on this field', and there should be 'a fitting memorial to him who, though a native, was without doubt the means of opening up this field to European enterprise'. He felt there was 'not a man amongst us but what would be ready to give his mite towards such an object'.<sup>501</sup>

No response was recorded to this call for an unspecified memorial, but both individuals and the wider community did keep his memory alive. As an example of the former, in 1885 two young butchers called their new shop at Waiorongomai and its branch at Quartzville 'the Werahiko Butchery'.<sup>502</sup> At a banquet held in the following year, the mining inspector proposed a toast to 'the Memory of Hone Werahiko'.<sup>503</sup> Waiorongomai's public hall was named the 'Werahiko Hall'.<sup>504</sup> When trees were planted in the domain in 1887 as part of the Queen's Jubilee celebrations, a puriri was labelled: 'Hone Werahiko - In Memoriam'.<sup>505</sup> Also in that year, a carpenter named his son John Werahiko Jennings,<sup>506</sup> 'John' being 'Hone' in Maori. In 1888, one

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<sup>499</sup> *Thames Star*, 11 December 1883, p. 2.

<sup>500</sup> Thames High School Board, *Thames Advertiser*, 21 December 1883, p. 3.

<sup>501</sup> Letter from Henry Buttle, *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1884, p. 2.

<sup>502</sup> Advertisement for 'Werahiko Butchery, Waiorongomai, and Up Hill', *Te Aroha News*, 21 March 1885, p. 7.

<sup>503</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 22 June 1886, p. 2.

<sup>504</sup> *Waikato Times*, 13 September 1887, p. 3.

<sup>505</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

<sup>506</sup> Church of England, Hamilton East District, Register of Baptisms 1879-1908, no. 144, Anglican Archives, Hamilton.

Te Aroha resident was living in 'Werahiko Cottage',<sup>507</sup> and Quinlan applied for a license for the Werahiko Hotel at Waiorongomai.<sup>508</sup>

There may have been other attempts to commemorate Werahiko after mid-1890, but the almost complete destruction of the local newspaper for most of the subsequent decade makes this impossible to trace. During the mining boom of that decade, the Te Aroha correspondent for the *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News* used the pseudonym 'Werahiko'.<sup>509</sup> That his name was remembered beyond Te Aroha was illustrated in a 1903 comment in the *Observer* about Wharehiko Rawei, then lecturing in Sydney, that the name reminded the writer of Werahiko, the discoverer of Te Aroha.<sup>510</sup>

John McCombie recalled Werahiko as being 'a born prospector'.<sup>511</sup> His name was still being quoted in the stories of miners as a 'well-known' prospector in the late 1950s, which is remarkable, for the only published version of the tale about the 'Black Doctor' had appeared in a Thames newspaper in 1887.<sup>512</sup> He displayed many of the features of the typical prospector. For instance, he was willing to submit to its harsh physical requirements, although O'Halloran believed he was not very strong,<sup>513</sup> and Kenrick believed that his exertions in prospecting Waiorongomai led to his early death.<sup>514</sup> Whilst skilled in detecting ore, like so many other prospectors he was over-sanguine about the value of some finds. In particular, he had the necessary dogged persistence and willingness to persevere despite the discouragement he must have felt when some of his discoveries proved disappointing. Unusually for an occupation well supplied with unscrupulous men only too willing to make a quick profit by selling the unprofitable to the unwary, he was considered completely honest. He genuinely believed in the worth of the discoveries he made public, and did not attempt to make money from finds that proved unpayable, such as the

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<sup>507</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 25 July 1888, p. 2.

<sup>508</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1888, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 12 June 1888, p. 2.

<sup>509</sup> For example, *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News*, 6 May 1897, p. 3.

<sup>510</sup> *Observer*, 7 March 1903, p. 5.

<sup>511</sup> John McCombie, 'Early Days of Te Aroha', *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 December 1910, p. 7.

<sup>512</sup> Ann Bale, *Maratoto Gold*, pp. 106-107; 'Native', 'On the Maratoto Diggings: The Black Doctor's Reef', *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1887, p. 2.

<sup>513</sup> O'Halloran, unpublished memoirs, p. 120.

<sup>514</sup> *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 3.

one at Tui Creek in 1881. In all the sources there was not one criticism of him either as a prospector or as a man.

Although some of the ways in which he was described may seem condescending and patronizing to modern sensitivities, these statements were sincerely meant and there is no need to doubt their validity. His fluency in English assisting him to mingle with Pakeha; as an illustration of his fluency, at the luncheon to celebrate the opening of the Te Aroha battery he translated Wirope Hoterene Taipari's speech, and made one in English.<sup>515</sup> He was unique amongst Maori involved in mining for the respect he received from Pakeha, who usually reserved their praise for such cooperative rangatira as Te Hoterene Taipari, described in his obituary in terms that were meant to be flattering as 'a fine specimen of the old school of Maoris'.<sup>516</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Werahiko was admired not because he was a venerable rangatira, but because he was more successful than most Pakeha in a skilled Pakeha occupation. The admiration was justified, for he was a hard-working man who at Rotorua and Hauraki adjusted to Pakeha ways in a manner few Maori could equal at that time. His reputation lasted for a remarkably long time, with no Pakeha having a bad word to say about a prospector who, for once, was regarded as totally honest. Sadly, he derived no lasting benefit from his discovery, for the physical toll of making his best find would kill him.

### *Appendix*

*Figure 1:* Map of Ohinemutu land blocks, in D.M. Stafford, *Landmarks of Te Arawa: vol. 1: Rotorua* (Auckland, 1994), p. 160; used with permission.

*Figure 2:* 'Sketch of Water Race Applied for by Hone Werahiko 18/10/81', Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11289/8a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.

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<sup>515</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 April 1881, p. 3.

<sup>516</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 March 1880, p. 3.

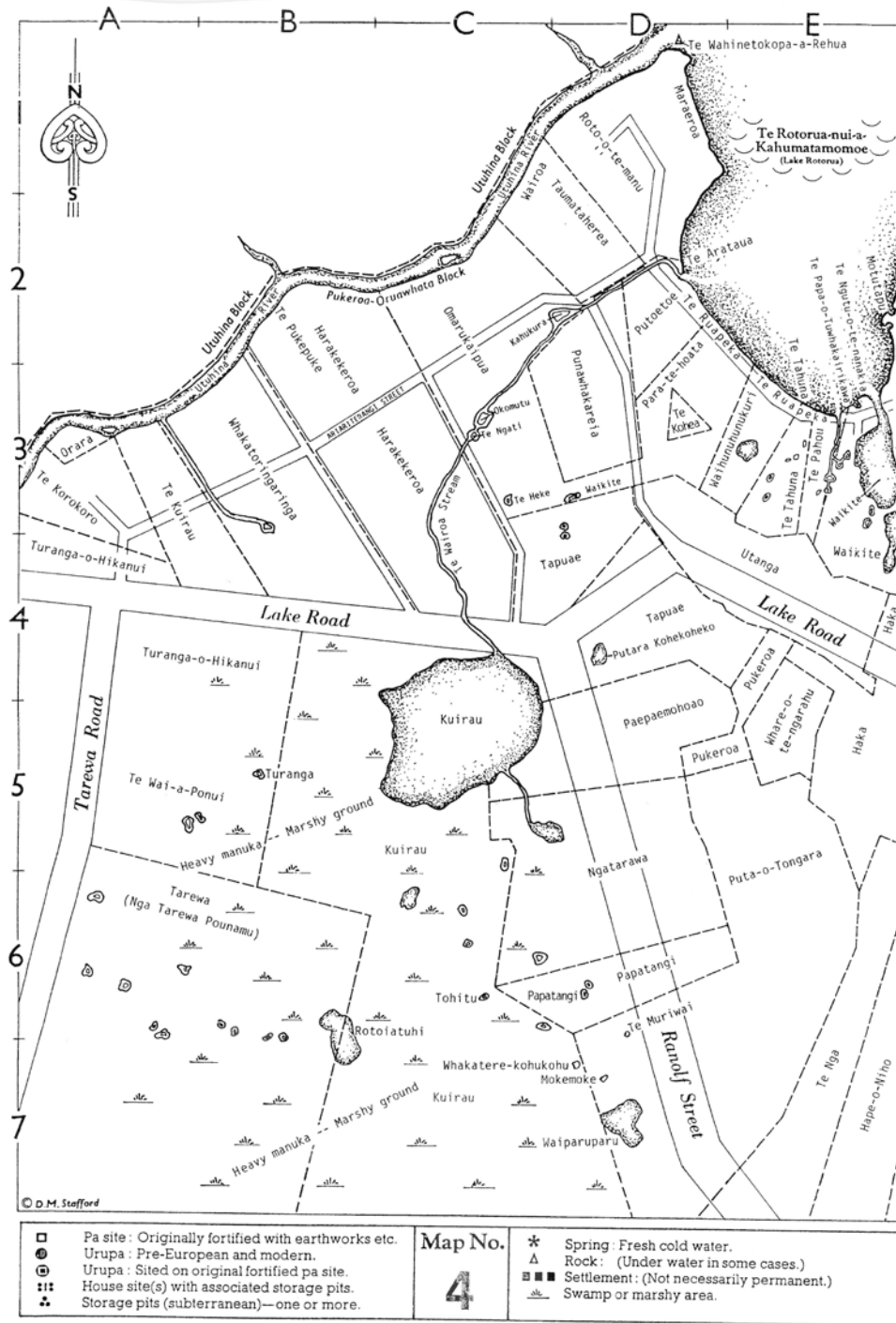
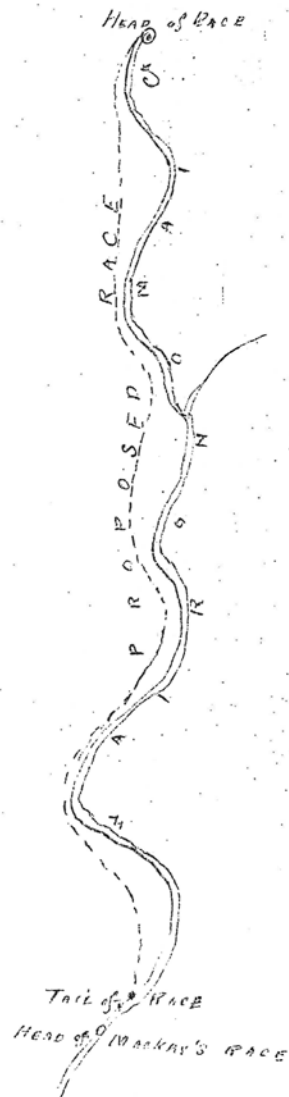


Figure 1: Map of Ohinemutu land blocks, in D.M. Stafford, *Landmarks of Te Arawa: vol. 1: Rotorua* (Auckland, 1994), p. 160; used with permission.



SKETCH of WATER RACE Applied for by Hone Werahiko  
18/10/81

Figure 2: 'Sketch of Water Race Applied for by Hone Werahiko 18/10/81', Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1881, BBAV 11289/8a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.