

MOKENA HOU AND HIS WIFE RINA

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Abstract: *Mokena Hou had a distinguished whakapapa, but as nephew to Hou was subordinate to the latter's son, Karauna Hou. He was born near the Te Aroha hot pools, and his future wife, Rina, who also had illustrious ancestors, including some Ngati Haua, was born in the same area. Both were affiliated to several hapu. After the Hauraki tribes fled from Ngapuhi in 1821, he would be present at the battle of Taumatawiwi in 1830 (though he did not fight) and participated in a later siege of the Ngati Haua pa at Matamata. During the 1830s and later, he mostly cultivated land and dug gum in the lower Waihou region and as well as cultivating at Te Aroha.*

After living at Kaitawa before the Thames goldfield opened, nearby, in 1867, he moved to Te Aroha, where he would live continuously, warding off the ambitions of Ngati Haua. When the land court investigated the ownership of blocks of land in Hauraki, he sought to obtain as many interests as possible, not always successfully, and tried to get more than his fair share of both land and revenue.

A devoted Anglican, he assisted the early missionaries to the Waihou region. Wanting peaceful relations with Pakeha, he assisted both the surveying and the settlement of the Aroha Block. When gold was discovered at Te Aroha in 1880, he assisted the prospectors, opened his land for mining and for a township, and invested in some claims, expecting and obtaining a good financial reward. He may have assisted in making the hot pools a public reserve, and certainly gave sections of land within the settlement for public and religious purposes. When he and his wife died a month apart, they were fondly remembered.

MOKENA'S WHAKAPAPA

Mokena Hou, whose name was Anglicized by Pakeha as Morgan (and whose original name was not recorded), gave several whakapapa in evidence to the land court, depending on which block was being contested. (The handwriting makes the spelling of some of the names uncertain.) In 1869, he claimed the Ruakaka Block at Te Aroha through 'my ancestor Hue – Te Ruinga killed Hue cooked him and eat him – I was saved by Te Ruinga, I became incorporated into his tribe and I derive my claim through Te Ruinga'. After explaining this very physical way of his ancestor being 'incorporated' into a tribe, he gave his whakapapa:

Paeahi
 Puamanuka
 Te Hautakiri
 Rakiteuru
 Pureora
 Te Rangikatu
 Kautu
 Koropango
 Te Mokena Hou.⁵

In 1869, Mokena said that his uncle, Hou, had been chief of Ngati Tumutumu; Mokena's cousin Te Karauna, a son of Hou, was now the main rangatira.⁶ Kirioho was Mokena's mother; once he gave her name as Makere.⁷ According to family tradition, her favourite hot pool 'was named in her honour. Te Wai-kaukau-o-Kirioho. Kirioho lived during the early contact period, and is believed to have died in about 1830'. Mokena 'was born beside that pool. Because they were tapu the Springs were an appropriate place for intensely tapu activities, such as the birth of rangatira children'.⁸ When claiming part-ownership of the Aroha Block, Mokena stated that he had been 'born at Te Aroha at Waikoropupu. I afterwards used to pay visits to my relations at the Aroha – continually'.⁹ Waikoropupu has been identified by a descendant, Michael Barker, as being not beside the hot pools but beside the river, close to the junction of the Waiorongomai Loop Road with the road from Te Aroha to Gordon.¹⁰

His mother's name was given as Kiri Ohau when Pita Warepourī, after Mokena's death, gave the whakapapa that enabled him to claim to be an owner in the Wairakau Reserve (Aroha Block XII):

I know the ancestors for this land. Te Tumutumu and his younger
 brother Te Atua - their parent was Tamariki.
 I can give my genealogy from those people
 Tamariki
 Te Atua

⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 136.

⁶ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 345.

⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 220.

⁸ Submission of Tane Mokena to Waitangi Tribunal, cited in Evelyn Stokes, 'Te Aroha Geothermal Area', (typescript, 2000), p. 25.

⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 259.

¹⁰ Map showing this site provided by Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

Puke
 Motu
 Kurakura
 Tuatini
 Ronu
 Te Poupou
 Wakamara=Te Urumahinga [the child of Te Poupou]
 Hou Kiri Ohou
 (Piahana Hou) Kau Te Mokena.¹¹

On the following day, Te Ranapia Mokena,¹² Mokena Hou's second child, gave his father's whakapapa. Tumutumu had four children, presumably all sons: Te Ruinga, from whom no link to Mokena was made, Te Atua, Mokena's ancestor, Kapakapa, whose descendent was Piahana Hou,¹³ and Hikapuru. From Te Atua, the descent was

Paki [previously recorded as Puke]
 Motu
 Kurakura
 Tuatini
 Te Poupou
 Urumahina
 Kirioho.¹⁴

When part of the Aroha Block was being divided up in 1892, Mokena's youngest son, Rewi,¹⁵ gave his father's whakapapa:

| Te Ruinga | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|----------|------------|
| Te Awe | | Kuhumaro | |
| Rangitumamau | | Tuatara | |
| Koropango=Rakiteuru | | Rimu | Pareautana |
| Te Rangikatu | Ngarangikupohu | Taka | Tukora |
| Kautu | Te Korewa | Te Pa | Kirioho |
| Koropango No. 2 | Haupuhia | Tawahi | Mokena |
| Mokena | Piniha [Marutuahu] ¹⁶ | | |

¹¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 24, p. 55.

¹² See paper on his life.

¹³ See paper on his life.

¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 24, p. 63.

¹⁵ See paper on his life.

¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 54.

He then gave another whakapapa, starting with Te Hue:

Te Hue
 Rangipuuau
 Turanganui
 Rukiteuru
 Pareora
 Rangī Kutu
 Kautu
 Koropango No. 2
 Mokena¹⁷

Rewi gave another whakapapa in 1900, when the Okauia Block was before the court:

Tangata
 Hikahaere
 Roniu [Mokena had named him Ronu]
 Te Popou [Mokena had named him Te Poupou]

Te Urumahina, child of Te Popou, married Tukoro, whose elder child Hou was the father of Karauna Hou and Piahana Hou, and whose younger child, Kirioho, was the mother of Mokena. Rewi then gave another whakapapa:

| | | |
|-------|--|--------------------------|
| | Tokotoko | Kura |
| | Tuhanga [child of Tokotoko] | =Tawhange [child of |
| Kura] | | |
| | Wharaurangi | |
| | Waiheruata | |
| | Hiku | |
| | Kautu | |
| | Rangihana | Koropango=Kirioho |
| | Ngarima=Hou=Taha [daughter of Rangihana] | Te Mokena. ¹⁸ |

RINA'S WHAKAPAPA

Mokena married Rina, once referred to as Rina Touho,¹⁹ at an unknown date 'when the missionaries lived at Te Puru'.²⁰ When she died in

¹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 55.

¹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 354.

¹⁹ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 229.

mid-1885, her age was recorded as both 78 (probably roughly correct) and 90.²¹ In 1869, when claiming that her hapu owned Te Aroha, she gave her whakapapa:

Huemutu
 Huematamata
 Te Taraao
 Tautara
 Kopirimau (1)
 Te Rangiwhakateka
 Kopirimau
 Ngapuia
 Kohe
 Pongo
 Te Hiko
 Rina Mokena.

She then gave another whakapapa:

Te Ruinga is another ancestor
 Te Awe (1)
 Te Rangitumamao
 Te Awe (2)
 Pitaka
 Te Hiko
 Rina Mokena.²²

In 1885, shortly after his mother's death, when seeking to be included as an owner of land in Ohinemuri, Ranapia gave her whakapapa:

| | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------|
| | Taurukapakapa | |
| | Rika Te Taheroa | |
| | Korotitutu | |
| | Kahuwhitiki | |
| Poporu | Katochau | |
| | Irikapua=Rena | |
| | Tutaua | Napuku |
| | Rika Mata | Moingarua |

²⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 247.

²¹ Register of Coromandel Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials 1874-1904, Burials, no. 97, Register 1090; Coromandel District, Maori Burials 1885-1905, entry for 21 June 1885, Register 1091, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

²² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 246.

| | | |
|------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Takanini | Tuiho | Rangiheke |
| Tangihoere | Meha Moananui | Rina. ²³ |

In 1892, Rewi gave the following whakapapa:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Hako | |
| Kakatioterangi | |
| Totara Kapapa | |
| Tutangaroa | |
| Whare Wharengaterangi | |
| Hako No. 2 | |
| Hue, root of Ngatihue | |
| Tarawao | |
| Kopirimau, root of N'Kopirimau | |
| Te Tautara | |
| Tetea | |
| Te Rangiwhakauku | Kopirimau No. 2 |
| Raka | Ihu |
| Ranginehu | Te Waehi |
| Te Aitu | Ngapuia |
| Rangiheke | Hiko |
| | Rina. ²⁴ |

HAPU

Rina gave her hapu as Ngati Tumutumu, Ngati Kopirimau, and Ngati Te Ruinga.²⁵ Mokena told the court in 1869 'I am a Ngatitumutumu, Ngatikopirimau & Ngatimaru'.²⁶ In the following year, when asked whether he was 'connected with N'Maru', his answer was brief: 'No'.²⁷ But shortly before he had listed Ngati Maru, Kopirimau, Paiahi, and Ngati Hako.²⁸ In 1871 he said he was 'descended from N. Hue and N. Kopirimau'.²⁹ He gave his 'principal' tribes as Ngati Tumutumu, Ngati Kopirimau, Ngati Hue, and Ngati Maru.³⁰ In 1875, asked whether he was a Marutuahu, he responded

²³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 17.

²⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 54.

²⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 244.

²⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 215.

²⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 162.

²⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 161.

²⁹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 337.

³⁰ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 344.

‘No, I am descended from Te Ruinga’.³¹ Two years later, he said he belonged to Ngati Tangata.³² Also in 1877 he was listed as a member of Ngati Tokotoko of Ngati Hinerangi.³³ After his death, Reha Aperahama,³⁴ a rangatira of Ngati Rahiri, described him as ‘a great man on these Aroha lands’ who belonged to Ngati Koropango, Ngati Hue, and Ngati Pareautua.³⁵

MOKENA’S LIFE BEFORE THE TE AROHA GOLDFIELD OPENED

By piecing together Mokena’s evidence at land court hearings, it is possible to obtain glimpses of his life before Pakeha settlers arrived at Te Aroha, although precise dates of events are rare, and often ‘I’ really meant ‘we’, his hapu. Many of the places named cannot now be traced, and the spelling of the names of both places and people varied depending on the clerks doing the recording. The sequence of events was blurred and dates were not given. He dated one death as ‘after the measles’,³⁶ an epidemic which occurred in 1838, although he did not know that.³⁷ Stages in his life were therefore dated to notable events.

Even his age was unknown. ‘I was born before the “Coromandel” came to Waiau’, which occurred in 1820.³⁸ When asked how old he was when he returned to Hauraki after the battle of Taumatawiwi in 1830, he replied, ‘I was grown up when I came from Maungatautari sufficient to use weapons’.³⁹

³¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 425.

³² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 80.

³³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 319; see also Waikato Minute Book no. 4, p. 181.

³⁴ See paper on his life.

³⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 50.

³⁶ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 346.

³⁷ *Centennial History of Matamata Plains*, compiled by C.W. Vennell and others (Matamata, 1951), p. 27.

³⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 162; for date of the visit of this ship, see Coromandel Town History Research Group, *In Search of the Rainbow: The Coromandel story* (Coromandel, 2002), p. 11.

³⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 51.

‘My father died about the time of the Revd - Marsden’s coming to New Zealand – My sister died after the return from Taumatawiwi’.⁴⁰ (Marsden’s first visit was in December 1814;⁴¹ the battle of Taumatawiwi was in 1830.) ‘My sister and father are buried at Paharakeke’.⁴² A descendent has argued that, after his father’s death, it was ‘very likely that Te Mokena and his sister were brought up under the direct protection of Tukoro’, his grandfather, ‘and of their uncle, Hou. This may well explain why Te Mokena was known as Te Mokena Hou, rather than taking his father’s name, as Te Mokena Koropango, as was the customary Maori usage’.⁴³

In Mokena’s evidence he did not mention that a few years before the battle of Taumatawiwi a party of Ngai Te Rangi from the Bay of Plenty, led by Te Whanake, attacked some Ngati Tumutumu at Manawaru, killing his mother and maternal grandfather whilst, other Maori believed, he hid in the bush nearby. The site of their deaths was made tapu.⁴⁴

THE BATTLE OF TAUMATAWIWI

Mokena’s story is given in his own words: ‘We were driven away by Ngapuhi and took shelter amongst the Waikato tribes’.⁴⁵ As he did not give any details of the slaughter in Totara Pa, just south of Thames, in 1821,⁴⁶ he may not have been present. ‘We went to Rotorua when Ngapuhi drove us away. We went to Horotiu’, near Cambridge,⁴⁷ ‘& Waipa. We lived with Ngatihaua there’.⁴⁸ Before the battle of Taumatawiwi he lived at Orongomairoa: ‘I myself have eel weirs on this land. It was before the fight

⁴⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 220.

⁴¹ J.E. Elder, *The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden 1865-1838* (Dunedin, 1932), p. 57.

⁴² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 218.

⁴³ Brian Malcolm, *Te Mokena Hou* (privately published, n.d. (?1990), p. 2; copy made available by another descendent, Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

⁴⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 171; Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 402, 460.

⁴⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 217.

⁴⁶ For a summary of this treacherous attack, see John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori, and His Mythology and Traditions*, vol. 5 (Wellington, 1888), p. 189.

⁴⁷ Taimoana Turoa, *Te Takoto o te Whenua o Hauraki: Hauraki landmarks* (Auckland, 2000), p. 232.

⁴⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 218.

with Waikato that I used those weirs'.⁴⁹ Just before this famous 1830 battle, he lived with the various Marutuahu hapu in Haowhenua pa, while Ngati Haua living nearby in Te Tiki o Te Ihingarangi pa.⁵⁰ Haowhenua, on the lower slopes of Maungatautari overlooking the Waikato River, was the most important of the about 20 pa constructed by the Hauraki tribes in Ngati Haua territory.⁵¹ At a court hearing in Auckland, Mokena gave details of the battle, and like all of Hauraki insisted that victory was theirs:

I was present at Taumatawiwi. I had no gun. I was behind the backs of the elders who were firing.... The fight commenced in the morning. The first man that fell of N. Haua was Te Waro, killed by Te Auhe. My uncle [Hou] cut off his head. We fought until afternoon when the powder was expended. We retreated to our pa to get powder. The Waikatos followed us and got as far as our pa as from here to the wharf. We turned and fired on them, killed one and got his body. They turned and fled. We followed them as far as Te Reiroa. Night came on.⁵²

He was able to identify some of the leading fighters.⁵³ It had been 'nearly dark' when fighting ceased. 'When we got the man the fighting ceased, and they fled to Te Reiroa', fern country 'about half way' between Taumatawiwi and Haowhenua.⁵⁴ They were pursued when 'it was nearly dark, but the sun had not set'. Hauraki dead 'were left behind and we got some of theirs. I saw three heads'. Asked if any Ngati Haua bodies were taken, he answered 'Yes, one I saw cooked'. He did not reveal whether he had partaken of this meal.⁵⁵ His reply to whether he had seen Parakauere's grave indicated that he was familiar with cannibalism: 'N. haua pointed it out and I said I expect you have cooked and eaten him'.⁵⁶ (He was aware of, and approved of, other traditional customs. At another hearing, when asked whether it was 'right to kill a man for withholding food?', he answered 'Yes,

⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 187.

⁵⁰ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 343.

⁵¹ Turua, p. 234; for more details of its location, see White, p. 191.

⁵² Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 328.

⁵³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 342.

⁵⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 343.

⁵⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 344.

⁵⁶ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 347.

if he was a Rahi', meaning 'a man who is not a slave but has to obey Orders'.⁵⁷

Writing in 1885, historian Thomas Wayth Gudgeon agreed that 'Ngatimaru would unquestionably have won the day had not their ammunition failed them. As it was, they fell back in good order, literally disputing every inch of the ground, to Haowhenua, where, obtaining a fresh supply' of ammunition, 'they again sallied out and drove Waikato back some distance'. Although there had been no decisive result by sunset, they had killed the first and last men 'and in the final struggle had driven back their foes in confusion'.⁵⁸ According to another historian, John White, writing in 1888,

those last killed in a battle are called a huka. As the Nga-ti-maru had obtained the huka, it was (according to ancient custom) thought much of; and though the act of holding the field of battle is much thought of, the huka is proof of a brave deed in battle, and a good omen in regard to power in war at a future time.⁵⁹

They had lost far fewer warriors than their opponents.⁶⁰ Although the battle only lasted one day, Mokena incorrectly remembered a second:

On the following morning 400 went out of our pa. I was one of them. We went to Taumatawiwi, and beyond it to Haniora – a stream opposite the Tiki-o-te-ihungarangi. We commenced firing on the N. haua across the stream. We fired on them, but they did not fire back or show fight. We were as far as from here to St. Paul's [church] from N. haua. As they did not get up to fight we came back. We started off on the expedition at sunrise. After we got back three women left our pa, and went to Te Tiki to weep over the dead. They had been taken there on the day of the fight, I suppose so. The women came back to Haowhenua and said you Taharoku are sent for by Te Waharoa to make peace.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, pp. 425-426.

⁵⁸ T.W. Gudgeon, *The History and Doings of the Maoris, from the Year 1820 to the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840* (Auckland, 1885), pp. 88-89.

⁵⁹ White, p. 252; for fuller, and varied, accounts of the battle, see pp. 260-270.

⁶⁰ Leslie G. Kelly, *Tainui: The story of Hoturoa and his descendents* (Auckland, 1949), p. 385.

⁶¹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 1, pp. 328-329.

He was correct in stating that Te Waharoa, who commanded the Ngati Haua and Waikato forces, had initiated the negotiations. Badly wounded himself, and fearing a renewed attack, he had the bodies of his fallen warriors burnt to prevent them being eaten by Ngati Maru before, acting as a victor, requesting a korero.⁶² Mokena's account concludes:

Taharoku and others started for the pa. Taharoku came back and told us what had taken place. (Story related) The N. haua staid three days at Te Tiki, burning their dead, preserving the heads &c. All the heads were placed in a long line. When the N. haua saw the long line of heads they gave the name of "Te Kaparoa" ['movement in the game of knucklebones']⁶³ to Te Wetini. We remained at Haowhenua. The fight was in the winter. The N. haua collected a large quantity of eels, and brought them to Waikato. Hou sent a canoe to get the eels over to our side of the stream. We got the eels and ate them. We staid three months dubbing canoes [making them waterproof], carving the heads &c. Then came up the N. Paoa and N. tamatera from Hauraki (under certain chiefs) to Haowhenua. They came to fetch us. They said that Pakehas had come to Hauraki, (Names given and places where they lived) that they had landed plenty of guns and powder. When we heard this we came away (routes described). We settled down at Hauraki. It was autumn when we got to Hauraki.⁶⁴

Mokena insisted that they 'left Haowhenua of our own free will, because we heard there was plenty of guns and powder at Hauraki.... It is not true that Pukerahaki led us out of the district. None of N. haua came to show us the road that I saw'.⁶⁵ While there were disagreements amongst later writers about how long it was before Ngati Maru departed, it was sooner than Mokena admitted, and they were escorted by prominent Ngati Haua as a sign of good faith that they would not be attacked.⁶⁶

SUBSEQUENT SKIRMISHES

⁶² Gudgeon, p. 89; see also Kelly, p. 385, and different version in White, p. 193.

⁶³ H.W. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7 ed. (Wellington, 1971), p. 95.

⁶⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 329.

⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 333.

⁶⁶ Gudgeon, p. 89; White, p. 270; Kelly, p. 386; Turoa, p. 235.

After their return to Hauraki, during the autumn of 1831 Ngati Maru 'commenced to scrape flax. 60 Kits flax bought a cask of powder &c'.⁶⁷ Gudgeon wrote that once they had re-established their pa and cultivated food, they conducted successful and 'violent guerrilla warfare' against Waikato's outposts.⁶⁸ Their war parties were led by Taraia Ngakuti,⁶⁹ who wanted to keep Ngati Haua away from Te Aroha, then a disputed boundary between the two tribes.⁷⁰ According to White, Te Waharoa was advancing on Te Aroha when diverted by the murder of his cousin late that year.⁷¹ In 1871 Mokena gave the 'order in which the fights occurred':

1. Taumatawiwi
2. Matamata and Kawehitiki
3. Haurahi
4. Waiharakeke
5. Te Uira
6. Ongare

The Haurakis were the attacking party in all these fights except Haurahi, and that was an attack by Waikato on N. paoa. Marutuahu were never afraid of N. haua. They never came near our pas.⁷²

Gudgeon gave a different sequence: Waiharakeke, Matamata, Kameheitike [his spelling], and Ongare.⁷³ Waiharakeke has been dated as 1832, with Taraia killing several people.⁷⁴ Another battle, when a small party of Ngati Haua was killed at Horotiu, near Cambridge, in 1838,⁷⁵ was not included in Mokena's list.

'I was cultivating at Omahu', the Ngati Rahiri settlement at Te Aroha, 'at the time of Waiharakeke, and my pigs were there'. He listed nine people who had cultivated with him and mentioned that there were 'others' there

⁶⁷ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 329.

⁶⁸ Gudgeon, p. 90.

⁶⁹ See J.L. Hutton, ' "Troublesome Specimens": A study of the relationship between the Crown and the tangata whenua of Hauraki 1863-1869' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1995), p. 170.

⁷⁰ Turoa, p. 235.

⁷¹ White, p. 194.

⁷² Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 332.

⁷³ Gudgeon, p. 90.

⁷⁴ White, pp. 271-272; see also p. 253.

⁷⁵ *Centennial History of the Matamata Plains*, p. 27.

as well.⁷⁶ He did not mention participating in this raid. In 1869, he described the combined Ngati Maru and Ngapuhi expedition to attack Ngati Haua at Matamata:

We came with Ngapuhi to fight Ngatihaua we came by two roads – the party who came by Piako attacked Te Kawehitiki a pa of Ngatihaua the other party came by Waihou and attacked Matamata – Te Maumutu and others were killed but the pas were not taken. Two of our party were killed but we saved the bodies – We took the bodies of those slain by us – We returned on account of the long time we had laid siege to Matamata – I do not know what Te Waharoa said to Te Tupua it was not made known to the army – We returned to Hauraki to Kauaeranga there were none left at Waiharakeke, Manawaru or Mangaemeeme, from fear caused by the war.⁷⁷

Two years later, he gave more detail:

1200 men went in all. I went with the Waihou party. When we got to the Aroha, we procured potatoes at Kahupuka, and killed pigs. I had previously planted the potatoes, and put the pigs there. Paora Te Patu sent a messenger to the N. haua to tell them that he was coming to fight them. Hou then sent Mouwahi to Matamata to say he was coming to fight. Our army encamped at Taramoarahi near Matamata. In the morning we fired off a volley to let the enemy know that we had come. Scouts from the enemy came to Mangapouri to look at us. We were three days there, and then we crossed the river. We went to the N. haua pa and fired on it, but they did not come out. The party which had gone to Kawehitiki killed some persons there and then came to Matamata and joined us. We built a pa ourselves at Tikerangi near Matamata. Then we surrounded the cultivations and got the whole. Te Wharekohio was killed. We surrounded the pa. Te Rauroha killed Te Maumutu. The people in the pa had nothing to eat. They had to defile the pa. We took possession of the water. The pa was on a bend of the River. The women & children would come to bathe &c. &c. We beleaguered the pa one month, and could not take it. We then came back to Hauraki.⁷⁸

He insisted that they 'left the siege of the Matamata pa of our own free will. We did not leave because we heard that Waikato were coming to assist

⁷⁶ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 337.

⁷⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 218.

⁷⁸ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 330-331.

N. haua. We did not hear so. We captured women at Matamata, and sent them back'.⁷⁹ Before this campaign he had 'cultivated on the Aroha. I grew the food that supplied the army that went to Matamata'.⁸⁰ White confirmed that the attack on Kawehitiki pa was unsuccessful, and that the party besieging it had then gone to assist the fight at Matamata, but contrary to Mokena's evidence wrote that Ngapuhi and Ngati Maru left when they heard about Waikato fighters approaching.⁸¹

Another conflict with Ngati Haua, undated, did not involve fighting. He 'was present at the meeting at Te Tuki' about Waiharakeke. 'We proposed there to turn your cattle off – but the Hauhaus said they would do it. We did not go to turn your cattle off'.⁸² After the missionaries came to Hauraki, Mokena took them to Matamata,⁸³ a trip that can be dated, because the mission station at Matamata was established in 1835 but abandoned in the following year.⁸⁴

After this Te Horeta was killed at Waikato. One of the Waikatos came to Hauarahi and was killed in payment for Te Horeta. This brought about the fight at Hauarahi. The Waikatos attacked Hauarahi. The N. paoa chased them back to Maramarua the same day, they recaptured some women they had taken.⁸⁵

Ongare, correctly listed by Mokena as the last fight, took place in 1842.⁸⁶ Situated in a disputed area on the western end of the Tauranga harbour, near Katikati, it was occupied by Ngai Te Rangi under Te Whanake, who encroached on Hauraki land and insulted Taraia by digging up and eating one of his recently deceased relatives. It was attacked by a

⁷⁹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 332-333.

⁸⁰ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 337.

⁸¹ White, pp. 259-260.

⁸² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 364.

⁸³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 332, 343.

⁸⁴ Stuart Lange, 'The Church Missionary Society in New Zealand: An overview', *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814-1882*, ed. Robert Glen (Christchurch, c. 1992), p. 12; James Cowan, 'When Te Aroha was No-Man's Land', *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley: Pioneers in the Thames Valley 1867-1930*, ed. F.W. Wild (Te Aroha, 1930), p. 230.

⁸⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 332.

⁸⁶ Turoa, p. 237.

party led by Taraia that included Mokena, according to Taimoana Turoa.⁸⁷ Several people were killed and Te Whanake and another rangatira were eaten in the last cannibal feast in New Zealand, the remainder being taken back as captives to Hauraki.⁸⁸ Mokena did not say whether he was involved in this fight, and made only passing references to it, despite the appropriate revenge on the man who had eaten his mother and grandfather. 'Turua was evacuated by the tribes after Taraia's last fight at Tauranga. That was some time after the government had been established in the colony'.⁸⁹ 'After Ongare I went to cultivate at the Aroha. There was no fighting there'.⁹⁰

He had seen the pa at Opita⁹¹ built, with the assistance of a few Ngati Haua. 'We had no quarrel then with them. The pa was built against the N. awa, but they did not come. It was not a N. maru pa, it belonged to our serfs the Whakatohea'. Opita pa was erected a short time after Ongare, for it was feared that the Ngai Te Rangi section of Ngati Awa would take revenge for that defeat.⁹²

The last time Mokena participated in fighting was in 1863. 'I went to the Waikato war as a "Kai Karakia" ',⁹³ a person who spoke incantations over food.⁹⁴ It seems he did not fight. 'I went with Tutuki. I had been one or two years on the Aroha before I went to the Waikato war'.⁹⁵ Asked whether he had told the previous hearing that he had been at Hauraki, not Te Aroha, at that time, he answered that this had been 'during the fight at Waikato'.⁹⁶

MOKENA'S LIFE DURING THESE SKIRMISHES

In 1878, Mokena explained that, because of fear, Hauraki hapu in the early 1830s lived either in or close to fortified pa:

⁸⁷ Turoa, pp. 236-237.

⁸⁸ A.S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand* (London, 1859), vol. 2, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 54.

⁹⁰ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 338.

⁹¹ See David Alexander, *The Hauraki Tribal Lands* (Paeroa, 1997), vol. 8 part 3, p. 280.

⁹² Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 344.

⁹³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 339.

⁹⁴ Williams, p. 98, and translation by Tom Roa, University of Waikato.

⁹⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 340.

⁹⁶ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 341.

When the Hauraki tribes returned from Haowhenua they lived partly in pāhs and partly outside as many lived outside as inside.... N'tamatera had a pāh at Hikutaia called Te Kari. N'Maru had a pāh at Turua where the saw mill is. N'whanaunga had one at Kopu, there was one at Taraia Te Papa called Okahukura, this belonged to Whakatohea, N'Koi, & N'tumutumu.... I was living in that Pāh myself. The bulk of N'tumutumu were living at Puriri at that time and some at Turua and some here at Shortland.⁹⁷

Asked which pā he was living in when Taraia fought at Waiharakeke, he said Turua. 'Was it not fear that took you there? Yes, we were all afraid'. All Ngāti Rahiri apart from Makere and her hapu, Ngāti Paeahi, left Waitoki for Turua because of this battle.⁹⁸ They returned after Taraia's victory. 'Why did your people go to Turua instead of waiting for the Enemy at Okahukura? They did not come'.⁹⁹

In 1885 he stated that, after returning to Hauraki after Taumatawiwi, he settled near the mouth of the Waihou River, on its western bank. He knew Kaipapaka, having cultivated on it, but had no interest in it.

I cultivated at Oparia and Te Ratauwhiri. I know a place called Kaipapaka. Kaipapaka is a small creek. It is at the mouth of Oparia. I used to cultivate Kumeras potatoes Taros and calabashes [gourds] there. When we returned from Maungatautari I resided on this land. We erected a fortified pā there. Te Awakawai was one pāh Te Arukokete was the other pāh.... We commenced to cultivate at Turua and continued to Oparia. We cultivated there up to the time of Busby going to Waitangi [in 1833]. We cultivated there since Shortland has been established. During Gov. Hobson's time we got a lot of timber there for the Europeans. We have not occupied that place since the Europeans formed Shortland but I left my pigs there. I speak of us all as Hapue. After leaving there Hare Renata's¹⁰⁰ Hapus occupied the place.... When we first came from Maungatautari some of Hare's people lived in the place. That was about 1832. There were descendants of Tawawenga living there when we came.... I assisted in getting timber off Oparia and Tatauwhiri. The timber was cut on the borders of the Turua bush. Pukeroa and Karamu gave us leave to cut timber there. We were getting the timber for

⁹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 427.

⁹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 144.

⁹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 144-145.

¹⁰⁰ Hare Renata married Mokena's only daughter, Eta: see paper on their lives.

Samson. This was during Gov. Hobson's time. Pukeroa and Karauna got the money for the timber we the workmen only received clothing. There was no objection raised to our cutting timber there.¹⁰¹

Under questioning, he explained that he 'resided at a pah called Turua and cultivated at Oparia.... I resided at Kaitawa when Shortland was established but left my pigs at Oparia. My pigs ran to the north of Oparia.... There were other pigs there besides mine. I left no one in charge of the pigs'. Oparia was 'noted for its large eels', the fruit of its kahikatea, and 'for a bird called Kotuku [white heron] ... I never saw the Kotuku but I used to live on the big eels. The Kotuku vanished because its dung was burned'.¹⁰² 'The forest of Turua was used in common, anyone cut timber from it. The timber for the carved house was cut there because it was handy. This was Hoterene's house', erected at Parawai in 1878.¹⁰³ 'I have heard of disputes arising out of timber being taken off land but in many cases no notice is taken. Fern root was prized by the Natives.... The timber was got from about Oparia.'¹⁰⁴

When questioned further, he clarified that 'on our return from Maungatautari we resided at Turua'. 'We' comprised Ngati Tumutumu, Ngati Whanga, Ngati Tekeahu, Ngati Wharu, Te Huarua, Ngati Ngaungau 'and other small hapus', including a portion of Ngati Whaununga. 'They did not occupy Oparia except for cultivation', cultivating 'in common'. They were living at Turua 'through fear of an invasion by Waikato and Ngaiterangi'.¹⁰⁵ 'Catching eels in Oparia river was like the cultivations common to all'.¹⁰⁶ 'No one resided in the Oparia pah when we returned from Waikato but the place was cultivated by those assembled at Turua'.¹⁰⁷ 'The reason I was told the boundaries of the land was to prevent them being encroached upon. I was not asked to try and remember what the boundaries

¹⁰¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 50.

¹⁰³ For photograph of this meeting house, see Paul Monin, *This is My Place: Hauraki contested 1769-1875* (Wellington, 2001), p. 244; it is now housed in the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

¹⁰⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 51.

¹⁰⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 52.

¹⁰⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 53.

¹⁰⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 56.

were, I was just a listener. Some of the other people heard the boundaries described at the pah, others did not'.¹⁰⁸

Asked in 1870 whether he remembered accompanying a missionary, John Alexander Wilson,¹⁰⁹ to Owharoa, he dated this journey as the 'Time of the Alligator frigate (in 1833 or 4)', the dates in brackets being added by the clerk. Along with other Maori, whose names he gave, he went 'from Puriri to Te Papa to form a station. Mr Wilson and Mr [James] Preece¹¹⁰ were the Missionaries'. 'Te Whitu went with us. He came to point out the road to us lest our canoe should come up the Ohinemuri river as it was tapu, there was no one at Owharoa we had no food. Mr Wilson gave us some honey and dried peaches. We left the stones we planted the stones in front of our kainga'.¹¹¹ The peaches were raw, not cooked, and had come from Paihia.¹¹²

When the Pakirarahi Block, between Puriri and Whangamata, was before the court in 1875, he gave evidence despite not having any claim to ownership:

I know Popororoa. I used to dig gum on it. I was driven away by Rapana [Maunganoa], Hoterene [Taipari] and others. After that we went to Pakirarahi, We got permission from Tawa, Pehi, Ngeto, and others (of N'teahumua) We were not ejected from Pakirarahi, no one came to warn us not to go on to Matakitaiki and dig. We got a great deal of Gum from Pakirarahi. It was well known that we were digging gum on the land. No one objected.¹¹³

There was 'plenty' of gum elsewhere, 'but it was at Pakirarahi that we had leave to dig'.¹¹⁴ The only other tribe to dig gum there were 'the Waikatos', and once they had left Ngati Rahiri returned and dug again. This was after the Waikato War, for the Waikatos had 'fled hither from the Pakehas. The Hauraki Natives took compassion upon them and allowed them to dig gum on their lands'.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 53 [punctuation added].

¹⁰⁹ See *Mission and Moko*, pp. 211-212.

¹¹⁰ See *Mission and Moko*, p. 206.

¹¹¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 161.

¹¹² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 162.

¹¹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 425.

¹¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 426.

¹¹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 8, p. 426.

‘When I left Turua I lived at Waiotahi at Grahamstown on sufferance. After that I went to Kaitawa’, near the southern end of Thames. ‘Shortland was established when I lived there. After I left Kaitawa I went to Te Aroha’.¹¹⁶ ‘I remember coming from Kaitawa (Shortland) to receive some money for Tauranga lands. I was taken to Kaitawa from the Aroha Block’.¹¹⁷ After Mokena’s death, Aihe Pepene,¹¹⁸ a rangatira of Ngati Rahiri, stated that in the 1860s Mokena lived at Tawhitirahi No. 1, near Kaitawa. ‘When he was residing there the canoes use to carry things up there – such as pipis,’ up a blind creek that started at the Kaitawa Block.¹¹⁹ In 1878, Mokena said that, in what appears to have been the late 1860s, he was living in Okahukura pa at Taraia Te Papa while ‘the bulk of N’tumutumu were living at Puriri at that time and some at Turua and some here at Shortland’.¹²⁰ According to others, at unknown dates he lived at Okauia,¹²¹ either at the thermal pools beside the Waihou River or a settlement in ‘the ranges’ about eight miles from Josiah Clifton Firth’s estate at Matamata.¹²²

LIVING ON THE AROHA BLOCK

At several court hearings, Mokena gave details of occupying and cultivating several portions of the Aroha Block, some of which cannot now be identified, to support his claim and that of Ngati Maru and in particular Ngati Tumutumu (also known as Ngati Rahiri) to own this land. After Taumatawiwi ‘the Hauraki tribe came back to Hauraki. The N’paoa and N’tamatera went out to the Thames. None of them stayed on the Aroha lands – The N’rahi came and lived at Ngahuoneone on the side of Waitoki’.¹²³ In the summer of 1832 ‘I and the N. tumutumu got seed potatoes which we planted at the Aroha and at Kahupuka, and we put pigs at Rauaruheroa’.¹²⁴ ‘I have lived on this block at Whenuahou and at Pukekohekohe – I had cultivations at those places’, as had Ngati Tokerau.

¹¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 54.

¹¹⁷ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 347.

¹¹⁸ See paper on his life.

¹¹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 22, p. 138.

¹²⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 427.

¹²¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 352.

¹²² Turoa, p. 196; *Centennial History of the Matamata Plains*, p. 61.

¹²³ For the earlier history of Waitoki, see Turoa, p. 202.

¹²⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 329.

Ngati Tamatera 'did not interfere with us – Te Kirikau had a wheat plantation on the land – He belonged to us – His father was Tutuki – He cultivated there until the time of the taking of Paterangi by the Soldiers',¹²⁵ at the end of the Waikato War. Ngati Rahiri ran cattle on this land 'up to the taking of Paterangi'.¹²⁶

'At the time of Taraia's raid on Waiharakeke all N'tumutumu left Te Aroha and went to Turua and to places about Ohinemuri. Peace was afterwards made and N'tumutumu again returned to Te Aroha and remained up to the Waikato War and on to the present time', 1878.¹²⁷ In the 1830s,

Te Aroha was the nearest settlement on this side belonging to Ngatimaru, they lived at the base of the mountain. I went myself to Hauraki Hikutaia & Te Puriri, I was there when the Missionaries came there and at the time of the first Governor's coming I went backwards & forwards to the Aroha – When the first Governor came it was quite safe and Te Aroha was occupied I lived there myself. I cultivated with Ngatimaru there at the time of the first Governor, Hirini, Henu Kari, Hohepa Poto, Te Hewa, Mauwhare, Te Iwa, Te Huirama & others also.... Ngatihaua under Kaipohue went to pull up our cultivations but we were armed – I killed Kaipohue's father myself.¹²⁸

This was the only time he admitted killing anyone. He 'did not see any Ngatihaua' living at Te Aroha 'at the time of the first Governor's arrival. I have had clearings at Mataurau', correctly Mataura, on the western bank of the Waihou near Te Aroha,¹²⁹ 'since the fighting at Tauranga and before that time at Omahu – Makere my mother kindled the fire there'.¹³⁰ 'I used to go backwards & forwards to see the Natives at the fight', presumably a reference to the skirmishes with Ngati Haua. 'There were no persons living on the Block at that time, that is, Ngatihaua'.¹³¹ 'We have not buried at Kohea since the Governor's time but at Kiekie – not at Kohea –

¹²⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 140.

¹²⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 141.

¹²⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 424.

¹²⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 218-219.

¹²⁹ For map of this block, see Field Book 343, issued to F.H. Edgecumbe on 9 September 1879, p. 65, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

¹³⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 219-220.

¹³¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 220 [punctuation added].

not at Manawaru the reason was We were afraid that they would be eat by the pigs – W[illiam] Thompson [Wiremu Tamihana of Ngati Haua] had pigs running at Waiharakeke, not at Manawaru – my pigs run there’.¹³²

As well as cultivating at Te Aroha, with others he cultivated at Opuaka and Pukekohe at Manawaru in the 1830s:

When the attack was made at Waiharakeke I left. These cultivations were commenced after leaving Haowhenua. At the time of the attack on Waiharakeke I moved down from the Aroha to Te Rau-o-te-where. After the fight of Ongare I went into the pa at Opito. Before Ongare I was catching pigs at Ohinemuri. I cultivated on the Aroha between Waiharakeke and Ongare. Before Ongare I cultivated on Totoro.¹³³

After the battle at Ongare in 1842, his cultivations were ‘at Omahu and they have continued there up to the present time’. Others returned with him. ‘Since we went back after Ongare I cultivated and came down to get shell fish, went back to cultivate, and so on. Came to Hauraki and cultivated &c. The settlements my people have made on the Aroha since Ongare were Omahu, Manawaru, Te Kipora, Te Horo’.¹³⁴ When others cultivated these places ‘I was at Hauraki cultivating wheat. I staid two years at Totoro before I came to Hauraki’.¹³⁵

Keepa Te Wharau,¹³⁶ another Ngati Rahiri rangatira, deposed in 1871 that, at the time of the Taranaki War, ‘Te Mokena and the others were cultivating at Owhaeange’.¹³⁷ Mokena stated: ‘I went back to the Aroha after the Taranaki war. I have remained there ever since’.¹³⁸ ‘Tutuki was at the Aroha before I went up after the Taranaki war, after Makere’,¹³⁹ his mother.¹⁴⁰ ‘Since the Waikato war I have lived permanently on the Aroha. I have no “Kainga” in Hauraki’. He listed those who lived there in the 1860s, including, for the first time, Karauna Hou, the senior rangatira of Ngati

¹³² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 220.

¹³³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 337-338.

¹³⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 338.

¹³⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 339.

¹³⁶ See paper on his life.

¹³⁷ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 215.

¹³⁸ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 339.

¹³⁹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 347.

¹⁴⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 220.

Rahiri. 'After the Taranaki war the number of those on the Aroha have increased'.¹⁴¹ He listed 20 other men and women 'who have lived permanently on the Aroha since the Waikato war until now'.¹⁴² He remembered when cattle were placed on the block by 'Te Meke – a teina of mine', meaning a younger brother, presumably Te Meke Ngakuru, 'and Akuhata a tamati of mine', meaning his eldest son. These cattle ran 'on Te Ruakowhawha and other places on the Aroha',¹⁴³ including at Waitoki, ten kilometres north of Te Aroha. Asked where his people were when Opera pa was taken and Puamanuka killed, he replied: 'On the lands round about Waitoki and at Huimanuka pa'.¹⁴⁴ In 1877, in response to Haora Tareranui,¹⁴⁵ a leading Ohinemuri rangatira, claiming ownership of all of Mangaiti and erecting a post to signify this, Mokena replied, 'Yes, and I destroyed it'.¹⁴⁶ Asked where he was living when Paterangi was captured, he replied, 'At Hauraki – and Waitoki I lived where W[illiam] Nicholls' house is standing'. (Nicholls, a Pakeha Maori, had settled there.)¹⁴⁷ 'I had a wheat cultivation there and Makere has peach trees there now'.¹⁴⁸

Keepa Te Wharau stated that, when he first went to Omaha in 1867, Mokena already had pigs running there.¹⁴⁹ On several occasions, Mokena described Ngati Maru settling at Te Aroha and expelling Ngati Haua. In 1869, he stated that

I came on the 18 Augt 1868 & took permanent possession of Te Aroha. I lived previously at Hauraki – Tutuki came at the same time also Hemi Kari & others but they had been paying visits backwards & forwards before – We came to settle at the same time as Te Wharenui and we disputed with him. I did not see any houses & cultivations – the only persons we saw were those of Ngatihaua tribe who were driven away by the Pakehas they use the Rauwiris (Eel pas) which belonged to us.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 339.

¹⁴² Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 340.

¹⁴³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 345.

¹⁴⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 141.

¹⁴⁵ See *Ohinemuri County Diamond Jubilee 1885-1945* (Paeroa, 1945), p. 53.

¹⁴⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 142.

¹⁴⁷ See paper on his life.

¹⁴⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 144.

¹⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 223, 225.

¹⁵⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 219.

He and Tutuki had come from Totoro, in Hauraki. 'Peace had been made in Hauraki, and I came from there'.¹⁵¹ In 1869 he said that the previous year he found that Te Wharenuī of Ngāti Haua had cultivations at Te Aroha: 'I have continually threatened to burn his house down'.¹⁵² Two years later, he stated that Te Wharenuī first came to the block in 1870 'and I drove him off'. William Nicholls' children had a kainga on the Ruakaka block, close to Omahu, 'but I turned them away' and threatened to burn Harete Nicholls' house down; he denied having said earlier that Te Wharenuī had erected it.¹⁵³

On 24 January 1871, before leaving Te Aroha on 3 February to attend the land court hearing of the Aroha Block being held in Auckland, he and Te Pakaroa and some Ngāti Haua amongst others went 'to the Karaka for sharks from the King country (near Manawaru) and to ask N. haua to leave'.¹⁵⁴ He explained to the court that 'when the remnants of N. haua fled from the Pakeha' after the Waikato War, 'they came to the Aroha to live, and we told them they might dig the gum'.¹⁵⁵ Eighty people in all went to this meeting with Ngāti Haua and told them

to leave. The persons Te Pakaroa and the others came to see were Taingakawa, Henare Ngotahi, Hoera, and others. Pakaroa and the others were of the people who had been placed on the Aroha, and they came to see those who had been left behind. They complained that Te Raihi still persisted in his claim to the Aroha, and said that it was not his. It was Te Pakaroa, and those who came who said this. I was present. Hona said These King¹⁵⁶ people have not considered the kindness of N. maru to us (the 'haua hauhau at Ohineroa).

After more condemnation of their attempts to take and even sell Ngāti Maru land, 'Te Pakaroa, Riki, and Reweti said – "Move away or we will pull up your crops," and they pulled up some growing maize to feed their horses. It was also suggested to pull up the Kumeras and melon plants'. This act made Ngāti Haua agree to leave, although when Mokena left Te Karaka,

¹⁵¹ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 341.

¹⁵² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 260.

¹⁵³ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 346.

¹⁵⁴ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 333.

¹⁵⁵ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 333; for more detail, see p. 334.

¹⁵⁶ Recorded as Queen, but Ngāti Haua were Kingites.

where this argument took place, they had not yet left but were preparing to leave.¹⁵⁷

In 1877, Mokena told the hearing on Waitoki, north of Te Aroha, that

a Pakeha lately commenced to split rails at Waitoki – The N’Rahiri burned the rails – a Pakeha named [William] Nicholls built a house on the land. We objected to his doing so because it was Tareranui who gave him leave to build the house. We threatened to burn it down but when we found that it had been built by order of Nicholls’ half caste daughter we made no objection – The girls were related to us. They were descended from our Ancestor Rakoteuru on the mother’s side.¹⁵⁸

RINA’S LIFE BEFORE 1880

Rina told the Matamata hearing on the Aroha Block in 1869 that she ‘was born at the Aroha at Pukemako at the base of the mountain’.¹⁵⁹ This site has been identified as close to the eastern side of the Waiorongomai stream, where it emerged from the hills.¹⁶⁰ ‘My parents reared me up and took me to Waitoa – Ngatitumutumu and myself resided at Te Aroha.... I lived a long time at Waitoa and I lived here also with Ngatihaua because they are my relatives’. Nonetheless, she supported the Ngati Maru claim to the land. When Ngati Maru and Ngati Haua were fighting, she lived at Matamata ‘with my relations Te Wharau and Te Karaka’.¹⁶¹ ‘I was lately married to Te Mokena when the Missionaries lived at Te Puru – I have always lived with the Mokena since wherever he went – I have come every year to the Aroha – I lived there permanently before’.¹⁶² If she meant Puriri, the mission station was established there in 1833,¹⁶³ meaning she was married at around that date.

MOKENA’S LAND

¹⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, pp. 335-336.

¹⁵⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 141.

¹⁵⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 244.

¹⁶⁰ Map provided by Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

¹⁶¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 244-245.

¹⁶² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 247.

¹⁶³ *Mission and Moko*, p. 12.

Mokena was assiduous in attending land court hearings about blocks in which he was interested. As he explained on one occasion, after giving evidence he ‘went back as soon as I had finished my business. I did not hear the other claims called upon after my own’.¹⁶⁴ In 1869 he was included as an owner of Korokoro D, part of Shortland, on Karauna Hou’s insistence: ‘he is one of the principal claimants, he and I are the first, the others follow’.¹⁶⁵ By being an owner of this freehold block and living at Parawai, he was included in the Thames electoral rolls in the 1870s.¹⁶⁶ Also in 1869, he claimed ownership of the Te Ruakaka Block at Te Aroha, through ancestry and because he had ‘continually’ visited the area. ‘I have been in continual possession I have no land on the sea. I was not in dread whilst living on the land it is my own’.¹⁶⁷ It was not awarded to him but to several individuals and to Ngati Hue, ‘a portion of N’tumutumu’.¹⁶⁸

In 1873 he was the fifth owner to be listed for Waiheke No. 2,¹⁶⁹ near Waitoa.¹⁷⁰ Three years later he was a witness for Ngati Tumutumu in their claim for Orongomairoa, of which he claimed to be an owner, although admitting that none of the people he listed as owners had ever lived or worked on it. He had seen one of their elders using an eel weir.¹⁷¹ His case failed, but the successful claimants agreed to give Ngati Tumutumu £100 ‘in satisfaction of any claim they might suppose they have’.¹⁷² He was one of several Maori who sold Hungahunga No. 4, 1,180 acres in Piako, to Thomas Russell,¹⁷³ for £177.¹⁷⁴

In 1877 he gave elaborate details about genealogies along with stories of rape and murder committed by past generations in an unsuccessful

¹⁶⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 55.

¹⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, pp. 177-178 [punctuation added].

¹⁶⁶ *Thames Electoral Rolls, 1871*, p. 26, 1879, p. 47; Thames Electoral Roll, August 1873-September 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8183, 3015/73, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 259-260.

¹⁶⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 425; see paper on the Aroha Block to 1879.

¹⁶⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 111.

¹⁷⁰ For maps of these blocks, see Alexander, vol. 8 part 4, p. 338.

¹⁷¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, pp. 185-187.

¹⁷² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 196.

¹⁷³ See paper on the Aroha Block to 1879.

¹⁷⁴ Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A806, box 2, no. 35, ANZ-A.

attempt to become an owner of Waitoki.¹⁷⁵ In 1878 he became one of the owners of Te Aratiatia and Waiharakeke West, upriver from Te Aroha.¹⁷⁶ When Waiharakeke was in dispute later that year, he gave elaborate details of the fighting in the Matamata district from the 1830s onwards, as well as explaining ancestral rights.¹⁷⁷ The court awarded it to Ngati Hinerangi, of which Mokena was a member.¹⁷⁸ That year he gave evidence for Ngati Tumutumu in its successful bid to prove ownership of the Aroha Block.¹⁷⁹

After the Aroha land was awarded to Ngati Tumutumu, in August 1878 James Mackay, who was negotiating on behalf of the Crown, awarded Mokena and his family 400 acres of the Wairakau Reserve as well as 334 acres at Omahu.¹⁸⁰ The following February, Mokena asked for land at Mataura, on the western side of the river near Te Aroha, claiming that 67 acres had been promised him, plus eight acres in the Te Aroha township site (then on the western side of the river). The native agent, Edward Walter Puckey, reported that no promise of land on the western side had been made, 'as Morgan and his family had already been dealt with most liberally, having had the pick of the reserves and having behaved in an obstructive manner as regards the Aroha all through'.¹⁸¹ (Puckey gave no examples of their being obstructive.) A month later he repeated that 'Mokena's family have been very liberally dealt with in respect of the Aroha lands already. They have given a good deal of trouble since the surveys were commenced and I think should be satisfied with the reserves set apart by Mr Mackay'. Puckey had given Mokena 56 acres at Mataura because of his 'strong representations', but, after Mackay denied having promised this land, this allocation was cancelled.¹⁸² Before then, a survey made of

¹⁷⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 136-145, 159-160.

¹⁷⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 319.

¹⁷⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 360-364.

¹⁷⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 367; for Mokena's claim as Ngati Hinerangi, see p. 360.

¹⁷⁹ For his evidence, see Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 423-428.

¹⁸⁰ James Mackay, memorandum dated 24 August 1878, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹⁸¹ E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Office, 8 July 1879, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹⁸² Memorandum of E.W. Puckey, 2 August 1879, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

Matauraura 'claimed by Te Mokena' indicated 'Morgan's Peg',¹⁸³ presumably placed by him to indicate the portion he wanted. In 1883, Mokena's son-in-law, George Lipsey,¹⁸⁴ complained that Mackay had promised this land, which Mokena had helped him obtain for the Crown. Mokena had pointed out the portion he wanted, which had been sold by the Waste Lands Board.¹⁸⁵ As Mokena had always regarded the land as his, the Native Department was urged to decide the matter promptly.¹⁸⁶ It took no action, for the reasons given in 1879. After Mokena's death Charles John Dearle,¹⁸⁷ who had worked for the Land Purchase Department, stated that he was 'certain' that Mokena had been promised 60 acres. That he had not received these was because the block had not been 'entered on the schedule of Reserves made at the time certain portions of Te Aroha Block were given back as Reserves'.¹⁸⁸

In 1879, Mokena became an owner of Okauia, near Matamata, where he had lived occasionally.¹⁸⁹ The following year, in giving evidence supporting Ngati Rahiri's claim for part of the Ohinemuri goldfield, after outlining its boundaries he was cross-examined by Tinipoaka:

Did you lay down the line shown on the map (the Aroha line)? No
 Who did you leave a portion out for? For Ngatirahiri. I was to get
 the land in the South to myself.
 Did you get it? Mine was the principal name in it.
 Then you left the piece now claimed for your tribe? Yes.
 Is this larger than the piece you got yourself? No
 Why did you take the large share and leave your tribe the small
 share? Nataku Whakakeke Ko an anoke te tangote [correctly
 'Mataku whakakeke – koa ana noki te tangata', a proverb whose
 English equivalent is 'Like it or lump it'.]

¹⁸³ F.H. Edgecumbe, Field Book 343, issued on 9 September 1879, p. 65, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

¹⁸⁴ See paper on his life.

¹⁸⁵ George Lipsey to H.E. Whitaker, 23 July 1883, Maori Affairs Department, MA 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁶ H.E. Whitaker to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 7 August 1883, Maori Affairs Department, MA 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁷ See paper on Alice Grey Dearle.

¹⁸⁸ C.J. Dearle to D.A. Tole, 20 October 1886, Thames Magistrate's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 242, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁸⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 4, p. 181; Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 352.

Your tribe then is nothing? Epaiana¹⁹⁰ [correctly 'E pai ana', meaning 'It's all right' or 'Fine'.]¹⁹¹

In 1882 he sold his interest in Ohinemuri 18 for £20.¹⁹² Also in that year, when Mokenataone, otherwise Morgantown, his portion of Te Aroha, was before the court, he was the first to give evidence:

Am one of the grantees. I only recognize my own family. I dispute the interest of Te Heinga [sometimes Haenga] Tawaha. I obtained my right to this land by ancestry and the land being awarded to me by the Court, also my occupation. Te Heinga Tawaha did not occupy the land, he belongs to a different Tribe. He has no ancestral rights nor have any of his parents.¹⁹³

As Wiropé Hoterene Taipari explained, this land was a Crown grant.¹⁹⁴ Mokena accepted the interest awarded to Hare Renata because he had married his daughter Eta, but 'Te Heinga Tawaha is not connected with me in any way I did not cause his name to be put in the grant nor was I aware it was to be put in'.¹⁹⁵ The previous year, when goldfield revenue started to be paid, 'some of the Grantees', unnamed, had told George Thomas Wilkinson,¹⁹⁶ the new native agent, 'untruthfully', that Te Heinga's name 'was wrongfully inserted and without their knowledge'. In fact, it had been included in all the documents and read out in court.¹⁹⁷ Te Heinga based his claim on 'ancestral right Ngautoka my ancestor lived on the land. They resided there before Ngatirahiri'.¹⁹⁸ He stated that Mokena's wife and eldest son had authorised his being included in the grant. 'Morgan knew I had a

¹⁹⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, pp. 354-355.

¹⁹¹ Corrections of the original record and the translations provided by Tom Roa, University of Waikato.

¹⁹² 'Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Block', Appendix H, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

¹⁹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 227.

¹⁹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 228.

¹⁹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 227.

¹⁹⁶ See paper on Mereā Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

¹⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Department, 18 May 1881, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 228.

right, therefore my name was put in the grant – The land was given to Kopirimau'. His sister was living on it.

The Court said that as the right of Ngatikopirimau had been recognized by the admission of Te Heinga Tawaha into the Grant – the Court cannot adjudge him less than his equal share – It appears more equitable that since Mokena is in, with his five children and his sister in law [correctly his son-in-law, Hare Renata] & daughter in law [Raima Te Hemoata, wife of Ranapia Mokena] that it should be divided into Seven shares – the Son in law and the daughter in law only joining in the shares of their husband and wife.¹⁹⁹

In 1884, the court made Mokena an owner of Ohinemuri No. 20C, of 500 acres.²⁰⁰ In his 1885 will, Mokena left all his interests in land at Okauia, Waiharakeke, and Morgantown to two of his children, Ema Lipsey and Rewi Mokena.²⁰¹ In assessing the treatment of Ngati Rahiri, the Waitangi Tribunal considered that the Mokena family had done very well out of the goldfield and the township, and had no cause for a grievance against the Crown.²⁰²

RINA'S LAND

In 1873 Rina became an owner of Waihekau Nos. 2, 3, 6, selling No. 6 in the following year.²⁰³ She was included with her husband and children in the Ngati Rahiri reserves surveyed in 1879 at Omahu and Wairakau.²⁰⁴ Along with Mokena, she was an owner of Ohinemuri No. 20C.²⁰⁵ For selling her interest in Ohinemuri No. 18 to the Crown in 1882, she received £20.²⁰⁶ With others she was an owner of Section 48 Block XII Aroha.²⁰⁷ Her will, made in August 1883, left her interest in Morgantown and her house to Ani

¹⁹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 229.

²⁰⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 406.

²⁰¹ Last Will of Mokena Hou, 24 July 1885, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁰² Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report*, (Wellington, 2006), vol. 2, p. 482.

²⁰³ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, pp. 111, 112, 115; Maori Affairs Department, Auckland, BABG A52, box 10, 75/89, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁴ Maps, SO 1966, ML 1968, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

²⁰⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 406.

²⁰⁶ Ohinemuri Goldfields, Maori Affairs Department, MA 13/54a, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁷ Allotment Book 13, folio 139, Land Information New Zealand, Hamilton.

Heni Ripihi,²⁰⁸ the eldest daughter of George and Ema Lipsey, who were appointed as trustees during her minority, the income to be used for her education. When Ani either turned 21 or married, she was to receive all the property 'free from the control of any husband with whom she may happen to intermarry'. Should she die, the revenue was to be used for the maintenance and education of her siblings. All Rina's interest in Wairakau Block 72 was to be held in trust for her husband. The Karamu Block in Waikato was placed in trust for her eldest son, Akuhata. The residue went to George and Ema Lipsey in trust for all of Rina's children.²⁰⁹

CHRISTIANITY

A friend of Sir George Grey met Mokena at Rina's deathbed. 'Morgan told me with pride how Bishop Selwyn had made the sign of the cross on his forehead when he made him a Christian, and how he hoped to meet him again with all good people above'.²¹⁰ According to the *Te Aroha News*, Mokena, an Anglican since missionaries first came to Hauraki, was not baptized by Selwyn, as implied, but by William Charles Dudley, and was confirmed by Selwyn.²¹¹ The newspaper was incorrect, for Dudley did not arrive in New Zealand until 1842, being sent first to Wairoa and then Waimate North; the only time he was at Kauaeranga was between 1847 to 1849, long after Mokena had become an active member of the church.²¹² It was later believed that his name was derived from the missionary John Morgan²¹³ (known to Maori as 'Te Mokena'),²¹⁴ who, it was understood, had baptized him in 1833 or shortly afterwards, when he visited Te Aroha and

²⁰⁸ See paper on Ani Edwards.

²⁰⁹ Last Will and Testament of Rina Mokena, 22 August 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²¹⁰ Ida Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 6 July 1885, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, p. 119, Auckland Public Library.

²¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 7, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

²¹² Frances Porter, 'All That the Heart Does Bear: A reflection on the domestic life of missionary wives', in *Mission and Moko*, p. 142.

²¹³ For his work in New Zealand, see James Cowan, *The Old Frontier: Te Awamutu: The story of the Waipa Valley* (Te Awamutu, 1922), pp. 11-17; frontispiece is photograph of him taken c. 1864.

²¹⁴ Cowan, p. 17.

so impressed Ngati Rahiri that ‘the whole tribe became converted’.²¹⁵ Morgan, who had arrived in the Bay of Islands in May 1833, was one of the first Church Missionary Society missionaries to visit Hauraki and Waikato.²¹⁶ In November 1833, with three fellow missionaries he travelled up the Waihou River to Matamata, but they neither stopped at Te Aroha nor met any Ngati Rahiri.²¹⁷ As the Puriri mission station opened in that year,²¹⁸ Mokena may have been converted then. In 1870, he described accompanying two missionaries from Puriri to Te Papa in about 1833 to form a mission station there.²¹⁹ Morgan accompanied fellow-missionaries Alfred Nesbit Brown²²⁰ and James Preece on another trip from Puriri to Matamata in 1840, and it has been claimed that Mokena greeted them at Te Aroha,²²¹ but Brown’s journal gives no indication that they stopped at Te Aroha either then or during later trips that year.²²² In 1841, Morgan took over the new mission station at Te Awamutu.²²³

Thomas Lanfear, after whom Mokena named one of his sons, using the Maori transliteration ‘Ranapia’, arrived at Parawai in 1849, where he remained until 1865.²²⁴ According to his marriage certificate, Ranapia

²¹⁵ Charles Kingsley-Smith, *This is Te Aroha: The story of the founding of Te Aroha and the settling of its adjoining districts, 1880-1980*, ed. R.J. Nicholson (Te Aroha, 1980), pp. 12-13.

²¹⁶ K.R. Howe, ‘John Morgan’, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: vol. 1: 1769-1869* (Wellington, 1990), p. 299; J.F. Mandeno, ‘John Morgan – Missionary, Teacher, Farmer, Builder’, *Footprints of History*, no. 5 (November 1990), pp. 102-104, no. 6 (July 1991), pp. 134-138, no. 7 (November 1991), pp. 151-154, no. 8 (June 1992), pp. 170-174; *Mission and Moko*, p. 205; *St George’s Parish Thames 1868-1968*, compiled by R.B. Hays (Thames, 1968), p. 49; Cowan, p. 229.

²¹⁷ *The Early Journals of Henry Williams, Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1926-40*, ed. L.M. Rogers (Christchurch, 1961), pp. 344-351.

²¹⁸ Lange, p. 12.

²¹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 161.

²²⁰ See *Mission and Moko*, pp. 195-196.

²²¹ ‘A Trip from Tauranga to Te Aroha in 1880’, *Historical Review: Bay of Plenty Journal of History*, vol. 46 no. 1 (May 1998), p. 36.

²²² *The Journals of A.N. Brown, C.M.S. Missionary Tauranga, Covering the Years 1840 to 1842* (Gisborne, 1990), pp. 14, 18, 19.

²²³ Cowan, p. 12.

²²⁴ *Mission and Moko*, p. 204.

Mokena was born in 1850.²²⁵ When Lanfear's wife Frances died in 1880, it was reported that she had been 'deservedly beloved and popular with the Maories' and that Lanfear was 'still remembered by many of the Thames natives'.²²⁶

One obituary described Mokena as an active member of the Church of England since 1840, with a good knowledge of the Bible and being 'a frequent preacher amongst the natives'.²²⁷ Another recalled that 'at one time he frequently ministered among his own people, and was to the end a staunch adherent of the Church of England'.²²⁸ 'After his confirmation he worked as a minister amongst his own people', the *Te Aroha News* stated.²²⁹ In 1870, Mokena called himself a 'church teacher'.²³⁰ When Pakeha visitors stayed at Omahu in 1874, 'prayers were said in the evening by an old Maori, and again in the morning, but before anyone was awake with the exception of one of the paheka visitors and the Maori who read'.²³¹ Whilst Mokena was not named, there was no other Maori, old or young, living in the district who was mentioned as being a leading Christian.

In December 1880, Mokena attended a meeting convened at Te Aroha by the bishop to discuss establishing Anglican services.²³² The following June, two children who had died of scarletina were buried near the river on land belonging to Mokena. Being 'much opposed to appropriation of his ground' for graves, he 'was only induced to consent by being allowed to read the burial service over the poor little last one'. The correspondent understood he was 'a minister ... among the Maories, and it must be allowed he read the service reverently and impressively in the Maori tongue'.²³³ Two months later, when he attended a Wesleyan soiree celebrating the opening of their church, in a speech delivered in Maori and translated by George Lipsey he expressed 'pleasure at being present and seeing such a fine place of worship erected, and hoped all would attend

²²⁵ Church of England, Coromandel Register of Maori Marriages 1881-1961, no. 10, Register 1099, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

²²⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 18 January 1881, p. 2.

²²⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 June 1885, p. 3.

²²⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 July 1885, p. 6.

²²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

²³⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 5, p. 161.

²³¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 9 January 1874, p. 3.

²³² *Thames Advertiser*, 16 December 1880, p. 3.

²³³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 11 June 1881, p. 2.

it'.²³⁴ In January 1883, the Anglican journal reported that 'the "chief" Morgan, a most exemplary member in every way of our Native Church', had 'given an excellent site for a parsonage'.²³⁵ In the summer of 1884, 'his zeal' found 'expression in a weekly service he conducts at the Pah'.²³⁶ The following year, he stated: 'I am a Maori Minister'.²³⁷

According to Pakeha recollections, Mokena studied the Bible daily.

Without any fuss or ostentation he made the ethics of the New Testament the guide of his daily life. He did good by stealth. If he heard of a case of distress, he would saddle his old horse Captain under cover of night and pack a bag of flour to the door of the hungry folk. In the morning Captain would be grazing in his usual place, none knowing that he had been abroad.²³⁸

He had 'always called upon God to the day of his death', and his last words to those around him when he died were 'stand fast to the Christian religion, so that I shall be pleased to look upon you, and be kind'.²³⁹ Rina shared his faith: an obituary stated that she was 'one of the first women who embraced Christianity and became baptized'.²⁴⁰

A LEADING RANGATIRA

Mokena attended most of the important Maori meetings in Hauraki.²⁴¹ He spoke at a meeting called by the Superintendent of the Auckland Province in Ohinemuri in 1872 to discuss surveying the Aroha Block, but a Pakeha reporter did not bother to record his words.²⁴² The following year he attended a Thames meeting about the murder of surveyor Timothy Sullivan near Cambridge:

²³⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 August 1881, p. 3.

²³⁵ *Church Gazette*, January 1883, p. 6.

²³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 7.

²³⁷ Thames District Court, Notebook of Bankruptcy Cases 1885-1887, Hearing of 3 March 1885, BACL 14415/1a, ANZ-A.

²³⁸ *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 283.

²³⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 June 1885, p. 3.

²⁴¹ For example, Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, p. 217; *Thames Advertiser*, 1 October 1870, p. 2.

²⁴² *Thames Guardian and Mining Record*, 28 March 1872, p. 3.

Mokena, from Te Aroha, said: My word is this, that all the Waikatos and others who do not belong to this district should be removed, because if they are allowed to remain, and war takes place in their own district, they will perhaps murder Europeans here in retaliation. Let them be sent back at once before the fire is kindled. Let the children of those tribes who have committed the murder be sent back at once. What has been said by Te Karauna in reference to occupying the land in payment is correct.²⁴³ That was the law formerly amongst the natives, that the land should be given in payment. The king should be asked to give up the murderers; if he does not do so, then it means fighting.²⁴⁴

A somewhat different report of this speech was recorded:

He suggested that all those natives who belonged to the Waikato, and who were at present working in the Hauraki district gumdigging, &c, should be compelled to return to their own district, for if war broke out they might be tempted to make reprisals upon Europeans should they get the chance to do so. (Applause.) He also advocated a policy of non-interference on the part of the Hauraki tribes.²⁴⁵

The following year, his speech at another meeting with the Superintendent mentioned the possibility of future disturbances: 'I do not know whether that will be so or not'.²⁴⁶

When James Mackay held a meeting in Ohinemuri in 1868, Mokena said, 'I have no talk, only that the Lands Court for the Aroha must be held at Hauraki, as that land is in Hauraki. I will not survey or lease', which the reporter explained meant 'that he would do as they had done at Shortland – open the lands to the diggers, and then lease and survey afterwards'. When Mackay stated that the boundary of the Katikati Block, sold by its owners, went to the top of Te Aroha mountain, Mokena 'said he did not quite agree to that boundary, although he had signed his name to the agreement or deed of sale'.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ See paper on Karauna Hou.

²⁴⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 16 May 1873, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ Own Correspondent, 'Native Meeting at the Thames', *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 May 1873, p. 11.

²⁴⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1874, p. 3.

²⁴⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 October 1868, p. 9.

In April 1869, Mokena was one of the 73 ‘principal men’ of Hauraki who petitioned for a rehearing of the Aroha case because the first judgment had gone against them.²⁴⁸ In 1878 he told the court, ‘It was I who laid off the subdivisional boundary at the first hearing of Te Aroha – I also laid it off at the rehearing’. The boundary divided ‘the lands of my different ancestors’.²⁴⁹ ‘No one but myself took part in laying off the boundary Maungakahike’.²⁵⁰ Later that month, he repeated, ‘It was I who took the Surveyor and had the boundaries of Te Aroha laid off as now shown on the map, Mr Creagh was the Surveyor. No one took part with me in laying off the boundary’.²⁵¹ Oliver Mason Creagh, when surveying this land late in 1873, had said that Mokena had ‘been of great assistance to him in pointing out the proper boundaries, etc, and also sending to Ngatihaua and Ngatihinerangi²⁵² to come and point out the correct boundary on the southern portion’.²⁵³ To help pay for the lawyer employed in the Aroha case, ‘I and my wife gave £100’.²⁵⁴ ‘It was my wife Rina who paid the Surveyor for the survey of this Block.... I meant the subdivisional survey we had made’.²⁵⁵ Many years after his death, ‘Theodolite’ wrote that, when Wairakau was being first surveyed, Frank Edgecumbe had become involved in a ‘great dispute about striking the line. The Wahines came out in a great state of excitement and threatened to stop the work, as a number of the whares were left out of the reserve’. Edgecumbe sent one of his men to bring Mokena to settle the matter, and after an hour or so of his talking to the disputants Edgecumbe was permitted to continue surveying. ‘This was not the only time the surveyors had to thank Morgan for his good offices’.²⁵⁶

Indicating his support for the development of the district, in 1875 and 1876 Mokena signed, twice, the memorial prepared by Pakeha settlers requesting the construction of a bridge at Karangahake.²⁵⁷ As an indication of his rank, in 1881 Tawhiao invited him to the Hikurangi meeting at which

²⁴⁸ Legislative Department, LE 1, 1869/133, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 363.

²⁵⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 364.

²⁵¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 425.

²⁵² Printed as Ngatitimirangi, which did not exist.

²⁵³ Ohinemuri Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 29 September 1873, p. 3.

²⁵⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 427.

²⁵⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 428.

²⁵⁶ Letter from ‘Theodolite’, *Te Aroha News*, 18 February 1911, p. 3.

²⁵⁷ Memorials, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1016/76, ANZ-A.

the opening of the King Country was announced.²⁵⁸ When Tawhiao visited Te Aroha four years later, he and some of his retinue moved from Omahu pa to live in Mokena's house, Mokena being away at the time.²⁵⁹

His youngest son, Rewi, explained to the land court after his father's death that Pineaha Marutuahu, a relative of Mokena's, had a greenstone called Punohu with him when he died. 'It was proposed to bury the greenstone with Mokena, Pineaha objected and said he wished it left with him – This greenstone had been connected with a good many dead men at this time'.²⁶⁰ Mokena had inherited it from Te Karauna and given it to Pineaha. Mokena also had a greenstone patu named Te Hoeroa that was inherited by Rewi.²⁶¹ Later another son said that, when Hou was dying, he told his own son Karauna Hou not to touch him; his nephew Mokena was then appointed 'to attend him'.²⁶²

TE AROHA BEFORE GOLD WAS DISCOVERED

According to one of the first settlers at Waihou, in 1874 'the site of Te Aroha was marked by one solitary building, a raupo whare near where the Hot Springs Hotel' would be erected. It was occupied by 'Mr Morgan', who 'did a small trade in drinks of various kinds with the few passers-by of those days'.²⁶³ Over the opposition of some Ngati Rahiri, Mokena and his family obtained permission to erect the hotel in 1878,²⁶⁴ which was run by Mokena's eldest son, Akuhata.²⁶⁵ In 1882, Mokena attended the opening of Hori Matene's Kirikiri Hotel, to the south of Thames.²⁶⁶ Despite his support for hotels in Maori districts, he wanted moderation, and at his tangi there was a great deal of food but no liquor. 'This is well, as Mokena while in life was strictly temperate'.²⁶⁷ The *Te Aroha News* reported that he was 'a

²⁵⁸ *Thames Star*, 13 September 1881, p. 2.

²⁵⁹ *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 30 May 1885, p. 3.

²⁶⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 57.

²⁶¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 59.

²⁶² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 65, p. 38.

²⁶³ Recollections of Ellen Grattan, *Te Aroha News*, 12 November 1946, p. 5.

²⁶⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 13 March 1878, p. 2.

²⁶⁵ See paper on Akuhata Mokena.

²⁶⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 5 October 1882, p. 2.

²⁶⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 4 August 1885, p. 3.

staunch friend to the temperance cause, and used his wide influence freely in that direction'.²⁶⁸

In the electoral rolls of 1878 and 1879, 'Mokenahou' of Aroha was included, his property qualification being 'three houses at Te Aroha, and land under crop'.²⁶⁹ One of these houses was occupied by his son-in-law George Lipsey and another by George Stewart O'Halloran,²⁷⁰ the pioneer storekeeper, unless the embryonic Hot Springs Hotel was regarded as a house.²⁷¹ When Pakeha settlement commenced, he moved from his whare near the hot springs to a 'little house' on what became known as Morgan's Paddock, where he grew corn and potatoes; after his death it became the pound paddock and later still the Herries Memorial Park.²⁷² Seven years after his death, his youngest son stated, 'My father did live in the town here, sometimes, and sometimes at the pa – he had a house at each place – My father's home at the pa is gone, a poplar tree stands there now'.²⁷³ In 1910 'Old Settler' recalled that his house at his 'paddock' had four rooms; it had 'long since been burned down'.²⁷⁴

In January 1880, the *Thames Advertiser* considered that 'the most natural site for a bridge across the Waihou' was 'near the present ferry at Morgan's settlement' because it would save 'several miles on the journey to Waikato'.

The ferry service is at present performed as a labor of love by the Chief Morgan, who is sometimes called upon at all hours to perform his kind offices on behalf of foot passengers, or horsemen, owing to the difficulty of crossing after very heavy floods and in strong currents. The task of attending to these demands is not a slight one.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 7.

²⁶⁹ *Thames Electoral Rolls, 1878*, p. 54, 1879, p. 56.

²⁷⁰ See paper on his life.

²⁷¹ John McCombie, 'Early Days of Te Aroha', *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 December 1910, p. 17; *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 275.

²⁷² Recollections of Ellen Grattan, 1948, recorded by Mobile Unit of New Zealand Broadcasting Council, MU 352A; Thames Warden's Court, Warden's Letterbook 1886-1893, p. 480, BACL 14458/2b, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 15 September 1883, p. 2, 22 November 1910, p. 2, 18 February 1911, p. 3, 13 October 1937, p. 2.

²⁷³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 58.

²⁷⁴ Letter from 'Old Settler', *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1910, p. 2.

²⁷⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 21 January 1880, p. 3.

This report riled O'Halloran, who ran a ferry to his store and hotel, for which he did not charge (although its value to his custom is obvious). He wrote that 'someone, on behalf of Morgan', had claimed 'any amount of kudos for that individual through your columns, for conducting his ferry so ably'. He explained that Mokena had 'a private ferry' opposite the Hot Springs Hotel, 'of which his son is part proprietor, and no doubt ferries persons over for his or their benefit, but, to my knowledge, not often without charge'.²⁷⁶ Probably using Lipsey as his amanuensis, Mokena responded, from 'the Hot Springs, at Te Aroha':

Sir, - Having seen in one of your late publications a letter from your own correspondent drawing attention to my "private ferry" on the Waihou. Mr G.S. O'Halloran has been ferried across several times, I would like to ask him how much I charged him for my trouble. I may state that I am not in the habit of charging any person for putting them or their horses from one side of the river to the other. Even if I did make a charge, what business is it of Mr G.S. O'Halloran. It will perhaps give him enough to do to mind his own business, keep his temper, and prevent the Maori owners of the land on which he is squatted from fencing him in.²⁷⁷

The last comment referred to conflicts between O'Halloran and Ngati Rahiri.²⁷⁸

MINING AT TE AROHA

Apart from receiving goldfield revenue from the Thames field, Mokena's only involvement with mining before gold was discovered at Te Aroha was as a member of a party of Maori who owned a Thames claim; his two elder sons were also owners.²⁷⁹ When gold was discovered at Te Aroha in 1880, Mokena encouraged the establishment of a goldfield. A visiting journalist and mining speculator, Charles Featherstone Mitchell,²⁸⁰ went up

²⁷⁶ Our Correspondent [G.S. O'Halloran], 'The Upper Thames', *Thames Advertiser*, 29 January 1880, p. 3.

²⁷⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 16 February 1880, p. 2.

²⁷⁸ See paper on O'Halloran.

²⁷⁹ Thames Warden's Court, Application for Protection of Claims, Shortland, 1868, no. 94, BACL 13819/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁰ See papers on the opening of the Te Aroha goldfield.

the mountain ‘accompanied by one of the oldest natives of the district and his youngest son, David’,²⁸¹ otherwise Rewi. A special reporter who visited in late October found ‘old Morgan’, whom he misunderstood to be ‘the principal rangatira of the district’, in O’Halloran’s hotel discussing the gold prospects. ‘I heard from one of the prospectors of another claim that each of them had a permit to prospect from Morgan’. His plan of the claims showed ‘Morgan’s’ adjoining the Prospectors’ on its southern boundary.²⁸² After an unspecified ‘arrangement’ was made with him, the Prospectors’ Claim was pegged out; Mokena was reportedly ‘interested in all the claims’,²⁸³ presumably financially. It was rumoured that Adam Porter,²⁸⁴ a prominent miner, along with others, were tempting Mokena to allow them to rent the block in which gold was found for £20 or £50 a year. As he was too canny, the lease ‘would not go down with Morgan, and so the party returned with their tails down’. Mokena was ‘quite willing to see the district thrown open if the pakeha is satisfied there is sufficient inducement, but he insists that the claims of any persons who have been prospecting and found gold should be respected’. He was willing to allow mining on his land, but he would not lease any of his land ‘although it may be accompanied by a money bribe. He is opposed to leases, and wants all to have a fair show’.²⁸⁵ Porter denied this report, but admitted that, when he heard that others were seeking to obtain leases, ‘I at once offered to lease from Morgan 25 acres, provided gold was found on his land. My offer was put in writing by his son David’; he denied taking a deed for Mokena to sign.²⁸⁶ It was reported that, when Hone Werahiko told Mokena that he had found gold, Mokena ‘would only hear of the permit system, by which the miner’s right money would flow into his pocket. The old man seems for many years to have made up his mind not to sell, having refused various offers to purchase land around the Springs’.²⁸⁷

²⁸¹ Own Correspondent, ‘The Gold Find at Te Aroha’, *Thames Advertiser*, 20 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁸² Special Reporter, ‘The Te Aroha Goldfield’, *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2.

²⁸³ *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁸⁴ See paper on his life.

²⁸⁵ Special Reporter, ‘The Gold Discovery at Te Aroha’, *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁸⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁸⁷ Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1880, p. 2.

Late in October, the native agent, George Thomas Wilkinson, met with Ngati Rahiri to discuss opening their land to mining. After Karauna Hou and others asked for a bonus of £1,000, Mokena spoke:

There was the land; there were the miners; he was glad to see them; if they got gold he was quite satisfied to take the same arrangement as that made at Shortland and Grahamstown. In any case, he had every wish that they should prospect the land. The land had been ceded to him as his share of the block, and the other natives had nothing to do with it.²⁸⁸

Wilkinson provided the government with more details of Mokena's statement and of the agreement reached:

After a great deal of talking Te Mokena Hou, the principal owner of the block containing seven hundred and fifty acres, on which the gold was found, stood up and stated that as the gold had been found on his land, and he and his sons had assisted the diggers to prospect for it, he did not now intend to put obstacles in the way and that he would therefore agree to my request to give the land up for Gold Mining on the terms mentioned by me and he would not ask for any bonus for fear the field should turn out to be "a duffer" and he might have to refund it....

As the block ceded by the Mokena family is nearest the present Gold find and as there is a portion of it suitable for a digging township, Mr [Harry] Kenrick²⁸⁹ [the warden] and myself suggested to the old gentleman that he should set aside a portion of the land that we otherwise intended to exempt from the Gold Field, he requiring it for a cultivation Reserve, and let this portion be surveyed into a Township, this he agreed to do.

Accordingly, 12 acres were marked off for what became known as Morgantown.²⁹⁰ Mokena announced that he had 'thrown open 1400 acres, Crown Granted to himself and his tribe, for prospecting, and free to all'. According to a reporter, he did 'not want to invite anyone up, as if it proved a duffer they would blame him, but he would like to see them all the same'.²⁹¹ 'The old man is a very friendly and intelligent native, and has

²⁸⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1880, p. 3.

²⁸⁹ See paper on his life.

²⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson to Frederick Whitaker, 30 October 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

²⁹¹ Special Reporter in Te Aroha, *Thames Star*, 1 November 1880, p. 2.

sufficient foresight to appreciate the advantage that would accrue to his hapu were a payable goldfield to be discovered'.²⁹² A week later, after he had signed the agreement to open the land, those Ngati Rahiri wanting the £1,000 were attempting to get him to repudiate his signing.²⁹³ After his death, Wilkinson wrote that Mokena 'was principally known to Europeans through the great interest he took, and the assistance he rendered to the Government, in connection with the opening of the Te Aroha Goldfield'.²⁹⁴ The local newspaper confirmed that he had rendered 'every assistance'.²⁹⁵

Early on opening day, Mokena took out a miner's right.²⁹⁶ Then, in Wilkinson's words, 'the Chief Mokena who will own the land where the Prospectors Claim is accompanied me to the hill of the prospectors claim and fired off the gun as a signal for the opening of the field'.²⁹⁷ He was part owner of two claims in December 1880 and January 1881.²⁹⁸ When the Aroha Gold Mining Company was formed to work the Prospectors' Claim, 'Mokena How, Te Aroha, Tangata', held shares.²⁹⁹ 'Morgan Hau, Te Aroha, Farmer', was one of the first to apply for shares in the Te Aroha Quartz Crushing Company, floated in April.³⁰⁰ In January 1881, a reporter visiting one of his claims saw 'old Morgan ... putting in a shift right manfully'.³⁰¹ After the Waiorongomai field was discovered, 'Morgan and the natives' made a track from Te Aroha to the New Find claim;³⁰² in the time available it could only have been a blazed trail, and probably Rewi rather than his

²⁹² Special Reporter in Te Aroha, *Thames Star*, 2 November 1880, p. 2.

²⁹³ *Thames Star*, 12 November 1880, p. 2.

²⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 May 1886, *AJHR*, 1876, G-1, p. 10.

²⁹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2.

²⁹⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 303, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 190, 212, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁹⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1796.

³⁰⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 28 January 1881, p. 2; *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 April 1881, p. 476.

³⁰¹ *Thames Star*, 25 January 1881, p. 2.

³⁰² *Thames Star*, 22 October 1881, p. 3.

father was in charge. In February 1882 Mokena was an owner of one claim at Waiorongomai.³⁰³

Wilkinson recorded that Mokena and other rangatira, 'through owning lands within the Thames Gold Field, had already tasted the sweets of being able to receive Native revenue from the same in the shape of miners' rights fees, &c, at regular intervals'. After the proposals for a Te Aroha mining district was 'explained to them', they 'readily signed the agreement to open the field in so far as their blocks were concerned'.³⁰⁴ In a particularly blatant effort to profit from the new field, just after agreeing to open his land Mitchell was 'authorised by Hone Werahiko and Mokena Hou' to claim the reward for finding gold.³⁰⁵ As Kenrick later told his department, Mokena 'had nothing to do with the discovery',³⁰⁶ and this attempt to obtain money failed. Before opening day Werahiko gave three-quarters of a share in his Prospectors' Claim to 'the Morgan family',³⁰⁷ no doubt in gratitude for their having permitted him to prospect.

Te Aroha was divided between Lipseytown, allotted to his daughter Ema and her husband George, and Morgantown, owned by the rest of his family. According to one newspaper, shortly after opening day Mokena was 'feeling a little jealous of Lipsey getting sections laid off on his land' and offered 'to drain and form a road in order that more sections may be laid off'.³⁰⁸ Mokena received the revenue from mining to share with his wife and youngest son.³⁰⁹ The Morgantown rents also went to him to distribute to all the owners, who were to receive equal shares.³¹⁰ Until Mokena's death, the nine owners each received £26 10s in 1880, £42 11s 1d in 1881, £37 7s 5d in

³⁰³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

³⁰⁴ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, G-8, pp. 9-10.

³⁰⁵ C.F. Mitchell to Premier, 1 November 1880, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁶ Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 September 1884, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 19 November 1880, p. 3.

³⁰⁸ *Thames Star*, 1 December 1880, p. 2.

³⁰⁹ C.J. Dearle to Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, 13 August 1883, Thames Magistrate's Court, Thames Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 40, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

³¹⁰ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, folio 1, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

1882, £24 4s 3d in 1883, £29 14s 1d in 1884, and £8 6s 10d in the first half of 1885.³¹¹ The varying income reflected the changing fortunes of the goldfield.

FINANCES

Despite receiving income, much now untraceable, from land and mining, Mokena was occasionally in financial difficulty. In 1870, a surveyor, Oliver Mason Creagh,³¹² sued him and other Maori for an unrecorded sum, but discontinued the case, presumably because it was settled out of court.³¹³ Four years later Creagh sued him and two other Maori for £99, balance of account for work and labour done, once again discontinuing the suit,³¹⁴ presumably for the same reason. In 1882, Mokena and Rina were sued for £25 3s 6d by a storekeeper, but the latter was non-suited.³¹⁵ The following year, the bankrupt estate of another storekeeper sued him for £27 15s 11d; he confessed to owing £24.³¹⁶ In 1885, he was taken to court to obtain a judgement summons to force him to pay £12 10s, still outstanding. His evidence was recorded verbatim:

I remember Mr Moore obtaining judgt agst me at Te Aroha.
 I do not remember how much
 I am the principal owner of the Township of Te Aroha –
 It is largely occupied by business & residence sites.
 The rent for business sites is £5 and for residence £1 a year
 A large number are empty.
 I have a large interest in Wairakau – and in the Gold Fields but
 no goldmining is going on there.

³¹¹ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, folios 2-12, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

³¹² See *Evening Post*, 17 June 1924, p. 8.

³¹³ Grahamstown District Court, Minute Book 1870-1884, entry for 16 November 1870, BACL 13817/1a, ANZ-A.

³¹⁴ Thames Magistrate's Court, Shortland Complaint Book 1870-1884, 7/1874, BACL 13818/1a, ANZ-A.

³¹⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 78/1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

³¹⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 159/1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

I have a paddock let to Wells & Souttor [storekeepers]³¹⁷ at Te Aroha at 4/- a month –
 That is the whole rental.
 Last quarter I received £3.19.6 for rent.
 My wife's share came to the same amount.
 The previous quarter I received £39.
 I distributed the money among my creditors.
 Moore's is the only judgt agst me –
 The £39 was a quarter rent
 I recd payt for previous quarter
 I paid [William] Wilson³¹⁸ (Moore's agent) a fair proportion of my receipts.
 My grandau[ghte]r is the owner of the house I live in. She is 10 years old –
 My wife paid for building the house
 There is furn[atur]e in it.
 My wife paid for it from money she received from sales of Te Aroha land to Govt....
 My youngest child is 24 years old -
 I give my children some money –
 I have no horses or cattle
 I had some horses but Wilson seized them
 The rents are all I have to live on.
 There is no mining at all going on on my land -³¹⁹

He 'was willing to pay the debts if he had money to do so'.³²⁰ William Wilson, the agent for the bankrupt, gave evidence that the judgment had been 'obtained for £26 - of which £14 paid on a/c after judgment given. He & wife own 150-200 sites in Te Aroha & have thousands of acres adjoining. At least they give out that they have'. He had no family dependent on him. 'He has grass paddock at to Aroha where he takes in horses to graze'.

I have seen him with other money
 With a good roll of notes in his hand –
 He did not tell me some of the money was his sons.

³¹⁷ See *Waikato Times*, 7 October 1882, p. 2, 10 October 1882, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 3, 16 June 1883, p. 2, 27 October 1883, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 7 December 1883, p. 2; *Observer*, 15 April 1905, p. 5, 26 August 1905, p. 4.

³¹⁸ See *Thames Advertiser*, 30 November 1880, p. 3, 3 October 1881, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 21 July 1883, p. 3, 13 October 1883, p. 3.

³¹⁹ District Court, Thames, Notebook of Bankruptcy Cases 1885-1887, Hearing of 3 March 1885, *Buchanan v. Mokena Hou*, BACL 14415/1a, ANZ-A.

³²⁰ District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 March 1885, p. 3.

He was dealing with it as his own.³²¹

As ‘the principal chief and largest land-owner at Te Aroha’, Mokena and his family received approximately £500 a year from about 150 business and residence sites; he failed to note that much of this income went to others. ‘Was certain that defendant could have satisfied the judgment on several occasions had he chosen’.³²² Mokena’s lawyer responded that Maori were ‘entitled to special privileges’ under the Resident Magistrates’ Act of 1867, claimed that Mokena would pay ‘if he could’ but had ‘no money’, and noted that he himself was not being paid.³²³ Judgment was to pay £12 plus £5 10s costs within a month, or be imprisoned for 14 days in Shortland gaol.³²⁴ He paid.

MOKENA AND PAKEHA

The references to Mokena made by Pakeha both during his life and afterwards were universally complimentary. A publication produced for the fiftieth jubilee of Te Aroha described him as ‘a faithful friend of the Pakeha, between whom and his own people he constantly endeavoured to maintain good understanding and friendly feeling’.³²⁵ An example of his trying to attract Pakeha to enjoy the hot pools at Te Aroha in the 1870s was recalled in 1904. ‘The present writer was asked about this time, by the old Chief Morgan, to go and see the hot water away in the ti-tree somewhere, but he was anxious to push on to civilisation, and couldn’t spare the required minutes’.³²⁶ After his death it was recalled that he ‘was very active in putting down disturbances in the Hauraki district’.³²⁷ In 1930, William Huia Taylor, who had arrived at Te Aroha on the day after the goldfield opened, claimed Mokena’s intervention after the murder of Himiona Haira in early 1881 prevented utu being inflicted on settlers:

³²¹ District Court, Thames, Notebook of Bankruptcy Cases 1885-1887, Hearing of 3 March 1885, *Buchanan v. Mokena Hou*, BACL 14415/1a, ANZ-A.

³²² District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 March 1885, p. 3.

³²³ District Court, Bankruptcy Cases 1885-1887, Hearing of 3 March 1885, Civil Business: *Buchanan v. Mokena Hou*, BACL 14415/1a, ANZ-A.

³²⁴ District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 March 1885, p. 3.

³²⁵ *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 281.

³²⁶ *Observer*, 5 March 1904, p. 4.

³²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

Old New Zealanders and men who held responsible positions in town regarded the situation with grave concern. Ugly rumours became rife of an impending Maori raid which might at any moment descend upon the infant settlement and demand “utu.” Usually they (the Maoris) don’t demand but “take,” which would have been disastrous to both pakeha and Maori. Meanwhile urgent appeals were made to the chief, Te Mokena, for a mead of protection. The noble savage rose to the occasion and saved a situation which had become tragic and almost untenable. Te Mokena called his followers and his family together, and in response to the demands of some of the “hotheads” for the exaction of the old time law of reprisal, he declared:-

“Ekore au ewhaka-ae ki takoutou tono. Ko ahau tetimi tanga me to whakamutanga otenei takiwa kei au ake te Iwi Pakeha nei. Ma-ku ewhaka-aro to ora moratou. Kaati! Ehoki Kiti Kainga.”

English: “I will not agree to your demands. I am the first man and the last man in this district. The fate of the Europeans is in my hands, and mine alone. I shall consider in my own way whatever measure of protection they require. Enough! Return to your homes. I have spoken.”³²⁸

These words were spoken within the hearing of Mr Geo. Wilkinson, Government agent at the time in Te Aroha, and others, including myself.³²⁹

This heroic story was unlikely. While it was most probable that Mokena urged calm, there was no record of his doing so in such a public manner. Wilkinson, a most punctilious recorder of events, would undoubtedly have noted it, and journalists, who recorded all the rumours current, would not have overlooked such an exciting story. Even had Mokena made a speech to Ngati Rahiri, it was not made in these circumstances and it is unlikely that his exact words could be recalled 50 years later. Taylor’s fluency in Maori is not known; although the ‘speech’ is in correct Maori, it reads like the type of speech a rangatira would have been expected to give and does not prove that he gave it. Taylor had exaggerated the danger from Ngati Rahiri, dated the murder to the wrong night, and incorrectly recalled the events of the race meeting before the murder. Nor would Mokena have claimed to be ‘the first man’ in the district: he always acknowledged Karauna’s seniority.

³²⁸ Tom Roa, University of Waikato, says this is a good translation, except that the sentence beginning ‘I shall consider’ implied that the Pakeha belonged to him.

³²⁹ Letter from W.H. Taylor, *Te Aroha News*, 15 December 1930, p. 5.

Taylor's version of events is made all the more questionable by his stating in the same article that Mokena had donated the racecourse at Ruakaka;³³⁰ it was not his to give. In the same year he was also praised for donating the Hot Springs Domain.³³¹ In 1927 an early settler claimed that Mokena was responsible for the Crown obtaining the domain 'on condition that the natives were allowed free baths'.³³² One of Mokena's grandsons, Akuhata Lipsey, claimed that only members of his family were to receive these baths.³³³ The existence of this 'donation' continues to create controversy, for at the time Mokena was not mentioned as having played any role.³³⁴ In August 1878, when Ngati Rahiri reserves were being delineated from the recently purchased Aroha Block, the mayor of Thames sent a message to the Native Minister: 'Have seen Mackay relative to the hot springs, Te Aroha, which ought to be reserved by Government as public property out of reserves now being allotted to natives. Please instruct Mackay on this point at once'. Mackay was authorized to arrange this.³³⁵ Mackay himself merely noted, in 1898, that after the Aroha Block was purchased 'the hot springs were then made a public reserve'.³³⁶ With the loss of Maori Affairs Department files, details of his negotiations are unknown, but the outcome was, as reported in 1880, that the springs and the surrounding 20 acres were 'given by the native owners to the general public for a sanatorium'.³³⁷ In 1889, George Lipsey told the domain board that Maori had 'given the springs to the Government for the use of the public', which suggested a gift with no cash recompense. As he was almost certainly involved in the negotiations, his account should be accepted; but he did not name Mokena as the benefactor. Descendants of the original owners were divided over whether the springs were gifted or confiscated.³³⁸ After hearing the evidence, the Waitangi Tribunal determined that, 'despite

³³⁰ Letter from W.H. Taylor, *Te Aroha News*, 15 December 1930, p. 5.

³³¹ *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 283.

³³² Recollection of William Hetherington, *Te Aroha News*, 26 October 1927, p. 5.

³³³ *Te Aroha News*, 28 October 1927, p. 4.

³³⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 15 August 1878, p. 2, 1 November 1880, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 29 October 1917, p. 2, 12 October 1927, Supplement, p. 1.

³³⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 15 August 1878, p. 2.

³³⁶ James Mackay, 'Te Aroha: A Historical Retrospect', *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 June 1898, p. 8.

³³⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 2.

³³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report: Wai 686* (Wellington, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 914-915.

some oral traditions to the contrary', Mokena and his whanau 'did not, in legal terms, "give" to the Crown the hot springs reserve in section 16 of the Te Aroha purchase (while retaining sections 15 and 17 where the township was built)'. But as 'Crown control of the springs was asserted through the Te Aroha purchase, the proclamation of the Te Aroha goldfield in 1880, and the Public Domains Act 1881, under which the reserve was gazetted', it accepted that the oral tradition that the springs had been taken had 'some validity'. This verdict applied to Ngati Rahiri Tumutumu in general, not Mokena, his whanau, or his descendents in particular.³³⁹ The tribunal also considered that, despite any hard evidence, Mokena had gifted the springs, and suggested that he had wanted joint management of them,³⁴⁰ a view unsupported by surviving contemporary evidence.

As noted, Mokena occupied the site of the later Herries Memorial Park until his death, when it became the 'pound paddock'. In December 1886 it was reported that he had wanted land at the rear of the hot springs, which became part of an extension of the domain, to be reserved for a hospital. Lipsey said that Mokena had agreed to give land for the Catholic and Presbyterian churches in Morgantown, whilst his daughter Ema gave land for the Wesleyans and Anglicans in Lipseytown.³⁴¹ He had earlier given 'an excellent site for a parsonage' to the Church of England.³⁴² According to the son of one of the first settlers in the district, he had offered the Anglicans all the land from its church to the stream by the Hot Springs Hotel, but they lacked the foresight to take more than a small portion.³⁴³ This was not recorded at the time, and in fact his daughter owned this land.

One site he did not donate. The local newspaper recorded that in 'the early days of the goldfield' the warden asked him 'for a piece of land for a cemetery. The old chief shook his head and replied, "No! you pakeha came here to live – not to die" '.³⁴⁴ This may refer to June 1881, when two children were buried on his land near the river. Mokena was 'much opposed to appropriation of his ground' to bury the second child, and only consented

³³⁹ *Hauraki Report*, vol. 1, p. xl.

³⁴⁰ *Hauraki Report*, vol. 3, pp. 927, 932.

³⁴¹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1886, p. 3.

³⁴² *Church Gazette*, January 1883, p. 6.

³⁴³ Recollections of Frederick Marychurch Strange, recording made by Mobile Unit of New Zealand Broadcasting Council, 1948, MU 356A.

³⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 2.

after being allowed to read the burial service.³⁴⁵ The official burial ground was established on the other side of the river, where he and his wife were later buried.³⁴⁶

Ngati Rahiri had previously been buried at the site of what became the railway bridge in 1885. 'There might have been a tremendous dispute respecting the desecration of tapu ground. Mokena said quietly, "We have agreed to live under the Pakeha law, and even if we do not understand it we must respect it" '. Accordingly, the bones were reburied in the settlement and the survey was not changed.³⁴⁷ While this recollection may be correct, no contemporary hint of this can be found, and it is unlikely that the bones were reburied within the township.

Mokena, who, Pakeha noted, was not tattooed, lived 'Maori style' in his small house below the hot springs and near the river.³⁴⁸ One of the first women to settle in the district recalled visiting them often. Rina, who had a moko, was 'very nice indeed, and just like a white woman to talk to, and if you went in she'd make you a cup of tea and a bit of cake, cake she'd made herself'.³⁴⁹

THEIR DEATHS

On Sunday morning, 21 June 1885, Rina died.³⁵⁰ 'Her last hours were quiet and resigned. She passed away in the midst of her family, who had gathered together on hearing of her last illness'.³⁵¹ When buried on the following Wednesday morning, the 'funeral was well attended by the white people and Maoris'.³⁵²

³⁴⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 11 June 1881, p. 2.

³⁴⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 4 August 1885, p. 3; 'Lipsey-Morgan section', Te Aroha Cemetery.

³⁴⁷ *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 283.

³⁴⁸ Recollections of Frederick Marychurch Strange, recording made by Mobile Unit of New Zealand Broadcasting Council, 1948, MU 356A.

³⁴⁹ Recollections of Ellen Grattan, recording made by Mobile Unit of New Zealand Broadcasting Council, 1948, MU 352A.

³⁵⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 23 June 1885, p. 3.

³⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2.

³⁵² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 26 June 1885, p. 3.

The coffin was carried to the grave by the young men of the tribe, and was followed by the relations of the deceased and also by numbers of the European residents of Te Aroha, who desired to pay their last tribute of respect for the deceased. The Rev W[iremu] Turipona, of the Thames, read the beautiful funeral service of the Church of England in the Maori language, and finished by given an exhortation to all present, both Europeans and Maori, on the uncertainties of human life, pointing out that from the queen on the throne to the meanest slave, all had to die, and none there were but must sooner or later be carried to their grave.³⁵³

One correspondent said the funeral cortege 'was not a very large one, as but few of the Europeans knew where the burial was to take place. Te Kooti and his followers arrived two or three hours afterwards, and they are now assisting at the tangi, which is still going on at the Omahu Pah'.³⁵⁴

In the church's burial registers, her age was variously recorded as 78 and 90; in the press and on her tombstone, it was given as 80.³⁵⁵ All these ages must have been exaggerated, for if the age of 80 was correct her children were born when she was 17, 43, 45, and 56, meaning an unlikely 34 years of fertility.³⁵⁶ She told the land court that she had been married around 1833.³⁵⁷ The big gap in births after her first child, Akuhata, reportedly born in the early 1820s,³⁵⁸ well before she was married, may reflect miscarriages or infant deaths, but probably all the births were much closer together and certainly before she was past childbearing age. Probably Akuhata was born in the late 1830s or the beginning of the following decade.³⁵⁹ Or was it possible that Mokena had a former wife? If so, she was never mentioned, and this possibility seems to be most unlikely. Although

³⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 27 June 1885, p. 3.

³⁵⁵ Coromandel District, Maori Burials 1885-1905, entry for 21 June 1885 [date of death], Register 1091; Register of Coromandel Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials 1874-1904, Burials, no. 97, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland; *Thames Advertiser*, 24 June 1885, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2; 'Lipsey-Morgan section', Te Aroha Cemetery.

³⁵⁶ See papers on Akuhata, Eta, Ranapia, and Rewi Mokena.

³⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 247; *Mission and Moko*, p. 12.

³⁵⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 221; *Thames Advertiser*, 24 June 1885, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

³⁵⁹ See paper on Akuhata Mokena.

the press understood that her will, made in 1883, left all her property to her eldest grandchild, Ani Lipsey, interests in some blocks of land went to her husband and their children also.³⁶⁰ The local newspaper stated she had ‘always been held in high respect’, having ‘great influence’ not only at Te Aroha but also in Waikato and Thames.³⁶¹

On 27 July, Mokena died. ‘He was supposed to be nearly ninety years of age’, according to the local newspaper; the church recorded his age as both 89 and 90; his headstone gave it as 90.³⁶² These ages may also have exaggerated his antiquity. He had ‘only survived his late wife five weeks, in fact the loss of his aged partner greatly affected the old man, and without doubt hastened his end. He had been ailing for about ten days, being unable to leave his bed during the last week of his life’.³⁶³ According to one correspondent, he had ‘not been altogether well since the death of his wife ... to whom he was much attached. Latterly he refused both food and medicine, having made up his mind to die’.³⁶⁴ Another correspondent wrote that, being ill and ‘believing he was going to die, he latterly refused to take either food or medicine’.³⁶⁵

‘Large numbers of natives from Thames, Puriri, Ohinemuri, Waikato, Tauranga, &c, came to be present at the tangi’. The funeral was conducted by two Anglican clergymen, Turipona and the local vicar, James Marshall. ‘During the tangi large numbers of European residents of Te Aroha attended, and expressed their sympathy with the family of deceased in their bereavement’. The *Te Aroha News* included a brief obituary in Maori, ‘as his numerous native friends will no doubt value such’.³⁶⁶ His will, drawn up three days before his death, left all his property to his daughter and his

³⁶⁰ Last Will and Testament of Rina Mokena, 22 August 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W; *Thames Advertiser*, 24 June 1885, p. 3.

³⁶¹ *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2.

³⁶² *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2; Coromandel District, Maori Burials 1885-1905, entry for 27 July 1885, Register 1091; Register of Coromandel Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials 1874-1904, Burials, no. 108, Register 1909, Anglican Archives, Auckland; ‘Lipsey-Morgan section’, Te Aroha Cemetery.

³⁶³ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

³⁶⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 July 1885, p. 6.

³⁶⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 July 1885, p. 2.

³⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

youngest son.³⁶⁷ Eta Mokena later stated that her father had owned two revolvers, one of which he had given to Akuhata at his request; after his death, the other went to Ranapia.³⁶⁸

REPUTATIONS

Mokena was praised not only at the time of his death but also long afterwards. One obituary said he ‘was held in high esteem throughout the district’, and another that he was ‘much esteemed here and won many friends by his generous³⁶⁹ and unostentatious manner’.³⁷⁰ Another wrote that ‘regret is universal at the death of this chief, who has always been a firm friend of the European’.³⁷¹ Almost two years after he died, during the Queen’s Jubilee celebrations, a totara was planted in the domain, labelled ‘Mokena Hou – In Memoriam’.³⁷² In the early twentieth century a Paeroa newspaper recalled him as ‘a chief of high standing’.³⁷³ In 1910 a letter to the editor clarified that it had been Mokena who had fired the gun that started the 1880 rush. ‘I write this for no other object than to do honour to that grand and good chief Morgan who was always the white man’s friend’.³⁷⁴ Three months later ‘Theodolite’ described him as ‘one of the finest natives that has been my lot to meet’.³⁷⁵ The fiftieth jubilee history of Te Aroha stated that ‘all the pioneers who knew this old rangatira speak of him with the greatest respect. He was one of Nature’s gentlemen; honest in all his dealings, kindly, courteous’.³⁷⁶ In 1939, an Auckland newspaper published a photograph of the geyser in the domain, ‘which has been named Mokena in commemoration of the hereditary chief of the Te Aroha

³⁶⁷ Last Will of Mokena Hou, 24 July 1885, Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 221; also Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³⁶⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 247.

³⁶⁹ ‘General’ in the original: presumably meaning generous, or genial?

³⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 2; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 July 1885, p. 2.

³⁷¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 29 July 1885, p. 3.

³⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

³⁷³ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 11 April 1902, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ Letter from ‘One Who Knows’, *Te Aroha News*, 1 November 1910, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ Letter from ‘Theodolite’, *Te Aroha News*, 18 February 1911, p. 3.

³⁷⁶ *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, p. 281.

Maoris'.³⁷⁷ When a granddaughter unveiled the memorial to him near this geyser in 1980, he was credited by Cyril Eastwood, a former mayor who spoke on behalf of the centenary committee, with having gifted the domain to the community. 'We are assembled here to recognise, with gratitude, the memory of one, Te Mokena Hou. His generosity has inspired the peoples of our different races and cultures to work so closely together that we are one in our endeavours of service within the community'.³⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

Pakeha fondly recalled Mokena and his wife because they had both favoured and assisted settlement at Te Aroha. A rangatira of importance in the Te Aroha district rather than in Hauraki generally, he had led an exciting life before calm descended on Te Aroha in the late 1870s, being present and occasionally fighting in the battles of the 1830s and early 1840s. He became the mainstay of the Anglican Church at Te Aroha, and, rarely for a rangatira, was a strong temperance advocate. The opening of Te Aroha to both mining and settlement was greatly eased by his willing co-operation with the authorities, although it was not disinterested: he anticipated making a good income from both mines and township, and was not to be disappointed.

Appendix

Figure 1: Lawrence Cussen, 'Plan of Section No. 15 Block IX Aroha Survey Dt., Piako County', June 1879, SO 1966A, University of Waikato Map Library.

³⁷⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 11 January 1939, p. 10.

³⁷⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 27 November 1980, p. 16.

SECTION N° 15

Block IX Te Aroha Survey District

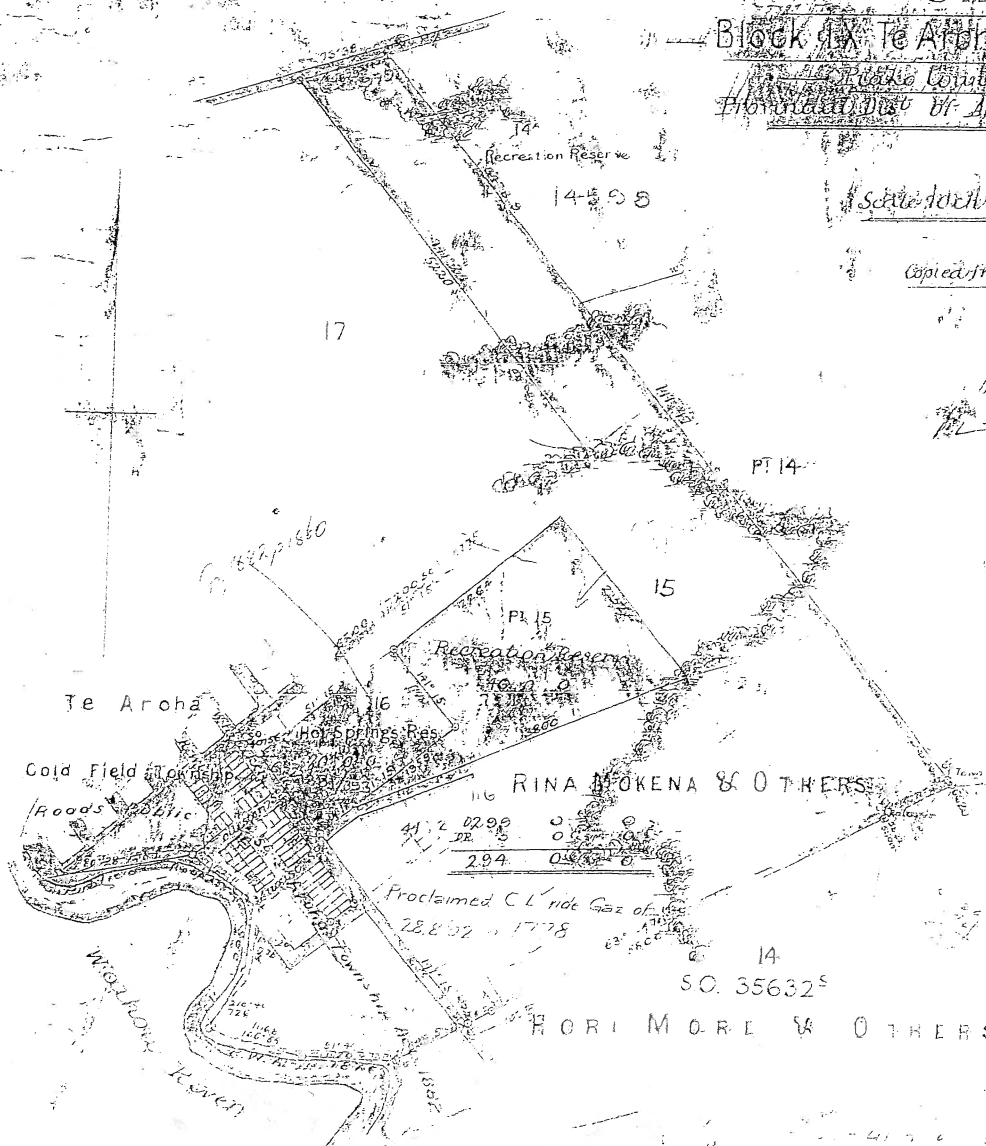
Proclamation No. 11566

Scale 1 inch = 1 mile

Copied from Plan No. 11566

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