

## **Maori and Mining: A Case Study of Hone Werahiko and Te Aroha**

By PHILIP HART

*University of Waikato*

**H**umbly born Maori such as Hone Werahiko have often been left out of history, partly because of lack of information. Not being of chiefly ancestry, not owning land, and not having any descendants meant that no evidence about his life was recorded by the Maori Land Court. Maori oral evidence about him is unlikely to exist because he was important within a European context, not a Maori one. European sources provide considerable information about much of his later life; Maori perspectives can only be inferred. He is an example of how many Maori were not passive victims of colonisation but active participants in settler society and its wage economy, successfully acquiring a variety of European skills. Although historians of mining have dealt with Maori involvement only in passing, Maori actively participated, especially in the early phases, just as in agriculture and trade.<sup>1</sup> Maori prospectors were not the only ones to vanish from history: the careers of many once prominent European prospectors and miners have been forgotten, and those seeking to write 'history from below' face the challenge of rediscovering their lives. Increasingly this is being done, but the most recent work dealing with Maori in the Hauraki district does not cover Te Aroha or the period when gold was discovered and mined there.<sup>2</sup> More detailed research is needed on individual goldfields and other Maori prospectors and miners to determine whether the degree of Hone Werahiko's assimilation into and status within European society was unique.

This article argues that his abilities and success as a prospector led to his acceptance by Europeans as their equal, at least as a miner. It summarises popular attitudes to what were seen as his less skilled and less energetic compatriots, some of the causes of inter-racial conflict, the rights of Maori landowners and the payments they received from mining, and the involvement of many Maori in prospecting throughout New Zealand. It then examines Maori involvement in the Te Aroha Mining District, at the southern end of the Hauraki Peninsula of the North Island, and in particular the life and achievements of Hone Werahiko, the discoverer of gold there.

### **Settler Views of Maori**

In the mining settlements of the Hauraki district, Maori were accepted as an inescapable fact of life, sometimes admired, but mostly criticised as an unsophisticated race struggling to rise to the level of British civilisation. One Maori who was scared by his first sight of a locomotive was described as an ‘unsophisticated son of nature’.<sup>3</sup> A common view was that they learnt all the bad European ways and not the good.<sup>4</sup> One editor commented, in comparing Maori and Europeans, that the former were ‘some what in the position of children’.<sup>5</sup> It was commonly charged that they wasted the money received from imprudently selling their land, especially by drinking to excess.<sup>6</sup> Their perceived laziness irritated settlers; in 1874, for instance, a Thames newspaper accused Maori men of doing ‘absolutely nothing from morning till night. On the fine days they sit in rows in the sunny places, and loaf about the bars of the public-houses’, living off the money received from land sales.<sup>7</sup> Some colonists considered them ‘blood-thirsty savages’.<sup>8</sup> The murder of an unfaithful wife was used to illustrate ‘the horrible depravity of the uncivilised Maori’.<sup>9</sup> They were accused of ‘adroitness’ in finding creative ways of evading paying their debts.<sup>10</sup> Even after writing that most of the chiefs at a meeting were ‘fine intelligent looking men’, a reporter criticised their ‘pious caterwauling’ and the ‘nonsensical procrastination’ of the proceedings.<sup>11</sup> They were seen as superstitious believers in the power of witchcraft.<sup>12</sup> This ill feeling was sometimes crudely expressed: participants in a meeting of Maori at Thames in 1869 complained that they were frequently called ‘dogs’ and ‘black niggers’.<sup>13</sup> These criticisms were common throughout the colony: for instance one man who traded with Maori published a book in 1873 that emphasized the negative aspects of their life, in particular laziness, craftiness, bad housing, dirty living conditions, drunkenness, and low morality.<sup>14</sup>

Armed conflicts between settlers and Maori from the 1840s onwards meant that the latter were feared by many Europeans during the 1870s, the decade preceding Te Aroha being opened for mining.<sup>15</sup> Nearby settlers feared massacre or expulsion, and formed a Volunteer Corps to defend themselves.<sup>16</sup> It was never required to act in their defence, but fears were heightened in 1879 when, in a dispute between rival Maori claimants for a block of land down-river from Te Aroha, a European assisting its survey was shot and seriously wounded. Some settlers fled the district while others prepared for war and demanded military protection from the government.<sup>17</sup> A Thames

newspaper, in reporting the ‘most intense and painful excitement’ caused by the shooting, commented that ‘the wholesale murder of surveyors was a favorable pastime of our unsophisticated coloured brethren some years ago’.<sup>18</sup>

Despite these common views and fears, there was fraternisation in hotel bars, on the sports field and at the racecourse, as well as some intermarriage. At least some colonists saw Maori as a superior race compared to other ‘native’ races. A settler living near Te Aroha described them as a ‘highly intelligent people’, but possibly a disappearing race because they had adopted European vices:

They are a well formed race and among some of their chief men are found those who seem born to rule; tall in person, stately manners and dignified in address, altogether a race very superior in stature and mentality to any other uncivilized race on the globe. Unfortunately, however, they are disappearing before the advance of the European very fast. Latest fashions in clothes, intoxicating liquor and the narcotic tobacco are doing ravages worse than disease itself.<sup>19</sup>

The *Te Aroha News* agreed that, while colonists considered they had ‘civilized and improved one of the finest savage races that ever lived’, drink was destroying them.<sup>20</sup>

As an illustration of complaints that Maori received special privileges, a mining commentator mentioned the common grievance that miners’ rights for mining on Maori land were £1 whereas those issued for Crown land were only a quarter of this amount. ‘This, like many of the native questions that we hear so much about, is a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, as we find that the treaty is to give the Maori everything he asks for while he gives nothing in return’.<sup>21</sup> The treaty, signed in 1840, did not imply anything of the sort, but it did confirm that Maori retained ownership of their land, at the same time permitting (and implicitly encouraging) its sale to the Crown.<sup>22</sup> Many miners had participated in the Australian gold rushes before joining in the New Zealand ones, and Australians who came to the Hauraki district found that access to potentially auriferous areas and the involvement of the original inhabitants in mining were both very different to their previous experience. At a public meeting held in 1867 to discuss the imminent opening of the Thames district for mining, a politician who was a spokesman for mining interests explained this difference by making an invidious racial comparison between Maori and aboriginal Australians:

Supposing he was the owner of property, what right had any man to encroach upon it without his authority? (Applause) .... They might speak of the treatment which the natives of Australia had received as a precedent for the present case, but he would tell them what they knew already that the Maoris were vastly superior, intellectually, and morally to the

natives of the Australia. The Maoris were tillers of the soil, not merely for their own maintenance, but for that of the European population of this country. He had been over many parts of the province and had seen the extensive native cultivations, and the immense superiority of their social condition to that of the natives of Australia, who subsisted upon grubs and the roots and berries indigenous to their country.<sup>23</sup>

The leading historian on mining on the West Coast of the South Island, Philip Ross May, also noted the different attitudes of miners in the two countries. Maori ‘took to gold-digging with enthusiasm and skill’, and some Europeans ‘worked with Maori mates’.

Several big parties of Maoris, men, women, and children, prospected new fields .... Though Maoris were never prominent on the big fields in their settled phase, the rumour that a Maori party was starting out to prospect could set half a mining camp striking tents and rolling swags. The recognition accorded the Maoris contrasted with the diggers’ poor opinion of the Australian “blacks.”<sup>24</sup>

### **Maori become involved in prospecting and mining**

It was argued by an early writer, Vincent Pyke, that alluvial gold was known to South Island Maori before the arrival of Europeans, although historians agree that they did not discover gold in the quartz reefs of the Hauraki Peninsula.<sup>25</sup> They also agree that, apart from quarrying greenstone, basalt, and obsidian, Maori did not mine any minerals apart from coal.<sup>26</sup> Some Maori joined the Californian goldrush of 1849 and then worked on Australian goldfields.<sup>27</sup> Maori did not participate in the first New Zealand goldrush, to the Coromandel portion of the Hauraki Peninsula in 1852, but by observing the miners some learnt prospecting skills, leading to Maori prospectors making at least one discovery on this peninsula during the 1850s.<sup>28</sup> Many participated in the first South Island rush of 1857, to the Collingwood region, and indeed one Englishman wrote in 1862 that it had been Maori who had shown the first European prospectors where to find the gold.<sup>29</sup> Amongst the Maori who made up nearly half the mining population in 1857 were women and children, reflecting their preference for working in family and tribal groups.<sup>30</sup> They soon learnt the skills of prospecting for alluvial gold, and were the first to find gold (sometimes with the assistance of European mates) in at least ten places on the West Coast and Otago.<sup>31</sup>

Some Maori from the North Island participated in South Island mining, and Maori from the latter took their new skills to the auriferous areas of the north.<sup>32</sup> During the 1860s, several Maori prospected on the Hauraki Peninsula.<sup>33</sup> For the period from

1852 to 1880, this prospecting was handicapped by the refusal of some chiefs to let miners onto their land, for fear of losing it to the new settlers.<sup>34</sup> However, some chiefs were in favour of mining on their land because of the revenue it would bring them, and some gave permission for Europeans to prospect, in a small number of cases assisting them or prospecting themselves.<sup>35</sup> Others wanted to keep Europeans out, proposing to mine their lands for their own benefit.<sup>36</sup>

Wirope Hoterene Taipari, a chief of the Thames district, in 1865 employed European prospectors to investigate his land.<sup>37</sup> Some Maori assisted them, thereby acquiring new skills.<sup>38</sup> Two years later, Maori were encouraged by the Auckland Provincial Government to seek gold by the offer of a reward of £5,000.<sup>39</sup> Two Maori from the West Coast of the South Island were employed by Taipari; one had the assistance of his wife, the last time that a woman was recorded as prospecting.<sup>40</sup> After they found traces of gold, Taipari's hapu or sub-tribe of the local tribe, Ngatimaru, agreed to permit the government to open a goldfield, and according to one account a Maori showed prospectors the first good reef to be discovered.<sup>41</sup> Maori also pegged out some claims, and either were part-owners or sole owners of a small number of claims (gaps in the surviving records make an exact total impossible), which they worked for a time.<sup>42</sup> Some, like Taipari, were sleeping partners with no intention of becoming miners.<sup>43</sup>

In 1869, Maori participated in a new rush to Tokatea, close to Coromandel township, where some were part-owners of a few claims.<sup>44</sup> The one or two European members of their parties must be assumed to have been in charge of the mines, for most Maori lacked the skills needed for hard-rock mining. It was reported that 'a new feature in connection with this goldfield is that several natives are working shareholders in many of the claims, and appear quite as much interested in the result as their white confreres'.<sup>45</sup> Here, as elsewhere in the nineteenth century, Maori mined during the early days of the goldfield, but did not make mining their full-time occupation.

Having acquired prospecting skills, and also having become aware from the revenue received by the owners of the Thames goldfield of the economic rewards of finding gold, Maori prospected in various areas of the peninsula, either by themselves or with Europeans, with some success.<sup>46</sup> However, amateur Maori prospectors were as likely as amateur European prospectors to seek gold in unprofitable areas or to imagine that every piece of quartz found was a rich specimen.<sup>47</sup> On the first day of the 1875 rush

at Karangahake, the section of the Ohinemuri mining district closest to Te Aroha, one observer wrote that over 100 miners' rights had been applied for by Maori. 'I am glad to see them going into the affair with spirit. After the miners' rights were issued, a Maori, I believe, led for some part of the distance' in the race to the mountain.<sup>48</sup> Although some took up interests simply to enable them to speculate in shares, several claims were worked solely by Maori or with Maori as a majority of the owners.<sup>49</sup> Prospecting by Maori continued for the remainder of the nineteenth century, with some good finds being made.<sup>50</sup> Some unsuccessfully joined the Klondike rush in 1898.<sup>51</sup>

Not till 1874 did the first Maori descend a shaft: 'They will stroll into a drive, but they do not like to descend into the bowels of the earth', a newspaper commented.<sup>52</sup> By the following century, that reluctance, caused by a lack of familiarity with this environment, had faded. Spiritual or cultural concerns over subterranean mining were never mentioned in any of the debates amongst Maori or between Maori and government officials held over several years about opening more portions of the Hauraki district to mining. Instead, the debates focussing on the amount of revenue that Maori landowners were to receive.<sup>53</sup> Maori were involved in both gold and coal mining from the earliest days of both industries, with no signs of any spiritual or cultural concerns.<sup>54</sup>

### **Maori and Mining at Te Aroha**

In 1878, when the Crown purchased the Aroha Block, to the south of Thames and at the base of the Hauraki Peninsula, reserves were created for its former owners, Ngatirahiri, a sub-tribe of Ngatimaru, who numbered about 55 in 1881.<sup>55</sup> The gold discovered there in 1880 by Hone Werahiko was on one of these reserves. The principal owners were encouraged to open their land for mining by the fact that, from August 1867 to August 1880, Maori landowners received £59,562 for the Thames goldfield from miners' rights alone.<sup>56</sup> Some Ngatirahiri who were part-owners of land in that field had shared in this revenue, and therefore were willing to encourage mining on their land at Te Aroha in the expectation of receiving a sizeable income. For example, the youngest son of a leading Te Aroha chief, Rewi Mokena, who assisted Werahiko's preliminary prospecting in 1880, was asked if he intended to work in the new mines. His reply was that Europeans 'might work but he would make plenty of money and live at his house. Truly these children of the soil are becoming highly civilized', the journalist

commented.<sup>57</sup> His father, described by a Special Reporter as ‘a very friendly and intelligent native’, had ‘sufficient foresight to appreciate the advantages that would accrue to his hapu were a profitable goldfield to be discovered’.<sup>58</sup>

To avoid another ‘native difficulty’, a new Te Aroha Mining District was created and an agreement reached with Ngatirahiri on the same terms devised for Thames. Every miner was to pay to the landowners an annual miner’s right of £1, plus annual license fees of £1 for a residence site, £5 for a business site, and £10 for a machine site. A license to cut timber was £5, and £1.5s had to be paid for each kauri tree felled.<sup>59</sup> The Mokena family did well out of having a goldfield and especially a township on their land, for most of the ‘native revenue’ went to it. Between 1880-1885 this revenue totalled £4,049.<sup>60</sup> As an illustration of how much of the money was spent, George Lipsey, married under European law to Mokena’s daughter less than three weeks before the goldfield was proclaimed,<sup>61</sup> used the first instalment of this revenue to give a ‘champagne splash’ to his European friends.<sup>62</sup> This income, being from a non-traditional source, went to the leading men of the tribe rather than the tribe generally, thereby disrupting traditional Maori society.<sup>63</sup>

On opening day, 25 November 1880, 20 Maori took out miners’ rights and at least 77 more were issued during the next month; a more precise figure cannot be given because the records are incomplete.<sup>64</sup> During the rush of 1880 and early 1881, a total of 131 Maori and half-castes were part-owners of claims, and at least another 44 pegged out claims that were not registered.<sup>65</sup> In some claims they were the majority of owners.<sup>66</sup> Many, like their European counterparts, quickly sold their shares for a quick profit.<sup>67</sup> Maori shareholding after the early 1880s was almost non-existent, and, as on other fields in the nineteenth century, there was little involvement in mining and prospecting once the field was well established.

Some Maori shareholders, and certainly chiefs and women, were sleeping partners.<sup>68</sup> In some cases, European miners were employed to work interests owned by these partners, and one miner who failed to work the share owned by a Maori shareholder was sued successfully in the Warden’s Court by the Maori.<sup>69</sup> At least eight of those holding shares at Te Aroha had earlier owned some at Thames, at least five had had shares at Coromandel, and at least 18 had owned them at Ohinemuri.<sup>70</sup> After the Te Aroha rush, some who had held interests there acquired shares in mines elsewhere on the peninsula.<sup>71</sup>

As the Te Aroha field proved to be a failure, some Maori prospectors soon moved to other districts. In March 1881, a Coromandel newspaper wrote that ‘about a dozen natives’ had arrived from Te Aroha, having ‘heard of the rich character of the Tiki goldfield’.<sup>72</sup> Three Maori, all from Ohinemuri tribes, who had been at Te Aroha can be traced as moderately-successful prospectors in Ohinemuri later.<sup>73</sup>

Some Maori who mined at Te Aroha had previous experience. A report on one claim stated that, with exception of one European, ‘all the shareholders are Ohinemuri natives, who go about their work in a manner which would be no discredit to a European party of miners’.<sup>74</sup> These Ohinemuri miners were seen as interlopers by local Maori, for inter-tribal rivalry was common. One example of this, in an all-Maori mine, revealed that ‘soon after starting, the shareholders disagreed as to the mode of working the ground, and the result is that two tunnels are being driven parallel to each other - one by the members of one tribe, and the other by those of another’.<sup>75</sup> These tunnels were only short prospecting ones. In three cases where Maori did not have a European mine manager, their inexperience created such dangerous mines that the Mining Inspector closed them ‘until an experienced miner had been appointed to the charge of each’<sup>76</sup> (the same fate befell some adits driven by unskilled European farmers and labourers).<sup>77</sup>

### **Hone Werahiko**

The prospector who discovered gold at Te Aroha was a Maori, Hone Werahiko, whose success resulted in constant praise by Europeans. A public hall, a private cottage, a hotel, a butchery, a high school scholarship, and a racehorse were all named after him; and Edward Jennings gave his son the first names John Werahiko, Hone being the Maori transliteration of John.<sup>78</sup> Shortly after his death, at a banquet to celebrate the first crushing, his memory was toasted and speeches made in his honour.<sup>79</sup> In his memory, a poem was written and a tree planted in the domain.<sup>80</sup> He was regarded as completely honest,<sup>81</sup> not a universal view of prospectors who claimed to have found gold. According to the *Te Aroha Miner*, he was ‘one of the shrewdest and most intelligent natives we have ever come across’, and ‘a first class prospector, combining with the necessary knowledge, indomitable pluck and endurance’.<sup>82</sup> This depiction of him as an ‘intelligent native’, however racist it might appear to later sensibilities, was meant to be complimentary not patronising, for Europeans were genuinely impressed with Maori

who succeeded in their world. For instance, Aihi Pepene, the son of a chief, who invested in two claims and one company at Te Aroha,<sup>83</sup> in the late 1870s owned and captained a river steamer. A Thames newspaper described him as a ‘very respectable and intelligent native ... whose attention to his duties and the wants of the passengers under his charge would vie with many of our more professed intelligent white sea captains’.<sup>84</sup>

Werahiko was probably aged 41 in 1880.<sup>85</sup> One mining reporter stated that he had mined in the Long Drive claim at Thames, which had been registered in 1867, and to have prospected most of the likely and some of the unlikely parts of the North Island during the 1870s.<sup>86</sup> From 1870 to 1873, he ran the first store and hotel at Rotorua,<sup>87</sup> and from 1875 onwards prospected at Waitekauri, near Waihi, without success.<sup>88</sup> When he visited Te Aroha in 1877 and found traces of gold, he was ordered by Ngatirahiri to desist because he was not of their tribe.<sup>89</sup> In August 1880, he returned, at the head of a prospecting party organized for him by a European miner who had obtained a government subsidy. After two Germans working under his direction left, Rewi Mokena, son of the chief on whose land he was to find gold, joined him.<sup>90</sup> According to the pioneer hotelkeeper of Te Aroha, he was not very strong, and this publican provided a strong young Irish labourer to do the harder work.<sup>91</sup>

European prospectors tried to discover where he had found the gold, but until the Warden granted him a Prospectors’ Claim he kept the location secret, and rival European prospectors failed to find better reefs.<sup>92</sup> A European miner and shopkeeper who had been his sleeping partner and friend when he prospected at Waitekauri was given an interest in, and for a short while managed the claim. They also shared a tent near the ground.<sup>93</sup> His find revitalised a declining industry, miners rushed to the scene, and Werahiko and his discovery became the focus of much newspaper interest. One reporter described him as ‘the most intelligent and well-educated native I have met for some time’, able to speak English fluently, and with a good understanding of geology.<sup>94</sup> Again, his success in the European world was praised while, implicitly, Maori who lacked these qualities were denigrated.

Werahiko was in charge of the initial prospecting and opening up of the Prospectors’ Claim, burning off the bush, making small drives and trenches, and crushing samples.<sup>95</sup> Of the six men working the ground in the weeks after the discovery was announced, there were an equal number of each race, two of the Europeans being

the only experienced miners. The other two Maori were both sons of Mokena Hou, the principal owner of the land.<sup>96</sup> Although a series of European mine managers were appointed to direct the work in the Prospectors' Claim, Werahiko continued to participate in the discussions on how best to work it held by the experienced miners who had joined his party.<sup>97</sup> In addition to his interests in this claim, he was a shareholder in others; a European miner worked his interest in another mine.<sup>98</sup> For less than a month, Werahiko was a director of a syndicate of European miners who owned another mine, the only time he held such a position.<sup>99</sup>

Like other Maori and European miners, Werahiko bought and sold shares in several claims. The price of only one sale during the initial rush is known, when he sold a full share in his Prospector's Claim for £240.<sup>100</sup> Whereas most Ngatirahiri lived at their settlement five kilometres away from the new township, Werahiko was the only Maori to erect a house in the latter, where he also built a restaurant, although this business was conducted by a European.<sup>101</sup>

The goldfield soon proved to be a duffer. Werahiko had found auriferous boulders, but a mother lode was never discovered, though he kept searching.<sup>102</sup> He then over-optimistically thought that he had discovered better ore at the nearby Tui Stream than that recently found at Waihi. Others doubted its value, but treated the find as genuine because they placed 'the greatest reliance on Johnny's veracity and good faith'.<sup>103</sup> Further prospecting proved he had been mistaken.

During four months of the winter of 1881, with some assistance from three other Maori, Werahiko prospected the Waiorongomai Valley on the eastern slopes of Te Aroha mountain, a steep and trackless area covered in heavy bush. In October 1881 he announced a rich find and showed other miners the site. One who accompanied the first party wrote that the track he had made across the top of the 930-metre high mountain involved 'full five hours' walking. To enter into particulars of that awful journey is too much for human nature, the memory of it shall remain green'.<sup>104</sup> All those who experienced the difficult country in which he had been working extolled his efforts, and wished him well.<sup>105</sup> Unlike his 1880 discovery, at Waiorongomai he had found higher grade ore in clearly defined reefs, enabling him to sell some of his shares for a good profit, although, as in the earlier rush, he gave some away to European friends.<sup>106</sup> He made a profit of at least £600 from selling shares.<sup>107</sup> Like other Maori, he used the

Warden's Court to sue others for having surplus ground or not working their claims, being himself sued by European and Maori miners for the same reasons.<sup>108</sup>

An experienced mine manager was appointed to direct the work in the New Find claim, the best one that Werahiko had discovered, but then was absent for a few weeks as part of the military force to Parihaka, on the west coast of the North Island.<sup>109</sup> This expedition put down non-violent resistance to the loss of land by Te Whiti and his followers in circumstances very different from the relatively benign race relations at Te Aroha and much of Hauraki.<sup>110</sup> Only relatively benign, for it was based on the assumption of European superiority: A Thames newspaper which approved of the government's suppression of Te Whiti anticipated that the contested land would soon be 'under the proper care of European farmers, and men whose ambition is to raise themselves above the sensual and brutalising conditions so long enjoyed by the Maoris'.<sup>111</sup> In the absence of the manager, 'Hone Werahiko was requested to supervise the work done on the property',<sup>112</sup> and after his return Werahiko continued to prospect the claim, assisted by other Maori. During a visit early in 1882, the Premier of the colony was shown where the face of the reef was exposed, 'forming a sort of cliff', where Werahiko and 'his mates have made an inroad into the reef. At present the natives work here by lowering themselves over the top with ropes'.<sup>113</sup> Werahiko was also granted the right to construct a water-race to a proposed battery site, but soon sold this right to a European.<sup>114</sup>

As well as prospecting in the Te Aroha district, he unsuccessfully sought permission from the Maori King to prospect the King Country.<sup>115</sup> In late 1882, with European and Maori partners he owned claims at the neighbouring goldfield of Karangahake.<sup>116</sup> However, in January 1883 he was admitted to Thames Hospital suffering from dropsy, otherwise oedema, caused, it was thought, by the privations he had endured when prospecting Waiorongomai during winter.<sup>117</sup> After he died in hospital in May, obituaries praised him as an 'enterprising native' who was liked by all.<sup>118</sup>

As an indication of the respect in which he was held by Europeans, his wedding in December 1881 to the daughter of a chief was attended by the local Member of Parliament, the County Chairman, the former Civil Commissioner for the Thames district, the former Inspector of Miners' Rights, along with mine managers, secretaries of mining companies, mining agents, lawyers, and other 'influential citizens'.<sup>119</sup> The

Warden (and Resident Magistrate) witnessed his will.<sup>120</sup> After his death, he was cited by Europeans as an example of pluck and perseverance that other Europeans should emulate.<sup>121</sup> The Warden described him as ‘disinterested and generous to a fault, and ... his good deeds remained to perpetuate his name’.<sup>122</sup> A leading mine manager called him ‘a born prospector’, and his prospecting skills were still being recalled in the stories of goldminers 70 years later.<sup>123</sup>

This outline of Werahiko’s life indicates that his career and achievements were similar to those of several skilled European prospectors. Whilst not the only Maori prospector of note, he was the only one to be so successful and so well-integrated into the mining community, although his race always made him distinctive. Success in adopting European ways and learning European skills gained him respect, for he could interact as an equal with Europeans who recognised that he was a better prospector than most of them. He was uniquely respected; no other humbly born Maori who lived in Hauraki at this time was praised in a similar way (although Pakeha always had a soft spot for those romantic ‘old time’ Maori chiefs who favoured European settlement).<sup>124</sup> What Maori thought of his achievements was not recorded by any European sources, but as other Maori prospected and mined it may be assumed that their views were positive ones also.

Werahiko was one of many Maori prospectors whose names and achievements have largely been lost to history. Like Werahiko, they were self-taught, learning by observing or assisting the work of Europeans, and before the 1880s sometimes exploring in secret and against the wishes of leading members of their tribes who feared the consequences of European intrusion. The words of Governor Sir George Grey, written in 1852, proved to be correct:

It appears from the character of the Maories to be tolerably certain that if they once see the method in which gold diggings are worked and the character of the rocks which it is to be found associated with, they will then themselves soon examine considerable districts of country.<sup>125</sup>

In this, Maori were like other indigenous peoples, including the Australian aborigines, who discovered gold once they understood what was being sought, although they rarely received due recognition, financial or otherwise, of their achievements.<sup>126</sup>

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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> See for instance Paul Monin, *This is My Place: Hauraki contested, 1769-1875*, Wellington, 2001.
- <sup>2</sup> See J.L. Hutton, ‘“Troublesome Specimens”: A Study of the Relationship between the Crown and the Tangata Whenua of Hauraki, 1863-1869’, M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1995; Paul Monin, ‘The Maori Economy of Hauraki 1840-1880’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 29 no. 2, October 1995, pp. 197-210.
- <sup>3</sup> *Thames Star*, 16 January 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>4</sup> For example, ‘The Model Maori’, *Observer*, 6 January 1883, p. 264.
- <sup>5</sup> Editorial, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 April 1878, p. 2.
- <sup>6</sup> For example, *Thames Star*, 17 September 1880, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1895, p. 3; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 14 November 1902, p. 2.
- <sup>7</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 13 June 1874, p. 2.
- <sup>8</sup> *Waikato Times*, 3 May 1881, p. 2.
- <sup>9</sup> *Thames Star*, 9 January 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>10</sup> For example, *Thames Advertiser*, 26 January 1889, p. 2; see also *Observer*, 5 October 1895, p. 4.
- <sup>11</sup> *Thames Star*, 8 September 1879, p. 2.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 August 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>13</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 October 1869, p. 19.
- <sup>14</sup> J.H.A. St John, *Pakeha Rambles Through Maori Lands*, Wellington, 1873, pp. 163-174.
- <sup>15</sup> For example, Mrs J.E. Macdonald, *Thames Reminiscences*, Auckland, 1926, p. 19.
- <sup>16</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 15 February 1877, p. 3.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 4 September 1879, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 5 September 1879, p. 3; *ibid.*, 19 September 1879, p. 3.
- <sup>18</sup> *Thames Star*, 30 August 1879, p. 2.
- <sup>19</sup> Andrew Buchanan to Emily and Lucy Greaves, 8 June 1880, printed in Lola C. Tye, *John and Margaret Russell Buchanan*, Paeroa, 1988, p. 19.
- <sup>20</sup> Editorial, *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 2.
- <sup>21</sup> ‘Obadiah’, ‘Shares and Mining’, *Observer*, 7 April 1892, p. 9.
- <sup>22</sup> There is voluminous and continuing debate on the treaty and its implications: see in particular Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852*, Wellington, 1968; Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1992; Joseph Wark, *Talking about the Treaty*, Auckland, 1994.
- <sup>23</sup> Jerome Cadman, in *New Zealand Herald*, 29 July 1867, p. 5.
- <sup>24</sup> Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, 2 ed., rev., Christchurch, 1967, p. 298.
- <sup>25</sup> Vincent Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago*, Dunedin, 1887, pp. 2-3; J.H.M. Salmon, *A History of Goldmining in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1963, p. 46; Robyn Anderson, *Goldmining: Policy, Legislation, and Administration: Rangahaua Whanui National Theme N*, Wellington, 1996, p. 5.
- <sup>26</sup> Anderson, *Goldmining Policy Legislation*, p. 5; Jennifer Dixon, ‘Coromandel Gold: Conquest and Conservation’, in *Mining and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia*, in John Connell and Richard Howitt (eds), Sydney, 1991, p. 173.
- <sup>27</sup> Salmon, *A History of Goldmining*, p. 46; A.P.F. Browne, ‘The Otago Goldfields, 1861-1863,’ M.A. thesis, Canterbury University, 1974, p. 37; Hutton, ‘Troublesome Specimens’, p. 83.
- <sup>28</sup> Anderson, *Goldmining Policy Legislation*, pp. 12, 16; Walter Brackenbury to Donald McLean, 9 November 1861, *New Zealand Gazette*, 22 November 1861, p. 304.
- <sup>29</sup> Edwin Hodder, *Memories of New Zealand Life*, London, 1862, p. 221.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177; ‘Special Correspondent’ [a Mr Wheeler], *The New Zealand Goldfields, 1861: A series of letters reprinted from the Melbourne Argus*, Dunedin, 1976, p. 40; R.A. Loughnan, *The First Gold Discoveries in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1906, p. 8; Salmon, *A History of Goldmining*, pp. 36-37; Hutton, ‘Troublesome Specimens,’ p. 24; Anderson, *Goldmining Policy Legislation*, p. 20.
- <sup>31</sup> Reuben Waite, *A Narrative of the Discovery of the West Coast Gold-Fields*, ed. W.H.L. Leech, Nelson, 1869, pp. 4, 8-12, 16, 39; William Martin, ‘A Pioneer’s Birthday Story’, in Carl J. Pfaff (ed.), *The Diggers’ Story, or Tales and Reminiscences of the Golden Coast, from Westland’s Earliest Pioneers*, 1914, pp. 93-97; Pyke, *History of the Early Gold Discoveries*, pp. 82-83, 87; May, *West Coast Gold Rushes*, pp. 66-69, 84, 92-96, 157, 160; Salmon, *A History of Goldmining*, pp. 39-40, 46, 84, 87, 88, 127, 129, 132-134, 143.
- <sup>32</sup> James Mackay to Colonial Secretary, 22 April 1864, appended to ‘Report of Mr Commissioner Mackay Relative to the Thames Gold Fields’, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* [hereafter *AJHR*], 1869, A-17, p. 16; *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 July 1857, p. 9; *Thames Advertiser*, 15

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<sup>33</sup> ‘Papers Relative to the Probability of Finding Gold at the Waikato and at the Thames’, *AJHR*, 1863, D-8, pp. 3-4; James Mackay to Colonial Secretary, 22 April 1864, appended to ‘Report of Mr Commissioner Mackay’, p. 16; *Thames Advertiser*, 15 March 1875, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Evidence of James Mackay to Goldfield Discovery Reward Investigation, April 1870, p. 285, Auckland Provincial Government Papers [hereafter APGP], MS 595, box 21, Session 26, Auckland Public Library [hereafter APL]; *Daily Southern Cross*, 18 January 1866, p. 4, 30 May 1867, p. 5; letter from King Tawhiao, *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 February 1868, p. 3; *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 April 1870, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 July 1867, p. 4; Wirope Hoterene Taipari to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 4 March 1870, APGP, MS 595, box 21, Session 26, APL; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 March 1875, p. 3, 15 March 1875, p. 3; letter from Joseph Harris Smallman, *Thames Star*, 5 March 1881, p. 2; Walter Williamson, diary entries for September and October 1865, appended to Walter Williamson to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 4 March 1870, APGP, MS 595, box 21, Session 26, APL.

<sup>36</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 July 1867, p. 9, 27 July 1867, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> Walter Williamson, diary entries appended to Williamson to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 4 March 1870, APGP, MS 595, box 21, Session 26, APL.

<sup>38</sup> Letter from Walter Williamson, *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 July 1867, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 May 1867, p. 1, with translation in Maori.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 July 1867, p. 4; Henry Elmes Campbell to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 22 December 1868, APGP, Applications for Reward for Finding Goldfield, MS 595, box 19, Session 24, APL.

<sup>41</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 August 1867, p. 8; *Te Aroha News*, 18 July 1888, p. 7.

<sup>42</sup> For example, *Daily Southern Cross*, 12 August 1867, pp. 3-4; Thames Warden’s Court, Claims Register 1868-1869, nos. 1213, 1465, BACL A208/83, Archives New Zealand, Auckland Office [hereafter ANZ-A]; G. Maunsell to Church Missionary Society, 30 November 1868, MS 1355, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

<sup>43</sup> With reference to Taipari’s investments in this and other fields, see for example, Thames Warden’s Court, Claims Register 1868-1869, nos. 479, 714, BACL A208/82; Claims Register 1869, nos. 1465, 1821, 1828, 1837, BACL A208/84; Coromandel Warden’s Court, Instruments, 1821/36, 1828/40, AAAE A456/24; Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folio 180, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 April 1881, p. 476.

<sup>44</sup> Coromandel Warden’s Court, Certificates of Registration of Claims 1868-1871, nos. 49, 50, 61, ZAAN A432/18, ANZ-A.

<sup>45</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 9 October 1869, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> *Thames Guardian and Mining Record*, 24 January 1872, p. 3; *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 March 1873, p. 6, 15 March 1873, p. 6; *Thames Advertiser*, 16 January 1875, p. 3, 13 March 1875, p. 3, 15 March 1875, p. 3, 5 November 1880, p. 3, 5 April 1884, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> For example see, Keith Sinclair (ed.), *A Soldier’s View of Empire: The reminiscences of James Bodell, 1831-92*, London, 1982, p. 172; *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 January 1872, p. 4, 4 May 1872, p. 13, 11 May 1872, p. 4; *Waikato Times*, 10 October 1882, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 4 March 1875, p. 3.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folio 6, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 26 March 1875, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 5 April 1884, p. 3, 4 November 1887, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 27 September 1895, p. 5; R.A. Simpson, *This is Kuaotunu*, rev. ed., Kuaotunu, 1979, p. 7; *Te Aroha News*, 6 July 1889, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Pierre Berton, *Klondike: The last great gold rush, 1896-1899*, rev. ed., Toronto, 1986, p. 241; Stella M. Hull (ed.), *A Kiwi in the Klondike: Memories from the diaries of Francis William Hiscock*, Waiuku, 1993, pp. 6, 8, 15, 18, 44, 49; *He Reta Ki Te Maunga: Letters to the mountain: Maori letters to the editor 1898-1905*, introduced and translated by Margaret Orbell, Auckland, 2002, pp. 22-24.

<sup>52</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 14 December 1874, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> For example, at Te Aroha, see Minutes re Te Aroha Reserves and Land, signed by Harry Kenrick and G.T. Wilkinson, 26 October 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 6/14 No. 1; G.T. Wilkinson to Frederick Whitaker, 30 October 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 85/1006; Harry Kenrick to Oliver Wakefield, 13 November 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 12/353, ANZ-W.

<sup>54</sup> For coal mining in the Waikato, see Evelyn Stokes, *Huntly Coal Miners*, Hamilton, 1978, p. 8.

<sup>55</sup> *AJHR*, 1881, G-3, p. 19.

- <sup>56</sup> *Thames Star*, 30 August 1880, p. 2; for the varying values of the pound in today's dollar terms see Brendan Thompson, 'Inflator Table', unpublished, 1993.
- <sup>57</sup> *Thames Star*, 1 December 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 November 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>59</sup> 'Report by Mr Commissioner Mackay', pp. 4-5, 8; Province of Auckland, *Rules and Regulations for the Hauraki Gold Mining District*, Auckland, 1873, p. 35; Harry Kenrick (Warden) and George Thomas Wilkinson (Native Agent), Minutes re. Te Aroha Reserves and Land, 26 October 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 6/14, no. 1, Archives New Zealand, Wellington Office [hereafter ANZ-W].
- <sup>60</sup> 'Native Revenue, Hauraki: Te Aroha,' Maori Affairs Department, MA1, 13/35b, ANZ-W.
- <sup>61</sup> Registrar General of Births Deaths and Marriages, Notices of Intentions to Marry, BDM 20/25, folio 216, ANZ-W.
- <sup>62</sup> *Observer*, 19 February 1881, p. 236.
- <sup>63</sup> See Monin, 'Maori Economy', pp. 202-210; Hutton, 'Troublesome Specimens', p. 142.
- <sup>64</sup> Frederick Whitaker to Minister of Mines, 26 November 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 12/353, ANZ-W; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miners' Rights Butt-Books, November-December 1880, BBAV 11533/1a-1f, ANZ-A.
- <sup>65</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miners' Rights Butt Books 1880-1881, BBAV 11533/1a-1i; Notices of Marking Out Claims, nos. 131, 132, 162-164, 188, 189, 204, 208, 221, 226, 227, 354, 378-380, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.
- <sup>66</sup> For example, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folios 203-206, 211, 216, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A.
- <sup>67</sup> For example, in the Bonanza claim: *Te Aroha Miner*, quoted in *Thames Star*, 6 December 1880, p. 2.
- <sup>68</sup> For example, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, BBAV 11557/2a, nos. 49, 76; Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folios 192, 204, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A.
- <sup>69</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folio 205, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A; 'Te Aroha Warden's Court', *Thames Star*, 21 January 1881, p. 2.
- <sup>70</sup> Information obtained from Thames, Coromandel, and Ohinemuri Warden's Court registers: BACL A208/12, A208/42, A208/82, A208/85, A208/128, A208/705; BACL A412/81; ZAAAN A432/18, A432/72; BBAV 11567/1a, A456/21, A456/22, A456/23, A456/24, ANZ-A.
- <sup>71</sup> Information obtained from Thames, Coromandel, and Paeroa Warden's Court registers: BACL A208/39, A208/41, A208/42, A208/43, A208/88, A208/92, A208/93, A208/94, A208/95, A208/96, A208/97, A208/99; ZAAAN, A432/48; AAAE A456/3; ZAAP A469/23, A469/68, A469/69, ANZ-A.
- <sup>72</sup> *Coromandel Mail*, 12 March 1881, p. 5.
- <sup>73</sup> Arapata Tineia: *Thames Advertiser*, 5 April 1884, p. 3; Taituha: *Thames Advertiser*, 4 November 1887, p. 3; Witika Taupo: *Auckland Star*, 27 September 1895, p. 5.
- <sup>74</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 26 January 1881, p. 3.
- <sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 January 1881, p. 3.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 January 1881, p. 3.
- <sup>77</sup> For example, *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 20 January 1881, p. 2.
- <sup>78</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 28 December 1881, p. 3; 21 December 1883, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 11 December 1883, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 13 September 1887, p. 3, 12 June 1888, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 21 March 1885, p. 7, 9 June 1888, p. 2, 25 July 1888, p. 2; Hamilton East District, Register of Baptisms, 1879-1908, no. 144, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.
- <sup>79</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 7 December 1883, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 7 December 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 3.
- <sup>80</sup> D.T., 'Legend of Te Aroha', *Thames Advertiser*, 9 March 1887, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.
- <sup>81</sup> For example, *Thames Star*, 2 April 1881, p. 2.
- <sup>82</sup> *Te Aroha Miner*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Star*, 19 February 1881, p. 2.
- <sup>83</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Ohinemuri and Te Aroha Claims 1875-1885, folio 212, BBAV 11568/1a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, plaintiff 2 of 1880, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 January 1881, p. 111.
- <sup>84</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 4 December 1878, p. 3.
- <sup>85</sup> Marriage of Hone Werahiko and Mihi Hora, 22 December 1881, Marriage Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.
- <sup>86</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2; *Te Aroha Miner*, 17 February 1881, reprinted in *Thames Star*, 19 February 1881, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 1 November 1880, p. 3, 25 January 1882, p. 3.
- <sup>87</sup> C.M. Ollivier, *A Visit to the Boiling Springs of New Zealand*, Christchurch, 1871, pp. 12-13; Gilbert Mair, *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*, Auckland, 1923, p. 10; *Auckland Provincial Government*

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<sup>88</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 May 1883, p. 2; 'Native', 'On the Maratoto Diggings: the Black Doctor's Reef', *Thames Advertiser*, 14 September 1887, p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>91</sup> G.S. O'Halloran, untitled memoirs, (handwritten, 1894), pp. 120-121, MS 1345, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

<sup>92</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 October 1880, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3, 13 November 1880, p. 3, 15 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>93</sup> *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1880, p. 9; *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>94</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 25 October 1880, p. 3.

<sup>95</sup> Harry Kenrick to Frederick Whitaker, 27 October 1880, Mines Department, MD1, 12/353, ANZ-W; *Thames Star*, 1 November 1880, p. 2.

<sup>96</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 15 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>98</sup> *Thames Star*, 2 March 1881, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 16 December 1880, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 5 January 1881, p. 2.

<sup>100</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

<sup>101</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 7-8, no. 12, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A; *Waikato Times*, 14 December 1880, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 8 December 1880, p. 3.

<sup>102</sup> For example, *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 January 1881, p. 21.

<sup>103</sup> *Thames Star*, 2 April 1881, p. 2, 25 April 1881, p. 2.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 October 1881, p. 2.

<sup>105</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 14 October 1881, p. 3; *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1881, p. 17.

<sup>106</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 6 February 1884, p. 2; recollections of John O'Shea, *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1940, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Transfers of Shares 1882-1883, BBAV 11581/1a, 2a, ANZ-A.

<sup>108</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaint Book 1880-1898, complaints 56, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 80 of 1881; complaints 1, 4, 5, 7, 9 of 1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 8 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 25 October 1881, p. 3, 31 October 1881, p. 3, 18 November 1881, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> See Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain: The story of Parihaka*, Auckland, 1994; *Parihaka: The art of passive resistance*, Wellington, 2001.

<sup>111</sup> Editorial, *Thames Advertiser*, 31 December 1880, p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 October 1881, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> *Waikato Times*, 25 February 1882, p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 87-88, nos. 41, 42, BBAV 11505/3a; Applications to form a Water Race, BBAV A556, box 9, bundle 6, ANZ-A.

<sup>115</sup> *Thames Star*, 25 January 1882, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 19 February 1881, p. 2; *Ibid.*, 2 April 1881, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 21 February 1881, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 15 May 1882, p. 3; *Ibid.*, 18 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Register of Applications for Licensed Holdings 1881-1886, folio 92, BACL A208/39; Thames Claims Register 1882-1884, nos. 1095, 1114, BACL A208/92, ANZ-A.

<sup>117</sup> *Thames Star*, 18 January 1883, p. 2; *Ibid.*, 7 December 1883, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 May 1883, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 22 May 1883, p. 2.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 December 1881, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1881, p. 3.

<sup>120</sup> Probate of Hone Werahiko, BBAE 1568/1167, ANZ-A.

<sup>121</sup> For instance, letter from Henry Buttle, *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1884, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 December 1883, p. 3.

<sup>123</sup> John McCombie, 'Early Days of Te Aroha', *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 December 1910, p. 7; Ann Bale, *Maratoto Gold*, Auckland, 1971, pp. 106-107.

<sup>124</sup> For example, see obituary of Hoterene Taipari: *Thames Advertiser*, 22 March 1880, p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> Dispatch of Sir George Grey, 9 November 1852, cited in Anderson, *Gold Mining Policy Legislation*, p. 16.

<sup>126</sup> See Douglas Fetherling, *The Gold Crusades: A social history of gold rushes, 1849-1929*, rev. ed., Toronto, 1997, pp. 128-130, 165, 181; for Australia, see Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A history of Australian mining*, Melbourne, 2 edn. 1964, pp. 26, 148, 169, 171, 173, 321.