

MEREA WIKIRIWHI AND GEORGE THOMAS WILKINSON

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Abstract: *Merea Wikiriwhi was one of the few women to invest in Te Aroha mining. Her life has been traced in as much detail as can be found because so little has survived about the lives of Maori women. As George Thomas Wilkinson's surviving diaries reveal his importance in her life, his story was included as well, concentrating on his personal life rather than his official career.*

Merea was a member of several Ohinemuri hapu, with links through whakapapa to some of their more senior rangatira. Mostly living at or near Waitoki, between Paeroa and Te Aroha, she lived a frugal life, not wasting the income she received from land sales. These sales first required her to insist on her rights both in the land court and in a convoluted legal battle over a will signed in her favour by a distant relative. Over time, she would sell most of her land, but never became entirely landless. She invested in only one mining claim, but in the 1930s joined others to claim that the government was not paying them goldfields revenue for land they had sold.

George Thomas Wilkinson entered her life in 1880, when he was the 'native agent' in Hauraki. Despite having fought against Maori and nearly being killed, his surviving diaries reveal that he lived in the manner of a Pakeha Maori with three Maori women (simultaneously for a time), having children both by Merea and the woman he would eventually marry. Wilkinson had close friendships with many Maori and Pakeha Maori, and his genuine regard for them is reflected not only in his attempting, in his official capacity, to be fair to their interests – even as he assisted the government to separate them from their land – but in particular by his affection for a young girl, Wairingiringi, who shared his house in Thames. Although he and Merea would part, he tried to ensure that her children, like all his children, would do well in a Pakeha world.

WHAKAPAPA

According to the records of the Church of Latter Day Saints, Merea Wikiriwhi¹ was born at Ohinemuri in 1860.² When married in October

¹ For photograph of her in middle age, google 'Cribb Family in New Zealand', ancestry.com.

² Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members: Early to 1919: Te Aroha Branch, no. 47F, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

1917, she recorded her age as 55, meaning a birth date of 1862.³ Her death certificate, issued at the end of January 1936, gave her age as 81, suggesting a date of 1854 or possibly 1855.⁴ In 1898 she described herself as having been grown up in 1870.⁵ Yet in 1884 she had said she did ‘not know anything about the opening of the Ohinemuri Goldfields’ because the meeting to discuss this was held in 1874, when she ‘was a child’.⁶

Her marriage certificate gave her place of birth as ‘Okahukura Paeroa’.⁷ This was the Ngati Hako settlement then known as Okahukura, on the banks of the Waihou River upstream from Paeroa, and now known as Tirohia.⁸ She told the land court that she was a member of Ngati Koi, itself a hapu of Ngati Tamatera, and of Ngati Hako, Ngati Tara, and Ngati Tokanui.⁹ Her parents, Te Wikiriwhi and Ihapera or Ihipera (both spellings were used), were both Ngati Hako.¹⁰ She also belonged to Uriwha and Te Pare, and in 1880 was listed as a member of Ngati Rahiri.¹¹ In 1884, when giving her whakapapa, after first stating that she was not descended from Ruru she listed him as her earliest ancestor. After him came:

Whakaurunga

Kopane, who married Patuwakareone,

Huripopo, who married Niu,

whose daughter Kahurereirai married Wiremu Te Paora.

Their three children were a daughter, Iripera (as recorded), a son, Pakarate Paora, and another daughter, Rihi Kahurerewai.

Iripera married Te Wikiriwhi, and their daughter was Merea Wikiriwhi.¹²

³ Marriage Certificate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 10 October 1917, 1917/247, BDM.

⁴ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 267.

⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 346.

⁷ Marriage Certificate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 10 October 1917, 1917/247, BDM.

⁸ See *Thames Advertiser*, 17 March 1877, p. 3, 2 May 1879, p. 2, 1 September 1879, p. 3, 5 September 1879, p. 3, 8 September 1879, p. 3, 19 September 1879, p. 3, 1 October 1879, p. 3, 27 October 1879, p. 3; John Robson to Philip Hart, 23 September 2016, email.

⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, p. 207; no. 11, p. 323; no. 13, pp. 118, 158; no. 19, pp. 174, 178, 182; no. 28A, pp. 166, 167.

¹⁰ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

¹¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 13, pp. 42, 98; no. 16, p. 340.

¹² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 344.

In 1887 she claimed land at Whangamata through her mother's ancestry: this time her earliest ancestor was given as Tumutumu, from whom she was descended through

Te Pare,
Te Niu,
Kahurerewai,
and her mother.¹³

In 1889 she started her family tree with Te Kiri, whose child Tuhiao had a daughter Mere Tauto who married Wiremu Te Pauro and whose children were Rihi Kahurerewai, Ihipera, and Epiha Taha. Merea was Ihipera's daughter.¹⁴ In 1892, she claimed descent from Tokanui and Mahutoro. 'From Tokanui I cannot give the descent', a witness could provide this information. Her descent from Mahutoro was:

Ruapo
Tao
Te Kiri
Huhura
Whareangaranga
another Te Kiri
Rangihaereiti
Wiremu Te Paoro
Ihapera Te Paoro, as her mother's name was given.¹⁵

In 1893 Keepa Raharuhi gave her descent from Tokanui, starting with four males:

Ngamarama
Koroua
Tuatae
Mokohuruhuru
Tarawa, a daughter, who married Hako
Te Uira, another daughter
Tukiwaho, probably a son, like his descendant
Te Ruapokirangi
Tokuani, a son who married Rukutia,
their second child Mangouta married Tawhatei (genders not indicated),
Tokuani, a son who married Te Kura

¹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 147.

¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 23, p. 21.

¹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 166.

Te Rae, a daughter who married Te Amapu of Ngatitara
 Tu Horo, a son who married Pareumuroa
 Neneke, a son
 Te Hui, presumably a son, as was his descendant
 Te Ngaihe
 Te Wikiriwhi,
 who fathered Mereia Wikiriwhi.¹⁶

To add to the confusion, in 1889 the land court was told that Wiremu Paora was her father when in fact he was her grandfather, and her brother's name was given as Pakera Henare.¹⁷ One grandmother was Makureta.¹⁸ An uncle was Pakara Te Paora, who died in 1896.¹⁹

EARLY LIFE

Little is known about her early life. According to another Maori, during the Taranaki War she was living with her hapu at Tikirahi, eight chains from the Waitoki Stream,²⁰ about halfway between the future settlements of Paeroa and Te Aroha. According to her own evidence, she left the Pukemokemoke block, where her family had cultivations, when 'I grew up'.²¹ (This block was on the western side of Karangahake mountain, behind Waitoki.)²² In 1870 she was living with her family on the Pakikau-o-Whai block in Ohinemuri, and in or about that year her grandfather Wiremu Te Paora 'died on this land'.²³ Her parents both died there at an unknown date and were buried at Te Awaiti (on the opposite side of the Waihou River to Tirohia), 'a great burial place' of Ngati Hako. 'After my occupation of this land nobody ever lived on it up to the present day.... The houses now standing there are mine'.²⁴ After her parents' deaths she lived with Makereta Tokerau, her grandmother, and consequently was also

¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 29, p. 285.

¹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 273.

¹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

¹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 19, p. 178; no. 46, p. 200.

²⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28B, p. 76.

²¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 167.

²² Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

²³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 344.

²⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 345.

known as Merea Tokerau.²⁵ Her parents must have died before her grandfather, because she stated in 1884 that ‘after my parents death Wi Te Paora, Makereta Tokerau and myself continued to live upon the land’.²⁶ She could recall her mother’s burial, but did ‘not know that my parents died during the time of the Waikato War’.²⁷ In 1887, when seeking to succeed Hapi Rewi, a distant relative, in Whangamata No. 6, she claimed he had brought her up from childhood.²⁸

Another distant relative, Epiha Taha, in 1898 recalled her living at Te Kauri, on the western side of the Waihou River. ‘She left us in 1878, and came to Ohinemuri, with her father and mother. And lived at Pakikauowhai. After a long time, they left and went to Waitoki; and afterwards to Te Aroha’.²⁹ She stated that she had lived in several places, but ‘our chief Kainga was at Otamahura’.³⁰ ‘There were peaches, vines, cherry trees, figs’ planted by her father at their various kainga; she had helped her grandmother plant cherry trees.³¹ She left Otamahura with her grandmother to go to Waitoki ‘about the time McWilliams was shot’ when surveying the Te Raeotepapa Block (on the western side of the main road to Te Aroha at Tirohia)³² for Timiuha Taiwhakaea,³³ a reference to the wounding of ‘Daldy’ McWilliams in August 1879.³⁴ She attended the hui held to discuss this, where ‘the people were all trying to shield Ep[iha] Taha. And to lay the blame on myself and Timiuha, as we had had the survey made’. Asked whether she had agreed to Timiuha joining with her to arrange the survey, she responded: ‘Well, I got an advance of £10, and gave

²⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 16, p. 345; no. 19, p. 172; no. 28B, pp. 117-118; Aroha Block 1X Section 21, Block Files, H1589, Maori Land Court, Hamilton; Merea Tokerau and Makereta Tokerau to Minister of Mines, 27 March 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/381, ANZ-W.

²⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 345.

²⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 347.

²⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 191, 192.

²⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 240.

³⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 255.

³¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 257.

³² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 255; Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

³³ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 36, pp. 153-157, 246-250; *Thames Advertiser*, 15 March 1879, p. 3, 10 September 1879, p. 3.

³⁴ See paper on the Daldy McWilliams ‘outrage’.

it to Timiuha. He was to get the survey made. Perhaps he also signed the receipt'.³⁵

Despite her close and indeed intimate contact with two Pakeha, as described below, she never became fluent in English. After her death in 1936, a licensed interpreter said 'She could talk English in a sort of way'.³⁶ A Thames lawyer who knew her for the last 12 years or so of her life said he had 'done business with her for many years without an interpreter. She did not speak English well but I was used to her & understood her'.³⁷ Clearly she had never been to school.

LAND

Merea ensured that her interests in land in Ohinemuri and close to Te Aroha were registered and that she obtained income from these blocks. In 1877 she was recorded as an owner of Piraurahi No. 4 (southwest of Paeroa, between the river and the main road to Te Aroha; Mill Road is to the north and Cadman road to the south),³⁸ in the following year of Takapau, and in 1880 of Ohinemuri No. 4, Owharoa No. 2, and Owharoa No. 5, which included Mackaytown.³⁹ In the latter year she was included in the list of Ngati Rahiri owners of Ohinemuri No. 18.⁴⁰ In September 1878 she signed the conveyance of the Ohinemuri Block to the Crown; when individual interests were later ascertained, she was granted 373 1/2 acres, receiving first £2 and then £66 15s.⁴¹ In October 1880, she asked the Native Minister why she had not received all her money for her six shares in the Ohinemuri

³⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 268, 270.

³⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, pp. 295-296.

³⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, pp. 297-298.

³⁸ Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

³⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, p. 207; no. 11, p. 323; no. 13, pp. 98, 118, 158.

⁴⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 13, p. 42.

⁴¹ Meeting at Paeroa, May-June 1882, between R.J. Gill and Ohinemuri claimants, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 13/54a; 'Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Blocks', Appendix I, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

goldfield.⁴² Asked for his advice, the Native Agent at Thames, George Thomas Wilkinson, who had probably assisted her to write her letter (for reasons explained later), provided her ancestry and stated that she was entitled to shares in six blocks, value £93 7s 6d. She had ‘abstemious habits and frugal way of living’ compared with other Maori who were running up debts to shopkeepers and publicans, and the £4 she had received was insufficient.⁴³ It was agreed that she should be paid the full value.⁴⁴ In April 1881, Wilkinson paid her £50 ‘as payment in full for all her right title and interest in the different blocks in which she has interest in the Ohinemuri Blocks’,⁴⁵ an amount that covered only Ohinemuri Nos. 4, 7, 16, 17 and Owharua No. 2. The previous September she had been paid £14 15s for Ohinemuri No. 18, and in January 1883 she would be paid £15 12s for Ohinemuri No. 17A and the same amount for Ohinemuri No. 16. She received £17 for selling her interest in Ohinemuri No. 18 and £14 15s for Ohinemuri No. 18, at Waitawheta.⁴⁶ In 1893 she would be paid £144 16s for her interest in Ohinemuri No. 20A.⁴⁷

In 1884, when her claim to the eastern part of Pakikau-o-Whai was contested, she based her case on ancestry and occupation. ‘My ancestors lived on this land down to myself, when Owharua first passed the Court we were living on this land’. Her grandfather and parents had all died on it, and she had continued to live there with her grandparents after her parents

⁴² Merea Wikiriwhi to Native Minister, 29 October 1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 13/54a, ANZ-W.

⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan, 20 December 1880; G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 3 February 1881, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 13/54a, ANZ-W.

⁴⁴ ‘Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Blocks’, Appendix I, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶ Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, pp. 221, 223, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7; ‘Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Blocks’, Appendix H, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 249.

⁴⁷ ‘Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Blocks’, Appendix H, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

died.⁴⁸ The court granted the land to her and those associated with her claim.⁴⁹

When she died in 1936, she retained interests in several land blocks, but only Te Aroha Block 5 Section 2, just over 35 acres at Mangaiti, was of much value. She also had interests in six other blocks of land: Mangamutu No. 4, Rae-o-te-Papa South, Nahutoitoi, the Uriwha Reserve, Pukemokemoke 2B2, and section 6 of Block XXV in the town of Paeroa, 'with dwelling, subject to mortgage to Native Trustee'.⁵⁰

CONTROVERSY OVER A WILL

In October 1886, Merea applied to succeed Hapi Rewi, who had died in early June, as an owner of the Mangakiri Reserve, on the coast near Waihi. His will, dated 20 May that year, left all his estate to Merea, who was described as his daughter. The subsequent arguments were typical of many claims concerning land and money, featuring questionable evidence on both sides. Koronaho Kotia, otherwise Koroneho Te Kotia, objected because he was a relative and 'was taking care of deceased until his death'. When the judge mentioned the will, 'Witness said Hapi Rewi died out of his mind'.⁵¹

When I was going with Hapi Rewi to the place where [King] Tawhiao was living on 26th March 1886 - We went there because we had received notification 28th March had been arranged as date of a meeting.

I returned on the 10th April to Ohinemuri, Hapi Rewi remained at Whatiwhatihoe while he was there he became insane & so insane that the police had to put him under restraint. People told me so that came from there, he was insane from some Maori complaint not from drink, he never became better of this insanity – when Mr George Wilkinson sent us a telegram it was sent to Te Keepa Raharuhi⁵² to this effect, (I don't know where the telegram

⁴⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, pp. 340, 344-345.

⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 348.

⁵⁰ Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H, Maori Land Court, Hamilton; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book, no. 70, p. 294.

⁵¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 91.

⁵² See *Thames Advertiser*, n.d., reprinted in *Daily Southern Cross*, 5 March 1870, p. 3; Native Land Court, *Daily Southern Cross*, 5 May 1870, p. 4; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 19 December 1919, p. 2.

is now,) that we were to send up and fetch Hapi Rewi he being insane.

He sent £3 to Te Keepa, who also got some money from William Grey Nicholls, a prominent half-caste.⁵³ Hapi was brought to Te Aroha in handcuffs, and Charles John Dearle, a Pakeha Maori working for the Crown,⁵⁴ brought him to Ohinemuri, where Koroneho and Rewi Te Manawa ‘took charge of him’. Koroneho ‘always remained in [the] house because we feared he would fall into the fire’, and stayed with him until he died.⁵⁵

Cross-examined by Merea, Koroneho insisted that the will was ‘wrong, and I don’t agree that you are nearest relation, you are only a distant relation’. His list of the five descendants of Kahuwitiki showed Hapi Rewi was the great-grandson of the eldest, Kurae, whereas Merea was the great-great-granddaughter of the youngest, Raumati, through her father; the intervening ancestors, not listed elsewhere in her whakapapa, were Patupou and his son Mikai.⁵⁶ Although Koroneho insisted that Hapi ‘was insane when he signed that will’, he admitted that Hapi had signed a document a month before his death authorizing him (Koroneho) to withdraw money from the bank. In response to the judge, Te Kotia explained that he ‘expostulated with him for signing his name under the circumstances he said it didn’t matter – he was sensible enough to talk to me about the money’. He did not see Hapi sign the will. ‘Had he signed the will in my favor witnessed by a reliable European I should not have objected to it, if he had signed in presence of a Native I should have taken exception to it’. He could not say whether he thought the presence of ‘a reliable European made him sane’, but thought Hapi had been insane when he signed the authority to withdraw his money from the bank, because ‘he had no Clothes nor anything to eat at that time’.

The court determined that it was not within its jurisdiction to decide the validity of a will, but ‘was of opinion that the objection had been raised on account of the will not being in objector’s favor’.⁵⁷ As it allotted Merea all

⁵³ See paper on his life.

⁵⁴ See paper on his life.

⁵⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 93.

⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 93-94.

Hapi's land and personal property, Wikiriwhi Hautonga⁵⁸ said his party would test the will's validity in the Supreme Court, and Rihitoto Mataia, Nicholls' wife, denied that Merea was Hapi's daughter.⁵⁹ Her rivals did not take the case to court, and she was listed as one of 75 grantees for the Mangakiri Reserve Block, which was sold in 1888.⁶⁰ She retained some interest in it, in 1893 still receiving rent.⁶¹

In September 1887, at a sitting at Paeroa, Merea sought to succeed Hapi Rewi in Whangamata No. 6, of 7,402 acres, claiming under his will and through her mother's (distant) relationship with him.⁶² 'I am related to deceased in other ways'. Before Hapi died, she obtained some goods from him, including his Post Office Savings Bank cashbook. She gave the latter to Koroneho 'because I was angry with the people accusing me for Hapi's leaving his properties to me', and was told by Timiuha Taiwhakaea that Nicholls 'was going to send a policeman after her'.⁶³ 'Hapi was very fond of me and cared for me more than any of his other relations'.⁶⁴ Rihitoto Mataia denied knowing about the will or that Merea was closely related to Hapi, who was mad before he died.⁶⁵ Dearle then gave evidence:

I live near Te Aroha, within half a mile of applicant. The Will produced is in my handwriting. I was not asked by deceased, Hapi Rewi did not ask me to draw it. Merea Wikiriwhi asked me through my wife. She came to my house, and asked what I would charge for drawing a Will in accordance with a copy which she produced. I said that I would not charge anything for so small a matter, she was at that time very friendly with my wife and in the habit of coming to my house. I wrote the document produced and left it with my wife to give to Merea. During the same week that followed the Queen's birthday, I again saw this document.

⁵⁸ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 5, pp. 301-302, 321; no. 13, pp. 123-125; no. 16, pp. 192, 195, 198-203, 206; no. 30, p. 232; *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 October 1868, p. 7.

⁵⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 95-97.

⁶⁰ Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, folio 347, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹ Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, folio 669, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

⁶² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 146-147.

⁶³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 147.

⁶⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 148.

⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 148-154.

Merea left it with my wife with a request that I would witness, as I was a kind of Kawhakaheere [administrator]⁶⁶ of Hape Rewi's and would know his signature. At that time the Will bore no date and no other signature but Hapi Rewi. I told my wife that I could not do such a thing, but that I was prepared to go with my wife's father [William Nicholls]⁶⁷ or any other reliable person, and if Hapi Rewi was in his right mind and understood what he was doing, I would then witness his signature. My wife informed me that she had done so, but Merea did not wish this course to be adopted, but that I was merely to go and ask Hapi if that was his signature and then witness it. This Will then remained in my house undated and unattested up to July 23. It was supposed to be of no value. On July 23 my wife told me that Merea wanted the document to show to Mr Wilkinson, so my wife took it to Merea's house.⁶⁸

He next saw it at the court sitting at Thames, where Merea went to have her cases heard, but they were adjourned to Paeroa. He had seen Hapi after his return from the meeting with Tawhiao at Whatiwhatihoe in late April 1886, when after 'a conversation' with Wilkinson it was arranged that he would take 'some of Hapi Rewi's people to meet him' at Te Aroha, namely Watene Taiwhakaea⁶⁹ and Toro Mohi.⁷⁰ Wilkinson had received a telegram from the police 'that Hapi was mad and had been placed under restraint'. Hapi arrived wearing 'only a shirt and trousers and was handcuffed'. Merea accompanied Dearle and the others when they returned with Hapi 'to Ngahutoitoi near Paeroa. It was then nearly dusk. I suggested to Watene that the handcuffs might be taken off, but Watene said, "He might strike some of us." I left him with his people. I often enquired about him in passing through Paeroa and they said he was not any better'.⁷¹

Cross-examined, after agreeing that he was Nicholls' brother-in-law (whose wife opposed Merea), Dearle repeated that Hapi was 'porangi' [a maniac],⁷² and stated that 'the other signatures have been placed on the Will since July 23 when it went out of my possession'. He believed his wife

⁶⁶ P.M. Ryan, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori*, 2 ed. (Wellington, 1997), p. 87.

⁶⁷ See paper on his life.

⁶⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 154-155.

⁶⁹ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 48, pp. 199-201, 206, 209-210.

⁷⁰ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 12, p. 328; no. 13, p. 118; no. 29, p. 86; no. 64, p. 357; *Te Aroha News*, 16 May 1938, p. 4.

⁷¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 155-156.

⁷² Ryan, p. 216.

had 'made some memoranda of the dates &c in connection with this case, I did not. I may have been present at some of the talks between Merea and my wife'. When he saw the will produced in court he 'did not say anything against the Will. It was not my business', but later he had explained what he knew to the judge. 'The document was left so long with me because it was not supposed to be of any value. Merea paid me for bringing Hapi from the Aroha, this was the only occasion when Merea asked me to attest a signature'.

Questioned, he said that Hapi was 'well able to write and used often to write to the Government, the signature on the Will may be his, I could not swear that it was not'. The marks made by Huria Te Raru and the attestation clause were in the handwriting of John Richard William Guilding, an interpreter.⁷³ He had not mentioned 'these circumstances' to Rihitoto Mataia or Nicholls before the hearing that rejected their arguments; 'I think I afterwards volunteered to come forward and give evidence'.⁷⁴

Huria Ani, 'also known as Huria Te Raru the name of my husband', said that Hapi was insane and that she knew nothing about his will. 'The only thing I saw signed was a document a receipt for his Bank book to satisfy Hapi Rewi that his book was in Koroneho's possession, it was taken there by Merea Wikiriwhi'.

I have put my mark to a document, but I did not know it was a Will. It was brought to me by Merea. It was at Te Aroha I placed my mark to that document. I was requested by Merea to go to Te Aroha. I was requested by Merea by letter sent to me at Waihi asking me to come to Te Aroha, that she was very sick, and requesting me to put all other things on one side as I might not see her again; this was long after Hapi death. I came over to Te Aroha, accompanied by a person who was sent by her, when I arrived I found her in good health, like myself. I remained there two days and then went to Te Aroha. I returned the same day at dark. After my arrival that night Merea spoke to me and asked me if I had not seen the document signed which she had taken to Ngahutoitoi to have signed by Te Keepa [Raharuhi]. I replied, "Yes I saw it." Merea said, "That is my reason for requesting you to come to me, that is my sickness because I have received a summons from a Pakeha in reference to a debt incurred by Hapi Rewi, but now I have seen you, I am quite recovered." She then

⁷³ See paper on life of John William Richard Guilding.

⁷⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 156-157.

asked me if I would be able to proceed with her to Te Aroha. I replied, "Perhaps I shall not be able to go as I was poorly at the time but did not know the cause of my sickness." She offered me a horse to ride but I refused the horse as I did not feel well, but I thought I could walk there. She then said, "We can go together on foot." She did not then tell me the reason why we were to go there at that time. We then started at daybreak the following morning. When we arrived at Te Aroha Mr John Guilding was at the end of a Public House waiting. When Mereia saw him she told me to go with her to him; when we got to him, he walked away and we followed him. When we got opposite the Post office I said I wished to post a letter to Whatiwhatihoe but she [said], "Never mind now, come with me to Mr Guilding," who was beckoning us to come to the house where he was standing. When we went into the room there was another gentleman present there. We were all seated, Mr Guilding & Mereia were sitting close together and their European friend was sitting at the other end of the table. They both spoke to the other gentleman, and Mereia gave the European a document which he looked at, then Mr John Guilding requested me to sign that document. I did not know it was a Will. The European gave me a pen; he was a stranger to me. I put my mark on the document, at that time I did not know it was a Will. The contents of that document was not explained to me by Mr John Guilding or Mereia. It was at Mereia's request to do away with her difficulty in reference to Hapi's debts with this European that I affixed my mark, I thought by affixing my mark that it would save her from being summonsed. Mereia according to Maori custom would be a daughter to me or rather a second cousin to me. The first time I heard that I was a witness to a Will was after the sitting of a Lands Court held here last summer. I cannot swear that the document now shewn me is the one handed to me at Te Aroha to affix my mark thereto.⁷⁵

Under cross-examination, Huria repeated that nobody had read out the will and that Guilding had not interpreted it. At first she said, 'John Guilding did not ask me if I saw Hapi Rewi sign this document, I know nothing about it', but almost immediately afterwards contradicted herself: 'He did ask me if I saw Hapi Rewi sign this document, I said Yes. I was requested by Mereia to say that when we went to Te Aroha'. She did not know what Mereia and Guilding discussed in the house, for although they spoke in Maori she did not hear their conversation. 'It was at Mereia's own request I saved her from getting into difficulties'. Mereia had written the letter she had wanted to post. 'If the Europeans were to say that this

⁷⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 157-160 [punctuation added].

document was a Will, I say it was not explained to me as such by Merea or Mr John Guilding. I did not inform any one after I had put my mark to this document. I was requested by Merea not to mention this subject to any one'. The first time she had mentioned it was after the court had considered the will and Rihitoto Mataia had subpoenaed her to testify whether her signature was genuine. 'I cannot trace relationship between Merea and Hapi Rewi, she was according to Maori custom a daughter of Hapi's. I have heard that Hapi Rewi took care of and was kind to her; some time I saw Hapi Rewi taking care of Merea'. She did not think he had the right to bequeath his property to Merea. She knew that Hapi 'left his gun with Merea when he went to Whatiwhatihoe', having brought it from Komata to her house at Mangaiti. 'I often visited the residence of Merea, prior to her request to me to come and see her, I also went to her residence during Hapi's illness, she used to come to Ngahutoitoi, and lived near Hapi and the whole tribe'.

Cross-examined by Nicholls, Huria stated that she had been 'taught by Merea at her own house that I should put my mark to that document'. She had 'heard that Merea was sometimes kind to Hapi Rewi, I have never heard that the gun and bank book mentioned were given to Merea as her private property'. Timi Taiwhakaea, Toro Mohi, and Te Koroneho had looked after Hapi during his madness. Cross-examined by the court, she admitted she did not know the relationships of Merea and Rihitoto to Hapi, but 'should not be able to refute Te Koroneho's statement if he says that Merea is a daughter of Hapi Rewi's'. After staying with Merea and her grandmother for a week, she returned to the gumfields, where she had been digging before receiving Merea's letter.⁷⁶

Alice Grey Dearle, wife of Charles, gave evidence about the will:

When I saw this paper before the only writing was that above the present attestation. Hapi Rewi's name was there, at that time it was undated, at that time it was a full sheet of foolscap but it had got over ink and I was requested by Merea to tear it off, which I did. Merea came to my house about the beginning of May, she said to me, I wish Mr Dearle to prepare a Will for me I have a copy from which he can prepare but you had better ask him what he would charge.

⁷⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 160-164.

When Dearle returned he said he would not charge ‘as she was a friend of ours’. After the document was prepared, Merea took it away, but later returned with it ‘all smeared with ink’, and asked her to get her husband to attest Hapi’s signature ‘in order to legalise the document’. Dearle was willing, ‘provided the document was read over and explained to him’ and he wished to sign. Merea ‘objected’, wanting Dearle and Nicholls ‘simply to go and ask Hapi if that was his signature without reading the document to him, and if he said Yes, then for him to sign as Witness’. Dearle refused. ‘Merea then said, let it be as it is, a new will will have to be prepared’. The will remained in her possession until 23 July, when Merea came to get it to show to Wilkinson ‘when he came over’. (No explanation of the relationship between Wilkinson and Merea was given.) When asked what Hapi had said when he signed,

she informed me that she did not read out the document to Hapi but told him that our document to the Government about Pakikau-o-whai was completed, and asked Hapi to sign, but Hapi said he was not strong enough to rise, but owing to her persistence Hapi signed it. She told me the people who had charge of him were absent in the Paeroa, and that they were by themselves, another time when this document was in my possession she came and made a proposal that I and Mr Dearle should have some consideration for her, and endorse his signature as Witness to Hapi, and if he would she would make [a] consideration as return for Mr Dearle’s service, I said you had better go and speak to him, as he would not consent before when I asked him.⁷⁷

Under cross-examination, she repeated that Huria’s signature was not on the document when she last saw it. ‘The principal talk of Merea about this proposal was to keep it secret’. Asked if she did not consider ‘the proposal made for Mr Dearle to witness this Will’ to be important, she replied: ‘I do not know the meaning of your question’. She repeated that she had told Merea to ask Dearle herself but that Merea had not done so. ‘I never spoke to any one about this will, Merea had requested me not to do so’ and to ask Dearle not to mention it. ‘I never had any quarrel with Merea but when my husband knew about Merea’s work with the will he requested me not to have anything to do with her, but we did receive a letter from her

⁷⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 167-169.

asking the reason of our coolness. I told her it was in connection with the will'.⁷⁸

After more evidence from Merea's opponents about the state of Hapi's mind and his signing the document authorizing money to be withdrawn from the bank, Merea gave her version of events. She claimed relationship with Hapi through her Ngati Koi, Ngati Hako, and Ngati Tara ancestry, and based her claim for his property both on this and the will.

Hapi went to Whatiwhatihoe in March, he went there from Te Komata, he called on his way from Te Komata at my house, and slept there, he talked to me there, he said to me my gun and Bank book, I will leave them with you, that is all my personal Estate and lands to you and your children I leave, I will prepare a will he said in your favor, and the following morning he went away. The will was to be in my favor bequeathing everything to me and my children, lands and person[al] estate.

When Ngati Koi heard that Hapi was 'unwell', they decided to use some of his money in the bank to pay their expenses in bringing him back from Waikato. When asked to get some of the money, Nicholls told them this was impossible, but that if they gave him Hapi's gun he would provide £5. After searching Hapi's houses for it, Toro Mohi was sent to ask her for it. 'I told Toro I do not understand the meaning of giving this gun to Mr Nicholls, but if it is given as a security for the money then it would be clear to me, he then said leave that to me'. She handed the gun to Dearle because he was Nicholls' brother-in-law, and wrote to Nicholls telling him to give the money 'but you must not recognise it as a payment for the gun, but merely as a security'; Nicholls therefore 'refused to give the full amount'. After she went with Dearle to the Te Aroha railway station to meet the party bringing Hapi back,

Hapi and others came in his spring cart, and I came in front of them on horseback as far as my house. I then said to my grandmother, "I am going to keep my 'papa' here;" she said, "It rests entirely with you." I then went to the road and waited for them. Mr Dearle and Toro were on the spring cart and I said to Toro to leave Hapi at my house. He replied, "No we shall proceed on." I then said, "Very well you had better sleep here," as it was nearly dark, "and go on in the morning." He did not consent to this. I then said I would go to in order to accompany my "papa." I then

⁷⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 169-171.

got into the spring cart with my Tamaiti [child]⁷⁹ & Te Watene [Taiwhakaea] took my horse. I was not afraid of Hapi, I did not know that he was mad, the only complaints I saw were his legs swollen up and also his back. We arrived at Ngahutoitoi, and remained there, and Hapi Rewi made a remark to me saying, “You had better take good care of those things I gave you and be careful with them, and do not give it to any one else,” and he also said to me, “If I am at all recovered I shall prepare a Will in your favor, at present my legs is very bad.” I remained there a week and then wished to go to my home. I told him I was going home. He then said to me, “Go and when you get there call upon Mr Dearle to prepare a Will for me, as I am not able to make one being in pain, but to sign my name and read [it], I shall be able to do that,” and I told him I was not up to that sort of business of making a will so that I could tell him what to do. He said, “You tell Mr Dearle that I wish him to prepare a Will.”⁸⁰

Upon returning home she asked Dearle to prepare it. ‘I stayed two nights at home and returned again to Ngahutoitoi’, where Hapi asked her about it. Told that ‘perhaps by this time the will was prepared, as I did not come direct from their house’, he asked her to collect it ‘and if completed bring it with me’. When she did, he signed it in the presence of herself and Huria Te Raru. ‘Hapi said to Huria, you saw me sign this Will, bequeathing all my lands and personal estate to my child Mereia Wikiriwhi whom I think a great deal of, you had better go before a Licensed Interpreter and sign your name’. The two women returned to Te Aroha, where there was no licensed interpreter. ‘She then asked me if there was any other suitable person in Te Aroha who could act in the same capacity. I said perhaps there might be’. When they went there on 4 June they saw Guilding ‘on the street and Huria Te Raru asked him who was the Interpreter at Te Aroha, and Mr Guilding replied that he was’. Huria explained about the will, and Guilding took them to a lawyer’s office where the clerk, a Mr Smith, asked her whether she had seen Hapi sign it and whether he was ‘clear’ or ‘marama’ [clear]⁸¹ at the time he did. ‘Huria replied “Yes” and Mr Smith wrote out in English on a piece of paper words, which was handed over to Mr John Guilding to put into Maori on the Will (attestation)’. After this was done,

⁷⁹ Ryan, p. 271.

⁸⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 182- 185 [punctuation added].

⁸¹ Ryan, p. 24.

Guilding 'read it out to them, and Huria stated that she was satisfied that that was her statement' and made her mark.⁸²

Cross-examined, Merea stated that Guilding could confirm her testimony and that Huria's evidence was false. She had made 'false statements' because they had quarreled when 'I objected to her sweetheart coming to my house'. Huria said that if this man, from Waikato, came into her house

she would frequently visit me, when she found that I objected she went and asked my grand-mother and she would not consent, she then came again and quarreled with me. I would not consent, and when she left my house she said I will never return to your house, and she went away to the gum fields.⁸³

As for the letter sent to Huria, this was written

because she said to me, whenever there is anything wrong with you or you are sick, send for me, whilst she was in Waikato Huria had heard that some one was looking for a "Tohunga" who was capable or competent to cure makatus [curses] &c and when I heard this from Huria I was afraid, and it was not long after that when I took ill, my neck was very much swollen, then I thought this was a sickness which she had spoken of and on that ground I wrote to her requesting her to come. When she arrived there I did not know what she did with my sickness up to the time she went away (that is with regard to doctoring me). The quarrel between us took place at that time.⁸⁴

She knew nothing about the Dearles' evidence. When the court was held at Thames in October,

I saw all the people of my District (Te Aroha) proceeding there. I was the only one left behind or [who] remained, some of Tawhiao's committee who resided at Ohinemuri came to my house and told me that they would not allow the Court to come to Ohinemuri and they also told me not to go to the Court, but to think over their "tikanga" [custom].⁸⁵ I replied No I shall go and attend the Court.

⁸² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 185-188.

⁸³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 188-189.

⁸⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 188-189.

⁸⁵ Ryan, p. 297.

Some Te Aroha Maori returning from the court told her to go to it to 'attend to my cases'. She told a member of the Ngati Koi 'committee' that she was going to the court. When she did, the judge told her 'he would not listen to the Maori committee' and would hear her cases at Paeroa. 'The Court found that I was right and the counter claimants were ignored by the Court'. She was not present when Hapi signed the cheque, 'but I heard of it after all the money was spent'. Before Hapi went to the meeting at Whatiwhatihoe 'I frequently saw him, he used to take care of me, in fact he brought me up from my childhood and looked after me till the time of his death, while I was living at my house at Mangaiti Hapi used to come there to cultivate and to see me and my children'. She denied that Rihitoto cared for Hapi or was related to him.⁸⁶

Cross-examined by Nicholls, she swore 'that whatever statements I have made' to both court sittings were 'nothing but the truth'. According to 'this pedigree of mine, Hapi would be a Tupuna [ancestor]⁸⁷ of mine'. Although she could not trace some of her ancestry, she had 'heard' that her father was descended from Tumutumu, the ancestor through whom she claimed the land. She called Pakara another "papa".

Yes I confirm that statement of mine that Hapi was kind to me and brought me up. I did not live with Hapi Rewi at Te Komata. I do not know if he lived at Ruaoiti, but he did live at Ngahutoitoi, that was not his permanent abode. Haratahi was the only permanent residence of Hapi's I know of, he and I lived permanently there and we owned a piece adjoining Hararahi called Pakihau-o-whai which was awarded to us by the Court.

She provided details of her disagreement with Hapi about who should be admitted as owners of Hararahi:

It was because he was angry with me that he did not put my name in the list of names for that Block. I cannot say how many years I have been living at my present abode, Mangaiti. Hapi Rewi always came to my place, sometimes he used to call in on his way to Whatiwhatihoe, he used to come sometimes of his own free will to see me.

⁸⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 189-191.

⁸⁷ Ryan, p. 48.

The first time she had heard of Tauriru was at the hearing of Ohinemuri No. 20. 'I did not know the names of other people's ancestors, why should I'. She would 'refute' Hapi's claim for land through Tauriru, and repeated that Hapi gave her 'taonga [property]⁸⁸ prior to the preparation of the Will, viz a gun and a Bank book', and had told her she would receive all his lands and personal effects. He had done so 'because he was a Magistrate on the Hau hau committee as the Hau haus do not care about leasing or selling lands'. She denied the goods had been left with her 'merely for the purpose of taking care of them, he gave them to me entirely'. She did not remember writing to Nicholls that the gun would remain Hapi's property. She had written because Nicholls wanted the gun as security for his advance of £5. 'The reason I gave you the gun was because I had no money at the time, I was informed by Hapi himself when he brought the gun that the Bank book was in the bag of the gun'. When Toro Mohi asked for the bank book on behalf of Ngati Koi he 'did not tell me it was for the purpose of getting money to obtain food for Hapi'. She did not consider Hapi was mad when she met him at the Te Aroha station: 'he knew me quite well', and nobody had told her that he was mad. 'I am positive of this, when he arrived I saw him with handcuffs on, but I do not know the reason why'. She did not consider that his mental state changed before his death. Toro and others insisted on taking him to Ngahutoitoi, 'otherwise he might have stayed at my place of his own free will'. Only now had she learnt of Wilkinson's telegram to Ngati Koi to fetch Hapi back because he was mad. 'I did not seek for a Doctor to attend Hapi, nor did I pay for any food for him, but I paid for the expense of the spring cart'. She did not know what arrangements Dearle and Wilkinson had made, but produced the receipt to prove she paid had £2 for the hire of the spring cart; Dearle was paid 'for his conveyance out of my love for my "papa" '. She did not remember asking Ngati Koi to refund this money, but did remember returning the bank book to Te Koroneho at Nicholls' house 'but not the gun &c'.

I do not remember taking a receipt for them taking Hapi's "taonga," the Bank book is the only thing I remember. I do not know anything about a receipt given to me. I do not remember expressing a fear that I might be prosecuted for returning Hapi's book because he was mad. Why should I go and pay for food for other people to eat, the people who came to the "uhunga"

⁸⁸ Ryan, p. 41.

[mourning ceremony]⁸⁹ of Hapi Rewi, as they were strangers. It was through negligence on my part I did not subscribe to Hapi Rewi's coffin, I forgot it, had I been here I would have paid for one. Why should I enquire who paid for his coffin? I was not present at the Tangi. I was there on the day he died, I returned home the same day, owing to my own private business and young child whom I left at home. I came on that day to see him and found him dead. It was my custom to come and see him. No one attended him, he was left in his house, but at nights we used to go to him in his house, of course when I returned home I did not know who looked after him. When I visited him here I remained sometimes a week and at other times half a week. It was not three times only, it was more. It was my practice to come and see him. If some of Ngatikoi want to state that I had only been there three times I should deny it, because they have combined against me, because Hapi Rewi left his lands and personal Estates to me. On that ground none of them will support my statements but rather would go against me. I used to leave him by himself in his whare when I used to go home and others attended him after I was gone. There was only Hapi & myself in the house when he told me to go to Te Aroha and get a Will drawn out.⁹⁰

She had not gone 'on purpose to consult with Hapi about the Will, I merely came for the purpose of seeing him', but when she arrived he asked for it. Huria was the only person present when she brought it. 'It was not I who told him where to sign his name, I did not dictate to him, he signed it himself, the date on this document was not put on at the time but it was Huria who told Mr Guilding to put that date in, at Te Aroha'.

She confirmed Alice Dearle's testimony that she had returned the will after it had been signed, but said that Alice had ripped off the lower portion because it was covered in ink and torn. She knew Dearle distributed miner's rights revenue. 'I have never heard of him doing any thing dishonest, but I have heard that he was against me, no matter whether I owned the land or not he always interfered with me, whether he has any right or not. I have never heard of any other people telling me of Mr Dearle's treating them the same'. When she gave permission for the council to form a road over Tikirahi to Karangahake, Dearle had told it she had no interest in the land because it had been sold to the government. 'That is Mr Dearle's interference. We were friends at the time I took the document to Mr Dearle's house after it was signed'. She was 'merely paying a visit' when

⁸⁹ Ryan, p. 48.

⁹⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 191-197 [punctuation added].

Alice asked for the will, which she left with her. 'I generally leave my things at their house. No, it was not for the purpose for Mrs Dearle to sign it as a Witness that I left it there', and she denied the date they gave for when it was returned. Huria did not 'affix her mark' when Hapi signed it was because he 'desired to have the signature of an Interpreter to her mark, Huria could choose whom she pleased to go before to sign'. Huria had requested her to accompany her to Te Aroha. 'I had nothing to do with Hapi's affair so I took no part in it'. She denied telling Te Koroneho and others that a will had been signed; Hapi and Huria had told the others.

'I do not know that Mr John Guilding did any dishonest action against me', but a woman named Miria Ani had told him that she was Merea and that she wanted the money for her interest in the Piraurahi Block. 'After she had signed I arrived there' and asked Guilding for her money. 'He asked me my name, I replied that I was Merea; he then told me that a woman was there who had been paid the money. Hoera was with me, he told Mr Guilding that I was the real Merea'. She denied having asked the government to have Guilding's license cancelled, which had been done before the will was made.⁹¹

Guilding stated that 'Huria and Merea met me in Whitaker St, Te Aroha. We shook hands. Huria said I want to know who is the Interpreter in this District, I said I am; she then said I want to see you about a Will'. He took her to a solicitor's office and explained what she wanted to the chief clerk, Smith. 'He looked at the Will; of course he did not understand what was in it, and I explained it to him', and Huria said she could neither read nor write and wanted it witnessed. Smith wrote the attestation in English and Guilding 'afterwards wrote it out in Maori'. Huria told Smith that Hapi 'was clear about this document he signed'. Cross-examined by Nicholls, Guilding stated that he had known Merea 'when she was a child', though 'more by sight than by name for many years'.⁹² He insisted that he had read the will to Huria; 'I cannot help what Mr Dearle states'.⁹³

Three days later, Merea's cross-examination by Nicholls continued. 'Because I had an almanack I recalled the date when Hapi was brought back and when the documents was signed &c &c'. She repeated her chronology of events. 'I do not remember writing a letter on the 22nd April asking for money to defray Hapi's expenses' in returning from Waikato. She

⁹¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 197-201.

⁹² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 201-202 [punctuation added].

⁹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 204.

insisted that Hapi was ‘in his sound mind’, and did not know why he had not requested some of her opponents to witness his signature.

I was anxious on that day to return to my child, that is [on] the day the will was signed. After I had received the document from Mrs Dearle I took it to some one else. I took it to Mr [Harry] Kenrick [the magistrate],⁹⁴ but not for the purpose of his putting his signature to it, because I had heard that Mokena Hou and his wife Rina⁹⁵ had been taken before him and that was my reason for going there, and I showed him the Will, and he told me to take it to a Lawyer’s Clerk or Lawyer. However I did not go to the lawyer but returned home to my house with the Will. I did not think it was necessary to refer to my visit to Mr Kenrick in my first evidence, otherwise I would have stated it to the Court.

After more argument over dates, she stated that her grandmother made a will in her children’s favour, not hers, and ‘did not say anything to me about it’.

I might have written a letter to Te Koroneho stating that Hapi Rewi’s property was not in my hands but in the hands of the law. This letter produced is in my handwriting. It was not [on] account of my returning the Bank book but because Hapi left all his property to me and because they wished to take Hapi[‘s] goods from me. Ngatikoi knew that he left his property to me and it was on that ground [that] Te Koroneho wrote to me asking for the goods to be given to him. When I heard they wanted Hapi[‘s] Bank book to get some food & clothes for him I brought the book myself and gave it peacefully to Te Koroneho. I then returned home. I gave it to Te Koroneho in your house.⁹⁶

She denied Dearle’s evidence about how long the will had remained in his house. ‘Huria was present when I took the will to Hapi’s house, she is now denying it and endeavouring to conceal it’. The money she spent transporting Hapi from the Te Aroha station had not been refunded, ‘nor have I asked any of Hapi’s relations to refund it. I had no desire to ask for it, because of my love to Hapi’. She had not taken a copy of a will to Dearle, ‘I only took Hapi’s verbal wish with me’. When Hapi signed the will Huria was present. ‘I found her there, I did not send for her’. She did ‘not know

⁹⁴ See paper on his life.

⁹⁵ See papers on their lives.

⁹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 213-216 [punctuation added].

how much money he had in the Bank, nor do I know what was drawn out. I think he has money left, but of what amount I do not know.... the Bank book being in the European writing, I did not understand the amount'.⁹⁷

After hearing evidence from her opponents, the court ruled that the will was genuine and that Merea was entitled to succeed Hapi in this land. It was not convinced he was insane, or at least not all the time, and noted that no Maori had denied that it could be his signature on the will. Nicholls announced that he would apply for a rehearing.⁹⁸ Two years later his attempt to have another hearing failed, and Merea was allotted a sixteenth interest in Whangamata No. 6.⁹⁹ Another two years later she was paid £33 16s 8d for her interest derived from Hapi and £2 2s 3d as successor to another owner.¹⁰⁰

OTHER LAND HOLDINGS

Throughout her life, Merea sought to obtain, through the land court, interests in many blocks of land (the location of some of which are now hard or even impossible to trace). When sharing land with multiple owners she received little income; for instance, the rent she received in December 1900 for **Ngatikoi No. 1A** was 2s 6d.¹⁰¹ Only small amounts of income were recorded in the Te Aroha 'Native Imprest Account Cash Book' between 1886 and 1893: £2 16s 2d, £4 6s 9d, £6 2s 3d, £6 2s 3d, £1 4s, and £5 13s 9d.¹⁰² The solution was to partition off her interest and either lease or sell it, but although this provided income she was left with steadily diminishing holdings.

In the early twentieth century, whenever she sold interests in land, she had to prove she would not become landless. In May 1911, when selling

⁹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 216-217.

⁹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, pp. 235-236.

⁹⁹ 'Mereana' Wikiriwhi to Native Department, 30 February 1888, Register of Inwards Correspondence, 88/452, Maori Affairs Department, MA 2/23, ANZ-W; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 23, p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 270, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

¹⁰¹ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Receiver of Gold Revenue Letterbook 1900-1903, p. 103, BAFV 13699/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰² Waihi Warden's Court, Native Imprest Account Cash Book (Te Aroha), folios 81, 119, 171, 237, BAFV 13716/1a, ANZ-A.

300 acres, her interests in eight other blocks totaled 72 acres 2 roods and 12 perches.¹⁰³ In the same month, when selling her half interest in a block of only 2 roods and 35 perches, her interests in nine blocks totaled 132 acres 1 rood and 7 perches.¹⁰⁴ In December 1912, when selling just over ten acres not included in the previous list, her interests in 12 blocks, only three of which were in the other list, totaled 167 acres and 15 perches.¹⁰⁵ In August 1915, when selling five acres, her interests in three other blocks totalled 57 acres 2 roods and 12 perches.¹⁰⁶ In August 1916, when selling over five acres in a block not previously listed, her interests in another six blocks amounted to 58 acres 6 roods and 70 perches.¹⁰⁷ In April 1917, when selling just over an acre, she had interests in two blocks totaling 38 acres 3 roods.¹⁰⁸ Five months later, when selling just over two acres, her interests in four other blocks, only one of which was listed in April, amounted to 66 acres and 2 roods.¹⁰⁹ In February 1919, when selling just over seven acres, her remaining interests were listed as four blocks, totaling 53 acres 1 rood 35 perches.¹¹⁰ Six months later, when she sold less than an acre in the Paeroa township, her remaining property was listed as Raeotepapa North C No. 2 and Raeotepapa South No. 1, totaling 32 acres 5 roods and 29 perches, and a freehold section in Paeroa with a house valued at £650.¹¹¹ In that year her children clearly believed she was getting money that should have

¹⁰³ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 1E 1, BACS A110, WM 2854, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁴ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Pukateawainui 1C, BACS A110, WM 3424, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A1, BACS A110, WM 5049, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Waihou West 4D 1, BACS A110, WM 8903, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Pakikauowhai Block, BACS A110, WM 8376, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Waihou West 41, BACS A110, WM 8903, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Piraurahi 4A, BACS A110, WM 9024, ANZ-A.

¹¹⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi B2, BACS A110, WM 5049, WM 8572, ANZ-A.

¹¹¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A4 E, BACS A110, WM 10817, WM 8574, ANZ-A.

come to them, for her daughter Mereā/Mollie, when asking whether a block had been sold, requested that her brother's share be 'held in trust until his return – NOT pay to Mereā Wikiriwhi'.¹¹²

Sixteen months after her uncle Pakara Te Paora died in August 1896, leaving no children, she applied for his personal estate, which comprised 'cattle running at Ohinemuri, numbers unknown, also horses, also cash in Bank of NZ Paeroa supposed to have been deposited in '93, also one cart and two guns, that is all I know about'. Her request that half the money go to her and the other half to her aunt and her cousin was granted.¹¹³ In 1906, when a Paeroa merchant tried to buy **Puketeawairahi No. 1**, which she had inherited from her uncle, she opposed him because she had cultivated it for a year; she was granted the western half, on which she was living and had planted potatoes.¹¹⁴ In 1908, when Awaiti No. 2 was before the court, Mereā denied any dispute with Parati Harawira over her uncle's property; when her letters were cited to prove there was a dispute, she denied writing them, but stated her son might have done so.¹¹⁵

Immediately after being successful in her bid to succeed Hapi Rewi in September 1887, Mereā's portion (just over two acres) was cut off the 100-acre **Piraurahi No. 4** Block and was called Piraurahi No. 4A.¹¹⁶ She sold this block in June 1917 for £13 12s 6d, even though the government valuation was £15.¹¹⁷

In 1889 she succeeded Hapi Rewi in **Owharua No. 5B**.¹¹⁸ In the following year she asked that Hape Rewi's interest in **Ohinemuri No. 20A** be defined and awarded to her. She wanted the block divided into three parts: one for her, one for 'Wikiriwhi Hautonga's party', and one for Rihitoto Mataia. 'I don't know the land, I have never been on it'. Hapi 'did not teach me anything about the block – he taught me all what I have said', which was very little. 'I came into the block by his will – and obtained all his goods

¹¹² Mereā [Mollie] Wikiriwhi to President, 'Maori Land Board', 24 April 1919, Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Kopuraruwai 3C 4B, BACS A110, WM 7077, ANZ-A.

¹¹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, pp. 200-201.

¹¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 53, pp. 213-216.

¹¹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 58, pp. 302, 310.

¹¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 237.

¹¹⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Piraurahi 4A, BACS A110, WM 9024, ANZ-A.

¹¹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 20, p. 273; no. 23, p. 154.

through it'.¹¹⁹ The court allotted her one-sixth as Ohinemuri No. 2A 2 because it was the best land with an agricultural lease on it.¹²⁰ She then complained that there was 'no revenue derived from the agricultural lease', and asked that the 100 acres deduced from her share because of it be added to her portion. After the court confirmed that there was no lease and her land was not therefore more valuable, she received a fifth interest.¹²¹ At the end of 1892, Dearle attempted to acquire the interests of Merea and Rihitoto Mataia in Ohinemuri No. 20 for the Crown. Offered £144 16s 6d for her interest in No. 20A, at first Merea declined to sell. Once Rihitoto Mataia agreed to sell, Dearle correctly anticipated that Merea would 'come to terms, when she knows Rihitoto has sold'.¹²²

In 1882 with Toro Mohi and her grandmother she was granted 100 acres of the 1,504 acre **Patuwaho** Block, otherwise Aroha Block V Section 2, upstream from Waitoki with the Mangaiti Stream as its southern boundary.¹²³ In the following year the other owners leased it to her for 21 years at a nominal rental of 1s per annum.¹²⁴ In March 1889 Merea and her grandmother sought permission to remove it from the goldfield so that it could be used for houses and cultivation. They explained that this open fern land below the hillside was far from any mining, and had 'on it our houses, fences, and cultivations'.¹²⁵ As the warden could see 'no reason why the request should not be granted', as the adjoining sections of 'open fern and manuka land' had been withdrawn two years previously, permission was granted.¹²⁶ After her grandmother died at Te Aroha in January 1892, Merea succeeded her as an owner, holding it in trust for her two sons but not her

¹¹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 135, 138-139.

¹²⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, p. 144; Nominal Primary Index, vol. 3, folio 621, Land Information New Zealand, Auckland.

¹²¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 183, 192.

¹²² Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, folios 584-586, 596, 629, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

¹²³ Aroha Block V Section 2, Block Files, H1075, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹²⁴ Section 2 Block V Aroha S.D., Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1215, ANZ-W.

¹²⁵ Merea Tokerau and Makereta Tokerau to Minister of Mines, 27 March 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/381, ANZ-W.

¹²⁶ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 9 May 1889; Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Warden, 26 June 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/381, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 June 1889, p. 677.

daughter.¹²⁷ (Her grandmother left her interest in the Owharoa Block to these children.¹²⁸ Merea had been living with her at Waitoki since at least 1880 and between 1884 and 1888 and probably later ‘on the road near Te Aroha’ at Mangaiti.)¹²⁹ In 1924 her son Thomas said that his ‘mater’ was partitioning and leasing part of the Patuwahao block; he opposed the leasing and wanted his interests partitioned off because the farmer was not paying rent.¹³⁰ Her 100 acres had been leased to another farmer since the end of 1904, for £15 per annum. It had been valued in 1903 as worth £215, £15 of this sum being improvements.¹³¹

In September 1893 Merea offered to lease or sell her portion of the **Ruakaka** Block to an Auckland legal firm, but they had no desire to do either;¹³² her interest in this block has not been traced.

From at least 1888 until 1893 she received money from the renting of Ngati Koi’s **Mangakiri Reserve**, otherwise Ohinemuri No. 17, but being one of 75 grantees she cannot have received very much.¹³³ In November 1893 she asked what price she would receive for her three shares in the reserve,¹³⁴ but no reply was placed on the file, implying lack of interest by officials until the following November, when Gilbert Mair informed the department that this 1,170 acre block close to Waihi township was ‘a most desirable block to acquire’. He knew 40 owners who would sell if paid 10s an

¹²⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 12-13.

¹²⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28B, pp. 117-118.

¹²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1881, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 16, p. 340; no. 19, pp. 152, 162, 164; C.J. Dearle to Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, 10 May 1888, Thames Warden’s Court, Native Agent’s Letterbook 1883-1893, folio 339, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

¹³⁰ Aroha No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹³¹ Aroha Block V Section 2, Maori Affairs Department Hamilton, BACS A102/1, 1906/61, ANZ-A; Section 2 Block V Aroha SD, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1215, ANZ-W.

¹³² Jackson and Russell to Merea Wikiriwhi, 2 September 1893, Letterbook no. 53, p. 287, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

¹³³ Thames Warden’s Court, Native Agent’s Letterbook 1883-1893, folios 347, 669, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

¹³⁴ Merea Wikiriwhi to Land Purchase Department, 9 November 1893, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31, ANZ-W.

acre.¹³⁵ Some owners immediately asked for this price, but the government wanted to pay only 7s 6d.¹³⁶ Merea was one of ten non-sellers out of 75 owners, who in 1896 were allotted over 170 acres: Merea and her sons received 79 1/4 acres as Ohinemuri Block XVI Section 1D. As well, as successors to her grandmother Makareta Tokerau they obtained an additional 48 1/2 acres, 'to be taken in the N.E. corner, between the stream & the Eastern boundary', as Ohinemuri Block XV Sections 1 and 2 and part of Block XVI Section 1.¹³⁷

Twice in 1903, Merea and the other three owners applied for the removal of the restrictions preventing the sale of Block XVI Section 1, but the application was declined.¹³⁸ In August 1907, when living at Paeroa and describing herself as 'chieftainess' of the Ngati Tara hapu of Ngati Koi, she petitioned parliament over the 1896 partitioning of its Mangakiri Reserve, Ohinemuri Block XVI Section 1, claiming that the partition was 'most exceedingly wrong' and had caused her 'great injury'. Burial places and 'food workings' of her ancestors had been allocated to the Crown. Whereas her portion was to be on the right hand side of the road from Waihi to Katikati, she was given 'the worst part', in the hills, and she wanted to receive the portion agreed to with William Gilbert Mair,¹³⁹ a land purchase officer.¹⁴⁰ When the files were checked, it was discovered that she had in fact agreed, at the court, to receiving the northeastern section, and consequently her petition failed.¹⁴¹ In 1907, when she and her sons asked for the removal the

¹³⁵ Gilbert Mair to Patrick Sheridan, 7 November 1894, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31, ANZ-W.

¹³⁶ Gilbert Mair to Patrick Sheridan, 7 November 1894, 10 November 1894; Patrick Sheridan to Gilbert Mair, n.d. [November 1894], Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31, ANZ-W.

¹³⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 39, p. 125.

¹³⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Ngatikoi Reserve, BACS A110, WM 1499, ANZ-A.

¹³⁹ Petition of Merea Wikiriwhi, 2 October 1907, 792/07, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31, ANZ-W.

¹⁴⁰ See R.D. Crosby, *Gilbert Mair: Te Kooti's Nemesis* (Auckland, 2004), pp. 235-251.

¹⁴¹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Chairman, Native Affairs Committee, 14 November 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1930/31, ANZ-W; 'Report of Native Affairs Committee', *AJHR*, 1908, I-3, p. 5.

restrictions on the sale of this reserve, the application was refused once more.¹⁴²

In 1909 she again petitioned for a rehearing of the partition.¹⁴³ Her letter, written in Maori, described herself as chief of the Ngati Tara hapu of Ngati Koi, repeated the same points but adding that eel weirs had gone to the Crown. She and her children had received 79 acres 1 rood, which was not in accordance with her arrangement with Mair. It was 'very wrong indeed' that she should receive a useless 'mountain' instead of the land she claimed.¹⁴⁴ After the under-secretary explained that Mair 'reported at the time of the partition that the interests of the non-sellers were so located, at the request of the Natives, to save survey expenses', and that she had produced no new facts to justify any alteration, her petition was rejected.¹⁴⁵ Not till 1921 was the sale of this land to the Crown completed.¹⁴⁶

In November 1892, Merea was granted a fifteenth share in the **Te Whakahoro** Block, of over 18 acres, in Ohinemuri.¹⁴⁷ Also at the end of 1892, she asked the court to determine the ownership of **Pukemokemoke** (1,033 acres, close to Te Aroha), claiming under Ngati Hako ancestry for the southern end and under Ngati Koi and Ngati Tokanui ancestry for the northern.¹⁴⁸ Her three children were granted six of the 94 shares in Pukemokemoke No. 2, with Merea as their trustee because they were underage.¹⁴⁹ She also received four of the 15 interests in another Ohinemuri

¹⁴² Ohinemuri Block XVI Section 1, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A102, 1903/134, ANZ-A; 'Native Affairs Petitions', 453/09, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1909/20, ANZ-W.

¹⁴³ 'Native Affairs Petitions', 453/09, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1909/20, ANZ-W; 'Report of Native Affairs Committee', *AJHR*, 1909, I-3, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Petition of Merea Wikiriwhi, 9 October 1909, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31, ANZ-W.

¹⁴⁵ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Chairman, Native Affairs Committee, 26 November 1909, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1920/31; 'Native Affairs Petitions', 453/09, Legislative Department, LE 1, 1909/20, ANZ-W.

¹⁴⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Ngatikoi Reserve, BACS A110, WM 1507, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 165.

¹⁴⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 166-167.

¹⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 29, pp. 76, 85, 89-90.

block named **Ngaruawahia** (just over three acres), which she and the other owner sold in 1897 for £10.¹⁵⁰

In 1889 she succeeded her father in **Waihi No. 3**, a coastal reserve for Ngati Hako, and in 1897 sold her interests for this block for £3 and in **No. 4** for £13, shared with the other owner.¹⁵¹ In 1894 Merea obtained interests in **Otautarahi** and three years later in **Te Koronai No. 1**, both in Ohinemuri.¹⁵² In 1899, she sold **Ngahutoitoi F. H.**, just over 15 acres, to a farmer for £24 17s.¹⁵³

In 1897 she received part of the southern portion of **Te Awaiti No. 1** for herself and her children.¹⁵⁴ In the following year 300 acres were partitioned off as Te Awaiti No. 1 E No. 1, of which Merea was the sole owner.¹⁵⁵ In 1902, she divided this land with her children; the latter had equal shares in Te Awaiti No. 1 E No. 2.¹⁵⁶ Four years later her interest was valued at £300, and her two sons' £90 each.¹⁵⁷ In 1907, after selling Te Awaiti No. 1 E No. 1, 150 acres of mostly swamp land, to a farmer for £37 10s, she almost immediately informed the court 'that she has not other land sufficient for her support and that her son Hoani Paora Wirikihana is opposed to the sale'. The court confirmed the sale because the money had been paid and the price was appropriate.¹⁵⁸ (The court did not note that her claim to have insufficient land was incorrect.) In 1911 the land was valued at £450, but she was able to sell it for £600.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 29, p. 83; no. 44, p. 294.

¹⁵¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 19, p. 237; no. 46, p. 18.

¹⁵² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 36, p. 147; no. 46, p. 200; Te Koronai North was on the eastern bank of the Waihou River with the Komata Block behind it; another Te Koronai adjoined the Rotokohu Road: Cadastral Map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

¹⁵³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 229.

¹⁵⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 160.

¹⁵⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 1E 1, BACS A110, WM 2854, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 53, p. 93; Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 2C 1, BACS A110, WM 6981, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁷ Section 2 Block V Aroha SD, Schedule of Land Belonging to Lessors, 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1215, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books nos. 53, pp. 376-377; no. 54, pp. 25, 57.

¹⁵⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 1E 1, BACS A110, WM 2854, ANZ-A.

In 1913, Te Wahi Epiha and Ihipera Epiha lost their cases against Mereia and others over whether the owners of **Te Awaiti No. 2** were trustees or not.¹⁶⁰ In the following year 300 acres of Te Awaiti No. 2 C was sold for £7 an acre, the government valuation, the proceeds being shared with her children.¹⁶¹

In 1898 she applied to be made an owner of **Te Raeotepapa**, 1,291 acres, at Tirohia. ‘I was at Te Aroha when Tawhiao’s Court investigated the title. I was ill at the time, and asked for an adjt [adjournment], but it was not granted’. Along with her parents and grandparents she had lived on this land in the 1870s,¹⁶² but had not lived there after the shooting of McWilliams in 1879, caused by the survey arranged by herself and Timiuha Taiwhakaea. At the hui held after the shooting she did not oppose others’ claims to this land because ‘Timiuha prevented me and advised me to say nothing’.¹⁶³ She was awarded the largest share in Raeotepapa North C No. 2.¹⁶⁴ In 1913, her interest was cut out of Raeotepapa North C No. 2.¹⁶⁵

She had 54 acres cut off from the **Rotokohu** Block (on the slopes of Karangahake mountain above Tirohia)¹⁶⁶ for herself, her children, and Kimokimo Pepene and his daughter in December 1898.¹⁶⁷ In 1915 her children had equal shares in Rotokohu 5A, 7 acres and two roods.¹⁶⁸

The **Aorangi** block included the north-eastern portion of what became Paeroa and land just outside the town boundary.¹⁶⁹ **Aorangi A1**, 11 acres 1

¹⁶⁰ Supreme Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 14 February 1913, p. 5, 28 February 1913, p. 5; Court of Appeal, *Evening Post*, 19 July 1913, p. 9; *New Zealand Gazette Law Reports*, vol. 15 (1912-1913), pp. 640-649.

¹⁶¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 2C 1, BACS A110, WM 6981, ANZ-A.

¹⁶² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 176, 255-257.

¹⁶³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 265-268.

¹⁶⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 62, p. 263.

¹⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 62, p. 263.

¹⁶⁶ Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

¹⁶⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, pp. 63-64.

¹⁶⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Te Awaiti 2C 1, BACS A110, WM 6981, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁹ Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century]; Town of Paeroa, map produced in December 1910 of lands to be sold by auction on 20 January 1911, University of Waikato Map Library.

rood and 14 perches in Ohinemuri Block XIII, was valued at £55 in July 1912. Seven Maori held interests in it, with Merea being recorded as the occupier. Two months later she purchased it from the other owners at government valuation, and four months later sought permission to alienate it. Not till February 1919, when the area was surveyed as being 10 acres 3 roods and 29 perches, was she able to sell it to a Pakeha for £130, £10 above the valuation.¹⁷⁰ In July 1915, Merea purchased **Aorangi A4E No. 2**, 2 acres 2 roods and 3 perches, from its sole Maori owner, for £15 despite the valuation being £60.¹⁷¹ In mid-1915, two Maori sold their interests in **Aorangi A4 B2**, 3 acres and 7 perches, to her for £30, the government valuation. In February 1919 a farmer rented it for £10, and in August 1923 she sold the land to him for £24 6s 3d plus interest of 12s.¹⁷² In October 1916, two Maori sold their interest in **Aorangi B2**, 7 acres 2 roods 1 perches, valued at £55, to her, giving her one and a half of the four shares and in the following month she obtained, again from Maori owners, **Aorangi A4D, A Section 43, and B4 B**.¹⁷³ When **Aorangi A4D** was partitioned in 1917, she obtained the part she had fenced and cultivated.¹⁷⁴ In February 1919, by when she was sole owner of **Aorangi B2**, she sold it to a Pakeha for £100, £10 more than its valuation.¹⁷⁵ In August that year she sold **Aorangi A4 E No. 1**, 2 roods and 17 perches, for £20, £5 more than its valuation. This section was on the western side of Arney Street in Paeroa, and in July 1920 she sold her remaining interests on both sides of this street for £30.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A1, BACS A110, WM 5049, ANZ-A.

¹⁷¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A4 E, BACS A110, WM 10817, ANZ-A.

¹⁷² Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A4 B2, BACS A110, WM 12116, ANZ-A.

¹⁷³ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi B2, BACS A110, WM 8572, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 65, pp. 261-262.

¹⁷⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi B2, BACS A110, WM 8572, WM 10051, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Aorangi A4 E 1, BACS A110, WM 8574, ANZ-A.

As well as selling sections in Paeroa, in December 1912 she acquitted a town lot, Section 6 Block XXV, for £34, which was £6 over the upset price.¹⁷⁷ In April 1916, the borough council declined her application to cut an approach to her town lot as this would ‘interfere with the alignment of Bennett Street’.¹⁷⁸ In March 1918, when she was the sold owner of ‘land adjoining Thames Road and forming part of and giving access to the Thames Road from Bennett Street’, she offered to sell it to the council for £20.¹⁷⁹ In November 1919, through her son Thomas she complained of not receiving compensation for Aorangi, which she had handed over to the borough council for a road 12 months previously; the council responded that it would pay her £15.¹⁸⁰

When part of **Aroha Block IX** was taken for a rifle range in 1907, Merea received compensation.¹⁸¹ In 1921, ‘as widow of Romana Te Koutu’ she was awarded **Aroha Block V Section 18 and Block IX Section 21** ‘for her maintenance’, but immediately sold them.¹⁸² When Cartman Road was made through **Aroha Block IX Section 21** in that year, she received £3, half the compensation paid.¹⁸³

In 1894 Merea acquired interests in **Mangamutu Nos. 2-4**.¹⁸⁴ In 1910 she, with five others, became the owner of **Mangamutu No. 2B**, of just over 103 acres, a block on the eastern side of the Waihou River, near Waitoki, and to the south of the Te Raeotepapa Block.¹⁸⁵

In August 1907, she was one of those selling **Kaikahu No. 3**, 300 acres in Waihou Block VII adjoining the Te Awaiti Block and south of State Highway 2. She held one of the 102 shares, and had subscribed £2 of the

¹⁷⁷ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 6 December 1912, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Paeroa Borough Council, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 10 April 1916, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Paeroa Borough Council, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 15 March 1918, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ Paeroa Borough Council, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 17 November 1919, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ Aroha No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁸² Aroha Block V Section 18, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A102/1, 10789, ANZ-A.

¹⁸³ Aroha Block IX Section 21, Block Files, H1589, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁸⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book, no. 36A, pp. 5-6, 20.

¹⁸⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 60, p. 108; G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 April 1881, University of Waikato Library; Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

£175 11s 6d raised to take the case to the land court, which refunded these costs.¹⁸⁶

Merea had a half interest with one other owner in **Puketeawainui No. 1C**, 2 roods and 35 perches, which was sold in May 1911 for £15 after having timber milled from it.¹⁸⁷ Also in that year, she had one and a half shares in the **Moanapakiti-Huhuraumati A1** block. She and the other 17 owners sold 36 acres 2 roods 38 perches to a Pakeha at the valuation price, £300. Merea retained one and a half of the 12 shares in Huhuraumati A Section 1, which was sold in February 1916, again at the valuation price, £100.¹⁸⁸

Also in 1911, Merea held one and a half of the ten and a half shares in **Kopuraruwai 3C 4B**, 37 acres 1 rood 16 perches east of the Piako River at Kerepehi. In August 1914 this land was leased to a farmer for 10s an acre for the first 21 years and 12s for the subsequent 21. In September 1917 she sold her interest for £108 6s 9d, which went to her children.¹⁸⁹

When the **Pakikauowhai** block of 5 acres 3 roods 24 perches was sold to the Crown in August 1916, three other owners had one share each and Merea had two; she received £73 9s 6d.¹⁹⁰

When the alienation of **Waihou West No. 4 D No. 1** (to the west of Paeroa)¹⁹¹ was proposed in April 1915, Merea held one of the eight shares, equivalent to 9 acres 7 roods 6 perches. When she sold her last interest in 1917, then 1 acre 3 roods and 28 perches, she received £16.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁶ 'Native Land Court (Order of the) Relative to Kaikahu No. 3 Block', *AJHR*, 1908, G-06, pp. 1-3; Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

¹⁸⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Puketeawainui 1 C, BACS A110, WM 3424, ANZ-A.

¹⁸⁸ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Moanapakiti-Huhuraumati A 1, BACS A110, WM 7983, ANZ-A.

¹⁸⁹ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Kopuraruwai 3C 4B, BACS A110, WM 7077, ANZ-A; Map of Hauraki Mining District, n.d. [1886], Te Aroha Museum.

¹⁹⁰ Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Pakikauowhai Block, BACS A110, WM 8376, ANZ-A.

¹⁹¹ Cadastral map of Ohinemuri County, n.d. [twentieth century], University of Waikato Map Library.

¹⁹² Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Waihou West 4D 1, BACS A110, WM 8903, ANZ-A.

In December 1915 Merea asked the county council to close the old road from the Tirohia railway station to the river and have the new road proclaimed. 'The disadvantage to her of having the old road open is that in addition to losing the area taken for the new road, her portion of the block is cut into several unnecessarily small areas'.¹⁹³

The consequence of all these sales to meet her living expenses was that Merea was left with little land, a concern to her children.

SOMETIMES FARMING

'My occupation consists of living on the land, cultivating, and clearing bush', Merea stated in 1892.¹⁹⁴ In 1898, when applying for an interest in the Raeotepapa Block, she said that she had 'recently' lived at several places in Ohinemuri: Okahukura and Tihiroa and Tauangakewau and Owhakatina (on the Raeotepapa Block) and Pahikanowhai. Her evidence implied that she had lived there, in temporary houses, in the 1870s.¹⁹⁵ After her uncle died she succeeded to his interest in Puketeawairahi No. 1 in 1900 and lived in a 'broken down' house formerly belonging to other Maori on the western half of this block. She let a contract to a Pakeha 'to clear the briars and plough, perhaps two acres or less', planted potatoes on the cleared ground and let another contract to fence the land.¹⁹⁶ In 1917, she was granted the portion of the Aorangi Block that she had fenced and cultivated for years; when she first worked it, it 'was overgrown with blackberries' and she 'was proceeded against under the Noxious Weeds Act'.¹⁹⁷

In 1894 Merea lived in a house near the site of the future Paeroa railway station. In 1908 she said that 'about 16 persons' usually stayed in it during court hearings. 'Sometimes there would be more. 7 or 8 of them wd be of Paora Tiunga's family'.¹⁹⁸ I was a cook'. She contributed to the

¹⁹³ Ohinemuri County Council, *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 22 December 1915, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 167.

¹⁹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 253-255.

¹⁹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 53, pp. 214-216.

¹⁹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 65, pp. 261-262.

¹⁹⁸ For Paora Tiunga, see Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, pp. 84-85; no. 16, pp. 341, 346; no. 28, pp. 207-210, 216, 226; no. 32, pp. 173, 175-184; no. 33, pp. 141, 145, 173, 183-184; no. 35, pp. 172, 181-182; no. 36, pp. 148-149, 223; no. 46, pp. 115, 117, 132-136, 139; no. 47, pp. 64, 67, 76-77; no. 48, pp. 265-266, 268, 289; *Auckland Weekly*

household expenses during these hearings and provided £10 to the costs of the cases heard during that year.¹⁹⁹ Her assistance to Paora Tiunga was ironic because he had told the court in 1894 that, because she had assisted Timiuha Taiwhakaea to have Te Raeotepapa surveyed in 1879, prompting the shooting of McWilliams, he had been angry and ‘determined then never to aid her’.²⁰⁰ After 1896 she lived at Te Aroha before returning to Paeroa in 1898.²⁰¹ From at least 1902 and until 1909 she was living at Paeroa, and was there again in 1921.²⁰² When she died in 1936 she was living at Tirohia, near Paeroa.²⁰³

FINANCES

By leasing and selling land and doing some farming, Merea was financially secure, as illustrated by her being sued on only three occasions. In 1886 a Thames storekeeper sued for £3 6s 9d-worth of goods but settled out of court, she was ordered to pay Guilding £1 11s 6d in 1895, and in 1902 she and a Pakeha were required to pay £26.²⁰⁴ On one occasion she greatly over-valued her property: Hirini Smallman, son of the Pakeha Maori Joseph Harris Smallman,²⁰⁵ stole a horse which she valued at £20 but ‘proved to be not worth more than £1’.²⁰⁶

News, Supreme Court, 17 June 1909, p. 26, Supreme Court, 24 June 1909, p. 27, Paeroa Correspondent, 21 May 1913, p. 26; *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1929, p. 1.

¹⁹⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 58, pp. 302-303.

²⁰⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 36, p. 225.

²⁰¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 58, p. 309.

²⁰² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 53, p. 94; no. 58, p. 302; ‘Report of Native Affairs Committee’, *AJHR*, 1909, I-3, p. 17; Te Aroha No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

²⁰³ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

²⁰⁴ Thames Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1885-1887, 503/1886, BACL 13735/2b; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 12/1895, BCDG 11221/1c; Paeroa Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1902-1905, 122/1902, BACL 13746/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁵ See paper on his life.

²⁰⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 7/1887, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 6/1887, in private possession; Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 2 April 1887, p. 2.

GOLD

Her only venture into goldmining investment occurred shortly after the opening of the Te Aroha goldfield. Two days after acquiring a miner's right, with other Maori she acquired the Black Angel claim at Tui, which would be abandoned by the following May.²⁰⁷ Possibly she was advised to invest by George Thomas Wilkinson, with whom she was in an intimate relationship, as detailed below.

SEEKING GOLD REVENUE BELIEVED TO BE OWING

In 1930, Merea instructed a firm of Thames solicitors 'to investigate the position of Gold Revenue which it is understood has accumulated in respect to Native Land on the Coromandel Peninsula'. The firm referred the issue to the Native Affairs Department, which asked what sort of investigation was sought.²⁰⁸ After consulting Merea, the firm replied that

she now wishes us to have enquiry made respecting all lands on the Coromandel Peninsula from Katikati Northwards. It is alleged that this land excepting such parts as have been investigated by the Native Land Court was acquired by the Crown from representative Natives only and that other Natives entitled were given no opportunity of establishing their claims.

Furthermore, their successors did not receive any gold revenue, which had been accumulating but not paid. The solicitors suggested that a court could investigate, but were told that there was no power to do so.²⁰⁹ Accordingly, two petitions were presented to parliament in 1931. The one submitted in January, signed by Rihitoto Mataia, widow of William Grey

²⁰⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 697, issued 6 December 1880, Butt Book of Miners' Rights 1880, BBAV 11533/1e; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 178, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁸ Buchanan and Purnell to Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, 3 November 1930; Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, to Buchanan and Burnell, 7 November 1930, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 19/1/193, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁹ Buchanan and Purnell to Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, 13 November 1930, 1 December 1930; Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, to Buchanan and Purnell, 8 December 1930, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 19/1/193, Part 1, ANZ-W.

Nicholls, and 83 other Maori, wanted payment of miner's rights revenue 'from Te Aroha to Moehau'.²¹⁰ Merea and 22 others presented the second one in August. As they believed that some Maori were not receiving revenue because they could not be traced, they wanted details of what revenue had been paid and what was outstanding, and for the latter amount to be paid.²¹¹ Because selling the land had meant an end to such payments, the petitions were unsuccessful.²¹²

PRIVATE LIFE

Merea disapproved of sexual immorality by others. In the mid-1880s, when her friend Huria Te Kura, a married woman living near Waihi, wanted to have assignations with her Waikato 'sweetheart' at Merea's house, Merea 'objected' and they quarreled.²¹³ Another example was Merea Kiriwaitai, who 'misbehaved herself and separated from her husband' in 1893. Four years later she had a baby, and Merea 'took the mother away to Te Aroha, and afterwards sent her to Tauranga'.²¹⁴ However, her private life was not as puritanical as these examples suggest. In 1898, Epiha Taha stated that, in about 1875, she married Rupene Ini Kerea.²¹⁵ He may have been the Himi Kerea whom Mokena Hou listed, in 1876, as a member of Ngati Tumutumu.²¹⁶ The following year, Himi signed the Ngati Rahiri letter insisting that this hapu owned the Aroha block.²¹⁷ In November 1874, Hini Kerea was paid £2 5s for his small interest in Ohinemuri land.²¹⁸ For a time at least he lived in or near Paeroa. In 1875, with 15 other Maori,

²¹⁰ Rihitoto Mataia and 83 others, Petition 23/31, 13 January 1931, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 19/1/193, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²¹¹ Merea Wikiriwhi and 22 others, Petition 139/31, 5 August 1931, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 19/1/193, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²¹² Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, to Chairman, Native Affairs Committee, 7 October 1931, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 19/1/193, Part 1, ANZ-W; *AJHR*, 1931, I-3, p. 9.

²¹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 188.

²¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 156.

²¹⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 247.

²¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 181.

²¹⁷ Letter from Ngati Rahiri, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 January 1877, p. 3.

²¹⁸ Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, entry for 11 November 1874, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

Inikerera signed an agreement for ‘the making, repairing, etc’ of the road from the junction of the Waihou and Ohinemuri Rivers to Paeroa.²¹⁹ Ini or Wini Kerea was fined in 1876 for being drunk and disorderly in that settlement.²²⁰ He was not involved in mining until early in January 1881, when Ina Kerea took out his only miner’s right, for Te Aroha.²²¹ During that month, he became a shareholder in two claims at Tui owned by Maori.²²² In May 1881, he was one of 13 Maori who marked out the Three Brothers, at the mouth of the Waiorongomai Valley, becoming an owner in December and selling his interest in the following May for £5.²²³ If there was a marriage, it was brief, and by at least late 1880 she was in a romantic relationship with George Thomas Wilkinson.

GEORGE THOMAS WILKINSON’S EARLY DAYS IN NEW ZEALAND

According to his death certificate, George Thomas Wilkinson²²⁴ was born in Leicester, England, to a ‘Clerk in Holy Orders’.²²⁵ According to his marriage certificate and appendices to his 1904 diary, he was born in Berhampore, India, on 9 August 1845, the second child and first son of Henry, a Baptist clergyman, and Catherine Desborough. His sister had been born there two years previously, and a younger brother was born at Gopalpore in 1854.²²⁶ He was therefore aged 35 in late 1880, when he and

²¹⁹ Inikerera and 15 others to Superintendent, Auckland Province, 27 April 1875, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1543/75, ANZ-A.

²²⁰ Mackaytown Police Court, Daily Report 1876-1877, entry for 4 September 1876, BACL 14445/1a, ANZ-A.

²²¹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 1651, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880-1881, BBAV 11533/1g, ANZ-A.

²²² Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 219, 216, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

²²³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 266, BBAV 11557/1b; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 48, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 262, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

²²⁴ For photograph, see Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A history of interracial marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland, 2013), after p. 124.

²²⁵ Death Certificate of George Thomas Wilkinson, 4 February 1906, 1906/1581, BDM.

²²⁶ Marriage Certificate of George Thomas Wilkinson, 14 January 1905, 1905/5636, BDM; G.T. Wilkinson, Diary, 1904, Appendix, University of Waikato Library.

Merea were becoming intimate; according to her death certificate, she was ten years younger.²²⁷

Wilkinson had 'An Interesting Career', according to the headline of an obituary plagiarized from an 1887 history of the New Zealand wars.²²⁸ Arriving in New Zealand in October 1864, he first briefly stayed with Joseph Newman on his farm at Remuera.²²⁹ Newman was then secretary, treasurer, and deputy superintendent of the Auckland Province.²³⁰ Being a prominent supporter of the Young Men's Christian Association and of the temperance movement,²³¹ Newman may have been known to Wilkinson's missionary father, who could have arranged for his son to stay with him upon arrival. 'Having joined Major Heaphy's staff, who had received orders to make a survey of the confiscated lands', he then 'started at once for the Waikato'.²³² Although not a qualified surveyor, he either already had or was about to acquire 'lots of experience in field-work'.²³³

When marking out the boundaries of Kihikihi, Maori 'were discovered erecting their memorable pa at Orakau'.²³⁴ Wilkinson and another surveyor, W J Gundry, were the first to discern this 'from the eastern hill of Kihikihi', using a theodolite.²³⁵ Surveyors were armed for self-defence with carbines and revolvers, and Wilkinson volunteered to fight. 'During the *melee* which followed the rushing of the pa he had a lively time of it'.²³⁶ A fellow combatant in that battle recalled him doing his 'share of the duties most admirably'.²³⁷ In 1870, when applying for the New Zealand War Medal, he gave his own account of the fighting:

²²⁷ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

²²⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5; T.W. Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1887).

²²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

²³⁰ *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 20 February 1864, p. 35, 6 May 1864, p. 67.

²³¹ See *New Zealand Herald*, 5 January 1892, p. 5, 29 January 1892, p. 4.

²³² Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 197.

²³³ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 10 January 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

²³⁴ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 197.

²³⁵ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A history of the Maori campaigns and the pioneering period: vol. 1 (1845-1864)* (Wellington, 1922), p. 367.

²³⁶ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 197.

²³⁷ Pirongia Correspondent, *Waikato Argus*, 8 February 1906, p. 2.

In the year 1864 I was engaged on Major Heaphy's Government survey staff in the Waikato and was stationed at Kihikihi with Captain W.J. Gundry then Government surveyor. On the morning of the 31st March 1864 I fell in with the troops under the command of Brigadier General Carey and marched from Kihikihi at two o'clock in the morning to the fight at Orakau. I was fighting in the ranks from the first rush on the pah – until the finish April 2 1864. I fought and worked mostly with the forest rangers, the arms that I carried being a breech-loader and a revolver (these arms were carried by all employed on the Government survey at that time in the Waikato) –

I was one of the volunteers who answered the call of Major Baker of the 18th Royal Irish for 20 men to rush the pah a third time the first two rushes having proved unsuccessful.²³⁸

Gundry confirmed that Wilkinson had been at Orakau, adding that he 'assisted to carry Captain Ring, who was wounded and almost deserted, from under a heavy fire'.²³⁹ Later, as a Native Agent in the Waikato he recorded Rewi Maniapoto's account of the battle and the flight of the defenders through the swamp to the south.²⁴⁰ They became friends, and Rewi's will made him one of the executors of his estate, against Wilkinson's wishes because he saw the role as incompatible with his official position.²⁴¹

After fighting ceased in the Waikato, he assisted to survey Alexandra township (later Pirongia) and farm lots for soldiers.²⁴² He 'continued with the surveying party on the frontier for some time', at times making 'raids into the enemy's country as far as Kopua, and even beyond, at great personal risk'.²⁴³ On one of these 'adventures', recalled in 1906, he was saved by a Taranaki rangatira, Te Weterere:

Weterere seems to have had a liking for Wilkinson, and on one occasion when his tribe lay in ambush to destroy him, risked his

²³⁸ Maori War, Declaration of G.T. Wilkinson, 25 July 1870, Army Department, AD 32, box 66, no. 4484, ANZ-W.

²³⁹ Maori War, Declaration of W.J. Gundry, 2 August 1870, Army Department, AD 32, box 66, no. 4484, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁰ James Cowan, 'The Battle of Orakau', *New Zealand Herald*, 14 July 1925, p. 11.

²⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson to Thomas Gresham, 16 July 1894; G.T. Wilkinson to Registrar, Supreme Court, Auckland, 17 October 1894, Supreme Court, Will and Codicil of Rewi Maniapoto Manga, BBAE A48/120A, ANZ-A.

²⁴² Pirongia Correspondent, *Waikato Argus*, 8 February 1906, p. 2.

²⁴³ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 197.

own life for the sake of his friend. Riding out in advance of the war party, Wetere met the pakeha, and made him mount behind himself. Then, approaching the ambush, he called out: "If you want to shoot Wilkinson you will have to shoot through me, as I am much the stouter of the two." In acknowledgement of this gallantry, Wilkinson presented Wetere with his signet ring, which he proudly exhibits to this day.²⁴⁴

He then moved to Tauranga and 'assisted in laying off the township of Te Papa'.²⁴⁵ In 1870 he stated that he had joined the First Waikato Militia at Opotiki, but the Army Department recorded him as having been a private in the Engineers Volunteers who had fought in 1867 at Ahe Ahe and Irehanga.²⁴⁶ 'After they were disbanded I with my comrade James Livingstone' (formerly a sergeant major)²⁴⁷ 'was one of the first to commence farming in that district. We went and settled on our land at Wai-o-eka behind Opotiki and some six miles distant – we were afterwards joined by two others, [Walter Ogilvie] Moore and [John] Beggs'.²⁴⁸ This was in early 1867, their farm being near the entrance to the Waioeka gorge.²⁴⁹ On 21 May, the Opotiki correspondent of the *New Zealand Herald* reported an 'Outrage at Opotiki: A Settler's Hut Sacked by the Rebels'.

The assembly has just sounded at the double, and of course the settlement is in a state of great excitement at the cause.

The officer commanding, Major I.H.W. St. John, has just received news from some of the men who have been living upon their land in the neighbourhood of the gorge, to the effect that they were disturbed whilst sitting in their whare, by the loud barking of their dog, and on one going out to find out the cause, found that there was a number of armed Maoris approaching. He immediately gave the alarm to his comrades, who seized their

²⁴⁴ *Observer*, 17 February 1906, p. 4; slightly modified version of that printed in the *Waikato Argus* and reprinted in the *Taranaki Herald*, 12 February 1906, p. 6.

²⁴⁵ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 197.

²⁴⁶ Maori War, Declaration of G.T. Wilkinson, 25 July 1870, Army Department, AD 32/4484, ANZ-W; Jeni Palmer, *Nominal and Descriptive Rolls of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Waikato Regiments 1863-1867* (Tauranga, 2007), pp. 69, 132, 207, 249.

²⁴⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 June 1913, p. 8, letter from P.E. Cheal, 19 October 1928, p. 16.

²⁴⁸ Maori War, Declaration of G.T. Wilkinson, 25 July 1870, Army Department, AD 32, box 66, no. 4484, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁹ For the background to their experiences, see T.W. Gudgeon, *War in New Zealand* (London, 1879), pp. 141-145.

arms and accoutrements, and went outside to take cover, and have greater room to defend themselves, and, no doubt, judging from the fearful odds that discretion was the better part of valour, retired towards the settlement, two of the party giving the news to the neighbourhood, whilst the other two came right on.

A party of about thirty left at 5 o'clock this evening, under the command of Ensign Jeffs, and proceeded towards the redoubt at Waioeka.²⁵⁰

When they reached the whare early that evening, they found it 'burnt to the ground, the chimney being the only part standing. This will prove a most serious loss to these settlers, as they have lost everything they possessed, and from the substantial way the whare was built and furnished with store, it spoke well for the bona fide settlers in this district'. The missing men had not been found.²⁵¹ The two, unnamed men, who had reached safety informed the press that their whare had been constructed at 'a place called Big Guard', and that they had 'received intimation that the Hauhaus intended to make an attack upon them'. When they fled they had 'left about £80 in cash and cheques at the whare, which the natives would be sure to have taken. After taking possession of all the provisions, &c, the whare was burned to the ground, and it is feared that the other two men ... must have been detained, if nothing worse'.²⁵²

On 25 May, Wilkinson gave an Opotiki correspondent a letter written, in his and Livingstone's name, on the previous day:

By this mail from Opotiki you will receive an account from your correspondents of an attack made by the rebel natives on the house of some young men, situated on their land, about seven miles from the Opotiki camp. As untrue accounts have already got circulation through the camp, I think it right, as one of the survivors, to send you a correct statement of the affair as it happened. Myself, in conjunction with James Livingstone, who owns a block of 80 acres of land at the Waioeka Gorge (about seven miles from Opotiki), went out about three months ago to build a house, clear the land, and commence settling; and until Tuesday, 21st May, we had succeeded, and everything had gone on smoothly. Our house was built, the land cleared and partly ploughed up, and everything bid fair to be a flourishing little homestead. A month previous to the attack we had been joined by

²⁵⁰ Spelt as Waioreke.

²⁵¹ Opotiki Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 June 1867, p. 5 [written on 21 May].

²⁵² *New Zealand Herald*, 30 May 1867, p. 5.

two others, Messrs Walter Ogilvie Moore and John Beggs, who intended buying or leasing some land adjoining ours, and were putting in a crop with us to obtain seed for next year. We all four lived in the one house (which was built of raupo), and had not the least idea of what was shortly to happen to us. Livingstone and myself had certainly been warned by the friendly natives in camp that we should be attacked by the Hauhaus some day; but, as they never stated the day, we did not allow ourselves to be frightened by such an obscure warning. The land was served out to be settled on, and the district was supposed to be in a state of peace and tranquillity: why should not we go out and commence work as Opotiki settlers? Tuesday, the 21st May, turned out, luckily for us, a very wet day, or we should have been scattered, each one at his different employment; as it was, we could do nothing but keep to the house. Early in the morning, Moore was about two miles up the gorge, returning for breakfast, but without meeting with anything to excite attention. After breakfast a game at cards was proposed, and we sat down and commenced; but we had scarcely been playing an hour when our dogs commenced barking. This did not disturb us much, as we thought they were barking at the horses, six being tethered round the house about 150 yards off. The continual barking of the dogs, however, alarmed us; and, on opening the door to look out, we discovered that we were nearly surrounded by armed natives barely 50 yards off (since measured), and completely cutting off our track from home; some taking cover under a wooden bridge that is close by, others spreading out to cut us off from running to camp. Why did they not fire into the house was a mystery, as their shot would have gone right through, killing or wounding some of us. Their idea must have been to have taken all of us prisoners; but in this, with all their native cunning, they were outwitted. One way of escape was left open to us. As we found there were too many for us to stand against, there being from 18 to 20 all armed, and perhaps others taking cover behind, we all took to the only way left us – up into the dense bush at the back of the house. Away we went for our lives up a burnt fern ridge. The natives, as soon as they discovered we had escaped, fired volley after volley after us; but as we had about 50 yards' start, and they all fired very high, on reaching the bush on the hill not one of us was hit, the natives being in full chase. On the edge of the bush we parted company, Livingstone and myself taking the bush at once for it. Moore and Beggs must have kept the edge of the bush for easier running. When the natives arrived on the top of the hill they fired a volley into the bush, some of the shots going into the trees over our heads. Those were the last shots we heard fired. Livingstone and myself threw away our rifles, as they were then only in our way, and, being accustomed to the bush, at once made tracks to give them as wide a berth as possible. After

going about two miles inland, we turned to our left, and crossed over about six miles of rough bush, swamps, and creeks, one of which completely brought us up. It was so swollen with the rain as to be unfordable. Luckily both of us are swimmers, and, by stripping off, crossed to the other side. We then felt partly safe, and at once made our way into the Opotiki Gorge, and warned the few that were living out in that direction, and returned home by the dray road, weary and footsore, having been about five hours in the bush, Livingstone running without his boots. We expected to find our two comrades home by the time we arrived, but we were the first to give the alarm. We acquainted Major St John, who at once took active steps in the matter. Half an hour after we arrived the old Wai-o-eka Redoubt was taken possession of by the cavalry, and they were followed up by Ensign Jeffs, with about 20 of the militia. Our house was found burnt down and the natives gone, nothing being left but a dray, cross-cut saw, and a few things which were valueless to natives. They took all our clothes, books, and papers, some £21 in cash, besides 1 1/2cwt flour, one bag sugar, tea, coffee, about 120lb salt pork, one pig in the sty (which they killed before they left), five horses and riding saddles; and one foal they shot through the back. Mr Jeffs had bugle calls sounded in the bush to aid our missing comrades if they should still be alive.

Early the next morning Major St. John was out with a party of volunteers, and followed up the supposed track. Volleys were fired and search was made without success. The one conclusion that we can come to is, that they have been taken prisoners, and taken inland by the rebels, who are supposed to belong to the Uriwera tribe.

The last three days there has been very heavy rain, and the rivers have been so swollen that it would have been impossible to send out a party in pursuit; but when the weather clears up I have no doubt the Major will take steps, if possible, to punish the marauders. Livingstone and I wish publicly to thank Major St. John and the storekeepers of Opotiki for the kind way in which they received us in camp, arriving, as we did, homeless, and with scarcely any clothes. We were at once fitted out with clothes, by the Major, and allowed a room in the Masonic Hotel (Messrs Smith and Black); and we are thankful to say we are suffering only from severe colds and occasional cramps, from which we hope soon to recover.²⁵³

Three years later, Wilkinson blamed 'the Ureweras' for the raid and 'all the hardships and fatigue of a six hours run for life thru some of the

²⁵³ Letter from G.T. Wilkinson and James Livingstone [written 24 May 1867], Opotiki Correspondent, *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 June 1867, p. 5.

most impassable country in New Zealand'. He 'was one of the great sufferers having lost all I had' because his attackers 'after returning from the chase burnt down the house and carried away every thing in them'.²⁵⁴ Within days of their escape, Wilkinson and Livingstone went to Auckland, leaving the militia fruitlessly searching for their two companions.²⁵⁵ Shortly afterwards, a ransom of £150 each was demanded by their presumed captors; in fact, they were both dead, disemboweled, with their eyes scooped out. 'An expedition started for the Uriwera country to punish the murderers; two Hauhaus were shot, and some of the horses retaken; but the desolate and broken nature of the country prevented anything like adequate chastisement being inflicted on the ruffians'.²⁵⁶

In 1879, an account of this incident stated that 'Moore and Beggs, who owned the adjoining property, lived in the same house, on the principle of there being safety in numbers'. While they were playing cribbage they at first took no heed of the dog's barking, and when Moore first looked out the window 'he merely remarked that there were some natives about; this was explained by Wilkinson, who suggested that they were friendly Whakatoheas, hunting up their horses'.²⁵⁷ When they discovered that they were surrounded and that the road to Opotiki had been cut off, they faced 'fearful odds' of 'more than ten to one'. Although they had rifles, they had no cartridges, and only one rifle was loaded.

Nothing can now save them, but to run the gauntlet; to remain in the house is certain death; so, clutching their empty rifles, they open the door and run round the end of the house. Up to this time not a word has been uttered by the enemy, but as the Europeans make their appearance, a loud yell is raised, and the kokiritia (charge) sounds like a death-knell to the ears of the doomed men.

As the back of the house had not been surrounded, they dashed through this opening and up a 'steep fern-ridge' towards the shelter of the bush. They had almost gained the edge of the bush when their pursuers caught up and Moore, at the rear with the loaded rifle, turned and tried to

²⁵⁴ Maori War, Declaration of G.T. Wilkinson, 25 July 1870, Army Department, AD 32, box 66, no. 4484, ANZ-W.

²⁵⁵ Opotiki Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 4 June 1867, p 5.

²⁵⁶ Opotiki Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 June 1867, p. 6; T.W. Gudgeon, *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand*, (Auckland, 1879), p. 148.

²⁵⁷ Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, p. 145.

fire. It was later thought that he then ‘reversed his rifle, and presented the butt to his foes, as a token of submission’, but was shot. After Beggs was tomahawked, the other two struggled on, one suffering from violent cramps in one leg, but the pursuit had stopped.²⁵⁸ When they reached ‘the Opotiki flat, smoke was seen to rise from what had once been their home, and they knew that months of hard work had been destroyed in as many minutes’. When the militia reached their land they found that ‘everything portable had been carried away from the house, by means of the settler’s horses’.²⁵⁹

After this ‘most wonderful escape of his life possible’, Wilkinson returned to Tauranga. ‘The surveyors, being stopped in their work by hostile natives, formed themselves into an engineering company’, which Wilkinson joined ‘forthwith’ because he was ‘smarting under the massacre of his two companions’. He participated in the ‘engagements’ at Te Akeake and Taumata.

It was all bush fighting, the natives having given up the foolish idea of meeting the pakeha on open ground. Being well and suitably armed, the engineer company generally led the van, and were left to discover and dislodge the enemy, who were always well planted, and who would allow our force to get pretty near to them before they discovered their presence by a volley. At Te Akeake Mr Woolley was shot in the groin, and Mr Wilkinson had to defend him from being tomahawked until assistance arrived.²⁶⁰

His defence of this wounded man was recalled as showing ‘notable gallantry’.²⁶¹ He was also present at the ‘skirmishes’ at Te Irihanga and Te Whakamarama.²⁶²

WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT

After settling in Thames ‘during the early days’ of the goldfield, his knowledge of the Maori language led to his appointment as interpreter in

²⁵⁸ Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, pp. 146-147.

²⁵⁹ Gudgeon, *Reminiscences*, p. 148.

²⁶⁰ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, pp. 197-198.

²⁶¹ *Observer*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

²⁶² *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

the magistrate's court in August 1870.²⁶³ He was complimented by the government's foremost purchaser of Maori land, Sir Donald McLean, for his translating of 'the goldfields deed of lease to the Ohinemuri natives' in 1874.²⁶⁴ After this field opened, he became an owner of the Pai-o-Hauraki claim with three other Pakeha and six Maori.²⁶⁵ His only other known investment in mining was the Nebraska, at Owaharoa, in 1881.²⁶⁶ In 1875, McLean, 'wishing for correct information respecting the native feeling at Te Kuiti', King Tawhiao's headquarters, sent him there, 'which service he performed very satisfactorily'.²⁶⁷ As he recalled it in 1904 to Henry Dunbar Johnson, a land court judge with a Maori wife,²⁶⁸ it was an exciting adventure.²⁶⁹

Despite nearly being killed by Maori, he would become close to many of them in both his official and private lives. The *Observer* wrote in its obituary that, 'with the exception, possibly, of James Mackay, no man has had a larger hand in dealings with the Maoris on behalf of the Government'. For 'something like' 30 years he was 'the principal agent of the State wherever in the Auckland district – and this, in native matters, practically meant the colony – negotiations of any importance have been going on'.²⁷⁰ From being an interpreter, in 1875 he became an assistant native agent based in Thames, in 1878 an assistant land purchase officer, in 1879 a land purchase officer, in the following year the native agent for Hauraki, and then in 1882 both native agent and land purchase agent for the Auckland,

²⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 May 1881, *AJHR*, 1881, G-8, p. 7; G.T. Wilkinson, Application for New Zealand War Medal, Army Department, AD 32, box 66, no. 4484, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Gazette*, 16 December 1870, p. 638.

²⁶⁴ Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 198.

²⁶⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Ohinemuri Claims 1875, folio 6, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 'Cash Account', March, October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 15 August 1893, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library; Gudgeon, *Defenders*, p. 198; *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

²⁶⁸ See paper on Lavinia and Henry Dunbar Johnson.

²⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁰ *Observer*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

Waikato and Hauraki districts.²⁷¹ Efficient and hard working,²⁷² in mid-1881 he was pleased to be told, by Henry Dunbar Johnson, that the Governor had 'put a flattering memo on my annual report'.²⁷³ Three days later, he 'Got complementary telegram from Hon Native Minister Re my dealing with Tukukino & Komata road'.²⁷⁴ When finally settling this long-running dispute in Ohinemuri, 'Tukukino asked for my greenstone (pekapeka) so I took it off my watch chain and gave it to him'.²⁷⁵ He assisted Pakeha who sought his advice about acquiring land from Maori, for example Henry Ernest Whitaker and Charles Stanislaus Stafford's leasing of the Wairakau Reserve,²⁷⁶ near Te Aroha.²⁷⁷ In April Asher Cassrels and Phillip Bennett, publicans at Paeroa, sent him a 'very nice 3x6 iron bed stead with palliases's and hair matrass down from Auckland as a present for services rendered ... by me in getting the freehold of their allotments at Paeroa'.²⁷⁸ (The ethics of accepting this gift went unremarked in his diary.) In 1884 he did seek permission to buy a horse from William Grey Nicholls, who had offered it as a present; he felt he should refuse.²⁷⁹

In August 1882, as a resident native agent was no longer required in Thames, a district he wished to leave for personal reasons, as explained later, he became one for the Auckland, Hauraki, and Waikato districts, and

²⁷¹ Maori Affairs Department, Register of Service 1863-1885, folio 45, MA 25/1, ANZ-W; G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 29 May 1880; E.W. Puckey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, *AJHR*, 1880, G-4, pp. 4-5.

²⁷² For details, see G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 June 1881; for details of his work during that year to force Tukukino to accept a road across the Komata Block, see entries for 8, 13-15 April, 31 May, 1-6, 11, 16, 17 June, 12, 13 July, 3, 15 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁶ See paper on Harry and Charles.

²⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25 July, 17 November, 23 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

²⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 7 September 1884, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

was based at Alexandra, the future Pirongia.²⁸⁰ According to an obituary, this appointment was made ‘when the pacification of the King Country natives became the chief object’ of government policy. ‘To his influence the final breaking down of the barriers that formerly separated the pakeha and the King natives is largely attributed, and he received much *kudos* from the Government for his valuable services in the negotiations’.²⁸¹ Another obituary agreed that ‘it was largely owing to his influence that the opposition of the natives to the opening of the King Country was overcome’.²⁸² He accompanied John Bryce, Native Minister, ‘as interpreter on his memorable journey through the locality’ in early 1883.²⁸³ Late that year, he accompanied Bryce to a meeting with Ngati Maniapoto.²⁸⁴ In 1885, at the opening ceremony for the main trunk railway the Premier, Robert Stout, congratulated him for his work: ‘For the trouble taken and the wonderful efforts you have my warmest thanks’, as the ‘good feeling’ was due to him.²⁸⁵ Wilkinson modestly gave most of the credit for the successful ceremony on his ‘coadjutor’.²⁸⁶ In the following year he successfully arranged for prospectors to search for gold in the King Country, but later that year created suspicion amongst Ngati Maniapoto by attending a land court hearing at Otorohanga.²⁸⁷

Early in January 1887 it was announced that he had been retired as native agent, with compensation.²⁸⁸ An editorial in the *New Zealand Herald*, whilst supporting retrenchment in the public service in principle,

²⁸⁰ Under-Secretary, Native Office, to G.T. Wilkinson, 26 July 1882, 21 August 1882, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum; Register of Correspondence, 82/2799, Maori Affairs Department, MA 2/20, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Gazette*, 7 September 1882, p. 1227.

²⁸¹ *Observer*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

²⁸² *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

²⁸³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 February 1906, p. 21; *Waikato Times*, 21 April 1883, p. 2; for Wilkinson’s explanation of the significance of this journey, see G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Office, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 6.

²⁸⁴ *Waikato Times*, 1 December 1883, p. 2, 4 December 1883, p. 2.

²⁸⁵ Robert Stout to G.T. Wilkinson, 29 April 1885, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

²⁸⁶ G.T. Wilkinson to Robert Stout, 9 May 1885, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

²⁸⁷ *Waikato Times*, 9 January 1886, p. 2, 19 January 1886, p. 2, 13 November 1886, p. 2.

²⁸⁸ *Waikato Times*, 8 January 1887, p. 2.

did 'not understand' why Wilkinson was to be retrenched, and made some invidious comparisons:

We should have thought he would have been the last man to be interfered with, for, as far as our judgment goes, he has been the ablest and most active officer the Government has had in the Native Department for many years. Not a few of the officers of that department have from the first been affected with the easy-going, shiftless, taihoa spirit of the Maoris themselves, doing nothing today that could be put off till tomorrow, and drifting along with any current into which they happened to fall. But Mr Wilkinson has done his business like a business man, and has, according to public observation, made a good record for himself. That, however, does not always coincide with the official, or ministerial, or political point of view, and it must not have been so in this case. Mr Wilkinson may be dispensed with, in order that by some arrangement a good billet may be made for some one with political influence, and we are inclined to think that this must be the case, and that Ministers are making retrenchment the excuse for a job.

Mr Wilkinson was most successful in the management of his department at the Thames when that district was separated from Auckland, and when there were a considerable number of delicate and difficult questions to be dealt with. The land purchases had been left in a most confused state, and Tukurino, the Komata difficulty, and the Ngatihako had all to be dealt with. Mr Wilkinson was careful and judicious, and made no error which led the Government into trouble and expense, and the consequence was that all the difficulties were got over. In 1882 Mr Bryce, who was a good judge of character and conduct, put Mr Wilkinson in charge of the Thames, Auckland, and Waikato districts, and since then the native business has been conducted by him with perfect success. At the time of Mr Wilkinson's appointment the aukati [ban on Pakeha entering the King Country] was in full force, and we could do nothing beyond the boundary which the natives had laid down for us. Now the whole King Country has been surveyed, roads have been formed in many places, a railway is being made, and there are several native schools, taught by European schoolmasters. It would be absurd to say that Mr Wilkinson has done all this. A thousand influences have co-operated with him. But it may very safely be said that with many officers who have been in the Native Department these things could not have been effected yet. Many hitches have occurred by the forcible stoppage of road parties, or survey parties, or prospecting parties; but these have been all got over by judicious conduct – by knowing what to do, and the right time at which to do it. There has been no scare, no mustering of men in arms; there has simply been the exercise of judgment and discretion. Mr Wilkinson has done all this, and is

entitled to the full credit. In the circumstances, he is about the last officer who should have been dispensed with.

Much land in the King Country remained to be purchased, especially along the route of the main truck railway, and Wilkinson had been 'very successful' in acquiring it.

We never care to urge merely personal claims. However great these may be, they must yield to the public necessities. But it must be acknowledged that in the present instance the claims are great, and entitle Mr Wilkinson to every consideration. Much work still remains to be done which he is undoubtedly the best man to undertake, and if he is removed under the plea of retrenchment, merely that another man, having perhaps political influence, may be provided for, then the Government will have been guilty of a great injustice, for which they will undoubtedly be punished by public opinion.²⁸⁹

'Efficiency' protested at his removal, arguing that Maori needed his advice.²⁹⁰ Late in January, Wilkinson accompanied Ballance to a meeting with Maori at Otorohanga,²⁹¹ at which a prominent Ngati Maniapoto half-caste, John Ormsby, told Ballance that 'he had been requisitioned by the whole tribe to speak' about Wilkinson. 'We are very grieved to hear that it is contemplated to dispense with Mr Wilkinson's services. Not only the Ngatimaniapoto, but the whole of the tribes are grieved', and considered it was 'very wrong' that a man 'who had served the colony so well should be treated in this manner. Wahanui and I wrote to you on this subject, but I have read no reply. Although only signed by us, it represented the feelings of the whole tribe'. They could see no reason for his removal: 'We know that he has been a perfect slave to the Government and the natives'. Instead of being dismissed, 'he should be rewarded', and they had already requested that he be appointed to the land court. 'Amongst the many Government officers whose services are still retained are many in whom we cannot believe. Mr Wilkinson, on the contrary, has our entire confidence, and we thoroughly believe in him', and the decision should be reconsidered.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Editorial, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 January 1887, p. 4.

²⁹⁰ Letter from 'Efficiency', *Waikato Times*, 20 January 1887, p. 2.

²⁹¹ *Waikato Times*, 27 January 1887, p. 3.

²⁹² *Waikato Times*, 29 January 1887, p. 3

The editor of the *Waikato Times* noted ‘the respect, and even affection’, in which the tribe held Wilkinson. Since it was known he was to lose his position, ‘the native mind has been much disturbed’ and Ormsby’s sentiments were those of ‘the vast majority of the native people with whom Mr Wilkinson’s duties have brought him in contact’. The reason was

not very far to seek. Mr Wilkinson is a man who has earned and retained the respect of both races, and that is saying a great deal. In carrying out the manifold difficult and delicate duties of his office, he has not only called to his aid the most consummate tact, but he has always been straightforward, fair, and above-board in his dealings....

Nobody knows better than Mr Ballance the values of Mr Wilkinson’s services to the Government; nobody knows better than he the extent to which the colony is indebted to the [native] agent at Alexandra for the acquiescence of the natives in the survey and their acceptance of the Native Lands Administration Act, albeit they do not agree altogether with that measure.

After what transpired at the Otorohanga meeting, we are inclined to think that the Government will reconsider their decision; indeed we have fair grounds for concluding that Mr Wilkinson will be retained in the service of the Government. But in any event it is but that gentleman’s due that we should place on record the high estimation in which he is held by the people of the two races inhabiting this portion of the colony.²⁹³

News that his services would be dispensed with had prompted a ‘kind and sympathetic letter’ in early January from a friend, to whom he replied gratefully.

When I first received the intimation I was very much surprised, and I did think that I had done, and am still doing good work in this district, and, therefore, I could not understand why Mr [John] Ballance [the Native Minister] should want to get rid of me, unless it was to give my position to the relative or friend of some political supporter, or to some officer who had made himself a favourite at head-quarters by obsequiousness and judicious flattery.

He believed the latter was the most likely possibility. It was ‘very gratifying’ that both Maori and Pakeha supported him, the latter by writing to the press, the former by ‘speeches made both publicly and privately’ to

²⁹³ Editorial, *Waikato Times*, 1 February 1887, p. 2.

Ballance, and from what Ballance told him privately he expected the decision would be reversed. Should the under-secretary, T.W. Lewis, move him to an inferior position, he would refuse 'out of self-respect as Public opinion has already spoken in my favour and declared that I should be let alone to go on with my work'.²⁹⁴ Early the following month, when Wilkinson met Lewis, his position in the public service was retained.²⁹⁵ In 1890, Lewis responded to press charges of laxity by writing that Wilkinson was 'an able and zealous officers and always most attentive to his duties'.²⁹⁶

In April 1889, a Te Awamutu correspondent noted that Wilkinson had, 'by strict integrity in all his dealings, earned the confidence of both races, and whose long experience peculiarly fits him for the post of Land Purchase Agent'.²⁹⁷ Later that year, he moved to Otorohanga as land purchase officer for the King Country.²⁹⁸ As he wanted Pakeha to settle in the King Country 'as soon as possible',²⁹⁹ he worked hard to ensure this happened. A next-door neighbour for 'many years' recalled him as being 'one of the most methodical men' she had ever known.³⁰⁰ He was always very busy, as for example in late 1893, when he was negotiating to purchase more than 50 blocks.³⁰¹ Having experienced James Mackay's methods of acquiring land, he opposed any attempts to purchase unsurveyed blocks 'by paying a portion of the purchase money now and the balance when the surveys are complete. That system of land purchase has been tried in years past in Thames and other

²⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 10 January 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Papers.

²⁹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 9 February 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Papers.

²⁹⁶ T.W. Lewis (Under-Secretary, Native Department) to J. Main (*New Zealand Herald*), 25 October 1890, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

²⁹⁷ Te Awamutu Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 9 April 1889, p. 2.

²⁹⁸ Marr, p. 60.

²⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 24 October 1889, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/78, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁰ Helen Mary Quin, *A Short History and Memories of Otorohanga* (place of publication unknown, 1961), p. 23.

³⁰¹ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 15 August 1893, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

districts with most unsatisfactory results'.³⁰² In August 1902 he was appointed as the first president of the Maniapoto-Tuwharatoa Maori Land Council, an appointment that reportedly gave 'great satisfaction throughout the King Country', probably mainly to Pakeha, because it was anticipated that 'this body will do a great deal to assist in the settlement of' that district.³⁰³ In the following March, he was authorized 'to exercise all powers of the land court and of the Native Appellate Court',³⁰⁴ meaning he was now a land court judge. In November 1904, he was appointed to the Waikato District Maori Land Council.³⁰⁵

Wilkinson described himself as having 'a fair share of patience and application in my nature',³⁰⁶ which his diary supports. To relieve the stress of his work, he joked with his acquaintances,³⁰⁷ on one occasion apologizing for the 'rubbish' he wrote in one letter. 'I could not help it, I just drifted into it, and I know you well enough to feel sure that if you can't laugh at it, you won't be annoyed with it'.³⁰⁸

The under-secretary, in congratulating him on accepting the large salary reduction of 1888 in a 'manly & philosophical way', commented on his 'witty remarks'.³⁰⁹ As Wilkinson knew how much work he was doing for the government, although forced to accept this salary reduction felt he deserved more financial reward from a penny-pinching department. Although the under-secretary was anxious to retain him, his salary was

³⁰² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 27 March 1890, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/78, ANZ-W.

³⁰³ *Auckland Star*, 2 August 1902, p. 1.

³⁰⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 19 March 1903, p. 811, 17 August 1905, p. 1993; *Observer*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

³⁰⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 3 November 1904, p. 2655.

³⁰⁶ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 9 February 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁰⁷ See G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 9 February 1887, 20 April 1888, 29 April 1888, 11 June 1891, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 9 February 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁰⁹ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 22 August 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

reduced from £400 to £275 in 1888.³¹⁰ In 1890, he was refused a travelling allowance, a forage allowance, and permission to buy a horse.³¹¹ The following year, his request for more travelling money was declined because he received 'free quarters, a privilege enjoyed by few other officers in the service'.³¹² The following year, his annual salary was increased to £340.³¹³

In 1900, when asking that his salary be restored to that at the time of 'the great retrenchment in 1888', he outlined his work since 1890. He had acquired 684,000 acres in the Rohepotae, or King Country, and 70,000 more were in process. 'At one time I had more than 200 Blocks under purchase, and at the present time I have more than 150 Blocks under purchase'. This involved a great deal of 'responsibility and anxiety' in this work, mostly done without assistance. He alone distributed charitable aid to destitute Maori in the Waikato, King Country, and Waipa districts, requiring 'considerable labour' working with 28 storekeepers; over £1,200 was spent annually in this work, and 1,388 Maori were currently received aid. He also dealt with their applications for old age pensions. 'I do not complain of this, and I do this, and other work willingly', but considered that his old salary should be restored, because in 1888, when he received £400 plus a forage allowance, he was not purchasing land.³¹⁴ In November 1904, he was notified that he would receive £25 per annum for being a land court judge,³¹⁵ a miniscule reward for all the time and effort he devoted to his work.

³¹⁰ Register of Service 1863-1885, folio 45, Maori Affairs Department, MA 25/1, ANZ-W; T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 15 June 1888, 16 June 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folio 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³¹¹ Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 1 May 1890 [two letters], G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

³¹² Under-Secretary, Native Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 15 October 1891, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³¹³ Patrick Sheridan (Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Department) to G.T. Wilkinson, 19 October 1892, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³¹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 8 September 1904, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

³¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

CHILDREN

Wilkinson's official career is not dealt with in detail, for the focus is on his liaison with Merea and two other Maori women. According to his obituary, he left a widow and six children.³¹⁶ It was more complicated than that, and his diaries for 1904 and 1906 were very precise about all his children:

Hori (or George) Te Paoro was born to Merea Wikiriwhi at Waitoki on the evening of 21 December 1881;

Mere Anne Wairingiringi was born to Hariata Raurau at his home at Hauraki Terrace, Parawai, Thames, on the morning of 11 October 1882, and christened at the Parawai Maori Church;

Tamati (or Thomas) Mitai was born to Merea Wikiriwhi at Mangaiti, Te Aroha, at three o'clock on the morning of 28 September 1885;

Merea was born to Merea Wikiriwhi in the Shortland Arms Hotel, Shortland, Thames, at ten o'clock on the morning of 2 January 1888;

Miki (or Michael) was born at Mangaiti, Te Aroha, to Merea Wikiriwhi at three o'clock in the morning of 30 October 1889, and died at Ngahutoitoi, Ohinemuri, on 21 April 1890, and was buried at Mangaiti;

Charles Te Kiwi was born to Hariata Raurau at Otorohanga on 4 January 1893, and christened on 30 November 1899;

Henry Te Haeata was born to Hariata Raurau in a tent outside the 'Govt cottage' at Otorohanga on 1 June 1897, and was also christened on 30 November 1899;³¹⁷

and a stillborn male child was born to Hariata Raurau on 17 March 1902. 'It was buried next day in the Maori Tapu, or burying ground on top of Kariki hill, Otorohanga, Hari Whanonga read the Ch. of Eng. burial service in Maori'.³¹⁸

WILKINSON AND MAORI

Wilkinson's diaries recorded a summary of each day's events, rarely revealing his emotional responses and personal opinions. It is clear from the

³¹⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 February 1906, p. 21.

³¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, 1904, 1906, Appendices, University of Waikato Library.

³¹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1906, Appendix, University of Waikato Library; the appendix to his 1904 diary gave Hari Hemara as the man who read the burial service.

names of his children that their father did not want them to lose their Maori heritage. It is also clear that, despite narrowly avoiding death near Opotiki, he had close personal relations with many Maori. He had strong views on the injustices of English rule in Ireland,³¹⁹ which may have coloured his attitudes. His desire that Maori owning auriferous land be treated fairly is noted in the chapter on Maori and goldfield revenue; and although assisting the Crown to purchase land for settlement,³²⁰ he wanted them to obtain a reasonable return. When the head of the Land Purchase Department arrived in December 1881, Wilkinson 'had several arguments with him regarding certain matters and was surprised at some of his ideas and statements that seemed very unfair to Natives'.³²¹ In 1883, he referred to the fears of his future wife's extended family that the loss of land and the introduction of such 'signs of civilisation' as roads and railways would mean 'their destruction as a race'.

If this is really so, these people are entitled to a great deal of not only sympathy but help at our hands; and I think it is incumbent upon us to show to them that not only shall they as a people not suffer through our progress, but that their lands shall be in most cases retained by them, and permanently benefited by our occupation thereof.³²²

If these were his genuine views in 1883, which there is no particular reason to doubt, they contrasted with his acquiring large areas of land for the Crown. His diaries reveal the contradiction of a man living somewhat like a Pakeha Maori but acting as the government's agent in spreading 'civilisation'. His work to separate Maori from their land was praised, as in 1892: 'By his tact, suavity of manner and knowledge of affairs [he] does so much to foster a spirit of friendliness between the two races'.³²³ Two years later he was applauded for 'the energetic and skilful way in which he has

³¹⁹ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 22 August 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

³²⁰ For examples of his career as a land purchase agent, see Cathy Marr, *The Alienation of Maori Land in the Rohe Potae (Aotea Block), 1840-1920* (Wellington, 1996), pp. 60-62, 68, 74-75.

³²¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³²² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Office, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 5.

³²³ W., 'The King Country: European Outpost of Civilization', *Auckland Star*, 20 May 1892, p. 4.

executed the task' of acquiring land. 'He has carried out the negotiations with great skill and success, overcoming by tact and patience the hostility and suspicion with which European intrusion into the King Country is regarded'.³²⁴

Wilkinson's detailed reports on the conditions and opinions of Maori in his districts are not covered, but he consistently feared the consequences of land sales. Reporting in 1887 on the increased willingness of King Country Maori to 'pass their lands through the Court', he added a warning:

It is sincerely to be hoped that this great change which has been brought about, partly by their own wishes, but principally at our own instigation, may not result in disastrous consequences to them as a race, or to their land, which is an inheritance. Now, if ever, is surely the time when they are entitled to our best endeavours to see that, whilst we as a civilized people reap benefits from their action, they shall not be allowed, if we can help it, to suffer either physically, socially, or financially.³²⁵

But he had, foolishly, argued in the previous year that the King movement was 'on its last legs'.³²⁶ He was a member of a commission of inquiry that recommended, successfully, that 3,000 members of Waikato iwi, made landless by the confiscations after the Waikato War, should have land set aside to them.³²⁷

Wilkinson was also concerned about the impact of sly grog selling, in 1898 giving evidence of

a great increase in sly grog selling in the King Country within the last two years. The natives would hang a pig up in a shop and call the shop a butchers' shop, while it was really a shop for selling grog. Witness was a J.P., and one of those who wrote to the Minister complaining that the police were not taking sufficient action to prevent sly grog selling.

Confusingly, when questioned he stated he 'had no complaint to make about the police not enforcing the laws'. He believed 'that in centres of

³²⁴ Editorial, *Auckland Star*, 2 April 1894, p. 2.

³²⁵ *Auckland Star*, 26 October 1887, p. 5.

³²⁶ *Auckland Star*, 22 July 1886, p. 2.

³²⁷ *Auckland Star*, 15 September 1910, p. 6

population like Te Kuiti and Otorohanga the issue of licenses would put down sly grog-selling'.³²⁸

According to one recollection, he was one of the first Pakeha to be told of the discovery of the Waitomo caves:

He told me one day of the first discovery of a certain stalactite cave in the district. Enter to him an old-time acquaintance, an intensely excited Maori, his eyes big with some secret, which must come out.

He came into Wilkinson's office, shut the door carefully, and announced in a foghorn whisper: "I have found a wonderful treasure!" (He used the word "taonga," which has a wide range of meanings, signifying valuable property.)

"A treasure?" said Wilkinson. "What sort of treasure? Gold?"

"No no; something better than gold!"

"What, then? Diamonds?"

"He aha te tiamana?" (What's a diamond?) Anyway, it's better than that! Something far better!"

Leaning over close to his pakeha friend and looking round to see that the door was still shut, the Maori, with the dramatic air of one revealing a marvelous secret, uttered two words:

"He ana!" ("A cave!")

As Mr Wilkinson was no cave-exploring enthusiast, and as "anas" were as plentiful in the Rohepotae as blackberries are now, the revelation was in the nature of an anti-climax. Nevertheless, he went to see the caves, and made a rough plan of them, and though they may not be as enormous a treasure as a diamond mine they are to-day a steady revenue-producer for the Tourist Department.³²⁹

This cave may not have been the famous glowworm one, discovered at the end of 1887 without his recorded involvement, but the Ruakuri cave, first explored in 1904.³³⁰ In his last years he was active in acquiring the Maori owners' interests in the caves for the Crown.³³¹

³²⁸ *Auckland Star*, 16 June 1898, p. 5.

³²⁹ J[ames] C[owan], 'Cave Country. Limestone Marvels of the Rohepotae. "Better Than Diamonds."', *Auckland Star*, 27 November 1926, p. 38.

³³⁰ Robert Arrell, *Waitomo Caves: A century of tourism* (Waitomo, 1984), pp. 9-10, 32, 61-62, 64-65.

³³¹ Arrell, pp. 18-21, 63.

Wilkinson wore greenstone ornaments, and was a member of the Polynesian Society and the Auckland Institute.³³² Having a scholarly interest in Maori language, history, and culture, he collected press cuttings and articles about Maori issues.³³³ In 1888 he was praised by his under-secretary for fraternizing ‘so much’ with William Gilbert Mair, a fellow land purchase officer: ‘You could not help getting on with him as he is in my opinion one of the finest fellows in the service’.³³⁴ In 1903, Wilkinson told Herbert William Williams that ‘some thirty years ago I made a collection of a large number of Maori words that did not appear in the then existing edition of “Williams’ Maori Dictionary”’. In 1885 he had passed these words on to Edward Tregear, who included some in his *Comparative Maori Dictionary*.³³⁵ Although he had no new words to add to Williams’ proposed new dictionary, he offered to help, and recommended John Ormsby, a half-caste who was an important Maori leader,³³⁶ and Pepene Eketone as ‘two very intelligent persons’ who could help. He had occasionally corresponded about Maori words with Arthur Samuel Atkinson of Nelson,³³⁷ who would have left some useful material.³³⁸ He was annoyed that Tregear did not include about 50 words he provided, ‘good, ordinary words too’.³³⁹ In 1887 he told Stephenson Percy Smith of the Polynesian Society that he approved of Atkinson’s ‘Aryan-Semitic Maori’ manuscript,³⁴⁰ but considered Tregear’s

³³² G.T. Wilkinson, Diaries, entries for 3 August, 11 October 1881, 24 December 1904, University of Waikato Library; *Auckland Star*, 14 June 1881, p. 3.

³³³ G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 3, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum; G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 11 June 1891, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³³⁴ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 22 August 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³³⁵ Edward Tregear, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Christchurch, 1891).

³³⁶ See *Waikato Times*, 4 December 1883, p. 2, 27 November 1884, p. 2, 7 January 1886, p. 3, 9 February 1886, p. 2, 15 April 1886, p. 2, 6 May 1886, p. 3, 13 November 1886, p. 2.

³³⁷ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 5 (Christchurch, 1906), p. 81.

³³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson to Rev H.W. Williams, 24 October 1903, H.W. Williams Papers, MS-Papers-0190-07, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³³⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 15 August 1893, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁴⁰ Was this published as *Notes on the Maori-Polynesian Dictionary of Mr E. Tregear* (Nelson, 1893)?

*Aryan Maori*³⁴¹ ‘a bladder filled with air’. He would like to assist research into the language, in a small way.³⁴² He discussed the meaning of Maori expressions with fellow enthusiasts for the language.³⁴³ On several occasions he translated for ministers at important meetings with Maori and was used to negotiate with iwi outside his official district, for instance with Tuhoi.³⁴⁴ On one occasion he translated the Governor’s address to a Maori gathering.³⁴⁵

After leaving Thames he recorded whakapapa for Ngati Maniapoto and investigated the whakapapa of other iwi and hapu.³⁴⁶ In 1891 he regretted not having done more: ‘I am sorry now that I did not retain more Hauraki Whakapapas when I was living at Thames. I did not take so much interest in that kind of thing then as I do now. I have posted myself pretty well up in Rohepotae [King Country] genealogy, to the exclusion (unfortunately) of what I used to know of that of Hauraki’.³⁴⁷

Wilkinson’s personal relations with Maori were, potentially at least, of considerable value to the government. In 1879, he received an ‘Urgent Strictly Confidential’ telegram from his under-secretary: ‘You will remember when at Cambridge Rewi Maniapoto brought you to my room and told me you were a relative of his for whom he had a high regard. It is desired to obtain in an informal sort of way information as to the present state of the old man’s mind’ about the change of government. Wilkinson was asked to pay a ‘friendly visit’ to assure Rewi of the new government’s

³⁴¹ Edward Tregear, *The Aryan Maori* (Wellington, 1885).

³⁴² G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 10 January 1887, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 20 April 1888, 11 June 1891, 1 November 1891, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁴⁴ See *Auckland Star*, 25 January 1893, p. 4, 27 March 1893, p. 4.

³⁴⁵ *Observer*, 27 April 1889, p. 8.

³⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 29 April 1888, 5 October 1891, 1 November 1891, 10 January 1892, 18 January 1892, 15 August 1893, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

³⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to S. Percy Smith, 1 November 1891, S. Percy Smith Papers, MS-Papers-1187, folder 278, Alexander Turnbull Library.

friendship.³⁴⁸ In the event, Wilkinson's visit was aborted because Rewi attended a meeting elsewhere.³⁴⁹

Wilkinson was 'a relative' of Rewi Maniapoto through his relationship, explained below, with either (or both) Roihi Te Piki and Hariata Raurau; probably the former, having been with him before the latter became part of his life. Neither was a close relative of Rewi but rather was linked to his hapu.

WILKINSON'S PRIVATE LIFE IN THAMES

Wilkinson's diaries, despite not revealing his innermost thoughts or those of those he lived with, and obsessively concerned with the weather and the state of his nerves and his bowels, provide by far the greatest detail available about the daily life of someone who preferred living with Maori to living with Pakeha. Because all his diaries are lost apart from those for 1881, 1904, and 1906, most of the details of his love affairs with Merea and two other Maori women have been lost. In 1888, a fire in his office destroyed some of his personal property,³⁵⁰ which might have included other diaries, meaning a full account of his life is impossible to reconstruct.

At Thames, Wilkinson lived in a house previously owned by Te Taniwha, at Parawai,³⁵¹ where most Maori lived. He rented it from its current owner, Ngakapa, for £10 per annum.³⁵² Apart from occasionally socializing with work colleagues,³⁵³ it is notable that most of the Pakeha Wilkinson associated with socially during 1881 were married to Maori. Pakeha Maori tended to have closer contact with themselves than with Pakeha who did not approve of their way of life. Included in the entry for 1

³⁴⁸ Under-Secretary, Native Office, to G.T. Wilkinson, 20 November 1879 (telegram), G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³⁴⁹ Under-Secretary, Native Office, to G.T. Wilkinson, 24 November 1879, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³⁵⁰ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 8 October 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁵³ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

January 1881 is the information that while he went to the races 'Kiritahanga and Te Noko remained at home to take care of Heta who is very unwell'.³⁵⁴ Heta was the half-caste son of David Stewart and Kiritahanga, the daughter of Rapana Maunganoa, a leading Ngati Maru rangatira.³⁵⁵ Stewart had arrived in Thames when the goldfield opened.³⁵⁶ Te Noko was otherwise Lizzie (to Wilkinson) or Elizabeth Tookey,³⁵⁷ daughter of Daniel Tookey, a Pakeha Maori who had lived in the district before the goldfield opened.³⁵⁸ On 20 February, 'Kiritahanga and Lizzie (Te Noko) came up to dinner'.³⁵⁹ The Stewarts and Tookeys were friends of Eliza, correctly Roihi Te Piki, who was in an intimate relationship with him. When Eliza wanted to go to Auckland late in January to see Kiritahanga, Wilkinson sent telegrams to Stewart arranging for him to meet her (Stewart was then living there with his wife).³⁶⁰ He was in direct and indirect contact with Stewart several times during the year.³⁶¹

For part of 1881 Wilkinson employed another Pakeha Maori, Charles John Dearle, in his office, where they worked together amicably.³⁶² They also socialized informally. In March, for instance, Dearle arrived in his office 'having ridden in from Ohinemuri with James Nicholls his brother in law who fell off a horse this morning at Paeroa and broke his collar bone'.³⁶³

³⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 January 1881; see also 3 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 February 1881, University of Waikato Library; Zelma and John Williams, *Thames and the Coromandel Peninsula: 2000 years* (Thames, 1994), p. 183; for photograph of Kiritahanga and her family (and her car) in 1918, see p. 184.

³⁵⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19A, p. 9.

³⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 January 1881, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 2, p. 157; no. 15, p. 135; no. 46, p. 365.

³⁵⁸ See paper on Maori in Hauraki in the nineteenth century.

³⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 24, 26, 27 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1-4 January, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19 March, 12, 20 April, 2 June, 5, 6, 8 July, 11 November, 15 December 1881; 'Cash Account', January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶² For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 23 June, 1, 2 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Later in the month 'Dearle came up after tea', and seven days later they rode together up-country, Wilkinson going to join Merea at Waitoki and Dearle to visit his family at Paharakeke.³⁶⁴ In May he 'had boiled pigeons for tea, sent down by Mr Dearle from Te Aroha'.³⁶⁵ Dearle borrowed tools from him in September.³⁶⁶ He was also a friend of Henry Dunbar Johnson,³⁶⁷ with whom he shared private confidences, probably about his private life as well as problems at work.³⁶⁸

Wilkinson was also friendly with half-castes, as the phrase was, notably 'Willie Nicholls', otherwise William Grey Nicholls,³⁶⁹ brother of James, who assisted him with land transactions and in arranging for Ohinemuri Maori to be vaccinated against smallpox.³⁷⁰ He bought a half-share in an Owharoa mining claim from him.³⁷¹

On Sundays in particular Maori visitors often came to his house, usually women and usually to see Eliza.³⁷² (Eliza's Maori name was Roihi Te Piki, the name she went under in his Otorohanga diaries. On 17 February 1904, when recording his normally daily visits to 'Piki's place', he wrote 'Went to see Eliza in' and then crossed out 'Eliza in' and wrote 'Piki in the morning'.)³⁷³ Many of them stayed at his house for a while. Apart from those working on his property, the rare Pakeha who visited his house came on official business; none stayed with him. Only once did a Pakeha who was not a work colleague eat at his house: 'Mr Stevenson from Waitoa' in late April.³⁷⁴ As examples of visitors, on 16 January, 'Tamati Paetai and his little girl came up after breakfast. Eliza got food cooked for them'.³⁷⁵ At the

³⁶⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 19, 26 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶⁷ See paper on his life.

³⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 24, 25, 27 January, 14 March, 10 June 9, 10 September, 20 October 1881, 19 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

³⁶⁹ See paper on his life.

³⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13, 20, 27 October, 7, 9-14 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 'Cash Account', March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷² For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

end of February, 'Hoera Te Mimiha³⁷⁶ came up to borrow some money off me promising to pay me with a pig'; he gave him £1.³⁷⁷ A few days later, when riding into Thames he 'met Mata Paetai, her daughter Pare Tipa and 2 other little girls going up the hill to my place. Her daughter Pare Tipa is to stay with Eliza some time'.³⁷⁸ In April he arranged that Eliza should spend a few days at Mata Paerai's settlement near Hikutaia.³⁷⁹ On a Sunday late in March, 'Piripi from Waiomu came up on horseback and stayed to dinner'.³⁸⁰ A week later Piripi arrived 'just before I was going to bed. He slept in tent with Te Muunu',³⁸¹ who had been doing jobs around the house and paddock and did not return to Waikato until early May.³⁸² Piripi revisited on the last Saturday in April 'and brought some pigeons', and slept in 'the out kitchen'.³⁸³ He also stayed on Christmas night.³⁸⁴ Riria Ngaonewhero, of Ngati Maniapoto, Ngati Huiiao, and Ngati Kinohaku, and an owner of land near Te Kuiti, and a particular friend of Eliza, was then living in the Kauaeranga Valley.³⁸⁵ She may also have been relatively old, as she died in 1901.³⁸⁶ In August, Wilkinson returned from Te Aroha to find 'Ngakiore – Ngaonewhero – Taiki and his wife were at my place'.³⁸⁷

Wilkinson and Eliza were particularly friendly with Hemaima Meremana and her children. On 4 February, 'Hemaina (Mrs Meremana) gave me kit of peaches and large eel for Eliza'.³⁸⁸ Her daughter, Te Aira Meremana,³⁸⁹ 'came up in the afternoon' on 20 March.³⁹⁰ Two Sundays

³⁷⁶ See paper on his life.

³⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 23, 28 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 3, 4 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 30 April, 1 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 28 January 1881, 11 February, 10 October 1881, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books, no. 4, p. 118; no. 5, pp. 102, 191, 214, 230; no. 7, pp. 23, 27, 42-45, 53, 64, facing 225, 226-240, 311; no. 8, pp. 216, 269, 271; no. 15, pp. 79-87, 109-110.

³⁸⁶ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 41, p. 114.

³⁸⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁸⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

later, Te Aira Meremana again came to dinner.³⁹¹ In April, ‘Tupara Meremana and his brother Pukunui, came up to borrow my gun to go shooting pigeons – lent it to them with Cartridges’.³⁹² At the beginning of May ‘Hemaima Meremana came up to see Eliza and brought some milk’. On that day Wilkinson tried to talk a Maori into going into hospital, ‘but he purposes to go home to Waikato tomorrow. Gave him £2 and Eliza went down town and bought him a new warm coat’.³⁹³ On one Sunday, Eliza and Wairingiringi, a six-year-old girl who lived with them, went to the Maori church at Parawai ‘and brought up Te Aira Meremana to dinner. After dinner we all walked out to Maori cemetery’ to visit ‘Ngaru’s grave. Eliza and I pulled some weeds up and I trimmed the willow tree’.³⁹⁴ Te Aira Meremana continued to come to his house for dinner now and then.³⁹⁵ In late August, ‘Girls Te Aira & Aomihi came up to dinner’.³⁹⁶

In late May, Meremana’s son Makiwi was ‘staying at my place’. Wilkinson ‘went down to slaughter house after tea with Tahipapa and Boy Makiwi to get my pig which had been killed there today’.³⁹⁷ Two days later he got ‘young Makiwi to mount the pony colt’.³⁹⁸ The boy lived with him for some months, and Wilkinson provided him with clothing. At the start of June he bought him boots, and in mid-July a hat and shirt.³⁹⁹ In late July ‘boy Makiwi did not come home last night’, and five days later he ‘has cleared out again’.⁴⁰⁰ He did return, and Wilkinson was clearly fond of him, later buying him a new coat and taking a ‘pair of my old trousers at Tailor’s to be altered for boy Makiwi’.⁴⁰¹ The boy sometimes joined in their evening

³⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁵ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 31 July, 2 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

³⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1 June, 16 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25, 30 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13 August, 19 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

card games.⁴⁰² In September Makiwi and another 'Native Youth' went with Wilkinson to collect a pig from the slaughter house, and four days later were sent 'down for beer for Eliza's dinner'.⁴⁰³ In October he 'did some digging in the paddock with two boys Makiwi and Kahui until 8'.⁴⁰⁴ At the end of that month Eliza 'went out to Hemaima Meremana's place today to get her boy Tata to stay with us in place of his brother Makiwi'.⁴⁰⁵ This was arranged, and Wilkinson bought clothes for Tata also.⁴⁰⁶ Tata was expected to work: on 1 December he gave 'the boy Tata a cut or two with riding whip for not doing the work I set in the morning, he cleared out', and did not return.⁴⁰⁷

One day when Eliza was away from home, 'Ngakiore came up to dinner and tea, and slept in the kitchen at night'.⁴⁰⁸ Eliza returned accompanied by Wairingiringi and five adult women, who all 'stayed at my place'.⁴⁰⁹ The following day, when writing his annual report, Eliza, Tahipapa, 'and others played cards in outhouse', presumably to avoid disturbing him while he worked in the evening,⁴¹⁰ as he often did. On the following day, in addition to Eliza and Wairingiringi he had six other Maori living in his house.⁴¹¹ In July, 'John Gage's son', another half-caste,⁴¹² 'slept on sofa in parlour last night. His grandmother Waua slept in our kitchen with Kiwi'.⁴¹³ So many

⁴⁰² For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14, 18 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 4, 26 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1, 2 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹² For the Gage family, see Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 133-134; Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 1; Death Certificate of John Gage, 16 August 1920, 1920/2207, BDM; *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 April 1867, p. 11; *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1875, p. 2; Te Awamatu Magistrate's Court, *Waikato Argus*, 24 October 1896, p. 2.

⁴¹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

people were sleeping at his house that he had to build an extra bedroom.⁴¹⁴ In mid-October he recorded that ‘Eliza, Raurau & Makiwi are the only ones at my place now’,⁴¹⁵ an unusually small number and so worth noting.

A telegram from his under-secretary implied that he continued to live in the same fashion in the King Country: ‘If you cannot stay in Alexandra without having to entertain natives it will be necessary to shift your quarters’.⁴¹⁶

WILKINSON AND ROIHI TE PIKI (ELIZA)

On 5 January, Wilkinson recorded that ‘Eliza’s brother Te Kotuku who had arrived here on Sunday last had come over on my horse “Doctor” that I gave him when he returned to his home at Te Matata some time ago’.⁴¹⁷ Matata, in the Bay of Plenty, was not far from Opotiki: had Wilkinson met Eliza when he was in that region? She also had a relative living in Te Kuiti, Manahi, who visited them in April.⁴¹⁸ Manahi may have been Hema Te Piko of Waikato, who after marrying Manahi Te Papaki was commonly known as Hema Manahi. She died in 1905, leaving no children.⁴¹⁹

Eliza was much older than Wilkinson; in October 1904 he described her as an ‘old lady’.⁴²⁰ If the date recorded when she died in 1916 was correct, in 1881 she was 61 whereas he was 36. A member of Ngati Huiiao, as were her parents Ihaka and Miriama, she came from near Te Kuiti, dying at Hangatiki, childless.⁴²¹

By 1881 she had some of the ailments of age. On 4 April, ‘Gave Eliza a vapour bath after tea and rubbed her back and shoulders for

⁴¹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7 April, 7, 14 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹⁶ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 5 May 1884 (telegram), G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁴¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 9, 11, 18 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴¹⁹ Maori Land Court, Mercer Minute Books, no. 8, p. 261; no. 11, p. 328; no. 260, pp. 134, 260.

⁴²⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²¹ Death Certificate of Roihi Te Piki, 15 July 1916, 1916/10867, BDM.

rheumatism'.⁴²² He also rubbed liniment into her back for lumbago.⁴²³ As well, she suffered from neuralgia.⁴²⁴ More seriously, on 15 September 'Eliza was in danger this morning of choking to death, through getting a fish bone stuck in her throat – I gave her two raw eggs, which carried the obstruction down the throat & gave relief'.⁴²⁵ A week later, 'Eliza unwell with pain in her stomach'.⁴²⁶ In October he 'put porous plaster on Eliza's side'.⁴²⁷ Two months later he bought lotion for her eyes.⁴²⁸ It is clear that he cared for her physical health, if not always, as will be seen, her emotional health.

As they did not hide their relationship, they were regarded as a couple. For instance, 'Hemaima Meremana returned from Napier. She gave me a nice bent greenstone ear drop & Eliza a Kowai mat'.⁴²⁹ They walked into 'town' together on several occasions.⁴³⁰ As Eliza commonly went there during the day, they often walked home together from his office.⁴³¹ When she went to Auckland by steamer in January, they rode to and from the wharf in carriages.⁴³² On one occasion he 'Rode to Grahamstown in Buss with Eliza & Te Noko'.⁴³³ On another Eliza and Wairingiringi were 'in town – they had dinner with me at Verralls',⁴³⁴ meaning James Verrall's hotel.⁴³⁵

⁴²² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 15 January, 3 April, 9 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²³ G.T. Wilkinson, Diary, entry for 15 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 'Cash Account', December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14 January, 25 February, 24 March, 15 April, 20 May, 16 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25 January, 21, 26 February, 12, 18, 21 March, 20 April, 14, 20 May, 25 June, 2, 9, 13, 14, 16, 23, 30 July, 13, 17, 22, 29 August, 3, 12, 14, 26 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 January, 4 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁵ See *Thames Electoral Roll, 1880*, p. 21; Licensing Meeting, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 June 1880, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 7 December 1885, p. 2; *Auckland Star*, Licensing Committee, 11 June 1902, p. 5, 4 December 1924, p. 8.

When Eliza attended the Maori church at Parawai, he did not accompany her;⁴³⁶ but then he did not attend any church services during that year, although he was an Anglican, read the Bible and books about Christianity, and once attended a meeting of parishioners.⁴³⁷ He also gave £1 1s towards the erection of a Wesleyan church at Te Aroha.⁴³⁸ He paid for her food, clothes, travel, and other expenses.⁴³⁹ In March he recorded that a hardware merchant 'sent up a new Colonial oven which was ordered by Eliza yesterday'.⁴⁴⁰ In May he 'Paid Eliza's a/c at Miss Johnson's', a dressmaker.⁴⁴¹ For her to go to Napier late in the year cost him £25 in travel and spending money, which he had to borrow.⁴⁴² When she went to Kirikiri, south of Thames, he got Makiwi to bring a horse from Parawai and then went himself in the evening to get 'short girths for Eliza's side saddle'.⁴⁴³ He got up at 5.30 in the morning to saddle up the horses (Raurau and Makiwi were going as well, to a uhunga to mourn for the dead),⁴⁴⁴ and gave them some money.⁴⁴⁵

As Eliza did not normally cook the main meals, they employed one Pakeha servant and then a replacement during the first half of 1881.⁴⁴⁶ 'A European woman' came to wash their clothes in early February.⁴⁴⁷ They jointly selected the second servant: 'Miss Dickson came up to see Eliza &

⁴³⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 8, 15 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 22 May, 27 August, 21 September, 18 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 22 May, 27 August, 21 September, 18 December 1881; 'Cash Account', August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴³⁹ For total amount given to her, see 'Cash Account' at end of diary of G.T. Wilkinson for 1881; for examples of his providing money on particular occasions, see entries for 17, 21 May, 30 June, 5 July, 30 August, 22 October, 15 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14-16 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴⁴ Ryan, p. 325.

⁴⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7, 11, 27 February, 7 March, 3 April, 23 May, 12 June, 5, 29 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

myself about coming as servant for us'.⁴⁴⁸ Eliza and the servant quickly became friends. In early March, 'Eliza & Miss Dickson went down to the Baptist church after tea to see a baptismal service, Miss Dickson being one of the candidates'.⁴⁴⁹ A week later, they went to town together.⁴⁵⁰ Once Miss Dickson and was not replaced, Eliza and Raurau, another Maori woman who moved into his house, as explained below, did the cooking. For instance, after he returned from a trip three days after Miss Dickson had left 'Eliza & Raurau made a plum cake.⁴⁵¹ Eliza did do some housework, as when their second servant first arrived: Eliza and she 'caught two bugs in our mattress today and they turned to and squirted Kerosene & Benzine into all the cracks in the walls and beds'. Afterwards Eliza and a Maori friend 'washed dogs'.⁴⁵²

His diary recorded several examples of domestic tranquillity. For instance, on 5 February, 'Walked down to the garden after breakfast with Eliza to look at the melons, pumpkins, &c. Eliza seems much better after her trip' to Auckland.⁴⁵³ At the end of that month, after a Sunday lunch provided by Miss Dickson, 'Eliza and I went down to the melon patch and plucked some melons'.⁴⁵⁴ Because it seems she could not write, he wrote letters for her to send to her brother and friends.⁴⁵⁵ Sometimes, after their evening meal they playing cards.⁴⁵⁶ For a time they owned a pet monkey, but sold it because it got loose.⁴⁵⁷

They always slept together in the early part of 1881. Wilkinson recorded on 29 April that he 'Slept by myself last night, Eliza being at

⁴⁴⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁴⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁵ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 16 January, 29 May, 19 June, 14, 21 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 21 January, 25 February, 14 May, 21, 22 June, 18-20, 22, 25-27, 29, 30 August, 2, 3, 6, 9, 20 September, 12, 21 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14, 15, 23 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Hikutaia, enjoyed my night's rest'.⁴⁵⁸ This was the first time he recorded whom he slept with; shortly thereafter it was one of the first items included, after the weather. After Eliza returned, she was 'unwell with (floodings)', and there was no mention of their sleeping together.⁴⁵⁹ When Eliza first slept with the ailing Wairingiringi, he recorded that he had slept by himself.⁴⁶⁰ After the new bedroom was constructed, he slept in it alone at first, probably because other Maori were staying overnight.⁴⁶¹ Others lived in their house for most of the year; on 11 October he wrote that on the previous evening 'We were all by ourselves, a thing that has not happened for a long time'.⁴⁶²

WAIRINGIRINGI

Wilkinson was particularly fond of a six-year-old girl, Wairingiringi, who lived with them. Her mother, Te Okowai, lived at Mangamutu,⁴⁶³ part of the Pukeroa-Hangatiki block near Te Kuiti.⁴⁶⁴ She was probably Mihira Te Okowai, also known as Mihira Rota, who owned land in the King Country and died at Waihaha in 1890, leaving a son and a one-year-old grandson.⁴⁶⁵ Wilkinson wrote to her about Maori she knew at Thames.⁴⁶⁶ Ripeka Wairingiringi was later an owner of several blocks of land in the Otorohanga district,⁴⁶⁷ and possible this child was related to Te Okowai and Eliza. His diary entries about Wairingiringi are given in full, as they reveal what sort of man he was and how he must have treated his own children, about which little evidence has survived.

When Eliza went to Auckland to visit Kiritahanga in late January, Wairingiringi 'slept in my bed last night'.⁴⁶⁸ Eliza slept with her 'in small

⁴⁵⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶⁰ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 23-26 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶⁴ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 7, p. 64.

⁴⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 30, p. 359.

⁴⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁶⁷ For example, Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5, p. 102.

⁴⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 27, 28 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

room' in early February, presumably for company rather than because she was unwell.⁴⁶⁹ In late February he twice noted that he went down to the melon patch with her, and on the day following the second time he 'walked down the paddock with Wairingiringi'.⁴⁷⁰ Late the following month he and Eliza took the child to a photographer 'and had Wairingiringi's likeness taken'.⁴⁷¹ Early in April he 'wrote letter to Te Okowai at Mangamutu enclosing a likeness of Wairingiringi'.⁴⁷² A week later, after their midday meal on Sunday, 'I walked out to Maramarahi' to inspect a property belonging to Te Moananui and 'took Wairingiringi with me'.⁴⁷³

Early in May, 'Eliza and Wairingiringi in town - took girl Wairingiringi to Dr Payne's she being unwell. Gave her a powder at night and put a mustard plaster on her chest. Bought a pair of boots for her during the day. 9/-. She and Eliza slept on floor in parlour at night'.⁴⁷⁴ The following night, 'Slept by myself last night. Eliza slept in parlour with Wairingiringi'.⁴⁷⁵ On 7 June, 'Gave Wairingiringi worm powder before going to bed, it made her very sick and we had to get her to our bed where she remained until morning'.⁴⁷⁶ The following day he bought her some warm stockings.⁴⁷⁷ Another day later, 'Eliza brought Wairingiringi into town and I took her to Dr Payne's. He gave her some medicine. She has got very thin lately & I think it must be worms'.⁴⁷⁸ Three days later, a Sunday, he tried but failed to obtain some worm powder from a nearby resident.⁴⁷⁹ Two days later he 'slept in the bed room with Raihe and Wairingiringi. Gave Ringi a worm powder last night in honey, and another this morning and afterwards some senna tea. I am very anxious about her as she has got so very thin lately'. When he returned from work, 'Found that senna tea had not worked Ringi',⁴⁸⁰ meaning had not acted as a laxative. Three days later she

⁴⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 24-26 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

appeared 'to be gradually getting thinner & thinner'.⁴⁸¹ He continued giving her worm powder for the next two days.⁴⁸² On 20 June he gave her 'another worm powder in honey before breakfast – went to sleep for a short time between Eliza and Wairingiringi'. Later that day his servant took the child to Payne once more.⁴⁸³ What Payne recommended was not recorded, but the following morning Wilkinson gave her 'some salts and senna before breakfast, her bowels not having been open for some time'.⁴⁸⁴ Next day he recorded that she 'slept with me in my room last night – the poor little girl is very unwell, although she does not cough. Her skin was very hot last night and she seems to be wasting away. I gave her some cod liver oil before going to town'. Upon returning from his day's work he gave her 'some more cod liver oil'.⁴⁸⁵ Next day, 'poor little Ringiringi is getting very weak. I could not get her to take her caster oil this morning', but 'Got Ringi to take some Castor oil at night'.⁴⁸⁶ His diary entry for the following day was more detailed:

Slept in room with Eliza and Ringi last night – little girl had a very uncomfortable night's rest complaining of pain in her stomach.... Dr Huxtable came up to see Ringi and after examining her said that she was not able to assimilate her food through something inside the stomach pressing on one of the large glands - but that she was not consumptive and that at present there was nothing the matter with her lungs.

After work he 'bought some cotton wool & oiled silk. Got medicine for Ringi from Dr Huxtable'. He gave her 'a hot vapour bath after tea, also rubbed Cod liver oil into her stomach – and put hot cotton wool on her stomach after she lay down – also gave her a powder according to doctor's instructions'.⁴⁸⁷ That night he had Eliza sleep with her. The 'little girl had a little better night but continues to complain a good deal of pain in her stomach'. He rubbed cod liver oil 'into Ringi's stomach this morning and

⁴⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

evening'.⁴⁸⁸ A day later 'the little girl seemed to be much better this morning'.⁴⁸⁹ Three days later, at the end of June, she 'appeared to be much better', but nevertheless he discussed her condition with Huxtable.⁴⁹⁰

On 2 July, 'Ringi seems to be getting better'.⁴⁹¹ The following day she was well enough to accompany him 'into Davis' paddocks to see if Quinlan had left bag of carrots there for me', and may have shared in the 'boiled kakas for dinner'. Then 'Ringi not so well tonight she being very feverish'.⁴⁹² Next morning, after he and Eliza had slept in the same room with her, he recorded that she had been 'very feverish all night and complained of pain in her stomach. I gave her 6 drops of chlorodyne in water which gave her relief'.⁴⁹³ Four days later, she was 'still very weak & unwell'.⁴⁹⁴ The following day, before going to his office he made 'some Revelenta food for Ringi'.⁴⁹⁵ Next day, a Sunday, 'Dr Huxtable came up to see Ringi, who appears to be much better'.⁴⁹⁶ But on the following day 'Ringi, who has been much better during the last few days, was taken bad again tonight with pain in her stomach – rubbed codliver oil in by the fire, and put hot cloths on'.⁴⁹⁷ Next evening he 'had to get up in the middle of the night to give Ringi some chlorodyne to ease the pain in her stomach'.⁴⁹⁸ Two days later, 'Slept in bed with Wairingiringi last night', more because of a quarrel with Eliza than because the child was ill.⁴⁹⁹ Five days later, she was still sleeping in his room but was 'much better in health'.⁵⁰⁰

Wairingiringi must have been better for a time, as his diary detailed his ailments, not hers; he was very concerned about his stomach and

⁴⁸⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁸⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 29, 30 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

headaches.⁵⁰¹ On the first day of August he bought some ‘superphosphate of soda from Huxtable for Ringi’.⁵⁰² Almost two weeks later, ‘Eliza, Wairingiringi, Makiwi & Raurau in town – this is the first time Ringi has been in town for some months on account of her sickness’.⁵⁰³ She was well enough to sleep in ‘small bed room’ with Makiwi without an adult sleeping with her.⁵⁰⁴ But, at the end of the month, ‘Girl Ringi is very unwell again, I gave her a dose of Rhubarb and Magnesia on going to bed at night’.⁵⁰⁵ That night ‘Eliza slept on the floor with Wairingiringi, who is very unwell again, gave her a dose of Rhubarb and Magnesia but it was not strong enough to work her’, meaning to act as a laxative, his cure-all. When in town he ‘got purging powders for Ringi from Dr Huxtable. Paid him £1-10-0 for attending on Ringi’.⁵⁰⁶ The last thing he did the following day was to give her a hot bath.⁵⁰⁷ On the last day of August she was ‘very ill again’.⁵⁰⁸

September began with Wairingiringi ‘very unwell. Gave her a powder before going to bed. She afterwards came to my bed, was up several times during the night on account of her being sick’.⁵⁰⁹ That night he slept in his own room ‘and Ringi came to my bed’.⁵¹⁰ He got ‘a flannel roundabout’ for her on 3 September, the day Eliza received a letter from Te Okowai ‘saying that she could not come to fetch’ Ringi;⁵¹¹ clearly they had asked Te Okowai to look after her seriously ill child. Next day he noted that she was ‘still very unwell. The medicine she takes does not seem to do her much good’.⁵¹² That evening, she ‘came to me’ after he had gone to bed; ‘she is very unwell’. While in town on the following morning he bought ‘Bottle of Hypophosphite of Lime for Ringi’, another example of his attempting his own cure. ‘Sent telegram and letter to Te Okowai about Ringi’s sickness’. In the afternoon,

⁵⁰¹ For instance, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 August 1881, University Library.

⁵⁰³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁰⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

'Dr Huxtable came up to see Ringi. He says she has a slight attack of inflammation of Lungs. Sent Makiwi down to Drs. after tea to get Cretan oil liniment and other medicines'.⁵¹³ The entry for 6 September showed her decline: 'Slept in my own room last night, rubbed some Cretan oil liniment into Ringi's chest on left side – had her into bed with me – was up several times during the night to give her medicine – rubbed some more on before getting up but she would not let me keep at it long enough to have any effect'. In the evening he rubbed more liniment into her chest.⁵¹⁴ When she slept in the same room with him on the following evening 'she was very restless'. Although he should have been at work, he waited 'until 11 o'clock for Dr Huxtable to come up and see Ringi'.⁵¹⁵ That evening he slept in his own bed. 'Ringi slept with me part of the time – she is still very unwell and takes medicine every day'.⁵¹⁶ Two days later, he 'bought little clock Railway train for Ringi'.⁵¹⁷ Next day he recorded that 'Ringi was very bad again last night continually crying out with pain in her stomach'.⁵¹⁸ The next night, as she was 'still the same', he 'rubbed some Castor oil into Ringi's stomach as she complained of pain', and 'put hot cotton wool on Ringi's stomach on going to bed'.⁵¹⁹ That night he 'Slept in our room but on bed on the floor with Wairingiringi'.⁵²⁰

The following day, he received a 'telegram from Te Okowai asking Eliza to go to Auckland to day & meet her'.⁵²¹ Next day, 13 September,

Eliza got up very early to get her breakfast ready as she intended to go to Auckland to meet Te Okowai (Ringi's mother) and bring her down here. We were both alarmed at Ringi's appearance this morning, she seemed as if she was drooping, being quite silent and apparently not suffering any pain. Eliza determined not to go to Auckland after we had got to Shortland, she returned home. I went down to Steamer and asked Capt Farquhar to tell Te Okowai to come down if he saw her on the wharf.... Got Dr Huxtable up to see Ringi. He says there is no immediate alarm.

⁵¹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵¹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Went down town after ten met Rotomohana steamer at 10.30. Brought home Te Okowai - & one of her children – and a young man who accompanied her.⁵²²

Entry for 14 September:

Slept in room by myself last night but Ringi was brought to me by Eliza before daylight as she would not sleep with herself and Te Okowai. She complained a great deal of pain in her stomach, I managed to sooth her after rubbing her stomach with my hand – Did not get much sleep. Rose at 8.30. I think Ringi seems a little better this morning. Dr Huxtable came up to see her again.

That evening he rubbed more cod liver oil into her stomach.⁵²³ Ringi then slept with her mother and Eliza in the ‘small room’ and had ‘a better night last night – but I am not at all satisfied with her low appearance’. When Eliza met him in town he ‘gave her £1 to buy a shawl for Wairingiringi’.⁵²⁴ That night ‘Ringi slept with Eliza and Te Okowai in small room, there is no improvement in her appearance’.⁵²⁵ The following night she slept on the sofa in the parlour, along with Eliza and her mother: ‘She had a very good night, free from pain and cough’. After work, he ‘went to town again after tea to get beef to make beef tea for Ringi’.⁵²⁶ They continued to use the sofa in the parlour for her bed, with the two women sleeping beside her. As she ‘certainly seems a little better this morning again, having been pretty free from pain last night’, he ‘carried Ringi about on my back down to Water race, and about the paddocks’. Huxtable later ‘came up to see Ringi and says she is better’.⁵²⁷ And on the next night ‘she had a good night’.⁵²⁸ On 20 October, two days later, she was ‘better again this morning and seems to be gradually improving’.⁵²⁹

Three days later, ‘at Te Okowai’s request I have discontinued giving Wairingiringi medicine as she does not seem to improve much on it. I would

⁵²² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

much rather that she should go on taking her medicine, but I do not like to go against the wishes of her parent'.⁵³⁰ Next day she was 'not so well again'.⁵³¹ That night he 'felt nervous and unwell, did not sleep until past 1 – am much troubled about Wairingiringi not getting any better and suffering so much pain, she was crying continually during the night with pain'. After his midday meal he sent Makiwi 'down with a letter to Dr Payne to come up and see Wairingiringi – he came up and prescribed for her. Makiwi went down again and got up medicine – I went down after tea and got some Spongiopilini from Chemists to make up a jacket to wrap round her chest and back'.⁵³² Next day, he recorded that 'Eliza had to carry Wairingiringi on her back during nearly all last night, she will not remain long sitting or lying without wanting to be carried'. Later, 'Dr Huxtable came up to see Ringi, he admits that seeing she is a Maori child and that she will not allow us to use the stringent measures we should do if she were European, that her case is almost hopeless'. That evening Wilkinson 'carried Ringi on my back for an hour after tea'.⁵³³ Next day he recorded that Eliza 'was up a great deal of last night carrying Ringi on her back'. He 'sent Makiwi down to Dr Payne's after tea for more medicine for Ringi';⁵³⁴ presumably he had been able to convince her mother to continue using Pakeha medicines. Two days later, before going to work, he 'rubbed liniment into back, chest and sides of Wairingiringi. She looks much worse this morning'. He returned to find her 'much worse tonight. I think the poor little girl is drawing near her end'.⁵³⁵ That night he slept alone in his room:

Eliza, Te Okowai and Raurau all slept in parlour to be with Wairingiringi, as we thought from her appearance that she might go off during the night. She does not now complain so much of pain, but merely moves about in her bed from one position to another and her breathing is painful to witness – she cannot bear now to be carried, complaining of pain when she is touched, her feet are also swelled. I passed a very uncomfortable night through grieving for the poor little girl. Rose at 7.30. Was surprised to find

⁵³⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

her still alive and in possession of her faculties, but I am satisfied from her appearance that it is only the flickering of the candle.⁵³⁶

The same sleeping arrangements continued until the end. On the next day, 1 October, she was 'still the same this morning, it is surprising to me how she holds on. It must however only be a question of time'. After going to work, he sent Makiwi 'home with preserved pears for Ringi. That is all she can eat now'. Wilkinson himself went 'into town again after tea to get preserved pears for Ringi'.⁵³⁷ On 2 October his diary entry was almost solely about her:

She was very bad again last night about nine o'clock, and I put hot flannel clothes on her stomach and back which gave her considerable relief. I am alarmed however to see the way in which her stomach is swelled. Her strength in holding out seems wonderful, and were it possible for her disease (whatever it is) to be removed, I believe now she would recover.... Ringi seems improved to day. But I do not like to indulge false hopes. She is always worse after the sun has gone down.⁵³⁸

Next day she was 'still the same', and after lunch he 'hunted all over the Grocers' shops at Grahamstown for some Californian preserved pears for Ringi, got them at last at Mears'. In the evening, 'on the advice of Mr Hall, I gave Ringi a little gin and water'.⁵³⁹ (Hall was a chemist.)⁵⁴⁰ Next morning she appeared 'to be a little better', which he attributed 'to the gin given to her last night'. She was 'not so well again that evening',⁵⁴¹ and had 'a very bad night'. Later that day, 5 October, 'Ngaonewhero arrived from the bush to see Wairingiringi'. Wilkinson made mutton broth for her,⁵⁴² but that evening she had 'a bad night again', and the next day he 'could not get her to eat her mutton broth that I cooked for her last night'. He got a child's swing made for her at a local chair factory, and brought it home after

⁵³⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵³⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁰ See G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 17, 23 December 1881; 'Cash Account', April, December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

work.⁵⁴³ The following morning, he ‘turned to and fixed up swing for Wairingiringi, and she had a good long swing in it, poor little girl she does not get any better’. He nailed more cleats to the verandah to enable him to shift the swing around.⁵⁴⁴ Next day she was ‘still the same, if possible getting gradually weaker’.⁵⁴⁵ That night, a Saturday, he slept by himself:

Eliza came in before I got up to say that they thought Wairingiringi last moments had come, but she rallied again. She can’t however last much longer poor little girl, as she is slightly wandering, and is hardly able to collect her ideas. Her speech is also getting thick. I carried her about in my arms a good deal during the day, and I notice when she coughs that her breath is quite offensive.⁵⁴⁶

Next morning he was told that ‘Ringi was not so bad’ during the night. ‘Te Okowai expressed a wish to take Ringi to Ngaonewhero’s settlement up the Kauaeranga’ valley because she thought ‘that possibly the change might do her good, and also through a superstitious idea that my house has something to do with the child’s sickness on acct. of its once belonging to Te Taniwha. I let them go’, with Raurau and others to guide them, and gave Te Okowai seven shillings for food.⁵⁴⁷ Next day ‘Makiwi returned & says Ringi is better (don’t believe it)’.⁵⁴⁸ On the following day, Wednesday 12 October, his final entry was: ‘Thinking a good deal about Wairingiringi’. He later added a note: ‘Wairingiringi (aged 6 years) died today at Waiwhakaurunga [the correct name for Kauaeranga]. I did not hear of it until Friday evening after my return from Ohinemuri’.⁵⁴⁹

His entry for that Friday:

Arrived at Shortland at 7, heard from Ngakiore at the town that Wairingiringi had died at their camp at the bush on Wednesday last (12 inst) at 6 o’clock in the evening, which explains my feeling so sad about her at that time.... Rode home, found poor little Wairingiringi laid out on the sofa in the parlour. So the poor

⁵⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁴⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

little girl has gone at last after all her suffering. Had a good cry over her. She smells badly and the blood issued from her mouth on my kissing her. Dearle was there waiting for me and assisted me to put her in the coffin which had arrived from Twentyman's [the undertaker].⁵⁵⁰ Te Okowai & Raurau were all at my place. They brought the body in from the bush the day before yesterday.⁵⁵¹

Extracts from his entry for Saturday, 15 October:

Fine day. Buried poor little Wairingiringi today at the Maori cemetery at Parawai – had the grave dug by Brickey by the side of Ngaro's grave. We carried the body down through Bank's paddocks on to road where Hearse met us, and we followed behind to cemetery. [Rev.] Wiremu Turipona read the burial service at the grave. Those who followed were Te Okowai, Kahui (mother and brother), Eliza, Raurau, Ngaonewhero, Dearle, myself, Ngakiore, Wi Turipona, Hera Paremataiti – Tuna – Eru – Harihari. Mr Twentyman accompanied and conducted the funeral – Eliza went into town to get mourning clothes.... Got a certificate from Dr Payne regarding Ringi's death, he calls it Phthisis Pulmonales [tuberculosis]. We are all very sad about the dear little girl's death (especially myself who had learned to love her so much).⁵⁵²

Next day, he recorded that he 'slept in the parlour on the sofa last night (where Wairingiringi was laid out after death). Eliza, Raurau and Te Okowai slept on the floor – had fire in parlour. We are all very sad and down hearted about our little girl's death'. He burnt her 'things on the road' to avoid the spread of infection, and wrote informing Stewart of her death.⁵⁵³ At the end of the month three Maori were 'staying at my place having come over from the Miranda side to see us in connexion with little Wairingiringi's death, poor little girl I often think about her and feel sad'.⁵⁵⁴ In December he walked to the Maori burial ground at Parawai,⁵⁵⁵ probably to visit her grave. The following day he recorded cutting oats 'that were

⁵⁵⁰ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 881; *Thames Advertiser*, 30 October 1896, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 20 October 1947, p. 2.

⁵⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

sown the day after Wairingiringi's funeral'.⁵⁵⁶ That was the last mention of her in his diary, which was rarely introspective, but he never forgot her, and his first child by Raurau, born in October 1882, was named Mere Anne Wairingiringi.⁵⁵⁷ He called her Ringi.⁵⁵⁸

MEREA AND WILKINSON DURING 1881

Wilkinson carefully recorded his romance with Merea. On 6 January 1881, 'Wrote letter to Merea saying that I shall be at Paeroa tomorrow night' when on his way to Tauranga on business.⁵⁵⁹ At Paeroa he lodged at Asher Cassrells and Phillip Bennett's Criterion Hotel.⁵⁶⁰ 'Slept in double bedded room expected Merea in from Waitoki but she did not come'.⁵⁶¹ Ten days later, when in Thames, he received a letter from her, and replied on the following day.⁵⁶² On 28 January, 'bought 2 silk Handkerchiefs for Merea',⁵⁶³ and on the following day, after working at Ohinemuri, he 'rode on to Waitoki, arriving there at 7. Merea came on the track to meet me – stayed there all night – no one there but Merea, old Makareta, and Warutau Mohi'.⁵⁶⁴ (Makareta Tokerau was her grandmother,⁵⁶⁵ and the aunt of Toro Mohi and Warutau Mohi, of Mangaiti,⁵⁶⁶ closer to Te Aroha.) The following morning,

⁵⁵⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1904, appendix.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶⁰ See Death Certificate of Berl CKA Phillip Urvaler CKA Bennett, 2 October 1901, 1901/6101, BDM; *Thames Advertiser*, 19 December 1878, p. 3, 14 March 1896, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 October 1895, p. 28; *Thames Star*, 14 October 1901, p. 3; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 19 May 1924, p. 2.

⁵⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 17, 18 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 39, p. 125.

⁵⁶⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 10, p. 207; no. 12, p. 328; no. 13, p. 118; no. 64, p. 359; Death Certificate of Toro Mohi, 7 May 1938, 1838/30317, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 16 May 1938, p. 4.

Merea got up first and got some ripe peaches for me which I ate before getting up (and suffered from indigestion afterwards for doing so) – had breakfast and walked down to bank of River and watched Warutau & Toro Mohi who were breaking in a horse of the other side – Merea pulled some green maize for my horse – went to sleep in bed room after dinner, and went to bed early at night.⁵⁶⁷

On their last morning together, he ‘rose at 7. Merea got up first and made breakfast. Makureta gave my horse some green maize’. He left for Thames at 8.30; ‘Merea came as far as the main road with me’.⁵⁶⁸ Despite being actively involved in resolving the conflicts caused by the murder of Himiona Haira at Te Aroha,⁵⁶⁹ and working on land purchases, he found time to write her a letter on 18 February.⁵⁷⁰ Four days later he wrote another ‘and bought bag sugar (56 lbs) for her at Snowling’s to go up the river tomorrow’.⁵⁷¹ At the end of the month ‘Merea sent my new kiekeie hat made by herself - also a little fancy flax bag’.⁵⁷²

On 3 March he returned to Paeroa. ‘Found Merea was there to meet me – She and I slept in my old bed room at the back of Bennett’s store, but we had to get out of the window as the key of the passage door was locked’.⁵⁷³ The following day, ‘Rose at 5. Merea and I got out of the room window, went and had a wash in one of Bennett’s bed rooms – had a cup of tea and some bread and butter’, after which he left to pay goldfield revenue to Ngati Rahiri.⁵⁷⁴ On 20 March he ‘wrote letter to Merea in the office’,⁵⁷⁵ probably informing her of his imminent return, for six days later he arrived at Waitoki in the dark. ‘Got off the track and had to call her from house to come and put me right – found her waiting for me with nice clean room and only Makereta Makara and Mata Pepene’s mother at home’.⁵⁷⁶ After a ‘very

⁵⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁶⁹ See paper on the Te Aroha murder.

⁵⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

uncomfortable night's rest', he left for Paeroa after breakfast; Merea 'accompanied me along the road as far as cutting at Waitoki creek'.⁵⁷⁷

On 2 April, 'Went to office again after tea. Wrote a letter to Merea - enclosed a £1 note inside - Got her new boots from Morgan and gave them to man belonging to S[team] L[aunch] Riroriro to leave at Waitoki'.⁵⁷⁸ The fact that he wrote this letter in his office revealed his desire to keep this correspondence secret from Eliza, although others, both Maori and Pakeha, knew of their relationship. Six days later, unable to obtain feed for his horse at Paeroa, he 'determined to ride on to Waitoki and see Merea'. She was home, along with Ngahuka and Hirawani.⁵⁷⁹ The following morning, after a breakfast of bread, tea, and baked apples, he returned to Paeroa. 'Merea rode as far as Waitoki bridge with me - Gave her £1'.⁵⁸⁰ Two days later, when back in Thames, 'Had apples for lunch, they were sent me in a box by Merea'.⁵⁸¹ Another five days later, he arrived at Waitoki by boat. 'Went out looking for Pheasants but did not see any. Went to bed with Merea at 7.30'.⁵⁸² The following day he went hunting:

Wet morning. Rose at 6 shortly after day light. Started out with my gun & dogs in the direction of Te Rae-o-te-papa to look for Pheasants but could not find any, came home to breakfast quite wet through. Sat by the fire in kitchen. Merea had a nice young sucking pig roasted, made a hearty breakfast - after which she & I went to some lagoons behind Waitoki but could not find any ducks, all the water being dried up - shot a Pukeko, then walked along the eastern bank. Had several shots at Pheasants but missed them all, then crossed over in canoe to other side and walked as far as Ahipepe, Merea with me, No luck, although I saw several birds. Then walked in the direction of Mangamutu on E. bank with same result. Had wash, hearty tea, & bed at 7 - quite tired.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 April 1881, University of Waikato Library [punctuation added].

The following morning he rose at 6.30. 'Merea got up early and cooked breakfast. Ate the rest of my Roast pork. Got on board steamer at 8.30, had sleep on board'. That evening, 'Eliza & I went into town after tea to get my things from off the steamer. Got 5 pigeons from Dearle'.⁵⁸⁴ Six days later, Merea came to Thames by steamer, and he took her to Grahamstown, where he paid her £50 for her interest in a block of land. On 25 April, Eliza was 'in town. Could not get down to see Merea at night on account of Eliza'. On the morning of the following day, Eliza was 'vexed on account of Merea being in town'. Later that day Eliza went into town; to check on him and Merea? On 27 April, 'Eliza & I are on bad terms on account of Merea coming down from Waitoki to Thames'.⁵⁸⁵

On 11 May, after conducting official business at Te Aroha, he 'rode into Waitoki to see Merea. It was 7 o'clock before I got there but beautiful moonlight - found her very unwell'.⁵⁸⁶ After doing more work at Te Aroha the next day, he returned. 'Rubbed some liniment into Merea's back and sides, she being very unwell & suffering from pains in her back – also put a mustard plaster on her chest'.⁵⁸⁷ The following morning, after they breakfasted together, he left for Paeroa, where at Cassrels and Bennett's hotel he was given 'letter left there by Merea for me with £2 in it'.⁵⁸⁸ A week after his return to Thames, he sent 'oysters, Martingale,⁵⁸⁹ & letter to Merea to go by "Vivid" tomorrow'.⁵⁹⁰

Wilkinson was attracted to other women also. When travelling by boat from Auckland to Thames in March he 'sat on deck all night talking with Mrs Nash a widow ... got up quite a flirtation with her'.⁵⁹¹ At the end of the month he 'called on Mrs Nash at her new shop in Grahamstown',⁵⁹² the

⁵⁸⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25-27 April 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁸⁹ 'A strap or arrangement of straps fastened at one end to the noseband, bit, or reins of a horse and at the other to its girth, in order to prevent it from rearing or throwing its head back, or to strengthen the action of the bit': *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

⁵⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 March 1881, University of Waikato Library.

northern part of Thames, where Mrs Nash had moved her bakery.⁵⁹³ Late in June he ‘had cup of coffee and meat pie at Mrs Nash’s’, and five days later had ‘coffee and sausage rolls’ there.⁵⁹⁴ No more was to be heard of this widow, but by then Merea and Eliza had someone else to be very jealous of.

HARIATA RAURAU⁵⁹⁵

On 20 May ‘Timiuha of Ohinemuri brought in letter to Eliza from Tahipapa and Raurau saying they were at Ohinemuri’.⁵⁹⁶ This was the first mention in his diary of Hariata Raurau, who, according to her marriage certificate, was then 21 years old.⁵⁹⁷ Of Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Peehi, she had been born at Waipa to Totorewa Parehuia,⁵⁹⁸ otherwise Tororewa Pairama and Totorewa Kiharoa,⁵⁹⁹ and Miriama Te Whaupara; she was an owner of land between Otorohanga and Te Kuiti.⁶⁰⁰ As a child, she lived at Te Kumi, near Te Kuiti, at Pukemapau, at Te Kuiti, and at Pukeroa-Hangatiki, mid-way between Te Kuiti and Otorohanga.⁶⁰¹ As she later told the land court, ‘Taupiri is my kainga at Te Kuiti, I lived there before I was old enough to know things’.⁶⁰² Riria Ngaonewhero was her aunt, and they lived together with their hapu at Mangawheroa and Whauwharua when she was young.⁶⁰³ Her father died in 1895, leaving seven surviving children; she was his second child and the first daughter.⁶⁰⁴ Her sister, Te Kaama

⁵⁹³ Advertisement, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 February 1879, p. 2; advertisement, *Thames Star*, 3 March 1879, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25, 30 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁹⁵ For a possible photograph of her as a middle-aged woman, see Wanhalla, after p. 124.

⁵⁹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁵⁹⁷ Marriage Certificate of Hariata Raurau, 15 January 1905, 1905/5636, BDM.

⁵⁹⁸ To confirm spelling of his second name, see Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5, p. 222 (where the names are in reverse order).

⁵⁹⁹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, p. 338.

⁶⁰⁰ Marriage Certificate of Hariata Raurau, 15 January 1905, 1905/5636, BDM; G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 30, 31 December 1881, 25 March 1904, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books, no. 5, pp. 96, 153, 190-191, 222; no. 15, p. 108; no. 46, pp. 50, 58.

⁶⁰¹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 15, pp. 107-110.

⁶⁰² Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 15, p. 109.

⁶⁰³ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 33, p. 85.

⁶⁰⁴ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, pp. 338-339.

Totorewa (also known as Hemopo), married the prophet Te Mahuki Manukura.⁶⁰⁵ Born in about 1848, Te Mahuki, or ‘Mahuki of the Red Plume’, was a rangatira of the Ngati Kinohaku hapu of Ngati Tamatera. ‘In the late 1870s he went to Parihaka where he was deeply influenced by Te Whiti’s teachings. He was one of Te Whiti’s ploughmen and was among those imprisoned. When the Government expelled the Waikatos from Parihaka’ when Te Whiti was arrested in 1880,⁶⁰⁶ he returned to Te Kumi, near Te Kuiti, owned by Raurau and her family, including the prophet.⁶⁰⁷ As Wilkinson noted, he ‘installed himself as representative of Te Whiti’ and quickly transformed Te Kumi into

a miniature Parihaka. They built their houses in the same way and in the same positions relatively to each other as were those at Parihaka; their modes of living, their speeches, their songs, their prayers, and their continuous reading of the Old Testament – the New Testament, with the exception of the book of Revelations, does not form any part of their religion – were just the same as when they were at Parihaka.

They had ‘plenty of food and the society of “lovely woman” ’ to attract followers,⁶⁰⁸ including Raurau’s sister, but there was no indication that Raurau was interested;⁶⁰⁹ Wilkinson could not have associated with her had she been. The sect, Tekau-ma-rua, or the twelve apostles, wanted to keep separate from Pakeha and to retain their land, fearing ‘their destruction as a race’. Knowing that they could not defeat the Pakeha by force, ‘as a sort of forlorn hope, they fall back upon the Old Testament Scriptures’, finding ‘signs’ that they could overcome all their opponents. ‘Some of them are monomaniacal, some are merely infatuated’, and some, the leaders, use the

⁶⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, Diary, entry for 28 December 1881, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5, p. 222; Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, p. 339; *Thames Advertiser*, 2 September 1899, p. 3; Marr, p. 61.

⁶⁰⁶ B.J.F., ‘Te Mahuki Manukura’, *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1966), vol. 1, p. 377; Chris Korokeke, ‘Te Mahuki’, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: vol. 2: 1870-1900* (Wellington, 1993), pp. 518-519.

⁶⁰⁷ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5, p. 222.

⁶⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Office, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁹ See *New Zealand Herald*, 23 October 1890, p. 5.

‘signs’ as a means to achieve their ends.⁶¹⁰ Wilkinson described his unofficial brother-in-law as ‘a consumptive, cunning-looking Native, of about thirty-five years of age, of unprepossessing appearance, but gifted with considerable glibness of speech’.⁶¹¹

After his 1883 capture of a survey party,⁶¹² and a farcical ‘attack’ on Alexandra,⁶¹³ Mahuki was imprisoned, which, it has been claimed, ‘led him to advocate imprisonment as a convenient form of martyrdom’.⁶¹⁴ Early in 1890, he prophesied that the Maori millennium would occur on 2 November that year, and on 21 October, in anticipation, attempted to occupy Te Kuiti.⁶¹⁵ The subsequent arrests were accepted calmly. ‘Those arrested, like their leader, appeared to glory in posing as martyrs. Mahuki said that in gaol he was well treated, and did little or nothing. Every time he came out his mana was greater, and more like Te Whiti’s’. Pakeha viewed him ‘as partially insane, especially under excitement’.⁶¹⁶ Imprisoned for seven years in November 1897, in April 1899, when he was 59, he was transferred to the asylum, suffering from ‘mania’, cause unknown, and died there in August.⁶¹⁷ His case notes recorded: ‘Has always been regarded as mentally deficient, and fanatical’. One doctor noted that he ‘gave a rambling discourse of a religious nature intermixed with nonsense’, and another that he believed he ‘had the power to make the head gaoler a king. That if those present would divest themselves of their garments he would give them other garments – that the sun would be their garments’. When examined he addressed the sun, to which he ‘frequently makes loud invocations’.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Office, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 5.

⁶¹¹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Office, 11 June 1883, *AJHR*, 1883, G-1, p. 5; for a June 1885 photograph of him, see Burton Bros, C.010220, Te Papa Tangarewa, reproduced in Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain* (Auckland, 1981), p. 178.

⁶¹² See paper on William Morris Newsham.

⁶¹³ *Waikato Times*, 27 March 1883, p. 2, 5 April 1883, p. 2, 7 April 1883, p. 2.

⁶¹⁴ B.J.F., ‘Te Mahuki Manukura’, p. 378.

⁶¹⁵ *Waikato Times*, 11 October 1890, p. 2, 23 October 1890, p. 2, 4 November 1890, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 23 October 1890, p. 5; ‘Mercurio’, ‘Local Gossip’, *New Zealand Herald*, 25 October 1890, Supplement, p. 1.

⁶¹⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 23 October 1890, p. 5.

⁶¹⁷ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1896-1901, no. 2375, YCAA 1021/3, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 2 September 1899, p. 3.

⁶¹⁸ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1898-1900, p. 147, YCAA 1048/8, ANZ-A.

Raurau, as she was usually called, was probably the Hariata who was mentioned in Wilkinson's diary from mid-January to late February. On 16 January, a Sunday, 'Hariata came up' to visit and helped Wilkinson and Eliza draft letters informing Maori about the death of a friend, and on the following Sunday 'Hariata came up to dinner'.⁶¹⁹ On 28 January, when Eliza was in Auckland, 'Hariata came up before breakfast', and 'came up' again four days later.⁶²⁰ On 6 February he recorded that 'Hariata has been sleeping at my place during the last 2 nights in the bathroom', and she 'slept at our place again' for the next three nights.⁶²¹ On one of these days she helped Eliza clean the cupboards and wash the floors.⁶²² On 19 February, 'Hariata came back again she having been away for a few days digging up her potatoes',⁶²³ an indication that she lived relatively close by. The following day she returned 'after digging up her potatoes' and slept 'in the bath room'.⁶²⁴ She was 'still at my place' two days later.⁶²⁵ After this entry, Hariata was not mentioned again, but probably she was the same woman who renewed her acquaintance with Eliza and Wilkinson in May.

On 21 May, Ngaonewhero, Eliza, and Wairingiringi 'left in steamer "Vivid" at 1.15 for Ohinemuri to see Tahipapa and Raurau'.⁶²⁶ They returned on 26 May 'bringing with them Tahipapa (Te Hunua) and Raurau, also two other Native women they stayed at my place'.⁶²⁷ Two days later, he was 'sleeping by myself in my new room. Eliza and Wairingiringi sleeping in the old bed room – Tahipapa – Raurau – and two other women still staying at my place, also Kiore & Ngaonewhero'.⁶²⁸ The following day, 'Rau Rau came into office in the afternoon and had a confidential talk with me about herself'.⁶²⁹ What she said and how he responded was not recorded,

⁶¹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 16, 23 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 28 January, 1 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 6, 7, 10 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 February 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

but that night 'Raurau slept with me in my room' for 'the first time'. That afternoon he took Tahipapa and Raurau to a doctor to be treated 'for something the matter with the inside of her mouth, and the other for a bad knee'.⁶³⁰ Raurau slept with him that night; and, to illustrate the emotional tangle he and his partners were getting into, when he felt unwell and lay down in bed after breakfast, 'Eliza came to lay down alongside of me'.⁶³¹ Raurau slept with him for the next three nights.⁶³² Six days later, after a trip up-country, 'Eliza slept with me last night' and the sick Wairingiringi later shared their bed. 'Eliza – Raurau and others in town – bought Raurau a pair of boots'.⁶³³ After Raurau slept with him on the following night, 'Kingi a relative of Rau Rau's rode in from Ohinemuri and wanted to take Raurau away by force'.⁶³⁴ Possibly this was Huia Kingi, recorded in 1888 as an owner, along with Raurau and others, of the Te Kumi Block.⁶³⁵ The succeeding day's entry recorded that 'Raurau slept with me last night. The Native Kingi also slept at my house. In the morning Raurau got up early and went and hid herself as Kingi had threatened to drag her away'.⁶³⁶

10 June: 'Eliza slept with me last night'. When he went to town, 'Rau Rau remained behind'. In the evening he played cards with both women.⁶³⁷ 11 June: 'Slept by myself last night'. Eliza and Raurau went to town and did not return until after ten o'clock: 'Eliza had been drinking'.⁶³⁸ 12 June: 'Did not speak to Eliza all day on account of her coming home the worse for drink last night' (he did not seem to consider that his behaviour might have prompted her lapse).⁶³⁹ 13 June: 'Slept by myself last night. Raurau came to my room early in the morning'. The two women went to town together later

⁶³⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 30, 31 May, 1 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³⁵ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5, p. 222.

⁶³⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 June 1881, University of Waikato Library [punctuation added].

⁶³⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶³⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

in the day,⁶⁴⁰ as they did on later occasions, with no indication in his diary that they were out of sorts with each other.

When at Paeroa on 15 June, he was told by the local police sergeant that Kingi, after returning from Thames, 'had gone to the Police Court and laid a complaint about Eliza and I keeping Rau Rau from being taken by him'.⁶⁴¹ Nothing more was heard of this, for no formal plaint was recorded,⁶⁴² but it illustrated that Eliza, for all her jealousy, assisted a rival to stay in her house. This was again shown in the entry for 18 June: 'Raurau slept in my room last night. Eliza and Raurau in town. Home at 6 with Eliza & Raurau.... Eliza and I do not get on comfortably together now that Raurau is here although she would have her stay'.⁶⁴³ The bizarre situation continued on the following night: 'Raurau slept with me last night, and Eliza came to my bed in the morning'.⁶⁴⁴

Next day, after another night spent with Raurau, Dearle 'came down from Te Aroha – brought me a letter from Merea in which she informs me that she is in the family way'.⁶⁴⁵ This information was recorded exactly a month after his last reference to her; he made no comment about becoming a father for the first time. The following night, 'Eliza slept with me', and the evening after that he played cards with the two women.⁶⁴⁶ The sick Wairingiringi slept with him that night, and next day he 'wrote letter to Merea and made up a parcel of directed envelopes & paper for her [and] gave it to Capt'n [William] Bettis⁶⁴⁷ to deliver',⁶⁴⁸ clearly so she could reply to his letters. That night he slept with Raurau again, but subsequent nights were spent with Eliza and the increasingly unwell Wairingiringi.⁶⁴⁹ On 27 June he arrived at Waitoki in the dark. 'Found the little Merea was actually

⁶⁴⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴² Thames Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1883, BACL 13736/35a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴⁷ A prominent captain of a river steamer: see *Thames Advertiser*, 20 April 1882, p. 3; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 445; Paeroa Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 May 1913, p. 48; *Observer*, 4 November 1916, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁴⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 23-27 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

in the family way. She made some tea and I slept with her all night'.⁶⁵⁰ The following day they 'rose at 10, had roast sucking pig for breakfast - Merea and I walked along the track and brought Haimona', his horse, in. 'She and I lay down again in the afternoon - Hoera and others went to bush to shoot pigeons - sat talking in kitchen after tea - Bed at 8'.⁶⁵¹ Next day, 'Rose at 8. Merea got up early and put Haimona's nose bag on and cooked breakfast. Left there at 10 o'clock'.⁶⁵²

Back in Thames, his bed continued to be visited by both women. 30 June: 'Slept by myself in my room last night. Eliza came to me in the morning.... Eliza and Raurau went to Tararu to get pipis.... Played cards with Eliza and Raurau'.⁶⁵³ 1 July: 'Raurau slept with me in my room last night'.⁶⁵⁴ 2 July: 'Raurau slept with me last night'.⁶⁵⁵ 3 July: 'Slept by myself last night in my room. Eliza came to me in the morning'.⁶⁵⁶ After a night sleeping with Eliza and the feverish Wairingiringi, on the following night he slept by himself, on the next one 'Raurau came to my room in the middle of the night', and on the subsequent night 'Eliza slept with me in my room'.⁶⁵⁷ When he went with David Stewart and Matiu Kaimete to see Pollard's Juvenile Pinafore Troupe he did not take either woman; he returned at 11.30 p.m., 'Eliza & Raurau sitting up for me'.⁶⁵⁸

The next morning, 8 July, after he slept with Eliza and Wairingiringi, there was a new development: 'Girl Raurau has been vomiting and has every appearance of being in the family way'.⁶⁵⁹ The following day, 'Eliza and Raurau in town. Eliza was vexed this morning and has been cross all day on account of my inadvertently saying something this morning that leads her to think that Merea is in the family way to me. Walked home with her & Raurau',⁶⁶⁰ who must have been equally 'cross'. That night he 'slept in room with Eliza and Ringi' but 'went to Raurau in the middle of the

⁶⁵⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 June 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 4-8 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

night'.⁶⁶¹ The following night he slept with Eliza and Wairingiringi, and when at the office next day he 'wrote letter to Merea, bought two bundles of fish to send up tomorrow'.⁶⁶² The next two nights he slept in his own room with Raurau.⁶⁶³ On 13 July he walked home from the office 'with Raurau and Eliza - had quarrel with Eliza after tea on account of her and Raurau drinking beer in town today'.⁶⁶⁴ That night he slept 'in bed with Wairingiringi', and 'Eliza slept in my New Room by herself on account of her quarrel'. However, during the day the two women came to town, and he walked home from the office with them.⁶⁶⁵ The following day he bought 'some mussels to sent up to Waitoki tomorrow' for Merea.⁶⁶⁶ On that night and the following one, Eliza joined Wairingiringi in his room, Eliza sleeping in his bed and the child 'in bed on floor'. On the second night 'Raurau came to me in the morning'.⁶⁶⁷ During the next night Raurau slept with him and Eliza 'slept with Tahipapa in the kitchen', and on the following night Eliza slept with him, Wairingiringi still on the floor.⁶⁶⁸

On 20 July he left Thames by boat on official business: when the two women saw him off, he gave Eliza ten shillings and £1 4s for their servant, presumably to buy food, but did not give Raurau any money.⁶⁶⁹ When he returned, the same pattern of regularly changing bedmates continued. First, Raurau slept with him.⁶⁷⁰ The next night he slept by himself, 'Eliza sleeping on floor with Ringi who complained of pain in her side. She afterwards came in to my bed and slept until morning. Raurau came in the middle of the night but I sent her back to her room'. That afternoon 'Raurau told me that she had her courses in her – which belies statement of Tahipa[pa] & Eliza that Raurau was in family way'.⁶⁷¹ That night Eliza slept with him, suffering from neuralgia, Wairingiringi again sleeping on

⁶⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12, 13 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 16, 17 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 18, 19 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

the floor, and during the day he wrote another letter to Merea.⁶⁷² Eliza shared his bed that night.⁶⁷³ Four nights later he slept with Raurau in the old bedroom.⁶⁷⁴ When he did the same on the following night, ‘Eliza came to bed to me in the morning. We had a great wordy quarrel’, Raurau meanwhile ‘making herself very useful cooking’ because their servant had left.⁶⁷⁵ (Perhaps she could not tolerate what she may have regarded as an immoral household.) On the following evening Eliza slept with him, and once again three nights later.⁶⁷⁶

On 6 August he travelled to Waitoki by steamer, ‘where I got out and remained in order to be Merea, found that there is no doubt of her being in the family way. She is about 4 months gone. Stayed with her all night at the cottage’.⁶⁷⁷ Next day, a Sunday, ‘Merea got up and got breakfast ready, did not go out all day. Merea and I had the place all to ourselves, Hoera – Hirawani and others being in the bush at Rotokohu splitting posts’.⁶⁷⁸ On Monday, he rode Merea’s horse to Te Aroha, where he worked all day, returning at night. All the next day he was unwell. ‘Had sleep in bed in Merea’s room after dinner’, and in the evening he made himself vomit before lying on a mattress in front of the fire.⁶⁷⁹ Rising at 8.00 the following day, he boarded the steamer at 11.30.⁶⁸⁰

Upon returning home, ‘Slept with Ruarua last night with Eliza’s consent’, but then ‘Eliza & I had quarrel at breakfast time’,⁶⁸¹ probably over his visiting Merea. That night he slept alone in his bed with Eliza and Wairingiringi on a mattress on the floor. During the day he sent ‘2 Bags flour, 1 Rice, & 8 bars soap to Merea’.⁶⁸² He slept with Eliza for the next two night, and noted that he was ‘getting on very well without a servant. Eliza and Raurau manage very well with the cooking’.⁶⁸³ They also managed their

⁶⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 July 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1, 4 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 8, 9 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13, 14 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

personal relationship very well also, for they were still playing musical beds. The third night after he last recorded sleeping with Eliza was particularly notable: 'Slept in old room with Raurau last night, returned to my own room and Eliza at 1 a.m. Wairingiringi and boy Makiwi are now sleeping in small bedroom'.⁶⁸⁴ (The children therefore would not disturb or be disturbed by the sexual antics of the adults.) The following night he slept with Raurau 'until 12.30 and then went to my own room', and that evening 'played cards with Eliza Raurau and Makiwi after tea', as he did on the following two nights.⁶⁸⁵ For the next two nights he slept with Eliza, but on the third night slept in his own room until he 'rose at 5.30 and went to Raurau – did not get up until 10 o'clock', it being a Sunday. After the midday meal, he slept on the sofa in the parlour, Eliza lying in front of the fire.⁶⁸⁶ He did not sleep with anyone until five nights later, when he slept with Raurau in the 'old bedroom' before going 'to my own room at 2 a.m.'⁶⁸⁷ Eliza was his bed companion on the next night, and the following evening he went to bed by himself but 'Raurau came to me in bed in the morning. Rose at 9',⁶⁸⁸ later than usual, for it was a Sunday. On the following night he slept in his bed with Eliza while the sick Wairingiringi lay on the floor.⁶⁸⁹ All three were together on the following night, but 'Raurau came to my bed in the early morning', presumably when the other two were still there. That day he received a letter from Merea.⁶⁹⁰ The same bedtime arrangements continued for one more night, with Raurau coming to his bed 'in the morning', but for the next two nights he slept alone until Wairingiringi joined him.⁶⁹¹ For a change, on the following night he slept in his room, and then 'went to Raurau's room at 6 o'clock in the morning. Rose at 8'. He noted that Raurau was 'unwell, looks as if she is going to be in the family way'. That night they all played cards together.⁶⁹² Two nights later

⁶⁸⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 18-20 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 19-21 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 27, 28 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁸⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 August 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 31 August, 1, 2 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

he slept alone until Wairingiringi joined him, and that day received another letter from Merea; 'wrote one to her to go up by tomorrow's steamer'.⁶⁹³

From early September he spent more nights sleeping alone because of Wairingiringi's illness; she joined him on four nights.⁶⁹⁴ After her mother arrived, she slept with her and Eliza. From 8 to 26 September he 'went to Raurau's room in the morning' on one occasion, was with her 'in her room' on another, and she slept with him in his room twice; Eliza slept with him twice, and once 'Eliza came to me in the morning'.⁶⁹⁵ The night of 27 September was 'the first time Eliza has slept with me for some time now on account of Ringi's illness'.⁶⁹⁶ They slept alone on the following night; that day he had received two letters from Merea.⁶⁹⁷ He was 'busy in the morning writing letter to Merea' five days later.⁶⁹⁸ Eliza and Raurau continued to visit the town together, once with Ngaonewhero, when he gave them both three shillings.⁶⁹⁹ He gave Eliza the same sum a few days later when she was in town,⁷⁰⁰ presumably for buying refreshments. Despite the sexual rivalry in the household, Eliza and Raurau continued to work together harmoniously: he came back from work late in the month to find them both digging in the garden, along with Makiwi.⁷⁰¹ Raurau was a close friend of Ngaonewhero: in mid-September they 'sat up nearly all night making hats out of Kiekie'.⁷⁰²

Wilkinson continued to sleep alone in early October while the women slept with Ringi. On 5 October he wrote that 'Eliza came to me in the morning just after day light'.⁷⁰³ That night he slept alone until 'Eliza came to me in the morning'. Ngaonewhero had slept in his house that night also, provoking a crisis in the evening:

⁶⁹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 6-8, 12 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 9, 15, 20, 21, 23, 27 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁶⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Ngaonewhero came home drunk and commenced quarrelling with Eliza outside kitchen window about my not sleeping with Raurau. Eliza got vexed and commenced striking me. I had afterwards to turn Ngaonewhero away from the window and off the verandah several times on account of the row she made shouting & talking.⁷⁰⁴

The last time he had slept with Raurau was the night of 20 September.⁷⁰⁵ Next day the row continued. 'I slept in small bedroom last night on the floor, to be with Eliza as she was very unsettled. Slept in my possum rug. Rose at 6. We all went into the Kitchen and I gave Ngaonewhero a good talking to, saying that she had better take Raurau away from my place altogether'.⁷⁰⁶ After Ngaonewhero 'returned to the bush' later that day, he slept by himself.⁷⁰⁷ He slept alone for the next two nights also, because Eliza was with the dying Wairingiringi.⁷⁰⁸ When everyone apart from Eliza took Wairingiringi to Ngaonewhero's settlement on 10 Monday, Wilkinson bought a book entitled 'The sexes their relation'.⁷⁰⁹ Whilst it cannot be proved that his complicated life prompted him to buy it, it is a reasonable assumption. Next day he recorded that 'Eliza slept with me in my own room last night. We were all by ourselves, a thing that has not happened for a long time'. And that day he wrote another letter to Merea.⁷¹⁰

After Wairingiringi's funeral, everyone in the house slept in the parlour, Wilkinson on the sofa, the women on the floor.⁷¹¹ Next day they took Wairingiringi's mother and brother back to Auckland to catch the train to Te Awamutu; he paid for their fares and accommodation. He stayed at the Auckland Club and the women at 'Darbys';⁷¹² they could not have stayed with him, not being members of a club that would not have admitted women (or Maori?). He was not ashamed to be seen with them, for on the

⁷⁰⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 September 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 9, 10 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁰⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry of 10 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 17, 18 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

following day he ‘walked up Queen Street with Eliza and Raurau’.⁷¹³ Upon returning to Thames, for two nights he ‘slept on the floor in parlour with Eliza and Raurau’ while Makiwi slept in the ‘small room’.⁷¹⁴ Relations were harmonious: on 20 October ‘Eliza, Raurau & Makiwi [were] putting in potatoes and melons’.⁷¹⁵

Because his work took him up-country, on 25 October he rode to Te Aroha via Waitoki. ‘Saw Merea, arranged to return from Te Aroha in the evening and sleep⁷¹⁶ at Waitoki at night’. He returned at dusk, ‘stayed with Merea all night, she is far advanced now in pregnancy’.⁷¹⁷ The following morning, ‘Merea got up at day light, caught her horse “Te Mema” for me to ride to Wairakau – she got the breakfast ready’. After working at Te Aroha he returned and ‘sat talking outside house with Herawani, Ngaheke, Hariata & Nihimea⁷¹⁸ and Merea – stayed there all night’.⁷¹⁹ Next morning, ‘Merea got up at daylight and brought my horse in and got breakfast ready’. When Wilkinson arrived in Paeroa he displayed jealousy, for the first time. ‘Saw Cootes about Mata Pepene’s story about Merea and Hogan, Cootes said it was entirely false’.⁷²⁰ The gossip was Maata Paekau, Aihe Pepene’s wife.⁷²¹

Back home on the following day, he ‘was cross with Eliza because she did not come to greet me on my arrival, and see if I wanted anything’.⁷²² That night he slept ‘in my own room with Eliza’, Raurau sleeping on the floor. During the day the two women were in town, ‘Raurau got tight on account of my having gone to see Merea during my visit at Te Aroha’.⁷²³ Entry for the following day: ‘Slept in own room last night with Eliza, Raurau slept on the floor, I went to her in the middle of the night’. Despite whatever took place then, it was Eliza with whom he ‘walked down garden

⁷¹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20, 21 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹⁶ ‘Slept’ in original.

⁷¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷¹⁸ The spelling of this name is uncertain.

⁷¹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²¹ See paper on Aihe Pepene.

⁷²² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

in paddock' and shared a vapour bath with that evening.⁷²⁴ That night he slept with Eliza, Raurau again on the floor.⁷²⁵

On 14 October, when returning from Paeroa, Wilkinson stopped at Komata, where his friend Nepean Kenny was surveying.⁷²⁶ 'Had talk with him about myself',⁷²⁷ meaning himself and Merea and their unborn child. At the end of the month he 'went over to Kenny's house after tea and had a long private talk with him relative to my approaching trouble through Merea being in the family way'. Kenny 'offered to write to Lewis', the under-secretary, 'about getting me offered other district'.⁷²⁸ Wilkinson did not accept Kenny's offer immediately, but discussed it with him again two weeks later.⁷²⁹ Kenny read his letter to Lewis the following day, but Wilkinson neither recorded his opinion of it nor whether it was sent.⁷³⁰ It may not have been, for 11 days later he talked with the magistrate, Harry Kenrick,⁷³¹ 'relative to private matters concerning myself', and two days later 'drafted a private letter' to Lewis 'asking for a removal from Thames'.⁷³² He did not send it immediately, discussing it with Kenny twice at the beginning of December.⁷³³ Late that year or early the following one Lewis did learn about the circumstances of his becoming a father.⁷³⁴

On 2 November, Wilkinson was at Paeroa on business. Merea and Mihi Mera, Hone Werahiko's shortly-to-be-wife,⁷³⁵ 'came down from Waitoki in steamer. I arranged with Bennett & he got my old room next the store

⁷²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²⁶ For his professional association with Kenny, see for example G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 15, 17, 21 March, 4, 14, 19, 22 April 1881, University of Waikato Library; for Kenny as clerk to the Ohinemuri County Council from 1887 onwards, see *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 841.

⁷²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³¹ See paper on his life.

⁷³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25, 27 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 3, 4 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³⁴ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 'Private', 13 May 1890, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷³⁵ See paper on Hone Werahiko.

prepared for me.... Went to bed at 9.30 with Merea'.⁷³⁶ Next morning she left at five o'clock, presumably to avoid prying eyes, and returned to Waitoki on the steamer with her friend later in the day; Wilkinson gave her £1 and 'bought her a small spade'.⁷³⁷ Four days later he received 'letter from Merea in which she remarks that "her time is at hand" – viz will shortly be confined. Sent her a 6 x 4 tent and fly and 3lbs of candles'.⁷³⁸ Did he consider this would be a more hygienic place to give birth than in her whare?

Once back in Thames, his sleeping arrangements from 5 to 15 November continually changed. The first night he slept on the floor with Raurau, then with Eliza with Raurau on the floor of the same room, an arrangement repeated another four times, three of them with the boy Tata present. He slept with Eliza alone on three occasions, once when Raurau slept with Tata in another room.⁷³⁹ On 15 November, it was arranged that Eliza would go to Wairoa to see 'her people', and he gave her £25 to cover the passage and any spending.⁷⁴⁰ Next day he bought her a 'bright hat' costing 15s 6d, and 'Raurau and I went down to Steamer Rotomahana to see her off'; three other Maori accompanied her. They returned 'home at 5.30 – walked down garden after tea with Raurau'.⁷⁴¹ Eliza sent telegrams and letters keeping him informed of her travels.⁷⁴²

Predictably, the day after Eliza left he 'slept in old Bed room with Raurau last night'; less predictably, 'we all felt lonely on account of Eliza going away'. When he went to work in the morning, 'Raurau went down with me to take clothes to wash'.⁷⁴³ They slept together every night until Eliza returned on 21 December, after 6 December 'in Raurau's room'.⁷⁴⁴

⁷³⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for y November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷³⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 4-16 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 15 November 1881, 6 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 16 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 19, 20, 24 November, 6, 10, 15 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 18 November–21 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Twice he walked home with her back from his office.⁷⁴⁵ On 22 November, he ‘took home a letter to Raurau from her mother (Te Whaupara) ordering her to leave here and go to Parihaka’.⁷⁴⁶ Although Ngaonewhero was also known as Parihaka,⁷⁴⁷ the settlement in Taranaki where Te Whiti had been arrested on 5 November was meant.⁷⁴⁸ Her two youngest brothers had gone there in 1879 and not returned.⁷⁴⁹ She ignored her mother, and three days later Wilkinson recorded that he had ‘got new Cow Nancy up for Raurau to milk’ and that they played cards in the evening.⁷⁵⁰ Two days later, ‘Raurau was very unwell this morning complaining of being feverish and having pains in the loins and hips – she slept most of the day’.⁷⁵¹ At the beginning of December, a Pakeha woman came ‘to show Raurau how to make butter’; she made some a week later.⁷⁵²

On 2 December he briefly recorded that ‘Hipaipa came into office to see me’.⁷⁵³ Hipaipa Te Tawai was one of the wives of the leading rangatira Wirope Hoterene Taipari, and three days later they both ‘came to see me in the afternoon in the office relative to a statement that Hipaipa had made to him that I attempted to kiss her. I denied it’.⁷⁵⁴ Although there was no evidence to support the charge, it was clearly not impossible, judging from his having affairs with three women simultaneously and being attracted to the widow Nash as well. There was no further mention of this accusation in his diary, but it could have been another reason why he was anxious to leave the district.

Raurau was very solicitous during early December, while Eliza was still away. On one day, because of showery weather she ‘went into town to take me an umbrella’.⁷⁵⁵ Two days later, when he walked to town, ‘Raurau went with me to carry my coat’.⁷⁵⁶ Presumably she knew that he was going

⁷⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 19, 26 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁴⁷ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books, no. 7, p. 43; no. 8, p. 271.

⁷⁴⁸ Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain: The story of Parihaka* (Auckland, 1975), pp. 111-119.

⁷⁴⁹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, p. 339.

⁷⁵⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1, 11 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 November 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

to visit Merea, to whom he had written on 21 November, receiving a reply five days later, to which he had replied on 3 December.⁷⁵⁷ This presumably told her to expect him four days later, when he arrived at Waitoki. 'Found Merea all right, but from her appearance I don't think she will be long before she is confined, perhaps 10 days or a week. Had tea there. Slept with her all night'.⁷⁵⁸ Early next morning he gave her £1 and went back to work at Paeroa.⁷⁵⁹ Then back to Thames and Raurau's bed, and a letter from Eliza telling of her forthcoming return.⁷⁶⁰ He played cards with Raurau on three evenings,⁷⁶¹ and on one Sunday 'Tamati Paetai's girls, Paretipa and Ngapara, came up to see Raurau, they stayed to dinner'.⁷⁶²

A DRAMATIC END TO 1881

The last 11 days of December were the most emotionally tempestuous of the year. On the 20th, he received a letter and a case of cherries from Merea as well as a telegram from Eliza saying that she and Hemaina Meremana were in Auckland on their way back to Thames. He then 'called on Hoera Te Mimiha and his wife Hariata' Marakai to be told 'that Merea was showing symptoms of going to be confined when they left Waitoki this morning'.⁷⁶³ The following evening he met Eliza's boat, and 'Slept with Eliza in our own room'; they slept together for the next two nights.⁷⁶⁴ 'Eliza is out of sorts having suffered from sea sickness during her passage up from Napier. I did not think that she has improved much in health during the journey, she looks thinner'. She had a vapour bath that evening. 'Got letter from Hirawani saying the Merea was confined with a boy'.⁷⁶⁵ The following

⁷⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 21, 26 November, 3 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 10 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13, 15, 17 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 21-24 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

day the two women were in town and he walked home from work with them, apparently harmoniously.⁷⁶⁶

Next day, Christmas Eve, was a Saturday. 'Eliza made two cakes in accordance with instructions read by me from book', after which he consulted with Richard John Gill, in charge of purchasing Maori land, all morning.

Sent Raurau down town early in the morning to bring up goose from Hansen's, and suet from Telley's. Bought duck from Bobbett. Bought peas, oranges and potatoes from Evans, also Pineapple, home at 2.30. Eliza and I made two plum puddings after I got home I reading from the book, made them from two different recipes.... Went to town after tea with Eliza. Bought green holland for window blind. Got vexed with Eliza because she did not come home when I asked her to. Came home by myself at 10 o'clock, brought home some bottled beer and 1 Bottle Whiskey.⁷⁶⁷

His diary entry for Christmas Day:

Fine day. Eliza came home last night with Ngaonewhero and others at 12 o'clock and kicked in one of the panels of my bedroom door because I had it locked and would not let her in. She afterwards went to bed by herself in small bed room. Slept by myself last night, rose at 9. Spent a very unpleasant day on account of Eliza's behaviour. This has been a most unpleasant Christmas in account of my suspicions of Eliza's unfaithfulness and her present behaviour. Had a cup of tea for breakfast, did not eat any Christmas dinner although Raurau boiled the two plum puddings and roasted the goose and two ducks – had some pineapple for dinner, did not go down town all day. Had some cold roast goose for tea.

He ended a disastrous day by discussing Gill's discourtesy to him with Kenny, who advised him to consult Kenrick and if necessary to complain to the Native Minister.⁷⁶⁸ This discourtesy was not explained; it could refer to disagreements over land purchases or to his sex life. Remarkably, he did not see the absurdity of his accusing someone else of unfaithfulness.

Extracts from his diary for Boxing Day:

⁷⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 December 1881, University of Waikato Library [punctuation added].

Slept in my room by myself last night. Eliza and Raurau slept in out kitchen with Ngaonewhero and others. Piripi from Waiomu came up last night and slept at my place – Rose at 8.... Ate very little for breakfast. Am still not on speaking terms with Eliza, as she has not expressed any sorrow for the action of Saturday night. She Raurau and the others all went out to see the races at Parawai. I also went after they had gone. Opened a bottle of champagne that I have had in the house since I was sick some months ago. Returned home from Races with a headache. Felt better after tea.⁷⁶⁹

When he was feverish in May, Dr Payne had ‘recommended me to take some champagne and ice which he sent up for me’.⁷⁷⁰ On the following day, relations were still frosty, although he paid for Eliza and Raurau to go to the races:⁷⁷¹

Slept in own room by myself last night. Took seven Holloway’s pills before going to bed. Slept well until 4 o’clock, had to get up on account of the pills working me. Went to bed again. Eliza got up shortly afterwards from where she was sleeping in out kitchen and I saw her come over and peep into my room window to see if I was there.... Went out to Race Course – so did Eliza and the others, but I keep aloof from them, as Eliza has not yet attempted any explanation for her conduct. Left course before races were over on account of the rain.... Home at 5.30. Raurau came home shortly afterwards – and then Eliza & the others just before dusk.⁷⁷²

Next day the basis of the quarrel was revealed and resolved, dramatically:

Slept in own room by myself last night again. Woke up at 1 o’clock and read by candlelight until 4. Rose at 7.30 - after breakfast I spoke to Kahurau Ngakiore and Ngaonewhero about my suspicions of Eliza having mis-conducted herself with some Ngatiraukawa Native when in Auckland on her way home from Te Wairoa. After telling them (Eliza being present) all the signs that I went by consisting of her own and Hemaima’s conversation and conduct, they considered that I was justified in thinking that

⁷⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 May 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, ‘Cash Account’ for December, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 27 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

Eliza had done wrong, but as there was no direct evidence and as Eliza indignantly denied anything more than friendly conversation and drinking ginger wine at their expense, they did not think that she had been proved guilty. When talking to Eliza afterwards [she] cried a great deal and protested her innocence and to my horror actually got a piece of cord to strangle herself with when she found I still appeared to doubt her word. I had therefore to withdraw the charge against her and must wait for subsequent events to prove it false or otherwise. Did not go out all day but went into town at night and wrote a letter to Mereia.⁷⁷³

That night he ‘Slept in own room with Eliza’.⁷⁷⁴ Raurau cannot have been pleased, because next day she told him ‘something that she had heard Tahipa[pa] say about what Te Piki [Eliza] had done some years ago, which cause me some uneasiness, but when I told Eliza about it she denied that Tahipa[pa] could ever have said such a thing, and gave me a correct version of what she did say to Tahipapa’.⁷⁷⁵ He slept with Eliza that night and the next.⁷⁷⁶ On the last day of the year,

Te [Whata] Rangihaeata⁷⁷⁷ came to see me in the kitchen after I had finished my breakfast and speak to me about the reason of their having come to this district – the principal one of which was to get the Natives to go to Te Kumi and await the “Whakaoranga” or “Millennium.” Another reason was to take Raurau away – I told him that I did not believe in any of their misguided nonsense regarding the Millennium and they had better give their attention to cultivating the ground – and that with regard to Raurau, as I did not fetch her, neither would I turn her away. She came of her own accord and she could return in the same way. I would not attempt to influence her at all. Rode into town, and left at 12.30 for Waitoki on Douglas’s roan pony, stayed [at] Paeroa and had an early tea and rode on to Waitoki in the evening. Found that Mereia had got over her confinement and that she had a fine little half-caste boy who was born on the night of Wednesday the 27th last or morning of Thursday 22nd. Slept on bed by myself – Mereia with her baby slept on the floor.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 30, 31 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁷ For his full name, see G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 31 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

MEREVA AND WILKINSON AFTER 1881

These sleeping positions symbolized the power relationships in all Wilkinson's liaisons; yet, as he told Te Rangihaeata, the three women all came to him willingly, and despite how he treated them, they all remained. In late 1882, he left Thames for, first, Alexandra/Pirongia and then Otorohanga, and Eliza, now known as Roihi te Piki or just Piki, went with him to the latter place; it is not known if she went to the former. Raurau also moved to Otorohanga, partly because she had originally come from that district, but primarily because of her love for Wilkinson. She had her first child by him at their Thames home in October 1882 and would have three more at Otorohanga between 1893 and 1902.⁷⁷⁹ Whether the ten-year gap in her having children reflected any difficulties in their relationship is not known because his diaries for that period have not survived, but may mean that she had not lived with him at Alexandra.

Raurau had good reason to remain jealous of Mereva, for Wilkinson visited her when his work occasionally took him to Hauraki. In May 1886 he wrote that his 'time has been so much taken up in the Waikato District during the past year that I have not had the opportunity to make more than one or two visits to the Thames during that period, and then only for a short time'.⁷⁸⁰ In the 12 months to June 1890, he spent some time in Thames on purchasing land,⁷⁸¹ and in June planned to work there for a week or more.⁷⁸² Their fleeting moments together resulted in the birth of three more children, in September 1885, January 1888, and October 1889. They probably remained in contact after the death of their fourth child, in April 1890,⁷⁸³ and Wilkinson, no doubt with Mereva's full support, would have ensured that their children attend school. They were enrolled at Te Aroha between 1891 and mid-1898, then at Paeroa until mid-1899, always under the surname 'Wilkinson', their father being recorded in 1891 as George, an

⁷⁷⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1904, appendix, University of Waikato Library.

⁷⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 May 1886, *AJHR*, 1886, G-1, p. 9; for one visit, see *Waikato Times*, 23 March 1886, p. 2.

⁷⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 19 June 1890, *AJHR*, 1890, G-2, p. 2; for one example of this work, see *Waikato Times*, 1 October 1889, p. 2.

⁷⁸² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 25 June 1890 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 23/13b, ANZ-W.

⁷⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1904, appendix, University of Waikato Library.

interpreter, of Te Aroha.⁷⁸⁴ That they had a good education was illustrated in 1911, when his eldest son, then living in the 'dry' King Country, was illegally supplied with liquor. His defence was that the supplier had not realized he was a half-caste because his letter 'was well and grammatically written and signed'.⁷⁸⁵

When their children were living at Paeroa, their guardian was recorded as 'Mrs Wilkinson'.⁷⁸⁶ Merea was always officially known as Mrs George Wilkinson, and her name was given as Merea Wilkinson on her death certificate.⁷⁸⁷ When her grandmother died at Te Aroha on 18 January 1892, leaving shares in her land to Merea's two eldest children in her will, the land court recorded her children as Wirikihana,⁷⁸⁸ a transliteration of Wilkinson.

By 1904, Wilkinson had broken off all contact with Merea, of whom there was no mention in his diary, and all her children were living with him. This may have reflected (quite unreasonable) jealousy on his part after she became involved with other men. One involvement was unwelcome and spurned. On 13 March 1895, Merea charged Rewi Mokena⁷⁸⁹ with assault and his wife Mereana Peka with using insulting language. The latter charge was withdrawn, but Rewi, who pleaded not guilty, was fined £4 and £10 costs; £2 of the fine went to Merea.⁷⁹⁰ A correspondent summarized this 'very serious case' against 'a very respectable native woman named Merea Wilkinson':

⁷⁸⁴ Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), nos. 702, 707, 760, 822, 862, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha; Paeroa School, Admissions Register 1895-1899, nos. 472, 473, Primary School Archives, Paeroa; for their success, see Te Aroha School, Class Lists for November 1891, YCAF 4135/30a; Class Lists for November 1894, YCAF 4135/41a; Class Lists for November 1895, YCAF 4135/45a; Te Aroha and Paeroa Schools, Class Lists for November 1898, YCAF 4135/46a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸⁵ *Evening Post*, 17 March 1911, p. 3.

⁷⁸⁶ Paeroa School, Admissions Register 1895-1899, nos. 472, 473, Primary School Archives, Paeroa.

⁷⁸⁷ *Wise's New Zealand Directory, 1892* (Dunedin, 1892), p. 352; *Wise's New Zealand Directory, 1894* (Dunedin, 1894), p. 620; Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

⁷⁸⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 28A, pp. 117-118; no. 39, p. 125.

⁷⁸⁹ See paper on his life.

⁷⁹⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 4, 5/1895, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-W.

It appears that Morgan [Mokena] has become a Mormon and desired to add to the number of his wives. He wanted Mrs Wilkinson to enter his harem, but she emphatically declined. In order to induce her to alter her mind he went to her house at ten o'clock one night and brutally assaulted her, doing her severe bodily injury.⁷⁹¹

This assault had meant that she had been unable to attend the first hearing of the case 'through illness', and it had had to be adjourned.⁷⁹² Merea was for a time a Mormon herself, being baptized in April 1887 but later excommunicated on an unspecified date for an unspecified reason.⁷⁹³ Both her sons joined the church at Te Aroha.⁷⁹⁴ She would have an Anglican funeral.⁷⁹⁵ Despite Rewi's assault, Merea remained on good terms with the Mokena family, in 1898 giving some money to Rewi's sister Eta.⁷⁹⁶ In 1902 or 1903 Rewi arranged with Merea for a farmer to lease her Aroha Block V Section 3.⁷⁹⁷

In May 1900, when Merea was living at Paeroa, Kimokimo Pepene,⁷⁹⁸ of the same township, applied to adopt Ngakaari, the six-months-old daughter of Merea and Harry Moore, a Paeroa tobacconist.⁷⁹⁹ James Mackay, who declared himself 'well acquainted' with both parents (as was Wilkinson, whose assistance was not sought), stated that he had known Kimokimo Pepene 'from his youth up and consider him an honest

⁷⁹¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 April 1895, p. 23.

⁷⁹² Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 16 March 1895, p. 2.

⁷⁹³ Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members: Early to 1919: Te Aroha Branch, 47F, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

⁷⁹⁴ Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members: Early to 1919: Te Aroha Branch, 23M, 24M, LDS Archives, Hamilton.

⁷⁹⁵ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

⁷⁹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, p. 271.

⁷⁹⁷ W.T. Rowe to Minister of Native Affairs, 14 April 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 06/1215, ANZ-W.

⁷⁹⁸ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 14, pp. 185-186; no. 23, pp. 15, 18; no. 28, pp. 13-14; no. 28B, pp. 167, 169, 173-174, 183-184; no. 29, pp. 1-2, 75; no. 36A, pp. 27-28, no. 39, pp. 225-226; no. 49, pp. 342-344, 349.

⁷⁹⁹ See *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 22 December 1897, p. 2, advertisement, 30 May 1900, p. 1, 14 March 1902, p. 2, 29 June 1903, p. 2, advertisement, 11 May 1908, p. 1, 13 May 1908, p. 3.

industrious and law-abiding native. He is a fit and proper person to have the care and custody' of the child, and was 'of good repute and of sufficient ability to bring up maintain and educate' her. He was at least 40 years old and had 'a wife according to Maori Custom though unmarried by European law'. Because Kimokimo was 'closely related' to Merea, she had arranged for the adoption, of which the father approved, as did the magistrate.⁸⁰⁰ Pepene already had a young daughter, and, as Mackay anticipated, he did ensure that both girls went to school.⁸⁰¹ Two years previously Merea had arranged that a Rotokohu section be granted to herself and Kimokomo and his daughter.⁸⁰² Kimokimo's sister had married James Ponui Nicholls,⁸⁰³ and he lived in the same district as Merea and William Nicholls' children.⁸⁰⁴ Kimokimo would die in 1922, seven years after Ngakari (as her name was later spelled) married Frederick Ngaroma Ngawiki, also of Paeroa, the son of Ngawiki Potae.⁸⁰⁵ She was known as Ngakari Wikiriwhi and inherited some small interests in her mother's land after her death.⁸⁰⁶

As Mackay was only required to certify the fitness of Kimokimo to adopt, no explanation was given as to why Merea did not wish to rear her daughter. She may have wished to hide her existence from Wilkinson, but it must be assumed that he heard through his official contacts at Thames, which may have provoked him to take his children away from Merea. On the other hand, it is possible Merea believed he was better able to ensure that they got ahead in the Pakeha world. Raurau and Eliza would almost certainly have opposed his continued contact with Merea, and in 1904 and 1906, the only years for the twentieth century for which diaries survive, he never went to the Hauraki district. The annual reports by native agents

⁸⁰⁰ Thames Magistrate's Court, Applications to Adopt 1887-1890, declaration of James Mackay, 7 May 1900, plus application and decision, BACL 13963/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 274, 342; Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 3 (1898-1904), no. 1603; no. 4 (1904-1918), no. 1835, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

⁸⁰² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, pp. 63-64.

⁸⁰³ See paper on William Nicholls.

⁸⁰⁴ Family Block Film 086, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28, p. 14; Death Certificate of Kimo Kimo Pepene, 10 December 1922, 1922/11630, BDM.

⁸⁰⁵ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, pp. 96, 327; 'In Memoriam', *New Zealand Herald*, 27 August 1923, p. 1.

⁸⁰⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, p. 96.

might have indicated when he was in Paeroa or Thames, but 1892 was the last year they were published, and the earlier ones did not reveal when he visited. In his will of October 1905 he expressed his 'desire that my children the said Tamati Mitai Wilkinson and Merea Wilkinson shall be allowed to return to their mother (Merea Wikiriwhi) and their Maori relatives at Paeroa if they desire so to do'.⁸⁰⁷ (As his eldest son was married with a family, it was not appropriate for him to return.) That they were to be 'allowed to return' suggests that earlier he had insisted that they live with him. Whilst there was nothing recorded about Merea to suggest that she could not have prepared her children for a successful working life, perhaps he considered that their living amongst Maori would handicap them. Certainly she continued to be in touch with her children, her namesake Merea, when wanting to leave Hamilton in December 1906 and seeking a job elsewhere, commenting that 'I could not go and expect Mother to keep me, I should like to be independent'.⁸⁰⁸

WILKINSON'S LAST YEARS

Wilkinson, made a justice of the peace in 1885,⁸⁰⁹ was a leading figure in the northern King Country. A visitor to Otorohanga noted that 'his substantial residence occupies a commanding position on an eminence overlooking the settlement'.⁸¹⁰ In 1901 he was elected to the Otorohanga school committee.⁸¹¹ In 1904 he was one (of many) vice-presidents of the Waipa Rugby Union.⁸¹² In the following year, on behalf of the residents of Otorohanga and Puketarata he presented an illuminated address to a man leaving the district.⁸¹³ He also continued to act as a justice of the peace.⁸¹⁴

⁸⁰⁷ Probate of G.T. Wilkinson, Probates, BBAE 1567/5782, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁸ Merea Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan, 17 December 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1907/8, ANZ-W.

⁸⁰⁹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 8 June 1885, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁸¹⁰ J.E. Large, 'A Holiday Ramble Through the King Country', *New Zealand Herald*, 16 April 1898, p. 1.

⁸¹¹ *Auckland Star*, 25 April 1901, p. 2.

⁸¹² *Auckland Star*, 19 April 1904, p. 2.

⁸¹³ *Auckland Star*, 8 June 1905, p. 5.

⁸¹⁴ For instance, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

Wilkinson's 1904 diary is initially confusing, because he was living with Mahora and her children and almost every day visited a woman named Piki, with whom he did not have a sexual relationship, unlike Mahora. These were the names now used by Eliza and Raurau, which Wilkinson himself forgot twice that year. On 17 February he wrote 'went to Eliza in', then crossed out the last two words and rewrote as 'Piki in the morning'.⁸¹⁵ Her full name was Roihi Te Piki.⁸¹⁶ On 28 December he wrote that 'Te Kuumu (Hemopo) Mahora's sister arrd. today from Te Kumi to confer with Raurau', and then crossed out the last word and replaced it with 'Mahora'.⁸¹⁷ As land purchase agent for the King Country, he had moved to Otorohanga in 1889,⁸¹⁸ and seems to have deliberately obtained a house as close as possible to 'Piki's place', to which he walked almost every day, weather permitting.⁸¹⁹ Piki lived on two acres, part of the Orahiri No. 11 Block, on the banks of the Waipa River; the railway line was between her property, on part of which she (or Wilkinson?) planted an orchard, and his house and paddock.⁸²⁰ Also known as Hauwai or Haua, the block had been granted in 1889 to Riria Ngaonewhero and her list of owners, one being Piki; later that year Ngaonewhero subdivided it further, Piki receiving these two acres.⁸²¹ In 1896, Piki and Ngaonewhero exchanged their two acres, for no payment.⁸²² Piki was sole or part owner of five other blocks, according to a list made by Wilkinson of 'Blocks in which Roihi Te Piki's names appears'.⁸²³

⁸¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸¹⁶ Probate of G.T. Wilkinson, Probates, BBAE 1567/5782, ANZ-A; Inquest on G.T. Wilkinson, Justice Department, J 46, COR 1906/187, ANZ-W.

⁸¹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸¹⁸ Marr, p. 60.

⁸¹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 September 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7 March, 17 June, 22 July, 10 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²¹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books, no. 7, pp. 43, 311; no. 8, pp. 216, 269-271, 323.

⁸²² Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 27, pp. 17-18.

⁸²³ 'Blocks in which Roihi Te Piki's name appears', n.d. (late 1890s?), G.T. Wilkinson Papers, Folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library; for two of these blocks, see Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 4, pp. 199, 214.

Wilkinson owned her five-roomed 'cottage', paid for adding a sixth room, and insured both cottage and furniture.⁸²⁴ His son Tom lived with her when not assisting surveyors.⁸²⁵ They jointly worked the properties, Wilkinson looking after the cows, milked by someone else, and the hens, taking eggs home almost daily and, sometimes, potatoes and fruit.⁸²⁶ In January she was 'selling apples & plums out of the orchard now'.⁸²⁷ Some of his cows ran on Piki's land, and he ensured that they had water and hay.⁸²⁸ With his help she made preserved eggs, some of which were given to John Ormsby's family.⁸²⁹ Wilkinson met the cost of repairs and any farming needs.⁸³⁰ His older children occasionally assisted him with farm work and fencing for her.⁸³¹ She had another 'paddock' at Matapara, where her family lived, on the banks of the river of that name and within walking distance of Otorohanga, where his and others' cattle grazed and potatoes and maize were planted by her and other Maori.⁸³² He did not offer to help her dig potatoes.⁸³³

At an unrecorded date in the 1890s, Wilkinson listed 18 'Blocks within Rotepotae in which Raurau and Wairingiringi', his and Raurau's daughter,

⁸²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 3, 7, 9, 23 September, 2, 26 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13 June, 1, 5 July 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁶ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 9 January, 9, 10, 27, 28 March, 1 April, 9, 12 August 1904, 7, 31 January, 1 February 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁸ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 7 February, 9, 10 March, 28 June 1904, 16, 20 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁸²⁹ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1, 29 March, 9 April, 17, 18, 21 October, 24 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸³⁰ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 9, 18, 31 March, 12, 14, 15, 23 April 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸³¹ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 17 June, 27 July, 29, 30 August, 21-23 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 15, 25, 26 March, 4 April, 10, 14 July, 21 August, 20 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 25, 31 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

'have interests'.⁸³⁴ Perhaps at the same time, he wrote a 'List of other lands', namely Te Kumi Nos. 4, 5, and 12, in which they, their son Kiwi, and relatives held interests.⁸³⁵ When the ownership of the Otorohanga Block was determined in 1888 and 1889 before being subdivided amongst different hapu, Mahora (her name always recorded as Hariata Raurau) was an owner of several blocks. In 1896 she and her siblings shared interests in Kinohaku East No. 2A (otherwise Pokirangi), Pukeroa-Hangatiki, Hauturu East E2, Hauturu West 2B (Paeroa), Hauturu West No. 2 (Rangiahua), Pokuru No. 2, and Te Kuiti.⁸³⁶ Also in that year she was made sole owner of Mangarapa No. 4 as successor to her father.⁸³⁷

In 1889 she was one of the owners of Te Kumi Block, as was her eldest child, recorded as Mereana Wairingiringi. Other owners were Manaiawaho Totorewa, her sister, Te Kaama Totorewa, another sister, whom Wilkinson recorded as Te Kuumu, otherwise Hemopo, Parehuia Toterewa, probably another name for her father, and her brother Te Ra Totorewa. Her mother was not listed,⁸³⁸ either because she had no right through ancestry or because she was dead.

In 1898 a judge accused her aunt, Riria Ngaonewhero, of 'setting up' a false case on Raurau's behalf for Rangitoto Tuhua No. 26 'in order to annoy' the real owners. He noted that Raurau had 'frequently set up cases with varying success'.⁸³⁹ In 1904, Wilkinson assisted Raurau with partitioning Hauturu West Nos. 1 and 2, bordered on the Kaitawa Inlet, for herself and 14 others.⁸⁴⁰ Her interest in Kinohaku East No. 3, otherwise Arapae, was subdivided without Wilkinson's assistance.⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁴ 'Blocks within Rotepotae in which Raurau and Wairingiringi have interests', n.d. (late 1890s?), G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁸³⁵ 'List of other lands', n.d. (late 1890s?), G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁸³⁶ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, pp. 339-341.

⁸³⁷ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 27, p. 17.

⁸³⁸ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 5. pp. 222-223.

⁸³⁹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute book no. 33, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁴⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 March 1904, University of Waikato Library; Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books no. 5, pp. 96, 148, 152; no. 46, pp. 50, 58.

⁸⁴¹ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Books no. 7, pp. 269, 276, 305; no. 8, p. 304; no. 45, p. 191; G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 August 1904, University of Waikato Library; G.T. Wilkinson, for Hariata Raurau, to D.G. Stubbing, 8 December 1904, G.T.

Wilkinson's liaison with Raurau caused conflicts of interest when he became involved in her land dealings. In February 1898, Alex Ferguson, who quarried limestone,⁸⁴² told the Minister of Mines that he wished to 'secure' some limestone bluffs against rivals.⁸⁴³ Wilkinson reported that the bluff was in the Te Kumi block and that the ownership had not been resolved because its boundary had only recently been determined. Ferguson's lease was informal, because some of the Te Kumi owners were 'Te Whitiites and Tohuities',⁸⁴⁴ meaning the leaders of the Parihaka movement. In March 1899, Ferguson wrote to Richard Seddon, the Premier, explaining that he had been burning lime since 1895 under an agreement with Mahuki, a chief at Te Kumi. The owners had agreed that the portion of the block with the lime kilns should be allocated to the wife of Mahuki and her sister, who was 'the Maori wife of Wilkinson. Ferguson understood that Raurau wanted her share to be nearer to Te Kumi railway station but that she was 'overruled and persuaded by her husband (Mr Wilkinson) to go in for the Limestone with her sister'. He claimed Wilkinson was backing those Maori who wanted to turn him off.⁸⁴⁵

One week later, Mahuki, his wife Te Kama Totorewa (Raurau's sister), and Raurau wrote to Seddon because Wilkinson had told them that Seddon would take over the kiln to prevent trouble. As Ferguson had caused the trouble, they wanted him replaced by another Pakeha, and asked that Wilkinson to consider their request.⁸⁴⁶ Two days later, Wilkinson sent a telegram to Patrick Sheridan, the head of the Land Purchase Department, explaining that his wife was one of the three owners of Te Kumi No. 4, as was her sister and Mahuki.⁸⁴⁷ Sheridan 'regretted that you did not disclose

Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁸⁴² See advertisement, *Waikato Times*, 19 July 1894, p. 5.

⁸⁴³ Alex Ferguson to A.J. Cadman (Native Minister), 4 February 1898, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁴ Memorandum by G.T. Wilkinson, 8 March 1898, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁵ Alex Ferguson to R.J. Seddon, 27 March 1899, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁶ Whitinui Hohepa (agent for Te Mahuki), Te Kama Totorewa, and Hariata Raurau to R.J. Seddon, 3 April 1899, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan (Under-Secretary, Land Purchase Department), 5 April 1899 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

your embarrassed position in this matter long ago and let some other officer represent the Crown in the proceedings before the Court. I don't know I am sure what view the Minister will take of the case when he sees the papers'.⁸⁴⁸ Wilkinson responded that his conduct had been 'straight-forward throughout'. He had attempted to acquire all the land for the Crown, and had not anticipated that his wife (as he called her) would become an owner, expecting that she and her children would receive interests in Te Kumi No. 5. This she did, but she had given up her interest to become an owner of No. 4. He asked what charge would be made against him, and whether the government would have obtained a better deal had someone else handled the matter.⁸⁴⁹ Sheridan explains that the complaint was made in a private letter. 'I have no doubts as to your integrity in the Kumi matter but you have left yourself open to attack by not letting me know that your family was interested. It was quite wrong of you to appear as Crown Agent under the circumstances'.⁸⁵⁰

By 1904 Wilkinson was calling his children by Mereia by their English names, George, Tom, and Mollie (for Mereia), whereas his children by Raurau/Mahora were known as Ringi, Kiwi, and Pengo. Ringi had learnt dressmaking in Auckland but worked in the post office at Otorohanga.⁸⁵¹ In the years before his death Mollie helped her father 'a good deal' with his office work.⁸⁵² She had trained as a 'typiste' and shorthand writer in Auckland, and through his contacts with the directors of the Ellis and Burnand timber company he was able to obtain employment for her at its Hamilton office, a position she held for many years.⁸⁵³ George and Tom

⁸⁴⁸ Patrick Sheridan to G.T. Wilkinson, 5 April 1899 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan, 6 April 1899 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁵⁰ Patrick Sheridan to G.T. Wilkinson, 6 April 1899; see also memorandum, 26 April 1899; memorandum by Patrick Sheridan, 8 May 1899, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1901/66, ANZ-W.

⁸⁵¹ See G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 10 February, 30 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁵² Mereia Wilkinson to Patrick Sheridan, 17 December 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1907/8, ANZ-W.

⁸⁵³ G.T. Wilkinson, Diaries, entries for 13 January, 15 March, 23 April, 12 August 1904, 5 January 1906, University of Waikato Library; Mereia Wikiriwhi to President, Maori Land

worked for surveyors when required, although George more commonly worked as a labourer.⁸⁵⁴ Wilkinson had insured his children's lives with a Paeroa lawyer,⁸⁵⁵ suggesting that he had insured his children by Merea first. Maniaiwaho, sometimes called Waho, a girl of school age, also lived with them;⁸⁵⁶ she must have been the daughter of her sister Maniaiwaho Totorewa, who in 1896 and probably later was living in Tairua.⁸⁵⁷

Wilkinson was a kindly father, but stern on at least one occasion: in February he 'had to whip Kiwi for kicking his little brother Pengo'.⁸⁵⁸ For Mollie's birthday he bought 'a greenstone heart with words "Kia Ora" on it in gold'.⁸⁵⁹ A few days before he died, he was trying to get Kiwi into St Stephen's Maori School at Auckland; should this not be possible, he would enrol him at good private schools.⁸⁶⁰ The children, according to his diary, gave every indication of being fond of him. When he turned 59, they produced a combined birthday present of a 'very nice Ch. of Eng. Prayer Book with Hymns Ancient & Modern, and with my name on the outside cover in gilt letters'.⁸⁶¹ (Prominent in the local Anglican church, he also occasionally attended other Protestant services.)⁸⁶²

Much of Mahora's time was taken up with Maori crafts: too much time, in Wilkinson's opinion, who 'had some words' with her in January 'about her spending so much time at her korowai', or cloak-making.⁸⁶³ His words had little effect, for she continued, and he assisted her by planting flax. In the middle of February 'Te Rukutu was at work today in my 3 ac. paddock

Board, 24 April 1919, Maori Land Court, Waikato-Maniapoto District, Kopuraruwai 3C 4B, BACS A110, WM 7077, ANZ-A.

⁸⁵⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 1 February, 19 May, 18 July, 8 September 1904, 5, 28, 29 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 April 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁵⁶ For example, diary of G.T. Wilkinson, entries for 1 February, 1-3, 17 April, 18 July, 19 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Otorohanga Minute Book no. 26, p. 339.

⁸⁵⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 28, 30 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶² For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diaries, entries for 28, 31 January, 6 February, 22 March, 4 September, 21 December 1904, 21-23 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 January 1904, University of Waikato Library; Ryan, p. 127.

fencing off a portion in which to plant some flax plants from Tikitere that Tautohe (of Rotorua) has sent to Mahora'.⁸⁶⁴ As at Thames, most of the men working for him and most of his visitors were Maori or half-castes. Five days later 'Mahora & I went to my 3 acre paddock after tea & planted some flax plants that she got today from Kohiroa swamp'.⁸⁶⁵ A month later 'Mahora went up the railway line with Tautohe & Pirini and they dug flax roots which she afterwards planted in my 3 ac. paddock with her other flax there'.⁸⁶⁶ In April, an 'old woman Pirihira Te Tia came up to our place this evening intending to stay. Mahara is going to set her to work making a korowai'.⁸⁶⁷ Two days later, Mahora sent her away because she was both 'too slow' in this work and 'lousy'.⁸⁶⁸ She planted more flax in May.⁸⁶⁹ In January 1906, he 'made a wooden frame for Mahora to make her Korowai mat on',⁸⁷⁰ his last gift. Mahora also believed in using Maori medicine, combined with Pakeha methods, for some ills: when Pengo burnt his leg, she put 'koromiko leaves and olive oil on it'.⁸⁷¹ When Wilkinson had a carbuncle, she 'dressed it with whauwhi'.⁸⁷²

Occasionally the diary provides hints of their domestic life: for instance, on one Sunday he 'turned mangle for Mahora'.⁸⁷³ They played cards with the children.⁸⁷⁴ They had vapour baths in the 'long room', where on another occasion he had a 'smoke & read on bed with Makora'.⁸⁷⁵ On one occasion 'Mrs Ormsby had dinner & tea with us. She and Mahora have been making clothes'.⁸⁷⁶ As at Thames, they had a servant (in fact, a succession

⁸⁶⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 April 1904 (where he spelled it 'koroae'), University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 April 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 January 1906 (this time he spelled it correctly), University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 July 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20, 21 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷⁴ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 4 July 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 10 July, 20 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

of them).⁸⁷⁷ In February, she ‘wanted to go down town and have a row with William Henry Grace, a land purchase agent,⁸⁷⁸ because he said to her last night, when she was returning home instead of going into the hotel with Mrs Ormsby, Tautohe & ors “E he pate ana pea koe ki a Hori⁸⁷⁹ – Kaore ano Nia Kererore” ’.⁸⁸⁰ This meant, roughly, ‘You are being false to Hori’, otherwise George, and something (unspecified) had to be discussed.⁸⁸¹ If this jibe was related to her refusal to go in for a drink, it fitted with one quality Wilkinson liked in his women: in 1880, he had described Merea as being of ‘abstemious habits’.⁸⁸² When Mahora found one servant drunk, she was told not to repeat this offence; when they locked the drinks cabinet she gave notice.⁸⁸³

Relations between Piki and Mahora had soured by then: Mahora never accompanied Wilkinson when he went to Piki’s, although her children went across now and then to do work or just to visit her or Tom.⁸⁸⁴ On the only occasion that she was recorded as going to Piki’s place, on an afternoon in August, Wilkinson and Mahora ‘sat on hill in new paddock for some time’, and there was no indication that they had met Piki.⁸⁸⁵ Only once did he record Piki coming to his house: in mid-November, ‘Piki came to our place to tea’.⁸⁸⁶ At the beginning of December there was a row over ‘our’ white-faced cow that he believed belonged to himself and Piki.⁸⁸⁷ Mahora assisted him to shift the cows and calves from their three-acre paddock ‘to the main paddock where Piki’s place is’ late in November,⁸⁸⁸ the first time that she

⁸⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 29 February, 11 April, 23 April, 26 November, 13 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁷⁸ See Marr, pp. 31, 62-65, 76 for his work as a land purchase agent in the King Country.

⁸⁷⁹ Written as ‘Ehipate ana peakoe Kia Hori’.

⁸⁸⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸¹ Clarification of the original Maori and translation provided by Tom Roa, University of Waikato.

⁸⁸² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 3 February 1881, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 13/54a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7, 10 April 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸⁴ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 16 February, 2 April, 26 June, 1, 2, 26 July, 25, 26 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁸⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

was recorded as helping there, but four days later she caused a row over Piki. 'Mahora got very angry at dinner time to-day in connection with the white faced cow that I sold the other day', accusing Piki of telling Mollie that it had been given to her and Tom when bought five years previously. 'Mahora declares she will go away to Ngapuhi', apparently the tribe, for there was no block of land with that name in the King Country. 'She wanted £3, which I gave her after which she wanted £2 more which I refused'.⁸⁸⁹ However, that night she slept with him, having 'got over her anger and changed her mind about going away', and two days later returned the £3.⁸⁹⁰ Two days later, he gave Mollie '£4, being half the value of the white faced cow', because he seems to have accepted that it had been given to Mollie and Tom.⁸⁹¹ Late in December Mahora helped with haymaking on Piki's paddock, but there was no indication that she and Piki met.⁸⁹² Piki did not join the family for Christmas dinner, even though three roosters from her place were part of the meal; the only extra guest noted was Ringi's fiance.⁸⁹³

When Piki was in poor health, Wilkinson did what he could to assist her. In January when she had gout in a foot, he got the local chemist 'to see it and give her medicine'.⁸⁹⁴ Although the gout improved for a while, the following month he sent Kiwi for some medicine and 'rubbed some Monarch of Pain in her foot'.⁸⁹⁵ The following day he visited her twice, giving her medicine and rubbing more liniment into her foot.⁸⁹⁶ The next day he took her crutches back after having paid to have them shortened, and rubbed in more liniment.⁸⁹⁷ One day later, he took her candles and patiki, or flounder,⁸⁹⁸ and found that her foot was better.⁸⁹⁹ Two weeks later she told him that she had pains in both feet: 'Went there again and took her some

⁸⁸⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 3, 4 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 19, 20, 24 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 22, 25 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 12 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 24 January, 16 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁸⁹⁸ Ryan, p. 202.

⁸⁹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

bread, butter, a tin of beef and some tapioca'.⁹⁰⁰ When she cut her head chopping firewood, he obtained some salve.⁹⁰¹ In October she went to bed 'suffering from gout in both feet – Ringi is going to stay with her tonight'.⁹⁰² Four days later, after returning from a trip, he found that her gout was 'better but she still has pimples and itching on her body'.⁹⁰³ He kept visiting her, twice with Mollie, and on 20 October recorded that 'the old lady seems very frail – She complains of a bad cough. Ringi went over after tea and took her some cough mixture. Also rubbed some Camphorated oil on her chest. I sent 3 bottles of beer for her by Mollie after tea'.⁹⁰⁴ The following day he took her a flask of whisky.⁹⁰⁵ Throughout the year he met the cost of her medicine,⁹⁰⁶ and met other expenses, for instance re-covering her umbrella.⁹⁰⁷

Mahora also had periodic ill health, which if the doctor or chemist was not needed Wilkinson tried to treat with his own ideas on medication, usually keeping the bowels open.⁹⁰⁸ When he was in Auckland on land court business, he 'Got letter from Ringi saying that Mahora was ill'. After sending a telegram to a doctor 'to send medicine, & go and see her, if necessary', he bought medicine there.⁹⁰⁹

TO MARRY?

Wilkinson slept only with Mahora now, except when she slept with a sick child or was in a bad temper. On 24 February he recorded that

⁹⁰⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 1 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 8 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 16-18, 20 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁶ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, accounts for December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁸ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 2 February, 5, 22, 23 March, 7, 8 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁰⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 28 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

Mahora slept with me last night. She took me to task for not carrying out my promise to marry her so as to make Ringi & Kiwi and Pengo legitimate. I told her that I was still considering the matter and that I did not care to put an injustice on George, Tom & Mollie – She cried a good deal & seem[ed] very much cut up.⁹¹⁰

Quite apart from his professed desire not to do an ‘injustice’ to his children by Mereia by letting all his children remain illegitimate, Wilkinson may have refused to marry because he wanted to hide his personal affairs from his English family. They corresponded roughly once a month, and he sent them details of his official duties,⁹¹¹ but it is unlikely that he provided details of his complicated private life. His Baptist missionary father would hardly have approved, and his mother was an equally fervent Christian; in October 1881 he sent her £1 as his ‘subscription towards supporting Indian Bible women’.⁹¹² His father died in 1885, and his mother in 1897;⁹¹³ did they know they were grandparents? In 1894 he went Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) during a six-month period of leave, his first leave after 19 years of working for the government, to see his mother and other unspecified relations;⁹¹⁴ would have they have discussed his personal life? After his younger brother died in 1902, Wilkinson’s fondness for him was indicated by his writing to England about the ‘cost of putting tombstone over Charley’s grave’.⁹¹⁵ He may have felt that Charley might not have approved, and so kept quiet.

Wilkinson was always concerned that his private life might handicap his official career. In 1888, the under-secretary, Lewis, had asked him about his marital status before filling in a Treasury return.⁹¹⁶ Lewis subsequently

⁹¹⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹¹¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 27 February, 5, 24 April, 5 May, 26 July, 5 August, 16, 19 September, 9, 19 October, 6 November, 5, 15 December 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁹¹² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 9 October 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁹¹³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, 1906, appendix, University of Waikato Library.

⁹¹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 November 1894, p. 6; *Observer*, 17 November 1894, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 20 November 1894, p. 4,

⁹¹⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 September 1904; appendix to 1906 diary, University of Waikato Library.

⁹¹⁶ T.W. Lewis (Under-Secretary, Native Department) to G.T. Wilkinson, 15 July 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

explained to him that, 'Had you not made me acquainted in confidence with your circumstances – you would have been returned as a married man as in that form the return was placed before me for signature – I thought it best in your interest to let you speak for yourself therefore my telegram. The return was made out in accordance with your reply', which clearly was that he was single.⁹¹⁷

In 1885, Wilkinson applied to be appointed a land court judge,⁹¹⁸ unsuccessfully. Four years later, in asking that his previous application be reconsidered, he asked Lewis that his fitness be judged on his 15 years' work for the department.⁹¹⁹ On his behalf Alfred Jerome Cadman, a future Native Minister, approached the then Native Minister, Edwin Mitchelson, who said he intended to appoint a solicitor, but should Cabinet rejected this proposal 'and a Maori man be chosen, Wilkinson stands the best chance'.⁹²⁰ As he was not appointed, the following year he contacted Mitchelson personally; although his letter was not retained on the official file, it is clear from Mitchelson's reply that Wilkinson had explained his circumstances. Mitchelson assured him that his letter had 'given me a good deal of pleasure, and when the question of increasing the number of Native Land Court Judges is being considered by Cabinet, I shall see that your relations with the Native women are properly understood', but warned that there were about 20 good candidates for possibly two positions.⁹²¹ Worried that his domestic arrangements would prevent his appointment, Wilkinson shortly afterwards wrote to Lewis, another letter that was not placed on the official file. He was told that his 'matrimonial relationships' were 'no secret and were I think known to Mr Mitchelson before they were known to me and I was aware of them long before you had spoken to me on the subject'.

⁹¹⁷ T.W. Lewis to G.T. Wilkinson, 22 August 1888, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁹¹⁸ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 4 March 1885, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁹¹⁹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 1 July 1889, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁹²⁰ A.J. Cadman to 'Dear Murray' [William Archibald Murray?], 8 July 1889, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

⁹²¹ Edwin Mitchelson to G.T. Wilkinson, 28 April 1890, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

He was assured that Mitchelson was in no way prejudiced against him, and that Cabinet would choose the best man.⁹²²

The best man was not then seen to be Wilkinson. In 1893 he applied again, once again unsuccessfully, and was not appointed until 1903.⁹²³ In June 1904, he recorded: 'This is the first time I have sat by myself, that is, as presiding Judge'.⁹²⁴ Five days later he was 'getting the "hang" of the work more now'.⁹²⁵ He sat 'as one of the Judges of a Native Appellate Court' at Otorohanga in August.⁹²⁶

The night after Wilkinson refused to marry her, Mahora slept with him again.⁹²⁷ They slept together four nights later, but he 'had a quarrel with her' in the morning,⁹²⁸ cause unspecified but likely to have been about marriage. She was unwell in early March, but on Sunday 6 March he recorded: 'Kiwi Slept with me last night. Mahora came to my bed in the morning. She & I had breakfast in bed',⁹²⁹ which was his weekly treat. On 7 May he recorded that 'Kiwi slept with me last night. Mahora has been in a temper during the last two days'.⁹³⁰ The same happened the next night, for she was 'still in a bad temper', and for the next three nights he had the same companion because 'Mahora is still in the sulks'.⁹³¹ After a brief trip away, he recorded two days later that she was 'still sulking about something a[nd] has not spoken to me all day'.⁹³² He slept by himself for the

⁹²² Under-Secretary, Native Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 'Private', 13 May 1890, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁹²³ G.T. Wilkinson to Acting Native Minister, 30 August 1893 (telegram); Under-Secretary, Justice Department, to G.T. Wilkinson, 8 September 1904, G.T. Wilkinson Papers, folder 1, MS 613, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum; *New Zealand Gazette*, 19 March 1903, p. 811.

⁹²⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7, 9 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹²⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 14 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹²⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 15 July, 17 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹²⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹²⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 29 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹²⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary entry for 6 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 7 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7-11 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

next six nights because of these ‘sulks’,⁹³³ the cause of which were revealed on 20 May:

Slept by myself last night. (Mahora came to my room before going to bed and had a wordy quarrel with me about the matter that she has been sulking about during the last 3 weeks, viz my having said that the reason she got angry with me when I wanted to touch her was because there was some one she liked better. I think the real reason was that although she was really *pouri* [sad]⁹³⁴ at first she got over that and made use of the occasion to coerce me into marrying her.) She came to my bed in the morning but I would not have anything to do with her.⁹³⁵

That night he slept by himself, and next day Mahora was ‘still sulky, but inclined to come round’.⁹³⁶ The following night, she slept with him again, probably in both senses of the word, for he added: ‘She has got over her 3 weeks of sulks’.⁹³⁷ They slept together during the following nights, except when Mahora was unwell.⁹³⁸ He slept alone for most of June because of her ill health, but on one Sunday morning ‘Mahora came to my bed’.⁹³⁹ On 10 July he wrote to Henry Dunbar Johnson, possibly to get his opinion on marrying a Maori, as Johnson had done.⁹⁴⁰ Two nights later, for the first time since early June, Mahora slept with him, but whether because of her presence or his tendency to ‘nervous depression’, he felt ‘very nervous and irritable’ and ‘did not sleep well until morning’.⁹⁴¹ They slept together for three of the next four nights, and after the last sleep they breakfasted in bed.⁹⁴² For most of the rest of July and for most of August they slept together.⁹⁴³ They breakfasted in bed together on the first and third Sundays

⁹³³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14-19 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁴ Ryan, p. 220.

⁹³⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 20 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 23-31 May, 1-5 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹³⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 19 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁰ See paper on Lavinia and Henry Dunbar Johnson.

⁹⁴¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 13 July 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 14-17 July 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 18-31 July, August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

in August.⁹⁴⁴ Another sign of domestic harmony was on Sunday 11 September, when after having breakfasted in bed together he 'took a stroll before dinner with Mahora to top of hill' nearby.⁹⁴⁵

On the first Sunday in September he 'attended Maori service at Church in the morning. Spoke to Taimana Hapimana', the Anglican clergyman, 'about Marrying Mahora and myself – he said that I would require to get a license from Te Awamutu Registrar' of births, deaths, and marriages first.⁹⁴⁶ That he did nothing immediately about obtaining this probably explained Mahora's later episodes of bad 'sulks'. After spending a week in Auckland at land court hearings, he returned to sleep alone, 'Mahora being in a temper'.⁹⁴⁷ He continued to sleep alone because she was 'still in a temper' and 'sulking' until 11 November, when he wrote that she had 'got over her bad temper & sulks'.⁹⁴⁸ She slept with him for most of the rest of the month, except when Pengo had a sore foot.⁹⁴⁹ She also slept with him during most of December.⁹⁵⁰ On Christmas night, although she slept with him, she was 'still in a bad temper'.⁹⁵¹ She was 'still in a temper' the following night, but they still slept together for the remainder of the year.⁹⁵²

Whether these periodic attacks of the 'sulks' and being forced to sleep alone changed Wilkinson's mind is not known, for his diary for 1905 has been lost, but finally, on 15 January 1905, he married Hariata Raurau, as her name was recorded, in the registry office at Rotorua. Wilkinson gave his status as 'bachelor'; he was 59, she was 42.⁹⁵³ Under the Legitimisation Act, on 5 June he registered the births of the three surviving children born to Raurau.⁹⁵⁴ Domestic harmony and probably a still-active sex life can be assumed from the identical entry in his 1906 diary for every day he was in

⁹⁴⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 7, 21 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 11 September 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 4 September 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 3-11 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁴⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 12-30 November 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵⁰ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 26 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 27-31 December 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵³ Marriage Certificate of George Thomas Wilkinson, 15 January 1905, 1905/5636, BDM.

⁹⁵⁴ Birth Certificates of Mary Anne Wairingiringi Wilkinson, 11 October 1882, 1905/12829; Charles Te Kiwi Wilkinson, 4 January 1893, 1905/12830; Henry Te Haeata Wilkinson, 1 June 1897, 1905/12831, BDM.

Otorohanga: 'Slept with Mahora last night'.⁹⁵⁵ As he regularly went to 'Piki's place' after his evening meal,⁹⁵⁶ his now Platonic friendship with her remained unabated.

WILKINSON AND HIS CHILDREN

Possibly because of his active sex life, Wilkinson worried about his children's sexual behaviour. Ringi had an active social life, at dances in particular, and when, at the end of January 1904, she went to stay the night with a policeman's wife, 'Mahora & I went to tell her not to go to the ball to dance'.⁹⁵⁷ Two weeks later Wilkinson recorded that 'young McKinney told me that his engagement with Ringi was ended'.⁹⁵⁸ A month later he had 'a serious word with Ringi in my office about rumours of her walking out at night in secluded places with Mr Osmond I forbade her walking out at night with him any more'.⁹⁵⁹ That he was recorded as 'Mr' Osmond was Wilkinson's way of denoting that Herbert John Osmond was a Pakeha.⁹⁶⁰ Osmond continued to visit the house regularly to see Ringi, and on 15 October Wilkinson recorded that 'Mr Osmond came to see Ringi. He formerly asked me tonight to sanction his engagement to Ringi. I consented if she remained of the same mind, and he was in a position to find a home for her'.⁹⁶¹ They married in August 1908, when he was a creamery manager aged 26 and she was a postmistress aged 25.⁹⁶² A neighbour recalled her as 'a very popular person, as most of the population congregated at the station', which housed the post office, 'to wait until the mail was sorted, and to receive their daily paper'.⁹⁶³ She was postmistress from April 1902 until shortly after her marriage.⁹⁶⁴

⁹⁵⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, all entries headed 'Otorohanga' in 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵⁶ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13-16 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 30 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵⁸ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 18 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁵⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁶⁰ See Quin, pp. 57, 86; for photograph, see Quin, facing p. 64.

⁹⁶¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 15 October 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁶² Marriage Certificate of Herbert John Osmond, 8 August 1908, 1908/6151, BDM.

⁹⁶³ Quin, p. 42.

⁹⁶⁴ Quin, p. 47.

On 6 February 1904, Wilkinson recorded that 'Te Hinu & her baby went to Taumaranui by to-day's train to join George there'.⁹⁶⁵ This was George's baby.⁹⁶⁶ On 21 March, George announced that he was to be married on the following day. 'Tried to persuade him not to get married for six months yet but he would not agree to wait'.⁹⁶⁷ George was married at Te Awamutu with none of his family present; he was 22, and Hinu Cribb was 19.⁹⁶⁸ Piki later suspected George's bride of stealing from her house and Wilkinson thought she stole money from Tom,⁹⁶⁹ so there may have been some basis for his qualms about the marriage. On the other hand, in January, when she was already known as Mrs Wilkinson, she literally saved the life of his daughter, as an Otorohanga correspondent reported:

Two young ladies, one a resident and the other a visitor, were bathing here on Monday evening, when one was seized with cramp whilst attempting to swim across the Waipa. The other swam to her assistance but was gripped by the one in trouble, and consequently they both sank, to the horror of two lady friends, who were sitting on the bank, watching the bathers. As neither could swim, they got frantic with fear and excitement, and their cries brought Mrs G.⁹⁷⁰ Wilkinson, junr., on to the scene. She, seeing the danger, immediately plunged in, but as they had risen and sunk for the third time, she felt their backs with her feet, and she then dived and catching hold of a part of the young ladies' apparel, dragged or pushed them to a shallow part of the river, got them one on either side, and kept their heads out of water, till help arrived. Of course, both victims were partially unconscious. In speaking to one of the young ladies, she informed me that she is fully convinced that, had not Mrs Wilkinson gone to their assistance and acted in the plucky manner she did, they would have both been drowned, and the lady who was an eye witness says the same.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 6 February 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁶⁶ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 17 May 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 21 March 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁶⁸ Marriage Certificate of George Te Paoro Wilkinson, 22 March 1904, 1904/3548, BDM; G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 March 1904, University of Waikato.

⁹⁶⁹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 13 June, 31 August 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁷⁰ Printed as S.

⁹⁷¹ Otorohanga Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 21 January 1904, p. 2.

Wilkinson was at Rotorua at the time of this incident,⁹⁷² returning in mid-afternoon on Friday the 22nd.

Found all well, but was surprised to learn from George that Ringi had a narrow escape from drowning on Monday last (during my absence). It seems that she and a Miss Young went to bathe in Waipa river at Piki's place on Monday evening. The latter assayed to swim across the river there, but when half way across took fright & lost her head and was sinking when Ringi, who was ahead of her, went back to her assistance. She clasped Ringi round the arms thus preventing her from swimming – they both sank, but Te Hinu Cribb who was on the bank jumped in and pushed them both ashore. Both were exhausted & would have been drowned.⁹⁷³

The following day, he got 'a tonic medicine' from the chemist 'for Ringi and made her drink wine at her meals, and she seems very pale, and below par'.⁹⁷⁴ She was, nevertheless, able to do her work in the post office. One day later, she had recovered sufficiently to go with her brother and others on horseback to the Waitomo caves.⁹⁷⁵

A large number of residents met at the end of September when 'Mrs George Wilkinson, jun.', was presented with a silver medal and certificate from the Royal Humane Society for saving 'Miss R. Wilkinson' and friend. It was explained that Ringi had gone to the rescue of her friend, who was out of her depth. 'When both were on the point of death', Hinu, 'who was standing on the bank with her newly-born babe in her hands, putting the child down, jumped in fully dressed, and with great difficulty got them both to land, one insensible and the other little better'. The man making the presentation 'thought there should have been some recognition of Miss Wilkinson's heroism in going to her companion's assistance, and that the fact of having failed [to obtain official recognition] did not make her action any the less brave'. Both Ringi and Hinu were given three cheers.⁹⁷⁶

In June Mahora told him that 'she has heard that young Harold Vause is a whaiaipo of Mollie's',⁹⁷⁷ variously translated as 'sweet heart, beau,

⁹⁷² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 20, 21 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁷³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 22 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁷⁴ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 23 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁷⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 24 January 1904, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁷⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 October 1904, p. 6.

⁹⁷⁷ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 5 June 1904, University of Waikato Library.

heart-throb, darling'.⁹⁷⁸ Nothing more was heard of this flirtation, which did not lead to marriage.⁹⁷⁹

DEATHS

In 1906 George and Tom still helped their father on the farm when not working elsewhere, as did Kiwi, while Ringi prepared meals for the family.⁹⁸⁰ As always, Wilkinson was working late almost every night in the office. While on holiday, Mollie helped him with clerical work for the Maori electorate.⁹⁸¹ Still physically active, he continued to help Piki, on 22 January sawing firewood for her, and on the last day of that month he 'cleared willow branches etc from two quince trees on bank of river'.⁹⁸² On 3 February he made his last diary entry. After listing some of his activities for the day, he wrote that he was 'not feeling well today – Slight pain, or stiffness, or heaviness in my chest after walking about much. Went to Piki's place after tea', and then 'worked in office until 10.30'.⁹⁸³

The following day he died suddenly, from heart failure, leaving sons aged 24, 20, 13, and 8, and daughters aged 23 and 18.⁹⁸⁴ The coroner was told that he had been in ill health for a few days beforehand. He died at the Otorohanga railway station when returning from Piki's home. She said he had over-exerted himself in hunting a horse out of one paddock into another a few days before. When he did not return, Ringi had sent her future husband searching for him; he was found 'lying on the floor of the railway station, quite dead'.⁹⁸⁵

All his obituaries were flattering, but none explained his personal life, one simply noting that he left 'a wife and six children', implying that they

⁹⁷⁸ Ryan, p. 341.

⁹⁷⁹ Index of Marriages, BDM.

⁹⁸⁰ For example, G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 1, 18, 20, 21 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 2 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁸² G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entries for 22, 31 January 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁸³ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 3 February 1906, University of Waikato Library.

⁹⁸⁴ Death Certificate of George Thomas Wilkinson, 4 February 1906, 1906/1581, BDM.

⁹⁸⁵ Inquests, J 46, COR 1906/187, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of Mary Anne Wairingiringi Wilkinson, 8 August 1908, 1908/6151, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

were all hers.⁹⁸⁶ Another noted that he had ‘recently’ received orders from the government ‘for the purchase of native lands in the King Country on a large scale, and it is thought that the hard work entailed may have hastened the close of a long, useful and honourable career’.⁹⁸⁷ He was described him as a ‘very popular’ man with ‘a quiet, unassuming disposition’.⁹⁸⁸ The *Observer* printed a fulsome obituary:

With the exception, possibly, of James Mackay, no man has had a larger hand in dealings with the Maoris on behalf of the Government than G.T. Wilkinson, who passed away with almost dramatic suddenness at Otorohanga this week. For something like thirty years, Mr Wilkinson has been the principal agent of the State wherever in the Auckland district – and this, in native matters, practically meant the colony – negotiations of any importance have been going on. Earlier than that, after the Hauraki goldfields were opened up, Mr Wilkinson was stationed at the Thames for a long period, as native interpreter to the Resident Magistrate’s Court, and right-hand man to the Magistrate-Warden in his transactions with the Maori owners of the goldfield land. And when Ohinemuri was thrown open he continued to perform similar functions, and became one of the land purchase officers for the district....

In after years, when the pacification of the King Country natives became the chief object of Government native policy, Mr Wilkinson was appointed principal native officer for the whole of the Waikato district.... To his influence the final breaking down of the barriers that formerly separated the pakeha and the King natives is largely attributed, and he received much *kudos* from the Government for his valuable services in the negotiations.⁹⁸⁹

A Pirongia correspondent, who had first met him in 1864, praised his work as ‘Government agent’:

Under several administrations he held this office and gained the reputation of being the most conscientious and painstaking of Government officials during the time he remained here. The deceased took great interest in social affairs, and assisted in many ways to benefit the district. Politics alone he ignored; he was a Government servant to the backbone; had no favourites or prejudices, hence he was generally respected, and had the

⁹⁸⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

⁹⁸⁷ *Waikato Argus*, 5 February 1906, p. 2.

⁹⁸⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 6 February 1906, p. 5.

⁹⁸⁹ *Observer*, 10 February 1906, p. 5.

confidence of the various heads of the Departments he served under until the day of his sudden and lamentable death.

His duties at Otorohanga had been ‘most arduous, but were performed by him in a most satisfactory manner for the country, he having gained the entire confidence of the natives to the great advantage of the Government and the country at large’. The correspondent had last seen him at Te Kuiti on 11 January, when Wilkinson sold town allotments there. ‘We had not previously met for some time, and deceased congratulated me on my appearance, being so many years his senior, laughingly remarking, “You will see me out yet.” Little did either think this was prophetic, but alas it was so, and “Your Own” has lost one of his oldest and best friends’.⁹⁹⁰

His funeral attracted ‘a large attendance of both races’. Although they did not conduct the service, two Maori clergymen attended, and the names of 11 ‘native chiefs’ were listed as being ‘present to show their respect’.⁹⁹¹ Wilkinson’s will, dated October 1905, left £50 to his wife and £20 to Roihi Te Piki. The balance of his estate, net value £649 16s 4d, was left in trust to all his children, whose names and dates of birth were carefully listed.⁹⁹²

Roihi Te Piki died in 1916, at her home at Haurua, Hangatiki, aged 96, after a long age-related illness.⁹⁹³ Wilkinson’s widow, known as Hariata Raurau Wilkinson, would die in 1939.⁹⁹⁴

Thomas was still at Otorohanga in 1908 working as a ‘Head-chainman’ for a surveyor, but when he arranged a land partition for his ‘mater’ in 1924 he was living at Paeroa.⁹⁹⁵ His sister Mereia was still a typist for Ellis and Burnand in Hamilton in 1908.⁹⁹⁶ Wilkinson’s children by both mothers remained in close touch with each other. For example, in 1908, when Mary Anne Wairingiringi, aged 25, then a postmistress at Otorohanga, his

⁹⁹⁰ Pirongia Correspondent, *Waikato Argus*, 8 February 1906, p. 2.

⁹⁹¹ *Waikato Argus*, 8 February 1906, p. 2.

⁹⁹² Probates, BBAE 1569/5782; Testamentary Register 1906-1908, folio 7, BBCB 4208/6, ANZ-A.

⁹⁹³ Death Certificate of Roihi Te Piki, 15 July 1916, 1916/10867, BDM.

⁹⁹⁴ Death Certificate of Hariata Raurau Wilkinson, 1939/28819, BDM.

⁹⁹⁵ Marriage Certificate of Mary Anne Wairingiringi Wilkinson, 8 August 1908, 1908/6151, BDM; T.M. Wilkinson to Registrar, Native Land Court, Auckland, 8 February 1924, Te Aroha No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

⁹⁹⁶ Marriage Certificate of Mary Anne Wairingiringi Wilkinson, 8 August 1908, 1908/6151, BDM.

daughter by Raurau, was married to Herbert John Osmond, the witnesses were Thomas and Merea, both Merea's children.⁹⁹⁷

MEREA'S MARRIAGE AND DEATH

In 1892, Romana Te Kootu, recorded as an adult male, was allotted a ninth interest in Aroha Block XII Section 36. His brother Moihi and sister Meropa received similar interests; they were all living at Otaki. When they sold their interests in 1901, they declared that they had land at Tauranga.⁹⁹⁸ The only time Romana was mentioned in the press was in 1896, when he was a steward for the Otaki Maori Racing Club.⁹⁹⁹ In October 1917, in Paeroa, when he was 64 and she was 55, he married Merea; he was usually resident in Otaki, whereas she was living at Paeroa. Both recorded their 'condition' as 'Takakau', meaning 'virgin; free from ties'.¹⁰⁰⁰ Whether Romana had been married before, either officially or unofficially, is not known, but one witness was Hinu Wilkinson, Merea's daughter-in-law, which rather undermined her claimed 'condition'.¹⁰⁰¹ They were not married for long. As his death was not registered, it is not known when he died, but in 1921, as 'widow of Romana Te Kootu' [recorded as Koutu], Merea inherited his interest in Aroha Block V Section 18.¹⁰⁰²

When she died in the Thames Hospital on 31 January 1936, aged 81, her death certificate recorded 'George Wilkinson' as her husband and that they had had two sons and two daughters,¹⁰⁰³ meaning that Ngakaari, the daughter adopted by Kimokimo Pepene was included (the spelling by then was Ngakari). Her last will, made in the hospital five days before her death, gave her names as Merea Wikiriwhi alias Merea Tokerau alias Mary Wilkinson. Humphrey Nicholls, the son of James Ponui Nicholls,¹⁰⁰⁴ an

⁹⁹⁷ Marriage Certificate of Mary Anne Wairingiringi Wilkinson, 8 August 1908, 1908/6151, BDM.

⁹⁹⁸ Aroha Block XII Section 36, Block Files, H1089, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

⁹⁹⁹ *Manawatu Herald*, advertisement, 5 May 1896, p. 3, 26 October 1896, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ryan, p. 40.

¹⁰⁰¹ Marriage Certificate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 10 October 1917, 1917/247, BDM.

¹⁰⁰² Aroha Block V Section 18, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A102/1, 10789, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁰³ Death Certificate of Merea Wilkinson, 31 January 1936, 1936/26957, BDM.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H; Aroha Block V Section 2, Block Files, H1075, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

engineer living at Thames, was made her sole executor. He was left all her interest in Te Aroha Block 5A Section 2B2, 30 acres at Mangaiti, leased to a Pakeha farmer. He was instructed to sell it to meet all the cost of her funeral and would receive any residue left. Nicholls estimated the worth of her estate as being under £500.¹⁰⁰⁵ When probate was sought in the land court, a lawyer reported that Merea had made an earlier will, in 1927, which had left all her estate to Nicholls, whereas her final will gave him only one of her properties, though ‘admittedly the most valuable one’.¹⁰⁰⁶ A licensed interpreter stated that he read the 1936 one to her ‘in Maori before she signed it & she expressed approval’. He was ‘surprised to hear of her death so soon – She was apparently quite well when will was signed’. They had not discussed whether her children should inherit anything, and did not explain why she left property to Nicholls ‘except that she was to pay her hospital and other expenses’.¹⁰⁰⁷ Her lawyer insisted that she was perfectly clear in her mind’ about the terms of her will (and other things), adding that he knew ‘that Nicholls had helped her financially on a number of occasions’.¹⁰⁰⁸ Probate was granted ‘subject to question whether any of the 4 descendants’ were entitled to maintenance payments; meaning that Ngakari was recognized officially as Merea’s child. As her husband was ‘in a fair position’, and the other children were all employed, no maintenance was ordered, and probate was granted on the terms in the will.¹⁰⁰⁹

When Merea’s eldest son (George) gave evidence in the land court in 1939 concerning who had inherited her rights to Te Aroha Block 5A Section 2B2, after listing her three children by Wilkinson he added that she had had another child ‘who we say was adopted by one Moore a pakeha many years ago. Her name is Ngakari’. Upon George volunteering this information (about which he could have kept quiet, thereby not having to give her a share in the estate), the judge stated that he could not ‘leave her out until she has been heard’, and deferred the matter.¹⁰¹⁰ After ‘no evidence of an adoption’ was found the court stated that none could be considered to exist unless registered and therefore allotted equal shares to

¹⁰⁰⁵ Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, p. 294.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, pp. 295-296.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, pp. 297-298.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 70, p. 298.

¹⁰¹⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, pp. 87-88 [this reference pointed out by Josie Kampshof, a descendant of Merea].

‘Ngakari Wikiriwhi’ and her half-siblings.¹⁰¹¹ (It was hardly surprising that lawyers could not trace an adoption by Moore: he was the father, and Kimokimo Pepene had adopted her. Clearly Merea’s other children knew of Ngakari’s existence, but seemingly they did not know much about her – had they had much, or any, contact with her?)

Ngakari died in November 1940 after 25 years of a marriage not blessed with children.¹⁰¹² Like her mother, she died in the Thames Hospital, where she made her will, which was signed in the presence of Humphrey Nicholls.¹⁰¹³ In June 1946, a land court judge determined that the beneficiaries of Merea’s estate were her three children by Wilkinson plus Frederick Ngaroma Ngawiki.¹⁰¹⁴ This decision prompted a letter to the registrar of the Auckland land court from Merea’s son Thomas, then a Maori Welfare Officer based in Paeroa. He explained that Ngakari, the wife of Ngaroma Ngawiki, was Merea’s daughter but ‘adopted out to Kimokimo Pepene in her early infancy’. Ngakari was now dead, and her will transmitted her interests in land to her husband. ‘The point under review is if Ngakari was legally adopted out, and [as] I am reliably informed she was, she automatically, in my opinion, disowns any claim to her mother’s interest in any degree or form, particularly when Merea did not leave a Will entitling her to participate’.¹⁰¹⁵ He was told that the court had determined, in 1939, that ‘although Ngakari might have been adopted by Kimokimo for practical purposes, there was no legal adoption’, and that consequently, under the law, she was entitled to an equal share in her mother’s estate.¹⁰¹⁶

CONCLUSION

Information about the lives of Maori women in the nineteenth century is very hard to find, and although Merea’s private life has been largely

¹⁰¹¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, p. 96.

¹⁰¹² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, p. 327.

¹⁰¹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 71, p. 370.

¹⁰¹⁴ Judgment dated 18 June 1946, Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁰¹⁵ Thomas Mita Wilkinson (Welfare Officer, Paeroa) to Registrar, Maori Land Court, Auckland, 26 June 1946, Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁰¹⁶ Registrar to Thomas Mita Wilkinson, 26 June 1946, Probate of Merea Wikiriwhi, 1900/H, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

traced through the eyes of George Thomas Wilkinson, his diaries provide remarkable details about her and her convoluted relationships with him and about the two other Maori women with whom he shared his life. In her land dealings, Mereia did her best to benefit financially from the new possibilities provided by the land court. All three women accepted that Pakeha ways largely controlled their districts and their lives, and adapted appropriately, assisted by Wilkinson, whose life provides insights into how some Pakeha Maori lived, clearly preferring to share their private lives with Maori rather than Pakeha.

Appendix

Figure 1: Plan of Patuwahao Block, n.d., showing 100-acre section on southern boundary of Mangaiti Stream owned by 'Makereta & others', Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W [Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua]; used with permission.

