WILLIAM NICHOLLS, HERA TE WHAKAAWA, AND THEIR CHILDREN

Abstract: Two years after arriving in New Zealand in 1840, William Nicholls married Hera Te Whakaawa, who had an illustrious whakapapa. For the rest of his life he lived as a Pakeha Maori, trading and farming on land owned by his wife. Like other Pakeha, he was excited by the discoveries of gold, and was involved in a minor way with the Coromandel and Thames goldfields and at Te Aroha, near where he was living, where he and one of his sons did some prospecting. The penultimate Pakeha Maori to die in the Te Aroha district, he was a well-respected member of the community.

Nicholls ensured that his children were well educated, and in most cases they did well in Pakeha society and made ‘good’ marriages: the daughters to Pakeha and the sons to Maori. The lives of three of his children are summarized; the others are dealt with in other papers.

WILLIAM NICHOLLS’ ARRIVAL IN NEW ZEALAND

William Nicholls was born in Falmouth, Cornwall, in 1818 to Obadiah, a master mariner, and Alice, née Grey.1 He was the third son, James being born in 1815 and John the following year; his two sisters, Charlotte and Alice Ann Grey, both died shortly after birth, and his brothers had died by 1865.2 A wheelwright by trade,3 ‘after making several trips to South America in the clipper “Mail Brigs” that regularly ran between Falmouth and South, America, he came to New Zealand’, where he remained, apart from ‘a short trip’ to visit relatives in Melbourne.4 (Two years after her husband’s death in 1822, his widow had married Samuel Box and had had another six children; the family moved to Victoria in 1854, and, after about 50 years of separation, in 1886 his half-brother Edward invited him to visit.)5

1 Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM.
2 ‘Nicholls Henry Family History’; Death Certificate of Alice Box, 14 April 1865, Victorian BDM, copies provided by Anita Manning, 10 January 2012, email.
3 Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM.
5 Death Certificate of Alice Box, 14 April 1865, Victorian BDM; Edward Box to ‘Dear Brother’ [William Nicholls], n.d. [1886], copy provided by Anita Manning, 10 January 2012, email.
In January 1840, aged 21, and giving his occupation as a cooper, Nicholls arrived in Wellington on the ‘Aurora’, the first emigrant ship sent by the New Zealand Company. ‘Not finding Wellington to his taste’, he moved to Auckland ‘shortly afterwards’, where he helped to erect the first government buildings. He farmed at Tauranga for ‘a few years’ either before or after moving to Auckland.

**HIS FAMILY**

In 1842, when in Tauranga, at the age of 24 he married, under Maori custom, Hera, otherwise Sarah, Te Whakaawa. She was the eldest sister of Te Moananui Manao, the leading Ngai Te Rangi rangatira, who lived in that district. An obituary described her as ‘a chieftainess’ of Ngai Te Rangi and Ngati Haua. A great-great-great-granddaughter has recorded her hapu as being Ngati Tauaiti of the Ngai Te Rangi iwi and her marae as being Kutaroa, on Matakana Island (close to Tauranga).

One of her sons gave her genealogy:

- Poutu
- Te Awe
- Rangipumamao
- Rapoi
- Koroki
- Hape
- Mihikiterangi
- Te Kura
- Te Uruwhakamaro, who married Nohowaina
- Penga, who married Nohaoao
- Haru, who married Pirihira,

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6 Emigrant Register, NZC 34/1, p. 41, no. 734, ANZ-W; Albert J. Allom, A Holiday Trip to Maungatautari (Thames, 1873), p. 8.
7 Auckland Star, 17 December 1900, p. 4; New Zealand Herald, 24 December 1900, p. 2.
8 Ohinemuri Gazette, 16 July 1915, p. 3; Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM.
9 Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM.
10 Tauranga Correspondent, New Zealand Herald, 12 August 1869, p. 4; Ohinemuri Gazette, 16 July 1915, p. 3.
11 Auckland Star, 17 December 1900, p. 4.
12 Erin Papuni to Philip Hart, 29 August 2017, email.
Hera Te Whakaawa.\textsuperscript{13}

One family genealogy gives her father as Hare Te Whakaawa and her mother as Merioti.\textsuperscript{14}

As Hera’s death was not registered, her age is uncertain, although a family genealogy gives her birth date as 1822.\textsuperscript{15} When her eldest daughter successfully applied in February 1869 to be registered as the owner of the Ruakaka block at Te Aroha, she spoke as if her mother was dead: ‘My mother’s name was Hera Whakaawa – She was a sister of Te Wharenui’,\textsuperscript{16} a Ngati Haua rangatira.\textsuperscript{17} But, according to family information, in 1887 she was buried on Matakana Island at Te Ahi Puhipuhi Urupa, otherwise the Kutaroa cemetery;\textsuperscript{18} was this the date of her death, or had her body been moved there from elsewhere?

At Nicholls’ death in 1900 one son and three daughters were living at Mangaiti, where he resided;\textsuperscript{19} in his last years he was mainly living with his other son, William Grey Nicholls, in Paeroa.\textsuperscript{20} The family was sometimes known as Nikora, a transliteration of Nicholls. None of his children’s births were registered:

Harete/Harriet, otherwise Charlotte, was born in 1844;\textsuperscript{21} she married John William Richard Guilding before leaving him for Joseph Harris Smallman;\textsuperscript{22}

Susan, otherwise Huhana, was born in Coromandel, probably in the late 1840s or early 1850s;\textsuperscript{23} she married Richard Hartley Cartman;\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 65, p. 61.}
\footnote{Hera Te Whakaawa Nicholls entry in Geni.com.}
\footnote{Hera Te Whakaawa Nicholls entry in Geni.com.}
\footnote{Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, p. 265.}
\footnote{See New Zealand Herald, 3 April 1869, p. 7, 27 April 1871, p. 3.}
\footnote{Erin Papuni to Philip Hart, 29 August 2017, email.}
\footnote{Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM; Te Aroha News, n.d., reprinted in Ohinemuri Gazette, 17 December 1900, p. 2.}
\footnote{Auckland Star, 17 December 1900, p. 4.}
\footnote{Death Certificate of Harriet Smallman, 8 August 1912, 1912/8521, BDM.}
\footnote{See papers on their lives.}
\footnote{For possible dates, see Thames Hospital, Fees Register 1912-1914, entry for 3 March 1913, YCAH A431/75, ANZ-A; Death Certificates of Richard Hartley Cartman, 23 January 1916, 1916/917; Susan Te Whakawa Cartman, 2 April 1922, 1922/3238, BDM; Burial Register, Waihi, 1900-1938, no. 293, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.}
\footnote{Their lives are dealt with later in this paper.}
\end{footnotes}
William Grey, otherwise Wiremu Kerei, was born on 26 December 1853; he married Rihitoto Mataia, and was a future chairman of the Ohinemuri County Council and a Legislative Councillor;\(^\text{25}\)

Alice Grey, otherwise Hera or Arihi Kerei Tiara, was born at Okauia, near Matamata, in 1855;\(^\text{26}\) she married Charles John Dearle;\(^\text{27}\)

James (or Hemi) Ponui was born at Coromandel on 9 October 1856;\(^\text{28}\) he was married twice: first to Hera (otherwise Merea) Kiriwaitai, and then to Heki Te Rohu;\(^\text{29}\)

Another daughter, name and date of birth unknown, died at Mrs Kissling’s school in Auckland at an unknown date.\(^\text{30}\)

An obituary stated that he had ensured all his children were ‘carefully brought up and educated’.\(^\text{31}\) According to a tradition handed down in Alice Grey Dearle’s family, which muddled him with his son William Grey Nicholls, it was the parents’ ‘decision, as their “half-caste” children grew up in the harsh world of the rural pioneer, that their daughters would all marry pakeha and thus elevate themselves into “society” – and their sons would marry Maori and the Nikora family would continue its tribal bloodlines’.\(^\text{32}\) Certainly the marriages entered into by all his children could confirm this extremely pragmatic policy, though it may have been equally or more likely that love rather than cold-blooded planning was the real reason for selecting their mates.

**LIFE BEFORE THE WAIKATO WAR**

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\(^{25}\) See paper on his life.

\(^{26}\) Death Certificate of Alice Grey Dearle, 21 October 1936, 1936/23572, BDM.

\(^{27}\) See paper on their lives.

\(^{28}\) Church of Latter Day Saints, Hauraki Mission, no. 11, LDS Archives, Hamilton; Marriage Certificate of James Nicholls, 1 January 1884, 1884/244, BDM.

\(^{29}\) Death Certificate of James Ponui Nicholls, 7 April 1941, 1941/32028; Marriage Certificate of James Nicholls, 1 January 1884, 1884/244, BDM.


\(^{31}\) *Auckland Star*, 17 December 1900, p. 4.

\(^{32}\) Lindsay, Rona and Dan, ‘Our Story’ (unpublished, 2005), copy provided by Anita Manning, 9 January 2012, email.
In 1844, according to Nicholls’ 1871 account, he went to Purupuru, described in 1900 as being ‘near where the present bridge’ crossed the Waihou River on the road ‘from Matamata to Tauranga’. He remained there ‘not quite 12 months’. In 1845, with a Maori companion, he visited Te Aroha when ‘coming down on a trip to Hauraki from Matamata’, and also visited Waiharakeke and ‘Te Moki near Te Kotuku, a little above Manawaru’, seeing neither Ngati Maru nor Ngati Haua living there. At an unknown date he erected a flax mill in the ‘Upper Thames’.36

In November 1880, a Thames Advertiser correspondent met ‘an old resident’ of Te Aroha, almost certainly Nicholls.

He stated that he was a member of the Government survey party under Colonel Chesney, which visited the Aroha district in 1852 ... for the purpose of erecting a trig station on the top of the mountain. One day whilst his men were busy doing their work, Chesney, who was fossicking about, picked up something, and immediately became quite excited, and continued so for several hours. He did not inform the party what he discovered, although several of them had seen him stoop and pick up the substance, but on arriving in Auckland some time after he disclosed the nature of his discovery to the Surveyor-General, and showed that official a piece of quartz showing a little gold. Nothing was, however, done in the matter ... the reason being, no doubt, that as the land in question was in the hands of the natives, it would not be advisable to prospect and discover a payable goldfield for the benefit of Maoris. Our informant noticed when with the surveyors that plenty of loose quartz was lying about on the surface, and thought gold must be in some of them; but the hurried way in which the survey was made prevented him from testing the stone.37

In 1854, he went by canoe up the Waihou River to Omahu, the pa at Te Aroha, and then further upriver to Waiharakeke; he ‘used to travel about a good deal there at that time’. The following year he settled at Purupuru, ‘grazing and trading with the Natives’.38 Wanting ‘a run for cattle and to

33 Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 3, p. 340.
37 Te Aroha Correspondent, Thames Advertiser, 5 November 1880, p. 3.
buy produce', he remained there until the Waikato War. He took wheat down the river to Opukēko, preferring 'going down in a fresh because of snags'. He had ‘dealings’ with Ngati Haua in 1855, and ate eels they caught.39 According to a Ngati Haua rangatira, speaking in 1878, Nicholls was ‘placed’ on Te Tuatara, part of Waiharakeke East, by both Ngati Tawhaki and Ngati Haua.40

On 29 October 1858, Eliza Jones (later Stack), who was visiting Matamata with a party of Anglican missionaries, recorded meeting his eldest daughter, whom she knew as Charlotte, then aged 14:

We called on Mr Nicholls, who was the only English settler there, but he was away from home. He was married to a native woman and had several children. His daughter, a very nice looking girl with large bright eyes and pleasing expression did her best to entertain us but she was very nervous, not being accustomed to meeting Europeans. In the course of conversation with her I found that she had been at Mrs Kissling’s school in Auckland.41

Later that day, when Charlotte visited Eliza, ‘I asked her to spend the night with me as I thought she would be a pleasanter companion in my tent than old Miriam whose partiality for strong scented hair oil made close proximity to her rather trying. Charlotte was delighted to stay with me, and I found her a very nice-minded girl’.42 When Eliza wanted solitude, ‘I got Charlotte Nicholls to explain to them that I preferred being alone on Sunday as it gave him time to read my Book’,43 meaning the Bible. On Sunday, ‘when the women gathered round me again I got a Maori Testament and read to them and to my surprise they understood every word. They asked Charlotte Nicholls to ask me to explain the passage I read, which, with her help, I did’.44 When they left Matamata on the following day, ‘poor Charlotte had a sad cry at our parting as her father would not let her accompany me to Auckland. He was very civil to me and gave many good reasons why it was not advisable for his daughter to leave

39 Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 3, pp. 343-345.
40 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 325.
41 Eliza’s Journal, p. 136.
42 Eliza’s Journal, p. 138.
43 Eliza’s Journal, p. 138.
44 Eliza’s Journal, p. 139.
home. He kindly lent me a side saddle as the one I had was very uncomfortable'.

In 1860 he gave his occupation as a grazier living at Matamata. He was the first man to bring cattle from Tauranga by the Wairere track, which was a difficult matter in those days owing to the stormy winds in the district (worse than a Te Aroha gale); and, having his house blown down, he left for Kikowhakarue, near Coromandel'. This was probably after the Coromandel goldrush commenced in late 1861; in mid-1862 he applied for a publican’s license ‘for inland of Koputauahi on the sea side, near to the Diggings of that District, if arrangements can be made with Paul’s people for that purpose’. (Paora Te Putu and his people were reluctant to see Pakeha take their land and their gold.) Nicholls did not receive a license, but at Kikowhakarue he ‘built several schooners, which he sold to the Natives, one of the vessels he sold to the Matamata Natives for a block of land, which after some years he sold’ to Josiah Clifton Firth; it ‘formed the nucleus’ of Firth’s Mamatata estate. When he returned to Matamata is not known.

In 1871, Hori Timo of Ngati Rahiri recalled the Nicholls family living at Omahu, that hapu’s pa at Te Aroha, before the Waikato War. Mokena Hou also recalled Nicholls’ children having a kainga on the Aroha Block, ‘but I turned them away’ after threatening to burn down the house erected by Harete, his eldest daughter. In July 1863, ‘Mr Nicols, jun.,’ left Piako for Auckland along with other Pakeha Maori because they feared a Maori attack. An obituary stated that

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45 Eliza’s Journal, pp. 139-140.
46 Daily Southern Cross, 14 February 1860, p. 2.
48 H.H. Turton to Secretary for Crown Lands, 7 July 1862, Crown Land and Goldfields Commissioner’s and Warden’s Letterbook, Coromandel, 1862-1870, letter 25/62, BACL 14143/7a, ANZ-A.
49 See paper on Maori and goldfields revenue.
50 See paper on the Battery Company.
52 Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 294.
53 See paper on his life.
54 Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 2, p. 346.
He was obliged to leave just before the Waikato war, having great difficulty in getting his cattle to the Auckland market; the Natives stopped the Waikato road after the first lot of cattle were taken down – he had to take the second lot by Piako, passing through where Morrinsville now stands to where the Miranda Redoubt stood and then striking across the country for the Great South Road; they then closed the Piako road and the remainder he brought down by the west bank of the Waihou river, finally shipping them at Hikutaia for Auckland. He also bought great quantities of wheat from the Natives grown at Waiharakeke, Matamata, and Peria which was brought down the river in large canoes to the head of navigation for sailing vessels.56

During the war, his weatherboard house and store were destroyed and he lost two cows along with other property. He made two claims to the government for compensation, one for £294 12s, which he agreed to reduce to £212, and the other for £76 16s 6d, which was reduced to £20 6s before a reinvestigation recommended that nothing be paid.57

AFTER THE WAR

In 1864, Wirope Hotere Taipari placed Nicholls on Rapana Maunganoa’s land58 behind the beach at Kauaeranga, part of the future Thames, with his son-in-law,59 John Richard William Guilding.60 The following year, as Taipari later explained, a lease of £7 per annum was agreed upon and Rapana and others ‘were present when I pegged off Nicholls’ piece’. He lived there ‘till the opening of the goldfield’.61 In 1865 he assisted Guilding and others to prospect for gold, but they did not find a payable goldfield.62 When mining commenced in August 1867, Nicholls was described as ‘one of the oldest residents in the Thames district’, with ‘a store

57 Commission on Compensation Claims from Maori Wars, 1866, Return of Compensation Claims 1866, Maori Affairs Department, MA 61/3; Minute Book, folio 335, MA 61/1; Notes on Claims: Waikato, p. 29, MA 61/2, ANZ-W.
58 See paper on Maori and goldfields revenue for these two rangatira.
60 See paper on his life.
62 Observer, 4 October 1913, p. 4.
close to the landing-place'.\textsuperscript{63} This building, close to the later Shortland wharf, was quickly converted into the Duke of Edinburgh Hotel, for which he received a ‘bush license’\textsuperscript{64} Almost immediately, he was severely fined for a breach of the Spirit Licensing Act, and another man became licensee.\textsuperscript{65} He retained the building, which with its allotment was valued at £124 10s in 1869.\textsuperscript{66}

Nicholls obtained miner’s right no. 275, issued on 16 September 1867.\textsuperscript{67} The following September, he was sued for ‘breach of contract of agreement to purchase a working half-share in the Star of Onehunga’ and was required to pay the plaintiff £89 ‘and £10 out of the first dividend declared by the shareholders’. When the plaintiff received the £89, he was to transfer this half-share to Nicholls.\textsuperscript{68} He had shares in one company, and was sued in 1870 to force him to pay a call.\textsuperscript{69} The following year he held one-sixth of the interests in a Karaka Creek claim.\textsuperscript{70} In 1878 he was threatened with forfeiting his 40 shares in another company if a call remained unpaid.\textsuperscript{71}

In 1866 he claimed a run at Matamata comprising the Te Uruhau block, estimated at 3,000 acres, on which he intended to run 200 sheep.\textsuperscript{72} By at least March 1868 he had abandoned Thames to live at Huakaranu.\textsuperscript{73} According to his younger son, after leaving Thames he lived on the Komata

\textsuperscript{63} Auckland Weekly News, 10 August 1867, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{64} Auckland Weekly News, 31 August 1867, p. 6; Daily Southern Cross, 24 September 1867, p. 3; Auckland Star, 12 December 1900, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{65} Auckland Weekly News, 14 September 1867, p. 13, Shortland Magistrate’s Court, 21 September 1867, p. 6, 5 October 1867, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{66} Kauaeranga Highway District Assessment Roll for 1869-70, Auckland Provincial Government Gazette, 25 September 1869, p. 1164.
\textsuperscript{67} Thames Warden’s Court, Miners’ Rights Register 1867-1868, no. 275, BACL 14358/1a ANZ-A.
\textsuperscript{68} Warden’s Court, New Zealand Herald, 21 September 1868, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{69} Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaint Book 1869-1871, 1796/1870, BACL 13737/1a, ANZ-A.
\textsuperscript{70} Thames Warden’s Court, Shortland Claims Register 1871-1872, no. 2604, BACL 14397/6a, ANZ-A.
\textsuperscript{71} Thames Advertiser, 9 May 1878, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{72} Auckland Provincial Government Gazette, 22 July 1866, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{73} Upper Thames Correspondent, Daily Southern Cross, 25 March 1868, p. 3; Auckland Weekly News, 28 March 1868, p. 12.
Block in Ohinemuri. In late 1867, when Ngati Haua (in another account, Ngati Porou) were on their way to destroy Firth’s monument to Wiremu Tamihana, they considered shooting Nicholls, but refrained.

In April 1870 he was probably the William Nicholls who was assaulted in Thames in a dispute over his boat, the ‘Elizabeth’, for an Aucklander of the same name also had difficulties over his vessel. He told the court that he had gone ‘down on the beach at Grahamstown to seize the vessel Elizabeth, that belonged to him. He saw they were ready to go away’, and took another man with him ‘to take possession’. While he was standing on the short, the accused ‘jumped into a boat, and threatened him if he touched the vessel. Complainant put his hand on the vessel, and defendant then seized the tiller and struck complainant on the back of the head. He did nothing to provoke the assault’. His attacker was fined £5, or, in default, one month’s imprisonment.

Nicholls travelled freely in Maori territory, in June 1870 returning from Ohinemuri and Te Aroha with news that Hauhau intended ‘to make an attack on some one’, possibly Maori, possibly Pakeha, ‘shortly’. His contact with Ngati Haua meant that on at least one occasion he tried to act as an intermediary with a potential buyer of one of their blocks of land. On another recorded occasion, he assisted a rangatira writing an application about land. ‘After the war he was trading at Piako and Hauraki, finally settling down near Te Aroha’, which had been ‘a regular stopping place’ when he took wheat down the river to market. In 1876, Sir George Grey was angered by a claim by an Ohinemuri settler, Henry

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74 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 30, p. 156.
75 Upper Thames Correspondent, Daily Southern Cross, 25 March 1868, p. 3; Auckland Weekly News, 28 March 1868, p. 12; for the date of the unveiling of this monument, see Centennial History of Matamata Plains, compiled by C.W. Vennell and others (Matamata, 1951), p. 36.
76 See several references in Papers Past to other William Nicholls.
77 Daily Southern Cross, 12 November 1873, p. 2.
78 Shortland Police Court, Auckland Star, 13 April 1870, p. 2.
80 Editorial, Thames Advertiser, 23 May 1876, p. 2.
81 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, p. 144.
Alley,\textsuperscript{83} that Nicholls had received money for helping to put blocks through the land court. ‘I know for a fact he received £150 from a Native Land Commissioner to assist to put through the Hungahunga block’, a figure Alley was told was £50 too high.\textsuperscript{84} Hungahunga was upstream from Te Aroha, on the western side of the river and adjoining the Waiharakeke West block.\textsuperscript{85}

LIVING NEAR TE AROHA

By March 1871, Nicholls was living at Mangamutu, three miles from Waitoki Creek,\textsuperscript{86} which joined the Waihou River about halfway between Te Aroha and Paeroa. Early maps showed the Mangamutu Block adjoining the southern boundary of the Rae o Te Papa Block; another boundary was the river.\textsuperscript{87} In 1893 Hoera Tareranui of Ngati Tamatera informed the land court that in 1868 he ‘placed Mr Nicholls on Mangamutu’.\textsuperscript{88} Confusingly, at the 1877 hearing to determine the ownership of the Waitoki Block, Hoera stated that he had permitted Nicholls to live there only three years previously. His decision caused conflict, for Makareta, grandmother of Merea Wikiriwhi,\textsuperscript{89}

had peach trees on the land and she said to prevent the Pakehas getting them she would chop them up – She cut one tree down and W. Nicholls then took her axe away. No one ever objected to the house. After it was built my father and I went there and arranged with Nicholls to the rent he was to pay us. We leased the whole block to him for 10 years at £30 per annum.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{83} See \textit{Thames Star}, letter from George H. Lamont, 11 November 1875, p. 2, 21 August 1918, p. 2; letter from ‘Another Settler’, \textit{Thames Advertiser}, 23 May 1878, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{84} Sir George Grey to Sir Donald McLean, 20 May 1876; Sir Donald McLean to Sir George Grey, 25 May 1876; Sir George Grey to Sir Donald McLean, 2 June 1876, \textit{Auckland Provincial Government Gazette}, 10 June 1876, p. 235.

\textsuperscript{85} ‘Index to Portions of Te Aroha and Adjoining Survey Districts’, November 1880, Te Aroha Block, folio 4, Lands and Survey Department, LS 1/2344, ANZ-W.

\textsuperscript{86} Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book no. 3, p. 340; \textit{Thames Advertiser}, 18 June 1875, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{87} Block 1V, Waitoa Survey District, R2193, Map Library, University of Waikato.

\textsuperscript{88} Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 31, p. 276.

\textsuperscript{89} See paper on her life.

\textsuperscript{90} Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 156.
Ngati Rahiri objected, as Mokena Hou had already explained:

A Pakeha named Nicholls built a house on the land. We objected to his doing so because it was Tareranui who gave him leave to build the house. We threatened to burn it down but when we found that it had been built by order of Nicholls’ half caste daughter [Charlotte] we made no objection – the girls were related to us. They were descended from our Ancestor Rakiteuru on the mother’s side.91

Mokena considered that Nicholls should not pay anything to Hoera Tareranui.92 After one and a half years, Nicholls abandoned the lease and asked Hoera ‘to refund the money he had paid for survey and for building his house’. James Mackay, on Hoera’s instructions, paid this money to Nicholls, deducting the rent owing.93

Through their mother, his children had a claim to the 450-acre Ruakaka Block at Te Aroha, which was accepted by the court in 1869.94 Nicholls ‘paid the whole of the expenses’, but by December 1872 still had not received title.95

On their way to Te Aroha in May 1871, a party travelling upriver stopped at his Mangamutu farm late one afternoon. ‘I think never did man appear to be more astonished than when I stepped on shore and asked him what place this might be. We were well treated with a good dinner, and stayed for the night’. The following day Nicholls’ younger son, James Ponui, guided their canoe to Te Aroha.96 In December the following year, a Thames party coming across the Rotokohu gorge, between Nicholls’ farm and Paeroa, were impressed with the view:

To the southward the view of the Upper Thames and Te Aroha was obstructed by a rocky-faced spur from that mountain, called Te Rae o te Papa, that gives its name to the locality chosen by Mr Nicholls for his residence, which together with several small

91 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 141.
92 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 144.
93 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 10, p. 156.
94 Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 2, pp. 257-266, 305.
95 Allom, p. 8.
96 Special Commissioner, ‘The Opening of Ohinemuri’, New Zealand Herald, 13 May 1871, p. 3.
native settlements, could be seen down on the river bank, at a
distance of about three miles from us. A very steep descent and a
short gallop over level grassy and ferny country brought us to
Nicholls’ house.97

The party was ‘most kindly and hospitably received by Mr Nicholls and
his daughter’ Susan.

Having informed her of our destination, up the Waihou Valley, no
time was lost in preparing for us a mid-day meal, thus
exemplifying that practical Christianity inculcated by St Paul,
“Be not forgetful to entertain strangers,” which is worth a
multitude of professions and sermons. In the meantime, our
horses were tethered amidst good green feed, such as they had
not enjoyed since we started.... Mr Nicholls has a nice place on
the river bank, well-fenced, with an acre or two of wheat, and
plenty of potatoes and vegetables.98

Once more his son James guided the party to Te Aroha.99 Nine years
later, a Pakeha travelling to Te Aroha wrote that ‘we, fortunately, had on
board the steamer, a very clever Maori linguist, named Harete, a daughter
of Mr Nicholls, one of the oldest settlers in the district, and thoroughly
reliable’.100

Nicholls retained contact with the wider community. In March 1873,
when a Good Templers Lodge was inaugurated in Thames, he was
appointed ‘Left-hand Supporter’;101 his membership indicated his opposition
to the abuse of alcohol. Five years later, he was one of those calling a
meeting at Paeroa to consider establishing an Ohinemuri County
Council.102 His only involvement in Ohinemuri mining was to be an owner,
with mainly Maori partners, in one claim, probably near Owharoa, in
1875.103 Another example of his close association with Maori was that when
accused of shooting game without a license in 1877, he claimed to have the

97 Allom, p. 9.
98 Allom, p. 8.
99 Allom, p. 9.
100 Letter from S[amuel] Stephenson, Thames Advertiser, 13 October 1879, p. 3.
101 Daily Southern Cross, 29 March 1873, p. 2.
102 Thames Advertiser, 22 May 1878, p. 2.
103 Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Ohinemuri Claims 1875, folio 21, BBAV
11568/1a, ANZ-A.
approval of the Maori landowners; his argument was rejected and a nominal penalty was imposed.\textsuperscript{104}

In November 1876, Nicholls and his children were granted a 100-acre allotment in the Parish of Te Puna,\textsuperscript{105} near Tauranga, but there is no evidence of their living on it. In 1880 Nicholls had ‘a paddock’ in Paeroa.\textsuperscript{106} The following May, he applied for a 50-acre Ohinemuri agricultural lease, which he later asked to be issued in the name of a son-in-law, Charles Dearle.\textsuperscript{107} He was granted a timber license for an area near his land in late 1883.\textsuperscript{108} In that December the \textit{Te Aroha News} described his small farm as prosperous.\textsuperscript{109}

\section*{THE TE AROHA GOLDFIELD}

An ‘old resident’ of Te Aroha, seemingly Nicholls, was interviewed in 1880 about his gold explorations:

He spent nearly two years, off and on, in vigorous prospecting. He discovered several reefs and leaders, but none of them showed gold. He however found nice gold in pieces of brown quartz lying on the surface after he had burnt off the scrub, and on one occasion he brought down to Grahamstown a kit containing 22lb of nice specimens, which he caused to be crushed privately, and which gave a yield of 11oz 4dwt melted gold. The cake was sold at the Bank of New Zealand in Auckland, and fetched £3 12s per ounce, as it was of splendid quality. He informs us that all the gold he obtained at Te Aroha never went less than £3... He says that although he failed to discover gold in any of the reefs, the

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Thames Advertiser}, 4 June 1877, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{105} Crown Lands Board, Register of Correspondence 1873-1876, folio 132, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1945/1a; Register of Crown Grants 1865-1882, folios 143, 299, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1175/2, ANZ-A; Nominal Primary Index, vol. 3, folio 317, Land Information New Zealand, Auckland.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Thames Star}, 26 November 1880, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{107} Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Applications for Agricultural Leases 1878-1886, folio 12, BACL 14452/1a; C.J. Dearle to Warden, 24 August 1884, Inward Letters and Memoranda and Telegrams to Resident Magistrate and Warden 1879-1892, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A.

\textsuperscript{108} Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Hearings 1883-1900, 81/1883, BBAV 11505/1a, ANZ-A.

\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Te Aroha News}, 15 December 1883, p. 2.
late Sir Donald McLean visited the Aroha some years before his death, and was shown the most promising of the lodes by our informant. The Native Minister caused several pounds of the stone to be broken out, and taken to Wellington, where it was tested at the Government Laboratory, and yielded at the rate of 4oz to the ton. Our informant knows where the reef in question is situated, and intends to take it up as soon as the field is opened.\(^{110}\)

Some details are undermined by the fact that McLean did not visit Te Aroha in the 1870s. His earlier prospecting prompted Nicholls to take out a miner’s right on opening day.\(^{111}\) In December 1880, he was an owner of two claims at Tui, and after one, the Tui, was forfeited, he was allotted one share in it.\(^{112}\) A correspondent was informed ‘on good authority’ that the Catran brothers, Martin, Stephen, Thomas, and William,\(^{113}\) who reputedly made a good find on a branch of the Tui Stream, ‘were laid on to it by old Nicholls some 12 months ago’.\(^{114}\) The brothers confirmed that Nicholls had told them of this gold-bearing lode and had showed it to them after the field opened.\(^{115}\) In January, with others he prospected a short distance to the south of the Tui claim.\(^{116}\) His interest was diverted to the new Waihi discovery, where he applied for a water race in early 1881,\(^{117}\) but did not construct it. Shortly after the Waiorongomai field was discovered, Nicholls with his two sons and a Pakeha investor marked out two claims.\(^{118}\) He acquired half of one share in the Hero in February 1882, which was

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\(^{110}\) Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 5 November 1880, p. 3.

\(^{111}\) Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 406, issued 25 November 1880, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1c, ANZ-A.

\(^{112}\) Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 177, 189, BBAV 11567/1a; Plaint Book 1880-1898, 17/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.


\(^{114}\) Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 9 December 1880, p. 3.

\(^{115}\) Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 11 December 1880, p. 2.


\(^{117}\) Advertisement, *Thames Star*, 1 March 1881, p. 3.

\(^{118}\) Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.
converted in May into 400 scrip shares in the Hero Company.\textsuperscript{119} That was the extent of his involvement in Te Aroha mining.

When a coroner’s jury was selected to investigate the murder of Himiona Haira at Te Aroha, Nicholls was a member,\textsuperscript{120} no doubt because of his close links with Maori.

\textbf{DEATH}

After living with his elder son for some years, Nicholls died in Paeroa in December 1900 of ‘general debility’, aged 82. He was noted as being the last but one ‘of the paheka Maoris’ of the district.\textsuperscript{121} (The other would have been George Lipsey.)\textsuperscript{122}

\textbf{CHILDREN}

All Nicholls’ children apart from James Ponui and Susan have papers to themselves because their lives or those of their marriage partners can be traced in detail.

\textbf{JAMES PONUI NICHOLLS}

In Thames, at an unknown date,\textsuperscript{123} James Ponui Nicholls married Hera, or Sarah, Kiriwaitai, also known as Merea, under Maori custom. She was the daughter of Kohera Hone, of Ngati Tara, and of Ngahehu Pepene Kiriwaitai, otherwise Pepene Tipirihi, of Ngati Hako. Her brother was Kimokimo Pepene,\textsuperscript{124} with whom she was charged, in December 1875, with

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[119] Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 10, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; \textit{New Zealand Gazette}, 1 June 1882, p. 800.
\item[120] \textit{Thames Star}, 14 February 1881, p. 2.
\item[121] Death Certificate of William Nicholls, 13 December 1900, 1900/3573, BDM; \textit{Auckland Star}, 17 December 1900, p. 4.
\item[122] See paper on his life.
\item[123] Ohinemuri Police Court, \textit{Thames Advertiser}, 26 November 1875, p. 3, 4 December 1875, p. 2.
\item[124] Death Certificates of James Ponui Nicholls, 7 April 1941, 1941/32028; Kimo Kimo Pepene, 10 December 1922, 1922/11630, BDM; Ohinemuri Police Court, \textit{Thames Advertiser}, 10 December 1875, p. 3.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
damaging a canvas house belonging to a Pakeha settler. They were both then living at Waitoki; both were discharged after paying for the damage.125

James and Hera had three children, none of whose births were registered: two girls, Rene Kiriwaitai, born in 1872, and Mere or Merea, born in 1876, and one son, Humapere, otherwise Humphrey, born in 1874.126 According to his descendants, there was another daughter, Mikereana,127 who must have died in childhood. In September 1889, along with his sister Alice Grey Dearle128 he was appointed a trustee for the land his children inherited from their mother.129

His wife seems to have died at an unrecorded date between 1877 and 1883. In January 1884, the Bay of Plenty Times recorded that ‘an interesting ceremony was performed on New Year’s Day by the popular Registrar of Marriages, in the Court House, Tauranga, when Mr James Nicholls, son of Mr William Nicholls, of the Upper Thames, led to the matrimonial noose the charming chieftess, Miss Heki Te Rohu, of Maketu’.130 She was aged 21, 11 years his junior, and both were living at Te Aroha. He was recorded as being a bachelor, which under Pakeha law he was; presumably Hera had died, though possibly she was still alive but abandoned. Heke (as her name was recorded on the marriage certificate) was the daughter of Ngahima Te Rohu; her mother’s name is indecipherable.131 In November 1902, the Te Aroha News referred to a half-caste man fighting a Maori woman at the races. ‘Needless to say the unfortunate woman got the worst of it’.132 At the subsequent court hearing, both James and Heki Nicholls were accused of threatening behaviour; after pleading guilty, both were fined 5s.133

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125 Mackaytown Resident Magistrate’s Court, Daily Reports 1875, entries for 6 December 1875, 8 December 1875, BACL 1444/1a, ANZ-A; Ohinemuri Magistrate’s Court, Thames Advertiser, 8 December 1875, p. 3, 10 December 1875, p. 3.
126 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 28, p. 14; no. 42, p. 141.
127 Church of Latter Day Saints, Family Block Film 091, LDS Archives, Hamilton.
128 See paper on her life.
130 Bay of Plenty Times, 5 January 1884, p. 2.
131 Marriage Certificate of James Nicholls, 1 January 1884, 1884/244, BDM.
133 Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 51/1902, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.
In the early 1870s James was living with his parents on the banks of the Waihou River. In December 1874, when the ‘Fairy’ was the first steamer to reach Te Aroha, James Mackay was at the bow watching for snags ‘and young Nicholls, a half-caste, who lived some 8 or 9 miles up the river’ from its junction with the Ohinemuri River ‘undertook to steer’.134 He first achieved public prominence in 1875 when he accused another part-Maori family of stealing his wife’s horse;135 he was then still living with his family at Waitoki.136 In July 1877 he was mentioned in the press for being unwilling to lend a Maori money when they were in a Paeroa bar.137 A month later a baker sued him for £5 5s 5d.138 One year later, when this debt remained unpaid and a judgment summons was taken out against him for £10 3s 5d, he explained his position:

He had no money to pay the bill, but he expected to have some soon. He expected to get work in a short time. In the meantime he should live on the produce of the soil. He and the persons who lived on the settlement claimed the land as their own, for the Government had put in a claim for it. He had a share in the Waiharakeke block. The debt he owed was for bread. He had paid the tailor and bootmaker for his clothing. An order was made that he would have to pay £2 a month, commencing on 1st August, and failing any payment, to undergo a month’s imprisonment.139

This debt was paid, but two months later he was charged £7 5s 6d for board and lodging after staying in a hotel for almost nine weeks. An indication of his close association with Maori was that an interpreter was used in the hearing.140 A judgment summons had to be issued to enforce

134 Thames Advertiser, 30 December 1874, p. 3.
135 Mackaytown Resident Magistrate’s Court, Daily Reports 1875, entries for 23 November 1875, 3 December 1875, BACL 14444/1a, ANZ-A; Ohinemuri Police Court, Thames Advertiser, 26 November 1875, p. 3, 4 December 1875, p. 2, 8 December 1875, p. 3, 10 December 1875, p. 3.
136 Ohinemuri Police Court, Thames Advertiser, 26 November 1875, p. 3.
137 Thames Advertiser, 25 July 1877, p. 3.
138 Thames Magistrate’s Court, Patent Book 1875-1880, 627/1877, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.
139 Thames Magistrate’s Court, Patent Book 1875-1880, 274/1878, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, Thames Advertiser, 13 July 1878, p. 3.
140 Magistrate’s Court, Thames Advertiser, 21 September 1878, p. 3.
In 1908, he tendered to fence a road near the Waitoa River, but no other tenders have been recorded.

One cause of his being short of money, at least in later years, was an unrecorded injury, as a great niece recalled:

He used to come to our family home wearing a PIKAU (sugar bag tied to make a carrying bag) on his back. He had lost the lower part of one leg, and had a “peg” leg.

My Mother ... would give him food – meat vegetables and cakes – but he would not take same without doing some kind of work for her.

My younger brother ... and I would hide behind our Mother as we were frightened he might take us away with him.

James was interested in goldmining, but only very lethargically, according to a correspondent writing in 1869:

A report reached here the other day from up country that a half-caste son of Mr Nicholls, a settler, has been tunnelling into the Aroha Mountain, and had arrived at the distance of 150 feet, when he struck gold, which report, I think, is very shaky, as I happen to know pretty well the working propensities of the young man. My idea is, that he would rather be performing on the Jew’s-harp than working with the pick and shovel.

James was briefly involved in the Te Aroha rush, obtaining a miner’s right on opening day and shares in two claims in the following month; there was no mention of the reported 150-foot tunnel driven in 1869. A correspondent visiting the United found that ‘right in the centre’ Nicholls, his brother-in-law Charles Dearle, and ‘one or two others’ had ‘pegged out an area’ and driven about six feet, provoking a dispute with the owners of the United. This conflict was soon resolved, and any continued involvement in mining ended in the following March, when he fell from a

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141 Thames Magistrate’s Court, Plaint Book 1875-1880, 385/1878, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.
142 Ohinemuri Gazette, 8 May 1908, p. 3.
143 Estelle Bourne-Jenkins to Philip Hart, 8 June 2017, email.
144 Ohinemuri Correspondent, Thames Advertiser, 7 July 1869; reprinted in Auckland Weekly News, 10 July 1869, p. 10.
145 Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 943, issued 25 November 1880, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1b, ANZ-A.
146 Te Aroha Correspondent, Thames Advertiser, 1 December 1880, p. 3.
horse and broke his collarbone.\textsuperscript{147} In October and November 1881, with others he pegged out three claims at Waiorongomai, in one with his father and brother.\textsuperscript{148} After this last involvement in mining he returned to farming at Mangaiti.\textsuperscript{149}

James would follow the example of many Maori and part Maori living in the district by becoming a Mormon.\textsuperscript{150} He died in 1941; his death certificate recorded that his son was still living and, curiously, only listed Hera as his spouse,\textsuperscript{151} perhaps an indication that his surviving child disliked his second wife.

\textbf{SUSAN TE WHAKAAWA CARTMAN}

When Susan Nicholls provided lunch for unexpected visitors in 1872, she was described as ‘a handsome, refined, and well-educated young lady, whose appearance, though in deep morning, in these out-of-the-way parts, gave us a pleasant surprise’.\textsuperscript{152} Her mourning clothes were because of the recent drowning of two nieces, daughters of John William Richard Guilding, and her own near drowning when attempting to rescue them.\textsuperscript{153}

In 1877, she married Richard Hartley Cartman, son of William, an English clergyman who was a Doctor of Divinity and headmaster of Skipton Grammar School in Yorkshire.\textsuperscript{154} Richard’s brother worked for the Imperial Maritime Customs in China.\textsuperscript{155} After arriving in New Zealand in March 1862, he fought in the Waikato Militia and was under fire on several occasions.

\textsuperscript{147} \textit{Thames Star}, 7 March 1881, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{148} Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, nos. 255, 309, 310, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.
\textsuperscript{149} Waihi Magistrate’s Court, Plain Book 1900-1908, folio 136, BAFV 13684/2b, ANZ-A; \textit{Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1901}, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{150} Church of Latter Day Saints, Hauraki Mission, no. 11; Register of Baptisms and Confirmation in the Te Aroha Branch of the New Zealand Mission, entry for 31 October 1909, LDS Archives, Hamilton.
\textsuperscript{151} Death Certificate of James Ponui Nicholls, 7 April 1941, 1941/32028, BDM.
\textsuperscript{152} Allom, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{153} See paper on Guilding’s life.
\textsuperscript{155} \textit{Auckland Weekly News}, 24 November 1899, p. 1.
occasions. He received two Crown Grants for his service, but wanted more.

In 1882, Cartman owned 100 acres in Whakatane County valued at £650. He leased land from Pineha Marutuahu of Te Aroha, and would arrange and pay for Pineha’s funeral. After moving to Mangaiti in the 1880s he farmed there for the rest of his life. In 1891 his ‘provoking language’ prompted a brother-in-law, Dearle, to obtain sureties that he would keep the peace.

Cartman ‘passed away peacefully’ in January 1916, aged 81, after several years of a ‘long and painful illness’: progressive muscular atrophy coupled with senile decay. His widow died six years later. They had had two boys and three girls. Bella Maud was born in Opotiki in October

156 ‘Addresses Presented to Sir George Grey on his 74th Birthday, 14 April 1886, by European and Maori Residents of Auckland Province’, p. 191, Grey New Zealand Papers, MS 275, Auckland Public Library; F.J. Burgess to Adjutant General, New Zealand Military Forces, Wellington, 23 August 1913, Thames Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1913-1916, folio 82, BACL 14458/3b, ANZ-A; Land Register, 1st Waikato Regiment, 1863, Army Department [microfilm].


159 Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 59, 61.

160 Cleave’s Auckland Directory, 1893 (Auckland, 1893), p. 273; Marriage Certificate of Hannah O’Callaghan Bacon Cartman, 16 October 1901, 1901/4500, BDM; for map of Cartman Road, see Aroha Block V Section 14, Land Blocks, H1079, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

161 Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 2/1891, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

162 New Zealand Herald, 25 January 1916, p. 1; Death Certificate of Richard Hartley Cartman, 23 January 1916, 1916/917, BDM; for his earlier invalidism, see Thames Hospital, Fees Register 1912-1914, entry for 3 March 1913, YCAH A431/75, ANZ-A.

163 Death Certificate of Susan Te Whakawa Cartman, 2 April 1922, 1922/3238, Waihi BDM.
1878;\textsuperscript{164} she would become a Mormon.\textsuperscript{165} Ethel was born in 1880;\textsuperscript{166} Hannah O'Callaghan Bacon, also born in Opotiki, in 1881;\textsuperscript{167} Stanley Betts was born at Mangaiti in March 1884;\textsuperscript{168} and Frederick Augustus was born at Te Aroha, in 1886.\textsuperscript{169} For some reason the births of their two boys were not registered.

Although neither Richard nor Susan Cartman had shareholdings in any Te Aroha mines, their son Stanley Betts, who farmed their Mangaiti land,\textsuperscript{170} in 1921, with others, applied for two claims near Te Aroha, but they quickly withdrew their applications for what was worthless ground.\textsuperscript{171}

CONCLUSION

William Nicholls lived for most of his life as a Pakeha Maori, but not one who lazed around while his Maori relatives did all the work for him, as others were accused of doing.\textsuperscript{172} Although not very active in local affairs, he was a respected member of the Pakeha community, and most of his children, whom he ensured were well educated, did well in life, notably his elder son.

\textit{Figure 1}: ‘Sketch Map of Ohinemuri’, appended to \textit{Daily Southern Cross}, 1 March 1875 (note p. 2), Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; Nicholls’ property noted, close to boundary with Aroha Block; used with permission.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{164} Birth Certificate of Belle Maud Cartman, 1878/15714, BDM.
\item \textsuperscript{165} Church of Latter Day Saints, Record of Members: Early to 1919: Te Aroha Branch, no. 20, LDS Archives, Hamilton.
\item \textsuperscript{166} Birth Certificate of Ethel Presence [correctly Prudence?] Cartman, 1880/4680, BDM; Te Aroha School Roll, 1890, YCAF 4135/27a, ANZ-A.
\item \textsuperscript{167} Birth Certificate of Hannah Cartman, 1881/11208; Marriage Certificate of Hannah O'Callaghan Bacon Cartman, 16 October 1901, 1901/4500, BDM.
\item \textsuperscript{168} Te Aroha School, Admissions Register no. 2 (1889-1897), no. 640, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha; Marriage Certificate of Stanley Betts Cartman, 1908/1101; Death Certificate of Stanley Cartman, 1966/31855, BDM.
\item \textsuperscript{169} Marriage Certificate of Frederick Augustus Cartman, 13 June 1912, 1912/3197, BDM.
\item \textsuperscript{170} See Magistrate’s Court, \textit{Te Aroha News}, 18 October 1916, p. 2.
\item \textsuperscript{171} Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1913-1921, hearing of 9 July 1921, BBAV 11505/6a; Mining Registrations 1921, 30, 38/1921, BCDG 11288/7a, ANZ-A.
\item \textsuperscript{172} See paper on Maori in Hauraki in the nineteenth century.
\end{itemize}