

WOMEN'S LIVES IN THE TE AROHA DISTRICT

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Te Aroha Mining District Working Papers

No. 126

Revised on February 12, 2026

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ISSN: 2463-6266

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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Abstract: *Pioneer women were praised for their hard work, and this paper deals with all aspects of their lives in this district in the late nineteenth and, occasionally, the early twentieth century. Details are provided of all the women who held shares in local mines, not all of whom lived in the district and some of whom were probably dummies for their husbands. Some women had paid work, sometimes out of necessity rather than a desire to be independent and struggled to become financially secure on low wages. Servants were not always well treated by the women who employed them.*

Women's lot included a variety of unpaid work and endless domestic duties. Some were fortunate enough to have money of their own and sometimes held their husband's property in their own name, usually to protect it against his creditors. Land was also held in women's names, usually to enable the family to hold more sections of land than the law permitted. Because of poverty, some women were forced to seek charitable aid.

Many women were active in community life in a variety of ways, notably their church, charitable work, nursing, and temperance. Younger women enjoyed the outdoors and sports. Competition for popularity (and for a mate) meant a considerable amount of time was spent in trying to look their best and in displaying their finery at the many socials held.

Some women got into trouble for improper behaviour, notably drunkenness and even violence, but most of the female crime that was recorded was minor. Sexual misbehaviour included illegitimate children (some of whom had a short life) and abortion. Some wives were deserted, but others were able to remarry. At the end of this paper, there are accounts of several women's lives, some of them unhappy – unhappiness being more easily uncovered because of the sources available.

ONE VIEW

Edward Wakefield, writing in 1889, lavished praise on the women of the goldfields:

The female population of the gold-fields, too, notwithstanding their somewhat ungraceful surroundings, are almost invariably gentle and amiable and full of sensibility, devotedly attached to their people and their home, but yet kindness itself to visitors and strangely influenced by any attention or sympathy that is shown to them. Their lot is rather a hard one, though their material wants are abundantly supplied; but they adapt themselves to it with admirable cheerfulness and manage to make very happy homes out of not very promising materials.¹

¹ Edward Wakefield, *New Zealand After Fifty Years* (London, 1889), pp. 167-168.

This paper will examine various aspects of women's lives in the Te Aroha district, mostly in the late nineteenth century.

SHAREHOLDERS IN LOCAL MINES

Eighteen women held shares under their own names, although in most cases it is likely that they were dummies for fathers or husbands. They were, in alphabetical order, Agnes Burns (later Agnes Wilson),² Emily Letitia Cuff, Annie Donnelly, Annie Clifton Firth,³ Louisa Jane Forsman,⁴ Eliza Gaudin, Ann Hotchin, Lavinia Johnson,⁵ Rachel Joy, Emilia Hendrika and Margretha Kilian,⁶ Annie Margaret Long,⁷ Frances Ann O'Halloran,⁸ Elizabeth Russell, Marie Louisa Smith, Maria Taylor, Merea Wikiriwhi,⁹ and Sarah Wood. All but four (Donnelly, Firth, Gaudin, and Long) lived in the district for part of their lives. Two, Lavinia Johnson and Merea Wikiriwhi, were Maori. What can be discovered about the lives of those not outlined elsewhere are described here.

Emily Letitia Cuff, nee Baggett, was born in Jamaica in 1845 to George, a judge and large-scale sugar planter. 'At the time of the emancipation of slaves he won the Colony's special cup for growing the largest are of sugar cane with free labour'. But as the result was 'a considerable financial loss', in 1862 he took his daughter (his wife must have died) first to Melbourne and then in the following year to Christchurch.¹⁰ In 1863 she married Joshua Cuff there, when he was a sawmiller; he later became a lawyer specializing in land court work, 'being a fluent Maori linguist'. They moved to Gisborne in 1870, where Josiah would fight against Te Kooti and failed as a farmer before moving to Thames in 1879.¹¹ An obituary recalled that 'during the early pioneering days' Emily 'was held in great esteem by the Maori race for her ministrations to the sick'.¹² Later, her husband became a mining investor and, in his

² See paper on George Wilson.

³ See paper on the Battery Company.

⁴ See paper on the Roycroft Brothers.

⁵ See paper on Lavinia and Henry Dunbar Johnson.

⁶ See paper on the Kilian family.

⁷ See paper on Thomas Francis Long.

⁸ See paper on George Stewart O'Halloran.

⁹ See paper on her life.

¹⁰ Death Certificate of Emily Letitia Cuff, 16 October 1944, 1944/28809, BDM; *Te Puke Times*, 27 October 1944, p. 2.

¹¹ *Te Puke Times*, 27 October 1944, p. 2.

¹² *Bay of Plenty Times*, 19 October 1944, p. 2.

opinion, a mining expert.¹³ Like her husband, Emily obtained a residence site; both were sold, on the same day in September 1882, to a mine manager.¹⁴ It is highly unlikely that she personally pegged out two claims with this same man three months later, as recorded in the warden's office.¹⁵ Her investments, in two claims and one company, were different to her husband's.¹⁶ Her occupation when living in Te Aroha was recorded as 'housewife',¹⁷ and remained so after she left the district, as she would have a total of 13 children.¹⁸ Her later life has not been traced, apart from her death in 1944, aged 99, after nearly 35 years of widowhood.¹⁹

The identity of **Annie Donnelly** remains a mystery. In 1883, when she purchased a quarter share in the Last Find at Waiorongomai, which was almost immediately converted into 75 scrip shares in the company of the same name, she was recorded as being an Auckland spinster.²⁰ She was not one of the three Annie Donnellys who married subsequently.²¹ It is possible that she had been a barmaid living in the Waverley Hotel, in Auckland, when it burnt down in the previous year;²² it was run by George Isles Panter, who was still her employer in 1883.²³ Panter, a leading publican,²⁴

¹³ See Joshua Cuff to Minister of Mines, 12 October 1885, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1259; Joshua Cuff to Minister of Public Works, 23 March 1888, Mines Department, MD 1, 88/233, ANZ-W; *Thames Advertiser*, 7 May 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 23 January 1886, p. 7; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington, 1897), p. 1281.

¹⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 171, BBAV 11505/3a; Rent Ledger 1881-1900, folios 109, 110, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1882, nos. 214, 216, BBAV 11557/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 64, 118, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

¹⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

¹⁸ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 19 October 1944, p. 2.

¹⁹ Death Certificates of Joshua Cuff, 12 December 1909, 1909/932; Emily Letitia Cuff, 16 October 1944, 1944/28809, BDM.

²⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 84, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 September 1883, p. 1345.

²¹ Marriage Certificates of Annie Donnelly, 1888/464, 1891/2725, 1904/4229, BDM.

²² *Auckland Weekly News*, 25 February 1882, p. 13.

²³ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 September 1883, p. 3.

²⁴ For example, evidence by G.I. Panter, Auckland Supreme Court, Judges' Notebooks, Conolly J, Civil 1889-1890, pp. 268-269, BBAE A304/134, ANZ-A; *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 25 September 1874, p. 187; advertisement, *Auckland Free Lance*, 11 January 1879, p. 1; *Observer*, 25

invested in many Hauraki mines,²⁵ but did not invest in the same mines as Annie Donnelly, and his only involvement in the Te Aroha mining district was in one Tui claim in 1900.²⁶

Annie Clifton Firth lived in the shadow of her husband Josiah,²⁷ attaining little public prominence. Her only involvement with Te Aroha was in 1889, when her husband wrote that ‘to increase the attractions of the Domain’ she wished the domain board to accept ‘a case of bulbs of various kinds’, and promised to provide tulip and hyacinth bulbs at a later date.²⁸ Her only investments were in the Silver King at Waiorongomai and the Te Aroha Silver and Gold Mining Company operating in the same district.²⁹ It is possible she invested her own money, for when Josiah died in 1898 she deposed that he had left property worth £3,000 ‘over and above what will pay my just debts’.³⁰ When she died seven years later, the net value of her estate was £5,744 10s 2d, but after her debts had been paid the final value was £3,519 9s 2d.³¹

Upon her death in 1905, her obituary was more about her husband’s life than hers, apart from her having several children who would ‘have the sincere sympathy of a wide circle of friends’.³² A granddaughter, Mona Gordon, described her as having a ‘beautiful character’,³³ but wrote that, ‘strangely enough, I seem to grasp the personality of my grandfather, whom I never knew, more easily than that of my grandmother whom I knew as intimately as a child of four, five and barely six can understand such things’.³⁴ Mona Gordon’s recollections reveal her domesticity: for

April 1885, p. 15; *Waikato Times*, 22 November 1887, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 6 May 1890, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 1919, p. 8.

²⁵ For example, *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 26 September 1872, p. 292; *New Zealand Gazette*, 18 November 1875, p. 736, 15 June 1882, p. 861, 3 October 1895, p. 1574, 30 July 1896, pp. 1241, 1242, 13 August 1896, p. 1300.

²⁶ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1900, 8/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

²⁷ See paper on the Battery Company.

²⁸ Domain Board, *Te Aroha News*, 12 January 1889, p. 2.

²⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 328, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 158, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; Te Aroha Silver and Gold Mining Company, Register of Shareholders, 7 March 1890, VPRS 932, Victorian Public Record Office, Melbourne, Australia.

³⁰ Probate of Josiah Clifton Firth, Probates, BBAE 1569/2798, ANZ-A.

³¹ Probate of Annie Clifton Firth, Probates, BBAE 1569/5668; Testamentary Register 1903-1906, folio 192, BBCB 4208/5, ANZ-A.

³² *New Zealand Herald*, 11 November 1905, p. 4.

³³ Mona Gordon, *The Golden Age of Josiah Clifton Firth* (Christchurch, 1963), p. 286.

³⁴ Gordon, p. 154.

instance, ‘the endless sewing on which she was always engaged’.³⁵ In the evenings, when Josiah told the children stories ‘she would seldom join in but sat quietly sewing in the lamplight.... Sometimes she would look up and smile at a sudden burst of laughter from the other end of the room, but her peace of mind was a serenity that passeth all understanding’.³⁶

Ann’s gifts were many and various and she had abandoned everything that did not concern the family. For instance, with a large house and servants to manage, who would sit down to paint a Chinese pheasant on a skeleton leaf – a bird whose blue and russet plumage starred with “eyes” is as brilliant today as when by some intricate process she placed her colours on the filmy veining? Or who would “do” a butterfly in velvet black and green about to explore a spray of double oleander, rose-coloured and fringed, and on rice paper too? And very rarely as a treat she would make the piano bring to life again some plaintive Scottish air she had learned in girlhood.

As for jewellery, Ann seldom wore any.... They were all for the girls in a far-off future.... Ann loved these pretty things which she may well have inherited from her mother, but she made no display of them.

“The Mater” ... was indeed one of those exceptional women whom it is a privilege to know and an impossibility to portray. She seemed faultless to her children, the pivot round whom all their lives revolved. Her predilections were for travel (which was denied her), reading (for which she found time only in later life), growing flowers in garden and conservatory, raising many from seed, and stamp-collecting, which she had begun early and was to continue all her life.

At four years old I used to sit on her bed and fondly imagine that I was “doing stamps” too.... I can recall, too, the fragrant bouquet of her cup of strong tea, and the taste of it sipped as a treat from a silver spoon.

Her manner of bringing up the family, all so evenly spaced from one another, was by love and love alone. Harsher methods were not her way; they were foreign to a nature very near to perfection....

Although Ann’s activities were later and to a certain extent curtailed, she reached her late sixties in comparatively good health. I was the last of all the children in her life, my childhood corresponding with what, to me, was her old age, and she taught me the 23rd Psalm and several others, to read and to sew ... and to recite poems which had been the poetry of her own young days.³⁷

Near the end of her book, because ‘the beautiful character of Ann – Annie as her husband always called her – has not, in these pages received sufficient prominence’, Gordon cited one of her grandmother’s letters to an unnamed son:

Take care of yourself, study what is required for your advancement in business, trust in God and he will bless you, and do not break the Sabbath

³⁵ Gordon, p. 151.

³⁶ Gordon, p. 146.

³⁷ Gordon, pp. 151-154.

and you will prosper. I pray for you especially every day that you may be kept in the right path.³⁸

Eliza Gaudin was as prominent in Hamilton as was her husband Frederick. Her only mining investments were at Waiorongomai, where in 1882 she purchased a quarter share in the Three Fools claim and in the following year had 240 scrip shares in the Waiorongomai Company.³⁹ Frederick was a shareholder in the Te Aroha battery company, established in 1881, and in the following year seven pounds of ‘very fine specimen stone’ from the New Find were displayed in his hotel.⁴⁰

In 1883, Eliza described herself as a housewife,⁴¹ but although the mother of five children,⁴² she was much more than just a housewife, assisting her husband to run hotels in both Auckland and Hamilton.⁴³ In 1889, they jointly gave a bill of sale over furniture in their current hotel as security for a loan of £100.⁴⁴ According to *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, in 1882 both Eliza Gaudin and Mrs Frederick Gauden owned property in Hamilton worth £300; as they were the same person, her property was probably worth this amount, not £600. The total value of her husband’s property was £512.⁴⁵

Frederick was a leading member of the Hamilton West town board in the 1870s and subsequently a member of the Hamilton borough and city council.⁴⁶ In 1881 he stood for the mayoralty but was defeated.⁴⁷ Two years after becoming a member of the licensing committee, he was in court for making drunken accusations against the man

³⁸ Gordon, pp. 286-187.

³⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 64, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

⁴⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 April 1881, p. 476; *New Zealand Herald*, 9 March 1882, p. 3.

⁴¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

⁴² Death Certificate of Eliza Gaudin, 2 September 1906, 1906/3913, BDM.

⁴³ Supreme Court, Judges’ Notebooks, Conolly J, Civil Notebook 1889-1890, entry for 10 July 1890, BBAE A304/134, ANZ-A; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 December 1868, p. 9; advertisement, *Waikato Mail*, 23 September 1880, p. 4; *Waikato Times*, 14 September 1880, p. 2, 17 March 1881, p. 2, 22 December 1885, p. 2, 14 February 1889, p. 2, 2 May 1893, p. 2; *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 30 March 1889, p. 89, 12 October 1889, p. 313, 4 October 1894, p. 461; *Observer*, 4 August 1894, p. 3; *Waikato Argus*, 3 September 1906, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 30 March 1889, p. 89.

⁴⁵ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand ...* (Wellington, 1884), p. G 9.

⁴⁶ *Waikato Times*, 10 September 1881, p. 2; Peter Gibbons, *Astride the River: A history of Hamilton* (Christchurch, 1977), pp. 316, 320.

⁴⁷ *Waikato Times*, 5 November 1881, p. 3, 1 December 1881, p. 2.

who had defeated him in the latest election.⁴⁸ Both he and Eliza publicly supported a rival candidate for mayor in 1884.⁴⁹

In 1906, Eliza died aged 57 from bowel cancer.⁵⁰ Her obituary stated that she had been ‘a great favourite in all circles, and many acts of neighbourly kindness endeared her to all classes’.⁵¹ All her estate, value unrecorded, went to her husband.⁵² After her death, Frederick lived with one of his sons because as ‘he had no means he depended on’ him. After being ‘depressed and morbid’ and having wanted to die for some time, he shot himself in 1921, aged 77. His son said he had ‘always been a little peculiar since my mother died’.⁵³

Ann Hotchin was the wife of Moses, whose career is summarized in the chapter on temperance. In addition to investing in one Te Aroha claim and the subsequent company formed to work it,⁵⁴ she owned two residence sites and jointly owned another with her husband.⁵⁵ She was not prominent locally, unlike Moses, at least in part through having to bring up four sons and six daughters.⁵⁶ Undoubtedly, she would have assisted to run his temperance hotel. In 1883 she gave her occupation as a journalist;⁵⁷ there is no other reference to her being such. Could she have been the anonymous *Observer* Man? Whilst this is possible, it is unlikely that the O.M. would have given such a clear hint of his/her identity. When she died in 1900, aged 69, she was simply referred to in the only newspaper to publish an obituary as ‘an old identity’.⁵⁸

⁴⁸ *Waikato Times*, 13 February 1886, p. 2, 9 February 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Waikato Times*, 11 November 1884, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Death Certificate of Eliza Gaudin, 2 September 1906, 1906/3913, BDM.

⁵¹ *Waikato Argus*, 3 September 1906, p. 2.

⁵² Probate of Eliza Gaudin, Probates, BBAE 1569/6015; Testamentary Register 1913-1914, folio 46, BBCB 4208/9, ANZ-A.

⁵³ Death Certificate of Frederick Gaudin, 6 December 1920, 1920/5005, BDM; Inquest on Frederick Gaudin, Inquests, Justice Department, J 46, 1921/728, ANZ-W; *Waikato Times*, 7 December 1920, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 122, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 4 October 1883, p. 1437.

⁵⁵ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 97-98, BBAV 11505/3a; Mortgage by Moses and Ann Hotchin to Thames Land Company, 12 May 1884, Certified Instruments 1884, BBAV 11581/11a; Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 369, BBAV 11534/1a; Rent Ledger 1894-1910, folio 190, BBAV 11570/7a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶ Death Certificate of Ann Hotchin, 17 July 1900, 1900/3481, BDM.

⁵⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 4 October 1883, p. 1437.

⁵⁸ Death Certificate of Ann Hotchin, 17 July 1900, 1900/3481, BDM; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 21 July 1900, p. 2.

Little is known about the life of **Rachel Joy**, although her husbands' careers can be traced in some detail. Her first husband, Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, the son of a doctor, was born in Norfolk, England, and spent some time in Gippsland, Victoria, before coming to New Zealand.⁵⁹ In 1859, he married Rachel Howse in Melbourne;⁶⁰ they were to have five children.⁶¹ When her eldest daughter had an illegitimate child and, one year later, married a miner, with whom she went to Australia, Rachel had custody of the boy.⁶²

Joy obtained his first miner's right at Thames in September 1868, for mining at Tararu.⁶³ Nine months later, a man who already was, or would soon become, his friend, Charles Jenkins, arrived on the field.⁶⁴ Jenkins was a Welshman.⁶⁵ They held, individually or jointly, interests in several Thames claims. In July 1869, Jenkins witnessed Joy's agreement to work an interest in the Yarrowinsen, at Tararu,⁶⁶ and they were two of the six owners of Buninyong,⁶⁷ both names that reflected Joy's time in Australia. In November that year they were sued by a miner for wages earned working in the latter mine. The complainant deposed that after 'Joy and Jenkins came to my place and asked me to help to pay wages to keep his share going', he paid £12 into a mine that failed to produce gold. Joy responded that in April he had told the other partners that he could 'lay them on to a piece of ground if they felt inclined. They took the ground up. After the 2 months expired Jenkins paid the wages'. The latter stated that the agreement was that the plaintiffs were to work for two months and then be paid out

⁵⁹ Death Certificate of Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, 26 September 1887, 1887/3332; Birth Certificate of Robert Joy, 27 March 1884, 1884/11401, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 1 October 1887, p. 2.

⁶⁰ Birth Certificate of Marion Mary Joy, 17 June 1879, 1879/14600, BDM.

⁶¹ Death Certificate of Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, 26 September 1887, 1887/3332, BDM.

⁶² Birth Certificate of Robert Joy, 27 March 1884, 1884/11401; Marriage Certificate of Emily Anna Joy, 12 September 1885, 1885/2089, BDM; Waiorongomai Sunday School, Admission Book 1884-1889, entry for 20 January 1889, Methodist Archives, Auckland; William Samson to A.McL. Wallace, 23 July 1888, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2.

⁶³ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1868, no. 12240, issued 29 June 1868, BACL 14358/2a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁴ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1869, no. 1553, issued 31 March 1869, BACL 14358/3a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁵ Marriage Certificate of Charles Jenkins, 5 November 1888, 1888/2789, BDM.

⁶⁶ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Deeds 1869, folio 420, BACL 14417/4a, ANZ-A [the spelling is uncertain].

⁶⁷ Thames Warden's Court, Claims Register 1869, no. 1493, BACL 14397/4a, ANZ-A,

of the proceeds of the crushings; he denied promising to pay wages, but the warden found against him.⁶⁸

They were part owners of two claims in 1870, two out of 11 owners in Pride of Hindon and two of the three in the Golden Bower, at Tapu.⁶⁹ In 1875, they were two of the three owners of another claim.⁷⁰ In the following year they were the only owners of one and two of ten owners of another.⁷¹ In 1877, they held two of the three interests in one claim and two of six in another, the Little Emily,⁷² possibly named after Joy's eldest daughter Emily Anne, although she was no longer 'little' in the sense of being very young, for she married eight years later aged 19.⁷³ The following year, Joy worked Luck's All with his eldest son, William, and was very optimistic about its prospects, telling a newspaper that he had 'five year's work before him, with only his son and a wage's man'.⁷⁴ In 1879 he gave Jenkins a third-interest two days after this claim was re-registered, their last joint ownership of a Thames claim.⁷⁵ Joy's mining at Thames was, at least in the long term, unsuccessful, for when he left for Waiorongomai in 1881 he owed about £125. As his Waiorongomai mining was even more unsuccessful, within two years he was bankrupt with liabilities of £545 11s 6d and assets of £135.⁷⁶

Because Joy had five children,⁷⁷ the unmarried Jenkins could more easily participate in rushes to new fields. He was at Te Aroha on opening day, pegging off ground immediately, and gave up managing the Luck's All Company's mine at Thames to be a mine manager at Te Aroha.⁷⁸ Joy did not shift his family until the

⁶⁸ Thames Magistrate's Court, Notebook October-December 1869, hearings of 16 November 1869, 23 November 1869, BACL 14457/1d, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹ Thames Warden's Court, Shortland Claims Register 1870, nos. 2144, 2219, BACL 14397/5a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁰ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1875-1876, folio 37, BACL 14397/9a, ANZ-A.

⁷¹ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1875-1876, folios 161, 177, BACL 14397/9a, ANZ-A.

⁷² Thames Warden's Court, Register of Grahamstown Claims 1876-1878, claims 471, 485, BACL 14397/11a, ANZ-A.

⁷³ Marriage Certificate of Emily Anne Joy, 21 September 1885, 1885/2089, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2.

⁷⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 September 1878, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Grahamstown Claims 1878-1880, claim 739, BACL 14397/12a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁶ *Thames Star*, 24 October 1883, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 9 February 1884, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Death Certificate of Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, 26 September 1887, 1887/3332, BDM; Probate of C.M.C. Joy, Probates, BBAE 1569/173, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 905, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Star*, 26 November 1880, p. 2, 14 December 1880, p. 3; *Te Aroha Miner*, 11 January 1881, reprinted in *Thames Star*, 12 January 1881, p. 2.

Waiorongomai field had been discovered.⁷⁹ Both men plus Rachel held interests in the New Find and the company formed to work it.⁸⁰ When Joy went bankrupt in 1883, the trustee informed a creditors' meeting that he 'had examined Mrs Joy regarding 1,000 New Find scrip held by her, and she had consented to assign 200 for the benefit of the estate, their value being £85'. Joy explained that of the 800 New Find shares appearing in his wife's name only 200 were her own, the others 'being held in trust for other persons'.⁸¹ This was further clarified when he was discharged:

After perusing the trustee's report, the Registrar remarked that there appeared to be one or two rather shady circumstances connected with the bankruptcy – for instance, the thousand New Find scrip held by Mrs Joy. The debtor was examined on oath on this point and said the scrip had been held by his wife jointly in her own right and partly as trustee for two others, Charles Jenkins and William Joy. She had paid all calls upon them prior to his insolvency, and he (the debtor) had nothing whatever to do with the stock.⁸²

(William Joy was her son; none of his recorded investments were the same as his mother's.⁸³) Despite claiming to have had nothing to do with his wife's interest in this mine, Joy attended a meeting of shareholders on at least one occasion.⁸⁴ They were both sued in mid-1882 for not paying £10 towards its survey.⁸⁵ They had no other investments in common.

Both Jenkins and Rachel held interests in two other Waiorongomai claims and she had some in the Diamond Gully Company, which he managed for a time.⁸⁶ In March

⁷⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, C.M.C. Joy, Miner's Right no. 1798, issued 5 November 1881; Rachel Joy, Miner's Right no. 1841, issued 8 December 1881, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1881, BBAV 11533/1i, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 30, BBAV 11500/9a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 67/1882, BBAV 11547/1a; *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490.

⁸¹ *Thames Star*, 24 October 1883, p. 3.

⁸² District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 6 February 1884, p. 2.

⁸³ For his holdings, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 153, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 4, 6, 8, 157, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1881, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 67/1882, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 13, 24, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 4 February 1882, p. 3; *New Zealand Gazette*, 14 December 1882, p. 1885; Public Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 14 March 1885, p. 7.

1882, she gave her occupation as ‘household duties’, and in November as farmer;⁸⁷ perhaps she was assisting her son William on his small Waiorongomai farm.⁸⁸ Joy spent £150 on improving it.⁸⁹ Between November that year and March 1885, she sold 50 of her shares in the Diamond Gully Company and was liable to forfeiting the remaining 86 if a call went unpaid.⁹⁰

Joy’s death notice implied that he had been in considerable distress before he died, in September 1887: ‘His end was peace’.⁹¹ His final illness, bronchitis, lasted one week: aged 65, he left sons aged 25, 15, and 13 and daughters aged 21 and eight.⁹² The eldest son, William, had been mining and farming at Waiorongomai since 1881,⁹³ and his eldest daughter had married two years before his death.⁹⁴

Joy’s will, written two days before his death, anticipated the possibility of Rachel promptly remarrying. After leaving all his estate (estimated as worth less than £300) to her, he ordered that should she get married ‘before the arrival of the money from England’, it was to be divided equally amongst his children.⁹⁵ Her remarriage was not prompt because Jenkins was in Gippsland and did not return until October the following year. One month later, he married Rachel when they were both aged 47.⁹⁶ The local newspaper only learnt of the wedding after the event:

A wedding took place on Monday last at Te Aroha, the bride and bridegroom hailing from Waiorongomai; but so quietly were the proceedings carried out that very few were aware of the event until after it was over. The bride was Mrs Chas. Joy, bridegroom Mr Chas. Jenkins,

⁸⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490, 14 December 1882, p. 1885.

⁸⁸ For this farm, see Thames High School Board of Governors, Minutes of Meetings of 7 February 1883, 6 March 1883, High School Archives, Thames; *Thames Star*, 7 June 1881, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 21 June 1881, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 20 March 1889, p. 7.

⁸⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 October 1883, p. 3.

⁹⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, 14 December 1882, p. 1885; advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 14 March 1885, p. 7.

⁹¹ Death Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 1 October 1887, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 10 October 1887, Monthly Survey, p. 12.

⁹² Death Certificate of Charles Mansfield Clark Joy, 26 September 1887, 1887/3332, BDM.

⁹³ *Thames Advertiser*, 21 June 1881, p. 3, 24 October 1883, p. 3, 29 January 1884, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 20 March 1889, p. 7.

⁹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2.

⁹⁵ Probates, BBAE 1569/173, ANZ-A.

⁹⁶ Marriage Certificate of Charles Jenkins, 5 November 1888, 1888/2789, BDM.

formerly of Waiorongomai, but who, for several years past, has resided in Gippsland, from whence he returned about a fortnight ago.⁹⁷

After his return, Jenkins mined once more at Waiorongomai, in 1889 having his collarbone broken by falling down an incline in the New Find; only the quick assistance of his mate preventing a worse accident.⁹⁸ This followed cutting his wrist on broken glass lying on the ground when climbing through a fence on William Joy's farm and Rachel having her arm gored by a cow she was letting out of the bail.⁹⁹ In mid-1890, they sold all their property (including land, cattle, horses, and a piano),¹⁰⁰ and left not only the district but also the country. Their lives have not been traced beyond this date.

Their wedding illustrated how other friendships had continued over many years, for it was held in the house of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, whose wife Emma was a witness.¹⁰¹ The Blencowes had arrived at Thames at around the same time as the Joys.¹⁰² Blencowe had interests in Thames mines, including the Pride of Hindon with Joy and Jenkins in 1870.¹⁰³ His investments in Waiorongomai mines included three in ¹⁰⁴which Jenkins was a part-owner and one in which Joy was.¹⁰⁵

Elizabeth Russell may have been born in New South Wales. She was an owner of a Tui claim in December 1880. Twelve days after her half share was registered, she wisely sold half her interest.¹⁰⁶ This was her sole investment in any goldfield. Her husband, Albert Hannington Russell, invested in two Tui and three Waiorongomai claims;¹⁰⁷ he also invested in other goldfields, mainly in Ohinemuri.¹⁰⁸ Being a police

⁹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 10 November 1888, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 20 July 1889, p. 2.

⁹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 22 May 1889, p. 2, Waiorongomai Correspondent, 13 July 1889, p. 2, 18 September 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 4 June 1890, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Marriage Certificate of Charles Jenkins, 5 November 1888, 1888/2789, BDM.

¹⁰² Thames Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 11329, Register of Miners' Rights 1868, BACL 14358/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰³ Thames Warden's Court, Shortland Claims Register 1870, no. 2144, BACL 14397/5a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁴ Death Notice, *Auckland Star*, 24 May 1920, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1882-1885, folios 8, 13, 15, 55, BBAV 11500/9a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 75/1881, 78/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 178, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 201, 203, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 25, 47, 62, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A.

sergeant, based in Paeroa, he assisted to police Te Aroha in 1881.¹⁰⁹ More than once he was criticized for his performance both as a policeman and as the clerk of court.¹¹⁰ In February 1883, the magistrate, Harry Kenrick,¹¹¹ asked for his dismissal for attesting that a deed concerning a block of Maori land had been signed in his presence when in reality not only had the signatories not been present but some of them were deceased.¹¹² His superior officer reported to his minister that ‘Mr Kenrick is of opinion that owing to the fact that the Sergt. Is reported to be mixed up in mining speculations at the diggings nearest to Paeroa it is desirable that he should be removed to another district, in which opinion I concur’.¹¹³ He was ‘ordered to Hokitika without delay’ at the end of March, and ‘discharged on compensation at Westland’ in October 1885.¹¹⁴

After leaving the police force, Russell became a publican at Greymouth,¹¹⁵ presumably assisted by Elizabeth. In 1889, when he was a publican at Opotiki, Elizabeth either bought the hotel furniture with her own money or ownership was vested in her, as she arranged a bill of sale over it.¹¹⁶ Two years later, when he was a storekeeper as well as a publican, she assigned the hotel’s furniture and chattels to two brewers as the security for the repayment of £233.¹¹⁷ Subsequently he was a clerk in the

¹⁰⁸ Thames Magistrate’s Court, *Plaint Book 1881-1884*, 300/1882, BACL 13737/12a; *Register of Licensed Holdings 1875-1882*, folios 143, 161, 165, 182, BACL 14397/10a; *Register of Claims 1880-1882*, no. 963, BACL 14397/13a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 18 August 1881, p. 1088, 3 November 1881, p. 1442, 30 July 1882, p. 988.

¹⁰⁹ *Armed Constabulary Force, Descriptive Book*, no. 311, Police Department, P 8/1, ANZ-W; *Thames Star*, 29 January 1881, p. 2, 20 April 1881, p. 2 *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 February 1907, p. 23.

¹¹⁰ Sub-Inspector Bullen to A.H. Russell, 9 December 1877, 25 April 1877, Mackaytown *Armed Constabulary Letterbook and General Order Book 1875-1878*, BAVA 4895/1a, ANZ-A; *Warden’s Court, Thames Advertiser*, 2 December 1881, p. 3.

¹¹¹ See paper on his life.

¹¹² Harry Kenrick to Native Minister, Superintendent Thompson, and Minister of Justice, 6 February 1883, *Coromandel Warden’s Court, Receiver of Gold Revenue Letterbook 1878-1892*, pp. 277-280, ZAAAN 14143/1b, ANZ-A.

¹¹³ Memorandum by Inspector Thomson, n.d. [February 1883], *Justice Department*, J 1, 83/998, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁴ A.H. Russell to Harry Kenrick, 30 March 1883, *Thames Warden’s Court, Inwards Correspondence to Warden and Magistrate 1879-1892*, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A; *Armed Constabulary Force, Descriptive Book*, folio 89, no. 82, Police Department, P 8/1, ANZ-W; *Waikato Times*, 1 May 1883, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 February 1907, p. 23.

¹¹⁵ *Applications for Land Grants, 1889-1892*, no. 663, Lands and Survey Department, LS 66/7, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁶ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 23 March 1889, p. 82.

¹¹⁷ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 7 May 1891, p. 122.

Defence Department in Auckland until he died of a stroke, in 1907 aged 64; he had suffered from an earlier stroke after learning of his son Albert's death in the Boer War.¹¹⁸ There were two other sons and five daughters.¹¹⁹ Two daughters predeceased their mother, who died in 1920, aged 68, after suffering from heart disease for the previous eight years.¹²⁰ It is not known how much money she had inherited from her husband, but she left an estate of £798 12s 6d, to be shared equally amongst her daughters.¹²¹ Something of her personality can be gleaned from her will, devised two years before her death: 'I request that no mourning shall be worn by any person on account of my decease and that no flowers used or displayed at my funeral or upon my grave and that only horse vehicles will take part in or follow my funeral'.¹²²

Marie Louise Smith purchased four of the 100 shares in the Admiral Fairfax in November 1888, for £1.¹²³ On the same day, her husband, Arthur Anthony Smith, who was the secretary of the syndicate that owned this ground,¹²⁴ purchased 25 shares, a quarter of the total number of interests, for the same sum from the same seller.¹²⁵ Later that month he purchased another share, and in the following March bought 15 shares in another claim, close to Te Aroha.¹²⁶ He was chairman of the syndicate working the latter.¹²⁷

Before settling in Te Aroha, Smith was a publican at Kurow, inland from Oamaru, owning property in the Waitaki County worth, in 1882, £1,700.¹²⁸ At Te

¹¹⁸ Death Certificate of Albert Hannington Russell, 8 February 1907, 1907/138, BDM; *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 February 1907, p. 23.

¹¹⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 February 1907, p. 23.

¹²⁰ Death Certificate of Elizabeth Russell, 22 May 1920, 1920/12466, BDM.

¹²¹ Testamentary Register 1920-1921, p. 642, BBCB 4208/12; Probate of Elizabeth Russell, BBAE 1569/14828, ANZ-A.

¹²² Probate of Elizabeth Russell, BBAE 1569/14828, ANZ-A.

¹²³ John Bew to Marie Louise Smith, 7 November 1888, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1888, p. 7.

¹²⁵ John Bew to Arthur Anthony Smith, 7 November 1888, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁶ Purchase by Arthur Anthony Smith of one share in Admiral Fairfax, 24 November 1888, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a; James Don to Arthur Anthony Smith, 14 March 1889, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Certified Instruments 1889, BBAV 11581/10a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 27 February 1889, p. 2.

¹²⁸ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, p. S 47.

Aroha, from mid-1885 until early 1892 he was licensee of the Hot Springs Hotel.¹²⁹ At first he was in partnership with James Don, but in 1889, ‘after having been mates one way or another for nearly a quarter of a century’, they dissolved their partnership, Smith ‘carrying on the business’.¹³⁰ The following year he had to give a bill of sale over the hotel’s furniture and fixtures as security for a loan of £600.¹³¹ After leaving Te Aroha in early 1892, he became a publican at several places in the North Island.¹³² They had seven children,¹³³ and to boost the family finances in 1889 Smith formally consented to his wife entering into a partnership with a local jeweller, Albert Berger,¹³⁴ and a farmer to ‘manufacture and sell Berger’s Patent Automatic Candle Extinguisher’.¹³⁵ That neither made a will implies that they left their children very little money or property.

When Smith sold the Hot Springs Hotel, the Hamilton newspaper commented that during his years at Te Aroha he had ‘taken an active interest in the welfare of the place and we feel sure that he will be greatly missed’.¹³⁶ He had been active in both the jockey club and the Masonic lodge.¹³⁷ ‘In response to a numerously signed requisition’, he stood for the Te Aroha riding of the county council in 1887, but the 39 votes he received were insufficient to secure election; the highest tally was 64.¹³⁸

¹²⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Register of Publicans’ Licenses 1882-1892, nos. 13, 25, BBAV 11493/1a, ANZ-A; *Waikato Times*, 23 June 1885, p. 3, 1 March 1892, p. 2.

¹³⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 19/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 2 July 1889, p. 2.

¹³¹ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 22 March 1890, p. 82.

¹³² *Waikato Times*, 1 March 1892, p. 2; *Waikato Argus*, 7 July 1898, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 28 June 1906, p. 23, 21 May 1908, p. 32, 12 July 1908, p. 26.

¹³³ Birth Certificates of Herman Arthur Smith, 1872/7632; Ernest Ralph James Smith, 1873/21225; Gertrude Louise Smith, 1876/8400, BDM; Alberta Alexandrina Smith, 9 December 1879, Register of Te Aroha Baptisms 1884-1949, no. 15, Catholic Archives, Auckland; Violet Sophia, 1882/4381, BDM; Eloisa Smith, 16 December 1883, Register of Te Aroha Baptisms 1884-1949, no. 16, Catholic Archives, Auckland; Darcy Reginald Smith, 3 February 1889, 1889/17444, BDM.

¹³⁴ See advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 3 September 1887, p. 3.

¹³⁵ Formation of Partnership of Berger Smith and Schmidt, 28 May 1889, Consents, Deposited Documents 1841-1943, Lands and Deeds Department, BACT A1009/4h, ANZ-A.

¹³⁶ *Waikato Times*, 1 March 1892, p. 2.

¹³⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1886, p. 2, 31 December 1887, p. 2, 22 December 1888, p. 2, 25 December 1889, p. 2.

¹³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 23 October 1887, p. 2, 12 November 1887, p. 2, 19 November 1887, p. 3.

Smith died in 1923, aged 83, leaving his widow all his estate, estimated to be less than £1,000.¹³⁹ She died 13 years later, without having made a will, thereby suggesting that her estate was miniscule.¹⁴⁰

Maria Taylor's only investment was in one Waiorongomai claim, in September 1883.¹⁴¹ Her husband, Daniel George, was a blacksmith.¹⁴² As he had no mining investments, it must be presumed that she invested in her own right, not as his dummy. In May that year, she had purchased a business site in Waiorongomai and would hold it until 1898.¹⁴³ On this section, in Grey Street, she ran a small shop, but the rent became a heavy burden when the goldfield faded, as she explained to the Thames High School Board of Governors in June 1886. As she was 'carreing on a small Business consisting of Toy's Lollies etc', she was required to pay £5 per annum in rates. 'Owing to the depressed state of the place, and being at the extreme end of a Back St no longer pays me to do so and would respectfully beg that you will reduce my rent during the depression if you cannot do so I shall be compelled to closed, and fall back upon the residence terms'.¹⁴⁴ As the governors did not reduce her rent, she abandoned her shop and used the section as a residence site, meaning a rental of only £1. At the beginning of 1888, she protested to the council at the condition of Grey Street, 'in consequence of the bad state of which vehicles could not get up to her house, and foot passengers would be unable to do so were it not for the bridge built by her husband'. As she had been paying rates 'for some time', she wanted action to be taken.¹⁴⁵ As the dangerous drain near her house required a bridge which would cost £2 or £3, the council simply received her letter.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Death Certificate of Arthur Anthony Smith, 9 February 1923, 1923/2383, BDM; Death Notice, *New Zealand Herald*, 10 February 1923, p. 1; Probates, BBAE 1569/16330, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁰ Death Certificate of Marie Louise Smith, 19 May 1936, 1936/16159, BDM; Death Notice, *New Zealand Herald*, 20 May 1936, p. 1.

¹⁴¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 157, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁴² Death Certificate of Daniel [George] Taylor, 12 November 1918, 1918/7264, BDM.

¹⁴³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1900, folio 191, BBAV 11501/1a; Maria Taylor to E.M. Wilkinson, 13 September 1898, Warden's Office General Correspondence 1899, BBAV 11584/5d, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁴ Mairia Taylor to Thames High School Board, 21 June 1886, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaints 1886, BBAV 11572/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁵ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 21 January 1888, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 21 January 1888, p. 2.

They moved to Auckland in the late 1890s, where they named their home 'Aroha'.¹⁴⁷ Taylor died there in November 1918, aged 80, and six months later his widow died, aged 76, when visiting old friends at Te Aroha; they both died of heart disease.¹⁴⁸ As they had no children, Maria's estate, worth £938 9s 7d, went to Mary Ellinor Taylor, who was recorded as a friend, not a relative.¹⁴⁹

Sarah Wood had shares in one Te Aroha claim and two Waiorongomai ones, her interests being converted into scrip shares in the companies formed to work these.¹⁵⁰ Her husband, John, also invested in the Little Jimmy, one of these Waiorongomai claims.¹⁵¹ He had participated in the Te Aroha rush, acquiring interests in two Tui claims and in the battery company.¹⁵² In the 1880s he would be sole owner of one Te Aroha claim and part owner of four more at Waiorongomai and one at Tui.¹⁵³ He held interests in three other companies.¹⁵⁴ Whereas Sarah transferred her interests to the companies for no financial return, her husband sold six of his shares in the Little Jimmy for £165 before the company was floated.¹⁵⁵ In early 1882, he showed what were described as excellent specimens to the Hamilton newspaper.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁷ *Eden Electoral Roll 1899*, pp. 74, 75; Death Notice of Daniel George Taylor, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 November 1918, p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Death Certificates of Daniel [George] Taylor, 12 November 1918, 1918/7264; Maria Taylor, 28 May 1919, 1919/3754, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 30 May 1919, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Probate of Maria Taylor, Probates, BBAE 1569/13334; Testamentary Register 1919, folio 370, BBCB 4208/15, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 224, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 4, 25, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 16 November 1882, p. 1732, 14 December 1882, p. 1885.

¹⁵¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 25, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 16 November 1882, p. 1732.

¹⁵² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 318, issued 25 November 1881, Miners' Rights Butt-Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 201, BBAV 11567/1a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 19/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; 'Waikato Whisperings', *Observer*, 18 December 1880, p. 126; *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 April 1881, p. 476.

¹⁵³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 295, 325, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings, folios 55, 64, 84, BBAV 11500/9a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 90/1881, BBAV 11547/1a; Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 7, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490, 17 August 1882, p. 1131, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

¹⁵⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 129, 140, BBAV 11581/1a; nos. 459, 460, 462, 548, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁶ *Waikato Times*, 2 February 1882, p. 2.

Before the Te Aroha rush, they had shared the running of a popular hotel in Morrinsville.¹⁵⁷ Upon settling in Te Aroha just before the rush, John erected both a butcher's shop and a livery and bait stables.¹⁵⁸ In 1882 Sarah described herself as a farmer.¹⁵⁹ During the 1880s her husband acquired land at Te Aroha West, where he would farm for the rest of his life.¹⁶⁰ In 1882 Sarah had property in Hamilton worth £750 and John had 27 acres in Piako, 25 acres in Waikato, and property in Hamilton, all with a total value of £750.¹⁶¹ Having no children herself, she had held £50 in trust for the son of John Allwood,¹⁶² her brother.¹⁶³ On her death in 1883, her estate was valued at £440, all of which went to her husband.¹⁶⁴

In February 1882, Sarah rode up to the New Find with her husband, brother-in-law, another local man, and 'a lady friend from Auckland'.¹⁶⁵ This should not imply that she was in good health, for she had been suffering from chronic ovaritis, or inflammation of the ovary,¹⁶⁶ for many years, and died almost one year later, aged 47.¹⁶⁷ 'The respect in which she was generally held was amply testified by the large attendance at her funeral'.¹⁶⁸ John would live until 1921, when he was 84.¹⁶⁹ He left an estate worth £6,328 9s 8d.¹⁷⁰

¹⁵⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 5 May 1877, p. 8, X.Y.Z., 'To Te Aroha by Waikato and back by Thames', 5 March 1881, p. 11; *Thames Advertiser*, 24 February 1879, p. 3, 26 May 1880, p. 3; *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1880, p. 2; *Descriptive Handbook to the Waikato* (Hamilton, 1880), pp. 33, 66; *Te Aroha News*, 3 June 1936, p. 8.

¹⁵⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 15 November 1880, p. 3, 2 December 1880, p. 3, 21 January 1881, p. 3; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 11 November 1880, p. 2, 22 January 1881, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 16 November 1882, p. 1732.

¹⁶⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 9 February 1884, p. 2, 23 May 1885, p. 7. 6 February 1886, p. 2, 3 April 1886, p. 7, 10 April 1886, p. 2, 25 June 1887, p. 2, 23 January 1889, p. 2, 7 September 1921, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, p. W 72.

¹⁶² See section on publicans in paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

¹⁶³ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 12 January 1884, p. 7.

¹⁶⁴ Probate of Sarah Wood, Probates, BBAE 1568/599; Testamentary Register 1883-1886, folio 40, BBCB 4208/2, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 February 1882, p. 2.

¹⁶⁶ *Black's Medical Dictionary*, 36 ed., ed. C.W.H. Havard (London, 1990), p. 505.

¹⁶⁷ Death Certificate of Sarah Wood, 9 February 1883, 1883/1104, BDM.

¹⁶⁸ *Waikato Times*, 13 February 1883, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ Death Certificate of John Wood, 2 September 1921, 1921/3454, BDM.

¹⁷⁰ Probate of John Wood, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/1454; Testamentary Register 1920-1921, folio 833, BBCB 4208/12, ANZ-A.

PAID WORK

As Belich has noted, some women were forced to earn money to support their families. ‘Women with dead, absent or incapable husbands could run small businesses themselves, and they did. There are many examples of women running pubs, stores, farms and trade workshops after the demise of their husbands. For example, 245 women ran farms on their own in 1874’.¹⁷¹ In addition to these married or widowed women, some unmarried women had to work as well to support themselves in various ways, some more pleasant and remunerative than others.

Harriet McLean was married to William, who was tramway manager during 1892,¹⁷² but soon lost this job, in part because of his drinking.¹⁷³ During the late 1880s he had spent over two years visiting most of Australia’s goldfields, leaving his family, who had remained behind, in poverty. After he had been away for over a year, Harriet informed the council that she was unable to pay the rates because ‘she had received no support from him since he left, and had only the milk of four cows wherewith to support a family of 7 children’, six of them aged under 12.¹⁷⁴ Although he did not die until 1911, when 67, of cirrhosis of the liver,¹⁷⁵ since the late nineteenth century she had been the main financial support for her family. In 1892, when her occupation was recorded as ‘dairy’, she acquired a shop in the main street of Te Aroha.¹⁷⁶ She was described in 1900 as a ‘hardworking respectable woman’ who was ‘doing her best to earn an honest living and to bring up her large family in a respectable manner’.¹⁷⁷

Inability to obtain an adequate income could mean losing their children, as illustrated in 1883 by a Te Aroha woman’s letter to an Auckland newspaper:

I am acquainted with a very respectable woman, who some years ago, when her husband died, was obliged to put four of her children in the [Industrial] Home. She made application for them about two years ago and the master told her she could have them, but when she went for them, he had sent them out to service. Now their time is up two months ago, and he will not let them away, as he says he had the control of them until they are twenty-one; their ages are 16, 14, and 13.... The mother is a respectable woman, and

¹⁷¹ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A history of the New Zealanders, from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Auckland, 1996), p. 392.

¹⁷² See paper on the Piako County tramway at Waiorongomai.

¹⁷³ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 26 November 1892, p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 18 June 1887, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 8 December 1888, p. 2.

¹⁷⁵ Death Certificate of William McLean, 13 July 1911, 1911/5448, BDM.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Wise’s New Zealand Directory, 1892*, p. 352; *Te Aroha News*, 2 April 1898, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Letter from Charles Brunn, *Te Aroha News*, 17 February 1900, p. 2.

poverty alone compelled her to place them there at the time. As she has now a good home for them, she wishes to have them with her.¹⁷⁸

Clearly this mother had worked very hard to establish 'a good home'. Six years later, a letter about excessive rents charged at Te Aroha referred to the struggles of another widow:

A widow, who was one of the first to come here and start business, has had to succumb to the hard times and work at washing, charring, etc, to support a young family. She is the unfortunate holder of a business site, for which she must pay £5 per annum. Upon the section, when times were good, she built her house.... Last year this poor woman had to borrow £5 for her rent, which is again due, and she is compelled to part with her sewing machine to raise the necessary money.¹⁷⁹

Another woman, unable to work through poor health, was able to obtain a modicum of aid from the Waikato charitable aid board in 1890:

Mrs Donnelly, of Te Aroha, applied for some assistance. She stated she was suffering from rheumatism and being unable to do anything for herself, could not do without the help of her little girl, and all she had to live on was the earnings of one son. With reference to this case Sergt Emerson reported that Mrs Donnelly was in destitute circumstances. She had arrived at Te Aroha on February 1st from New Plymouth with her daughter, and had one son, aged sixteen, at work who was earning £1 per week, and did all he could for his mother, but out of this he had to keep himself. She had another daughter married to a farmer named Kirkpatrick, but they were unable to assist her as the farm was not paying. It was decided to grant Mrs Donnelly 5s per week relief.¹⁸⁰

Married women supplemented their husbands' incomes in a variety of ways, such as the wife of the local architect selling boxes of bees for 10s a box.¹⁸¹ Henry Hopper Adams' wife became a 'poultry expert' in her later years.¹⁸²

Some women ran, or assisted their husbands to run, hotels and boarding houses. One unmarried woman, **Emily Jex**, ran a hotel by herself, to the disapproval of some males who considered it inappropriate employment for a woman;¹⁸³ she later married a

¹⁷⁸ Letter from Katherine Banks, with editor's response, *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 December 1883, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ Letter from 'Cyclops', *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1889, p. 2.

¹⁸⁰ District Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1890, p. 3.

¹⁸¹ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 9 January 1886, p. 7.

¹⁸² See paper on Henry Hopper Adams.

¹⁸³ See paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

publican.¹⁸⁴ Women usually ran boarding houses with their husbands, as in the case of **Mary Faes**, wife of Pietro, who had settled in Te Aroha as a tailor.¹⁸⁵ They later established the Railway Boarding House, opposite the railway station, where Faes also had a refreshment room.¹⁸⁶ Mary continued to operate it after her husband's death, and by the time she died had run it for over 35 years, 'highly respected by all who knew her'.¹⁸⁷ In 1888, a correspondent reported that a 'most commendable' temperance boarding house at Waiorongomai, run by John and **Maria Mace**,¹⁸⁸ was 'doing a very fair trade'. It was 'large and roomy' and well conducted.¹⁸⁹ A son recalled them moving to Te Aroha in the first rush: 'His mother was determined to accompany his father and share the hardships ... and so that they could have a place to live in on arrival she made a large tent. This they lived in for several months while his father was building a house'.¹⁹⁰

Jane Johnson, the wife of John Benjamin Johnson,¹⁹¹ was recalled as having run a boarding house and being involved in community life before family responsibilities took over her life:

Mrs Johnson faced the hardships which confronted all pioneers of this district, and while her husband followed, with varying fortune, occupations of farming, plumbing, flax-milling, and general provision storekeeping, Mrs Johnson lent her co-operation in promoting for the general welfare of the scattered community of that time.

During the busy period of the establishment of the railway line between Te Aroha and Thames she conducted the boarding house "River-view" ... which had been previously managed by her grandmother. She eventually became the mother of a large family and her interests gradually centred around her home, and apart from her work in the Presbyterian Church she spent the latter part of her life in retirement.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁴ *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1886, p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ *Thames Star*, 7 August 1882, p. 2; advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 31 December 1896, p. 2, 30 January 1897, p. 4; *Journals and Appendix to the Journals of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, 1897, Appendix No. 9, 'Particulars of Leases of Railway Property'*, p. 6; *Te Aroha News*, 20 May 1907, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Mining Privileges 1894-1910, folios 9, 10, BBAV 11500/2a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 12 June 1924, p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ See *Thames Advertiser*, 8 November 1882, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 17 December 1887, p. 3, 16 June 1888, p. 2, 1 September 1888, p. 2, 12 June 1889, p. 2, 19 June 1889, p. 2, 20 July 1889, p. 2, 19 April 1918, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 6 September 1888, p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Recollections of George William Mace, *Te Aroha News*, 26 October 1927, p. 5.

¹⁹¹ See *Te Aroha News*, 11 January 1940, p. 5.

¹⁹² *Te Aroha News*, 29 July 1943, p. 5.

Georgina Lawrence and her second husband Frederick James Lawrence ran a dining room in Te Aroha from 1881 until the goldfield faded.¹⁹³ Georgina had been born in Nelson in 1845 to Captain John Dalton, a mariner who would convey Bishop Selwyn around Melanesia. She lived with her father in Fiji for a period before he left the Pacific Islands and fell, fatally, down a shaft on the Bendigo diggings in Victoria.¹⁹⁴ She lived in Cambridge in the early 1860s, where she married Thomas Beresford, and had a son in 1866; she was forced to flee with her nine-day-old son when Maori warriors threatened the settlers of Leamington, across the river from Cambridge.¹⁹⁵ In August 1868, when off the east coast of the South Island, Beresford was washed off a cutter that had returned from a voyage to Fiji and drowned.¹⁹⁶ Rather promptly in July the following year she married Lawrence, who had served in the Third Waikato Regiment with Beresford.¹⁹⁷ Lawrence was remembered as having ‘had an adventurous career as a naval seaman’, taking part ‘in the Crimean and China Wars’. With the outbreak of war in Waikato, he volunteered to fight, but mostly delivering supplies by river. Shortly after their marriage, the couple were again threatened by Maori warriors but remained hidden in a tent in the middle of a patch of gorse. After ‘other exciting adventures with hostile natives’, the family moved to Te aroha, and later to farm at Herekino, in the Hokianga district before planting an orchard to Henderson, where they lived for 30 years before their retirement.¹⁹⁸

As well as teaching in schools, some women, usually unmarried, taught outside them. In February 1887, ‘**Miss Wainwright**, a really excellent pianist’, announced that she was ‘prepared to give music lessons’.¹⁹⁹ This was because her father, Abraham Mason Wainwright, a ‘gentleman’, had died the previous month, leaving little to his two unmarried daughters.²⁰⁰ In 1896, one of these daughters would marry, and have

¹⁹³ Advertisement, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 January 1881, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 15 July 1882, p. 3; *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1932, p. 11, photograph, 18 April 1933, p. 6.

¹⁹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 July 1932, p. 11, 15 April 1933, p. 12.

¹⁹⁵ Marriage Certificate of Georgina Dolton Maxwell [!], 1765/5408; Birth Certificate of Walter Edin Beresford, 1866/12111, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, 4 July 1932, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ *West Coast Times*, 22 August 1868, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Marriage Certificate of Georgina Beresford, 1869/5508, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, 15 April 1933, p. 12.

¹⁹⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 July 1932, p. 11, 15 April 1933, p. 12.

¹⁹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 12 February 1887, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ Birth Certificates of Ellen Anne Wainwright, 1865/20352; Emma Susan Wainwright, 1871/33496; Death Certificate of Abraham Mason Wainwright, 4 January 1887, 1887/716, BDM; Charles Ahier to

four children.²⁰¹ Her elder sister must have left the colony at an unknown date, for there are no records of either a marriage or a death.

In December 1886, another woman sought employment:

LADY HELP, OR USEFUL GOVERNESS – Advertiser is thoroughly experienced in Household Duties and the care and Education of Children. Will be disengaged at Christmas. Present position over two years and a half. Excellent references.²⁰²

Ellen Louisa Featon was born in 1872, the only daughter of John, a journalist and historian of the Waikato War who was ‘well known in mining circles’ as an investor.²⁰³ In 1902 the *Cyclopedia* praised her in its section on Te Aroha:

This young lady is a vocalist of no mean order.... She was a pupil of Prof. Carl Schmitt for two years, and in order to seek further tuition went to Australia, where she was for eighteen months under M. Recardi. Miss Featon returned to Auckland in 1892 and has appeared before the Auckland public on many occasions. She sang with Mr Gee up to the time of his departure from the Colony. At the early age of 15 years she was a soloist in the Choral Society. Miss Featon took the contralto solos in “The Woman of Samaria,” and made a successful appearance in “Judas Maccabeus.” She took a prominent part in “Princess Ida,” when she was as usual accorded a good reception.²⁰⁴

She first sang in public in Auckland in 1889, always receiving good reviews.²⁰⁵ The last time she sang there before leaving for Sydney was in January 1891.²⁰⁶ For a time in 1892 she taught singing in Sydney.²⁰⁷ Her first performance upon her return was

Hesketh and Richmond, 19 August 1891, Hesketh and Richmond Papers, Box 26, 1051/C, MS 440, Auckland Public Library; *Te Aroha News*, 8 January 1887, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Marriage Certificate of Emma Susan Wainwright, 1896/1462; Birth Certificates of Richard Denyer Wright, 1896/3971; James Denyer Wright, 1901/18712; Gwynneth Denyer Wright, 1903/20850; Colin Denyer Wright, 1905/12507; Death Certificate of Emma Susan Wright, 1953/20300, BDM.

²⁰² Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1886, p. 3.

²⁰³ Birth Certificate of Ellen Louisa Featon, 1872/14975, BDM; Probate of John Featon, BBAE 1569/8961, ANZ-A; *Auckland Free Lance*, 12 July 1879, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 July 1879, p. 8; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 828.

²⁰⁴ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 828.

²⁰⁵ *Observer*, 15 June 1889, p. 14, 29 June 1889, p. 3, 7 September 1889, p. 14, 21 September 1889, p. 8, 18 October 1890, p. 17.

²⁰⁶ *Observer*, 31 January 1891, p. 17.

²⁰⁷ *Observer*, 30 April 1892, p. 1.

held in July 1893.²⁰⁸ From then onwards she sang in Auckland until her last performance there in October 1897, always being praised for her beautiful voice.²⁰⁹ In December 1895, when described as ‘the favorite Contralto’, she sang at Te Aroha as a member of the Fuller Family, otherwise the Fuller Concert Company.²¹⁰ Despite recording her occupation as ‘domestic duties’, when living at Te Aroha in the late 1890s she was a music teacher.²¹¹ In November 1901, ‘the annual fancy dress ball, marking the termination of the season of Miss E.L. Featon’s dancing classes held during the winter, took place in the Public Hall’.²¹² In the following year she married Bernard Goldwater,²¹³ who had been born in Auckland in 1866 to Myer Goldwater, a Jewish businessman operating in both early Thames and Auckland.²¹⁴ Bernard Goldwater had been a pawnbroker since the 1880s,²¹⁵ After his marriage, for some years he ran the Palace Hotel at Te Aroha and then the Esplanade Hotel, Devonport, Auckland.²¹⁶ Ellen was prominent in the social life of Auckland.²¹⁷ Bernard was a prominent race horse owner, and his successful business career (on his death in 1949 he left an estate valued at £52,964)²¹⁸ meant that he was able to endow a Jewish school in Auckland.²¹⁹ Ellen would live until 1965, dying at the age of 92.²²⁰

²⁰⁸ *Observer*, 22 July 1893, p. 8.

²⁰⁹ *Observer*, 16 September 1893, p. 9, 30 September 1893, p. 5, 4 November 1893, p. 17, 3 February 1894, p. 16, 21 April 1894, p. 7, 30 June 1894, p. 7, 1 September 1894, p. 9, 6 October 1894, p. 7, 20 October 1894, p. 15, 8 June 1895, p. 9, 15 June 1895, p. 9, 14 March 1896, p. 10, 20 June 1896, p. 17, 1 August 1896, p. 10, 30 March 1897, p. 16, 3 April 1897, p. 15, 8 May 1897, p. 16, 24 July 1897, p. 16, 28 August 1897, p. 10, 18 September 1897, p. 16, 2 October 1897, p. 16.

²¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 18 December 1895, p. 2,

²¹¹ *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1899*, p. 36; *Te Aroha News*, 22 February 1900, p. 2.

²¹² ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 2 November 1901, p. 26.

²¹³ Marriage Certificate of Ellen Louisa Featon, 18 June 1902, 1902/6383, BDM; Marriage Notice, *Auckland Star*, 12 July 1902, p. 8.

²¹⁴ Birth Certificate of Bernard Goldwater, 1866/9652, BDM; *New Zealand Herald*, 14 July 1925, p. 2; see references in PapersPast for many details of his business dealings.

²¹⁵ For example, *New Zealand Herald*, 31 July 1886, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 15 November 1887, p. 5.

²¹⁶ Advertisements, *New Zealand Herald*, 27 April 1910, p. 4, 7 May 1913, p. 4; *Auckland Star*, 7 June 1918, p. 3.

²¹⁷ For example, *Sun* [Auckland], 19 September 1929, p. 4.

²¹⁸ Auckland Probates, BBAE 1570, R9365250, ANZ-A [online].

²¹⁹ *Rotorua Morning Post*, 6 August 1949, p. 3.

²²⁰ Death Certificate of Ellen Louise Goldwater, 1865/28939, BDM.

Agnes Hamilton was a teacher aged 26 when she married William George Sheriff Jeffrey, a Waiorongomai miner,²²¹ in December 1885.²²² In the following May, she was appointed a temporary assistant teacher at Te Aroha while one teacher was absent for a few weeks.²²³ Although, according to her 1948 recollection, she subsequently became a teacher at Waiorongomai for ‘many years’,²²⁴ she was never included in the official list of teachers.²²⁵ In mid-1895 she became postmistress and telephonist at Waiorongomai.²²⁶ In 1903, her husband died, aged 49, from miner’s complaint, leaving her with five children aged between 16 years and nine months.²²⁷ In the following year she moved to Auckland and became postmistress at Grey Lynn. In 1948, when in her ninetieth year, she told the *Te Aroha News* that ‘for 40 years I was a government employee, first as a school teacher and then as a postmistress’.²²⁸

Dressmaking was a common occupation for unmarried women, as illustrated by a brief advertisement: ‘Misses Goldsworthy, dressmakers, Waiorongomai’.²²⁹ A daughter of George Sherlock, a cordial manufacturer at Te Aroha,²³⁰ never married, and was still working as a dressmaker and living with her parents after her father retired.²³¹ **Frances Mary Quinlan**, sister of Patrick,²³² advertised in 1884: ‘WANTED, a Good Assistant or Apprentice to the Dressmaking. Apply to Miss Quinlan, Te Aroha’.²³³ In the following August she again advertised for an apprentice.²³⁴ Four months later, at the age of 33, she married a miner,²³⁵ which probably meant her dressmaking days might soon be over. After her husband continued mining for a time, he opened an

²²¹ See William Jeffrey to James Mills, 16 March 1895, 13 April 1895, Mines Department, MD 1, 97/1072, ANZ-W; *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2, 23 January 1895, p. 2, 6 February 1895, p. 2, 20 February 1895, p. 2.

²²² Marriage Certificate of Agnes Hamilton, 30 December 1885, 1885/2851, BDM.

²²³ *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1886, p. 2.

²²⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 10 February 1948, p. 5.

²²⁵ See paper on education in the Te Aroha district in the nineteenth century.

²²⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 25 July 1895, p. 1140; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 835.

²²⁷ Death Certificate of William George Sheriff Jeffrey, 3 May 1903, 1903/2672, BDM.

²²⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 10 February 1948, p. 5.

²²⁹ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 26 May 1888, p. 7.

²³⁰ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 830; *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1933, p. 1.

²³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 November 1926, p. 4.

²³² See paper on Patrick Quinlan.

²³³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 1 November 1884, p. 7.

²³⁴ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1885, p. 7.

²³⁵ Marriage Certificate of Frances Mary Quinlan, 27 December 1885, 1885/3855, BDM.

accommodation house at Whananaki in 1892;²³⁶ she would have assisted in the running of this. They then moved to Waihi, where he was a fruiterer, and had to file as a bankrupt in 1903.²³⁷ Their final years were spent in Auckland.²³⁸ They had had two daughters and a son.²³⁹

In 1882, when aged 24, **Louisa Jane Gleeson** married Daniel James Frazer, a Te Aroha ironmonger.²⁴⁰ In 1887, she purchased the Premier Bakery, and continued this business under her own name.²⁴¹ Presumably she employed a baker and other staff, because by then she had two small children.²⁴² Three months after acquiring it, the local newspaper reported that ‘Mrs Frazer has recently opened up as a confectioner (in connection with her bakery), in premises immediately opposite the Hot Springs Hotel; tea, coffee, etc, being also obtainable’.²⁴³ Another three months later, she became a ‘general storekeeper’ and gave up the bakery.²⁴⁴ By April 1888 she had ‘disposed of her grocery business’,²⁴⁵ and they left the colony in the following year.²⁴⁶

In 1883, **Mary Jane Hotchin**, married Joseph Bailiff Heathcote, a builder and contractor,²⁴⁷ when he was aged 28 and she was 21.²⁴⁸ He would die in the asylum in

²³⁶ *Northern Advocate*, 28 July 1890, p. 3; advertisement, *Auckland Star*, 17 May 1892, p. 1.

²³⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 17 June 1903, p. 6.

²³⁸ Death Notices, *Auckland Star*, 22 October 12924, p. 1, 17 December 1928, p. 1.

²³⁹ Birth Certificates of Mary Agnes May, 1887/15040; James Herbert May, 1888/17268; Mabel Ellen May, 1892/15541, BDM.

²⁴⁰ Marriage Certificate of Daniel James Frazer [recorded as Frazier], 3 January 1882, 1882/200, BDM.

²⁴¹ *Te Aroha News*, 16 April 1887, p. 3, advertisement, 7 May 1887, p. 3.

²⁴² Birth Certificates of Lydia Robley Frazer, 11 October 1884, 1884/6205; Osborne Ernest Frazer, 16 July 1886, 1886/9967, BDM.

²⁴³ *Te Aroha News*, 9 July 1887, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 15 October 1887, p. 2, 29 October 1887, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 4 April 1888, p. 2.

²⁴⁶ See *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 7 July 1883, p. 3, 13 September 1884, p. 2, 8 February 1885, p. 2, 27 February 1886, p. 2, 21 August 1886, p. 2, 4 June 1887, pp. 2, 3, 26 November 1887, p. 2, 14 April 1888, p. 7, 19 May 1888, p. 2; *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 26 February 1889, p. 2, 9 April 1889, p. 2.

²⁴⁷ See *Te Aroha Mail*, 10 June 1882, p. 2; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Star*, 17 October 1884, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, *Te Aroha Correspondent*, 16 August 1883, p. 2, Piako County Council, 15 September 1883, p. 2, 29 December 1883, p. 2, 9 July 1889, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, letter from T.G. Sandes, 22 September 1883, p. 3, 30 June 1883, p. 2, Domain Board, 13 June 1885, p. 2, 5 September 1885, p. 2, 23 January 1886, p. 2, 26 February 1887, p. 2, 25 April 1888, p. 2, 8 September 1888, p. 2, 6 July 1889, p. 2, 21 May 1890, p. 2.

²⁴⁸ Marriage Certificate of Joseph Bailiff Heathcote, 24 January 1883, 1883/1773, BDM.

1893, aged only 39.²⁴⁹ He had been committed, just three months before his death, because of ‘mania caused by worry’; at that time he was ‘incapable of employment, being restless and excited’.²⁵⁰ He left four young children, a ‘small house mortgaged for £75’, and ‘no other property’.²⁵¹ His widow would remain at Te Aroha until she died in 1947, when her estate was valued at £3,000 9s 11d.²⁵² Forced to earn a living, she ran Hazelwood House, a boarding house, for many years.²⁵³ In 1898, the *Thames Star* wrote that ‘visitors to Te Aroha cannot do better than take up their abode at Mrs Heathcote’s private boarding house, where they will find every convenience. The house is situated within three minutes’ walk of the baths and is in all respects a most comfortable establishment’.²⁵⁴

Few women had officially certified skills, the only nurse and midwife in the late nineteenth century being the unqualified **Ann Devey**.²⁵⁵ A new skill, typesetting, was acquired late in the nineteenth century, noted by the *Observer* Man in 1895 as providing another excuse to gossip. ‘I see our local paper has girls employed in the type-setting line. G. says E. is teaching him the art’.²⁵⁶ Three years later he mentioned ‘our lady printer’.²⁵⁷ Five months later it was reported that ‘the new lady comp. seems to “take on” ’.²⁵⁸

Farming skills were always in demand, as illustrated when a Waiorongomai resident advertised in 1888 for a married couple: ‘WANTED – A Good Steady Farm Hand, to take entire charge of a small farm; wife competent to milk and undertake the work of a small dairy’.²⁵⁹ Four years previously, a couple had advertised for work:

Wanted, a Situation by a Married Couple (one child only, eight years old).
Man accustomed to all kinds of Station and Farm work, and competent to

²⁴⁹ Death Certificate of Joseph Bailiff Heathcote, 8 June 1893, 1893/2122, BDM.

²⁵⁰ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1885-1896, no. 1849, YCAA 1021/2, ANZ-A; Inquest on Joseph Bailiff Heathcote, Inquests, Justice Department, J 46, 1893/341, ANZ-W.

²⁵¹ Avondale Asylum, Record Book of Investigations into Relatives’ Ability to Pay Maintenance 1890-1898, folio 111, YCAF 1044/1, ANZ-A.

²⁵² Probate of Mary Jane Heathcote, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/P7160, ANZ-A.

²⁵³ *Wise’s New Zealand Directory, 1898*, p. 692; *Te Aroha News*, 24 September 1908, p. 2.

²⁵⁴ *Thames Star*, 23 November 1898, p. 2.

²⁵⁵ See paper on George Devey and his family.

²⁵⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 2 March 1895, p. 21.

²⁵⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 14 May 1898, p. 21.

²⁵⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 15 October 1898, p. 21.

²⁵⁹ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 8 September 1888, p. 7.

take entire charge. Wife first-class Cook, Dairy Woman, and Laundress. Excellent References.²⁶⁰

Working for farmers had its complications, as illustrated by the experience of **Elizabeth Caldwell**, wife of Thomas, a dairy farmer at Wairakau, upriver from Waiorongomai (who went bankrupt in 1884).²⁶¹ In 1881 they both sued the owner

for wages due under agreement by the female plaintiff to take charge of and provide all labour necessary for the management of defendant's dairy at Waitoa between 1st and 9th September, and also one month's wages in lieu of notice, amounting in all to £15 17s 4d.... The defence was that plaintiff had left her employment without permission for a period of six days, and further that she had entertained her husband on the premises in contravention of her engagement. The defence was sustained as regards the claim for wrongful dismissal, and judgment given for £2 10s for the services rendered.²⁶²

Why a wife should not be allowed to 'entertain' her husband was not explained. After John Samuel Hill, formerly manager of the Waiorongomai tramway,²⁶³ died at the age of 63, his widow ran his small farm.²⁶⁴

The amount of money earned by charwomen and washerwomen was very low, as illustrated by one widow's appeal for charitable relief in 1890. With children aged nine, eight, and seven, after her husband had died 19 months previously 'she had kept herself by washing, but now, owing to a number of men having left the mines, she is unable to do so any longer'.²⁶⁵ A woman appointed to clean the Waiorongomai school received only £6 10s a year.²⁶⁶ Such work was often taken up because of financial difficulties. **Jean Erasmus**, wife of carpenter and miner John,²⁶⁷ in December 1889 was chosen to clean the Te Aroha school for £1 3s 4d, less than she would have received had she been required to clean the 'closets' as well, which was done by a man.²⁶⁸ John had been

²⁶⁰ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 1 November 1884, p. 7.

²⁶¹ See *Thames Advertiser*, 7 May 1881, p. 3, 7 February 1884, p. 2, 5 March 1884, p. 3, 5 April 1884, p. 3; advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 April 1885, p. 8.

²⁶² Magistrate's Court, *Waikato Times*, 17 December 1881, p. 2.

²⁶³ See paper on the Piako County tramway at Waiorongomai.

²⁶⁴ Death Certificate of John Samuel Hill, 22 January 1941, 1941/16309, BDM; *Wise's Auckland Provincial Directory 1943* (Auckland, 1943), p. 423.

²⁶⁵ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 8 May 1890, p. 2.

²⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 12 April 1884, p. 7.

²⁶⁷ For examples of his working life, see *Te Aroha News*, 21 March 1885, p. 2, 8 August 1885, p. 7.

²⁶⁸ Te Aroha School Committee, *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1889, p. 2.

admitted to the Thames hospital earlier that year, and died from heart disease, aged 59, nearly four months after Jean's appointment.²⁶⁹ His obituary revealed he had been unable to provide for his family in his last years, having 'suffered for a length of time from a complication of diseases, and his case had long been considered hopeless'.²⁷⁰ Four years after his death, Jean 'applied for remission of rates on the grounds of poverty'.²⁷¹ In 1907 she qualified for an old age pension.²⁷²

In February 1898, a 'respectable women between 40 and 50 years of age' whose husband was 'far from able-bodied' was appointed to clean the warden's office.²⁷³ Two months later, when this woman was neglecting this work to devote all her time to a boarding house, she was replaced with another woman whom the clerk of court believed 'can be relied on. Her husband has, through an accident, been unfit for work for some time past, and she herself endeavours to make a living by doing washing & odd jobs'.²⁷⁴

Paying such women was not a priority for some employers. In 1883, 'another champion mean man has been unearthed at Te Aroha. Four months ago, a friend entrusted him with 1s 6d to pay a washerwoman. When he returned the other day, he found that the money had not been paid to the poor woman'.²⁷⁵

Some women were employed at the domain's hot pools. One abandoned wife with two children lost her charitable assistance of 5s per week after being appointed 'to a position at the baths'.²⁷⁶ After a labourer, Robert Michael,²⁷⁷ died in 1902, the borough council recorded its respect for his years of work for it and selected his unmarried daughter from the 19 applicants to be a 'lady attendant in the domain ticket office' for £1 a week.²⁷⁸

²⁶⁹ Death Certificate of John Erasmus, 27 March 1890, 1890/323, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 20 February 1889, p. 2, 29 March 1890, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 29 March 1890, p. 2.

²⁷¹ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 18 September 1894, p. 7.

²⁷² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Old Age Pension Claim Register 1899-1909, no. 92, BBAV 11503/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁷³ R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 11 February 1898, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 456, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁴ J.M. Hickson to R.S. Bush, 4 April 1898, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 464, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁵ *Observer*, 22 September 1883, p. 14.

²⁷⁶ Waikato Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 7 December 1893, p. 5.

²⁷⁷ See paper on his life.

²⁷⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 May 1902, p. 32.

Some wealthier residents employed servants, all female, and usually young. For instance, in 1882 a publican advertised for ‘a Girl, about 15, for Hotel at Te Aroha, to make herself generally useful’.²⁷⁹ Three years later, a Waiorongomai resident sought a 14-year-old servant: ‘Settler’s daughter preferred’.²⁸⁰ Unusually, in 1884 two shopkeepers advertised for ‘an Elderly Female as Cook and Housekeeper, for Waiorongomai Store’.²⁸¹ An ability to undertake a variety of tasks was an asset, with some advertisements specifying a general servant.²⁸² Another asset was indicated when the postmaster’s wife advertised for ‘a Respectable Young Girl as Servant’.²⁸³ There was sufficient demand for servants for one woman to establish, briefly, a servants’ registry.²⁸⁴ Although the rates of remuneration were not recorded, presumably they was similar to those in Auckland, where housekeepers and cooks received from 15s to 20s a week, housemaids from 10s to 12s, and parlour maids 12s.²⁸⁵

Servants were often viewed as inferiors.²⁸⁶ In 1897, some mature ones caused amusement by their remarks:

Overheard in Whitaker Street. First lady-help (meeting a friend who has recently obtained a similar situation): “Well, Mary, how do you like your new place?” Second lady-help: “Very well indeed. When I told some of my friends that I was going to Mrs ----, they said I would never get along with her husband: but I think he’s just splendid.”²⁸⁷

In 1910, the *Te Aroha News* published an article on ‘The Servant Girl’, written by a ‘Mere Man’:

She’s a silly creature, but I am sorry for her; a great deal sorrier than I am for the mistress with whom she will not abide. Though I am Mere Man, I have some knowledge of her, for I have seen her in my own house, and in the houses of my friends and in those of my acquaintances. Also I have had the privilege of observing the dissection of her by my lady friends. Also my wife has told me many things about her.

To be sure there are exceptions to the rule that she is silly. She is a paragon - in patches - but I wish she were less severe on the crockery. I have paid for a new tea set and a new dinner service this year, and all because of her. But

²⁷⁹ Advertisement, *Thames Star*, 14 August 1882, p. 3.

²⁸⁰ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 7 November 1885, p. 7.

²⁸¹ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 26 April 1884, p. 7.

²⁸² Advertisements, *Thames Star*, 11 December 1883, p. 2, *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1888, p. 7.

²⁸³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 7.

²⁸⁴ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 1.

²⁸⁵ *Waikato Times*, 13 May 1884, p. 2.

²⁸⁶ See paper on social relations and class divisions in the Te Aroha district.

²⁸⁷ ‘The Porcupine’, ‘Te Aroha Notes’, *Waikato Argus*, 3 June 1897, p. 2.

her silliness – she smirks – barring the exceptions – and she giggles. She would feign hunt fabulous wild game – the boy of her futile imagination; she discusses volubly with her fellows a tame topic – the vulgar boy of her acquaintance; she is entranced with the study of an unprofitable subject – the preposterous man of the tenth-rate novel. She spends more in dress – barring the exceptions – than her mistress and carries all her worldly goods upon her back. But what can you expect? She is just as wise as her mother was before her and as her children will be after her.

However, in spite of her weaknesses, the little servant girl has my sympathies. Probably she has been trained with conspicuous unwisdom. Moreover – barring the exceptions – she has for ten shillings a week or maybe less, to do and to suffer what I wouldn't do and suffer for a thousand pounds a year. Her work is hard and her hours long – usually – and much of her toil is monotonous. But worse than the dreary labour and the long hours is the vulgar mistress. For vulgarity appears to thrive as luxuriantly in the drawing-room as in the kitchen; and democracy, though it has popularised education of a sort, has not diffused culture. Perhaps it is too much to expect her to succeed in a wide field when aristocracy has largely failed even in a small one.

Yes, they fill me with astonishment – some of the mistresses I know. Estimable women in many ways, mind you. They would be kind to the little servant if they didn't know her as a servant. But, somehow, it's only an "extra special" woman that can help being snobbish. The relation of superior to dependent seems too hard a thing to bear. I call to mind a lady I once knew – the wife of a professional man. I haven't the least doubt she considered herself on the road to Heaven. Was she not on calling terms with the leading houses? Still, her treatment of "the girl" always seemed to me to lack cordiality. For example, washing day. Girl has a heavy wash on hand. Up to her elbows in suds. Baby has a cold, and trickles at the nose. Mistress, to one of the elder children, "Go and tell the Object I want her." Child at wash-house door, "Object, mother wants you." The "Object" takes quite a long voyage upstairs and receives the order, "Creature get a handkerchief and wipe the baby's nose." In a little while there is a vacancy for "a girl." "Objects" come and "creatures" go, but the vacancy, with spasmodic fillings, continues forever. Why should a vulgar nickname be used? And why should a busy girl be pestered with some petty office that Her High Mightiness Lady De Prigge might well discharge in person?

I have said that, barring exceptions, the little servant girl is silly. I have known quite a number of exceptions. In my own house I think that, on the average, there have been about three exceptions to one case that follows the rule. Some luck must have come my way. I have noticed, however, that the exceptions occur usually in houses where "the girl" is regarded as belonging to the same species of animal as the mistress.²⁸⁸

How **Frances Maria McFarland**, the wife of Edgar James McFarland, an Anglican clergyman based for some years at Te Aroha,²⁸⁹ treated a servant created considerable excitement in 1900. After leaving the Parnell Orphan Home, **Daisy Reilly**

²⁸⁸ 'Mere Man', 'The Servant Girl', *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1910, p. 2.

²⁸⁹ See *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 61; *New Zealand Herald*, 29 December 1944, p. 6.

lived with them and their children for ‘about 15 months’ before suddenly vanishing.²⁹⁰ The *Te Aroha News* reported her ‘strange disappearance’ on a Sunday night, ‘taking with her everything she possessed – the window being her mode of exit.... No reason can be assigned for her sudden disappearance, as the girl had declined any effort made to secure her another place, and she seemed lately to be especially happy’.²⁹¹ An unflattering description of her was published:

She is between 15 and 16 years of age, about 4ft 4in high, strong short build, long body, short legs, small eyes, brownish complexion, and is not very intelligent looking; her neck also appears to be sunk between her shoulders, so she would be easily recognised.²⁹²

Another newspaper gave her height as ‘about 4ft 8in with a stoop’.²⁹³ There were rumours ‘that she had been forcibly abducted’.²⁹⁴ After a week of a fruitless police search, it was feared that she might have ‘met with some mishap’.²⁹⁵ ‘Nercus’ was appalled:

We eat and drink and sleep, whilst the fate of a child of tender years (known to be weak minded) is uncertain, perhaps lured away to a fate worse than death; and yet with the odour of sanctity, we preach to the ninety and nine, and forget the one wandering on the bleak mountainside. Alas for the rarity of Christian charity! If it had been the pet of one of our own households, what efforts would have been put forth to find the wanderer? But because she may be a nameless waif, never having known the love and care of a mother or the protection of a father, who cares? If it be as report says I trust that the young men, and those who have children of their own, will at once come forward, give their names in to your office as willing to organise a systematic search of mountain and valley, and so solve the uncertainty now existing.²⁹⁶

Shortly afterwards, Mrs McFarland received a letter from Daisy, posted in Morrinsville:

I wish you would understand by this that I am not going to come back to your place to be sent back to the Home or anywhere else; I am quite safe

²⁹⁰ *Waikato Argus*, 2 April 1900, p. 2.

²⁹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 1 March 1900, p. 2.

²⁹² *Waikato Argus*, 2 April 1900, p. 2.

²⁹³ *Te Aroha News*, 1 March 1900, p. 2.

²⁹⁴ *Observer*, 14 April 1900, p. 5.

²⁹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1900, p. 2.

²⁹⁶ Letter from ‘Nercus’, *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1900, p. 2.

where I am now, so far. I will die before I'll come back if you go on hunting for me.²⁹⁷

One month later, she was found living in a whare on the mountainside at Te Aroha in 'a pitiable condition. She was clad in a pair of men's trousers and was lying in a corner of the hut on some straw beside a dog'.²⁹⁸ As described by the *Observer*, early on a Sunday morning three men

discovered the derelict in a small broken-down whare in a secluded spot on the mountain side, where she admitted she had been living since her disappearance, along with a man named Jack Hood. She was clad in a pair of man's trousers, and was lying in a corner of the shanty, upon some straw, which she shared with a dog.

(Was he the John Hood, a miner, who usually worked at Maratoto?²⁹⁹) One of the searchers, Robert Edward Crombie, a local photographer,³⁰⁰

took her to his home and reported the circumstances of the discovery to a public meeting of the Women's and Children's Protection Society, which was held in the Town Hall on the Monday evening, the Rev E.J. McFarland presiding. Mr Crombie *inter alia* stated that the girl had stated that her reason for leaving the vicarage was that she had been treated cruelly. It was decided that the committee should investigate the case, and the president, after stating his utter disbelief in the girl's statement, resigned his position in connection with the Society.

Both Crombie and Constable Frederick Wild investigated her claims. Before their verdict was released, McFarland wrote to the local newspaper explaining that Daisy told those questioning her that 'she had been kindly treated; she had never been punished or struck in any way. The only thing alleged was that on the 11th November Mrs McFarland had pushed her down the steps and hurt her side'. McFarland stated that Daisy had 'muttered then she would run away, but subsequently begged Mrs McFarland to give her another trial, and since then had behaved much better'. His letter concluded that she 'did not run away, but was willfully enticed, as all the circumstances prove, or why did she not go four months ago?', when, she claimed, she had been pushed.³⁰¹

The committee presented its report to a meeting of the executive committee of the Te Aroha branch of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children:

²⁹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1900, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 14 March 1900, p. 2.

²⁹⁸ *Thames Star*, 14 April 1900, p. 2.

²⁹⁹ See *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 45

³⁰⁰ See *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 21.

³⁰¹ *Observer*, 14 April 1900, p. 5.

Report of evidence given in the Court House, Te Aroha. Questions – Constable Wild – Daisy Reilly, you state that Mr and Mrs McFarland have been cruel to you. Reply – Mr McFarland has always been kind. Who was cruel? Reply – Mrs McFarland. How was she cruel? She pushed me down the steps. Why did she push you down? I was taking some food from Allan’s plate when she came and pushed me out of the back door and down the steps, telling me that I could go away. In falling I hurt my side. When did it happen? On the Saturday. Were there any other acts of cruelty; did she ever strike you or beat you? No; once she took the broom from my hand and told me to sweep quicker. Did you get sufficient food? Yes. Sufficient clothes? Yes. Any other acts of cruelty? Do you remember none? Do you think she intended to hurt you to make you fall? No answer. What did you do after? I came in and had my dinner, and in the afternoon went to [Adam] Fawcett’s [a local farmer].³⁰² Did anyone else in the house treat you cruelly? No one. Was anyone else in the house unkind? No one.

Mrs McFarland stated the date was November 11 – four months ago. She remembered the time referred to. She had some visitors in the front room, and hearing an uproar in the kitchen, where the children were having their dinner, she came in and found Daisy teasing the youngest child. She remonstrated with her, and on her refusing to stop she ordered her out of the kitchen, whereupon the girl put out her tongue, making a face. She then placed her hands upon Daisy’s shoulder and pointed her to the back door and the porch and ordered her to go out at once. Daisy went down the steps. She may have slipped, but when on a level with the kitchen window she looked in and made faces. The girl stayed out until recalled.

As the committee deemed Daisy’s statement ‘exaggerated’ and that her charge had not been sustained, it was not referred to its head office.³⁰³ The *Observer* commented that some locals had ‘been putting the Rev. E.J. McFarland into hot water, or, at any rate, trying to do so’, and did not consider that Daisy had been abducted but ‘was a willing agent’. There was ‘no reasonable ground for concluding she had been unkindly treated’, and McFarland’s resignation from the protection society was ‘both impetuous and uncalled for’. If the girl was under-age, Hood, with whom she had lived for six weeks, ‘should be made to answer for his conduct.’³⁰⁴ (No criminal charge was made against him.)

Another case of harsh treatment of a servant was implied by an 1890 report:

The amusing scene was witnessed on Saturday night last of three persons marching down the street in single file. The leading man was observed to be the Copper, carrying a swag; the second a female, who I understand had run

³⁰² See *New Zealand Herald*, 7 November 1893, p. 6, Death Notice, 17 January 1924, p. 1; *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 30; Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 20 April 1905, p. 3.

³⁰³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 18 April 1900, p. 2.

³⁰⁴ *Observer*, 14 April 1900, p. 5.

away through bad treatment; and in the rear was a man of higher rank, with a large stock whip in his hand.³⁰⁵

Presumably her whip-wielding master had accused her of theft, but she was not placed in the lock-up; in the absence of the relevant court records or any newspaper reports, it is probable that she was not charged.

UNPAID WORK

In an age with few labour-saving devices and, for most living in this district, few servants, hard (and unpaid) work was the expected lot of most women, although older children were required to assist their mothers. In 1892, a Waiorongomai resident wrote that his wife had recently been very ill, ‘which has left her so weak and low that I am afraid she would never be able to undertake the duties of a Settler wife’.³⁰⁶ Most of these duties were the care of husband, children, and house and garden or small farm.

Agricultural and horticultural shows illustrated some of the required domestic skills. In the first one held in Te Aroha, in 1895, women won all the prizes for pot plants, all but one prize for cut flowers, and all the cookery categories and collections of grasses.³⁰⁷ Two years later, they won almost all the prizes for cut flowers, butter, eggs, and poultry, and all the prizes for bottled fruit, jam, pickles, chutney, jellies, tomato sauce, and cookery (apart from a man with the best shortbread, unless the newspaper left the ‘s’ off ‘Mrs’).³⁰⁸ Three years later, there was ‘a really splendid collection of bottled fruits, which the judge stated were all worthy of high commendation, and he had some difficulty in deciding which of the competitors was best’.³⁰⁹ Women won prizes for jam, ham, dried hops, pickles, tomato sauce, chutney, jellies, dried hops, hen eggs, duck eggs, dressed poultry, butter (salted, unsalted, and fancy), clotted cream, bread made with yeast and with baking powder, plain and fancy scones, jam tarts, puff pastry, jam rolls, currant cakes and buns, seed cakes, and shortbread. They also won awards for cut flowers, pot plants, and needlework.³¹⁰

Dressmaking was another desirable skill, as illustrated by a report in the local newspaper in 1895:

³⁰⁵ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 26 July 1890, p. 18.

³⁰⁶ G.R. Beeson to Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland, 20 November 1892, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/103a, ANZ-A.

³⁰⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 9 March 1895, p. 2.

³⁰⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 March 1897, p. 35.

³⁰⁹ *Thames Star*, 30 January 1900, p. 4.

³¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 30 January 1900, p. 2, 1 February 1900, pp. 2-3.

Miss Forbes is now at Te Aroha giving lessons in the “Excelsior” system of dress-cutting, making, etc. Dress makers and ladies that would like either themselves or their daughters to learn how to cut and make perfect fitting dresses without any fitting on in so short a time as six or seven lessons should not miss this opportunity.³¹¹

One Waiorongomai woman invented a way to make domestic chores easier: in 1890, **Laura Graham**, whose life has not been traced, applied for a patent for ‘a scraper-attachment to brushes’.³¹²

FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

A minority of women had money of their own, held separately from their husband’s estate, though they usually provided it to their husbands as part of the family’s capital. In an 1889 case, for instance, shortly after her marriage the wife of a Te Aroha West farmer had lent her husband ‘£150, receiving as security an assignment, and subsequently also a Bill of Sale over the stock, furniture and effects the property of her husband; neither of which, however, had been registered as was necessary in order to comply with the Chattels Securities Act’. She had brought this money with her from Ireland, and within two years her husband had spent all but ‘some £40 to £50’ on the farm and the upkeep of his paralyzed sister. She commented that ‘she never anticipated, when she married, having to support her husband’s people’.³¹³ **Susan Hadfield**, wife of Edwin, a Waiorongomai miner who wanted to become a publican,³¹⁴ was another example of how wives assisted their husbands’ business ventures. In explaining the cause of his bankruptcy, Hadfield stated that his wife ‘had £490, which was expended partly in living and partly in the erection of the hotel’, the balance of the cost being borrowed from a brewer.³¹⁵

Another wife whose property was used by her husband for their mutual benefit was **Mary Ann Moffat**. In April 1882, her first husband, publican Edwin Missen,³¹⁶ died, aged 39, from liver disease.³¹⁷ Three months later, when she married John Moffat,

³¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 28 January 1895, p. 2.

³¹² *New Zealand Gazette*, 10 July 1890, p. 781.

³¹³ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 6 April 1889, p. 7.

³¹⁴ See paper on the New Find mine.

³¹⁵ District Court, *Thames Star*, 6 August 1884, p. 2.

³¹⁶ See *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 November 1878, p. 8, 21 June 1879, p. 16, 28 June 1879, p. 13; *Thames Star*, 8 March 1881, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 3 May 1881, p. 2, 11 April 1882, p. 2.

³¹⁷ Death Certificate of Edwin Missen, 10 April 1882, 1882/276, BDM.

they both gave their ages as 23; however, when she had married Missen in 1878 she had claimed to be 21.³¹⁸ From her first husband she had inherited £475 4s 4d.³¹⁹ She had owned ten shares in a Thames mining company but had sold these in the month following his death.³²⁰ Moffat, a publican at Waitoa when they married, later became a butcher at Te Aroha.³²¹ At a meeting of his creditors in mid-1886, he agreed to pay half his liabilities of £157 within 12 months and the balance within another six months, his wife agreeing 'to have the said debt charged against her estate'.³²² Three months later, their Waitoa house, which was her personal property, was completely destroyed by fire. It was insured for £150 and the furniture for £100.³²³ Moffat, his wife, and their three young children were all asleep when it caught fire early in the morning, and when discovered the fire could not be put out. It was believed to have started from clothes drying beside the stove in the kitchen.³²⁴ Although many clothes along with the piano were saved, less than half the furniture was rescued. Mary had purchased both piano and house out of her private means. Moffat told a coroner's jury investigating the fire that he had 'not had any employment' for the previous four months. He had intended to go to the West Australian goldfields with a relative, leaving his family behind, and 'had not made any effort to sell the place'. After a farm manager gave evidence that the house had burnt slowly and that Moffat could have used water to try to put it out, the jury's verdict was that, whilst there was no evidence how the fire started, it was 'of opinion that Mr Moffat neglected to take ordinary means to extinguish the fire'.³²⁵ The implication was that he wanted the insurance money. Immediately afterwards, his wife's furniture and effects and the freehold allotments and cottage she owned were sold,³²⁶ and they left the district.

³¹⁸ Marriage Certificates of Edwin Missen, 21 March 1878, 1878/747; Mary Ann Missen, 8 July 1882, 1882/1730, BDM.

³¹⁹ Testamentary Register 1876-1882, folio 161, BBCB 4208/1, ANZ-A.

³²⁰ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 33 no. 201, ANZ-A.

³²¹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 August 1883, p. 2, 23 February 1884, p. 2, 9 January 1886, p. 2, 8 May 1886, p. 2, 12 June 1886, p. 2,

³²² *Waikato Times*, 15 June 1886, p. 3.

³²³ *Te Aroha News*, 11 September 1886, p. 2.

³²⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 9 September 1886, p. 2.

³²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 18 September 1886, p. 2.

³²⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 25 September 1886, pp. 2, 3.

Edward Hugo Ross Raue was, variously, a cook, a barber, a butcher, and a labourer.³²⁷ Financially insecure, immediately after participating in the Te Aroha rush he became bankrupt.³²⁸ Four years later, a Te Aroha shopkeeper in suing him for £3 15s 6d stated that his wife, **Anne Elizabeth Raue**, had told him that she would pay for the hats and other goods purchased for herself and her children but not for those bought for her husband. 'She was earning money for herself. Mrs Raue had several credits for money paid and work done; she used to work for me'. Raue admitted owing £2 13s 6d, which he was required to pay at the rate of 10s a month,³²⁹ an indication of his financial state.

Jane Campbell was an example of the rare women who protected their capital by having signed a marriage settlement. An example was Henry Elmes Campbell, one of the first solicitors to settle at Te Aroha, who invested heavily (and unprofitably) in property there.³³⁰ In 1881, when sued for maintenance of his illegitimate child, born to his housemaid, he told the court that as his legal practice in Thames 'was worth nothing', he was living 'upon his wife's income', although he had 'no control over' it. 'He drew the money for her through the National Bank of New Zealand'.³³¹ An associate who sued in April 1881 for money he was owed for work done said Campbell had 'promised payment upon the death of his wife, when he expected to have plenty of money'.³³² She had died of cancer, aged 79, the previous month.³³³ Rumour had it that Campbell came 'into a considerable sum of money' from her estate, but all he would admit to his creditors in 1883 was that he had received 'some money' and that 'there was nothing more coming to him from his wife's estate. He was quite clear as to

³²⁷ See Birth Certificates of Herbert William Raue, 29 July 1880, 1880/9402; Violet [Lawrence] Raue, 3 July 1883, 1883/10468, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 11 August 1883, p. 3, recollections of R.J. Raue, 9 January 1937, p. 5; *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1884*, p. 18.

³²⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 426, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1c, ANZ-A; 'Return of all Bankruptcies and Assignments since the coming into operation of the "Debtors and Creditors Amendment Act, 1878": District Court of Auckland Holden in Hamilton', Legislative Department, LE 1, 1883/106, ANZ-W; recollections of R.J. Raue, *Te Aroha News*, 9 January 1937, p. 5; *Waikato Times*, 9 December 1880, p. 3.

³²⁹ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 17 May 1884, p. 2, 31 May 1884, p. 2.

³³⁰ See *Thames Advertiser*, 5 May 1883, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 16 June 1883, p. 2, 30 June 1883, p. 3, 25 August 1883, p. 3, 1 September 1883, p. 2, 24 November 1883, p. 3, 27 December 1884, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 23 February 1886, p. 2.

³³¹ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 February 1881, p. 3.

³³² District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 April 1883, p. 2.

³³³ Death Certificate of Jane Campbell, 17 March 1881, 1881/1078, BDM.

this'.³³⁴ Her will, made in 1872, had bequeathed to her 'dear husband' her leasehold house and all 'monies and premises' she was entitled to under her marriage settlement. When probate was granted, the value of her estate was estimated as being under £20 but in fact was nil.³³⁵

Some husbands registered their property under their wives' names for reasons of financial prudence in case of adversity. In 1898, the *Observer* noted that 'in Auckland about nine out of every twelve bankrupts make large assignments to their wives'.³³⁶ Earlier, in its 'First Reader', allegedly written for schoolboys, it explained this process:

Who is the man riding in the carriage? – He is a bankrupt.
 I thought bankrupts were men who had no money? – That is because you are young and innocent, my son. When you grow up you will know better.
 Will you tell me how it is this bankrupt has money? – It is very easily explained. Six months before this man went bung, he made over all his property to his wife. A man seldom values his wife so much as when he is going to fail in business.
 And so the bankrupt kept all his money? Most of it.
 And what did his creditors get? – Sixpence farthing in the pound, my son.³³⁷

Two years later, its article on 'The Model Bankrupt' included details of how a successful businessman protected his capital:

Like a prudent, honest, careful man, he now begins to make provision for those near and dear to him and to provide for his old age. He buys a nice suburban property; he builds a mansion; he insures his life for £50,000, payable in ten years' time, the insurer paying proportionately heavy premiums which he carefully does out of the borrowed capital. Like a faithful and loving lord, he settles all these good things on his dear spouse, "all for pure love and affection." ...
 Then comes bad times; the Model Bankrupt has to succumb, and informs his creditors with tears in his eyes, "I am a ruined man."
 "What about your property and the life policy?" roar the indignant creditors.
 "Ah, very sad," he replies, "but you see it's my wife's, and she refuses to part with it."
 He pays 1d in the £ and is a duly discharged bankrupt. He walks Queen-street with a light and airy step; he wears broad-cloth and fine linen; he makes his trips to Europe and drives his wife's trap at home....³³⁸

³³⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 5 May 1883, p. 3.

³³⁵ Probate of Jane Campbell, Probates, BBAE 1568/943; Testamentary Register 1876-1882, folio 115, BBCB 4208/1, ANZ-A.

³³⁶ *Observer*, 13 August 1898, p. 15.

³³⁷ 'Observer First Reader', Lesson III, *Observer*, 9 February 1889, p. 11.

³³⁸ 'Saunterer', 'The Model Bankrupt', *Observer*, 15 August 1891, p. 4.

This was an Auckland example, but similar practices were common in smaller towns as well. That this was a long tradition was illustrated by a Thames example from 1878, when a bankrupt, in applying for his discharge, referred to his house, which seemed to be his only asset:

The house he lived in at present was not his own, he having sold it in 1872. His brother bought it back, and it was now in his wife's name. He did not know how it came to be in his wife's name. – The opposing creditor made a statement to the effect that McCormick had spent large sums of money without paying his creditors, and had made over his home, thereby defrauding his creditors. – His Honor said he did not think there was any difference in this application from the usual run of bankruptcy cases and discharged the bankrupt.³³⁹

There were dangers in this method of escaping creditors. In 1902, the *Observer*, in referring to a woman who had run off with a younger man, along with her husband's property, held in her name, asked: 'When will men discontinue the folly of making over their property to their wives?'³⁴⁰ Nothing as dramatic as this happened in the Te Aroha district; and as residents were less wealthy as those lampooned by the *Observer* their financial difficulties involved less impressive amounts.

Some men also used other family members to evade both creditors and the provisions limiting the number of sections one person could rent. For an instance of the former, when Edwin Hadfield was examined over his bankruptcy, he admitted having 'assigned a section of land to his son early in the year; could not account for the deed being dated 24th June – seven days before he filed'.³⁴¹ Robert Mackie provided a blatant instance of such behaviour.³⁴²

Also blatant was Robert Harris, a storekeeper and, later, land agent.³⁴³ **Anna Mary Harris**, his wife, had had her own property, or at least held it in her name, before they settled in Te Aroha; in 1882 her Hamilton property was valued at £300.³⁴⁴ Harris had no freehold property at that time, having been forced to assign his estate over to his

³³⁹ District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 June 1878, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ *Observer*, 17 May 1902, p. 16.

³⁴¹ District Court, *Thames Star*, 6 August 1884, p. 2.

³⁴² See paper on Robert and Elizabeth Mackie.

³⁴³ See *Descriptive Handbook to the Waikato* (Hamilton, 1880), p. 30; *Te Aroha News*, 7 February 1885, p. 2, 12 March 1887, p. 3, 2 April 1887, p. 2, 10 March 1888, p. 2, 31 March 1888, p. 2, 16 June 1888, p. 2, 2 April 1890, p. 2, 23 July 1890, p. 2, 3 July 1909, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, p. H 22.

creditors in 1880 and to file as a bankrupt in late 1882.³⁴⁵ When they settled in Te Aroha early in the following year, they both acquired residence and business sites. In March 1883 Harris bought a residence site in Lipseytown, which was later transferred into her name.³⁴⁶ In June 1886 Anna bought another residence site there, selling it five months later to Harriet McLean, wife of William (discussed below), from whom she had purchased a business site on the previous day.³⁴⁷ They jointly mortgaged two allotments between 1887 and 1890.³⁴⁸ In 1888, two houses and the sections on which they stood were held in his name and two sections, one with a stable, were held in hers.³⁴⁹ After his store burnt down in that year, he explained that it and the attached four-roomed house were Anna's property: 'I did not buy it, my wife exchanged another property valued at £100 for it'.³⁵⁰ She subsequently called tenders to remove the destroyed building.³⁵¹ Whereas he thanked one insurance company 'for their early settlement', she thanked another for their promptness; the stock has been insured in his name and the buildings in hers.³⁵² In the following month, Anna arranged a bill of sale over her furniture and other chattels as security for a loan of £10.³⁵³

In August 1895 Harris applied for 12 unoccupied residence sites in Te Aroha 'for grazing purposes'.³⁵⁴ Two weeks later he reduced this number by half, but Anna sought another eight for the same purpose; the town board protested at one family having so many.³⁵⁵ They, along with another applicant, sought a

³⁴⁵ *Waikato Times*, 7 February 1880, p. 2, 3 June 1882, p. 3, 18 November 1882, p. 3, 21 November 1882, p. 3, 4 January 1883, p. 2, District Court, 10 February 1883, p. 3.

³⁴⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1900, folder 26, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

³⁴⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1900, folders 303, 421, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

³⁴⁸ Mortgages by Robert and A.M. Harris, 8 February 1887, Certified Instruments 1887, BBAV 11581/8a; 3 October 1888, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a; 29 March 1890, Certified Instruments, 1890, BBAV 11581/11a, ANZ-A.

³⁴⁹ Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book 1888, Section 15 Block II, Part Sections 2, 15 Block XI, Section 33 Lipsey's Block, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; Valuation Court, *Te Aroha News*, 18 May 1889, p. 2.

³⁵⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1888, p. 2.

³⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 14 April 1888, p. 7.

³⁵² *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1888, p. 2, advertisement, 14 April 1888, p. 7.

³⁵³ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 28 April 1888, p. 129.

³⁵⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1895, 41/1895, BBAV 11289/14a, ANZ-A.

³⁵⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1895, 46/1895, BBAV 11289/14a; Register of Applications 1883-1900, 47/1895, BBAV 11505/1a, ANZ-A.

section amounting to one acre each for grazing purposes. – The Warden pointed out that he could not possibly grant such a large area to one individual, he would be willing to grant any one section as a residence site, provided they carried out the conditions of such. Applications withdrawn.³⁵⁶

In 1899, they jointly attempted to buy 25 acres close to Te Aroha from Hutana Karapuha,³⁵⁷ who, Harris claimed, after receiving ‘more money than the land came to’ then refused to complete the conveyance and was sued for the money received.³⁵⁸ An earlier investigation had revealed that ‘Hutana got into debt to a Storekeeper and promised under the threat of legal proceedings to sell him his interests in the block, but when he got the partition he conveyed the land absolutely to his wife’.³⁵⁹ (Clearly he had learnt the ways of the wily Pakeha.) When appealing, unsuccessfully, for government assistance to obtain this land, Harris stressed that he had nine children to provide for.³⁶⁰

In 1900, when a man sought the forfeiture of one of Anna’s residence sites, which she had held since 1896 but had not occupied and had only partly fenced and was now offering for sale.

Mr Harris, on behalf of defendant, made a statement to the effect that this was a clear case of jumping, as the miner’s right was only taken out a few days before action was taken. The section was not taken up for speculative purposes; it was intended for a place of business for his daughter, who at that time was under-age, and so could not have the section in her own name.

Under cross-examination, he admitted that his daughter ‘already possessed a business and a residence site. The sections in question were under offer for sale because she wished to get some money’. He gave evidence, ‘on defendant’s behalf, that they

³⁵⁶ Warden’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 30 November 1895, p. 2.

³⁵⁷ See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books no. 28A, pp. 30, 38; no. 36, p. 128; no. 44, pp. 17-18; no. 46, p. 363; no. 47, p. 147; no. 49, pp.287-288; no. 52, p. 338; no. 53, p. 371; no. 65, p. 65; Aroha Block XII Section 30, Hamilton Office, Maori Affairs Department, BACS A102, 1905/2, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 27 May 1914, p. 2

³⁵⁸ Robert Harris to Native Minister, 29 April 1899; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Robert Harris, 16 June 1899, Aroha Block IX Section 29, Maori Land Blocks, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 1908/164, ANZ-W;

³⁵⁹ W.G. Mair to Chief Judge, Native Land Court, 16 March 1897, Aroha Block IX Section 30, Maori Land Blocks, H 983, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

³⁶⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 17/1897, Judgement Summonses heard 10 January 1898, 1 April 1898, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Waikato Argus*, 13 April 1897, p. 3, 13 May 1897, p. 3; Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1898, p. 2.

had been in continuous occupation, during which they had fenced and grassed it at a cost of £23. He stated that this was the first test case of the sort, and there were some 125 sections similarly affected. They had expected some money from a land transaction', a reference to the failed attempt to acquire Hutana's land; if they had acquired this land 'they would have built, but as this was not forthcoming, they were unable to do so'. He still hoped to build.

As they had a family, he thought it only right that they should make provision for them, and their intention had been to put up a place for their daughter, who would not then have to be paying rent to a stranger. He hoped the Warden would give him time, and they would put up a building as soon as their means would permit.

Plaintiff's counsel, after denying this was a test case, said 'it was a bare-faced attempt to hold a section for speculative purposes', Harris knowing 'perfectly well he was not complying with the Act'.

His Worship pointed out that anyone over 14 years of age, who held a miner's right, could take up a residence site, and that therefore defendant's daughter could have originally taken up the section. He could not allow defendant to hold a residence site, seeing that both she and her husband were already provided for in that respect, and, moreover, resided elsewhere. He would not grant another site to anyone who was already the holder of one and was against allowing a husband to hold one site while the wife held another, unless they were each prepared to reside on their own sections. He was not satisfied that the section in question was legally fenced, inasmuch as it was not sub-divided. He could not very well listen to the plea for time, otherwise such a case as this might be continued for years.

Forfeiture was granted, but Harris was given two weeks 'to remove his fencing material and some potatoes which he had in the ground'.³⁶¹ In the early twentieth century, his shop along with two houses were held in Anna's name.³⁶² In 1909, when they left Te Aroha for Auckland, she sold these.³⁶³

As another example of Harris using his family to gain control of property, when secretary of the Te Aroha Public Hall and Reading Room Company in the early 1890s most of its shares were held by himself, Anna, and eight of their children, all minors.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 8 February 1900, p. 2.

³⁶² Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Book 1906-1907, Section 15 Block XI, Section 2 Block XI, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

³⁶³ *Te Aroha News*, 12 June 1909, p. 2, 31 July 1909, p. 2.

³⁶⁴ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 41 no. 259, ANZ-A; for an example of his actions as secretary, see 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 2 April 1892, p. 17.

Purchasing property in the name of wives was both common and unremarkable. For instance, in 1886 a solicitor wrote to **Elizabeth Fraser**, wife of William, formerly the magistrate in Thames,³⁶⁵ about her husband's overdue promissory note, owed to a Thomas Hull. 'This pro: note was given we understand in part payment of property purchased from Mr Hull in your name and we are instructed to collect the amount at once'.³⁶⁶ Six years later, the same solicitor told Fraser he was 'not able to negotiate the amount you require on Mrs F's "Tararu Property" ';³⁶⁷ the property was held in her name, but he was treating it as his and seeking to raise money on it, no doubt with her approval.

Nathaniel Baskett, despite having 'been a farmer all my life' and having had 'the management of an estate in England',³⁶⁸ struggled to make a living for his family when farming at both Waiorongomai and Gordon.³⁶⁹ In 1883 he started draining and farming part of the high school endowment at Waiorongomai.³⁷⁰ Three years later he owed £150 in rent, and, although initially sympathetic, in February 1887 the high school board won its claim for rent and re-possession of the land.³⁷¹ When it sold the lease later in 1887, it described most of the land as 'of First Class Quality ... all Fenced and Drained, and has been well cultivated for a number of years'.³⁷² Almost immediately after this farm was sold, **Agnes Baskett**, his wife, unsuccessfully applied for other farm sections there.³⁷³ They continued to live at Waiorongomai, fencing their three village sections in 1888;³⁷⁴ presumably they did some very small-scale farming on this land.

Having failed to succeed at Waiorongomai, Baskett tried to farm at Gordon, upriver from Waiorongomai, at the same time as working mainly as a roading

³⁶⁵ See paper on Harry Kenrick.

³⁶⁶ James Russell to Elizabeth Fraser, 7 December 1886, Letterbook no. 33, p. 102, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³⁶⁷ Jackson and Russell to William Fraser, 6 January 1893, Letterbook no. 51, p. 68, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

³⁶⁸ Nathaniel and A.E. Baskett to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 4 June 1892, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁶⁹ See *Te Aroha News*. 1 September 1883, p. 2, 29 September 1883, p. 2, 22 August 1885, p. 7, 5 March 1887, p. 3, 22 November 1888, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 1 October 1883, p. 2, Thames High School Board, 6 June 1886, p. 2, Magistrate's Court, 26 February 1887, p. 3, 24 September 1887, p. 3.

³⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1883, p. 2, 29 September 1883, p. 2.

³⁷¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 13 March 1886, p. 3, Thames High School Board, 6 June 1886, p. 2, Magistrate's Court, 26 January 1887, p. 2,

³⁷² Advertisement, *Thames Advertiser*, 24 September 1887, p. 3.

³⁷³ *Te Aroha News*, 8 October 1887, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1888, p. 2.

contractor.³⁷⁵ At Gordon, Agnes, not her husband, was listed as a member of the settlement's association, with 102 acres.³⁷⁶ Two years after obtaining this land, she was required to show cause why it should not be forfeited, as she had failed to be 'continuously in residential occupation'.³⁷⁷ Baskett replied, 'Pro Agnes E. Baskett', outlining all the work done by himself and his eldest son on their block of land; as most of his seven children required schooling, he could not settle at Gordon.³⁷⁸ One year later, Agnes was summonsed to force her to pay £20 10a, rent owing. She responded that she could pay half now and as she was 'expecting money from England by the July English Mail' she would send the remainder upon its arrival.³⁷⁹ Shortly afterwards, she offered to pay £4 a month.³⁸⁰ After judgement was given against her for outstanding rent, she made no further offers of payment.³⁸¹ In January 1891, she explained that she had not received the expected money from England and asked whether she could pay £3 a month.³⁸² As this offer was not accepted, the land was forfeited.³⁸³

They continued to rent land at Waiorongomai, most of it held in Agnes' name. In 1889 they both held two sections: hers were valued at £40 and his at £10.³⁸⁴ Their lack of finance meant they continued to struggle to pay the rent. In 1889 Agnes was sued for outstanding rent amounting to £48.³⁸⁵ In 1892, she was ordered to pay arrears of rent on

³⁷⁵ Memorandum on arrears and legal proceedings, n.d., Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁷⁶ List of Members of Gordon Special Settlement Association, 16 March 1887, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102a, ANZ-A.

³⁷⁷ A.P. Etheridge (Chief Clerk, Crown Lands Board) to A.E. Baskett, 4 March 1889, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102a, ANZ-A.

³⁷⁸ Nathaniel Baskett 'Pro Agnes E. Baskett' to Crown Lands Board, 19 March 1889, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102a, ANZ-A.

³⁷⁹ A.E. Baskett to Thomas Humphries, 22 February 1890, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁰ A.E. Baskett to Thomas Humphries, 4 March 1890, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁸¹ Thomas Humphries to Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey Department, 1 July 1890, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁸² A.E. Baskett to Thomas Humphries, 10 January 1891, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁸³ Memorandum on arrears and legal proceedings, n.d., Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108/102b, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁴ Assessment Court, *Te Aroha News*, 18 May 1889, p. 2.

³⁸⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 67/1889, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

two Waiorongomai residence sites, which were forfeited.³⁸⁶ In 1898 she was ordered to pay £2, arrears of rents, on two residence sites.³⁸⁷ Although they moved to Te Aroha in 1902,³⁸⁸ she continued to rent some sections at Waiorongomai. In 1903 she surrendered a residence site there, but two years later held two sections.³⁸⁹

When one of their sons was killed in an accident at Karangahake in 1894, they received £300 from his estate,³⁹⁰ the worst possible way to acquire money. As Baskett did not leave a will when he died, aged 80, in 1919,³⁹¹ it is not known how much he left to his family, but when his widow died nine years later her estate was estimated to be worth less than £500.³⁹²

Margaret Ann Clarke was married to James, a storekeeper at Te Aroha during the 1880s.³⁹³ His first major financial setback was in 1879, when he ‘was a great loser’ because of a fire in an adjoining shop in Thames.

His large stock of goods, crockery, glassware, provisions, etc, was totally uninsured, and the way in which the various lines were innocently blended in the street, in the frantic effort to save something in case the fire extended, was a caution. To save the pieces, crockery and glassware were thrown together in admired disorder.³⁹⁴

In 1884, after he filed as a bankrupt, his creditors had ‘a lengthy and animated discussion, in the course of which the bankrupt’s conduct was condemned in strong terms’.³⁹⁵ A motion was passed ‘That this meeting deprecate in the strongest terms the conduct of the bankrupt in not keeping a perfect set of books, and beg to call the

³⁸⁶ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, *Plaint Book 1880-1898*, 2/1892, 3/1892, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, *Plaint Book 1880-1898*, 8/1898, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 March 1902, p. 33.

³⁸⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, *Surrender of Section 110B Block V Waiorongomai*, 29 September 1903, *Plaints 1903*, BBAV 11572/3a, ANZ-A; Piako County Council, *Rate Book 1905-1906*, Te Aroha Riding, Block V Lot 110B, Block VI Lot 133, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

³⁹⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 December 1894, p. 15; ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 29 December 1894, p. 22; *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette of New Zealand*, 23 May 1895, p. 279.

³⁹¹ Death Certificate of Nathaniel Baskett, 4 November 1919, 1919/7500, BDM.

³⁹² Probate of Agnes Elizabeth Baskett, *Probates*, BBAE 1570, 597/27, ANZ-A.

³⁹³ See *Thames Advertiser*, 22 September 1876, p. 3, Police Court, 15 November 1878, p. 3, 22 March 1879, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 31 July 1882, p. 3, 1 August 1882, p. 3, 7 August 1882, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 29 November 1884, p. 2, 17 January 1885, p. 7; *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 June 1890, p. 5, Te Aroha Correspondent, 26 October 1895, p. 23.

³⁹⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 22 March 1879, p. 3.

³⁹⁵ *Thames Star*, 26 November 1884, p. 2, 13 December 1884, p. 2.

attention of the Court to the fact that upon two previous occasions Mr Clarke has compounded with his creditors'. The estimated value of his assets meant a 'deficiency' of £123 18s 5d.³⁹⁶ In the following year he was accused of fraudulent bankruptcy because he had hidden some assets. Margaret Ann gave evidence that her husband had not known she had taken these goods from the store for the use of her children.³⁹⁷ The charge of fraudulent bankruptcy was 'dismissed on technical grounds, His Honor holding that the debtor should have been formally asked by the Assignee if he had disclosed the whole of his estate'.³⁹⁸ All his property was sold for the benefit of his creditors, who received 1s in the £.³⁹⁹

In 1888, his son was convicted of fathering an illegitimate child and required to pay maintenance.⁴⁰⁰ Failure to pay this resulted in his being sentenced to two terms of imprisonment.⁴⁰¹ Margaret Ann, in attempting to avert the second imprisonment, told the magistrate that 'we have tried every possible means to raise the money to get the boy released. I have tried the Building Society and also the Bank to mortgage my property but failed to do so'.⁴⁰² Clarke claimed to be doing all he could to keep his son out of gaol by paying what he could, but the aggrieved grandfather of the child claimed he had more assets than he would admit.⁴⁰³ One year later, Clarke was sued for £36 12s which he had 'personally guaranteed to pay, on behalf of his son',⁴⁰⁴ whom he had saved from being returned to prison through this guarantee. Required to meet the debt to the mother of his 'natural' grandchild, he filed as bankrupt, stating that he had no assets at all.⁴⁰⁵ He gave his occupation as that of a labourer.⁴⁰⁶ Five years later, in 1895, he became a dairy farmer at Waiorongomai.⁴⁰⁷ No doubt to protect himself from his

³⁹⁶ *Thames Star*, 13 December 1884, p. 2.

³⁹⁷ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 February 1885, p. 3.

³⁹⁸ Supreme Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 28 March 1885, p. 3; Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 April 1885, p. 14.

³⁹⁹ *Waikato Times*, 13 December 1884, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 17 January 1885, p. 7, 7 February 1885, p. 2, 14 February 1885, p. 2, 21 March 1885, p. 2, 1 August 1885, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ See paper on Robert and Elizabeth Mackie.

⁴⁰¹ *Te Aroha News*, 13 October 1888, p. 2, 10 April 1889, p. 2, 13 April 1889, p. 2, Magistrate's Court, 17 April 1889, p. 2.

⁴⁰² Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 20 April 1889, p. 2.

⁴⁰³ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1889, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁴ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 14 May 1890, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 4 June 1890, p. 2, 14 June 1890, p. 2; *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 7 June 1890, p. 173.

⁴⁰⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 June 1890, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 October 1895, p. 23.

creditors, the farm, its livestock, and all other property was held in his wife's name.⁴⁰⁸ She had always had some property, in 1877 having the same number of shares in a Thames mining company as her husband.⁴⁰⁹ In 1888, she owned their house in Te Aroha and purchased residence sites there in each of the following two years.⁴¹⁰ Predeceasing her husband by six years in 1918, aged 74, she left an estate of £378 0s 9d.⁴¹¹ Her freehold Auckland house was left to her unmarried daughter as a home for herself and her father.⁴¹²

Kesiah Lily Laybourne was married to a grocer, Robert Elliott Laybourne, whose house, no doubt for good reasons, was held in his wife's name in 1884.⁴¹³ Three years later, two months before selling his store, he made an 'absolute assignment' of his furniture and effects to her.⁴¹⁴ Although he had done a good trade earlier,⁴¹⁵ his financial position had become less secure, for two months after assigning this property a trustee required all those with claims on his estate to lodge them promptly.⁴¹⁶ Shortly afterwards, he was ordered to sell some of his possessions if a debt was not paid.⁴¹⁷

Gossip columns occasionally referred to women in financial difficulties. In 1883, for instance, the Waiorongomai *Observer* Man asked: why 'the knight of the cleaver' (meaning a butcher) attempted 'to cheat the girl out of her money?' He also asked: 'How did those trustees succeed in bullying the woman into paying the money on that cheque?'⁴¹⁸

⁴⁰⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 21 September 1895, p. 2, 16 October 1895, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 26 November 1877, p. 2.

⁴¹⁰ Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book 1888, Block 36 Section 2, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1900, folios 220, 241, BBAV 11501/1a, ANZ-A.

⁴¹¹ Death Certificates of Margaret Ann Clarke, 17 June 1918, 1918/1174; James Clarke, 19 June 1924, 1924/2174, BDM; Testamentary Register 1917-1918, folio 526, BBCB 4208/11, ANZ-A.

⁴¹² Probate of Margaret Ann Clarke, Probates, BBAE 1569/1222, ANZ-A.

⁴¹³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1885-1892, folio 1, BBAV 11505/7c, ANZ-A.

⁴¹⁴ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette*, 16 April 1887, p. 114.

⁴¹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 16 August 1884, p. 2, 30 August 1884, p. 2, 13 September 1884, p. 2, 13 June 1885, p. 2, 8 May 1886, p. 2, 29 May 1886, p. 7, 12 June 1886, p. 2, 13 June 1886, p. 2, 2 April 1887, p. 2, 16 June 1887, p. 2.

⁴¹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

⁴¹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 9 July 1887, p. 3.

⁴¹⁸ 'Waiorongomai', *Observer*, 2 June 1883, p. 170.

The experiences of **Mary Roberts**, wife of Thomas, who mined at Waiorongomai for a short time in the 1880s,⁴¹⁹ provide an example of how poverty affected families. In 1892, the Waikato Hospital and Charitable Aid Board considered their case:

Mrs Roberts, Waiorongomai, applied for relief. Her husband has been away from her for six years, and although sending a little money, but not enough to keep her, and when he sent her the last £1 nine weeks ago, he said he was leaving his then address, and he did not say where he was going. He had gone to look for work, and had sent money from time to time, but not enough for her three children and herself.⁴²⁰

Temporary relief was granted, 5s a week, ‘in stores’;⁴²¹ no doubt there was a fear that if given cash, she might spend it on drink, although there was no indication that she drank. On the board’s request, Roberts was traced to Reefton, where he was mining, ‘but he had not earned 12s a week for some time past, things there being in a deplorable state’.⁴²² The following month, Mary reported that ‘she had received some money from her husband with the promise of more in the future, and she would not require any further relief’. She thanked the board for its ‘kind assistance’,⁴²³ and never had to trouble it again. Although Roberts returned to his family, in his last years of life he cannot have earned much income, for when he died at Waiorongomai in 1902 aged 56 he had suffered for the previous two years from heart disease.⁴²⁴

If a husband willfully failed to provide for his wife, it was grounds for separation. In 1906, a woman sought separation ‘on grounds of willful neglect to provide complainant with reasonable maintenance. Ordered that Complainant be no longer bound to cohabit with the defendant her husband. Costs of the order 7/- to be paid by defendant’.⁴²⁵

ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY LIFE

⁴¹⁹ For his only claim, of which he was the sole owner, see Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1884-1885, no. 35, BBAV 11557/2c; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 134, BBAV 11568/1a, ANZ-A.

⁴²⁰ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 3 August 1893, p. 2.

⁴²¹ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 7 September 1893, p. 2.

⁴²² Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 5 October 1893, p. 2.

⁴²³ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 2 November 1893, p. 2.

⁴²⁴ Death Certificate of Thomas Roberts, 12 July 1902, 1902/4555, BDM.

⁴²⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 4/1906, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

Many women were notable for their involvement in church activities, as illustrated in the paper on religion and also, like their charitable acts, recorded in the examples of notable men and their wives given in this and other papers. Further examples of women active outside the home are given here.

Just as her husband, publican Ralph Lake Somers, was a prominent figure in Te Aroha affairs in the early twentieth century,⁴²⁶ **Catherine Louisa Somers** was a leading figure in its social life. Upon her death in 1936, she was recalled as being ‘the popular hostess of the Hot Springs Hotel’ and ‘one of the social leaders of the district’.⁴²⁷ Her obituary provided considerable detail of her role:

Coming to Te Aroha some thirty-three years ago, Mr and Mrs Somers took over the license of the Hot Springs Hotel, and it was in the active sphere of hostess that Mrs Somers claimed a wide circle of friends and was known far and near for her kindness and generosity. During the period 1906-14 when her husband became Mayor of Te Aroha Mrs Somers filled the position of Mayoress with every credit to herself and to the town.... To Mrs Somers fell to a great extent the responsibility of catering for the entertainment of many prominent visitors.... Her ably conducted garden parties, which were usually held in the domain amidst ideal surroundings, will be remembered by a host of the town’s earlier residents, who recall with infinite pleasure the success of such functions and the capable and gracious manner in which the Mayoress handled them.

In the sporting sphere, too, Mrs Somers was a well-known and highly respected figure, and in this way afforded her husband ... every assistance and co-operation.

During the war period she was especially active in the promotion of patriotic movements, and ex-diggers will recall the royal welcome which awaited them on their return from active service, for which Mrs Somers was personally instrumental.

She was also an active member of the Catholic Church and showed great interest in all things connected with it. A year or two following her retirement from the Hot Springs Hotel, Mrs Somers suffered a severe illness, which made her an invalid for the remainder of her life. In spite of this heavy handicap, she continued to take a bright, intelligent interest in local affairs, and endeared herself to all who knew and visited her. Ever patient and cheerful in her suffering and still exhibiting her life-long characteristic a sympathetic interest in others, she was loved by those who knew her intimately and many will mourn her passing.⁴²⁸

Some women’s desire to develop their healing skills led to a meeting held in February 1898 to form a class to learn first aid.⁴²⁹ The wives of two Anglican

⁴²⁶ See section on publicans in paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

⁴²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 20 July 1936, p. 1.

⁴²⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 22 July 1936, p. 1.

⁴²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 February 1898, p. 2.

clergymen were treasurer and secretary.⁴³⁰ Within a month, over 20 ‘of our more intelligent ladies’ had enrolled, eight passing the St John’s Ambulance examination three months later.⁴³¹ During the influenza epidemic of 1918, **Ellen Elizabeth Sherlock**, wife of George, was a ‘devoted nurse’ who ‘did not spare herself’.⁴³²

In 1884, the second topic to be debated by the Waiorongomai Debating Society asked: ‘Is the mental capacity of the sexes equal?’⁴³³ The arguments for and against were not reported, nor was the outcome, but, although involvement in the work of the various churches was seen as highly commendable, any leading role taken by women even in religious matters was cause for comment. ‘A novel feature’ of the meeting held to mark the opening of the Wesleyan church in 1881 ‘was an address by a lady, Mrs Harvey’, the wife of a doctor and the first teacher at Te Aroha.⁴³⁴ ‘Mrs Harvey is a very fluent and graceful speaker, and greatly interested the audience by relating her experiences in connection with church work at the Great Queen-street Methodist Church, London’.⁴³⁵

Politics, however, was another matter, as illustrated by one topic at a literary society debate in 1910: ‘That women would lose the tribute of chivalry, if engaged in public life’.⁴³⁶ Despite discouragement for women being associated with politics, some were noted for being both interested and involved. When James Mills stood for mayor in 1898,⁴³⁷ ‘besides the sterner sex several ladies were present’ at his election address.⁴³⁸ ‘A Female Elector’, writing about some of the ‘tickets’ being run, claimed some people were standing ‘with the avowed intention of being in opposition to the mayor’.⁴³⁹ When Mills’ daughter Alice died, her obituary recalled that, although she ‘for the most part led a retiring life in her family circle, she was a great reader and took a keen interest in politics – the latter being in line with the main interests of her well-known father’.⁴⁴⁰ Alice’s preference would have been for the political Left, which other women supported also. **Margaret Lawless**, wife of Thomas,⁴⁴¹ was one of those who

⁴³⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 5 February 1898, p. 2.

⁴³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 March 1898, p. 2, 18 June 1898, p. 2.

⁴³² *Te Aroha News*, 20 July 1951, p. 3.

⁴³³ *Te Aroha News*, 24 May 1884, p. 7.

⁴³⁴ See paper on education in the Te Aroha district in the nineteenth century.

⁴³⁵ *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 11 August 1881, p. 2.

⁴³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1910, p. 2.

⁴³⁷ See paper on his life.

⁴³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 5 July 1898, p. 2.

⁴³⁹ Letter from ‘A Female Voter’, *Te Aroha News*, 9 July 1898, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 20 September 1943, p. 3.

⁴⁴¹ See paper on his life.

nominated an Independent Liberal candidate for Ohinemuri in 1899,⁴⁴² and nine years later **Christina Greening**, wife of Walter, a mine manager,⁴⁴³ was one of the eight nominees of the Socialist candidate standing for this seat.⁴⁴⁴

Women were as patriotic as men during the Boer War. One woman complained that the members of a committee appointed to raise money for the Transvaal War Fund had not promised to provide any money themselves. 'A promenade concert was proposed, but in a matter of this sort, the blood of the best of the land is worthy of something different from that. If the eight gentlemen who were elected as the Committee will each give £5, I will give £10'.⁴⁴⁵ During the First World War, **Minnie Lipsey**, wife of Augustus,⁴⁴⁶ was secretary of both the Women's Patriotic League and its entertainment committee.⁴⁴⁷ Her obituary stressed her involvement in the community:

In her younger days Mrs Lipsey was a keen golfer and won many medals and trophies in competitions at Te Aroha. She was a particularly fine church worker, being always kind and generous and ever ready to assist in any way possible in the various church organisations. She was a member of the Anglican Church Guild and also sang in the Anglican choir. One of the first choral societies in Te Aroha was started by Mrs Lipsey, and for a time she was associated with Miss [Ellen Louisa] Featon in a dancing school. During the First World War she served on the Entertainment Committee and was one of the foundation members of the Patriotic Committee. Later she was a member of the Benevolent Society, now defunct, and a foundation member of the Ambulance Brigade and gave valuable assistance on the Plunket Society.⁴⁴⁸

Participation in public issues was rarely noted, and was usually in connection with a matter of particular importance to women, such as, in 1884, the drink question:

The Blue Ribbon people here are still vigorously carrying out their special mission, and the ladies have now commenced active out of doors operations. Parties of them are canvassing the district for signatures to a petition to the Legislature praying that females may be allowed to vote in the regulation of the liquor trade. The document has been largely signed,

⁴⁴² *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 29 November 1899, p. 2.

⁴⁴³ See paper on Hardy's Mines.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 9 November 1908, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Letter from 'a lady correspondent', *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1900, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁶ See paper on Akuhata Lipsey.

⁴⁴⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 25 August 1916, p. 2, 22 August 1917, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 3 August 1948, p. 4.

and if the crusade is being carried on everywhere else as resolutely as it is here, there is every probability that their object will be gained.⁴⁴⁹

Petitions from all round New Zealand were presented later that year asking for a Local Option Extension Act to enable 'women of mature age' to vote on the granting of liquor licenses. The public petitions committee of parliament did not 'consider it necessary to offer any opinion'.⁴⁵⁰ Unfortunately the names of those who signed the Te Aroha petition have not survived.⁴⁵¹

Sometimes enjoying activities outside the home was combined with working for the churches, as illustrated in 1903: 'During the winter season monthly socials have been organized by the Te Aroha Methodist Church Ladies' Guild, and have been very successful. The usual programme has been music, parlour games, and refreshments'.⁴⁵² Unmarried women led the local branch of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour.⁴⁵³ When money was being raised to erect the Anglican church in 1886, 'a committee of ladies' worked 'for several months' to organize a bazaar.⁴⁵⁴

PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

In February 1882, **Sarah Wood**, her husband John, her brother-in-law, John Bernard Kilian,⁴⁵⁵ 'and a lady friend from Auckland' rode up the new upper track to inspect the Waiorongomai mines. At the New Find, some rich specimens had just been found, 'which the ladies did not forget to christen with brandy'. They were noted as being 'the first ladies that have been courageous enough to face the dangerous task'.⁴⁵⁶ Quite apart from the dangers of the steep track, if they had left the track there was a danger of becoming bushed. In May 1900, several 'lady visitors' scaled the mountain, left the track, became lost, and spent a night in the bush when 'only lightly clad' before being found.⁴⁵⁷ The weather was also a problem, as illustrated in 1894: 'Some of

⁴⁴⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 13 May 1884, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁰ Public Petitions Committee, *AJHR*, 1884, I-1, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵¹ Legislative Department, LE 1, 1884/7, ANZ-W.

⁴⁵² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 September 1903, p. 34.

⁴⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 13 July 1895, p. 2, 31 August 1895, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 13 November 1886, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁵ See paper on his family.

⁴⁵⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 February 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 30 May 1900, p. 2.

the fair sex of Te Aroha started for the mountain last week, but failed to reach the summit, as they were washed down'.⁴⁵⁸

Women were praised for their gracefulness in physical activities. In 1882, 'Mrs M.' was 'considered the most graceful horsewoman in the Waiorongomai district'.⁴⁵⁹ In 1889, a Waiorongomai correspondent reported on the local rink, or roller-skating, club: 'The graceful skating of many of the ladies was also much admired by those present; one especially whose name need not be mentioned, but who is a recent arrival here, was particularly pleasing in her sylph-like movements along the floor'.⁴⁶⁰

Women participated, usually in a minor way, in sports events. For example, when the golf club was established in 1897 there was 'a prospect of several ladies joining'.⁴⁶¹ In 1890, 'a novelty in boat racing' occurred 'when some Te Aroha young ladies pulled a mile race in two-oared boats, and showed themselves to be quite capable of handling the oars gracefully and well'.⁴⁶² Women always had a supporting role on sporting occasions. For example, in 1900, when the Te Aroha cricketers played a Waihou team, 'at the close of the game the usual cheers were called for, special mention being made of the agreeable manner in which they were looked after by the ladies'.⁴⁶³ Nine years later, when a cricket match was held at Waiorongomai against a Morrinsville team, 'The ladies, in their usual good style, served out afternoon tea'.⁴⁶⁴ Later that year, at a match against Matamata, 'the ladies provided a sumptuous afternoon tea which was much appreciated'.⁴⁶⁵

Socials were highlights of women's lives, especially those able to afford fancy dresses. According to the historian of one Australian goldfield, 'the vast majority of social activities were probably held at the instigation of the women and the success of the functions was almost totally dependent upon their exertions',⁴⁶⁶ a view confirmed by women's roles in the Te Aroha district. Although a male doctor acted as the secretary of a series of winter socials held in 1898, women were probably on the management committee. 'A sumptuous repast was provided by the ladies' for the first

⁴⁵⁸ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 9 June 1894, p. 17.

⁴⁵⁹ *Observer*, 23 December 1882, p. 230.

⁴⁶⁰ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 29 June 1889, p. 2.

⁴⁶¹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 9 June 1897, p. 2.

⁴⁶² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 October 1890, p. 23.

⁴⁶³ *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1900, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁴ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 11 March 1909, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 14 December 1909, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁶ Barry McGowan, *Lost Mines: Historic Mining Sites in the Monaro-Southern Tablelands Districts of New South Wales* (Canberra, 1994), p. 3.

social.⁴⁶⁷ A month later, ‘a most enjoyable dance, given by the ladies’, was held at Waihou:

Despite the threatening appearance of the weather, it was numerously attended, and dancing was kept up till an early hour the next morning. The ballroom was prettily decorated, and the floor was in excellent condition, contributing much to the success of the evening. A sumptuous repast was indulged in. Much praise is due to the ladies for the manner in which they carried out the preparations, no end of trouble being spared.

The secretary and seven of the nine musicians were all women.⁴⁶⁸ In 1902, when a series of winter socials were held in the Te Aroha public hall, a correspondent facetiously recorded that, ‘as the first had been managed by a committee of ladies, the second was entrusted by way of division of labour, to the control of mere men, who, allowance being made for their natural limitations, did as well as could be expected’.⁴⁶⁹

COMPETITION FOR POPULARITY

At dances, it was common practice to name a belle of the ball.⁴⁷⁰ After a bachelors’ ball held at Te Aroha in 1884, the *Te Aroha News* was diplomatic: ‘Who was the belle of the ball was it would be invidious to say when all were so charming’.⁴⁷¹ Three years later, when reporting a Waiorongomai fancy dress ball, it had ‘no intention of entering an opinion as to who was the belle of the ball, but will leave the ladies to decide that (probably much-vexed question) for themselves’.⁴⁷²

In 1894, both a baby show and a beauty show were held on the same day. The *Observer* commented that there were ‘so many nice-looking girls in Te Aroha, and they all wanted the prize’ for ‘the prettiest and most tastefully dressed young lady under twenty-one’.⁴⁷³ These contests, held during a promenade concert, created ‘great amusement’, especially the one for ‘the prettiest and most tastefully dressed young lady’:

The competition for the prettiest Te Aroha belle excited the keenest emulation among the fair sex, and as local feeling on the matter ran high,

⁴⁶⁷ *New Zealand Graphic*, 23 July 1898, p. 119.

⁴⁶⁸ *New Zealand Graphic*, 13 August 1898, p. 215.

⁴⁶⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 July 1902, p. 32.

⁴⁷⁰ For example, *Te Aroha News*, 10 October 1885, p. 7.

⁴⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1884, p. 2.

⁴⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 28 May 1887, p. 2.

⁴⁷³ *Observer*, 14 April 1894, p. 7.

the judges had an exceedingly difficult task. When so many were so fair, it was indeed difficult to say who was fairest. The public, however, felt every confidence in the competency of the judges, assured that not even the thousand and one sweet, insinuating smiles showered on them could shake their fairness and impartiality.

The two joint winners ‘blushingly received their prizes’.⁴⁷⁴ Two weeks later, the show was still ‘the talk of the town’.⁴⁷⁵

As women were very fashion conscious, dress sense as well as beauty had been assessed, and newspapers published full details of the dresses worn at dances and entertainments.⁴⁷⁶ Gossip columns also noted particularly fetching attire. In 1882, for instance, ‘Miss C. looked well in a dark-green riding-habit at the Te Aroha Races’.⁴⁷⁷ The wealthier paraded their jewellery.⁴⁷⁸ Later, one new equestrian fashion was seen as shocking: ‘The proposed hurdle race at Te Aroha for horses ridden by lady jockeys in bloomers – and astride – may be good for the gates but is a doubtful way of booming the village’, the *Observer* fulminated in 1900.⁴⁷⁹

In 1908 a ‘lady dancer’ wrote to the *Te Aroha News* hoping that ‘the young men who contemplate visiting the numerous dances, balls, and socials to be held in Te Aroha during the next month will speculate in a pair of white gloves, as young ladies strongly object to their white dresses bearing any finger prints’.⁴⁸⁰ In a reversal of this problem, earlier the *Observer* Man. had asked: ‘Who was the young lady at a certain dance that spoilt all the young men’s gloves with her pretty bodice?’⁴⁸¹ ‘“Cleanliness is next to godliness,” and “a stitch in time saves nine,” are maxims a certain young lady should take to heart’, according to the O.M. ‘A button off the back of a dress, and some very dirty linen showing through, look anything but nice in church’. As for Bella, she ‘should choose a more appropriate time to perform her ablutions’.⁴⁸²

False teeth seem to have been the subject of two snippets: ‘Miss E. looked very handsome at the fancy dress ball. The ivory did shine’.⁴⁸³ ‘I hear Mr R. is coming up

⁴⁷⁴ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 14 April 1894, p. 21.

⁴⁷⁵ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 28 April 1894, p. 17.

⁴⁷⁶ For example, *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2, 10 October 1885, p. 7, 29 May 1886, pp. 2, 7, 21 August 1886, p. 3; *New Zealand Graphic*, 23 July 1898, p. 119, 13 August 1898, p. 215.

⁴⁷⁷ *Observer*, 16 December 1882, p. 214.

⁴⁷⁸ For example, *Te Aroha News*, 29 May 1886, pp. 2, 7.

⁴⁷⁹ *Observer*, 15 December 1900, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ Letter from ‘A Lady Dancer’, *Te Aroha News*, 8 September 1908, p. 2.

⁴⁸¹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 24 March 1894, p. 19.

⁴⁸² ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 29 September 1883, p. 8.

⁴⁸³ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 30 July 1892, p. 19.

from Auckland soon to see M.E. Won't the ivory shine then?'⁴⁸⁴ As another example of smart fashion, 'A young grass widow not a hundred miles from here has retained the services of a smart dashing page boy, who accompanies her everywhere like Mary's lamb of old'.⁴⁸⁵

An example of adding to one's beauty was mentioned in 1896. 'A pretty barmaid at Te Aroha, celebrated for her beautiful blond hair, lost her tresses in the late fire. She had no time to save them'.⁴⁸⁶ Hair prompted 'Fashion', of Waiorongomai, to seek 'a cure for taking hair off the face'. The newspaper warned that, although 'various preparations' were available, their use was 'not satisfactory, as though they destroy the hair for the time being, the roots live, and they frequently grow again more vigorously than ever'. Even if pulled out individually 'they not infrequently grow again. Consulting a chemist or a medical man would perhaps be the safest course for you to follow'.⁴⁸⁷

SEEKING SPOUSES

The local *Observer* Man, commonly known as the O.M., reported, in 1893, that 'If O.M. stood for Old Maids, there would be any amount in Te Aroha'.⁴⁸⁸ Clearly many, if not all, with that status sought to change it. One (unmarried) woman 'fairly brought down the house' at a Band of Hope meeting at Waiorongomai, 'her recitation relating to a sale of bachelors having been held, when the old maids present carried their purchases shoulder-high'.⁴⁸⁹ Less dramatically, at one ball 'the young ladies in the corner by the stage seemed to carry out flirtation to the letter, which seemed to please their admirers immensely, many of them being greatly captivated'. The O.M. listed the various courting couples he saw sitting in the corners of the hall.⁴⁹⁰ More desperately, 'M. says she will die an old maid, because she has been jilted so often, if she can't catch M'.⁴⁹¹ They were often caught, willingly. In 1884, a correspondent wrote that 'within the last week no fewer than five courageous bachelors have swelled the ranks of the Benedicts, and as many blushing damsels have thereby been made happy'.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁴ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 17 September 1892, p. 18.

⁴⁸⁵ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 28 April 1894, p. 17.

⁴⁸⁶ *Observer*, 1 February 1896, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁷ Letter from 'Fashion', and editor's reply, *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 August 1895, p. 15.

⁴⁸⁸ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 14 January 1893, p. 15.

⁴⁸⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 November 1884, p. 18.

⁴⁹⁰ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 9 June 1894, p. 17.

⁴⁹¹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 6 May 1893, p. 17.

⁴⁹² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 26 April 1884, p. 2.

Sometimes the latter required parental assistance, as when an anonymous Te Aroha West farmer placed an advertisement in the press (with his daughters' approval?):

WANTED, - A steady young man to join in matrimony with one of my daughters, by which he will receive a wedding present of 40 acres of land and 6 good milking cows as a start in life.⁴⁹³

Another advertisement, from 1883: 'Wanted, a Healthy Wife, under Twenty-five. Send photograph. Address, "Partner," Box 19, Aroha'.⁴⁹⁴ Perhaps another advertisement was meant as a joke; certainly, the *Te Aroha News* had its doubts:

A gentleman in quest of a female partner requests us to insert the following adv't, which from minuteness and detailed particulars could not well be eclipsed. He commences his grievance in the usual orthodox manner with the eye-catching inscription "Wanted a wife" and proceeds as follows:- "A gentleman residing at ---- but at present on a visit to Te Aroha, is desirous of providing himself with the above domestic appurtenance. As regards age he is of the middle category and as to his appearance – well if not prepossessing he is not altogether unattractive. As to means, after the lapse of the present month he will be in receipt of at least £1200 a year. As to home and domestic surroundings these are of a nature conducive of the utmost earthly felicity. Regarding the object of this want the lady applicant to ensure consideration must be of middle age, not flippant but dignified in her deportment, of temperate habits, of irreproachable virtue, appearance presentable, stature passable, and tongue controllable. Moreover, she must have an inclination for music, vocal and instrumental, a knowledge of culinary science and a handy manipulator of the needle. This want is *bona fide* and applications for the post of Mrs --- will receive earnest consideration. Applications with photos and particulars enclosed to be addressed to --- Te Aroha." As we have our misgivings as to the advertiser's sincerity or we may say his *bona fide* we refrain from publishing names, we only publish the foregoing in order to give the ladies a chance, leaving to themselves the task of discovering the wanter and satisfying if possible his many scruples.⁴⁹⁵

The qualities of an ideal wife were voted on during the 1937 Queen Carnival, when both men and women placed a list of virtues in 'their relative order of value':

Considering that something like two thousand votes were handled, the general consensus of opinion becomes something more than a mere competition and may even be taken as an indication of the average person's sense of values in this connection or a basis of judging the psychology of a community in its attitude towards wifely accomplishments.

⁴⁹³ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 30 August 1890, p. 17.

⁴⁹⁴ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 30 June 1883, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 16 June 1883, p. 2.

The final vote resulted in the following votes being cast for respective attributes for the Ideal Wife:

1. Faithful - 453
2. Affectionate - 428
3. Cheerful - 306
4. Cleanly - 299
5. Motherly - 271
6. Domesticated - 208
7. Honest - 162
8. Homely - 123
9. Thrifty - 107
10. Good-looking - 86
11. Practical - 65
12. Rich - 62
13. Ambitious - 56
14. Entertaining - 56
15. Industrious - 53
16. Religious - 34
17. Placid - 31
18. Clever - 21
19. Musical - 18
20. Athletic - 9⁴⁹⁶

This was a pre-selected list; and if anyone devised a list of the desirable virtues of an Ideal Husband, it was not published. The attributes of one such paragon were perhaps being joked about at a meeting of the Te Aroha Mutual Improvement Society held in 1891. One member was asked ‘to give his idea of what constitutes a model husband and did so very concisely by saying that he was one who stayed at home in the evening, smoked his pipe, and got up in the morning to light the fire for his wife’.⁴⁹⁷

Early in the twentieth century, modesty was a rare virtue amongst newlyweds, according to the *Observer*:

In the days of our youth, it was the aim of newly married couples to hie them bashfully to some secluded locality, direction unknown even to their friends, there to blush away the first few embarrassing days of the honeymoon. To-day, it is the usual thing to ask the newspapers not only to advertise the place of retreat, but to describe the bride’s costume, lest she should fail to be identified. And a Whangarei couple, who have patronised the side of Mount Te Aroha, have improved even upon this, by placading at one of their spooning grottos the fact and purpose of their visit, with interesting particulars of the picnic breakfast they had there. Times have indeed changed.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 15 September 1937, p. 5.

⁴⁹⁷ *Thames Star*, 17 August 1891, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁸ *Observer*, 7 March 1903, p. 16.

To assist in finding partners, bachelors' balls were held, as at Waiorongomai in 1886:

Particularly noticeable on entering was a large banner over the stage bearing the inscription "Welcome" in large gold letters on black ground, whilst directly underneath two hearts closely united, and surrounded by the words "Our Hearty Union," was represented; underneath which was the following "From the Bachelors":

With greetings to you ladies,
We bid you all to-night,
To join with you both heart and hand
It is our chief delight.⁴⁹⁹

Some men changed their behaviour so that they could be viewed as marriageable. For instance, in 1891 the O.M. noted one man who 'attends church regularly now. He evidently means business. Get the cans ready, boys',⁵⁰⁰ a reference to the 'rough music' inflicted upon newlyweds.

Not all publicly expressed desires for a wife were to be taken at face value, as illustrated in a case, brought by **Margaret Donnelly** against a Te Aroha man, heard in Auckland in October 1913 (his first name was wrongly recorded: it was George):

Roderick Spence, an old man of 77, for whom Mr Lundon appeared, was the defendant in an application for a maintenance order in respect of two illegitimate children, aged respectively two years and six months. Mr Singer, who appeared for the complainant, stated that the paternity of the children was not in dispute, the defendant having acknowledged it in writing.⁵⁰¹

The defendant, on being put in the box, said he admitted paternity. He was examined at considerable length as to his means, and at first stated that he had about £10 in the bank, and that his income was a little over £100 a year. Cross-examination, however, elicited the admission that he owned some property at Te Aroha, and that £800 had recently come to him through the falling-in of a mortgage. He stated, however, that he had used about £500 of this in paying off old debts. He was a widower with a family of twelve, apart from the two children in question. He paid the complainant £35 in a lump after she left him, and the result was that she got arrested the next night for drunkenness. Afterwards she assaulted him in the street.

The complainant, who said that her age was 34, stated that she first met the defendant three years ago. He was introduced to her originally by the proprietress of a boardinghouse as an old gentleman of means who wanted a wife. She lived with him for two years as his wife at Te Aroha and

⁴⁹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 21 August 1886, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁰ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 6 June 1891, p. 18.

⁵⁰¹ Confirmed in Auckland Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1913, folio 129, BADW 10254/81a, ANZ-A.

afterwards in Parnell and left him in January last. She was now earning her living in service, and the children were in a registered home. She had to pay 12/6 a week for the maintenance of each of them. The defendant for a time paid her 10/- a week.

The witness displayed a good deal of heat on being cross-examined by Mr Landon and repeated at regular intervals that she didn't want the past dragged up; she merely wanted maintenance for her children. The court got so noisy at length that Mr Kettle [the magistrate] adjourned the case till the afternoon, but the hearing was resumed when the complainant had promised to control her feelings. A few minutes later, however, an attack of hysterical weeping again disturbed the court.

"From what I know," said the witness a little later, "I am convinced that his net income is about £10,000."

"Why didn't you marry him?" she was asked.

"He knows best," replied the witness, "and at the next sitting of the Supreme Court he may have to explain."

Mr Kettle said that the only question to be decided was how much the defendant could pay. His evidence as to his means was unsatisfactory, but it indicated that he was able to contribute liberally to the cost of bringing up the children.⁵⁰²

In another report of the hearing, Spence was quoted as saying that he had given her £35 'to tide her over difficulties, but the next night she was locked up for drunkenness. This raised a suspicion in his mind that the money was not being put to its proper use'. In this report, the magistrate commented that his payment of only 10s for each child 'was certainly insufficient'.⁵⁰³ Instead, Spence was ordered to pay 15s, hardly a great increase.⁵⁰⁴

This could be interpreted as a case of a woman being a 'gold-digger' as well as of a foolish old man trying to evade his responsibilities. She did not, as threatened, sue him in the Supreme Court for breach of promise to marry, but, like some other women, made it clear who was the father of her child, even though no father was recorded on the birth certificate: he was registered as Roderick Donald Spence, the surname she used on this form.⁵⁰⁵ When registering their second child, a daughter, Margaret used the surname Donnelly-Spence.⁵⁰⁶ She did not receive the maintenance allowance, for on the same day that Spence was ordered to pay the increased amount the police successfully charged both children with being 'not under proper control' and they were sent to Catholic industrial schools (her daughter at the age of six months).⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰² *Auckland Star*, 10 October 1913, p. 4.

⁵⁰³ *New Zealand Herald*, 11 October 1913, p. 5.

⁵⁰⁴ Auckland Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1913, folio 139, BADW 10254/81a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁰⁵ Birth Certificate of Roderick Donald Spence, 1911/14946, BDM.

⁵⁰⁶ Birth Certificate of Monica Jean Christine Donnelly-Spence, 31 May 1913, 1913/2816, BDM.

⁵⁰⁷ Auckland Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1913, folio 137, BADW 10254/81a, ANZ-A.

A few weeks later, when a boardinghouse keeper sought five weeks' board from Spence, she told the court 'that a young woman named Margaret Donnelly, who said she was married, came to her early this year. A child was born on May 31 and the mother continued to live in the house with her baby up till July 1. She then left without giving any notice. No payment had been made since June 3', despite Spence having agreed to pay all outstanding accounts. Spence responded that the boardinghouse keeper had made 'a full settlement of all expenses' in his lawyer's office, which was confirmed, and the case was adjourned 'to that Miss Donnelly might be found'.⁵⁰⁸ No further developments in this case were reported in the press.

Margaret Donnelly was hardly an innocent led astray. Two years later, after twins were born to her and an unrecorded father,⁵⁰⁹ she charged a Maungaturoto man, John Lamont, for the maintenance of these children, who (like the older ones) had been placed in St Mary's Industrial School. After giving evidence in court as to their paternity, when cross-examined she (so the *New Zealand Herald* reported) she

became very excitable and was warned several times by the magistrate that she would be committed to prison if she did not answer questions properly. Witness replied that she would be better in prison than going through the ordeal of cross-examination. After further warnings, witness wept, and ultimately His Worship decided that he could not accept the evidence of a witness who behaved as in the present instance. He dismissed the case.⁵¹⁰

Truth was delighted with the case, reporting the 'sultry allegations' and other evidence verbatim. Its reporter described her as 'a well-built sort' who, at a preliminary hearing some weeks previously, had 'said all kinds of nasty things' to the magistrate, Lamont's counsel,

and anybody and everybody. So warm was Margaret that everyone present went outside and fanned themselves when the case was adjourned. Briefly her story was that while working at a boardinghouse in Maungaturoto she met Lamont. In June of last year, she came to Auckland to take on a job at the Huia Hospital. Lamont, according to her, came to Auckland that month and they lived as man and wife. Twins were born in March of this year, and Lamont was stated to be the father.

Several witnesses gave evidence to connect up with Margaret's tale of woe while one chap named McKenzie reckoned he had been more than a casual acquaintance.

Margaret was warming up all hands in Court, so Magistrate Kettle, who got a full share of the bombardment, adjourned the matter....

⁵⁰⁸ Magistrate's Court, *Auckland Star*, 2 December 1913, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁹ Birth Certificates of Joyce Donnelly, 1915/8442; Kathleen Donnelly, 1915/8443, BDM.

⁵¹⁰ Magistrate's Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 October 1915, p. 5.

At the adjourned hearing, Margaret

started to go off about being brought to the Court again.

“Look here,” she said, “it’s immaterial who keeps the children. Lamont is the father of them. Somebody will have to keep them, but I don’t care who it is.”

Lamont’s counsel described her as being ‘a very decent sort when sober but is totally different when she has drink in her’. After being asked to be quiet so as to permit proceedings to continue, she accused this counsel of telling Lamont that ‘I was dragged out of a brothel’. Asked to confirm that she had two other children, she responded: ‘Don’t you ask me that. They are being kept by their father’, then repeated that she did not want to keep her children. The solicitor then stated that, although Spence was paying for the maintenance of her first two children, he understood Spence was not in fact their father; Margaret did not respond. Asked about other men who frequented the boardinghouse, she denied knowing two of these men but admitted that if she wrote to another one it was ‘under the influence of liquor, and I don’t remember’. During a ‘general riot’, with four people all ‘trying to chip in at the same time’, Margaret shouted: ‘I am not a bad woman, am I, Mac (to chief detective)?’ As to the charge of being ‘dragged from a brothel’, she told the solicitor: ‘By God, I’ll have you for that’. After she attempted to punch Lamont on the jaw, the magistrate wondered if she was drunk, but the chief detective responded: ‘The woman is all right. She is a bit excited’. Her parting shot was: ‘I don’t care who pays so long as I get the children’⁵¹¹

A few months later, Margaret was convicted in Auckland for ‘drunkenness, breaking her prohibition order, and entering licensed premises while prohibited. The battered appearance of the woman’s face indicated that she had had a rough handling’. The man she had knocked down with a bedroom jug declined to prosecute,⁵¹² presumably to avoid publicity over a tryst gone wrong. Two years later, her four-year-old daughter died.⁵¹³ The last date when her behaviour was reported in the press was 1922, when she was fined for being drunk for the second time within six months.⁵¹⁴

IMPROPER BEHAVIOUR

⁵¹¹ *NZ Truth*, 16 October 1915, p. 7.

⁵¹² Police Court, *Auckland Star*, 31 March 1916, p. 6; Police Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 April 1916, p. 9.

⁵¹³ Death Certificate of Kathleen Donnelly, 1918/8817, BDM.

⁵¹⁴ Police Court, *Auckland Star*, 31 January 1922, p. 5.

Although ‘female larrikins’ existed,⁵¹⁵ some of their behaviour gave no great cause for concern, as, for instance, at Te Aroha in 1885:

At the recent bachelor’s party a few young ladies of the Sunday School caused a great deal of surprise by their behaviour. They would not join in the naughty dance, but preferred kiss-in-the-ring outside, and on being remonstrated with came inside and started some other tomfoolery. Perhaps they will know better as they grow older.⁵¹⁶

In 1890 the Te Aroha O.M. wrote that ‘Those female larrikins who attend the Presbyterian Church services should endeavour not to make their remarks so audible’.⁵¹⁷ In the following year, he had two more reproofs. ‘Who were the two young ladies that entered the fruit gardens while the proprietors were away? ... It looks bad of those young ladies in St Mark’s choir to be laughing all the time the sermon is going on. Is it to make them look more attractive?’⁵¹⁸ The following month, he disapproved at their behaviour at the hall on one Sunday night:

The female larrikin element was well represented, under their well-known leader. No doubt they thought their conduct excited admiration in the breasts of the gentlemen present; but had they only known the disgust which was felt at their immodest whispers and bold glances they would perhaps have conducted themselves better.⁵¹⁹

Improper behaviour came in several forms. In 1889, for instance, ‘Observer’ asked a question of the *Te Aroha News*:

I am very curious to hear the name of the lady who promenades our streets and domain, carrying a gentleman’s hunting crop and accompanied by a ferocious bulldog, which fastens on to any unoffending dog who has the misfortune to come in his way. On Friday afternoon last I saw him (the bulldog) seize another by the throat, and after shaking him well his gentle mistress addresses the by-standers thus:- “Why don’t some of you men take him off, you are stronger than I am;” and when, in response to her request, a gentleman, at the risk of being bitten by the brute, shakes him off, this courteous lady and her pet went on without even a civil “thank you, sir.”⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁵ See paper on larrikins in the Te Aroha district.

⁵¹⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 25 April 1885, p. 16.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 8 March 1890, p. 14.

⁵¹⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 18 July 1891, p. 17.

⁵¹⁹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 15 August 1891, p. 17.

⁵²⁰ Letter from ‘Observer’, *Te Aroha News*, 27 March 1889, p. 2.

Ten years later, another woman, probably from out of town, was criticized for her noisy behaviour: ‘What excitement at the football match! Who was the irate female who stalked forth into the field brandishing a gingham [umbrella] and screaming “Oh you brutes!” every time Te Aroha scored? It made me positively “ill” to see the danger she ran into’.⁵²¹

Drunk and disorderly women were to be found in all goldfields.⁵²² At Te Aroha, drunkards were mostly male, but some women did imbibe too liberally and as a result were publicly criticized. For example, ‘Who are those two young ladies at the Club that call for “port wine, hot,” every night?’⁵²³ When one notable female drunkard, **Annie Curnow** of Waiorongomai,⁵²⁴ was before a justice of the peace in June 1884, he ‘reprimanded the defendant, remarking on the disgraceful nature of the charge against a female’.⁵²⁵ Two months later, she was convicted of ‘excessive drinking’ and publicans were forbidden to serve her with alcohol for the following year.⁵²⁶ In October 1888, a woman sought a prohibition order against her, but as neither appeared in court the case was struck out.⁵²⁷ Four months later, the court was lenient when she was charged with ‘being drunk and disorderly in a public place, to wit at Waiorongomai’, and also with using obscene language at the same place. After she pleaded guilty, the local constable deposed that he had seen her in the street outside her house. ‘She was then under the influence of liquor and was making use of very bad language to her husband, could hear her very distinctly’. He added that ‘this was a frequent occurrence, as soon as accused had some drink in her she seemed to go mad’. However, he ‘would not press for a heavy penalty, as a prohibition order would be applied for ... and she had promised to amend her ways’. Fined 10s and 7s costs for being drunk ‘and to be imprisoned till the rising of the Court for using obscene language’.⁵²⁸ As she was not before a court again, perhaps she did reform – or, rather more likely, stayed inside her house when drunk.

Punishments for being drunk were not severe, at least for first offenders; for instance, in 1908 the case against one drunk and disorderly woman was adjourned for

⁵²¹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 9 July 1899, p. 22.

⁵²² For example, Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers Hatters and Whores: The story of the New Zealand gold rushes* (Auckland, 2008), pp. 417-420.

⁵²³ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 25 July 1891, p. 17.

⁵²⁴ See paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

⁵²⁵ Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 14 June 1884, p. 2.

⁵²⁶ Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 23 August 1884, p. 2.

⁵²⁷ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 10 October 1888, p. 2.

⁵²⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 16 February 1889, p. 6.

two days ‘to allow accused to clear out of the town which she did’.⁵²⁹ Between 1881 and 1900, only three women were before the court for drunkenness: Annie Curnow, Margaret McLean, and **Mary O’Halloran**, who was also charged with using obscene, abusive, and insulting language, for which she would be imprisoned in 1884.⁵³⁰ **Margaret McLean**, a Waiorongomai resident, was clearly an alcoholic. In 1886, the first prohibition order was issued against her,⁵³¹ but in the following year she was again charged with being drunk.⁵³² In 1889, after she pleaded guilty to being drunk and excessive drinking, another order was issued.⁵³³ In 1894, she admitted being drunk once more.⁵³⁴ Three years later, the police obtained yet another order against her.⁵³⁵ Ten years later, having lived at Waiorongomai for 23 years, at the age of 70 she was admitted to the old people’s home at Thames because of ‘general debility and senility’; despite her history of drinking, her health was ‘fairly good’.⁵³⁶ (Her husband, Donald, was also a frequenter of the Waiorongomai hotels, and when giving evidence in a case against a publican selling liquor to a prohibited person he admitted having had ‘three or four drinks’ with the latter, his wife having ‘about the same number of drinks also’. According to the *Te Aroha News*, he ‘fenced the questions put in every possible way and answered in a most unsatisfactory manner’.⁵³⁷)

Criminal acts by women were rare and, usually, minor. In January 1902, for instance, the *Te Aroha News* was ‘requested by an old age pensioner to state that if the lady who appropriated a supply of onions from his garden on New Year’s Day waits on the owner, he will present her with a packet of seeds, in order that she may grow her own in future’.⁵³⁸ Ten women had criminal charges made against them between 1881 and 1900, inclusive. Two were charged with obscene language (and one of these for having no visible means of support), one for assaulting a bailiff in the execution of his

⁵²⁹ New Zealand Constabulary, Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1903-1917, 71/1908, BACB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 5/81, 3/1882, 73, 74/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³¹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, either no. 21, 22, 23, 24 or 25/1886 [portion of register missing], BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³² Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 20/1887, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³³ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 77, 78/1889, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 17/1894, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 23/1897, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁶ District Home, Tararu, Register of Inmates 1906-1921, folio 71, YCAH 14073/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁷ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 10 April 1886, p. 2.

⁵³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, n.d., reprinted in *Observer*, 18 January 1902, p. 3.

duty, a publican for keeping her hotel open after hours, one for failing to pay half the cost of erecting a fence, one for stealing a purse and 4s 4d (she was imprisoned until the rising of the court), one for permitting two cows to trespass on the railway line, a father charged his daughter with being a lunatic, and a Maori attempted to commit suicide.⁵³⁹ The most notable fight occurred between two miners' wives 'residing near each other on the hill' behind Waiorongomai. 'There have been frequent quarrels among them which culminated in the violent assault'⁵⁴⁰ by **Mary Roberts**, wife of Thomas, on Mary Quinton, wife of Matthew.⁵⁴¹

Mary Quinton, sworn, stated: The affair first arose through defendant's dog snapping at her (Quinton's) little boy, who then struck the dog with a stick. After this defendant called witness all sorts of names, and later on caught her by the back of the neck and thumped her with her hand and also knocked her down twice. Witness further stated that defendant appeared to have a regular "down" on her for the past year or two; always when her husband was away, and she was without any protection. She had given her no provocation whatever. Had to call in the doctor through the treatment she had received.

A son of complainant's, a bright little lad of 10 years of age, was examined by His Worship as witness, and in reply to questions put said: He remembered Mrs Roberts quarrelling with his mother on the day after St Patrick's Day; when his mother went down the road to get some firewood, and Mrs Roberts stole out quietly and caught her by the neck and gave her a blow on the side of her head, knocked her down, and when she got up said "You b-----y b-----r for one pin I'd smash your head in two." Mrs Roberts knocked his mother over and kicked her in the back. His mother had previously said nothing to Mrs Roberts except "Are you going to hit me?" and Mrs Roberts said "Yes."

Dr Cooper, on being sworn, stated: He was called in on March 20th by Mrs Quinton, whom he found in bed in a very nervous state, and suffering from two contusions on the forehead. She said she had been assaulted.

Accused was bound over to keep the peace for six months in her own surety for £10 and ordered to pay the costs 29s.

A cross-summons for abusive language was dismissed.⁵⁴²

SEXUAL MISBEHAVIOUR

⁵³⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 5/1881, 3/1882, 68, 69, 74/1884, 4, 11/1888, 1/1891, 15/1894, BCDG 11220/1a; Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 8, 27/1898, 15/1899, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴⁰ Magistrate's Court, *Waikato Times*, 1 April 1886, p. 3.

⁵⁴¹ For Quinton's life, see paper on Billy Nicholl.

⁵⁴² Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 10 April 1886, p. 2.

‘Where was Mick White when the girl was crying out for help?’⁵⁴³ What happened at Waiorongomai in mid-1883 that prompted this cryptic report cannot be traced, but it could refer to sexual harassment. Flirtations, if ‘innocent’, were seen as fun; two married women, for instance, went to a bachelors’ ball dressed as ‘Flirtation’ and ‘Pet of the Boys’.⁵⁴⁴ But there were sexual predators around, as the Te Aroha O.M. warned:

The gay and festive old cuss [‘a man, possibly with overtones of being of doubtful quality’],⁵⁴⁵ Mac, who sports a rose in his buttonhole is worth watching. He shines through in his role as friends of the family and fern collector. What pleasant occupation for young ladies is fern collecting, especially for sale. Don’t read this. - A word on the quiet to *pater* and *mater familias*. Old Mac is worth watching. He is a married man, and don’t trust your girls with him especially fern collecting in the bush.⁵⁴⁶

In 1893, L.B. was ‘the greatest lady-killer in Te Aroha’,⁵⁴⁷ testimony to his seductive charms, not his intention to become a husband. Cases of indecent assault were rare, or perhaps more accurately were rarely reported.⁵⁴⁸ Rape must also have occurred, but the first Te Aroha case, heard in 1909, was dismissed because ‘Prosecutrix broke down in her evidence’.⁵⁴⁹ And the O.M. implied adultery between several people, but who was involved is now usually impossible to trace.⁵⁵⁰

Prostitution was a feature of many goldfields, including Thames.⁵⁵¹ Although no woman living at Te Aroha or Waiorongomai was charged with being a prostitute, in

⁵⁴³ ‘Waiorongomai’, *Observer*, 2 June 1883, p. 170.

⁵⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 23 October 1887, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8 ed., ed. Paul Beale (London, 1984), p. 281.

⁵⁴⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 20 October 1883, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 24 June 1893, p. 22.

⁵⁴⁸ For examples of charges of indecent assault, see Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 79/1907, BCDG 11220/1b; Criminal Record Book 1913-1918, 12/1914, BCDG 11220/2b, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴⁹ New Zealand Constabulary, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1902-1917, no. 114, 22 July 1909, BADB 11355/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁰ Examples cited in paper on private lives in the Te Aroha district.

⁵⁵¹ Eldred-Grigg, pp. 294, 371, 385-388, 390-392, 394-400, 412, 441; John Milton Hutchins, *Diggers, Constables, and Bushrangers: The New Zealand gold rushes as a frontier experience, 1852-1876* (Lakewood, Colorado, 2010), pp. 163-167, 176-177, 285-286; Rosemary Killip, *To Find a Fortune: Women on the Thames Goldfield, 1867-1893* (Wellington, 1995), pp. 82-84; David Arbury, *Prostitution on the Goldfield* (Thames, 2001).

1884 a 21-year-old Irish laundress was charged with ‘Having no visible lawful means of support’ and sentenced to three months in gaol plus an additional month for obscene language.⁵⁵² The severity of this sentence, in contrast to another woman who, charged with the same offence in 1902, was merely cautioned,⁵⁵³ suggests she was being punished for the latter offence rather than for being a vagabond. Also in 1884, one woman charged a man with ‘Making use of threatening abusing and insulting language to prosecutor by calling her an old flapper and an old hag and also that he would strike her on the mouth with a whip’. Her prosecution was dismissed because she failed to appear in court.⁵⁵⁴ What made this abuse particularly offensive was that flapper was a slang term for ‘a very young harlot’,⁵⁵⁵ and this meaning of being an immoral woman presumably still applied even though she was old. The only known case where a miner’s wife worked as a prostitute was Alexander Mackay’s wife (along with her sister),⁵⁵⁶ but they did not prostitute themselves at Te Aroha.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

As the result of ‘lady killing’ could be an illegitimate child, ‘Pater Familias’, provoked by an 1889 example, supported the conviction of a man who had failed to pay maintenance, and fulminated against the double standard applied to men and women:

Too long has it been allowed that the seducer escapes scot free and is sometimes thought more highly of by some in consequence of his lady killing abilities, whilst his poor frail victim suffers all the pain and shame; their reputation being blasted for life, and no chance being given them to recover their once good names.⁵⁵⁷

Sometimes the fathers admitted to the paternity of children born out of wedlock, as illustrated by John Hawkins, below. Perhaps one snide comment by the O.M. hinted

⁵⁵² Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 39/1884, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 68, 69/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵³ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 48/1902, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 62/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁵ Partridge, p. 401.

⁵⁵⁶ See paper on his life.

⁵⁵⁷ Letter from ‘Pater Familias’, *Te Aroha News*, 20 April 1889, p. 2.

at a father delighting in a child born to him out of wedlock. ‘Does not R. (Taranaki)⁵⁵⁸ look delighted wheeling the perambulator round the Domain? Look out, R., somebody might give you away’.⁵⁵⁹

On one occasion an illegitimate birth resulted in the marriage of the parents and the separation of the grandparents, as explained by the Catholic priest when writing to his bishop:

My Lord I require a dispensation in a mixed marriage immediately. The girl is a catholic and a child has lately been born extra matrimonium. I suppose your Lordship heard of a civil separation that took place between two catholics of this district. They are parents of this girl, who I believe was the immediate occasion of the separation. Her father objected to her marriage with this man and the mother upheld it. There is no knowing what the father may do if he discovers the state of the case now. So I wish to have it done privately, and as soon as possible to avoid unpleasant consequences. If it is kept quiet for some time the father will be gone from here.⁵⁶⁰

The worst case of a woman giving birth to an illegitimate child occurred in 1909. An inquest was held at the Waiorongomai Hotel

on the stillborn child of an unfortunate young woman who was for some time employed in one of the Te Aroha hotels, from which she was dismissed several months ago. The circumstances surrounding the case were of a most distressing and painful nature. The young woman, it appears, had been sleeping out in the ti-tree for several nights, and eventually found her way to the Waiorongomai hotel on Saturday last. During the afternoon she left the hotel, and nothing was heard about her until the next morning about four o’clock, when one of the hotel boarders, who happened to be in the yard, heard screams coming from the direction of the ti-tree near the hotel. The lodger went to investigate and was astonished to find a young woman crawling on her hands and knees through the ti-tree. She appeared half dead and stated she had given birth to a still-born child on the Saturday afternoon. The child was found in the scrub, covered with leaves, ti-tree and earth. The young woman was conveyed to the hotel and the doctor sent for. Everything possible was done by Mr and Mrs Brunton for the unfortunate young woman. Doctor Axford, in his evidence, stated the child had not breathed. A verdict was returned accordingly. It is intended to take the

⁵⁵⁸ Presumably indicating his place of birth, although there was a claim of that name near the hot springs later in the decade: Warden’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 24 August 1895, p. 2; *Waikato Argus*, 22 October 1896, p. 2, Warden’s Court, 14 November 1896, p. 2.

⁵⁵⁹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 15 April 1893, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁰ Father McGuinness to Bishop Lenihan, 27 June 1905, Te Aroha Parish Papers 1897-1910, LEN 35-2, Catholic Archives, Auckland.

young woman, who is in a very feeble state, to the Waikato Hospital for treatment.⁵⁶¹

As she was ‘in a very low state’ when sent to the hospital, ‘doubts’ were ‘entertained as to her recovery’.⁵⁶² Hamilton hospital records for this period no longer exist, but as her death has not been traced, she may have survived her ordeal.

After illegitimate children were born, their fathers were often sued for support, if they could be found.⁵⁶³ In one case, the clerk of the court recorded: ‘Summons not Served – Def cannot be found – Case adjourned sine die’.⁵⁶⁴ This case was never reactivated. In another example, ‘defendant having married the complainant’ four months after the birth, ‘further proceedings’ were ‘abandoned’.⁵⁶⁵ When the father of a yet unborn child was about to leave the colony without making provision for maintenance he was ordered to pay 7s per week; to enforce payment, he and two sureties being required to deposit a bond of £150 each.⁵⁶⁶

Some unwanted illegitimate children had a very short life. Amongst other hints it published about infanticide, the *Observer* was very direct in an 1898 quip: ‘*They Say* that the Auckland climate seems to be rather deadly at present for illegitimate infants. Rather strange, isn’t it?’⁵⁶⁷ A year later, ‘the number of love-children who have been taking wing from this vale of tears lately needs some explanation’.⁵⁶⁸ There was no evidence of that occurring in the Te Aroha district; in one known example, although Louisa Forman’s illegitimate child died soon after birth, there was no suggestion of foul play.⁵⁶⁹ In 1882, the 20-year-old sister of Robert Stackpole, a Waiorongomai miner,⁵⁷⁰ was accused of infanticide, with her sister and mother as possible accomplices, but was not convicted because medical evidence suggested that her newborn daughter had died

⁵⁶¹ *Te Aroha News*, 9 March 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁶² *Te Aroha News*, 11 March 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁶³ For example, Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 21/1896, 16/1897, 55/1901, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 29/1887, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 55/1904, hearings of 24 January 1905, 27 April 1905, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A; Marriage Certificate of James Hamilton and Annie Baker, 1905/6584, BDM.

⁵⁶⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 37/1905, BCDG 1220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶⁷ ‘They Say’, *Observer*, 5 February 1898, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁸ *Observer*, 18 February 1899, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁹ See paper entitled ‘Two Roycroft Brothers and Two Brothers-in-Law’.

⁵⁷⁰ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 841.

while she was unconscious after giving birth.⁵⁷¹ A coroner's jury considered the baby had lived for about 15 minutes, dying of 'Want of proper care at birth; mother being at the time insensible', and a grand jury found that she had no case to answer.⁵⁷²

Bearing an illegitimate child was not necessarily a bar to marriage, even though these births must have been known to most if not all members of small communities. For instance, in March 1884 **Emily Anna Joy**, aged 18, had an illegitimate son;⁵⁷³ in September the following year, she married 22-year-old William Samson in a Wesleyan ceremony.⁵⁷⁴ Samson, an amalgamator at the battery,⁵⁷⁵ was a member of the Wesleyan Sunday School at Waiorongomai and a leader of the Band of Hope, a temperance body, and their elder son, born in 1887, was baptized as a Wesleyan.⁵⁷⁶ Their marriage, which produced two more children, lasted until Samson's death in 1950.⁵⁷⁷ In a small community like Waiorongomai, he must have known of his wife's 'indiscretion'. And what happened to this child? There was no indication that Samson adopted him informally; he seems to have been brought up by his grandmother, for in 1889 he was living with her and attending the Wesleyan Sunday School along with her youngest daughter, born in 1879.⁵⁷⁸

ABORTION

Although aborting an unwanted illegitimate child was an option for the desperate, there were no hints about abortion in any of the O.M.'s dispatches from Te Aroha and

⁵⁷¹ Birth Certificate of unnamed daughter of Annie Stackpole, 12 December 1882, 1882/2013; Death Certificate of unnamed daughter of Annie Stackpole, 12 December 1882, 1882/809, BDM; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 December 1882, p. 3, 14 December 1882, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁷² Inquest on unnamed daughter of Annie Stackpole, December 1882, Justice Department, J46, 1882/2641, ANZ-W; *Thames Advertiser*, 22 December 1882, p. 3; Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 January 1883, p. 19.

⁵⁷³ Birth Certificate of Robert Joy, 27 March 1884, 1884/11401, Te Aroha BDM.

⁵⁷⁴ Marriage Certificate of William Samson, 21 September 1885, 1885/2089, BDM.

⁵⁷⁵ Marriage Certificate of William Samson, 21 September 1885, 1885/2089, BDM; *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1887*, p. 22.

⁵⁷⁶ Waiorongomai Sunday School, Admission Book 1884-1889, entry for 13 July 1884, 3050/888; Upper Thames Circuit, Baptismal Register 1881-1929, no. 126, Methodist Archives, Auckland; *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁷ Death Certificate of William Samson, 21 September 1950, 1950/23791, BDM.

⁵⁷⁸ Waiorongomai Sunday School, Admission Book 1884-1889, entries for 20 January 1889, 27 January 1889, 3050/888, Methodist Archives, Auckland; for the daughter, see Birth Certificate of Marion May Joy, 17 June 1879, 1879/14600, BDM.

Waiorongomai. However, in 1883 there was an implication of this occurring in Auckland: ‘What is the scandal in connection with the grass widow? The doctor had better be careful. It means a heavy fine, if not imprisonment’.⁵⁷⁹ Information, it was implied, about how to prevent having unwanted children was advertised in the *Te Aroha News* in 1898: ‘THE WIFE’S WELFARE – Treatise posted free. It will teach you more than all the years you’ve lived. Every woman should read it. Write Prof. Hermann, French Specialist, 40 Collins-place, Melbourne’.⁵⁸⁰ The *Observer*, which also published this advertisement,⁵⁸¹ claimed that medicines to induce abortion were available in nearly every chemist’s shop, sometimes being displayed in the windows.⁵⁸²

For an example of a probable attempted abortion by a Te Aroha teenager, see the section on Harriet Healy, below. The danger of having an abortion was illustrated by the death of **Blanche Beatrice Gretchen Niccol**, the third wife of Malcolm Niccol, an Auckland shipbroker, harbour board member, and Grand Secretary of the New Zealand Freemasons,⁵⁸³ who invested in Waiorongomai mining in a very small way.⁵⁸⁴ Two years after his second wife died, at the age of 52 Nicholl married 16-year-old Blanche Beatrice Gretchen von Sturmer.⁵⁸⁵ Seven years later, she died suddenly, leaving a son aged six and a daughter aged four.⁵⁸⁶ A labourer’s wife, **Madeline Winter**, who had some nursing experience, was present at her death. Evidence taken at the inquest strongly implied that, when they were alone together, Mrs Winter had attempted an abortion by means unknown, with fatal consequences. She claimed that Blanche told her she ‘was trying to prevent’ becoming pregnant, and had earlier induced miscarriage ‘with a tangle tent or tangle net or tangle something’.⁵⁸⁷ Blanche’s doctor revealed that she had told him that she intended to procure a miscarriage by going to ‘Mrs Winter, because she could do it with air, without pain’.⁵⁸⁸ Doctors who examined the body were unsure as to the cause of death, but the coroner’s jury, after considering their verdict for an hour, resolved: ‘That the death of Mrs Niccol was caused during the process of a

⁵⁷⁹ *Observer*, 4 August 1883, p. 15.

⁵⁸⁰ For example, advertisements, *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1898, p. 3, 23 July 1898, p. 1.

⁵⁸¹ For example, *Observer*, 2 October 1897, p. 6.

⁵⁸² *Observer*, 29 January 1898, p. 6.

⁵⁸³ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, pp. 139-140; *Observer*, 19 April 1902, p. 5; *New Zealand Herald*, 28 July 1925, p. 10.

⁵⁸⁴ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 41, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 6 September 1883, p. 1266, 29 November 1883, p. 1703.

⁵⁸⁵ Marriage Certificate of Malcolm Niccol, 20 August 1896, 1896/1684, BDM.

⁵⁸⁶ Death Certificate of Blanche Beatrice Gretchen Niccol, 7 October 1903, 1903/7384, BDM.

⁵⁸⁷ Inquest on Blanche Beatrice Gretchen Niccol, Justice Department, J 46, 1903/905, ANZ-W.

⁵⁸⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1903, p. 39.

miscarriage, under circumstances of grave suspicion against Mrs Winter?. Because of the lack of a clear cause of death, the police did not take any action against her.⁵⁸⁹ There were no other reports implicating her in procuring an abortion – or of doing any nursing.

In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, no woman in the Te Aroha district died from an abortion that had gone wrong.⁵⁹⁰

WIVES WHO WERE DESERTED AND/OR NOT SUPPORTED

Several cases of wife desertion have been noted elsewhere, for instance in the papers on James Gordon, Thomas Quoi, and Laura Devey.⁵⁹¹ The first case of wife desertion was reported in early 1881 in the *Observer*:

It is the curse of that fine body of men, the Auckland police, that there are bad eggs amongst them who are constantly bringing them into disrepute. A Te Aroha miner [named Allen]⁵⁹² sends me a most extraordinary story of ill treatment. It appears that about the 10th of January this man was arrested at the diggings on a charge of wife desertion, and forthwith brought to town, being, however, locked up for no less than *three nights* (viz, at Paeroa, the Thames, and Auckland) on the way. When, at length, he was arraigned at the Police Court, there turned out to be no case against him, and the charge was dismissed. Mr Barstow [the Auckland magistrate] told the unfortunate man he ought to be very much obliged to the police for their kindness to his wife. Strange to say he doesn't agree with his Worship. He declares, in fact, that some of the police were *too kind* to his wife, and that it would have suited them all over to have got him safely locked up out of the way. One man, he declares, under pretense of helping the good lady, took her to a bad house in ---- street, and other active and intelligent constables also made overtures of a similar nature. The letter is too strong to publish.⁵⁹³

Three weeks later, the journal reported the result of its investigation into his accusations:

The fellow's whole story was, from end to end, a base fabrication. His wife (who bears an excellent character and is now in a respectable situation) was starving when the police took pity on her and her children, and, out of their own pockets, found them sufficient money to get a night's lodging. Allen

⁵⁸⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 22 October 1903, p. 38.

⁵⁹⁰ Register of Deaths, Te Aroha BDM.

⁵⁹¹ The latter is in the paper on George Devey and his family.

⁵⁹² *Observer*, 9 April 1881, p. 315; he has not been identified.

⁵⁹³ *Observer*, 19 March 1881, p. 277.

has a grudge against the police for arresting him for wife desertion and is trying to revenge himself by slander.⁵⁹⁴

In August 1882, **Elizabeth Newell** of Ngaruawahia was charged with lunacy. Her husband, Robert, who was believed to be in Te Aroha, had left his family ‘totally unprovided for’, there being insufficient food and no changes of clothing for his two-year-old and ten-month-old children. This lack of food was believed to have caused his pregnant wife’s insanity. If her husband, sought by the police,⁵⁹⁵ had been in Te Aroha, he did not remain there to be arrested. In response to the accusation that Newell had left her in a destitute state before she left for Hamilton, a Ngaruawahia store stated that his credit with them was sufficient to supply all her needs.⁵⁹⁶ Certified as suffering from delusions, Elizabeth Newell spent 38 years in the Avondale mental asylum before dying there.⁵⁹⁷

The wife of one man charged him with deserting their three children, but the case was dismissed because she did not appear in court.⁵⁹⁸ Perhaps the shock of prosecution had been sufficient to force him to agree to pay maintenance. In another case, failure to pay maintenance resulted in a separation order:

Consent plea – Separation as prayed – on grounds of willful neglect to provide complainant with reasonable maintenance. Ordered that Complainant be no longer bound to cohabit with the defendant her husband. Costs of the order 7/- to be paid by defendant.⁵⁹⁹

In 1888, **Julia Esther Taylor** sought a protection order over her property against her husband John, a farm labourer at Shaftesbury,⁶⁰⁰ because he had failed to maintain her and their children, an accusation he denied. According to a correspondent, her suit ‘occupied the court a considerable time and afforded a little amusement’.

The plaintiff in her statement alleged that for four months she had received no support whatever from her husband, that he had been away from home for about twelve weeks, but on his return, he had been living on her and robbing the garden. She could swear there was plenty of work to be had, but

⁵⁹⁴ *Observer*, 9 April 1881, p. 315.

⁵⁹⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 August 1882, p. 21.

⁵⁹⁶ Letter from Friar and Davies, *Waikato Times*, 19 August 1882, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ Case files on E.J.B. Newell, Avondale Asylum, YCAA 1021/2, 1048/4, 1048/5, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁸ Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 11/1889, in private possession.

⁵⁹⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 4/1906, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰⁰ See *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1887*, p. 24.

he refused to take it. He had threatened her life on one occasion with a knife, but had never struck her, as she got out of his way. Once he had locked her in the house, and threatened to set fire to it, when she got out of the window, and alarmed the neighbours. Three witnesses were called who proved that the man could have got remunerative work, but did not care to do it when offered, also that he was in the habit of drinking. One of the witnesses, Mr [Edward Francis] Roche [a Shaftesbury farmer],⁶⁰¹ stated the plaintiff was a hard-working industrious woman, but for assistance given by Mrs [Sophia] Cox [the wife of Edward Young Cox, another Shaftesbury farmer]⁶⁰² and himself he was certain the family would have starved. Defendant on being sworn said that as he could not get employment he went away. He had given his wife two small cheques not four months ago. He always gave her all his earnings. She found the money for him to go to Auckland to work, whilst there he had earned a few shillings, and wishing to see the old place, he had returned but could get no employment. He also stated that his wife had been in the habit of looking after the house for one of the witnesses, who lost his wife eighteen months ago, and that this fact had a great deal to do with the present proceedings, but in being questioned by plaintiff on this matter he admitted she did so with his consent. In reply to the Bench, defendant stated that he had his liquors given him, and while in Auckland he only drank ginger-beer, but His Worship took a different view to this, remarking that it was, to say the least of it, a remarkable instance of free liquor. In giving judgment His Worship commented strongly on defendant's conduct towards his wife, and with regard to his leaving her, remarked, "One cannot live on the air of New Zealand, good as it is, for four months."⁶⁰³

The order was granted, 'Mrs Taylor to have the children'.⁶⁰⁴ One year later, once again she charged him with failing to maintain them.⁶⁰⁵

Julia Esther Taylor (sworn) said: I have six children in my custody, aged from two to twelve years. I am principally in the employ of Mr E.Y. Cox, my own earnings are about 18s per week. The only reason my husband gave me for not maintaining his children was that he said he would do nothing until he came back to his home, and then he would do the best he could for them. My husband has been in regular work for about the last three months at Mr Roche's. Mr Roche told me he paid him 2s 6d a day and his food, or at the rate of 15s a week and found [meaning that food was provided]. My two elder sons, when in employ, give me their wages. One earns about 6s and the other about 5s per week.

E.Y. Cox (sworn) said: Mrs Taylor is in my employ. She receives 12s from my wife from washing, etc, and 3s from me for washing out the

⁶⁰¹ See *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1887*, p. 21; *New Zealand Herald*, 29 September 1903, p. 5.

⁶⁰² See *Te Aroha Electoral Roll, 1890*, p. 8; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 826; *New Zealand Herald*, Death Notice, 22 March 1901, p. 4, 18 July 1904, p. 6.

⁶⁰³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 8 September 1888, p. 2.

⁶⁰⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 42/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 38/1889, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

schoolhouse, etc. This occupies about four days a week, and I believe she generally gets about another day's work in the week.

John Taylor (sworn): All I have drawn is £6 during the last three months, as I could only get work on fine days. I have done a good deal of work for Mr [John] Squirrel, storekeeper,⁶⁰⁶ but half my earnings are deducted towards paying the back debts incurred before my wife got separation.

His Worship: Mrs Taylor asked for and got the custody of the children at her own request, she agreeing to take absolute charge of them, as she said with the assistance of her two eldest boys, she thought she would be able to maintain the family. I don't think therefore she should ask for this. Defendant objected to the custody of the whole of the children being given plaintiff, at the time the order was made.

Defendant: I am willing now to take charge of all the children and wish to have them.

His Worship: That will relieve Mrs Taylor of the maintenance. In fact, I think, if it could be so arranged between them, the best thing for all concerned for the parties in this action to make up their differences and run together again. Defendant appeared to be keeping sober now and willing to work.

Plaintiff stated she would not consent to that but would rather withdraw the plaint and struggle on as she had been doing.

Case withdrawn at request of plaintiff.⁶⁰⁷

Nearly three weeks after Julia moved to Auckland in July 1890, she applied for relief because she was unable to support her children. She was then aged 39, with six dependent children. Her eldest son, aged 17, was working in a Te Aroha hotel, and her second eldest, 16, provided her with 6s a week from his earnings at a Huntly flax mill. Her husband, then working on a Manawaru farm upriver from Te Aroha, was required to pay 17s 6d a week, and she was trying to earn some money as a laundress and needlewoman.⁶⁰⁸

Sometimes men accused of deserting and not supporting their wife would, upon prosecution, return to their wife. For instance, **Annie Curnow** in 1884 accused her husband, a fellow drunkard, of deserting her and leaving her without adequate means of support but withdrew this charge one month later;⁶⁰⁹ they continued to live and drink together for as long as can be traced.⁶¹⁰

In 1890, William Maloney was charged with 'Cruelty to his wife **Ellen Maloney** without adultery and for Protection Order under Married Women's Property Act 1880'.

⁶⁰⁶ See paper on his life.

⁶⁰⁷ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 4 September 1889, p. 2.

⁶⁰⁸ Auckland Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, Applications for Relief 1888-1894, folio 677, YCAB 15245/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 35/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹⁰ See paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

After he pleaded guilty, the order was made; ‘Mother to have exclusive custody of children (three girls) till they shall have attained the age of 18 years’.⁶¹¹ In March 1904, a wife charged her husband, James Lowrie, with assault and sought maintenance of herself and her children but then withdrew both suits. One month later, she renewed the application for maintenance, which was adjourned for another month at his request ‘on the understanding that James Lowrie consents not to interfere in any way with complainant’s property or herself’. When the case was heard, the magistrate decreed that she ‘be no longer bound to cohabit with her husband’ and awarded her custody of the children, the eldest aged four years and three months old and the youngest ten months. Lowrie was required to provide 15s a week for his wife and 5s for each child, paying £3 every two weeks to the clerk of the court.⁶¹²

Wives uncertain whether their husbands had abandoned them permanently sought charitable relief. In 1890, one Waiorongomai resident applied for relief, not for herself, but for her children, aged three years and one year. Since her husband had left eight months previously, she had heard nothing from him. She was willing to become a servant ‘if she could get something done for her children’, for her three brothers were unable to assist her. Temporary relief of 5s a week was granted.⁶¹³ Four years later, a Te Aroha woman applied for relief for herself and her two children. ‘She had been over a year from Sydney, when her husband was supposed to follow her, but did not do so’. She was living with her parents, ‘but the father who was of dissolute habits did not contribute anything to the support of either of them’. The charitable aid board considered she ‘was capable of earning wages by going to service, and she would then be able to contribute something towards the support of her children’; accordingly, it did not grant any aid.⁶¹⁴

Another wife who sought charitable aid was **Rebecca Hardisty**, married to a 34-year-old carpenter who was locked up by the Te Aroha police in September 1884 because he had not paid a £1 fine for obscene language. To avoid spending 48 hours in the lock-up, the fine was paid, possibly by his wife, and he was released.⁶¹⁵ Two days

⁶¹¹ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 32/1890, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹² Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 19, 20, 25/1904, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁶¹³ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 2 October 1890, p. 2.

⁶¹⁴ Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 18 September 1894, p. 6.

⁶¹⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 67/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Armed Constabulary Force, Report of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 37/1884, in private possession.

later, he was accused of excessive drinking, but then the case was withdrawn.⁶¹⁶ Three years later, Rebecca, who had moved to Auckland, had to apply for charitable aid because she had six children aged between 11 and two and her husband had been living in Melbourne for the past two years.⁶¹⁷

As well as husbands deserting their wives, some wives deserted their husbands. For instance, 11 years after leaving her husband, the wife of Edmund Cornes of Te Aroha (brother of the notable miner Clem Cornes)⁶¹⁸ asked a newspaper whether, having been separated for over seven years and receiving no maintenance from her husband, she could now remarry, but was warned that she would be committing bigamy.⁶¹⁹

REMARRIAGES

Remarriage in the case of Rachel Joy, whose life is outlined below, was clearly for love, based on long association and affection. In other cases, remarriages for both widows and widowers were sometimes undertaken because their young children needed support, although an element of love must be assumed in choosing the new partner; Lucy Harriet Roffey, whose complicated matrimonial career is traced below, is an example.

Elizabeth Mary Sherlock (nee Nichol) married George Sherlock in December 1876 when he was 23 and she was 16.⁶²⁰ Sherlock was a miner and then amalgamator in batteries who became a cordial manufacturer.⁶²¹ They had two daughters, but three weeks after the birth of the second in September 1879 she died, aged 19, of 'Brain fever Effusion into Ventricles of brain'.⁶²² In 1891 he was married again, when aged 38, to

⁶¹⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 69A/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹⁷ Auckland Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, Applications for Relief 1888-1894, folio 202, no. 767, YCAB 15245/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹⁸ See paper on Clement Augustus Cornes.

⁶¹⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 February 1897, p. 15, letter from Edmund Cornes, 13 March 1897, p. 19.

⁶²⁰ Notices of Intentions to Marry 1876, p. 213, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/21, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of George Sherlock, 21 December 1876, 1876/2360, BDM; *Thames Advertiser*, 22 December 1876, p. 2.

⁶²¹ See District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 5 March 1884, p. 3, 4 June 1884, p. 3; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 830; *Te Aroha News*, 19 July 1933, p. 1.

⁶²² Birth Certificates of Laura Cecilia Sherlock, 1 February 1878, 1878/620; Elizabeth Emma Nicol Sherlock, 25 September 1879, 1879/16606; Death Certificate of Elizabeth Mary Sherlock, 18 October 1879, 1879/4421, BDM.

18-year-old **Ellen Elizabeth Crawley**.⁶²³ They were to have two sons and six daughters; all his children from both marriages were still alive when he died in 1933.⁶²⁴ His second wife lived until 1951;⁶²⁵ like her husband, she was a staunch Methodist.⁶²⁶ In Te Aroha she worked as a nurse, and in the 1918 influenza epidemic ‘she did not spare herself’.⁶²⁷

An example of remarriage for companionship was that of Heber Caudwell, a contractor in the 1880s who became a prominent farmer at Te Aroha West.⁶²⁸ In 1888, he married **Amy Julia Reynolds**,⁶²⁹ and they had one daughter and five sons, one of whom died at only five months of age and another died aged nine.⁶³⁰ Some years after he retired to Auckland, his wife died, aged 60, after being in ill health for some time. She was recalled as being ‘known for her kindly disposition and many acts of neighbourliness and sympathy’.⁶³¹ A year later, when aged 63, Caudwell remarried, to

⁶²³ Marriage Certificate of George Sherlock, 7 January 1891, 1891/3820, BDM.

⁶²⁴ Death Certificate of George Sherlock, 16 July 1933, 1933/9617, BDM.

⁶²⁵ Death Certificate of Ellen Elizabeth Sherlock, 10 July 1951, 1951/17950, BDM.

⁶²⁶ See *Te Aroha News*, 22 May 1909, p. 2, 20 July 1951, p. 3.

⁶²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 20 July 1951, p. 3.

⁶²⁸ For contracting, see *Te Aroha News*, 3 October 1885, p. 2, 13 February 1886, p. 7, 14 August 1886, p. 2, 6 November 1886, p. 2, 4 December 1886, p. 2; for mining investments, see Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 5, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 14 December 1882, p. 1885; for farming, see *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833; photograph, *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 July 1902, Supplement, p. 8; Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager’s Memorandum Book 1902-1914, p. 106, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington; John Bollard to Secretary, Auckland School Commissioners, 23 May 1906, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1113/1d, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 31 August 1942, p. 2.

⁶²⁹ Marriage Certificate of Amy Julia Reynolds [indexed under her name alone], 26 January 1888, 1888/291, BDM; *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 February 1888, p. 1.

⁶³⁰ Birth Certificates of Alfred Heber Caudwell, 31 October 1888, 1888/7751; Henry Spencer Caudwell, 5 February 1891, 1891/4103, BDM; Henry Caudwell, 4 June 1892; Percival Augustus Caudwell, 6 November 1893, Church of England, Hamilton East District, Register of Baptisms 1879-1908, nos. 296, 356, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton; Ernest Wilfred Caudwell, 18 May 1895, 1895/5855; Sylvia Doris Annie Caudwell, 29 October 1902, 1902/13245; Death Certificates of Henry Spencer Caudwell, 12 July 1891, 1891/3523; Henry Caudwell, 27 June 1901, 1901/5020, BDM.

⁶³¹ Death Certificate of Amy Julia Caudwell, 31 January 1922, 1922/714, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1922, p. 2.

Maude Cooke, 15 years his junior; they had 19 years together before he died after a long battle against stomach cancer.⁶³²

MENTAL STRESS

There were several cases of wives being battered. Punishments of the perpetrators varied, but an 1886 case was typical: after the husband was found guilty of assault, he was ordered to keep the peace for 12 months and provide a surety of £20.⁶³³ Although being beaten, even if only once, must have created mental stress, this did not require admission to the asylum. Those women who were committed suffered from a variety of stresses and manias. Laura Devey was admitted three times through ‘disappointment in love’ combined with post-natal depression.⁶³⁴ When a 32-year-old married domestic servant was committed after a mental episode lasting six months, the diagnosis was ‘congenital imbecile’.⁶³⁵ The cause of her insanity was, according to her brother, ‘disappointment in not marrying the father of her illegitimate child’, then seven years old. She herself blamed her sister for trying ‘to cut her out with a young man’.⁶³⁶ A 21-year-old Waihou woman was committed for ‘adolescent insanity’.⁶³⁷ Her mother revealed that her condition was really religious mania brought on by attending a Catholic mission. ‘After a series of attendances at Mission Services she began to pray and mimic the priest at the altar, then saying she would sacrifice herself for the family, went to the convent at Te Aroha to become a nun. Since that time, she has been talking religion almost incessantly, has not slept’ for four days, and ‘was at times violent’. In addition to ‘continually praying with her hands and imitating the priest in manner’, she ‘tried to dress like a priest’.⁶³⁸ The following year, an unmarried domestic servant aged 22 was admitted for ‘adolescent insanity’ also.⁶³⁹ Assessed as being simple-minded, she thought people were laughing at her and contemplated suicide. She told the local policeman ‘that at the Palace Hotel where she has lately been working, she was treated

⁶³² Marriage Certificate of Heber Caudwell, 1923/3279; Death Certificate of Heber Caudwell, 22 August 1942, 1942/25451, BDM.

⁶³³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 2/1886, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶³⁴ See paper on George Devey and his family.

⁶³⁵ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1902-1906, no. 2871, YCAA 1021/4, ANZ-A.

⁶³⁶ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1900-1903, folio 375, YCAA 1048/9, ANZ-A.

⁶³⁷ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1906-1912, no. 3981, YCAA 1021/5, ANZ-A.

⁶³⁸ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1908-1910, folio 287, YCAA 1048/11, ANZ-A.

⁶³⁹ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1906-1912, no. 4221, YCAA 1021/5, ANZ-A.

with every kindness', despite which 'she expresses no desire for anything but death'. She would spend her next 14 years in the asylum.⁶⁴⁰

Two women did commit suicide; one was the wife of a prominent mine manager, the other an unmarried charwoman. The former, **Elizabeth McLiver** (nee Tunstall) married Hugh McLiver in July 1871, at Thames; he was aged 22, and she gave her age as 21.⁶⁴¹ As she was aged 30 at the time of her death in 1886, she had really been 15.⁶⁴² Presumably she had recorded her age as 21 because at that age no parental approval to marry was required. Her husband managed several mines at Waiorongomai and elsewhere.⁶⁴³

According to her death notice, Elizabeth 'accidentally drowned' in the Waihou River.⁶⁴⁴ Her body, 'very well dressed' and with three gold rings on her fingers, was discovered four miles downstream of Te Aroha after being in the river for two weeks. It showed no sign of violence. Hugh, who had believed she was with friends in Thames, had to identify her. 'As might be supposed the poor fellow was terribly cut up, by the sad and sudden shock'. When he had accompanied her to catch the coach to Thames on 8 October she was in good health and good spirits. 'Having no family, and finding the place rather dull at Waiorongomai, she was in the habit of paying visits to her friends for two or three weeks at a time', he said, and he had not been alarmed by her not writing to him since she left.⁶⁴⁵ At the coroner's inquest, the coach driver gave evidence:

The deceased came up as a passenger in the coach I was driving, from Paeroa on Saturday 16th October, to Te Aroha. She seemed peculiar in her manner and was talking to herself at times and crying; she got out just before we came into Te Aroha, saying she would go away by the train. There was a train left about half an hour afterwards. I, however, saw her between five and six o'clock after the train had left, she was then walking down the railway line towards the riverbank, where a crowd of people had congregated to witness some boat races. I have not since seen her alive. She apparently went down amongst the people. I certainly thought she was not quite in her right mind, from her strange conduct on the journey up, and mentioned the circumstance to Mr [Thomas] Lawless⁶⁴⁶ and others....

⁶⁴⁰ Avondale Asylum, Committed Patient Case Files 1911, no. 4221, YCAA 1026/15, ANZ-A.

⁶⁴¹ Marriage Certificate of Hugh McLiver [recorded as McCliver], 12 July 1871, 1871/6765; Birth Certificate of Hugh McLiver, 1849/413, BDM.

⁶⁴² Death Certificate of Elizabeth McLiver, c, 16 October 1886 [registered 27 October 1886], 1886/4926, BDM; Death Notice, *Thames Advertiser*, 6 November 1886, p. 2.

⁶⁴³ See papers on the New Find and on Henry Hopper Adams.

⁶⁴⁴ Death Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 6 November 1886, p. 2.

⁶⁴⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1886, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁴⁶ See paper on his life.

I recollect that she went down with me as a passenger to Thames about ten days prior to her return. There was then nothing strange about her, she appeared all right. Her husband came in with her to Te Aroha on that occasion, bought her ticket for her, and saw her off. On the sixteenth she arrived at Paeroa by the Thames coach and came by my coach from Paeroa. She did not give me the impression of having been drinking on that day. She remarked on the journey up, when talking to herself, she wished she was dead; but I had no idea she intended to do herself any harm. She seemed however, desirous of getting away from Te Aroha. There were two other passengers on the coach the day I brought Mrs McLiver back.... They did not appear to take much notice of deceased's manner, beyond remarking she seemed peculiar.⁶⁴⁷

The driver had discussed her 'strange conduct' and desire to escape from the district with several people but not with her husband, but this may not imply that the marriage was believed by the locals to be unhappy but simply that he was working in his mine, not having been told she would return then. The only other witness was a woman who lived besides the punt landing who had noticed Elizabeth sitting on a seat there late in the afternoon. 'She took off her hat, and rolled her hair, and then pinned it up, and put her hat on again.... I noticed she kept looking at the water for a time with her hands folded before her, but after that she got up and walked away from the river up the road. I have never since seen her alive'. The jury returned the 'open verdict' of 'found drowned'.⁶⁴⁸ Nothing is known about their domestic life, but he may have been difficult to live with sometimes, judging by his taking a brother to court over a small debt incurred nearly eight years previously and having his case 'at once dismissed' after the evidence was given.⁶⁴⁹

Her funeral was 'a very large one, nearly every household in Waiorongomai and the Hill being represented, as well as a large number of Te Aroha residents and settlers, the greatest sympathy being felt for Mr McLiver in the great trial that has befallen him'.⁶⁵⁰ At a meeting held later that month about the bad state of the cemetery, he spoke with 'sadness' because 'the only tie he had got had lately been laid to rest' there; he and his friends were prepared to give £20 to improve it.⁶⁵¹ He would remarry in 1899 when aged 50 (his certificate claimed 48) to Ellen Smith, aged 34.⁶⁵² Four years and four months later, he died;⁶⁵³ there were no children from this marriage either.

⁶⁴⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1886, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1886, p. 3.

⁶⁴⁹ *Thames Star*, 26 January 1893, p. 2.

⁶⁵⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 30 October 1886, p. 3.

⁶⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 20 November 1886, p. 2.

⁶⁵² Marriage Certificate of Hugh McLiver, 5 April 1899, 1899/2162, BDM.

⁶⁵³ Death Certificate of Hugh McLiver, 19 August 1903, 1903/4703, BDM.

Jessie Smith, an unmarried Te Aroha charwoman who had been living at Hamilton, was committed to the asylum in October 1892 after an attack of insanity lasting for one week. The asylum doctors diagnosed melancholia caused by privation,⁶⁵⁴ although at Hamilton she had been seen as ‘suffering more or less from religious monomania’. A Hamilton correspondent recalled that when she gave birth to a son 12 years previously⁶⁵⁵ she had ‘stoutly maintained it was a case of “immaculate conception”’.⁶⁵⁶ Incoherent and excited through ‘poverty and worry’ when in the asylum, she was quoted as saying ‘the world is going to be burned up etc’.⁶⁵⁷ After being on a trial release with her brother, who lived in Auckland, for three months, she was discharged in March 1893 as recovered.⁶⁵⁸

She was readmitted in April 1902, when aged 54, after another attack of insanity lasting two weeks. The new diagnosis was mental depression caused by privation, as she had ‘impaired health and condition’.⁶⁵⁹ The Te Aroha constable had found her one Sunday afternoon dancing in front of the Anglican church and pawing the ground with her feet. Examples were recorded of her meaningless ramblings, but her delusions soon ceased when in the awylum.⁶⁶⁰ She was discharged as recovered four months later.⁶⁶¹ One evening a week later she left her home at Te Aroha, where she was living with her father, and disappeared.⁶⁶² A week later week her 22-year-old son found her naked body in the house’s water tank. Her brother told the coroner that, as she had only been ‘really bad’ because of religious mania for three days, he had taken her out of the asylum, whereupon she had insisted on returning to Te Aroha to live with her father, who was aged 85, totally deaf and nearly blind. He considered his sister’s mind to have been ‘feeble’ because of lack of money, and that she had drowned herself. The Te Aroha constable was more charitable, stating that she might have climbed into the tank to have a bath, not to commit suicide,⁶⁶³ surely an unlikely story. Her death certificate

⁶⁵⁴ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1885-1896, no. 1817, YCAA 1021/2, ANZ-A.

⁶⁵⁵ Birth Certificate of Waldo Smith, 1880/12487, BDM.

⁶⁵⁶ Hamilton Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1892, p. 23.

⁶⁵⁷ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1890-1892, folio 795, YCAA 1048/5, ANZ-A.

⁶⁵⁸ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1890-1892, folio 795, YCAA 1048/5; Record Book of Investigation into Relatives’ Ability to Pay Maintenance 1890-1899, folio 96, YCAA 1044/1, ANZ-A.

⁶⁵⁹ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1902-1906, no. 2719, YCAA 1021/4, ANZ-A.

⁶⁶⁰ Avondale Asylum, Case Book 1900-1903, folio 223, YCAA 1048/9, ANZ-A.

⁶⁶¹ Avondale Asylum, Register of Admissions 1902-1906, no. 2719, YCAA 1021/4, ANZ-A.

⁶⁶² *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 27 August 1902, p. 2.

⁶⁶³ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 11 September 1902, p. 2; Inquest into Jessie Smith, Inquests, Justice Department, J 46, 1902/789, ANZ-W.

bluntly recorded that she had been ‘found dead in water tank entered by herself whilst Temporarily Insane’.⁶⁶⁴

If a suicide attempt failed, the judgment was merciful. For instance, two women who attempted suicide were ‘Convicted and ordered to come up for sentence when called on’.⁶⁶⁵

CATHERINE YOUNG/GLEESON

During the 1880s, David Kerr Young mined at Waiorongomai.⁶⁶⁶ In 1868 he had been married for only one month before his daughter Mary Catherine (sometimes known as May or Mary Helen or Mary Ellen) was born.⁶⁶⁷ In January 1887, Edmund George, a miner aged 23, married her in the registrar’s office at Thames,⁶⁶⁸ six months before their first child, a son, was born.⁶⁶⁹ A daughter was born in 1889.⁶⁷⁰ Only after moving to Waiorongomai, when they had been married for 18 months, did the couple tell her parents that they had married and had two children.⁶⁷¹

Young’s younger daughter, Catherine (registered as Kate), was born in 1876.⁶⁷² On 1 April 1890, George was arrested, six miles from Morrinsville,⁶⁷³ and two months later, when he was charged with ‘carnally knowing girl under fourteen years’, **Catherine Young** gave evidence to the Supreme Court, as recorded by Judge Conolly:

⁶⁶⁴ Death Certificate of Jessie Smith, 23 August 1902, 1902/4564, BDM.

⁶⁶⁵ New Zealand Constabulary, Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1903-1917, 66/1913, BADB 11355/1a; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1913-1919, 46/1915, BCDG 11220/2b, ANZ-A.

⁶⁶⁶ See Te Aroha Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 142, 146, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 143, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1885, p. 7, 5 March 1887, p. 2, 12 May 1888, p. 2, 2 June 1888, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁷ Marriage Certificate of David Kerr Young, 26 July 1868, 1868/7457; Birth Certificate of Mary Catherine Young, 27 August 1868, 1868/18482, BDM.

⁶⁶⁸ Marriage Certificate of Edmund George, 12 January 1887, 1887/2039, BDM.

⁶⁶⁹ Birth Certificate of Edmund Percival George, 12 July 1887, 1887/5253, BDM.

⁶⁷⁰ Birth Certificate of Kathleen Mary George, 1889/12171, BDM.

⁶⁷¹ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, pp. 238, 239, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁷² Birth Certificate of Kate Young, 16 April 1876, 1876/6871, BDM; Baptismal Certificate of Catherine Young, born 16 April 1876, Register of Thames Baptisms 1874-1886, Catholic Archives, Auckland.

⁶⁷³ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, p. 240, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

I was 14 on 16th April. I know accused. He is my brother in law. On 21st March last he was living at W[aiorongomai] with his wife. Not very far from my father's house, about 100 yards I shd. think. I remember 21st March last. There were races at Te Aroha on that day. I saw my brother in law that day, at my father's house. My brother, 17, came home to dinner, & then went back to work. Then I was in house by myself. He came up for a bucket of water & sd he was coming back again with my mother's scissors. This was about 1/2 past 12. He came back again afterwds about 1 o'clock. I was washing up the dishes. I looked round & saw his head halfway through the passage door. He came in & went into my brothers' bedroom. As I was going to one of the rooms passing between my brothers bedroom door & the passage door he took hold of my arm & pulled me inside the bedroom. He put me on the bed and had connection with me. Then he went outside to catch a pig. After catching it he went in the stable loft. Called me. I asked him what he wanted. He said I want to speak to you. I asked him what he wanted to say. He sd only to speak to you. I then went up in the loft. He was standing at the door. When I got up there he shut the door. Then he caught my arms & put me on the floor and had connection with me. He told me not to tell anybody. He sd if I did we would both be shot. He went down out of the loft, and went into the kitchen. Had conversation with him 26 Jany. He asked me his age. I gave him no answer. I don't remember his asking me more than once.

Under cross-examination, she admitted having sex with him seven times between January and March. 'He used to come in the daytime & say I want you tonight I want to speak to you. I did not consent on every occasion. He always used to say Kitty I will not do any harm to you. He did not have connection every time he saw me. I deny that I consented on 21st March'. Conolly then 'read part of her deposition to her as to consenting to both acts of connection', to which she responded that her sister had asked her 'to try to get him off'.

I swear not more than seven times. He told me he was up there till eleven o'clock at night. I did not go. – When I cd not go out to speak to him I was to show a lighted candle. That was only once. Something was sd about smelling a rat. My mother would be sad. Not my mother, the little woman, meaning his wife. – Went to the spring and had connection there when he wanted to speak to me twice. Did not scream or tell my mother. 21st March was the last occasion of connection. He always told me it was not wrong. That was all I thought about it. – Mr Carter lives near our place, 22 or 23 yds. – Never told him my mother was angry about going out back way, and suspected something. Another day he killed a pig, my mother was at door knitting. He sd see if yr mother is sitting down Kitty. He did not come with me that day. I once went with him to dairy. Had not conn then. Remember his sharpening an axe at my mothers one day. Had no conn that day: my big brother was there. My little brother was at the races. Only went once in loft with prisoner. – Went to his house for a loaf of bread while his wife was at my sister's. He gave me the key. We had no connection then. In Jany he asked my age. At my sister's house. He mentioned three numbers. Either 13 14 15 or 14 15 16. I gave no answer. I

swear that I did not say 14. (Depositions referred to.) I am quite sure now that I did not say I was 14. Had connection with him near Murphy's fence. He would have stopped then if I had called out.

She recalled her sister telling her the ages of herself and George and that she, Catherine, would be 14 in April.

Remember Sergt of Police coming to take my statet before I was examd at Te Aroha. My sister told me to tell the truth. I never said that my mother wd not let me tell the truth that I tried to. I never sd anything of the sort.... Remember seeing sister at mothers house, after accused was committed, She asked me whether I had told prisr that I was 14. I told her no. I swear that I did not say yes.⁶⁷⁴

Her mother then gave evidence:

I have two daughters. Accused married to other one. Do not know how long. He has two children. Remember seeing him 31st March in his own house. I told him that he ought to be ashamed to leave his wife & chn without fire or food. He sd you are in a hell of a lot of trouble now but mind you will be in more trouble before you are aware of it – time works all things. He gave me such a look at the time.

I went home. Had a talk with youngest girl. Then went back to his house. Asked him what he had done to my child. He sd so help me God I never did anything to the little girl more than I wd my own sister. Do you think I'm a dog? I sd you did, the child has confessed all to me. He then sd he did, and I cd do nothing to him. I sd her father will shoot you tonight when he comes home. I said she is not of age, she is only thirteen. He turned as white as a sheet & sd "my God I am in for rape."

Cross-examined, she denied having any quarrel with George. 'Never told Kate showed him too much attention. Never suspected them in the least. – Only suspicion was from his look. Never laid a trap to catch him.... His wife told me she thought there was something between them'.⁶⁷⁵

Her father then gave evidence that George and his family lived in his house for four months whilst George was at work.

He came home from Saty to Monday. I had one quarrel with him. I knocked him down he did not wait for any more. It was in my own house. I never

⁶⁷⁴ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge's Notebook 1889-1890, pp. 235-238, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁷⁵ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge's Notebook 1889-1890, pp. 238-239, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

turned my little girl out of the house. He boasted of the crime that he committed with my child. This was since he was out on bail.⁶⁷⁶

In his evidence, George stated he had married ‘about 18 months before I knew the family’. He insisted that he had asked Catherine several times if she was 14, and certainly ‘before the first connection’. Cross-examined on this point, and only this point, he said he had asked her age ‘because I knew that she cd not consent unless she was fourteen. This was in my own house – wife & chn lying in bed in next room. I sd if May finds it out she will shoot you’.⁶⁷⁷

His wife gave evidence of a discussion that took place after January about ages, with her sister saying she was just 14. When the police sergeant came to take her sister’s deposition, she told her to tell the truth. When Catherine came out of the preliminary court hearing after giving evidence, ‘She put up both her hands “Oh May I tried to but mother made me”’. Catherine told her that she had told George that she was 14. ‘There was ill feeling between my father & my husband’. Had not told Catherine when she would be 14 because ‘I did not then know when her birthday was’.⁶⁷⁸ (Clearly birthday presents were not a feature of the Young household).

George’s counsel said ‘he could not defend the prisoner on moral grounds, for his crime was too black, but on legal grounds he must say that he could defend him. The prisoner clearly had reasonable grounds for supposing that the girl was over fourteen’. The prosecutor did not address the jury, but Conolly in his summing up referred ‘in unmeasured terms to the blackguardly conduct of the accused in deliberately planning the ruin of a child, his own sister in law, whose honour he should have been the first to protect’. He then ‘summed up strongly in favour of the supposition the prisoner had reasonable grounds for believing that the girl was over fourteen’.⁶⁷⁹ After deliberating for an hour-and-a-half, the jury asked Conolly ‘whether the prisoner in his position with relation to the girl’s family was not bound to make enquiries as to her age. I reply in negative’. Seventeen minutes later, the jury brought in a guilty verdict. Conolly ‘being of opinion that the verdict is agst the evidence and that the prisoner had reasonable cause, reserve judgment for considn of the Court of Appeal’, prisoner to be placed in

⁶⁷⁶ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, p. 239, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁷⁷ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, p. 240, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁷⁸ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, p. 241, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁷⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1890, p. 6.

custody until recognizances entered into.⁶⁸⁰ After two weeks the money was found, and George was discharged from prison.⁶⁸¹ Conolly had wondered whether he could override the jury and direct an acquittal but ‘did not know any authority on the subject’, so decided to refer the case to the higher court.⁶⁸²

The *Auckland Weekly News*, which considered the evidence to be ‘unfit for publication’, described Catherine as ‘well grown for her age, and by no means unintelligent’, and stressed that she ‘did not attempt to deny that she was a consenting party’.⁶⁸³ The Court of Appeal considered that Conolly should have stopped the case, and squashed it.⁶⁸⁴ After this case concluded, Mary Catherine/Mary Ellen did not divorce her husband; after 1905 her mother lost all contact with her, though she believed she was still in New Zealand.⁶⁸⁵ Only one Edmund George died in New Zealand before 1970, in 1913, but his age was given as 50, not 47; the only Mary Ellen George registered died in 1962, aged 76, the wrong age (no Mary Catherine George was registered).⁶⁸⁶ George’s future was that of a drunken labourer. In 1903, when living in Auckland, he was convicted of drunkenness and committing an indecent act (the normal expression for urinating in a public place) and imprisoned for seven days.⁶⁸⁷ In December 1897, he was admitted to the Auckland hospital because of alcoholism; discharged as recovered, he was readmitted 11 days later for the same reason.⁶⁸⁸ In 1905, he was again admitted for acute alcoholism.⁶⁸⁹ A year-and-a-half later, when seeking assistance, the Auckland charitable aid committee considered sending him to the Salvation Army’s home for alcoholics on Rotoroa Island.⁶⁹⁰ By the end of 1909, he had been convicted 11 times and had spent two prison terms for breaching a prohibition order and subsequently begging in the streets.⁶⁹¹ In much of this behaviour he had

⁶⁸⁰ Supreme Court, Auckland, Conolly J, Judge’s Notebook 1889-1890, p. 241, BBAE A304/119, ANZ-A.

⁶⁸¹ *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 18 June 1890, p. 119.

⁶⁸² *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1890, p. 6.

⁶⁸³ Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 June 1890, p. 19.

⁶⁸⁴ *Thames Star*, 8 November 1890, p. 2; Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 December 1890, p. 19.

⁶⁸⁵ Probate of Catherine Young, Probates, BBAE 1859/2439, ANZ-A.

⁶⁸⁶ Death Certificates of Edmund George, 1913/6058; Mary Ellen George. 1962/39654, BDM.

⁶⁸⁷ *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 8 April 1903, p. 101.

⁶⁸⁸ Auckland Hospital, Register of Patients 1893-1899, folios 168, 170, ZAAP 15288/3a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁸⁹ Auckland Hospital, Register of Admissions and Discharges 1904-1908, folio 52, YCAB 15288/4a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹⁰ Auckland Charitable Aid Committee, Minute Book 1903-1909, folio 204, YCAB 13034/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹¹ *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 23 June 1909, p. 262, 1 December 1909, p. 503.

something in common with his father-in-law, who on three occasions between 1890 and 1900 was in trouble with the law for being drunk and disorderly.⁶⁹²

The judge's opinion that Catherine had been corrupted by her brother-in-law could be supported by the fact that, two years later, when aged 16, she had a daughter to an unnamed father.⁶⁹³ In August 1897, when 21, she married a miner two years her senior, William Cornelius McPike.⁶⁹⁴ They had no children, and, five years after he died in Australia having been married for only 11 months, she was remarried in Auckland to James Huntly Beeson, aged 27, less than eight months before the birth of their first child.⁶⁹⁵ As he was a bushman, they lived at Mercury Bay, Kaihu, Matakoho, and Mokai before finally settling in Auckland in 1910.⁶⁹⁶ They would have seven children (three of whom died when very young).⁶⁹⁷ In her 1920 petition for divorce, she stated that since their marriage Beeson had been an 'habitual drunkard' and from 1915 onwards was 'guilty of persistent cruelty' by 'beating her and by using abusive and threatening language towards her'. In addition, since about 1910 he had left her 'without adequate means of support'. In 1908, he had been convicted of being drunk in an Auckland street and discharged after paying for the 'cost of treatment and £1-2-9 damage to Constable Murphy's trousers'. In 1911, when he was working as a labourer at Penrose, she had obtained a prohibition order against him. In her evidence, Catherine stated that he had started drinking when they were living at Matakoho.

He used to come to town for a short time and in that time went through a lot of money. He couldn't get drink at Mokai. He was all right there. Ist serious matter was at Te Aroha. He brought me to the hotel there. He went away and said that he would be back soon and left me only £1. He did not return

⁶⁹² Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 13/1892, 1/1900, in private possession; Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 34/1890, 22/1892, BCDG 11220/1a; Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 1/1900, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹³ Birth Certificate of Catherine Hazel Young, 7 September 1892, 1892/11968, BDM.

⁶⁹⁴ Marriage Certificate of Catherine Young, 31 August 1897, 1897/3477, BDM.

⁶⁹⁵ Marriage Certificate of Catherine McPike, 17 July 1902, 1902/4152; Birth Certificates of James Huntly Beeson, 4 February 1875, 1875/2381; Huntly Tracey Beeson, 5 February 1903, 1903/17316, BDM; Beeson v. Beeson, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹⁶ Beeson v. Beeson, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A.

⁶⁹⁷ Birth Certificates of Huntly Tracey Beeson, 5 February 1903, 1903/17316; Sydney Beeson, 1904/13112; Florrie Dulcie Beeson, 1906/196; Noel Raymond Beeson, 5 December 1906, 1907/9220; Daphne Erroll Beeson, 1909/17083; Phyllis Catherine Beeson, 29 December 1911, 1911/6348; Death Certificates of Sydney Beeson, 1904/6537; Florie Dulcie Beeson, 1908/673; Daphne Erroll Beeson, 1909/2647, BDM.

that day nor the next and I was very ill at this time. I lost sight of him for some time. I then came to Auckland to search for him. I was not able to find him. I then took maintenance proceedings against him in Auckland, and he was ordered to pay 30/- but he sent £2 from Northern Wairoa and some little time after he turned up himself. Order [issued in] 1907. We were living in Wellington St Auckland, and he turned up there and said that he would turn over a new leaf and I lived with him. He was excavating somewhere near the wharf. He then started drinking worse than ever. I did sewing and one time I received 17/-. The lack of money has been my complaint all during my married life. My brother and father have supplied me with money right through my married life. This is the house where midnight escapade [took place: not explained]. He turned up in 1907.

In July the following year 1908 my father came to see me, and he died suddenly and my husband was on the spree then I having a little money. He made me give it to him. This was money that came from my father. One night I was awoken with a noise in my bedroom, and I sat up and saw my husband leading in a man bleeding from the face and head. Both man and husband very drunk. I asked him if he knew what he was doing. He said yes but keep quiet. I told him that he could not stay in the room and told him that he was mad. He then came to me and told me that he would hit me if I made a fuss. I took my baby and slept with it on the kitchen floor. Man and Husband slept in my bed. Man and he disappeared next morning and was away for a week and I found him at Newmarket with a man named Sherry. His condition was frightfully in drink, and the police had him under observation. I promised the police to come for him at night if they would not touch him. I took him home and he could not [missing words?] look after him for 3 days and when he got better, he was away for a few days, to the same man and when he came back, we got notice to quit. We took then furnished rooms at Onehunga. He went with me and asked me to get house and said that he had gone out for furniture. He said that a pal was going to lend him £23 but at midnight he came home with no furniture and no food and he was drunk. Landlady gave me mattress. A Week £8 or £10 for furniture on time payment. I had 2 children then and a week after I had 3rd child, but this child died. It was premature born.⁶⁹⁸ I remained in Onehunga for 1 year. I had to do sewing for livelihood. Husband was drinking very much, all the time. He lived with me sometimes working at odd jobs and then did trimming trees and kept on drinking all the time. In 1909 things got so bad that I had to go to father at Te Aroha [as her father had died in the previous year, she must have meant her brother]. Husband followed me there and he kicked up such a row that I had to come back with him. In 1910 I went to Ellerslie and he lived at home with me and did not work. He got bordering on delirium tremens. He imagined that he saw persons behind him. He brought Claude Reid to live with him and he was a drunkard. I then took him to Taihape and wanted him to get him into the bush. I gave him a £1 and ticket. Instead, he went to Hamilton and went on the spree and sold all his things. He got seriously ill there. He was [a] month or 6 weeks sick. He had doctor attending him at Hamilton through his habits. I did not pay the doctor. Some weeks after this he got work. He came back to Ellerslie after spree for me to keep him again and for about 6 weeks he kept sober and that was 1st money I had for 18 months. He was working at the freezing

⁶⁹⁸ Neither its birth nor death was registered.

works. Then he was had up for being drunk and was prohibited. That would be end of 1910....

Since May 1910 I have received practically no money. In Sept 1910 we came to Penrose. When he shifted there the 1st day I arrived there at 4 o'clock but husband had gone. Prohibition order had no effect. I then got another order for separation, but he refused to leave me. He said that if I got 30/- per week from him I would have to keep him. I didn't get 30/- per week and had to keep him. He was drinking as usual. I got into debt and we had to shift from that house, and we shifted to another house in Penrose. Landlord offered it to me if I would clean it up. I cleaned it up. I took in boarders and husband lived with me. He works for a while and then goes on spree. He goes on bush contracts and then goes on sprees....

I became seriously ill because of excessive work. I went to the Hospital. Husband wanted to borrow money on furniture. I consented to find money for nurse and doctors. He did not pay doctor by spent money on drink. He came to see my once but on other occasions he was turned away by the authorities as he was too drunk. When I came out of the hospital we went to Te Tapu. It was just a shack and had neither windows nor doors. He started cutting firewood there. I helped him to bag it up and sometimes cut some. He gave me some orders to collect money, but he always got it before me. In 1914. In 1915, in beginning we went to Horotiu [near Hamilton] to the freezing works. And for 2 months he got 10/- per week. We were then burnt out. I went back to Penrose and took two rooms, my husband then came from Horotiu and went to freezing works near here. He drank heavily and was discharged. In 1916 he spent 4 months in continuous drinking. He got a job at Penrose at £3 per week. That lasted a month when he was sacked again for drink. Early in 1917 we went to Matamata and I arrived home in about March and he sent me very little money. He sent me about 10/- per week. He had a bit of money when he came home. There is no hotel at Matamata. He then went on spree again which lasted until July. He became brutal to me at times through drink. In the morning when he had not had drink, he seems to be worse. One time in 1918 he was using very bad language and one of the boys said Dad don't swear and he jumped through the window and threatened our lives and I and children had to go out and stay out until 3 in [the] morning until he had gone to sleep. I myself tried to start milk round as we had a few cows. He got 23 acres and got cows on time payment. He said that he would go share milking if I would milk cows at home. I had 13. I and [one] boy did the work. He came home during Xmas holidays for 5 days, but I got no money from him as he said that he wanted it himself. One of boys ill at the time and his temperature was 103 degrees. He wanted to send him to milk before sending him for the milk. I got angry and he knocked me on the floor. I got 25/- from him at this time. I got into difficulty over money and bailiff was put in and took possession of cows. He told me not to worry as he had 3 months money to collect from Harrison for whom he was working and I believed him. I found that there was nothing owing and that he had drunk it all.

4 of [the] calves were taken without my consent because Beeson had sold them without consent or knowledge. March to Sept 1918 he did no work at all.

In Oct he got another alleged milking job from Cox. This was at Mangare, From Oct 1918 till Apr 1919. During that time, he came home twice only. On Xmas time he was on spree. He only stayed 2 or 3 hours in Feb the other

occasion. In April 1919 he arrived home late at night and fell through the window. He was completely drunk and could not get off floor.

In the earlier part of our marriage ,he used to say when children grew up he would not drink. Now he says that he does not care where you got your money. Child born a week after he got home this time. 3 weeks after[wards] bailiff was in to claim for rent.

I then took at Penrose [a] vacant shop [it] has dwelling house at the back and I support myself with aid of son. Since April last parents [meaning her mother] have sent me £80 and more money arrived here this morning. I have lived there ever since. He comes home now and has turned place into a drinking den.⁶⁹⁹

(Her mother died at her house in mid-June, aged 72, shortly after being reunited with her.⁷⁰⁰) John Russell, a Penrose builder, gave evidence that he had first met Catherine in 1910.

The morning after they took my house I went down to see if they had made arrangements with tradesmen. I saw resp[ondent] lying on bed with bottles under the bed. I met him a few days later on the street when he was drunk. I found out later that children were hungry and I brought them food. Petner [petitioner] often sent for me when there was trouble. I went to lower Court to see case [against Beeson] when it was heard. I had another house and I said that petner could go in there if she kept it clean. He lived with Petner most of the time. I sometimes saw a good deal of him and then I would not see him for days. He was a good workman when he liked and was a tip top bushman. In 1913 when wife ill he came to me for loan for £30 to pay medical expenses but not with consent of petner. I would not give him anything without her consent. Petner then went to hospital. His condition while she was away was that he was drunk most of the time. They did not pay the rent to me.... In 1916 she started a milk round. Resp condition was the same. All tradespeople look to petner for payment and not to Resp. He is hopeless.⁷⁰¹

Her older son's evidence was brief: 'I don't think that I can remember him coming home not drunk. He used to always kick me'. As Beeson, at that time a farmer at Penrose, did not appear to defend himself, the divorce was granted and Catherine obtained custody of her children.⁷⁰² (It should be noted that for at least part of this dreadful marriage, Catherine continued to give Beeson his conjugal rights, willingly or

⁶⁹⁹ Evidence of Catherine Beeson, *Beeson v. Beeson*, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A [typographical errors corrected].

⁷⁰⁰ Death Certificate of Catherine Young, 15 June 1920, 192012141/, BDM; Probates, BBAE 14894, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 18 June 1920, p. 2.

⁷⁰¹ Evidence of John Russell, *Beeson v. Beeson*, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A [typos corrected].

⁷⁰² *Beeson v. Beeson*, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A.

otherwise, her last child, Eric Leo Keith, being born in May 1919; for some reason, his birth was not recorded.⁷⁰³)

Six years later, her former husband was before the Auckland police court charged ‘with committing mischief by willfully damaging a door’ and being in Catherine’s house during the night. His counsel said he ‘had not been very well lately. He ran a farm, and his two sons lived with their mother’. He had drunk ‘one or two bottles of wine and went to his wife’s place to get his sons to milk for him. There was a “scrap” and the door was damaged’, which he was ordered to pay for; ‘on the other charge he was convicted and ordered to come up for sentence when called upon’.⁷⁰⁴ He would die in 1945, aged 70; she died in 1962, aged 86.⁷⁰⁵

THE KENNYS OF PARK HOUSE

From mid-August 1894 until the first issue of March 1895, the following advertisement appeared in the *Observer*:

PARK HOUSE.
Te Aroha Hot Springs.
 PRIVATE BOARDING HOUSE
 OPPOSITE THE DOMAIN.
 NEW LIBRARY AND READING ROOM.
 Visitors and Travellers will receive every
 attention and comfort.
 TERMS22s 6d per week.
 Telegrams and Letters promptly attended to
 MRS KENNY, PROPRIETRESS⁷⁰⁶

In September 1894, the *Observer* Man noted this advertisement and wondered why other boarding houses and hotels did not advertise in this way, with the tourist season ‘fast approaching’.⁷⁰⁷

Mrs **Martha Kenny** ran Park House with the assistance of her unmarried daughter Mabel Elizabeth. Born Martha Allen, she had been married in 1872, when

⁷⁰³ Beeson v. Beeson, High Court, Divorce Files, BBAE 4984/1566, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of Eric Leo Keith Beeson, 1969/25404, BDM; *Auckland Star*, 4 June 1941, p. 8, 9 October 1945, p. 6; *New Zealand Herald*, 16 December 1941, p. 8.

⁷⁰⁴ Police Court, *Auckland Star*, 10 September 1926, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁵ Death Certificates of James Huntly Beeson, 1945/20909; Catherine Beeson, 1962/40011, BDM.

⁷⁰⁶ Advertisements, *Observer*, 18 August 1894, p. 9 – 2 March 1895, p. 19.

⁷⁰⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 29 September 1894, p. 21.

aged 18, to a master mariner, John Longford Kenny, of Onehunga.⁷⁰⁸ He was the master of a cutter, 'Flora MacDonald', which traded between Onehunga and Raglan.⁷⁰⁹ A year after their marriage, twin girls were born: Mary Eleanor and Mabel Elizabeth.⁷¹⁰ Shortly after their births,⁷¹¹ at six o'clock on the morning of 2 February 1874,

the signalman at the Manukau Heads made out a cutter labouring heavily in the stiff south-westerly gale blowing and endeavouring to make the entrance to the harbour. A very heavy sea was running at the time, and the signal was made "bar dangerous, stand off." The cutter, whether in distress or from what cause is not known, stood on for the bar, taking the southern channel. All went safely till just when it was hoped she had passed all danger she broached to and capsized, sinking almost immediately.⁷¹²

It had left for Raglan the previous evening with a cargo of freight, five passengers, and a crew of three. Although the New Zealand-built vessel was designed for crossing harbour bars, it was 15 years old and had 'lately been leaking considerably when caught in wet weather'. Kenny had previously crossed the bar when the danger signal was flying, and on this occasion had drifted towards it after the wind changed when he was off the coast at Waiuku.⁷¹³ It was believed

he in all probability had no alternative but to run the gauntlet. His vessel was evidently jammed down, and it was impossible for him to have stood out to sea.... No blame should therefore be attached to the memory of the man as having recklessly exposed his vessel and the lives under his charge. In all probability the helmsman was washed from the tiller by one of the immense rollers, and before he could recover himself the cutter broached to, fell over on her beam-ends, and sank. It was the work of a few moments, and although observed by the signalman from the heights above, no human aid was possible to save the lives of those on board.⁷¹⁴

In response to criticism of Kenny, a man who had 'intimately known' him wrote that 'his kindness of manner and attention to the wants of his passengers are generally known at Onehunga and Raglan, and will cause much heartfelt sympathy to be felt, in both these places at least, for him, and regret for his untimely death, and also as regards Mrs Kenny and helpless offspring'. He stressed that 'no skipper could possibly be more

⁷⁰⁸ Marriage Certificate of John Longford Kenny, 1872/6680, BDM.

⁷⁰⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 8 March 1870, p. 3.

⁷¹⁰ Birth Certificates of Mary Eleanor Kenny, 1873/37075; Mabel Elizabeth Kenny, 1873/37078, BDM.

⁷¹¹ *Auckland Star*, 3 February 1874, p. 2.

⁷¹² *Auckland Star*, 2 February 1874, p. 2.

⁷¹³ *Daily Southern Cross*, 3 February 1874, p. 3.

⁷¹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 February 1874, p. 3.

solicitous for the lives and property committed to his care', and he would not have 'wilfully exposed a single life to unnecessary risk'. Kenny had been known 'to wait four days at Manukau Heads and a week at Raglan for the weather to be settled'. When the head wind became a gale, 'what could he do but put back, as he was off an ironbound coast, with bar harbours, broadside on to the ocean's sweep, and in danger of losing every stitch of his canvas? All went well, I believe, till the tiller broke – a not very surprising occurrence to anyone who knows the spot'.⁷¹⁵

As a further tragic blow, one of her twins, Mary Eleanor, died on 4 March 1875, aged only 16 months.⁷¹⁶ Widowed at such an early age, Martha was forced to make her own living, about which only a few details have survived. In 1876, she had an acre in the village of Onehunga.⁷¹⁷ Then, in May 1891, she advertised that she had taken over the Temperance Hotel in Raglan.⁷¹⁸ One month later, she applied for the publican's license for the Royal Hotel in the same settlement, which was granted in October, one month before she applied to transfer it to another publican.⁷¹⁹ She then moved to Te Aroha, where she continued to struggle to make a living. For example, when seeking a loan from an Auckland solicitor in May 1894, she was told to wait until her daughter Mabel turned 21, for unclear reasons:

I regret that I cannot lend you the money you require – It is always difficult to procure money upon personal property & I have no clients that will lend on that kind of security – It is not long to wait until October when your daughter will be of age & I strongly advise you to put up with any inconvenience rather than go to the expense of borrowing.⁷²⁰

In 1895, they returned to Onehunga, where Mabel was married in the following year.⁷²¹ They had sold their Te Aroha boardinghouse to a man who would spend 'a good deal of money in renovation' just before it was destroyed in a fire in January 1896; he then had to rebuild it.⁷²² She still owned the piano and furniture in Park House,

⁷¹⁵ Letter from 'Honour to the Brave', *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 February 1874, p. 2.

⁷¹⁶ Death Certificate of Mary Eleanor Kenny, 4 March 1875, 1875/2148, BDM; Death Notice, *Waikato Times*, 6 March 1875, p. 2.

⁷¹⁷ Advertisement, *Daily Southern Cross*, 23 November 1876, p. 1.

⁷¹⁸ Advertisement, *Waikato Times*, 23 May 1891, p. 3.

⁷¹⁹ Advertisements, *Waikato Times*, 1 October 1891, p. 3, 12 November 1891, p. 3.

⁷²⁰ James Russell to Mrs Kenny, 30 May 1894, Letterbook no. 55, p. 610, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷²¹ Marriage Certificate of Mabel Elizabeth Kenny, 27 May 1896, 1896/429, BDM.

⁷²² *Thames Star*, 25 January 1896, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 January 1896, p. 6, advertisement, 22 August 1896, p. 3.

which she had insured for £180.⁷²³ Her subsequent life went unreported. When she died at Te Aroha in 1922, she left all her estate, estimated to be worth under £500, to her daughter, Mabel;⁷²⁴ she had been a widow for 50 years.

Park House was mentioned in gossip columns as being a place for flirtations. In February 1893, ‘A local man says he will have to go and stay at the Park House. Is Miss A. the attraction?’⁷²⁵ Three years later, the O.M. asked: ‘What takes J.D. and P.H. to Park House? Is it to cultivate their voices or capture the young ladies?’⁷²⁶ All of which suggests musical evenings and innocent flirtations.

In February 1895, the O.M. reported that ‘Mr and Mrs William Cassels are in town visiting her mother’.⁷²⁷ **Emma Cassels**, born Emma Jane Thomson, had married William Cassels, a Te Aroha ‘telegraphist’, in a Presbyterian service in Mrs Kenny’s home two years previously.⁷²⁸ A year after her marriage she was noted as singing in a concert at Morrinsville, though she never sang at Te Aroha, where she was living.⁷²⁹ Was she the Emma who earned a reproof in mid-1892?

Last Friday evening a toff dance was held in Park House, and the recipients of invitations rolled up *en masse*. One young lady in this community who thinks herself a little angel, stated she would not mix up with the likes of barbers and boarding-house girls. Don’t forget yourself, Emma. There is an old saying, “Cast the beam out of thine own eye, before thou look at thy neighbour’s.”⁷³⁰

Their 1895 visit resulted in Emma Cassels receiving a letter from an Auckland legal firm:

We are instructed by Mrs Kenny of Te Aroha boarding house keeper to write to you respecting certain statements made by you to Mrs Davenport and Mrs Burton of Parnell respecting Mrs Kenny and the character of the house kept by her. These statements were to the effect that the house kept by Mrs Kenny was not a respectable house – that it was a bad house – that men were seen coming out of the house at all hours of the night and

⁷²³ *Auckland Star*, 24 November 1896, p. 3.

⁷²⁴ Death Certificate of Martha Kenny, 1922/5729, BDM; Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/1614, ANZ-A.

⁷²⁵ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 11 February 1893, p. 21.

⁷²⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 15 February 1896, p. 21.

⁷²⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 2 February 1895, p. 21.

⁷²⁸ Marriage Certificate of Emma Jane Thomson and William Cassels, 23 December 1893, 1893/3034, BDM; *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1893*, p. 6; Marriage Notice, *Auckland Star*, 3 January 1894, p. 8.

⁷²⁹ ‘Morrinsville’, *Observer*, 22 December 1894, p. 22.

⁷³⁰ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 30 July 1892, p. 19.

morning, and much more to the same effect. You moreover stated to these ladies that you had cautioned others by making similar statements to them. You must of course be aware that statements of this nature are certain to do our client great harm in her business of a boarding house keeper, as well as irreparable injury to her character. They are charges too serious to be passed over and our instructions are to at once take proceedings against you for damages in the Supreme Court unless a full and ample apology and retraction is made by you which our client can publish in newspapers. We have to request an answer from you by Thursday next at 10 o'clock as to whether you will make the apology referred to – failing which we shall issue a writ to recover damages suffered by our client for this most unjust and wicked slander.⁷³¹

The two women named in this letter had informed Mrs Kenny of what Emma had said about her and her daughter.⁷³² Three days after the solicitor's letter was sent, Emma wrote a written apology, to be informed that

under the circumstances our client will not accept. There were statements made by you respecting Miss Kenny which were gross untruths & her name must be included in the apology. We have drawn out an apology, which Mrs Kenny will accept if signed by you – also in your maiden name as shown in pencil on the apology.

If she would sign this apology and meet the legal costs 'we will advise Mrs Kenny to let the matter drop'.⁷³³ Once Emma signed and paid the legal fee and cost of advertising, the solicitor hoped Mrs Kenny would see this as 'sufficient';⁷³⁴ and she did. The advertisement was published the following day:

I wish to apologize to Mrs and Miss Kenny, of Park House, Te Aroha, for the false statements I have made to different persons about them. I now say that Park House is very respectable and of good repute, and my statements that it was otherwise were incorrect and I have to express my sincere regret for the damage I have done to their characters.... Emma Cassell (nee Emma Thompson).⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ Jackson and Russell to Emma Cassels, 22 February 1895, Letterbook no. 58, pp. 120-121, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷³² James Russell to Mrs Kenny, 23 February 1895, Letterbook no. 58, p. 131, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷³³ Jackson and Russell to Emma Cassels, 7 March 1895, Letterbook no. 58, p. 226, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷³⁴ James Russell to Mrs Kenny, 12 March 1895, Letterbook no. 58, p. 268, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁷³⁵ Personal Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 13 March 1895, p. 1 [spelling of names as in original].

What evidence Emma Cassels thought she had about Park House being a place of ill repute is unknown, apart from her claiming that men visited at all hours of day and night, with Mrs Kenny's daughter clearly seen as being free with her sexual favours.

Mabel Elizabeth Kenny had been born in October 1873.⁷³⁶ Before her marriage in 1896, she featured prominently in the *Observer's* gossip columns. In May 1893, after first recording that 'the young lady at the Park has many admirers', the O.M. noted that F.E., who has not been identified, 'the new arrival' at the Hot Springs Hotel, was 'a great lady's man'.⁷³⁷ One month later, 'F.E. will soon have to get a new pair of boots if he goes to the park house so often to listen to the young lady playing the piano, "What will you do love when I am going?"'⁷³⁸ Two weeks later, 'F.E. seems to be going to the park still. Knocking at the door is out of fashion, F. Tapping at the window and whistling is coming in'.⁷³⁹ One month later, 'I hear that F.E. is going to board at the Park House. What is the attraction?'⁷⁴⁰ Another month later, 'F.E. seems down-hearted since M.K. took her departure for town. Cheer up, F., some day she'll wander back again'.⁷⁴¹ Yet another month later, 'F.E. was piling it on with A.F. at the Social the other week. What would M.K. say if she knew?'⁷⁴² The following month, F.E. was 'often seen at the Domain gate whistling "only to see thy face again." Is it M.K.'s face he means?'⁷⁴³ In March 1894, 'What makes M.K. so sad since she has returned from⁷⁴⁴ Hamilton. Has S.H. given her the cold shoulder?'⁷⁴⁵ S.H. has not been identified, but he, like F.E., was no longer of interest to her.

By 1894, Mabel was being noticed for her beauty and good taste in clothes. In April, at Te Aroha's first Horticultural Show, 'Miss E. Kenny' (her second name was Elizabeth) was equal first place in the competition for the 'prettiest Te Aroha belle'.⁷⁴⁶ Two months later, 'Miss Kenny' wore a 'black and rose-pink' dress to a ball.⁷⁴⁷

⁷³⁶ Birth Certificate of Mabel Elizabeth Kenny, 1873/6192, BDM.

⁷³⁷ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 27 May 1893, p. 21.

⁷³⁸ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 24 June 1893, p. 22.

⁷³⁹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 8 July 1893, p. 23.

⁷⁴⁰ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 5 August 1893, p. 21.

⁷⁴¹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 9 September 1893, p. 21.

⁷⁴² 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 14 October 1893, p. 21.

⁷⁴³ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 18 November 1893, p. 21.

⁷⁴⁴ 'To', in original.

⁷⁴⁵ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 10 March 1894, p. 22.

⁷⁴⁶ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 14 April 1894, p. 21.

⁷⁴⁷ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 9 June 1894, p. 17.

In May, five months before her 21st birthday, the *Observer* Man reported that M.K. was ‘anxiously waiting for the 21st birthday of E.S. Oh good gracious’.⁷⁴⁸ E.S. was Ernest Smardon, born in September 1875,⁷⁴⁹ who would in fact not be of age for another two years and four months. He was first noted in the local newspaper as attending a fancy dress ball in 1888, dressed as a footballer.⁷⁵⁰ He was a partner in Smardon Bros, coach proprietors, with his brother John Samuel, who would die in 1899 aged 33.⁷⁵¹ Was he the Ernest who was noted as being ‘out on the Waiorongomai road so often’ in July 1891? The O.M. wondered whether he was ‘thinking of running in double harness with one of the Capt’s daughters’.⁷⁵² The following year, he participated in a four-oared gig race on the river.⁷⁵³ In August 1893, ‘E.S. says he knows every foot of the racecourse road’,⁷⁵⁴ presumably on amorous visits. The following June, ‘M.K. very jealously coveted E.S.’s company most of the evening’ at a dance, ‘and seemed most disconsolate when alone’.⁷⁵⁵ A week later, ‘E.S. and M.K. are still very attentive. Wonder if the cards are out yet’,⁷⁵⁶ a reference to an announcement of marriage. In the following month, ‘E.S. says that Miss K. shall have a ridy pidy in a coachy woachy someday, and ma will be so pleased’;⁷⁵⁷ the coach mentioned implied a wedding coach, and the baby talk was what courting couples supposedly spoke to each other. At a dance held 13 months later, the O.M. claimed that ‘E.S. and Miss T. were doing the heavy. Where, oh where, was Miss K.’s eyes?’,⁷⁵⁸ possibly meaning her spy; and was he being tempted away? In December 1895, after a very amateur ‘lady artist’ included Smardon on horseback in her sketches of Te Aroha people, he was reportedly ‘half a foot taller since he saw that flattering sketch’.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁴⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 5 May 1894, p. 17.

⁷⁴⁹ Birth Certificate of Ernest Smardon, 18 September 1875, 1875/3375, BDM.

⁷⁵⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 22 September 1888, p. 2.

⁷⁵¹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miscellaneous Applications 1896, 73, 153, 154/1896, BBAV 11289/14a, ANZ-A; Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 30 September 1895, entry under ‘Smardon Bros’, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington *Wise’s; New Zealand Directory, 1900*, p. 694; *Thames Advertiser*, 10 June 1897, p. 2; Death Certificate of John Samuel Smardon, 20 August 1899, 1889/3888, BDM.

⁷⁵² ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 25 July 1891, p. 17.

⁷⁵³ *Thames Star*, 22 September 1892, p. 4.

⁷⁵⁴ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 5 August 1893, p. 21.

⁷⁵⁵ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 9 June 1894, p. 17.

⁷⁵⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 16 June 1894, p. 21.

⁷⁵⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 28 July 1894, p. 22.

⁷⁵⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 17 August 1895, p. 21.

⁷⁵⁹ ‘Te Aroha Faces: By a Lady Artist’, *Observer*, 21 December 1895, p. 7.

In February 1896, 'E.S.⁷⁶⁰ seems quite lonely since Miss K's departure'.⁷⁶¹ Two weeks later, 'E.S. appears quite happy since M.'s return'.⁷⁶² Three months later, when still aged 20 but with his father's consent, Smardon married his Mabel, after she had had to wait for over two years.⁷⁶³ Presumably his youth explained why his parents insisted he delay his marriage until he was almost of age, and the fact that they had their first child in December⁷⁶⁴ must have convinced his father to permit their wedding. It was a quiet one in a private house in Onehunga. 'The bride wore a beautiful bridal gown of crème corded silk, tastefully finished with orange blossoms and the customary wreath and veil'.⁷⁶⁵ The first time the newly wedded Mabel was mentioned in a social column was in mid-June, when she attended a 'grand Masonic Ball' wearing a black dress 'relieved with silver'.⁷⁶⁶ Two years later, they led the grand march at a Te Aroha social, Smardon being the M.C.⁷⁶⁷ They were to have five children.⁷⁶⁸ In the next few years he became prominent locally as a Volunteer, a rugby player, performer in benefit concerts, a leading Mason, captain of the fire brigade, and a member of the borough council.⁷⁶⁹ The only misfortune they suffered was his bankruptcy in 1905; the beneficiary of his mother's estate, his hopes had been dashed when this proved to be worthless.⁷⁷⁰ When he died in 1937 he was remembered as a leading figure in the district, 'noted for his upright character, his kindness and generous disposition'.⁷⁷¹ Mabel lived until 1956, dying at the age of 84.⁷⁷²

HARRIET HEALY

⁷⁶⁰ Wrongly printed as G.S.

⁷⁶¹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 8 February 1896, p. 21.

⁷⁶² 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 22 February 1896, p. 21.

⁷⁶³ Notices of Intentions to Marry 1896, folio 512 no. 267, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/42, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of Ernest Smardon, 27 May 1896, 1896/429, BDM.

⁷⁶⁴ Birth Certificate of Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Smardon, 1897/808, BDM.

⁷⁶⁵ 'The Social Sphere', *Observer*, 6 June 1896, p. 8.

⁷⁶⁶ 'The 'Social Sphere', *Observer*, 13 June 1896, p. 8; for Smardon's involvement with the Masons, see *Thames Star*, 8 October 1900, p. 3.

⁷⁶⁷ *Te Aroha News*, n.d., reprinted in *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 5 March 1898, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 18 January 1937, p. 5.

⁷⁶⁹ *Thames Star*, 11 August 1897, p. 1, 5 September 1898, p. 4, 8 October 1900, p. 3, 15 January 1902, p. 4; *Auckland Star*, 21 May 1900, p. 3, 16 August 1900, p. 3, 14 September 1900, p. 3.

⁷⁷⁰ Probates, BBAE 1569/5838; Testamentary Register 1906-1908, folio 18, BBCB 4208/6, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 1906, p. 6, 1 March 1906, p. 3.

⁷⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 18 January 1937, p. 5.

⁷⁷² Death Certificate of Mabel Elizabeth Smardon, 1956/37340, BDM.

Edmond Healy, a Waiorongomai labourer and bushman who was briefly involved with mining there,⁷⁷³ blighted his marriage through his drinking and violence. He was an old soldier who joined the 18th Royal Irish in 1844 and served in Burma, India, China, Crimea, and in New Zealand with the First Waikato Regiment and then the Armed Constabulary.⁷⁷⁴ Subsequently he was a bushman in the Waikato.⁷⁷⁵ When working in the bush near Ngaruawahia in 1880, he did some prospecting and claimed to have found gold.⁷⁷⁶ He had not,⁷⁷⁷ and nor was he successful in his first attempt to marry.

Two years previously, he had charged **Ellen Cheshire**, a servant at a Ngaruawahia hotel, with stealing a gold locket off his watch chain, value 15s. 'It came out in the evidence that informant had been previously engaged to be married to defendant, but that the match was broken off. Before that time plaintiff had allowed the defendant to get goods at his cost at Fitzpatrick & Co.'s store to the extent of some £14 or £15'. On the day of the alleged robbery, he went to the back of the hotel, where Ellen was washing,

and entered into conversation with her at the open window with the object of getting back the presents made to her when engaged to him. Finding he could not succeed, he drew her attention to the locket on his watch guard, saying it contained the likeness of a better-looking girl than ever she was. Defendant made a snatch at the locker, broke it off the guard, and refused to give it up; and Healy left, declaring he would make her pay for it. He obtained a search warrant, and the premises were searched, but without finding the locket in question. It was afterwards found by defendant in the yard where she had thrown it from her and given by her to the police. The Magistrate dismissed the case.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 280, BBAV 11567/1a; Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Plaint Book 1881-1893, 106/1884, BCDG 11224/1a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha Supplementary Electoral Roll, 1891*, p. 2; *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1893*, p. 16.

⁷⁷⁴ For details of his military career, see Army Department, Nominal and Descriptive Roll, 1st Regiment, Waikato Militia, no. 34 (microfilm); Armed Constabulary Force, Description Book, no. 423, Police Department, P 8/1; Land Grant Applications, no. 221, Lands and Survey Department, LS 65/2; Applications for Land Grants, 1889-1892, no. 344, Lands and Survey Department, LS 66/4, ANZ-W; *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 December 1892, p. 39; *Thames Advertiser*, 8 January 1897, p. 2; *Waikato Argus*, 7 January 1897, p. 2.

⁷⁷⁵ Auckland Hospital, Register of Admissions 1870-1885, folio 64, ZAAP 15287/2a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁷⁶ *Waikato Times*, 29 April 1880, p. 3.

⁷⁷⁷ *Waikato Times*, 5 June 1880, p. 2.

⁷⁷⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 March 1878, p. 8.

He had other faults. In 1866, when he was a sergeant with the 1st Waikato Regiment, he was court-martialed for being drunk and absent from guard duty.⁷⁷⁹ In 1871 and 1877 he was imprisoned in the Ngaruawahia lock-up for being drunk.⁷⁸⁰ Presumably Harriet or Harriett Lockley, a domestic servant born in England, was unaware of some of his past behaviour when she married him in March 1878, just before the court case against his first intended. According to the marriage certificate, he was aged 40, whereas she was only 22.⁷⁸¹ In fact, the age difference was greater: in 1880 the police recorded his age as 52, and when he died 19 years after being married, his age was given as 70, with his age when married recorded as 51.⁷⁸² Perhaps she felt she had no choice about marrying her aged suitor, because nearly seven months after the wedding she gave birth to her first child, Norah.⁷⁸³ Three years later, their second and last child, Edmond, was born.⁷⁸⁴

For at least some of the time, it cannot have been a happy marriage. In 1880, he was arrested, locked up in the police cell, and fined 5s for drunkenness.⁷⁸⁵ In 1884, he was bound over to keep the peace for 12 months after assaulting Harriet.⁷⁸⁶ Eight years later, he was arrested and placed in the lock-up for threatening to kill her.⁷⁸⁷ He pleaded guilty to using threatening language and was bound over to keep the peace for a similar period. Although he pleaded not guilty to excessive drinking, a prohibition order was taken out against him.⁷⁸⁸ Perhaps this order was the reason why, four days later, Harriet charged him with using threatening language and sought sureties for his good behaviour; this case was struck out, presumably because she chose not to proceed with it.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁷⁹ Court Martials 1864-1868, 9 September 1866, Maori War Index, Army Department, AD 32, no. 5004, ANZ-W.

⁷⁸⁰ Ngaruawahia Lock-Up, Charge Book 1870-1898, nos. 54, 352, BADX 4909/1a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸¹ Marriage Certificate of Edmond Healy and Harriett Lockley, 3 March 1878, 1878/251, BDM.

⁷⁸² Ngaruawahia Lock-Up, Charge Book 1870-1898, no. 417, BADX 4909/1a, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of Edmond Healy, 6 January 1897, 1897/405, BDM.

⁷⁸³ Birth Certificate of Norah Healy, 29 September 1878, 1878/15819, BDM.

⁷⁸⁴ Birth Certificate of Edmond Healy, 3 October 1881, 1881/11178, BDM.

⁷⁸⁵ Ngaruawahia Lock-Up, Charge Book 1870-1898, no. 417, BAXD 4909/1a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸⁶ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 12 January 1884, p. 7.

⁷⁸⁷ Armed Constabulary Force, Return of Charges taken at Te Aroha Lock-Up 1880-1903, 5/1892, in private possession.

⁷⁸⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 7, 8/1892, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 9/1892, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

Healy was not a good provider for his family. Their two residence sites were held in Harriet's name, and she had considerable difficulty in paying the rent, forfeiting one in 1888 because unable to pay it.⁷⁹⁰ In 1893, when he was admitted to hospital, the local constable sought charitable aid because 'his family would be without support'; a temporary grant of 5s per week was made.⁷⁹¹ One way he sought to make his fortune was by inventing, or so he claimed, a perpetual motion machine, which was scorned by those he attempted to interest in it.⁷⁹² In 1892, he asked a newspaper about his chances of obtaining land for his military service. The newspaper explained the legislation, commenting that 'we are afraid your anticipations of becoming rich in landed estate at the expense of the Government is doomed to disappointment'.⁷⁹³

Two other reasons for marital disharmony were nationality and religion. Healy, an Irish Catholic, would have a Catholic funeral.⁷⁹⁴ Harriet had been born in England and would have a Church of England funeral, as her daughter did when she died a year later.⁷⁹⁵ They had been married in a registrar's office,⁷⁹⁶ possibly because they could not agree on which church to use. Their children went to the Wesleyan Sunday School,⁷⁹⁷ possibly another source of contention.

In November 1896, 'while holding a packhorse' Healy had 'the flesh torn off one of his fingers by the rope, which caught it as the horse suddenly backed'.⁷⁹⁸ Within two months, he died of pneumonia,⁷⁹⁹ leaving his family in poverty. A concert was held in the Te Aroha public hall three weeks after his death to raise money for them, the singers and instrumentalists performing for free: it was crowded for this 'deserving cause'.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1883-1900, folios 358, 359, BBAV 11505/1a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 8/1887, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; Piako County Council, Letterbook 1893-1899, p. 673, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

⁷⁹¹ Charitable Aid Board, *Waikato Times*, 2 November 1893, p. 2.

⁷⁹² John Watson to Edmond Healy, 3 March 1886, Letterbook 1893-1899, p. 339, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames; 'Answers to Correspondents', *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 March 1884, p. 15.

⁷⁹³ 'To Correspondents', *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 December 1892, p. 39.

⁷⁹⁴ Death Certificate of Edmond Healy, 6 January 1897, 1897/405, BDM.

⁷⁹⁵ Birth Certificate of Norah Healy, 29 September 1878, 1878/15819; Death Certificates of Harriet Healy, 30 April 1903, 1903/2671; Nora Elliott, 10 January 1904, 1904/629, BDM.

⁷⁹⁶ Marriage Certificate of Edmond Healy, 3 March 1878, 1878/251, BDM.

⁷⁹⁷ Waiorongomai Sunday School, Admission Book 1884-1889, entries for 17 March 1889, 24 March 1889, Methodist Archives, Auckland.

⁷⁹⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 23 November 1896, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁹ Death Certificate of Edmond Healy, 6 January 1897, 1897/405, BDM.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 23 January 1897, p. 4.

Just over six years later, Harriet died, aged 43, also from pneumonia. Curiously, whoever filled in the death certificate did not know whether she had been married.⁸⁰¹

After her husband died, Harriet had problems with her children. In 1901, she took out a prohibition order against her 20-year-old son,⁸⁰² a miner.⁸⁰³ Nearly seven months after husband's death she charged Charles Cooper with 'Supplying drug to procure the miscarriage of Hanorah Healy [correctly **Nora Healy**] at Te Aroha' on 16 July 1897 and charged William Jackson of 'attempting to procure the miscarriage of Hanorah Healy at Waiorongomai' on the following day.⁸⁰⁴ (Nora or Norah, was aged 19.⁸⁰⁵) Cooper was a 'well known' local medical practitioner,⁸⁰⁶ and Jackson a farmer at Te Aroha West.⁸⁰⁷ When the case went to court, the police obtained a remand to enable them to produce evidence. Jackson's lawyer 'stated he was not surprised at a remand being asked, for as from what he could gather, the charge was entirely without foundation and should never have been made'. Bail in two sureties of £100 each 'was immediately forthcoming'.⁸⁰⁸ Seven days after this hearing, the case was withdrawn for lack of evidence.⁸⁰⁹ Afterwards a newspaper wrote that 'no one who knew Dr Cooper would for a moment believe him capable of such an act, and we are very glad that the charge fell through as it has done'.⁸¹⁰

What was the evidence that had provoked a mother to make public her daughter's sex life? She had provided the police with three letters Nora had written to Jackson, the first dated 16 July that year:

My dear Willie. -

Could you manage to come over for a few minutes to-night? I am very ill and wish to tell you something particular.

I am so sorry to trouble you Will, but I should like to see you if you can find it convenient to come over.

⁸⁰¹ Death Certificate of Harriet Healy, 30 April 1903, 1903/2671, BDM.

⁸⁰² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 52/1901, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰³ Gold Miners Relief Fund, Register of Applicants 1911-1915, entry for Edmond Healy, ABSQ 6366/1a, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of Edmund Healy, 1 June 1920, 1920/12158, BDM.

⁸⁰⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 25, 26/1897, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁵ Birth Certificate of Norah Healy, 29 September 1878, 1878/15819, BDM.

⁸⁰⁶ See paper on physical and mental health in the Te Aroha district.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 24 July 1897, p. 5.

⁸⁰⁸ *Waikato Argus*, 27 July 1897, p. 2.

⁸⁰⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 25 26/1897, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 2 August 1897, p. 2.

⁸¹⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 14 August 1897, p. 2.

The second letter was dated 21 July:

Dear Willie, -

I have seen Dr Cooper and he told me to go into Te Aroha when I had finished the medicine, I have decided to go in on Saturday night, so will you meet me at Mrs Tonge's at about half-past seven o'clock? I shall go in whether the weather be wet or fine.

My mother came home to-day, she has an idea that something is wrong and is very uneasy about it.

(Cecilia Tonge owned refreshment rooms at Te Aroha.⁸¹¹) The third letter was undated, but appears to have been written later on the same day:

Dear Willie, -

I have just received the enclosed note from Dr Cooper. He expects me in, whether it rains or not, so, as I am much better this morning, I shall have to go in and see him tonight.

You will see what he says in the note.

I shall wrap myself up well and then the damp weather will not harm me.⁸¹²

Unfortunately for the police, Jackson must have destroyed Cooper's letter, and without this potentially incriminating evidence the case could not proceed. Clearly, however, Harriet's suspicions had some basis.

Nora did not marry her Willie; instead, at the end of the following March, when still aged 19, she married a 28-year-old Cambridge labourer.⁸¹³ If Cooper had provided the 'noxious drugs',⁸¹⁴ as charged, they had worked, for Nora did not have a baby either before or immediately after her marriage.⁸¹⁵ But her story did not end happily: in January 1904 she died, aged 25, of septic peritonitis and salpingitis, meaning infection and inflammation of the fallopian tubes, leaving a four-year-old daughter.⁸¹⁶ As for Jackson, in 1905 he was charged with failing to maintain his illegitimate son, born in 1901;⁸¹⁷ as he did not appear to defend himself, a warrant was issued against him.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1895, p. 2.

⁸¹² Nora Healy to William Jackson, 16 July 1897, 21 July 1897 [two letters], Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, General Correspondence 1897, BBAV 11584/5b, ANZ-A.

⁸¹³ Marriage Certificate of Honora Healy, 31 March 1898, 1898/174, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 14 April 1898, p. 2.

⁸¹⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 27 July 1897, p. 2.

⁸¹⁵ Index of Births, 1897-1898, BDM.

⁸¹⁶ Death Certificate of Nora Elliott, 10 January 1904, 1904/629, BDM.

⁸¹⁷ Birth Certificate of Charlie Baker, 29 July 1901, 1901/12795, BDM.

CECELIA TONGE⁸¹⁹

Charles Henry Albert Tonge was a builder, contractor, and boardinghouse keeper at Te Aroha.⁸²⁰ Before moving there in 1881, he had mined at Thames and operated a small treatment plant there.⁸²¹ When he applied in mid-1883 for a license for his planned Domain Hotel, the licensing commissioners declined to grant it because Te Aroha had sufficient hotels already.⁸²² Accordingly, he converted the premises into a temperance accommodation house.⁸²³ Described as being ‘large’, it was ‘opposite to the entrance to the Hot Springs Domain’.⁸²⁴

In September 1883, two judgment summonses were issued against him by two building firms, for a total of £16 5s 11d. To the first claimants, who were owed £4 17s 8d, he ‘admitted having been in constant work. He had built and been paid for several bridges and now had a contract on for £95. He also admitted having a large boarding house, and that he had been building a house for himself to the value of £100. The section belonged to his wife’. He was ordered to pay this amount within one week or be imprisoned for 14 days. To the second claimants, he admitted having ‘contracts in hand of over £100. Should make £10 out of it and expected to make 12s a day for three weeks out of them. He valued his property at £300 over the mortgages on it and stated as a reason for not selling that he expected to make more out of it’. He was ordered to pay in weekly instalments of £2 or be imprisoned for one month.⁸²⁵

In March 1884, his boardinghouse and adjourning shop was sold on the sheriff’s orders for £535, thereby meeting the amount of the mortgage, although they had cost

⁸¹⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 5/1905, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

⁸¹⁹ Her first name was often recorded as Cecilia; but as her headstone gave it as Cecelia (photograph provided by a descendant, Bradley Ryan, 24 September 2016, email) this spelling has been used throughout.

⁸²⁰ See, for example, Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1883, p. 2; District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1884, p. 3; advertisement, *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 March 1898, p. 23.

⁸²¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 10 February 1874, p. 3, 9 March 1874, p. 2, 24 June 1874, p. 3, 2 December 1880, p. 3, 25 December 1880, p. 3, 22 January 1881, p. 2, Te Aroha Correspondent, 17 February 1881, p. 3; *Waikato Times*, 27 January 1881, p. 2.

⁸²² *Thames Star*, 7 June 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 2.

⁸²³ *Thames Advertiser*, 21 November 1883, p. 3, 12 March 1884, p. 2.

⁸²⁴ *Thames Advertiser*. 18 April 1885, p. 3.

⁸²⁵ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1883, p. 2.

him £850 to erect. The furniture was sold for £100.⁸²⁶ In the following month, he filed as bankrupt.⁸²⁷ He explained that his liabilities exceeded his assets by from £300 to £400:

The excess was caused by his building largely at Te Aroha, prior to the decadence of the field. The buildings and furnishing cost him about £900, and he had opened it as a boarding house, for which there was a great necessity at the time. He had borrowed £500, giving a mortgage and bill of sale over the property as security. The mortgagee foreclosed, offered the property by auction, and bought it at the amount of the bill. In consequence of the losses in this respect, he had been unable to meet his liabilities.⁸²⁸

His creditors received 1s in the £.⁸²⁹

Before arriving in New Zealand, Tonge had married Cecelia Bryce, the daughter of an artist; they were to have four boys and three girls, one of their boys dying when aged only 16 months.⁸³⁰ Although elected to the Church of England vestry several times,⁸³¹ an indication of apparent respectability, Tonge had a serious drink problem. In 1881, Cecelia charged him in the Thames court with ‘willfully assaulting her’. The case was adjourned in the hope that ‘some arrangement’ could be arrived at, as it was, the case being struck out because they returned to Te Aroha.⁸³² In June 1884, Cecelia charged him with ‘Excessive drinking of liquor mis-spends and wastes his estate and interrupts the peace of his family’. After he pleaded not guilty, the case was dismissed.⁸³³ Four years later, he charged a man with assault and threatening language and in his turn was charged with assault, but as neither appeared in court these cases were struck out.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 15 March 1884, p. 2.

⁸²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 5 April 1884, p. 7.

⁸²⁸ District Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 June 1884, p. 3.

⁸²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 25 April 1885, p. 7.

⁸³⁰ Death Certificates of Cecelia Tonge, 12 April 1906, 1906/387; Albert Tonge, 28 March 1870, 1870/2442, BDM.

⁸³¹ *Church Gazette*, October 1882, p. 94, April 1883, p. 37; *Te Aroha News*, 5 April 1884, p. 2, 24 April 1886, p. 2, 16 January 1889, p. 2.

⁸³² Thames Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1883, 248/1881, BAOL 13736/35a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Thames Star*, 15 December 1881, p. 2; Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 16 December 1881, p. 3.

⁸³³ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 55/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸³⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 5, 6/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

At the end of that year, Cecelia applied for a protection order under the Married Women's Property Protection Act of 1880.⁸³⁵ After explaining that she kept a small store at Waiorongomai 'for the sale of fruit, &c', she asked for the order 'on account of the drunkenness and disorderly conduct in my house':

My husband is in the habit of staying out till all hours of the night drinking and playing cards and then comes home and turns me out in the street, and ill-treats me. For two years I have had to support myself and children; he drinks all he earns, and I cannot submit to the treatment he has subjected me to any longer. He has many times beaten me very cruelly. All I ask is the custody of my two boys, whom I am prepared to keep as well as myself, and do not ask any maintenance from my husband, but only that myself and my earnings be protected from him. The things in the house are my own, but anything Mr Tonge likes he can take.

In reply to defendant: I have been cruelly treated by you, I have had to save myself several times now and run for my life at twelve and one o'clock at night. Every night for the past fortnight you have been out drinking and playing cards at the public house. Sometimes you do not come home for four days at a time.

Michael Cronin⁸³⁶ (sworn): I am a 'bus driver and reside at Waiorongomai; next door to Mrs Tonge's.

In reply to plaintiff: You came to my house twice seeking protection, on one occasion at about eleven at night, and again about one in the morning. Tonge came a few minutes afterwards and asked you to go home; he appeared to have taken drink; you said you were afraid to go home. Last night you came to my house at about a quarter to one in your night dress asking to be let in, as you had to run for your life from Mr Tonge. I advised you to go home.

In reply to defendant: I believe you have been working pretty regularly of late. I have seen you the worse of drink a few times since you came to Waiorongomai to live.

Frederick Tonge (14 years), sworn: I know when my father comes home at night, he kicks up a row and throws my mother out. He is not always all right even when he is sober. I know he drinks from seeing him. He generally comes home at and after eleven.

In reply to defendant: I have seen you go to strike my mother and tell her to clear out.

Tonge told the magistrate he would be 'most happy' if the order was granted but wanted 'to have charge of the boys'. The order was granted; he did not get the boys because the magistrate considered that a mother was always the appropriate person.⁸³⁷ Tonge promptly informed the public that he would no longer be responsible for any of

⁸³⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 59/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸³⁶ See *Te Aroha News*, 31 December 1934, p. 1, 3 November 1950, p. 5.

⁸³⁷ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 5 December 1888, p. 2.

his wife's debts.⁸³⁸ In the light of her husband's behaviour, it was not surprising that Cecelia supported a temperance movement, the Band of Hope.⁸³⁹

Tonge lived separately from his family from then onwards, even when residing in the same district. Electoral rolls for the early 1890s recorded him living at Waiorongomai while his wife and family were still at Te Aroha.⁸⁴⁰ In 1890, he lived for a time at Tararu, on the outskirts of Thames, then for two years was a contractor at Karangahake and later a battery hand at Waikino.⁸⁴¹ In 1896 he was a carpenter at Rangiriri.⁸⁴² In the following year, when he advertised that he had returned to Te Aroha and was 'prepared to undertake all classes of work in the building line', he lived at Waiorongomai while his family lived at Te Aroha.⁸⁴³ In 1900, he was employed at the pumice works at Rangiriri, and died near there, at Ohinewai, aged 65. After participating in a dance, he complained of the heat, went outside, and died of a heart attack 'induced by over-exertion'.⁸⁴⁴ His employer told the coroner that he had not been drinking and appeared healthy; an autopsy revealed a heart so loaded with fat that death could have come at any time.⁸⁴⁵ As he was separated from his wife and family, none of them attended the inquest, his death certificate could not record his parents, where he was born, whether he had married, or whether he had any children.⁸⁴⁶ One of his sons collected his body.⁸⁴⁷ It is not known where he was buried; Cecelia would be buried, alone, in the Te Aroha cemetery.⁸⁴⁸

Having leaving her husband, Cecelia had to earn her living. This was not something new, for immediately after they moved to Te Aroha she had opened a

⁸³⁸ Public Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 12 December 1888, p. 7.

⁸³⁹ Waiorongomai Band of Hope, Minute Book 1883-1889, entries in mid-1880s for her selling tickets for fund-raising concerts, 3050/916, Methodist Archives, Auckland.

⁸⁴⁰ *Waikato Electoral Rolls, 1893*, p. 38, *1894*, p. 38.

⁸⁴¹ Thames Hospital, Register of Patients 1884-1901, folios 36, 46, YCAH 14075/1a; Paeroa Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1893-1898, no. 32920, issued 6 April 1898, ZAAP 13786/1a, ANZ-A; Supreme Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 11 February 1893, p. 21.

⁸⁴² *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1896*, p. 56.

⁸⁴³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1899*, p. 144.

⁸⁴⁴ Death Certificate of Charles Henry Albert Tonge, 21 September 1900, 1900/5811, BDM; *Waikato Argus*, 24 September 1900, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁵ Inquest into Charles Henry Albert Tonge, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1900/776, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁶ Death Certificate of Charles Henry Albert Tonge, 21 September 1900, 1900/5811, BDM.

⁸⁴⁷ Inquest on Charles Henry Albert Tonge, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1900/776, ANZ-W.

⁸⁴⁸ Headstone of Cecelia Tonge, Area A, Row 34, no. 245, Te Aroha Cemetery, New Zealand Cemetery Records, Microfische 055.

general store.⁸⁴⁹ When her husband owned the boardinghouse, it must be assumed he ran it with her assistance. After his bankruptcy, she ran a small store at Waiorongomai ‘for the sale of fruit, etc’.⁸⁵⁰ In February 1890, she leased Park House, opposite the domain, containing 22 rooms, and ran it as a private boardinghouse.⁸⁵¹ Three months later, she sold all her furniture and effects,⁸⁵² as she was taking her two youngest sons to Broken Hill, ‘where the lads have been promised at first rate wages’. The local newspaper described them as ‘smart, industrious boys’ who were ‘sure to get on’.⁸⁵³ As this venture was not successful, they had returned by 1895, when she opened the Te Aroha Refreshment Rooms.⁸⁵⁴ She also leased a tenement.⁸⁵⁵ In 1897, she successfully tendered for the refreshment booth at the hack sports.⁸⁵⁶ That she was financially successful was indicated in the following year, when ‘a seven-roomed cottage’ she owned and was renovating ‘completely disappeared’ in a gale, ‘nothing being left but the floor’.⁸⁵⁷ (There was no mention of it being insured, so this would have been a big financial loss.) In the twentieth century, she was a fruiterer, probably assisted by her son Frederick, also a fruiterer.⁸⁵⁸ She would leave an estate of £189 6s 3d.⁸⁵⁹

Cecelia died in 1906, very suddenly, of apoplexy, aged 69.⁸⁶⁰ Despite her age, she still ‘did her household duties besides attending to her shop without help’.⁸⁶¹

JANE MAISEY

Robert Job Maisey, a farmer aged 32, married Jane Cumming, aged 25, in a Presbyterian ceremony held in her father’s house in Melbourne, Victoria, on 1 November 1883. Maisey, who had been born in Melbourne but whose usual place of residence by then was Auckland, was the eldest son of Robert Charles Maisey, a

⁸⁴⁹ *Thames Star*, 4 March 1881, p. 3.

⁸⁵⁰ Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 26 February 1890, p. 7.

⁸⁵² *Te Aroha News*, 28 May 1890, p. 2.

⁸⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 31 May 1890, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 6 March 1895, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 March 1896, p. 23.

⁸⁵⁶ *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2.

⁸⁵⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 July 1898, Supplement, p. 1.

⁸⁵⁸ Probate of Cecelia Tonge, Intestate Probates, BBAE 1591/30, ANZ-A.

⁸⁵⁹ Testamentary Register 1906-1908, folio 19, BBCB 4208/6, ANZ-A.

⁸⁶⁰ Death Certificate of Cecelia Tonge, 12 April 1906, 1906/387, BDM; *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 April 1906, p. 23.

⁸⁶¹ Inquest on Cecelia Tonge, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1906/375, ANZ-W.

farmer; his bride was the daughter of another farmer, Donald Cumming, who lived at Donald,⁸⁶² in inland Victoria.⁸⁶³ The newly married couple immediately left for Auckland, where their first child, Jesse Mace, incorrectly recorded in the birth certificate as a girl named Jessie and later known as Roger, was born 13 days later.⁸⁶⁴ (He must have been named after a relative, for Jesse Mace Maisey farmed in Otago until his death in 1902, aged 56.⁸⁶⁵) No reason for this ungentlemanly delay in getting married has been discovered, apart from the fact that he had been in New Zealand and presumably arrived back in Victoria just in time for the wedding. The closeness of the dates was not disguised on the birth certificate, but later they claimed to have arrived in New Zealand in 1882, by implication having been married before then.⁸⁶⁶ Descendants repeated the 1882 date of the marriage, either because they were misinformed or wished to gloss over this impropriety, and on the photocopy of the marriage certificate reproduced in an unpublished history written for family members the date had been altered to that year.⁸⁶⁷ The family always insisted that they married and came to New Zealand in 1882.⁸⁶⁸

This unexplained tardiness in getting married did not foreshadow an unsatisfactory marriage, for they would produce eight sons and five daughters.⁸⁶⁹ After Jessie Mace, the children were registered at Te Aroha: Robert Job in July 1885, Mary in October 1886, William John in May 1888, Olive Jane in December 1889, Charles Henry in March 1891, Thomas Donald in July 1892, Norman Ernest in June 1894, Euphemia (Effie) Zealand in July 1896, Aroha Thelma in December 1898, Albert

⁸⁶² Marriage Certificate of Robert Job Maisey and Jane Cumming, 1 November 1883, 1919/1883, Victorian BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5; Gordon Maisey, 'Our Maisey Family' (typescript, Te Aroha, 1980), p. 2.

⁸⁶³ *Road Atlas of Australia*, 4 ed. (Sydney, 1976), Map 305, E 1.

⁸⁶⁴ Birth Certificate of Jesse [recorded as Jessie] Mace Maisey, 14 November 1883, 1883/14897; Marriage Certificate of Jesse Mace Maisey, 1923/4703; Death Certificate of Jesse Mace Maisey, 1961/26806, BDM; Probate of Robert Job Maisey, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/2769, ANZ-A; Gordon Maisey, pp. 2, 7; *Te Aroha News*, 6 August 1915, p. 2.

⁸⁶⁵ Death Certificate of Jesse Mace Maisey, 1902/370, BDM; *Otago Witness*, 3 March 1883, p. 15, 8 May 1901, p. 32.

⁸⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1915, p. 3, 27 August 1930, p. 5, 19 December 1944, p. 8.

⁸⁶⁷ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait of a New Zealand Pioneer Woman', *Journal of the New Zealand Federation of Historical Societies*, vol. 1 no. 1 (July 1981), p. 20; Marriage Certificate of Robert Job Maisey, in Gordon Maisey, p. 6, and photograph appended.

⁸⁶⁸ For example, their obituaries: *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5, 19 December 1944, p. 8.

⁸⁶⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5, 19 December 1944, p. 8; *Morrinsville Star*, 29 August 1930, p. 5.

Edward in November 1899, Frank Gordon in February 1902, and, finally, Vera Beryl in September 1905.⁸⁷⁰ Francis Montague, born in 1889,⁸⁷¹ who lived at Gordon in his youth, recalled ‘a competition between the Maiseys and the Orrs for the championship’ for having the largest families. ‘I remember Bill Orr coming to school and saying, “Well, we’ve beaten them now; we’ve got twelve and they only have eleven” ’.⁸⁷² According to a daughter-in-law, Muriel Maisey, although Jane ‘loved all her family, her sons had first place in her affections. She would definitely not have approved of Women’s Lib’.⁸⁷³ Jane recalled a visitor ‘who admired the long dining table and asked how many could be seated round it. When told he sighed, and said sadly, “How lucky you are, my wife and I have no bairns at all” ’⁸⁷⁴

Muriel Maisey outlined Jane’s ancestry:

Her grandfather, Harry Mitchie⁸⁷⁵ of Aberdeenshire, seems to have been something of a character. He combined the occupations of gamekeeper, farmer and land-steward, he was an elder of the Church of Glengairn, he was a champion highland dancer and a first-class marksman. He was an avid reader and took part in whisky smuggling.

One of his daughters, Effie, was housekeeper to Queen Victoria at Balmoral Castle, and another daughter, Jane, married Donald Cumming. Jane and Donald emigrated to Australia, and raised a family of six, one of whom, Jane the younger, became my mother-in-law.⁸⁷⁶

Maisey’s father was a goldminer in Victoria before becoming a sheep and wheat farmer at Donald. In 1878, when aged 56, he was killed in an accident, after which, according to a descendant, Gordon Maisey, his family ‘experienced hard times’.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁰ Birth Certificates of Robert Job Maisey, 5 July 1885, 1885/10200; Mary Maisey, 13 October 1886, 1886/19449; William John Maisey, 26 May 1888, 1888/11677; Olive Jane Maisey, 6 December 1889, 1890/1835; Charles Henry Maisey, 12 March 1891, 1891/1436; Thomas Donald Maisey, 9 July 1892, 1892/11959; Norman Ernest Maisey, 20 June 1894, 1894/2432; Euphemia Zealand Maisey, 17 July 1896, 1896/4423; Aroha Maisey, 16 December 1898, 1899/14252; Albert Edward Maisey, 9 November 1899, 1900/16280; Frank Gordon Maisey, 25 February 1902, 1902/6908; Vera Beryl Maisey, 15 September 1905, 1905/15974, BDM.

⁸⁷¹ Birth Certificate of Francis Montague, 21 August 1889, 1889/12177, BDM.

⁸⁷² Recollections of Francis Montague, *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1938, p. 5.

⁸⁷³ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, pp. 20- 22.

⁸⁷⁴ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 21.

⁸⁷⁵ His daughter spelled the name as Michie: Marriage Certificate of Robert Job Maisey, 1 December 1883, 1919/1883, Victorian BDM.

⁸⁷⁶ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

⁸⁷⁷ Gordon Maisey, p. 2.

Despite this, Maisey studied at the Presbyterian College in Ballarat ‘until he was 19 – hoping to be a doctor – but this did not eventuate’.⁸⁷⁸ ‘An ardent cricketer’, he ‘played for his college against W.G. Grace’s team in the 1860s’.⁸⁷⁹ In 1882, ‘he harvested a good crop of wheat’ which enabled him to travel to New Zealand.⁸⁸⁰ According to family tradition, when the newly married couple arrived in Auckland, ‘Jane had a small bag of golden sovereigns fastened round her waist. It was all their worldly wealth’.⁸⁸¹ Another family story has it that he had been working in a butcher’s shop before they were married and had ‘saved up quite a large sum (for those days anyway) and for safe keeping he hid it in a wheat field; somehow it was stolen; just imagine the upset and consternation at the loss and them wanting to come by ship to N.Z. All was well and it was found just in time, and they were able to sail away’.⁸⁸² In another account, from working as a butcher he had saved ‘a goodly sum for his wedding day and to come over to N.Z. He was at his sister’s place at this time, and she was married to a racing horse man; and a jockey in his employ stole Job’s cash; somehow it was located in the nick of time’.⁸⁸³

‘On landing in Auckland Job was very keen to purchase a fish shop to serve fish meals, but Jane flatly refused, one thing she hated was frying fish’.⁸⁸⁴ Family tradition has it that they spent a year in the South Island,⁸⁸⁵ but this cannot be confirmed; according to Muriel Maisey, he ‘came to New Zealand to follow the elusive gold trail’.⁸⁸⁶ His obituaries stated that he was a miner and contractor at five North Island fields: Mercury Bay, Tapu, Karangahake, and Komata before settling at Waiorongomai.⁸⁸⁷ Another family story is that they went to Thames, where, when Jesse was two years old, ‘he disappeared one afternoon and the miners formed a search party to scour the district. He was eventually found, fast asleep, behind a large sofa, but just the same his father had to “shout” for all the men who had helped look for him’.⁸⁸⁸

The only claim Maisey ever owned was at Waiorongomai, the Gordon (named after the new settlement upriver from Waiorongomai), of which he was the sole owner

⁸⁷⁸ Gordon Maisey, p. 9; *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁸⁷⁹ *Matamata Record*, 28 August 1930, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁰ Gordon Maisey, pp. 7, 9.

⁸⁸¹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

⁸⁸² Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁸⁸³ Gordon Maisey, p. 14.

⁸⁸⁴ Gordon Maisey, p. 14.

⁸⁸⁵ Gordon Maisey, p. 7.

⁸⁸⁶ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

⁸⁸⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5; *Matamata Record*, 28 August 1930, p. 4.

⁸⁸⁸ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

from July 1886 until the following May.⁸⁸⁹ He worked this ground, the former Phoenix, with a 'party' of unknown size.⁸⁹⁰ Probably little work was done, as he obtained protection immediately after being granted it.⁸⁹¹ Both before and after acquiring this ground, he worked as a mining contractor. In 1885, with three others he had a contract to drive the low level in the New Find.⁸⁹² In 1888 he employed 12 men to extract ore from the Arizona section of the New Find.⁸⁹³ He tendered for other contracts as well.⁸⁹⁴ 'When her husband worked the late shift Jane would watch the light of the lantern he carried until it disappeared' up the upper track.⁸⁹⁵ After becoming a farmer, over time he was less involved in mining, and he no longer acquired shares, apart from some in the Bendigo Company in 1912.⁸⁹⁶

When first at Waiorongomai, the family 'rented a lovely two-storied home which was later removed to Takapuna'.⁸⁹⁷ Situated halfway between Te Aroha and Waiorongomai, this house was owned by Henry Hopper Adams.⁸⁹⁸ Later they lived in a former hotel at Waiorongomai.

It was in a bad state of neglect, and, with so much borer in it, the floors were quite dangerous. The stove in the kitchen ran right along one wall, with ovens on each side and on a cold day there was a rush when the children came home from school to sit on top of the ovens to get warm. There were long passages upstairs and the first child to be sent to bed would lie full length on the floor in the dark, while the later ones would trip over him. They ended in a tumbled heap. It was here Jane nursed her eldest son through a bout of rheumatic fever and he recalled how every movement in the old building jarred his aching body.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁸⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 134, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 9 October 1886, p. 2.

⁸⁹¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1883-1900, 65/1886, BBAV 11505/1a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁹² *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1885, p. 7.

⁸⁹³ *Te Aroha News*, 12 May 1888, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 15 May 1888, p. 2, 7 June 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 12 May 1888, p. 2, 18 August 1888, p. 2, 4 December 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁹⁵ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 20.

⁸⁹⁶ Bendigo Gold Mining Company, List of Shareholdings, 30 May 1912, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 226 no. 1332, ANZ-A.

⁸⁹⁷ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 20.

⁸⁹⁸ See paper on his life.

⁸⁹⁹ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 20.

This building was the former Premier Hotel; a later owner would demolish it in 1898.⁹⁰⁰ For an unknown time, Jane ran a boardinghouse at Waiorongomai. Muriel Maisey ‘was amused to hear Jane refer to an unused plate or cup as a sunbeam, and she told me this came from the boarding-house days. With no such thing as a dishmaster, there was a large amount of washing-up to do by hand and a clean article not needing to be washed was indeed a sunbeam’.⁹⁰¹

One winter Jane nursed her husband through a serious illness. Her family wasn’t very large then, but times were hard and she was glad of the help her family in Australia sent her. She would buy a pig’s head to get cheap meat and chuckled when she told me of the doctor’s remark when he called. “Can you really eat pig’s faces?” he asked.⁹⁰²

Maisey also earned money by obtaining contracts to make roads and clear bush.⁹⁰³ Then, ‘as the family increased it was decided to obtain a small farm’.⁹⁰⁴ In August 1888, one of the agricultural sections of the Thames High School Endowment was transferred to Maisey, who planned to run a dairy farm. A solicitor advised the school board that Maisey ‘appeared to be a very suitable lessee’, and, according to his obituary, he ‘farmed successfully’.⁹⁰⁵ In 1890, with a partner,⁹⁰⁶ he erected a flax mill on this land, using a small steam engine previously used on the tramway. The plant was ‘specially erected with a view to being easily removed from one place to another, so as to avoid as far as possible the expense of carting the raw material long distances’. There was sufficient flax on his farm ‘to supply all requirements for several months to come’.⁹⁰⁷

Muriel Maisey understood that, ‘despite his hard work in the gold mines, Robert Maisey didn’t make a lot of money, and it was at farming he was most successful. The family was growing up; the sons had done a good deal of bush-clearing and at one time had run a chaff-cutter’.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 29 March 1898, p. 2.

⁹⁰¹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

⁹⁰² Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 20.

⁹⁰³ *Te Aroha News*, 5 March 1887, p. 2; Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*,

⁹⁰⁴ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 21.

⁹⁰⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1888, p. 2, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹⁰⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 22 February 1890, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 8 March 1890, p. 2.

⁹⁰⁸ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 23.

Having acquired 163 acres at Gordon, early in 1898 the family left for this new farm, where the last four children would be born.⁹⁰⁹

When the family shifted to the Gordon, they lived on a farm which had the official name of Mount Pleasant. But the neighbours called it Poverty Hump and it was very stony. Here, the washing was done in a stream fifty yards from the house. In the summer everyone went bathing while in the winter baths were taken in a large tub, usually in front of a fire. The water was heated on top of the stove or in a large outdoor copper.

To keep a wood fire going all the time needed plenty of firewood, and there was plenty of this commodity, in bulk anyway. But it still needed to be cut up and Jane's boys were skilled in using an axe. Several of them took part in wood-chopping competitions with success. I still have, at the top of the bathroom cabinet, a cut-throat razor won by my husband before the First World War. He told me that when the family went for an outing his mother could never resist picking up good pieces of firing and carrying them home in her apron. The girls didn't like this much and seemed to think it wasn't the correct thing to do, but dry firewood must have played a big part in Jane's life.

She had a gift for cooking and had been well taught by her mother. She entered in the competitions at the country shows and won many prizes. She made splendid fruit cakes and sent many overseas in wartime. With all the healthy, hungry children around, Jane sometimes ran out of hiding places for the goodies meant for special occasions. There were times when she went to serve afternoon tea to the visitors and found the cake tins empty. Like Mother Hubbard, someone had got there first.⁹¹⁰

As Muriel Maisey stressed, she led a very busy life:

In those early days a farm was often a place for a family to live and grow food, while the husband worked in the mines or on the roads to provide an extra income.

In the ensuing years Jane Maisey had to work very hard indeed. She grew all the vegetables and fruit for her large family and made provision for the winter months by preserving and pickling. She made her own bread always, eight large loaves at a time. A few cows were kept and some pigs; they made butter and cheese, and, I have been assured, the most delicious bacon and ham. In the early stages of home cheese-making, the cheeses had to be turned every two hours, day and night. With always a baby to be tended, and an ex-baby, plus the cheeses, Jane could hardly have had very peaceful nights. Her husband came home every fortnight and when he rode back to the mines he carried on the front of the saddle a large box of butter and cheese to supply his workmates.

The early farms were rough and largely unfenced and often the cows could not be found at milking time. However, they usually turned up the next day when their swollen udders became uncomfortable.

⁹⁰⁹ Gordon Maisey, p. 7; *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1898, p. 2.

⁹¹⁰ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 21.

The milk was set in pans and skimmed for butter-making. Cooking was done on a Shacklock wood stove while the water supply came from springs or creeks. I can remember Jane saying: “Such lovely water it was, much better than we get now-a-days.” Splendid watercress grew in the creeks and was used for salads.⁹¹¹

Gordon Maisey recorded that Jane ‘was well known for her special cooking ability. Out of necessity she was good at cooking vegetable dishes, because meat was not always available. She was even able to cook up dock roots into an edible dish’..⁹¹² However, ‘one thing she hated was frying fish; Job was so very fond of fish and on trips to town he would come home with a parcel of fish for the family’. One of her daughters recalled her mother ‘just hating the procedure of fish cooking’.⁹¹³

Muriel Maisey was mightily impressed Jane’s manifold accomplishments:

My mother-in-law could make anything in the way of clothes for herself and the children; the treadle sewing-machine was seldom idle for long. I have a photograph showing the girls in frilled dresses and pinafores and the boys in Norfolk suits, all of them made by their mother. She sewed their wet-weather outfits too, strong drill coats with shoulder capes and rain hats. These were coated with a mixture of linseed oil, resin and beeswax and they kept the wearers dry in the rainy season.

Over the years there were not many economies Jane did not practice. In those times there was no limited shooting season for ducks, pigeons and pheasants, so there was often game to be plucked and cooked, as well as their own poultry. In addition to the game being a source of food, the feathers were used to make mattresses and pillows.

Stores were obtained from visiting traders or the nearest town. The tip-dray came back loaded with sacks of flour, bags of sugar and other necessities. Robert Maisey had a good sense of humour and liked to tease his wife. She would make out a shopping list and when he returned, she would find half the items crossed off. It was just a joke, and all the goods were brought home if they were available. Many times, I’ve heard Jane say proudly, “My man was always a good provider” ...

I’ve often heard my husband say, “Give Mum a hammer and a few nails and she could make anything”.... She made carts and trollies for her boys, with wheels made of circles of wood. She mended chairs, made padded seats from cheese crates; nothing seemed to daunt her.⁹¹⁴

In time, Maisey acquired more land near Gordon, described as ‘a large stretch of hill country’.⁹¹⁵ By 1903, he owned 160 acres of freehold land and soon acquired

⁹¹¹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 21.

⁹¹² Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹¹³ Gordon Maisey, p. 14.

⁹¹⁴ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, pp. 21-22.

⁹¹⁵ *Morrinsville Star*, 29 August 1930, p. 5.

more.⁹¹⁶ Two years later, 892 acres were held in his name and 595 in Jane's.⁹¹⁷ In 1904 or 1906, after Firth's Matamata estate was opened for purchase, 'it was decided to buy fifteen hundred acres of land at Turanga-o-moana, some miles from Matamata'.⁹¹⁸ As the family was still living at Gordon, 'the men would row across the Waihou River and camp on the new farm, going home on weekends. The bright axes swung and the land was gradually cleared'.⁹¹⁹ 'Considered one of the poorer sections with the lightest soil – it was covered with stunted manuka scrub and heavily infested with rabbits. It was gradually cleared and broken in with the help of the family'.⁹²⁰ After 1914 the Gordon farm was sold, the profits being used for freeholding his new farm and erecting a house there,⁹²¹ and the family moved their dairy cows to Turanga-o-moana. A stable, a cowshed, and a 'large homestead' were erected.⁹²² They also had several hundred sheep, both at Gordon and this new (and last) farm.⁹²³ 'Jane Maisey at last moved into a house specially built for her. Pride and joy was a stove with a hot water cylinder at the side. It was the first one in the district and people came from quite a distance to admire and, no doubt, envy it'.⁹²⁴

Maisey's success as a farmer led to his being a director of the New Zealand Dairy Association for 12 years and enjoying 'the close friendship of' Wesley Spragg,⁹²⁵ a leader of the dairy industry.⁹²⁶ After six years, he was re-elected director with 12,552

⁹¹⁶ Union Bank of Australia, Auckland Branch, Manager's Minute Books 1896-1904, vol. 2, p. 17, 025, ANZ Bank Archives, Wellington; Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entries for 15 May 1906, 21 September 1906, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁹¹⁷ Piako County Council, Rate Book 1905-1906, Matamata Riding, Wairere Block X Sections 26, 27, 27A, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

⁹¹⁸ *Matamata Record*, 28 August 1930, p. 4; Gordon Maisey, p. 7; Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹¹⁹ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹²⁰ Gordon Maisey, p. 7.

⁹²¹ Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entries for 21 January 1911, 13 November 1914, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁹²² Gordon Maisey, p. 7; *Morrinsville Star*, 29 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹²³ 'Annual Sheep Returns', *AJHR*, 1910, H-23, p. 27, 1911, H-23, p. 15, 1912, H-23, p. 15, 1913, H-23, p. 15, 1914, H-23, p. 15, 1914, H-23, p. 15, 1915, H-23, p. 15, 1916, H-23, p. 16, 1917, H-23, p. 16, 1918, H-23, p. 17, 1919, H-23, p. 47; 'Return of Sheepowners', *AJHR*, 1920, H-23B, p. 17, 1921, H-23B, p. 17, 1922, H-23B, p. 16, 1923, H-23B, p. 16.

⁹²⁴ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹²⁶ *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, ed. G.H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1940), vol. 2, pp. 317-318.

votes to his opponent's 4,657.⁹²⁷ Three years later, when re-nominated, the *Te Aroha News* expected him to 'receive solid support, for men of his sterling calibre are required at the head of such a concern'.⁹²⁸ In 1924 he was described as 'one of the best known farmers' in the valley.⁹²⁹

An obituary described Maisey as 'keenly interested in public affairs and imbued with a fine progressive spirit', illustrated by his being 'a valued member of the Piako County Council for many years'.⁹³⁰ In November 1911, he was elected by a margin of just one vote over the nearest candidate.⁹³¹ He resigned in January 1914 because he was moving to the Matamata district.⁹³² On his resignation, one critic claimed his election had been unexpected, and that he had been a silent member.⁹³³ When at Gordon he had been a member of the school committee.⁹³⁴ He also had a 'long association' with the Agricultural, Pastoral and Horticultural Association 'and numerous other bodies'.⁹³⁵

Maisey was one of the first farmers to own a motor car, which he christened 'Eliza', and he drove it into town every Wednesday.

Sometimes Frances would go into town with Grandad on a Wednesday; the hassle of waiting for him to get up and ready to go was exasperating to say the least; the car would be loaded up with sheepskins to sell, odd bags of wool and a box of home-made butter to sell at the grocers; it often arrived in a very SOFT state. Once in the car and sedately seated Grandad just HAD to fill and light his pipe before "Eliza" would think of moving off. He had to sit to one side of the wheel because his tummy was too big. Quite often the car would get stuck and a neighbour who perhaps had come along for the trip had to help with the big push. When "Eliza" arrived at a gate Grandad would not get out to open it, so he would sometimes throw Grandma a half a crown (2/6) to oblige. Getting home again was a similar procedure and many a late meal had to be got ready in a hurry.⁹³⁶

⁹²⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 31 August 1917, p. 2.

⁹²⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 17 March 1920, p. 2.

⁹²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 15 January 1924, p. 1.

⁹³⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 November 1911, p. 2.

⁹³² Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 23 January 1914, p. 2.

⁹³³ 'Weekly Newsletter', *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1914, p. 2.

⁹³⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 May 1900, p. 16.

⁹³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹³⁶ Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

‘As well as her own large family Jane usually boarded the schoolteacher’.⁹³⁷ One of these ‘begged to come back because he missed her fine meals’.⁹³⁸ Once the boys went

fishing when they should have been at school. The teacher inquired why they were absent and suggested they might have spent the day down at the creek.

“My boys play the wag?” was the indignant reply. “Of course they wouldn’t do such a thing.” But she was wrong and had to apologize and mete out suitable punishment.⁹³⁹

Muriel Maisey cited other examples of her unquestioning love for her children, and especially her boys:

A favourite game of the children was to swing on the rata vines far out over the stream and then let go. Their mother worried so much in case they got hurt she asked a neighbour to cut the vines down at the swimming-hole. Not to be outdone the boys used an old rope which broke, but fortunately no one was hurt....

When the boys were playing football at school their mother liked to go along to lend her support. She would cheer them when they tackled an opposing player, but it was a different story when HER boys were on the ground. She objected strongly.⁹⁴⁰

Jane encouraged her children to participate in sporting and social activities:

Life was not all work. As well as football, the boys played cricket and the girls tennis. There was a piano and they had sing-songs with the neighbours. There were family picnics and a district school picnic once a year. Socials were held at the school and in the long holidays Jane would give parties for her own and the neighbours’ children.⁹⁴¹

Gordon Maisey revealed that Jane’s Presbyterianism was less strict than her husband’s:

The family had a nice tennis court, visitors liked to play of course and Sunday being the only free day we had to play in the morning; Granddad would usually be in bed; he did not approve of this playing on Sunday, but Grandma was a sport and kept an eye on when he was likely to be stirring,

⁹³⁷ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 21.

⁹³⁸ Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹³⁹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

⁹⁴⁰ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

⁹⁴¹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

so all could stop and gather up the net and racquets; as he declared he would plough the lawn up; but never did.⁹⁴²

At his home ‘anything in the social line was curtailed (although the girls were taught music and singing)’, but when he went to meetings of the dairy company or to Auckland for the wool sales, ‘house parties and the like were enjoyed’.⁹⁴³

Maisey was a guarantor of the Matamata Racing Club.⁹⁴⁴ And he liked a drink; when driving the pony and trap from Gordon to Te Aroha he stopped at the Waiorongomai Hotel, telling whichever young son was accompanying him ‘to mind the horse while he went “to see a man about a dog” ’.⁹⁴⁵

‘On the whole the Maisey family were pretty healthy, which was just as well as it was not easy to get a doctor. Jane, herself, would sometimes be called in to help a neighbour, and she told me of a fatal accident where she stayed until the priest came’.⁹⁴⁶

Jane had a deep religious faith and in time of trouble gained much comfort from her religion. Whenever possible she attended Church and sent the children to Sunday School. This was sometimes held at the school and sometimes in the Maisey home.

At one time they were the only Presbyterian family in a Catholic settlement. Irish troubles go back a long way, and many were the fights Jane’s boys had with their Irish school-mates. A battered lad, faced with superior numbers of the enemy, would pick himself up when he heard his brothers coming to help. With a battle cry of “I won’t be beaten up by a Micky” he would hurl himself into the fray again. It is well to remember these lads were good friends and neighbours in later years.⁹⁴⁷

Maisey was recalled as having ‘a great sense of humour’.⁹⁴⁸ When he returned from trips to Auckland, Jane ‘would ask him what he did there. He would answer he stood on a corner of Queen Street and admired the girl’s ankles as they lifted their long skirts to board the tram’.⁹⁴⁹

In the 1914-18 war Jane had four sons serving in the forces. A fifth son would have gone but, because he was in a reserved occupation, he was not

⁹⁴² Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹⁴³ Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹⁴⁴ *Matamata Record*, 28 August 1930, p. 4.

⁹⁴⁵ Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹⁴⁶ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

⁹⁴⁷ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

⁹⁴⁸ Gordon Maisey, p. 13.

⁹⁴⁹ Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 22.

allowed to enlist. One son was wounded at Gallipoli and died on the hospital ship *Cecelia*. He was buried at sea.⁹⁵⁰

This was Norman, who died aged 21.⁹⁵¹

Another son was badly wounded in Egypt and arrived home on Christmas Eve. Jane refused to cook the Christmas turkey until her boy was well enough to eat it. Another son gained a commission in France and was one of two soldiers chosen to represent New Zealand in a Victory Parade in Paris. Jane was always so proud of her sons.⁹⁵²

The first of these sons was Tom, who had fought at Gallipoli, and returned to his home four months after his brother died; the other was Jesse.⁹⁵³ Shortly after Norman's death was reported, Maisey called for the conscription of both men and wealth for the war effort and demanded Germany's unconditional surrender.⁹⁵⁴

In 1922, her third youngest child, Albert Edward, died, aged 21, and her daughter Aroha died in 1930. All her other children outlived her.⁹⁵⁵

The sons and daughters married and made homes for themselves, but there was always a warm welcome when they visited their parents. How Jane loved her grandchildren; she had a great number of them although none of the family came anywhere near her record. She made the wedding cakes for her daughters and some of them were married from the family home, with Jane doing the catering.⁹⁵⁶

'For some years she was President of the Matamata branch of the Red Cross, and worked hard cutting out and sewing garments for the less fortunate'.⁹⁵⁷

Maisey died in August 1930 of a heart attack, aged 81.⁹⁵⁸ An obituary described him as 'a well-known and highly respected resident of the Upper Thames Valley. Of a happy, jovial disposition, he made lasting friendships wherever he settled during his long and active career. Coupled with his sunny nature, Mr Maisey was a pioneer of sterling qualities and was noted for his integrity and soundness of judgment'. He was

⁹⁵⁰ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 6 August 1915, p. 2.

⁹⁵² Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1915, p. 2, 8 December 1915, p. 2.

⁹⁵⁴ Letter from R.J. Maisey, *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1915, p. 3.

⁹⁵⁵ Gordon Maisey, p. 7.

⁹⁵⁶ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹⁵⁷ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹⁵⁸ Death Certificate of Robert Job Maisey, 23 August 1930, 1930/5030, BDM.

‘ever known for his strong active measures’, and ‘his long useful life will stand as a lasting monument as a settler of the highest type’.⁹⁵⁹ At his funeral, the Presbyterian minister eulogized him:

Everyone who knew Mr Maisey honoured him for his rugged honesty and respected him as a neighbour and friend. Of a calm and philosophical nature, he served and honoured God in a quiet and unassuming way and was ever ready to help in a case of necessity or in the work of the church. Continually on the lips of the deceased during the last few days were the words: “I cannot complain, the Lord has been very good to me.”⁹⁶⁰

Maisey left an estate of £9,811 9s 9d, all of which went to his widow.⁹⁶¹ After his death,

A good part of the farm was sold, but the youngest son took over the home portion and Jane moved into the township. She remained active until well past eighty years of age, when she suffered a broken hip. The doctor wanted to put her in hospital as she grew more helpless, but the family felt this was a poor return for all she had done for them. Between them all they cared for her as well as they could. They were not her happiest years, for she did not take kindly to an invalid’s life, and all the years of hard work made her impatient to have to “sit idle,” as she called it, and be waited on. She died in her 88th year and she had six strong sons to carry her to her last resting place. She was always a proud mother, and she would have been proud of that day, I am sure. Her favourite hymn was sung, the one taken from the psalm “The Lord is my Shepherd.”⁹⁶²

On the coffin was ‘a spray of white roses, Gran’s favourite flower’.⁹⁶³ She left £4,209 3s to her children.⁹⁶⁴

Her obituary stated that in all Maisey’s ‘public duties he was greatly assisted by his wife. Mrs Maisey is remembered by the older residents of Te Aroha as having taken a keen interest in church affairs, and in both wars she took an active part in patriotic work until this was curtailed by failing health’.⁹⁶⁵ Shortly after her death, Muriel Maisey wrote that ‘those busy hands are folded now, after a lifetime of toil.... We did not regret her passing for her own sake.... But, for the family, it seems as if the king pin

⁹⁵⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 27 August 1930, p. 5.

⁹⁶⁰ *Matamata Record*, 28 August 1930, p. 4.

⁹⁶¹ Probate of R.J. Maisey, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/2769, ANZ-A.

⁹⁶² Muriel Maisey, ‘Portrait’, p. 23.

⁹⁶³ Muriel Maisey, ‘Gran Passes On’, *New Zealand Outlook*, 26 June 1946, reprinted in Gordon Maisey, p. 8 [this journal has not been traced; is the name incorrect?].

⁹⁶⁴ Probate of Jane Maisey, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/6251, ANZ-A.

⁹⁶⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 19 December 1944, p. 8.

has gone'.⁹⁶⁶ She later recalled Jane's 'tender heart and her fine qualities'.⁹⁶⁷ Although usually following her husband's wishes, on one occasion she would not:

Although I do not think my mother-in-law would have much in common with Women's Lib, there was a time when she took a firm stand. A few people may remember the story of the Bell family; a book was written about their adventures called "Crusoes of Sunday Island." Mr Bell wanted to found a little kingdom of his own and decided to settle, with his family, on this remote island. Mr Bell and Robert Maisey were friends and he urged him to share in the project. Jane's husband loved the sea and had quite a streak of adventure in him. He was all for it but his wife put her foot down firmly. She didn't mind hard work, but she was going to stay where she knew what was ahead of her. If you have read the book you will know this was a wise decision.⁹⁶⁸

As Thomas Bell had settled his family in this remote island in the Kermadec Group in 1878, well before their marriage, it was probably in 1889, when the New Zealand government opened up the island to other settlers, that Maisey raised the idea of moving there.⁹⁶⁹ The account of the Bell family's travails does not mention a friendship with Maisey.

Despite the emphasis in her descendants' recollections, Jane had some breaks from farm life and child rearing:

Jane was to make three visits to Australia and on one of those visits she took her two youngest sons with her, aged eighteen months and three years. They were on the train in Australia when the boys went down with measles. Quite a few Australian relatives paid visits to New Zealand.⁹⁷⁰

ALICE HOTCHIN

The following poetic exchange allegedly took place in March 1886:

This is what C. told A. the other night:-

Last night I left my heart with you,
A captive to your winning grace;
As you have one that's kind and true,
Pray send me yours to take its place.

⁹⁶⁶ Muriel Maisey, 'Gran Passes On', in Gordon Maisey, p. 8.

⁹⁶⁷ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 23.

⁹⁶⁸ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 21.

⁹⁶⁹ E.K. Morton, *Crusoes of Sunday Island* (London, 1957), pp. 56, 112, 114, 152, 175-176.

⁹⁷⁰ Muriel Maisey, 'Portrait', p. 22.

Miss Alice answered: -

As you have left your heart with me,
I'm sure I shan't regret it,
And as for mine - well, let me see -
Call round at the back gate to-night and get it.⁹⁷¹

Charles Ernest Balcke, a stationer, married Alice Harriet (sometimes Harriet Alice) Hotchin in September the following year, when he was 24 and she was 19.⁹⁷² A stationer and tobacconist who also sold 'fancy goods' for a time, he was also a hairdresser and a bookseller.⁹⁷³ Their first daughter was born in the following February, five months after the wedding, and the second was born nearly two years later.⁹⁷⁴ Two years after the second birth, Balcke became seriously ill. 'He is justly popular on account of his genial and happy disposition, and a large number of friends are hoping that he may be restored to health again'.⁹⁷⁵ Instead, 'after some days of semi-consciousness and intense suffering', he died from 'inflammation of the brain'.⁹⁷⁶ The cause was meningitis; he was only 29.⁹⁷⁷ His funeral was 'one of the most largely attended ever seen in the district, everyone who could possibly attend being present to show respect to the departed'.⁹⁷⁸ A Paeroa newspaper described him as 'greatly respected'.⁹⁷⁹

Ten days before his death, he made a will leaving his entire estate to his widow.⁹⁸⁰ He owned two shops in Whitaker Street, one rented out for 8s 6d a week, and a house on two acres, with a total rateable value of £405,⁹⁸¹ but the total value of his estate was not recorded. He had insured his life for £200, but after three years had failed

⁹⁷¹ 'Te Aroha Twists', *Observer*, 6 March 1886, p. 16.

⁹⁷² Marriage Certificate of Charles Ernest Balcke, 5 September 1887, 1887/322, BDM.

⁹⁷³ 'Thames Tittle Tattle', *Observer*, 17 June 1882, p. 218; advertisements, *Te Aroha News*, 14 July 1883, p. 1, 22 September 1883, p. 2, 29 September 1883, p. 3, 1 December 1883, p. 1, 6 December 1884, p. 7; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 831; Death Certificate of Charles Ernest Balcke, 5 April 1892, 1892/2034, BDM.

⁹⁷⁴ Birth Certificates of Florence Gertrude Balcke, 17 February 1888, 1888/13421; Burnett Balcke, 18 March 1890, 1890/5843, BDM.

⁹⁷⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 April 1892, p. 23.

⁹⁷⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 9 April 1892, p. 23, 16 April 1892, p. 20.

⁹⁷⁷ Death Certificate of Charles Ernest Balcke, 5 April 1892, 1892/2034, BDM.

⁹⁷⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 11 April 1892, p. 2.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 9 April 1892, p. 3.

⁹⁸⁰ Probate of Charles Ernest Balcke, Probates, BBAE 1569/1140, ANZ-A.

⁹⁸¹ Assessment Court, *Te Aroha News*, 18 May 1889, p. 2.

to pay the premium. As he died just five days before the redemption value of his policy expired, the company decided to pay his widow the sum insured for, less the unpaid premiums.⁹⁸² This was fortunate, for earlier that month her shop had been totally destroyed in a fire, and although the stock and the building were insured for £250, she was a 'very heavy loser'.⁹⁸³ Although most of her stock was saved, she had had 'a very large stock of fancy goods on hand' and her loss was estimated at £150.⁹⁸⁴ Eight months later, her 'very nice shop and dwelling-house' was about to reopen.⁹⁸⁵ She advertised it as the 'Te Aroha Fancy Bazaar and Novelty Emporium'.⁹⁸⁶ As described in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, the premises consisted of 'a double fronted shop in a central position' in the township. 'A large and general stock of stationary and fancy goods, including clocks, is kept by the proprietress. There is a large connection throughout the district'.⁹⁸⁷ In 1895 she was in charge of the British and Foreign Bible Society's depot.⁹⁸⁸

She carried on the business until in 1898 she was remarried in a 'quiet wedding' to Frederick George Lawn, six years her junior, by whom she had a daughter in 1902.⁹⁸⁹ The shop remained her property, the land being mortgaged two days before the wedding to her father as trustee for her elder daughter; her second husband (a former miner, so quite a change of occupation) took over its management.⁹⁹⁰ Two years later, she was granted a business license in Lipseytown, the northern portion of Te Aroha.⁹⁹¹ In the 1920s they lived in Auckland, where he was a military bandmaster, before leaving in 1929 to live in Woodville.⁹⁹² She died there in 1940, aged 73.⁹⁹³

⁹⁸² *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 November 1892, p. 23.

⁹⁸³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 November 1892, p. 30.

⁹⁸⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 10 November 1892, p. 2.

⁹⁸⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 July 1893, p. 23.

⁹⁸⁶ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 11 September 1895, p. 1.

⁹⁸⁷ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 831.

⁹⁸⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 3 July 1895, p. 2.

⁹⁸⁹ Marriage Certificate of Harriet Alice Balcke, 20 January 1898, 1898/220, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 22 January 1898, p. 2; Birth Certificate of Mavis Lawn, 31 March 1902, 1902/6895, BDM.

⁹⁹⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mortgage dated 18 January 1898 from H.A. Balcke to Moses Hotchin, 18 January 1898, Certified Instruments 1898, BBAV 11581/15a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 22 January 1898, p. 2; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 831.

⁹⁹¹ Warden's Court, *Auckland Star*, 11 May 1900, p. 3.

⁹⁹² Army Department, AABK 18805, R24264695, ANZ-W [online].

⁹⁹³ Death Certificate of Harriet Alice Lawn, 5 March 1940, 1940/21613, BDM; Death Notices, *Dominion*, 6 March 1940, p. 1.

EMMA BLENCOWE

Emmalah (known as Emma) Blencowe, wife of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, arrived in New Zealand in 1865.⁹⁹⁴ When at Thames in the early years of that goldfield, he was a publican.⁹⁹⁵ Later, he became a butcher at Ngaruawahia and Huntly.⁹⁹⁶ In 1880 he settled at Kihikihi, 'but being dissatisfied he went to Te Aroha' in time for the November rush.⁹⁹⁷ After the Waiorongomai field was discovered in the following year, he invested in 19 claims and seven companies.⁹⁹⁸ In 1883, he managed the Arizona mine and prospecting this (unsuccessful) claim with three men.⁹⁹⁹ He was sole owner of the Little Wonder at the Tui portion of the field in 1886,¹⁰⁰⁰ a claim that did not live up to its name. At the end of the following year, he was elected to the provisional committee of the Te Aroha Prospecting Company.¹⁰⁰¹ In 1889, he was the leading member of a syndicate mining, briefly, at Upper Tararu, Thames.¹⁰⁰²

Blencowe also worked as a butcher at Te Aroha.¹⁰⁰³ He then became a contractor making goldfield tracks.¹⁰⁰⁴ In 1884, he had a timber license for a section close to the

⁹⁹⁴ Waikato Immigration Register of Contingent Land Payments and Transfers 1865-1876, folio 139, BAAZ 1967/2a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁹⁵ *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 28 July 1869, p. 643, 12 August 1870, p. 327.

⁹⁹⁶ *Waikato Times*, 14 September 1880, p. 2; *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, p. B 51.

⁹⁹⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 349, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 164, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 January 1891, p. 14.

⁹⁹⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 286, 287, BBAV 11567/1a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 2, 4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 23, 28, 38, 53-55, 88, 97, 154, BBAV 11500/9a; Register of Applications 1880-1882, 11505/3a, folios 109, 100, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 July 1882, p. 961, 10 August 1882, p. 1101, 17 August 1882, p. 1132, 14 September 1882, p. 1264, 14 December 1882, p. 1885, 6 September 1883, p. 1265; *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 7.

⁹⁹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 1 September 1883, p. 2, 13 October 1883, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 145, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Te Aroha News*, 3 December 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰² Warden's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 31 May 1889, p. 2, 28 June 1889, p. 2, 30 May 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰³ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 7 July 1883, p. 3; *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1887*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 7 November 1885, p. 2, 13 February 1886, p. 7, 13 March 1886, p. 2, 20 March 1886, p. 2, 10 July 1886, p. 2.

township.¹⁰⁰⁵ In 1886, he was fencing, clearing and draining his ten-acre paddock (adjoining Te Aroha on the lower side of the road to Waiorongomai) in readiness for sowing grass. ‘The investment should be a remunerative one to the owners, as the need of town paddocks is much felt’, the local newspaper predicted.¹⁰⁰⁶ This leasehold land was drained in 1888.¹⁰⁰⁷ Also in that year, he called tenders for clearing eight acres of manuka, and in the following year advertised for ‘A Strong Boy, must be a good milker, and willing to make himself generally useful’.¹⁰⁰⁸ He owned three houses adjacent to his paddock.¹⁰⁰⁹ When he died, in 1891, his occupation was given as miner, although he was really a small farmer, for on the day of his death he was seeking a plough and a boy who could milk.¹⁰¹⁰

Residents respected Blencowe sufficiently to elect him to the improvement committee in 1886.¹⁰¹¹ But three years previously, at Emma’s request a prohibition order operative from Te Aroha to Thames was taken out against him.¹⁰¹² In 1889, when charged with being drunk, he pleaded guilty and was convicted and cautioned. He also pleaded guilty to excessive drinking, and another prohibition order was imposed, covering the districts from Waitoa to Thames.¹⁰¹³ Despite his drunkenness he was a Wesleyan.¹⁰¹⁴

In January 1891, when returning home after attending a stock sale at Waitoa, he ‘was thrown from his horse and struck a telegraph post, smashing the whole of the left side of the skull, and exposing the brain’. Taken to his house, unconscious, he died the following morning;¹⁰¹⁵ he was only 48.¹⁰¹⁶ When the question of whether he had been

¹⁰⁰⁵ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1883-1900, 33/1884, 38/1884, BBAV 11505/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 21 August 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 21 January 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1888, p. 7, 23 February 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book 1888, Section 4 Block XXXI, Section 6 Block XXXI, Section 7 Block XXXI, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; *Te Aroha News*, 5 May 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ Death Certificate of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, 17 January 1891, 1891/248, BDM; Inquest into R.N. Blencowe, Justice Department, J 46, 1891/75, ANZ-W.

¹⁰¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 15 May 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰¹² Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 7 July 1883, p. 3; *Thames Star*, 7 July 1883, p. 2.

¹⁰¹³ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 36, 37/1889, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 17 August 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁴ Death Certificate of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, 17 January 1891, 1891/248, BDM.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 19 January 1891, p. 2, 20 January 1891, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁶ Death Certificate of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, 17 January 1891, 1891/248, BDM.

drunk was raised at the inquest, Annie Curnow, no stranger to strong drink,¹⁰¹⁷ said that when travelling to Te Aroha ‘I heard a horse coming behind me like lightning – I turned round and said “Oh! you foolish man! If you don’t pull up, that horse will kill you.” He passed me just like a chain of lightning and went nearly as far as the next telegraph post when the horse suddenly stopped’, throwing him against the post. She did not blame the horse, ‘as it stood quite still after the accident happened and was led back by a boy’. He had had only one drink at the Waihou hotel.¹⁰¹⁸ As an indication of the respect in which he and his widow were held, 300 people from all parts of the district attended his funeral.¹⁰¹⁹

After her husband’s sudden and unexpected death, Emma would be a widow for 32 years until her death in 1923, aged 80. She had no children to assuage her grief.¹⁰²⁰ Blencowe’s will left all his estate to her, but its value is not known.¹⁰²¹ In 1893, Emma gave her occupation as ‘household duties’,¹⁰²² but she had to earn an income; details of how she did this are incomplete because of large gaps in the local newspaper for the 1890s. In 1895 she sold fruit and confectionary and ran the Te Aroha Refreshment Rooms.¹⁰²³ In 1897, when she made her only known investment in a (local) mining company, she was a fruiterer.¹⁰²⁴ In 1894, a niece from England joined her and must have assisted in the shop, but six years later the niece married,¹⁰²⁵ and would probably have ceased helping either then or shortly afterwards.

Emma owned some property. Although a shop she owned, which was occupied by a draper, burnt down in 1896, she had insured it for £100.¹⁰²⁶ By 1906 she owned five houses, each of four rooms, plus a boardinghouse.¹⁰²⁷ Six years previously it was advertised in a Thames newspaper:

Carlton House, Te Aroha (Opposite the Town Hall) – Private Board and Residence. Every Home Comfort. First-Class Accommodation for Invalids

¹⁰¹⁷ See Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 14 June 1884, p. 2, 18 August 1888, p. 2, 16 February 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰¹⁸ Inquest on Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1891/75, ANZ-W.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Waikato Times*, 20 January 1891, p. 2.

¹⁰²⁰ Death Certificate of Emmalah Blencowe, 9 August 1923, 1923/1289, BDM.

¹⁰²¹ Probate of Richard Nathaniel Blencowe, Probates, BBAE 1569/894, ANZ-A.

¹⁰²² *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1893*, p. 4.

¹⁰²³ Advertisements, *Te Aroha News*, 28 January 1895, p. 1, 23 March 1895, p. 1.

¹⁰²⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 6 May 1897, p. 1036.

¹⁰²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 24 July 1956, p. 4.

¹⁰²⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 February 1896, p. 15.

¹⁰²⁷ Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Book 1906-1907, no pagination, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

and Tourists. The house is newly built and comfortably furnished throughout. Cuisine a speciality. Mrs Blencowe, Proprietor.¹⁰²⁸

The following year, Carlton House was taken over by Anna Rowe Smardon, another widow,¹⁰²⁹ but within a few years Emma re-acquired it, running it herself until selling it in 1914.¹⁰³⁰ She was recalled as being a well-known ‘boarding house personality’ who ‘would never turn down a penniless “Digger” but would rather buy their “holdings” for a certain figure and keep them until this was exhausted. She was also leader in the local Band of Hope, which would seem understandable’,¹⁰³¹ not only meaning that she would prefer miners to pay her board rather than spend their money on drink but also a consequence of her husband’s drunkenness. When she died in 1923, she still owned three town sections and left an estate of £3,993 9s 11d.¹⁰³²

Emma was active in the community in a variety of ways. From the early 1880s onwards she was a leading member of the Band of Hope, being elected to its committee in 1888.¹⁰³³ In 1895, she chaired one of its meetings.¹⁰³⁴ The following year, she was elected to the committee of the local temperance movement.¹⁰³⁵ She was also a leading member of the Methodist church.¹⁰³⁶ A leader of its Sunday School, she was elected its secretary in 1885, teaching in both Waiorongomai and Te Aroha.¹⁰³⁷ In 1920, when she attended an old residents’ meeting, it was noted that she had ‘63 years of Christian life to her credit’.¹⁰³⁸ Upon her death from bronchitis and pleurisy three years later, aged 81, she was described as being an ‘ardent worker’ for the church.¹⁰³⁹ One year later, when a memorial tablet in the church was unveiled, it was recorded that she had done ‘great work’ for it, especially by collecting money for its construction. One of those

¹⁰²⁸ Advertisement, *Thames Star*, 26 July 1900, p. 4.

¹⁰²⁹ See section on publicans in paper on the drink problem in the Te Aroha district.

¹⁰³⁰ *Thames Star*, 28 October 1901, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 4 September 1914, p. 2.

¹⁰³¹ Recollections of C. Kingsley-Smith, *Te Aroha News*, 16 September 1980, p. 8.

¹⁰³² Probate of Emma Blencowe, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/1730, ANZ-A.

¹⁰³³ *Te Aroha News*, 15 March 1884, p. 2, 11 December 1886, p. 2, 8 September 1888, p. 7.

¹⁰³⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 4 December 1895, p. 2.

¹⁰³⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 7 March 1896, p. 2.

¹⁰³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1900, p. 2, 21 May 1920, p. 2, 9 August 1923, p. 1, 30 September 1924, p. 1; *Strong Blow the Winds: A brief record of the history of the Te Aroha Methodist Church and Circuit 1881-1956* (Te Aroha, 1956), no pagination [p. 20].

¹⁰³⁷ Waiorongomai Sunday School, Minute Book 1884-1894, entry for 21 December 1885, 3050/881, Methodist Archives, Auckland; *Te Aroha News*, 2 May 1885, p. 2.

¹⁰³⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 21 May 1920, p. 2.

¹⁰³⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 9 August 1923, p. 1.

present ‘doubted whether any church had a more wholehearted worker.... Frail though she was she did a great deal of work’.¹⁰⁴⁰

Emma was active in other areas of public life. In 1892, it had been ‘rumoured that the “Widdy B.” is going to stand for the Town Board’,¹⁰⁴¹ but if this was ever a serious intention, she abandoned it and was never again mentioned as wanting to participate in local government. In 1895 she was the sole woman on the committee of the Te Aroha Horticultural Society, and at the end of that year organized a New Year’s Day picnic for the schoolchildren.¹⁰⁴² Five years later she was elected as the first secretary of the local branch of the New Zealand Society for the Protection of Women and Children and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.¹⁰⁴³ In 1914 she formed a ladies’ committee of the Reform Party.¹⁰⁴⁴

LUCY HARRIET ROFFEY/WILLIAMS/HAWKINS/TRAINER

Gossipmongers did not publish anything about this woman’s complicated marital history in either the local newspaper or the *Observer*; as is normal, more can be discovered about her partners’ lives than her own. The story began in Auckland in April 1875, when Joseph Williams, a Cornish labourer and miner, married Mary Purvis, a servant, the daughter of an Irish labourer. He was aged 21, and she was from four to seven years older. Both were illiterate.¹⁰⁴⁵ They had three children, all born in the Waikato: James, in March 1876, Mary Jane, in September 1877, and John, in September 1879.¹⁰⁴⁶ Ten days after John’s birth, Mary died of peritonitis.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 30 September 1924, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴¹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 1 October 1892, p. 17.

¹⁰⁴² *Te Aroha News*, 9 March 1895, p. 2, 18 December 1895, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴³ *Te Aroha News*, 24 March 1900, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 29 October 1908, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 July 1914, p. 67.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Notices of Intentions to Marry 1875, folio 82, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/20, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of Joseph Williams, 28 April 1875, 1875/1396; Birth Certificate of Mary Jane Williams, 20 September 1877, 1877/6929; Death Certificate of Mary Williams, 18 September 1879, 1879/3412, BDM.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Birth Certificates of James Williams, 7 March 1876, 1876/6191; Mary Jane Williams, 20 September 1877, 1877/6929; John Williams, 8 September 1879, 1879/8592, BDM; Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 12/1884, BCDG 11200/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Death Certificate of Mary Williams, 18 September 1879, 1879/3412, BDM.

Four months later, in January 1880, Williams remarried, his new bride being Lucy Harriet Roffey, aged 21, five years his junior.¹⁰⁴⁸ She had been born in Victoria to a miner, George Peter Roffey, who would die in New Zealand in 1896.¹⁰⁴⁹ Williams joined the rush to Te Aroha in November that year, and was an owner of one claim from December until its abandonment in the following May.¹⁰⁵⁰ As he had earlier mined at Thames, he was elected to manage this (unsuccessful) mine.¹⁰⁵¹ Their son Joseph was born in 1881, but not registered.¹⁰⁵² Williams's financial struggles were revealed when he was sued in January 1882 for £1 owed to a shopkeeper; after failing to pay as ordered, he was threatened with a week's imprisonment if this amount plus costs was not paid within a week.¹⁰⁵³ In November that year, he was ordered to pay £4 13s 2d to another storekeeper, William Wilson.¹⁰⁵⁴ Once again he failed to pay, and after a judgment summons was served the case was adjourned for a month to enable him to pay at the rate of 5s a week.¹⁰⁵⁵ After waiting another six months, at the beginning of June 1883 Wilson took out a judgment summons, and he was ordered to pay the debt (now £5 8s because of court costs) by weekly instalments of 10s or serve 14 days hard labour in Mount Eden prison.¹⁰⁵⁶

Also in January 1883, he was ordered to pay a carpenter £9 3s 6d.¹⁰⁵⁷ As he did not pay, the carpenter took out a distress warrant against him, but as Williams had no chattels to be sold this debt also remained unpaid.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁴⁸ Notices of Intention to Marry 1880, folio 255, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/25, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of Joseph Williams and Lucy Harriet Roffey, 26 January 1880, 1880/1186, BDM.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Marriage Certificate of Lucy Harriet Williams, 10 May 1896, 1896/1464; Death Certificate of George Peter Roffey, 1896/2277, BDM.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 959, issued 25 November 1880, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1b; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 194, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 8 January 1881, p. 3; *Waikato Times*, 8 January 1881, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵² Methodist Church, Upper Thames Circuit, Baptismal Register 1881-1929, no. 7, Methodist Archives, Auckland.

¹⁰⁵³ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 1/1882, Judgment Summons heard on 28 February 1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 72/1882, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, Judgment Summons heard on 16 January 1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, Judgment Summons heard on 5 June 1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 4/1883, BCDG 11221/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Home Warrant Book 1883-1928, 2/1883, BBAV 11498/1a, ANZ-A.

Williams' solution to his financial problems was to run away. In the following month, July 1883, he was charged with deserting his wife and family, and when he failed to appear in court a warrant was issued for his arrest.¹⁰⁵⁹ Discovered by the Wellington police working as a labourer on the railway, he was ordered to pay 8s a week for his daughter Mary Jane's maintenance.¹⁰⁶⁰ As the *Te Aroha News* explained in the following January, when Lucy heard he had been found she 'caused a warrant to be issued for his apprehension. The man was arrested, but in consequence of representations made to the local authorities by Mrs Williams to the effect that her husband had promised to contribute to the support of herself and the children the man was released'.¹⁰⁶¹

As he did not pay as agreed, at the beginning of the following year, Lucy, whose stepsons had been enrolled at the Waiorongomai school in November 1883, abandoned her stepchildren.¹⁰⁶² Another warrant for Williams' arrest was issued,¹⁰⁶³ but none was issued against Lucy. The *Te Aroha News* was appalled by this 'most unnatural cruelty', for she had 'disappeared, taking with her two of her own children and leaving the unfortunate step-children literally without support'. (If she had literally disappeared, she soon reappeared and would remain at Waiorongomai for the rest of her life.) Once the local police sergeant was informed, he arranged to have the children committed to the Thames orphanage until aged 15. 'We trust that the authorities will not rest till this most flagrant breach of the law of humanity has been punished'.¹⁰⁶⁴ The authorities did not share the newspaper's zeal, for no action was taken against her. Later it was reported that Williams had fled to New South Wales immediately after deserting his family,¹⁰⁶⁵ but in fact he had found work in Wellington.¹⁰⁶⁶ In 1884 he ceased working as a navy on the railway at Paekakariki and went to Masterton; as the police then lost his trail he could not be sued for the amount owing on the maintenance of his children.¹⁰⁶⁷ In February 1889, when the Waikato District Hospital and Charitable Aid Board received

¹⁰⁵⁹ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 7 July 1883, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Auckland Industrial School, Register of Inmates, Girls, 1875-1894, folio 134, BAAA 1955/4, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1884, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶² Waiorongomai School, Class Lists, November 1883, YCAF 4135/10a, ANZ-A; Waikato District Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Te Aroha News*, 9 February 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶³ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 13/84, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 12/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1884, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 9 March 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1884, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 30 September 1885, p. 169.

a bill for over £100 for maintaining the children, it recorded that he had worked on the Auckland docks for about two years after fleeing Te Aroha.¹⁰⁶⁸

The birth of the second child mentioned by the *Te Aroha News*, Frances Elizabeth, born in January 1884, was not registered either. Her month of birth can be calculated from her enrolment at the Waiorongomai school in 1894, when, like her brother Joseph, she bore the surname of Hawkins,¹⁰⁶⁹ for John Hawkins was the next man in Lucy's life. (Frances Elizabeth was aged 21 when she married a local miner on 8 January 1905,¹⁰⁷⁰ meaning she was born at the very beginning of that month. Curiously, on her 1926 death certificate she was recorded as Hawkins' daughter, and Lucy's maiden name was either not recalled or deliberately omitted - she was still alive - from the death certificate.¹⁰⁷¹)

Williams never paid for his children's maintenance, and presumably never saw them again. When the Thames orphanage closed in December 1893, his daughter was transferred to the Auckland Industrial School before being discharged in the following year to become a servant in a private house at Thames.¹⁰⁷² By 1897 she was 'respectably married' and receiving an income.¹⁰⁷³ Her elder brother, who had not been transferred to Auckland, by 1898 was married, 'respectable', and earning a living.¹⁰⁷⁴ Her younger brother, who became a servant in 1892, was recorded in mid-1906 as of 'Good character – received earnings'.¹⁰⁷⁵

Williams and Lucy were Wesleyans, although he died a Baptist,¹⁰⁷⁶ which may have been why they never divorced. This circumstance meant that she could not legally

¹⁰⁶⁸ Waikato District Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *Te Aroha News*, 9 February 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Waiorongomai School, Class Lists for November 1894, YCAF 4315/41a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Marriage Certificate of Frances Elizabeth Williams and Thomas Roberts, 8 January 1905, 1905/4794, BDM.

¹⁰⁷¹ Death Certificate of Frances Elizabeth Roberts, 10 June 1926, 1926/2247, BDM.

¹⁰⁷² Auckland Industrial School, Register of Inmates, Girls, 1875-1894, folio 134, BAAA 1955/4, ANZ-A; Industrial Schools Nominal Rolls, Thames Industrial School, folio 18, Child Welfare, CW14/9, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁷³ Industrial Schools, Register of Past Inmates 1883-1896, Auckland Industrial School, folio 240, Child Welfare, CW 15/1, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Industrial Schools, Register of Past Inmates 1883-1896, Thames Industrial School, folio 176, Child Welfare, CW 15/1, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Industrial Schools Nominal Rolls, Thames Industrial School, folio 17, Child Welfare, CW 14/9; Register of Past Inmates 1883-1896, Auckland Industrial School, folio 280, Child Welfare, CW 15/1, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See baptism of Joseph Williams, 9 August 1881, Upper Thames Circuit, Baptismal Register 1881-1929, no. 7, Methodist Archives, Auckland; Te Aroha Resident Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record

remarry until after his death in the Thames hospital in 1928. Then aged 83, he was recorded as being a labourer.¹⁰⁷⁷

John Hawkins, another Waiorongomai miner,¹⁰⁷⁸ was first recorded as living there at the beginning of 1884 (unless he was one of the ‘Hawkins & Co.’ who did some tunnelling on the tramway in the previous year).¹⁰⁷⁹ He was born in Somersetshire, to George and Mary Jane Ann Hawkins; his father’s occupation was not recorded.¹⁰⁸⁰ He was aged 36 in September 1885 when their first child, John Henry, was born. Both parents signed the register, the birth certificate recording him as the son of Hawkins and Lucy Harriet Roffey, then aged 24.¹⁰⁸¹ She had reverted to her maiden name, but those who knew the family would have understood that her two children were from an earlier, and still current, marriage. All her children by Hawkins were given the surname Roffey. Charles Ethelbert was born in September 1888: again, both parents signed the register.¹⁰⁸² (He was known as Bertie and, in the twentieth century, as Albert.¹⁰⁸³) Olive Jane, born in May 1890, did not have Hawkins recorded as being her father: instead, he was the informant, having been present at the birth.¹⁰⁸⁴ Olive died after nine days from ‘Severe Cold and Debility from birth’; Hawkins was again the informant, having been ‘present at death’.¹⁰⁸⁵ Her death had been expected, for she was baptized into the Church of England beforehand, when she was recorded as the illegitimate child of

Book 1881-1896, 12/1884, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1884, p. 7; Death Certificate of Joseph Williams, 26 May 1928, 1928/1348, BDM.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Death Certificate of Joseph Williams, 26 May 1928, 1928/1348, BDM.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 323, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; Thames School of Mines, Assay Book 1886-1887 [no pagination], three samples from Stoney Creek, School of Mines Archives, Thames; *Te Aroha News*, 26 September 1885, p. 2, 6 February 1887, p. 2, 23 June 1888, p. 2, 26 March 1890, p. 2, 3 August 1895, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Te Aroha Tramway: Costs, appended to H.A. Gordon to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 3 December 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W; *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1884, p. 2; *Waikato Electoral Roll, June 1884*, p. 9; Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 29/1884, BBAV 11547/1a; Miner’s Right no. 2314, issued 23 August 1884, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1884-1885, BBAV 11533/1n, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Birth Certificate of John Henry Roffey, 25 September 1885, 1885/1512; Death Certificate of John Hawkins, 3 November 1894, 1894/799, BDM.

¹⁰⁸¹ Birth Certificate of John Henry Roffey, 27 September 1885, 1885/1512, BDM.

¹⁰⁸² Birth Certificate of Charles Ethelbert Roffey, 5 April 1888, 1888/12169, BDM.

¹⁰⁸³ Waiorongomai School, Class Lists for 1894, 1898, 1899, YCAF 4315/41a, 4315/49a, 4315/52/a; Probate of Lucy Harriet Trainer, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/2986, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Birth Certificate of Olive Jane Roffey, 18 May 1890, 1890/17408, BDM.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Death Certificate of Olive Jane Roffey, 27 May 1890, 1890/1971, BDM.

Hawkins.¹⁰⁸⁶ James Harold was born in February 1892; no father was listed.¹⁰⁸⁷ Their last child, Joy Myrtle Anne, was born in February 1894: once again, Hawkins was not recorded as the father.¹⁰⁸⁸

Illegitimacy was something to hide not only from the neighbours but also from one's children. All the children born to Hawkins were registered with his surname when they enrolled at school.¹⁰⁸⁹ When Charles Ethelbert was married in 1913, his marriage certificate gave his mother's latest partner's name but omitted Hawkins as a previous husband before giving her maiden name;¹⁰⁹⁰ in that way, whether intentionally or not, he had revealed the true legal circumstance of his birth. When Ivy Myrtle Ann married the following year, her mother once again was recorded with the surname of her third partner: 'formerly Hawkins', maiden name Roffey.¹⁰⁹¹

On 24 October 1894, Hawkins was admitted to the Thames hospital suffering from heart disease;¹⁰⁹² he died there on 3 November, aged 48. His death certificate recorded that he was unmarried; the informant was 'Lucy Williams, friend present at the death, Waiorongomai'.¹⁰⁹³ A Te Aroha correspondent wrote that he

had been a miner on the Thames and Te Aroha goldfields for many years and was very well liked by everyone who knew him. He had been suffering from heart and lung troubles for some time, so that his death was not entirely unexpected. He leaves a wife and several young children.¹⁰⁹⁴

As many if not all local people must have known, Lucy was not his wife, but she was given this courtesy title by a Waiorongomai correspondent three months later: 'The meanest theft I've heard of for a long time is the robbery of Mrs Hawkins' orchard. She is a poor widow with a large family of young children, dependent on her cows and garden for a living, and with plums at a penny a pound, hers are stolen'.¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁶ Te Aroha Register of Baptisms 1879-1908, no. 199, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Birth Certificate of James Harold Roffey, 10 February 1892, 1892/5576, BDM.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Birth Certificate of Ivy Myrtle Anne Roffey, 5 February 1894, 1894/17248, BDM.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Waiorongomai School, Class Lists, YCAF 4315/41a, 4315/46/a, 4315/47/a, 4315/49/a, 4315/52/a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Marriage Certificate of Charles Ethelbert Hawkins, 22 May 1913, 1913/604, BDM.

¹⁰⁹¹ Marriage Certificate of Ivy Myrtle Ann Hawkins, 15 December 1914, 1914/3640, BDM.

¹⁰⁹² Thames Hospital Board, Register of Patients 1884-1902, folio 61, YCAH 14075/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁹³ Death Certificate of John Hawkins, 3 November 1894, 1894/799, BDM.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 November 1894, p. 23.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 16 September 1895, p. 2.

Cows and pigs were the cause of the only time Hawkins was in trouble with the law. In December 1888, he was convicted of hitting a miner, John Brien,¹⁰⁹⁶ ‘on the arm with a ti-tree pole’, and fined £1 and costs. As was common, the newspaper provided considerable details of this petty squabble, usefully providing a window into the lives of ‘ordinary’ people. Brien was the first to give evidence:

On last Sunday morning I went down to defendant’s house but did not see him at home. Saw a woman there, and I called out for John Hawkins. She came out and said he was not at home. I said I would call again by-and-bye. I went round the allotment and saw him coming towards me. He said, “I will not allow you to come here talking to my missus.” I said, “If you don’t keep your cattle and pigs out of my allotment I will shoot them.” He said, “Will you shoot them?” I said, “I will.” He then took up a ti-tree pole and struck me on the arm at the elbow. I stooped for a stone but did not touch it. I had to go home and lie on the bed all day with the pain. I own the two allotments next to defendant and have paid three years’ rent on them. He feeds his pigs and cows on these allotments and has buried a cow in one of them.

In reply to defendant: I never offered to give you the allotments if you liked to pay the rent on them. I did not see you do up the fence or sow grass seed on them. There is grass on the allotment. I did offer to rent you the allotments about a fortnight ago. I never challenged you to fight. You did ask me to contribute towards the cost of repairing the dividing fence, and I said No. I did not call you a b --- thief.

Defendant did not deny striking plaintiff but declined to be sworn. By permission of the Bench, he made a statement to the effect that plaintiff gave him the land about a year ago, and that he did it up and sowed it into grass, which came up well, and plaintiff then came and claimed the allotments back again.¹⁰⁹⁷

A month later, he sought a milch cow near to calving to add to his herd.¹⁰⁹⁸ His squabble with Brien was eventually resolved in February 1890 by Brien selling the two allotments to him for £1.¹⁰⁹⁹

Hawkins was of some note in the community, in 1890 being elected to the school committee.¹¹⁰⁰ When he first lived at Waiorongomai, he participated in sports.¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁶ See *Te Aroha News*, 18 October 1884, p. 7, 20 December 1884, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Criminal Record Book 1881-1896, 60/1888, BCDG 11220/1a, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 4 November 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 26 January 1889, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹⁹ John Brien to John Hawkins, 24 February 1890, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Certified Instruments 1890, BBAV 11581/11a, ANZ-A.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 30 April 1890, p. 2.

¹¹⁰¹ *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1884, p. 2; entry for 11 October 1884, p. 2, may refer to W.H. Hawkins.

Because happy marriages and normal behaviour rarely merited much space in the newspapers, especially ones published elsewhere, the only other time anything else was published about his family was in the year before his death, in a Thames paper (no doubt the local one reported the event also, but it has not survived for this year). His small son, presumably the youngest, James Harold, had fallen into a well adjacent to his house, along with a cat. The cat extricated itself easily, but Lucy found her son floating face up. Neighbours rescued him (presumably Hawkins was away mining), and ‘after two or three hours of incessant rubbing, the little boy showed signs of returning life, and the next morning he was running about almost as well as before’.¹¹⁰²

After lost her second partner in November 1894, in May 1896 Lucy, by then aged 32, married a 32-year-old (and illiterate) Waiorongomai miner, Frank Trainer, the ceremony taking place at her home. He had been born in Northumberland (was that why he was nicknamed ‘Geordie’?¹¹⁰³) to another Frank, who was also another miner. On her marriage certificate she was recorded as Lucy Harriet Williams, a widow. As the date of her becoming a widow was recorded as ‘unknown’, the name Hawkins did not appear,¹¹⁰⁴ and would not appear when her last children were registered: officially she was the widow of Williams, and there had been no other man in her life. Having lost contact with Williams, either she hoped or believed he was dead or simply invented his death to enable this, her last marriage, to be legal, thereby avoiding the evasions and subterfuges caused by her relationship with Hawkins. Perhaps she simply was in a rush and did not bother with the formalities, hoping nobody would point out that she was committing bigamy, for three months after the wedding she gave birth to their first son, Norman Edward.¹¹⁰⁵ Eleven months later, Frederick Thorndon was born, followed by Mavis Linda in 1902 and Earnest (their spelling) Stanley in 1904;¹¹⁰⁶ he was Lucy’s last child, making a total of 11. It is likely that Trainer’s stepchildren lived with him; in 1905 Frances Elizabeth was married at his house.¹¹⁰⁷

Trainer was making little money from either mining or farming, and had difficulty in paying the rent on the 71 acres he leased on the Thames High School

¹¹⁰² *Thames Advertiser*, 21 August 1893, p. 2.

¹¹⁰³ Death Notice, *Te Aroha News*, 7 October 1921, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 10 October 1921, p. 1.

¹¹⁰⁴ Marriage Certificate of Frank Trainer and Lucy Harriet Williams, 10 May 1896, 1896/1464, BDM.

¹¹⁰⁵ Birth Certificate of Norman Edward Trainer, 14 August 1896, 1896/8275, BDM.

¹¹⁰⁶ Birth Certificates of Frederick Thorndon Trainer, 25 September 1897, 1897/13046; Mavis Linda Trainer, 4 September 1902, 1902/13254; Earnest Stanley Trainer, 5 March 1904, 1904/15385, BDM.

¹¹⁰⁷ Marriage Certificate of Frances Elizabeth Williams, 1905/4784, BDM.

Endowment.¹¹⁰⁸ In his last years he was also a drunk, in 1917 being fined for being drunk, along with another man, in the domain at midnight.¹¹⁰⁹ In the following year he was fined on a Saturday morning for being drunk and by evening was drunk once more, and was fined for obtaining liquor while a prohibition order was current.¹¹¹⁰

Trainer died in 1921, aged 55, of miner's complaint. He received a Methodist funeral,¹¹¹¹ as did Lucy when she died in 1931 of a heart attack, aged 74. The only marriage recorded on her death certificate was to Trainer, and the only children listed were born to him;¹¹¹² it would have been filled in by one of these children, who knew of earlier children from earlier relationships. An indication of their standard of living was that Trainer left an estate estimated at under £300 and Lucy one of £364 10s 3d.¹¹¹³ Her will shared her property around six named children: all of Trainer's and two of Hawkins'.¹¹¹⁴

CONCLUSION

In the 1930 book on Te Aroha and its district, published to celebrate 50 years of development in this 'fortunate valley', one contributor lauded the women as well as the men for their hard work when farming during the 1880s:

Very few settlers were able to make a living on their farms during this decade. In order to earn a little ready money, they had to take such work as [was] offered: road and bridge-building, flax-cutting and scrub-cutting, draining and fencing and sowing and harvesting on the big estates. In the intervals between the jobs they undertook for other people, they developed their own farms. While the men were absent the women "kept the home-fires burning." It was quite a usual thing for them to take charge of the little herd, milk the cows, make the butter, and carry it to market. The old process of butter-making was a tedious business – setting the milk to stand in shallow pans, hand skimming and hand churning, washing and salting and making up the butter ready for market. They seldom received any cash for it: they "took it out" in groceries.

It was hard enough for women to do all this work at the same time as their household cares were pressing upon them, and families in those days were

¹¹⁰⁸ *Thames Star*, 1 September 1902, p. 4; Thames High School, Minutes of Board of Governors' Meetings, 7 December 1903, 29 February 1904, 28 March 1904, 1 March 1905, 5 April 1905, 23 February 1908, High School Archives, Thames.

¹¹⁰⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 14 March 1917, p. 2.

¹¹¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 10 July 1918, p. 2, 15 July 1918, p. 2.

¹¹¹¹ Death Certificate of Francis Trainer, 5 October 1921, 1921/6453, BDM.

¹¹¹² Death Certificate of Lucy Harriet Trainer, 2 September 1931, 1931/5299, BDM.

¹¹¹³ Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/1473, 4420/2986, ANZ-A.

¹¹¹⁴ Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/2986, ANZ-A.

not small; but it was made doubly hard by the discomfort in which it was done. There were no labour-saving devices in the houses, and the household equipment was reduced to bare necessities. Not seldom the few cows were milked in bails unsheltered by any roof; and in wet weather it was a bedraggled heroine who carried her pails of milk-and-rain-drops to her makeshift dairy. Of the rush of distractions enjoyed or endured by her grand-daughter she knew nothing. An occasional dance in the station barn and the annual district picnic made the sum of her dissipations. She was the greatest pioneer of them all. Requiescat.¹¹¹⁵

Some miners' wives also milked as well as gardened and tended an orchard, and all had the same responsibilities to look after their families without modern labour-saving devices. Unquestionably, women were fundamental to the running of the community, and some were able or obliged to be in paid employment or self-employment. In the townships of Te Aroha and Waiorongomai there were some 'distractions' from the daily grind, but mostly only younger and unmarried women could take advantage of these, as the gossip recorded by the O.M. illustrated.

One problem with most of the sources used in this paper is that it is far easier to find information on unhappy relationships, especially after marriage, than happy ones, but none of the behaviour uncovered was in any way unusual, surprising, or unique.

Appendix

Figure 1: 'Heard on the Telephone', Observer, 12 October 1895, p. 15.

¹¹¹⁵ G.W. Wild, 'Agricultural Development in the Thames Valley', in *Te Aroha and the Fortunate Valley*, ed. F.W. Wild (Te Aroha, 1930), p. 60.



Heard on the Telephone.
THE COMMERCIAL HOTEL (to the Waitemata): How-d'ye-do, Mrs Endean? How are your mining ventures? I hear you and John own half of Coromandel.
THE WAITEMATA HOTEL (to the Commercial): We are doing nicely, thanks. But why grudge us half of Coromandel, Mr Kidd, when you have got the whole of Waihi?

