“Ka korero mai ki au i whea ahau”: a biography of Katerina Nikorima, Ngāti Pou.

REUBEN HUTCHINSON-WONG

Abstract
Despite appearing in three Charles F. Goldie paintings, very little is known about Katerina Nikorima, Ngāti Pou. Drawing on various publicly accessible sources, this article explores Katerina, her life, and her ambiguous position in society to reconstruct her story in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Zealand. Born to Māori parents, Katerina was orphaned at a young age and informally adopted by Sir William and Lady Mary Ann Martin who arranged for her to receive a European education. After completing her education, Katerina used her training in language and singing to work with Māori, especially in the Hauraki and Auckland, to promote Māori needs. In later life, Katerina withdrew from the Pākehā society of her upbringing before she eventually disappeared from contemporary records.
Keywords: Katerina Nikorima, intermediary, Ngāti Maru, Ngāti Pou, Charles F. Goldie paintings, Māori musician, Thames.

Introduction

During a visit to the Lindauer Art Gallery in September 1901, Katerina Nikorima, Ngāti Pou, left a handwritten note in the Gallery’s visitors book that ends with “ka korero mai ki au i whea ahau”–“I said where was I”.[1] Katerina’s note aptly signifies how she lacks a presence in New Zealand history despite the contemporary fame that she experienced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As one of several Māori painted by Charles F. Goldie, Katerina appeared in three of his paintings – *Kai Paipa* (1901),[2] *Fire and Smoke* (1908),[3] and *Nikorima and Nicotina* (1910).[4] Despite her presence in these paintings, little is written about Katerina herself. Through her association with Goldie, the late Roger Blackley is the only historian to my knowledge who uncovered aspects of Katerina’s life and her role in nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Zealand history.[5] This article, therefore, redresses and reclaims Katerina’s story and provides a small biography to contextualise her role as an interpreter, intermediary, singer, fundraiser, wife of a rangatira, and land-owner before her eventual disappearance from records in 1911.[6] In a similar vein as Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla’s book, *He Reo Wāhine*, some of the information in this article may be confronting and challenging for Katerina’s whānau who might be seeing this information for the first time.[7]

Unlike many of her contemporaries, Katerina held an ambiguous position in New Zealand history, largely the result of her upbringing. Of Māori descent, she was raised in an English household with a European education and subsequently spent much of her adult life reconnecting to her culture and history after her marriage in 1874 to Nikorima ‘Nicodemus’ Poutōtara (c.1840–1903) before she withdrew from Pākehā society.[8] In effect, she straddled two worlds–te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori.

In *He Reo Wāhine*, Paterson and Wanhalla point out that many Māori women in the nineteenth century went by multiple names.[9] Katerina was no different. Some of her identified names include Katherine Hobson Te Karari, Katherine Harriet Poutōtara, Kitty Hobson, Kate, Cathy, Katty, Katie Hobson, Katerina Nikorima, Mrs Nikorima, Mrs Nikorima Taitangaru, and Mrs Poutōtara. People also often misspelt Katerina’s married surname: Poutotari, Pototara, Pontaia, and Poutoutara, among others. This article pulls together available information about Katerina

Journal of NZ Studies NS40 (2025), 15-35 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS40.10440

from publicly accessible archives to help reconstruct her life.[10] Resources include government and religious documents, personal correspondence, newspapers/niupepa, and Lady Mary Ann Martin's book – *Our Maoris*, published posthumously in 1884.[11] When and where Katerina was born, died, or is buried,[12] remains unknown but, despite this, much of her life, especially as an adult, can be reconstructed.

Whakapapa and Education: up to 1874

Born Katerina Hariata 'Catherine Harriet' Te Karari, Katerina was the daughter of Pirimona 'Philemon' Te Karari and Hariata Hopihona 'Harriet Hobson' Te Karore (Figure 1).[13] The year of her birth remains unknown, though likely took place before 1855. In te ao Māori, whakapapa is a crucial part of identity. Whakapapa represents connection to those that came before, iwi and hapū affiliation, and links to the land and world around Māori.[14] Despite its importance, Katerina experienced dislocation and disconnection from her whakapapa as the result of her parents' premature deaths, Katerina's subsequent informal adoption by Sir William Martin and Lady Mary Ann Martin, and her education.[15] To help remedy this disconnection, this article provides a reconstruction of Katerina's known whānau (Figure 1) and aspects about some of her whanaunga, relatives. Much like a lot of early colonial New Zealand, information on Katerina's whanaunga is piecemeal meaning that this article only presents parts of their story.

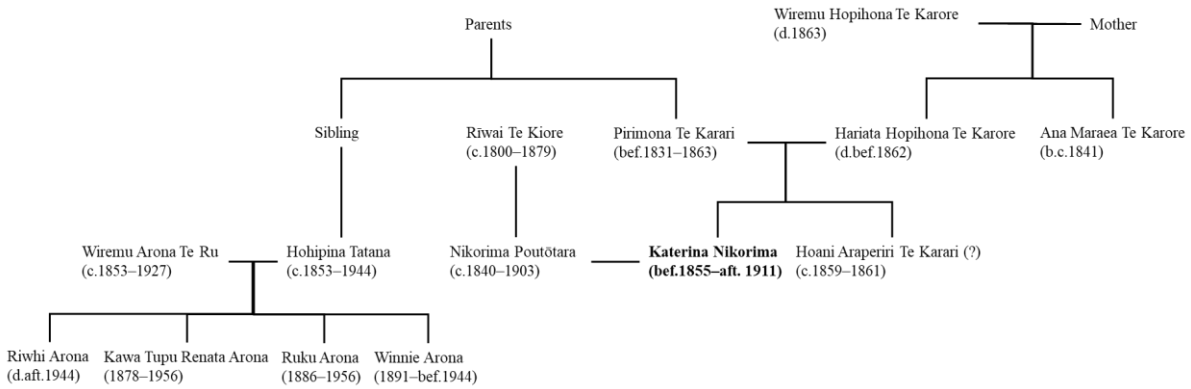

Figure 1: Reconstructed whakapapa of Katerina Nikorima, author's own.

Katerina's parents married at St John's College, Auckland in the early summer of either 1851 or 1852, where her mother was conveyed between St Stephen's School at Pourewa and the College in a "canoe, gay with red ochre and carved prow adorned with bunches of white sea-birds' feathers."[16] Hariata, her parents, and twenty men from her iwi or hapū made their way to a chapel decorated in flowers and tree-ferns for the marital service.[17] Pirimona "wore a black frock coat, and white trousers", while Hariata was in "a blue and white gown, and silk shawl".[18] Both Māori and Pākehā attended the wedding, including the Martins and Ngāti Whātua rangatira, Āpihai Te Kawau.[19] Students of the College also attended, including Siapo from Maré Island, New Caledonia; many students coming to New Zealand from the Pacific Islands for religious training with Bishop George A. Selwyn.[20] After the wedding, the dinner took place in the College's Great Hall, where speeches, mostly in te reo Māori, occurred.[21] Alongside Katerina, Pirimona and Hariata may have had a son named Hoani Araperiri Te Karari (c.1859–1861), buried at St Stephen's Cemetery on 15 March 1861 aged 2 and listed as coming from Ōrākei.[22]

Pirimona was likely born c.1833 in Northland.[23] Reverend Richard Taylor baptised him sometime between September 1839, when Taylor arrived in New Zealand with his family in the Bay of Islands, and May 1843, when Taylor moved to Whanganui.[24] Pirimona joined the earlier version of St John's College at Te Waimate in their Native Boys' School in c.1843.[25] In September 1844, he moved with other students and the College to Auckland when Bishop Selwyn relocated it there two months after the first synod of the Anglican Church of New Zealand took place at Te Waimate.[26] Pirimona relocated again when the College moved to Pourewa in 1846.[27] During his time with the College, Pirimona's teachers likely included George Adam Kissling, Robert Maunsell, and William Martin, all associated with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). At the time of his marriage, Pirimona worked as a chief pressman at the St John's College press.[28] In their directory of Anglican clergy, Michael Blain and Robert Bruère note Pirimona being attached to St Stephen's School in October 1854.[29] At the time, St Stephen's was transitioning from a female primary school to a male school.[30] There, Pirimona may have aided in teaching whilst undergoing training to become a native teacher or deacon.[31] For instance, in his 1857 annual report to the CMS, Kissling noted the he proposed Pirimona for ordination.[32] Kissling's 1859 annual report to the CMS lists "One Native Teacher from Auckland District making with his wife and children 4", when discussing St Stephen's School– these possibly being Pirimona, Hariata, Katerina, and Hoani.[33] In the same report, Kissling noted that Pirimona was to be ordained the following year.[34]

On 4 March 1860, Bishop Selwyn ordained Pirimona a deacon in the Anglican Church at St Paul's Church in Auckland, alongside fellow students Heta 'Seth' Tarawhiti and Hohua 'Joshua' Te Moanaroa.[35] After his ordination, Pirimona was based at Ōrākei and in North Auckland.[36] Alongside his work in Ōrākei, Pirimona also worked as minister with the Ngā Oho hapū, who at the time were associated with the Ngāti Whātua confederation.[37] In 1862, Pirimona received financial support, £200, from Ngāti Whātua – something that emerged from calls by the Anglican Diocese to help fund the stipends of new Māori deacons.[38] He later joined Bishop Selwyn and Hohua on the Bishop's journey into South Auckland along the Great South Road.[39] Pirimona was subjected to the "Pirimona Affair" in late 1863 when William Bertram White, Resident Magistrate for Mangōnui in Northland, brought charges against him for providing exaggerated reports of the successes of the Kīngitanga Movement and inciting "excitement" amongst the Māori of Northland.[40] While crossing the Kaipara Harbour around 22 December 1863, Pirimona, alongside two unnamed Ngāpuhi men and several horses, drowned when a canoe capsized.[41] Pirimona's drowning is usually recorded as 1864; however, a *New Zealander* issue dated 26 December 1863 confirms his drowning the previous week.[42] Another unnamed Ngāpuhi man survived, managing to make it to land a day later.[43] Bishop Selwyn noted Pirimona's passing in his address to the Church of England Synod on 26 April 1864.[44] Pirimona appears affiliated to Ngāpuhi in Northland. His niece Hopihona Arona née Tatana's obituary supports this connection; furthered by Lady Martin's reference to Pirimona as a "north country-man".[45] Katerina's self-identification with Ngāti Pou may reflect a specific connection with this hapū, which became absorbed by Ngāpuhi.[46]

Less is known about Katerina's mother. Hariata was Ngāti Whātua, the daughter of Wiremu Hopihona Te Karore – a Ngāti Whātua native teacher during the mid-nineteenth century.[47] Hariata may have belonged to Te Uringutu hapū, along with her father.[48] She went to St Stephen's School, prior to her marriage to Pirimona.[49] Hariata may have later authored a letter written in te reo Māori sent to Sir Donald McLean on 2 November 1857 about ownership of a piece of land, which is currently unlocatable.[50] If authored by her, Hariata likely learnt to write during her time at St Stephen's. A description of Māori wives reprinted in 1903 from the January 1853 issue of the *Monthly Packet* likely included Hariata in their description,

mentioning that these women trained under Sarah Selwyn, wife of Bishop Selwyn, in household duties and later in scripture, history, arithmetic, and English.[51] Kissling's 1857 annual report shows Hariata also trained with Kissling's wife, Margaret Kissling, for at least ten years.[52] Hariata likely passed away some time in 1862, being buried in St Stephen's Cemetery.[53]

Looking to Katerina's grandfather, Wiremu Hopihona took his name from Governor William Hobson and seems to have been a minor rangatira in the Ngāti Whātua confederation.[54] Wiremu Hopihona played a role in Ngāti Whātua affairs up till his death on 9 May 1863 in Ōrākei.[55] Before moving to Ōrākei, Wiremu Hopihona seems to have lived near Maungakiekie One Tree Hill–being a party on three land sales listed in the Old Land Claims: OLCs 339,[56] 1104 and 1264,[57] and 1/108.[58] Wiremu was baptised some time before 1844, later sponsoring other Māori, like Rea on 29 July 1849, to be baptised.[59] At Ōrākei, he operated the Ōrākei Native School as the native teacher or kaiwhakaako, a role he retained until his death.[60] The role of native teachers in their communities focussed on religious rather than secular education.[61] A speech he gave at his daughter's wedding demonstrates the impact Christianity had had on his later life.[62] In 1860, he attended the Kohimārama Conference representing Ngāti Whātua-o-Ōrākei interests.[63] Lady Martin described Wiremu Hopihona as "a man of some standing in his own place" at the Ōrākei Native School and as "thoroughly good...but he was very solemn and pedantic."[64] Wiremu Hopihona always dressed in black clothes, with Lady Martin commenting that "his face was a wonderful work of art [his moko kanohi]; it was tattooed all over, save one little triangle patch on [his] forehead."[65] A sketch of Wiremu Hopihona, possibly by William Bambridge, was printed alongside William Charles Cotton's 1844–1845 journals from his time at St John's College.[66] At least one daughter other than Hariata is known, Ana Maraea (Figure 1) and the name of his wife is unknown.[67] Wiremu Hopihona appears to be buried in consecrated ground at Ōrākei, possibly in the St James churchyard.[68]

Figure 2: Lady Mary Ann Martin (1817-1884), (1860s), Bartlett & Co (Auckland): Ref: PA2-0195, Alexander Turnbull Library (image courtesy of Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa National Library of New Zealand).

Following Pirimona's death, Sir William Martin and Lady Mary Ann Martin informally adopted Katerina (Figure 2). It remains unknown if any whānau could take Katerina in after the deaths of her parents and grandfather. The Martins, themselves, were childless. During their time in New Zealand, they poured a lot of their energy into local Māori communities, including setting up a hospital at Taurarua, Judge's Bay.[69] In the 1860s, the Martins arranged, at Pirimona's wishes, for Katerina to receive a European education so that she could bring back her new knowledge and training to her whanaunga and people.[70] According to her marriage notice published in March 1874, she was "highly accomplished, and has been educated under the best masters procurable".[71] A later article, published May 1904, notes that she received her education in Britain.[72] Current information suggests that Katerina was likely educated in New Zealand not Britain, as the later article suggests, with masters coming to Taurarua or her going to a local seminary for young women in Auckland. If educated in Britain, not much is known about her time there, though she would have been one of the earliest Māori women to live in England for an extended period.[73] This British connection probably reflects warping of earlier knowledge of Katerina. Katerina's educational experiences and relationships undoubtedly informed her interactions and behaviours in later life. For instance, her bridal party consisted of Miss Atkins, Grace Fairburn, Alice Roskruge, Edith Woodhouse, and an unnamed cousin of future husband Nikorima–possibly representing people and networks she regularly interacted with in Auckland.[74] Irrespective of where her studies were completed, what remains clear is that Katerina used her acquired knowledge in later life for her peoples' needs–as discussed later in this article.

Unlike other high-profile Māori women of her time – such as Airini Donnelly (née Karauria)[75]– Katerina no doubt lacked strong connection to her whakapapa and culture, the result of losing her parents at such a young age, being taken in by the Martins, and her education. It is difficult to comprehend Katerina's position in Māori society because she experienced "cultural and personal dislocation" from her heritage, which was a key element of her identity as a Māori woman.[76] If educated in Auckland, Katerina may still have had ties with her mother's whanaunga, but what these links looked like is unknown. As discussed later in this article, Katerina retained her fluency in te reo Māori. After finishing her studies, Katerina made her societal debut at a private Government House function in honour of one of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh's visits to New Zealand, either 1869 or 1870. Katerina either received the first dance from the Prince or, possibly, entered and opened the event with the Prince.[77]

Kirstine Moffat points out that comments made by Lady Martin on Katerina's upbringing reified colonial discourses on Māori.[78] Whilst Moffat's statement is accurate, it must not be understated that it was Katerina's birth father's wish that his daughter receive an élite education so that she could bring the knowledge back to their people. In addition, Lady Martin cared deeply for Katerina, evident in letters Lady Martin sent to Mrs Blanche Lush, wife of Reverend Vicesimus Lush.[79] Surprisingly, despite Lady Martin's care and support for Katerina, Frances Porter and Raewyn Dalziel's biographies of Lady Martin make no mention of her adopted daughter, and are two of many examples where Katerina Nikorima is missing from later histories.[80] Albeit through Katerina's connection to Goldie, only Blackley's research discusses Katerina's relationship with her adoptive parents and European upbringing.[81]

The Wedding: 1874

On Easter Tuesday, 7 April 1874, at 8.30am, Katerina married Nikorima Poutōtara in the Bishop's Chapel in Parnell.[82] They met via the Reverend Lush.[83] Nikorima was a rangatira of the Ngāti Te Ahumua hapū of Ngāti Maru in Pārāwai Thames and son of Rīwai Te Kiore.[84]

Lady Martin wrote that Katerina wore "white poplin, and had a white veil, and orange flowers, a bouquet, in approved young New Zealand style" along with her six bridesmaids dressed in white.[85] Lady Martin described Nikorima as "tall" and "good-looking".[86] Sir William Martin walked Katerina down the aisle, with the service held in both English and te reo Māori.[87]

The marriage of Katerina and Nikorima was significant, newspapers across New Zealand noting that the nuptials were a happy affair with the chapel bells ringing in the couple's honour.[88] The wedding reception was breakfast held at the Cathedral library before the couple went with their friends to Thames on the 11am steamer, the *Golden Crown*.[89] Lady Martin went down to the wharf along with the group to see Katerina off.[90] It is not known if any of Katerina's whanaunga attended her wedding. Before her wedding, Katerina lived with the Martins at their residence in Auckland.[91] A week after her wedding, the Martins left New Zealand for England for the last time.[92]

Figure 3: (a) Katerina as Catherine Harriet Poutōtara; (b) Katerina's husband, Nikorima Poutōtara;[93] both photographed by the Foy Brothers and from the Miss E. Lush Collection (reproduced from Lush and Drummond, 1975, plate 4, all possible attempts made to obtain copyright permission, these images are orphan images).

Both Katerina and her husband dressed in European-style clothing (Figure 3), with Katerina being regularly referred to as Mrs Nikorima Poutōtara.[94] After their wedding, they settled in Tōtara just outside of Thames, the rohe of Nikorima's hapū.[95] The house they moved to was known for its garden; with Katerina hosting tea, strawberries, and cream there for Bishop William Cowie and nine clergymen after they returned to Thames from the opening of the Kirikiri Native Church on 30 November 1874.[96] Another instance saw Reverend Lush leaving his three children and a visitor at "Nicodemus's garden" in January 1875 for dinner, to return to central Thames to officiate a funeral. They went to Pārāwai for a prize firing.[97] Throughout

her married life, Katerina went on to develop and deepen connections with different Māori through her work with Māori communities of the Hauraki, Auckland, and further afield.

Lady Martin's book usefully notes that she and her husband:

> Had seen three generations of the bride's family: her old tattooed grandfather, who, receiving the light [Christianity] in middle life, had walked in faithfully to the end [his death]; his gentle, pretty daughter, who was trained at St. Stephen's and married one of the native clergy – a good wife and mother – and now our orphan Catherine, her daughter, brought up from early childhood under Christian influences, and in an English home – a well-educated girl.[98]

Lady Martin's comments show that the Martins had had an ongoing relationship with Katerina's family that spanned decades. The death of Katerina's father in 1863 and Katerina's subsequent upbringing in a British household and education, however, effectively diminished Katerina's connection to her culture, whakapapa, and history. Her marriage to Nikorima likely began a process of reconciliation between Katerina and the culture and history of her people. Her community work, as discussed later, provides a good example of Katerina's reconnection with her culture and people. Through her marriage to Nikorima, Katerina also seemed to regain a level of her agency–something lost because of her parents' deaths and evidenced by her attendance at meetings of Māori without her husband, such as at a hui at Komata in the Hauraki.[99]

Just before Lady Martin left New Zealand, she sent a letter to Mrs Lush in Thames that arrived on 13 May 1874. The letter read: "I should like to have a peep at you all and to see my dear little Cathy's future home...it is a great comfort to feel that you will be near to befriend the child when she needs a little motherly advice."[100] Affectionately calling Katerina "Cathy", Lady Martin clearly cared for her adopted daughter, wanting a local friend to provide support and watch over Katerina when Lady Martin could not.

Correspondence also continued between Lady Martin and Katerina after the Martins left New Zealand, with at least one letter from Lady Martin received on 4 September 1875 by the Reverend Lush before being sent with Lush's son, Edward Lush, to deliver the letter to Katerina.[101] The contents of the letter are unknown. Another letter, this time from Katerina to Lady Martin, was sent in c.1882 and subsequently published in Lady Martin's book, *Our Maoris*, the contents of which is discussed later.[102] Sir William Martin died on 18 November 1880, followed just over three years later by Lady Mary Ann Martin on 2 January 1884 – both in England.[103]

Life in Thames: 1874–1890s

During her studies, Katerina received musical training, especially singing, with her musical talent being well regarded by her contemporaries. For example, during Katerina's visit to Whangārei in January 1879 to discuss ownership of the Waitomotomo Block, she sang "with such taste and effect that the Europeans were as surprised as the natives" at that evening's ball.[104] She and her husband had gone up north to act as interpreters for Native Minister John Sheehan in the aftermath of a conflict between two hapū or iwi over the Waitomotomo block.[105] Katerina was a contralto and sang in English, Italian, and te reo Māori, with her training being unusual at the time.[106] Lady Martin wrote that Katerina inherited her musical abilities from her father, Pirimona, and sang with "great pathos and sweetness".[107]

Whilst in Thames, Katerina regularly used her vocal abilities to raise funds for local causes and the community. For charitable programmes, Katerina often sang songs like "Kathleen Mavourneen" and "My Native Land, Good Night". These events included ones at places and venues like the Thames Academy of Music and for many causes such as purchasing harmoniums, the Ladies' Benevolent Society, and the Kaitangata Fund.[108] Her earliest performance in Thames appears to be on 7 April 1876 at Pārāwai School for a new harmonium for the Sunday School.[109] She also performed as part of the Anglican congregation of St. George's Church, Thames; sometimes doing solos.[110] Katerina's upbringing instilled Anglican values in her. Moreover, Katerina participated at charity events in Auckland, such as her performances in August 1885 at a benefit for John Austin Smith held at the Lorne Street Hall, Auckland,[111] and for the blind institute in Parnell in November 1895.[112] Katerina's use of her trained voice is one of the many ways that she fed back into her community, both Māori and Pākehā, showing that she had followed through with her father's wishes that she use her education to benefit their people.

Katerina's work with charities or the community did not always involve her singing. For instance, in the aftermath of the 1886 eruption of Mount Tarawera, Katerina took in affected Māori with support from the mining managers of Thames – whom she thanked via newspaper on 12 March 1887.[113] In another example, Katerina organised on 19 December 1895 a showcase at City Hall, Auckland and invited Māori artists, musicians, and orators to promote Māori culture. She also performed herself at this event.[114] These works demonstrate Katerina's formidable skill at organising events and being part of committees, something befitting the wife of a rangatira.[115] As will be discussed, Katerina's impact extended to other forms in service of her community, especially her work as an interpreter and intermediary between Māori and Pākehā to advocate for the Māori people.

Katerina's involvement in charitable causes did spark concern from her adoptive mother, who wrote in a letter to Mrs Lush on 8 February 1877: "I feel sure you will stand her friend and explain that Cathy must not have pressure put upon her. She is so fond of music that she would not shrink from this exertion if she felt equal to it."[116] According to Reverend Lush, the letter sent from England begs "Mrs Lush to realise that Cathy has never been strong and remarks that Nikorima disapproves of her over-exerting herself for the charitable causes of Thames."[117]

There is at least one instance, for example, the Ladies' Benevolent Society's annual flower show in 1877, where Katerina left the heat of the stage and later fainted.[118] Another time may have been in April 1889 when Katerina was indisposed despite agreeing to perform at an Ōrākei temperance movement event by Paora Tūhaere, rangatira of Ngāti Whātua-o-Ōrākei.[119] Despite concerns for her health, Katerina continued to work with local charities in Thames and Auckland, especially lending her singing voice.

Katerina was known for her fluency in both English and te reo Māori, often providing her services as an interpreter, intermediary, and representative between Māori and Pākehā in the Hauraki.[120] She also became fluent in at least one, possibly two, other unknown languages.[121] Katerina possibly honed her English during her time living with the Martins, while te reo Māori continued as her first language that she had spoken with her parents and likely continued with the Martins and in her marriage to Nikorima. Her fluency in te reo Māori is especially evident in an 1896 letter to the editor on the differences between te reo Māori dialects of the North and South Islands: "Sir. – Seeing in your paper this week that Southern Island settlers have mutilated Maori names of places, such as Whakatipu, but alas for Colac, that is wrong, but Otakou that is quite, quite correct. Their dialect is different from us. I have the honour to inform

you I am always looking after the welfare of my people, and heartily thank you for taking notice of the mistake."[122] The Martins did not discourage Katerina's use of te reo Māori.[123] Lady Mary Ann Martin became fluent in te reo Māori on her journey to New Zealand, which she further improved one her arrival.[124]

Katerina and her husband frequently represented Māori at prominent events, including gubernatorial visits to Hauraki. For example, Katerina participated in Governor Lord Normanby's visit in March 1878 where she helped set up a ball for the citizens of Thames alongside the officers and members of the Native Volunteers Corps and led the first set of quadrilles together with Normanby.[125] In all likelihood Katerina received training in dance during her studies. This event also served to honour Native Minister, John Sheehan.[126] Katerina and another Māori, Hori Matene, were specifically recognised for their work.[127] Katerina in particular played an instrumental role in setting the event up, with the *Thames Advertiser* noting that she was the only woman and Māori present among Thames' mayor, at least 13 of the town's councillors, and the Reverend Lush.[128] She proposed the event to take place at the recently opened St George's Church hall – something that local Māori wanted.[129] The event ended up going ahead in the Academy of Music, instead, followed by supper at the Pacific Hotel.[130] In addition, during this trip Katerina represented local Māori at the Governor's meeting of local Hauraki bodies.[131] During another gubernatorial visit, in April 1884, Katerina was among those who welcomed Governor Sir William Jervois and his wife, Lady Lucy Jervois, aboard the *Hinemoa*, where Katerina specifically greeted Lady Jervois.[132] Mrs Taiperi, another Māori woman, gifted Lady Jervois a mere and a number of huia feathers.[133] Governor Jervois mentioned Katerina stating that there was: "No greater or more striking instance than [a European education] could be found than by that offered by the very cultured and graceful manner in which a lady of their own race [Katerina] had been the means of their exchanging throughout that day. This thought of his he trusted Mrs Poutotara would translate literally."[134] These translations took place at the Runanga House in Pārāwai.[135] Katerina may have been a key member of the contingent during the Governor's visit to Hauraki, especially through her use of language and relationships. Katerina's involvement at the welcomes of Governor Normanby and Governor Jervois illustrates one of the ways that Katerina represented Māori during her time in Thames.

Katerina also regularly attended meetings and hui to discuss key issues that affected Māori. In September 1879, for instance, Katerina participated in a large hui of Hauraki Māori and Pākehā at Komata to discuss land disputes following a conflict between Ngāti Hako and Pākehā outside Paeroa.[136] A few years later, in 1882, Katerina wrote in a letter to Lady Martin that she attended a trip of Anglican clergy and Bishop William Cowie to a new kāinga, at Reweti, near Waimauku, by way of Riverhead, where a new church had been consecrated – home to Ngāti Whātua o Kaipara.[137] On a separate visit to Hauraki, Bishop Cowie later commented on meeting Katerina at Puriri whilst travelling to Paeroa from Thames on 21 November 1887. Bishop Cowie made specific reference to Katerina's "cultivated voice" without an accent; a comment clearly framed in a colonial mindset but which hints at the impact that Katerina's European education had had on her.[138] Katerina also attended a hui at Ōrākei among other high-profile Māori to cover some politics and business in March 1889.[139]

At the time of their marriage, Katerina's husband was a land-owner, Native Land Court land assessor, and interpreter who also inherited additional land holdings in Pārāwai when his father, Rīwai, passed away on 26 June 1879.[140] Katerina also worked for the Native Land Court as an interpreter in the Hauraki, through which she gained land in her own right.[141] For instance, in 1878, Katerina along with eleven other Māori was granted three small blocks at Ohinemuri

with two river frontages–Kakanui (20 acres), Onekaharau (12½ acres), and Ngihangiha (4 ¼ acres).[142] When looking to sell some of the land, Katerina later complained in early 1882 that she did not receive a price for the land higher than land that had no title associated with it, which John Bryce, Minister of Native Affairs, would go onto investigate.[143] Historically, the establishment of the Native Land Court transferred much Māori-owned land into individual title which resulted in crippling debt among Māori, that even sales of purchased land could not alleviate.[144] She appears also to have bought additional land at Maungatautari, south of Cambridge, in 1895.[145] It is unknown if Katerina inherited additional land following the death of Nikorima on 8 September 1903 as it appears that they may have separated sometime the 1890s.[146] According to the 1904 *New Zealand Gazette*, after a Native Land Court appeal over Nikorima's will, the court upheld his bequest that letters of administration go to his female cousins Makere Nikorima and Meteria Papahuaki.[147]

Katerina's involvement with land was likely not just limited to the purchasing or sale of land. For example, she may have been involved in a protest in June 1890 that opposed the setting up of a trig station near Kerepehi, alongside six other Māori women – Taupuki, Rangitaratara, Tauwahi, Peneti, Maimaroa, and Ahuriri.[148] They protested in Māori custom against Ripikoi, a local rangatira, to protect the whenua because Ripikoi had approved the trig station's construction. It appears that there was no further court involvement, with the court deciding to see if the conflict would resolve itself.[149]

Withdrawal from Pākehā Society: 1890s–1911

In 1904, a detailed commentary by William Blomfield of Katerina's life, education, and return to the "kāinga" way of life was published in both Pākehā and Māori newspapers, including *Te Pīpīwharauroa, He Kupu Whakamarama*:

> There is also at least one other Maori woman knocking about Auckland, a chieftainess by marriage, who has spent some time at Home. When Sir [William] Martin was Chief Justice of New Zealand, and residing in Auckland, his wife took under her patronage a young Maori girl, practically adopted her, and ultimately took her away to the Old Country. The little girl was given the best education money could buy. When she returned to the colony she was able to speak two or three languages, and to display all the accomplishments of the daintily brought up young woman of her day.
>
> In course of time she married Nikorima Poutotara, an influential Rangatira of the Thames district, and from her husband's rank and her own personal character and refinement of manner, was made much of by society, both at the Thames and in Auckland. A rich contralto voice was one of endowments, and for some time Mrs Nikorima was much sought after as a performer at charity and other concerts on the goldfield. But by-and-bye the longing for the old free-and-easy life of her own people seized upon her. The European civilisation had been only a veneer, after all. She appeared less and less in European society, and finally withdrew from it altogether, abandoned the tasteful and fashionable modes of dress that had been her wont, adopting the billycock hat and bright-coloured blouse and skirt to her dusky sisters. The result was that she became quite indistinguishable from the general run of plebeian Maoris–unless she could be surprised into English conversation, when the purity of her language at once betrayed the effects of a superior education.
>
> Mrs Nikorima's case is only one of many that illustrate the innate weakness of the Maori for the ways of his ancestors. Time after time have young Maori men, educated in the secondary schools of the colony, drifted back to the lite of lazy comfort of their

> father's homes. Probably no person of her race has every drunk more deeply of the sweets of European society and European civilisation than Mrs Nikorima, and yet she abandoned them all for the primitive ways of the kainga. Today, she is occasionally to be seen about the streets of Auckland, but is entirely inconspicuous, and no one unacquainted with her history would suspect that she is a person of much greater culture than the average European with whom she rubs shoulders.[150]

Blomfield's commentary mentions that in her younger days, Katerina was a Pākehā woman in look and upbringing (Figure 3), but left this behind to begin to wear "a man's billycock hat and a jacket and a waistcoat of red" and her well-regarded position in society in Hauraki and Auckland.[151] The final line mentions that Katerina "is [often] seen on the streets of Auckland but no-one realizes that she is better educated than most of the Pakeha who throng Queen Street." [152] Blomfield's commentary about Katerina represents a stereotypical colonial, racialised, male, Pākehā mindset.[153]

It appears that before Blomfield's article, Katerina had permanently moved away from Pārāwai by 1901, settling in central Auckland and separated from Nikorima.[154] Her separation and withdrawal from Pākehā society may have started as early as 1896 or earlier.[155] During this time Katerina started using the name Katerina Nikorima – the name she retained till she disappeared.[156] By the time of her husband's, death, Katerina completely moved away from Pākehā society.[157] After his death, Nikorima Poutōtara was buried on 13 September 1903 at Haikema Urupā, the same place as his father near the Thames Racecourse – his tangi attended by over 1,000 people.[158] No contemporary newspaper mentioned Katerina as Nikorima's widow, further supporting their separation. Part of Katerina's withdrawal may stem from her ailing health in the 1870s and 1880s, as well as her wish to focus increasingly one Māori matters in later life.

Her progressive withdrawal did not prevent Katerina from flexing her skills as an intermediary and interpreter, carving an independent career. For example, in 1901, Ani Kaaro Hōhaia, a female rangatira, and Ngāpuhi from the Hokianga invited Katerina to go to England as their interpreter to present a flag to King Edward VII.[159] This trip did not occur. Katerina also wrote a letter to Prime Minister Richard Seddon on behalf of Erana Te Oneone and Rahera Tainui about the sale of Te Kauanga Whenuakite 3 Block at Mercury Bay, following the Government's inaction over purchasing the land from them.[160] As part of Edward Frederick Warren's investigation for the Public Trust Office in 1901 into the expulsion of William 'Big Billy' Matthews from Waipapa, a Māori hostel at the bottom of Constitution Hill, Parnell, Katerina took statements from the hostel's Māori residents and confirmed their accuracy of each statement with their givers.[161] There had been many complaints by Māori residents at Waipapa over William's behaviour which eventually led to Joseph Thorpe and his wife's decision to remove him from the hostel.[162]

Katerina's proficiency in te reo Māori can also be found in the handwritten note that she left in the Lindauer Art Gallery's visitors book mentioning that she knew the people in the images found within the Gallery, including Te Retimana Te Mania who knew her grandfather:

> Kua kite ahau i nga whakaahua o te whare nei ko aua whakaahua e mohio ana ahau ki nga Kaupapa i te wa e ora ana ratou tino rite enei kia ratou. Tamati Waake Tepuhi, Wharepapa Tamati Ngapora, Tawhiao, Rewi Maniapoto, Tukukino, Eru Patuone, Honi Ngakapa, Ana Rupene, Paora Tuhaere, Sophia. Me taku papa me Teretimana Te Mania ano e, ka korero mai ki au i whea ahau.[163]

> I have observed the artworks of this facility, and those artworks, I know of the events in the times they were alive. They are very similar to them. Tamati Waake Tepuhi, Wharepapa Tamati Ngapora, Tawhiao, Rewi Maniapoto, Tukukino, Eru Patuone, Honi Ngakapa, Ana Rupene, Paora Tuhaere, Sophia. As well as my father and Teretimana Te Mania, and I said where was I.[164]

Katerina's relationships with different Māori developed during her marriage to Nikorima and continued after she moved back to Auckland.

Returning to Blomfield's commentary, his statements correspond with early Pākehā views on Māori women. His words, however, can be reframed as reconnection, by Katerina, with the culture that she had been cut off from between the death of her parents and her marriage to Nikorima Poutōtara in 1874. Blackley wrote that Katerina leaving Pākehā society was a "release from the constraints of European fashion and decorum was a pleasure of the Māori world, where women were free to smoke pipes and wear comfortable loose clothing."[165]

Blomfield's comments also emphasise Blackley's statement that there was "Pākehā ambivalence surround[ing] Māori who acquired a European education and associated skills" when Māori chose to move back to Māori society, like Katerina did.[166] This ambivalence is seen in an 1896 article published in the *Observer*: "Mrs Nikorima Poutotara, a full-blooded Maori, who was sent to European schools when very young and given a splendid education, is a proof of the impossibility of quite suppressing aboriginal qualities. After her return from European seminaries, the Maori girl married a chieftain of her own tribe and returned to the habits of her people. She is now a big landed priorietor [sic], and can talk in many languages and has many accomplishments, but still a Maori through and through."[167] Even though there are inaccuracies in this 1896 comment, it shows the ambivalence Blackley referred to. Katerina's father's entry into the church and her education meant she spent a lot of time trying to reconnect with her culture, people, and whenua, before she could increasingly move away from Pākehā society. Blackley rightly recognises that Blomfield's interpretation of Katerina's move away from Pākehā society was a "Eurocentric judgement" because Blomfield likely could not understand why Katerina, who had received a European education and "tasted the fruits of civilisation", would return to the Māori way of life.[168] Rēweti Tūhorouta Kōhere, editor for *Te Pīpīwharauroa, He Kupu Whakamarama*, stated that he did not agree with Blomfield's statements made about Katerina Nikorima's withdrawal from society, though recognised that the comments were probably an accurate description.[169] Kōhere also added comments on the differences between Māori and Pākehā women.[170]

Journal of NZ Studies NS40 (2025), 15-35 https://doi.org/10.26686/jnzs.iNS40.10440

Figure 4: *Nikorima and Nicotina* (1910) (image courtesy of Gow Langsford Gallery).

After 1904, Katerina did not completely disappear from Pākehā society or colonial records. Her appearance in the Goldie paintings mentioned at the start of this article provide the strongest evidence of her non-disappearance – e.g., *Nikorima and Nicotina* (Figure 4). Blackley's book, *Galleries of Maoriland*, explored Katerina's involvement with Goldie as one of his models and why as a "cosmopolitan Māori" she chose to work with him.[171] Wiremu Pātara Te Tuhi possibly introduced Katerina to Goldie, having himself been one of Goldie's models.[172] Katerina's position as a kuia, an older Māori woman of standing, may have been a potential reason for Goldie's decision to paint her in successive sessions and paintings.[173] Blackley highlights that the story woven by William Blomfield in 1904, whilst "tantalising", did not illustrate Katerina's complete withdrawal from Pākehā society that Blomfield described, especially because she did not move into a kāinga, but lived in Auckland and had an ongoing relationship with Goldie.[174] The paintings–*Kai Paipa* (1901), *Smoke and Fire* (1908), and *Nikorima and Nicotina* (1910) – all present Katerina smoking her beloved pipe. For example, when presented in 1901 at the Auckland Society of Arts exhibition, the use of the pipe was specifically commented for *Kai Paipa*, with the following descriptions: "the look of settled content is well expressed" and "is also clever, the sleepy, contemplative mood of the sitter in intense enjoyment of St. Nicotine being well portrayed."[175] In a December 1902 *Otago Witness* supplement, *Kai Paipa* was further described as "behold how the young wahine of the plebeian type enjoys the luxury of the fragrant weed; how her dark face is lighted up by the soft wreaths of smoke; while the indescribable content of the seasoned smoker breaths from every feature of her jolly, good-tempered face, relieved in the painting by the brilliant tints of neckerchief and cloak."[176] These descriptions of *Kai Paipa* show the underlying racialised mindset toward

Māori and their clothing. At the time of painting, *Kai Paipa* was not associated with Katerina, being simply known as, "the portrait of a well-known native woman in Auckland, smoking."[177] Only later, with *Nikorima and Nicotina* (1910), that confirmed Katerina's identity in *Kai Paipa*; the likeness between the two paintings verified that the Māori woman in *Kai Paipa* was indeed Katerina Nikorima.[178] In the case of *Nikorima and Nicotina*, when it went on display at the Society of Arts' twenty-ninth exhibition, was described as "characterised by minute attention to detail down to the glow in the woman's pipe, and is technically perfect. The silk scarf round the head is excellently done, and the colouring of the face (which is not tattooed) is splendid."[179]

In addition to working with Goldie, Katerina continued her work an interpreter; most notably in a 1909 case over the legal recognition of Māori marriages performed outside of Pākehā law.[180] Katerina moved out of Auckland sometime after 1904 and settled in Rangiriri, south of Te Kauwhata; though she continued to make regular trips back to Auckland.[181]

The last record of Katerina is a call, No. 252, in 1911 for an investigation into the title of the Ōrākei Block, Auckland, along with similar claims by Ōtene Paora and five others, and Hori T. Paeuru.[182] Her claim was presented at the House of Representatives by the Honorable George Fowlds, which stated: "From this petition it appears that in 1869 the late Chief Justice [sic] Fenton determined that the 600 acres of the three tribes living on the land Ngaoho [sic.], Te Taou [sic.], and Te Urengumutu [sic.]. Years afterwards a division was made, and Te Uringutu tribe, on whose behalf the petitioner is acting, received 50 acres. In 1851, William Hobson [sic.], Te Karore, grandfather of the petitioner, gave to the late Bishop Selwyn about four acres for a church and school site, and subsequently the site was formally presented to Sir George Grey or Bishop Selwyn. In 1862 [sic.] the donor died, and was buried in the land he had given to the church. The petition asks for the restoration to the tribe of their rights."[183] The claims were dismissed by the Government.[184] Katerina's interest in the Ōrākei Block makes sense because of her connection to Ōrākei through her mother and maternal grandfather. After the call to investigate the ownership of the Ōrākei Block, Katerina disappeared from contemporary records.

Conclusion

This article reclaims Katerina Nikorima's story from history and demonstrates that she held an ambiguous position in New Zealand society and history. Katerina was a highly educated Māori woman who used her skills and training to provide for her community, both Māori and Pākehā, as a fundraiser, interpreter, and representative. Katerina occupied two worlds, the one of her upbringing (te ao Pākehā) and the one she returned to as an adult (te ao Māori), eventually leaving the former behind. Katerina did not disappear completely but limited her interactions to painting sessions with Goldie and working as an interpreter for Māori only until she vanished from contemporary records in 1911. This article, then, hopefully provides a stepping stone to researching Katerina's life and role in society more. Returning to Katerina's own words, "ka korero mai ki au i whea ahau", this article resolves the issue of where Katerina has been in the story of New Zealand history by bringing her story to light for future generations.

Acknowledgements

I thank Margaret Edgcumbe, for great feedback, in-depth knowledge on early colonial Auckland, and permission to incorporate research into this article (Independent Researcher, Auckland, New Zealand); Rendell McIntosh, for granting permission to use his 2002 emails with Dave Nikorima Robson in this article (Historian, Alberton House, Auckland, New Zealand); Emily L. Whitehead, for research assistance and review (Doctoral Candidate, Emory

University, Atlanta, Georgia, United States of America); Vicky McCulloch, for guidance on avenues for research (Archivist for Te Puna Atuatanga, the John Kinder Theological Library, Auckland, New Zealand); Tuterangiwhiu Grant-Cairns, for translation services (ORA: Online Reo Agency, Tauranga, New Zealand).

[1] Entry 112, *Lindauer Art Gallery visitors book*, 3 September 1901; R. Blackley, *Galleries of Maoriland: artists, collectors and the Māori world, 1880–1910* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2018), 221; the original te reo Māori orthography is used when quoting; translation by Tuterangiwhiu Grant-Cairns, ORA: Online Reo Agency.
[2] Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum, (1901), oil on canvas, H. 39.0cm x W. 48.2cm, BORGM 000897, bequeathed by Mrs. Beulah Burton in 1921; Blackley suggests the painting dates to 1901, though the Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum records 1903; R. Blackley, *Charles F. Goldie: as Rembrandt would have painted Māori* (Auckland: Gow Langsford Gallery, 2013), 2.
[3] Private collection, (1908), oil on canvas, H. 61.5cm x W. 51cm; R. Blackley, *Goldie* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery, Toi o Tāmaki and David Bateman, 1997), 138.
[4] Gow Langsford Gallery, (1910), oil on canvas, H. 61cm x W. 51cm, on loan from a private collection, Collection of Solitaire Lodge, Lake Tarawera, Auckland.
[5] Blackley, *Rembrandt*, 2–3; Blackley, *Galleries*, 22, 218–22.
[6] L. Paterson and A. Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine: Māori women's voices from the nineteenth century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), 3.
[7] Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, 8.
[8] A. Wanhalla, ""One white man I like very much": intermarriage and the cultural encounter in southern New Zealand, 1829–1850," *Journal of Women's History* 20, 2 (2008), pp.34–56.
[9] Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, *passim*.
[10] Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, 1.
[11] Wanhalla, ""One white man I like very much,"" 42; for more information about the issues of identifying the voice of Māori women in nineteenth century sources, please see Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, 9–26.
[12] An email sent from Dave Nikorima Robson to Rendell McIntosh in 2002 suggests that Katerina may have been buried along with her husband Nikorima Poutōtara at the Haikema Urupā behind the Thames Racecourse. This same email also suggests that Katerina and Nikorima had two children who may also have been buried in the urupā. However, neither Katerina nor the children's names are listed on Nikorima's tombstone meaning these details cannot be confirmed.
[13] Lady M.A. Martin, *Our Maoris* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1884), 205; M.W. Blain and R.A. Bruère, *Blain biographical directory of Anglican clergy in the south Pacific ordained before 1942* (online, 2025), 2456, http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/directory.pdf; *Church Gazette* (CG), 1 May 1874, 65.
[14] N. Mahuika, "A brief history of whakapapa: Māori approaches to genealogy," *Genealogy* 3, 32 (2019), 1–13.
[15] For more information on informal adoption, please see E. Newman, "Practice of adoption in Aotearoa before the 1881 Adoption of Children Act," *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work* 32, 3 (2020), 43–53.
[16] Lady M.A. Martin, "St. Stephen's Native Girls' School, New Zealand–the Wedding," *The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church* XXVI, 1 (1853), 150; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 68–71; Bishop Selwyn brought the first Melanesian students to St John's College in 1849 from New Caledonia; A.K. Davidson, *Selwyn's legacy: the college of St John the Evangelist: Te Waimate and Auckland: 1843–1992: A history* (Auckland: St John's College, 1993).
[17] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 152; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 68–69.
[18] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 152; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69–71.
[19] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 153; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69–71; A. Pihema, R. Kerei, and S. Oliver, "Te Kawau, Āpihai," from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t42/te-kawau-apihai.

[20] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 154–155; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69–71; F. Boreham, *George A. Selwyn, D.D.: pioneer bishop of New Zealand* (London: S.W. Patridge, 1911), 125–126.
[21] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 152–154.
[22] J. Webster, "Saint Stephen's, Parnell: a short history & list of graves," *Auckland–Waikato Historical Journal* 68, 1 (1996), 46; Burial Register: 8/63.
[23] George Adam Kissling, annual report to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, 30 September 1857, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/97, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, 3; age calculated from reference that Pirimona was 24 years old in 1858.
[24] S. Hawkins, "King, bishop, knight, pioneer: the social and architectural significance of Old St Paul's Church, Emily Place, Auckland: 1841–1885," (master's thesis, University of Auckland, 2020), 114; Blain and Bruère, *Blain biographical directory*, 2456; J. M. R. Owens, "Taylor, Richard," from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t22/taylor-richard; Taylor also briefly visited New Zealand from New South Wales, Australia in March 1839 alongside the Reverend William Williams to tour the East Coast.
[25] *New Zealander* (NZ), 2 May 1864, p.6; Church Missionary Society, *The Calendar of St. John's College, New Zealand*, 1844, listed as Pirimona Karari, the twelfth student of 24 at the Native Boy's School. Listed with the same name in the 1845 College Calendar.
[26] H.W. Tucker, *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of George Augustus Selwyn, D.D.: Bishop of New Zealand, 1841 – 1869; Bishop of Lichfield, 1867 – 1878* (London: William Wells Gardner, 1879), 159–160, 170–171.
[27] A.K. Davidson, "Anglican Church – Colonial Anglicans," from Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/27665/st-johns-college-auckland; W.C. Cotton, *Journal of a Residence at St. John's College, The Waimate, 2 March 1844–25 August 1844* (Sydney: Dixson Library, 1844); W.C. Cotton, *Journal of a Residence at St. John's College, The Waimate, and the transplantation of St. John's College and the Residence at St. John's College Bishop's, Auckland, 25 August 1844–25 December 1844* (Sydney: Dixson Library, 1844).
[28] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 151.
[29] Blain and Bruère, *Blain biographical directory*, 2456.
[30] B. Old, *St Stephen's School: missionary and multiracial origins* (Auckland: Old, 1994), 26-27.
[31] Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/97, 3–4.
[32] Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/97, 4.
[33] George Adam Kissling, annual report to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, 31 December 1859, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/99, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, 2.
[34] Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/99, 3.
[35] Blain and Bruère, *Blain biographical directory*, 2426; CG, 1 January 1898, 191; Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/99, 3.
[36] Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/99, 3; E.T. Jackson, *Delving into the past of Auckland's eastern suburbs: section 2* (Auckland: E.T. Jackson, 2005), 14.
[37] NZ, 6 March 1863, 3; NZ, 28 April 1863, 3; Ngā Oho is also known as Ngā Ohomatakamokamo-o-Ohomairangi.
[38] Church Missionary Society, *Second general synod of the branch of the United Church of England and Ireland in New Zealand* (Nelson: R. Lucas, 1862), 43; R. Lange, "Ordained ministry in Maori Christianity, 1853-1900," *The Journal of Religious History* 27, 1 (2003), 54–55.
[39] NZ, 2 May 1863, 6.
[40] New Zealand Government, *Papers relative to the proceedings of Pirimona, a native minister* (Auckland: House of Representatives, 1863), 1–5; B. Rigby and J. Konig, *Toitu te whenua e: only the land remains, constant and enduring: Muriwhenua land claim (Wai-45): a preliminary report on the historical evidence* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1989), 151.
[41] NZ, 26 December 1863, 5.
[42] TH, 2 January 1864, 3.
[43] TH, 2 January 1864, 3; NZH, 24 February 1874, 2.

[44] NZ, 2 May 1864, 6; "It has pleased God to make it unnecessary for me to refute the exaggerated stories which were current a few months ago against the Rev. Philemon Te Karari, as he was drowned shortly afterwards in crossing Kiapara [sic.] Harbour. It is not necessary to shelter his character under the maxim–"De Mortuis nil nisi honum." Received into my school at the Waimate in 1843, and living under my own eye for twenty years, he has left upon my mind a very different impression of his character from that which might be formed upon hearsay reports circulated at random in a time of public excitement. All documents of a more weighty kind reflecting upon his conduct were placed by me in the hands of Sir W. Martin, whose opinion on them I could have obtained if it had been required. While mourning the death of one of my earliest scholars, I take comfort in the thought, that when danger threatened the English settlers, at Putamahoe, in 1861, and along the South Road in 1863, my faithful companions and escort on the scene of danger were Rev. Joshua Te Moanaroa and Rev. Philemon Te Karari. After twenty years experience of the trustworthiness of my Native Scholars, I cannot now begin for the first time to doubt their fidelity."
[45] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 67, 206; *Northern Advocate* (NA), 3 November 1944, 2; Hohipina Arona was Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Maniapoto, and Ngāpuhi living in Nukutawhiti, near Mangākahia, Northland. She originally came from the northern Wairoa in Northland. In 1934, an article reported that Hopihona was "a niece of Perimona Te Karari, one of the warriors who helped to hew down the flag-staff at Kororareka", though this detail appears incorrect as Pirimona would have been too young to be at Kororāreka in March 1845 and had moved to Auckland the previous November with St John's College.
[46] Māori Elector Roll, *Western Maori Electoral District* (1908), 31; today Ngāti Pou seem connected to marae in the Hokianga; also, not to be confused with the Ngāti Pou hapū of the Waikato–Tainui Confederation; see also J. Sissons, W.W. Hongi, and P.W. Hohepa, *Ngā Pūriri o Taiamai: a political history of Ngā Pūhi in the inland Bay of Islands* (Auckland: Reed, 2001) for history of Ngāpuhi – a reprint of 1987 book.
[47] *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 22 September 1911, 6.
[48] G. Murdoch, *Onehunga heritage survey: preliminary summary of Māori ancestral relationships* (Auckland: unpublished, 2013), 13.
[49] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205.
[50] Letter from Hariata Hopihona Te Karore to Sir Donald McLean, 1820-1877: Papers. Ref: MS-Papers-0032-0681B-18. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23097205.
[51] *Monthly Packet*, January 1853, reprinted in CG, 2 March 1903, 54-55; author was potentially Lady Mary Ann Martin.
[52] Kissling, CMS/B/OMS/C N/056/97, 5.
[53] Webster, "Saint Stephen's, Parnell," 46; Burial Register: 9/70; though John Webster notes that were not in a strict order, Margaret Edgcumbe recognises that five other entries on the same page show deaths that occurred between March and September 1862.
[54] For further discussion on the complex relations between different hapū and iwi linked with Ngāti Whātua, see R. Stone, *From Tamaki-Makau-Rau to Auckland* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), 180–182.
[55] *Daily Southern Cross* (DSC), 12 May 1863, 2.
[56] Richard Shakles, Simon Bickler, Jen Low, Susan Yoffee, and Rod Clough, *Archaeological investigation of land adjacent to the Stone Store, 19 Princes Street, Onehunga: Sites R11/2466 and R11/2580* (Clough and Associates Monograph Series 21, Auckland, Clough and Associates, 2019), 14; Wiremu Hopihona sold a 163-acre portion of the Waihihi Block in Onehunga to Thomas Jackson in 1844 for "£2, a horse, saddle and bridle", later taken by the Crown.
[57] Murdoch, *Onehunga heritage survey*, 13; Wiremu Hopihona, along with Retimana Te Mania and Hawira Maki, sold a 50-acre portion of land to James Magee for "£20 and a blue cap", later 47 acres being taken by the Government to develop the Onehunga fencible settlement.
[58] R. Daamen, *The Crown's Right of Pre-emption and FitzRoy's Waiver Purchases* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 1993), 111; Wiremu Hopihona and Retimana Te Mania (?) were involved in a dispute with Thomas Henery over the sale of a portion of land near Maungakiekie One Tree Hill–dated 18 May 1844.

[59] "Auckland–St Mary's, St Barnabas, St Stephens–Baptisms 1844–1870," John Kinder Library Collection, 6.
[60] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69, 205; DSC, 12 May 1863, 2; C.O.B. Davis, *Maori mementos: being a series of addresses, presented by the native people* (Auckland: Williamson and Wilson, 1855), 64.
[61] R. Lange, "Indigenous agents of religious change in New Zealand, 1830–1860," *The Journal of Religious History* 24, 3 (2000), 280.
[62] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 153–154.
[63] *Wellington Independent*, 4 September 1860, 5; New Zealand Government, *Parliamentary Papers, volume 41* (Wellington: New Zealand Government, 1860), 114–15; for further details, see L. Paterson, "The Kohimārama Conference of 1860: a contextual reading," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 12, 1 (2011), 29–46.
[64] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69.
[65] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 69; also, on 22 October 1850, the Reverend Vicesimus Lush records that during the visit to the kaiwhakaako's house in Ōrākei: "he was excessively tattooed which much diminished any pleasantness about his countenance"; V. Lush and A. Drummond, *The Auckland journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1850–63* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1971), 29.
[66] W.C. Cotton, *Journal of Residence at St. John's College Bishop's Auckland, 25 December 1844–8 August 1845 and an overland journey to Taranaki, 6–23 August 1845* (Sydney: Dixson Library, 1845), 38/A.
[67] Martin, "St. Stephen's," 153.
[68] NZH, 22 September 1911, 6.
[69] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 73–90; R. Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann," from the Dictionary of New Zealand biography, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1m19/martin-mary-ann.
[70] NZH, 14 March 1874, 2; for more information about nineteenth-century Māori education, see J.M. Barrington and T.H. Beaglehole, "'A part of Pakeha society': Europeanising the Maori child," in *Making imperial mentalities: socialisation and British imperialism*, ed. J.A. Mangan (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990), 162–183; R. Walker, "Reclaiming Māori education," in *Decolonisation in Aotearoa: education, research and practice*, eds. J. Lee-Morgan and J. Hutchings (Wellington: NZCER Press, 2017), 19–38; K. Jenkins and K.M. Matthews, "Knowing their place: the political socialisation of Maori women in New Zealand through schooling policy and practice, 1867–1969," *Women's History Review* 7, 1 (1998), 85–105.
[71] NZH, 8 April 1874, 2.
[72] *Observer*, 14 May 1904, 4; I thank Margaret Edgcumbe for raising this discrepancy that further textures Katerina's story.
[73] *Observer*, 14 May 1904, 4; *Marlborough Express*, 20 May 1904, 4; A. Jones and K. Jenkins, "Māori teaching and learning in Australia in the early nineteenth century," *New Zealand Journey of Education Studies* 46, 1 (2011), 49–67; R. Howitt, "Māori workers in colonial New South Wales, c.1803-40," *History Workshop Journal* 93, 1 (2022), 117–137; B. Haami, "Tā te Āo Māori," in *Huia histories of Māori*, ed. D. Keenan (Wellington: Huia, 2012), 168; for other early travels, see V. O'Malley, *Haerenga: early Māori journeys across the globe* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015); T. Banivanua Mar, "Shadowing imperial networks: indigenous mobility and Australia's Pacific past," *Australian Historical Studies* 46, 3 (2015), 340–355.
[74] CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[75] S.W. Grant, "Airini Donnelly," from the Dictionary of New Zealand biography, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2d14/donnelly-airini.
[76] Wanhalla, '"One white man I like very much,"' 44, 50.
[77] NZH, 24 February 1874, 2; V. Lush and A. Drummond, *The Thames journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1868–82*, (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1975), 263, appendix note 19; another woman, Hemaima Balneavis, daughter of Colonel Henry Colin Balneavis and Meri Makarina Hineahua (Te Whakatōhea), also seems to have been connected with the Duke of Edinburgh at a ball in honour of his visit to New Zealand, which took place at Government House. Her sister, Louisa Hineahua Balneavis may also have danced with the Duke of Edinburgh. I believe it likely that the Duke interacted with all three

young women during his visit, but the exact detail of the dance is unavailable; *New Zealand Mail*, 25 October 1907, 39; *Observer*, 18 June 1881, 439; see also J. Stackpoole, *Sailing to Bohemia: a life of the honourable William Swainson* (Auckland: Puriri Press, 2007).
[78] K. Moffat, "'What is in the blood will come out': belonging, expulsion and the New Zealand and settler home in Jessie Weston's *Ko Méri*," in *Domestic fiction in colonial Australia and New Zealand*, ed. T.S. Wagner (Routledge: London, 2015), 172.
[79] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 163, 264–265.
[80] Frances Porter, "Mary Ann Martin," in *The Book of New Zealand Women–Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa*, eds. C. MacDonald, M. Penfold, and B. Williams (Bridget Williams Books: Wellington, 1991), 424–428; Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann."
[81] Blackley, *Galleries*, 22, 218–222.
[82] NZH, 8 April 1874, 2; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 204; *Auckland Star* (AS), 7 April 1874, 2; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki report: volume II* (Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2006), 494.
[83] Email sent from Dave Nikorima Robson to Rendell McIntosh on 19 June 2002 notes that Katerina and Nikorima met through church activities related to Reverend Lush.
[84] Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki report*, 494.
[85] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205; CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[86] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205.
[87] CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[88] *Grey River Argus*, 13 May 1874, 2; *Star* (Christchurch), 8 May 1874, 2; NZH, 8 April 1874, 2; AS, 7 April 1874, 2; Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205.
[89] CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[90] CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[91] CG, 1 May 1874, 65.
[92] DSC, 19 March 1874, 2.
[93] Email sent from Dave Nikorima Robson to Rendell McIntosh on 19 June 2002 indicates that the image of Nikorima Poutōtara may not depict him.
[94] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 96-97.
[95] *Thames Star* (TS), 9 September 1903, 2.
[96] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 152.
[97] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 155.
[98] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205.
[99] Wanhalla, '"One white man I like very much,"' 42; *Thames Advertiser* (TA), 4 September 1879, 3.
[100] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 264–265.
[101] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 163.
[102] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 214-217; Porter, "Mary Ann Martin," 427 states "The 'Our' is not insensitively possessive; the affection was mutual. Mary wrote of those she knew personally, for whom she was 'our' mother. The warmth of this genuine relationship still shines through".
[103] Dalziel, "Martin, Mary Ann."
[104] TA, 4 September 1879, 3.
[105] TA, 4 September 1879, 3.
[106] *Evening Star* (ES), 1 September 1885, 2; *Observer*, 14 May 1904, 4.
[107] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 205; Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 184.
[108] TA, 8 April 1876, 2; NZH, 10 April 1876, 2; TA, 14 December 1877, 3; TA, 27 March 1879, 3; TA, 27 January 1879, 3; TA, 20 April 1877, 1; NZH, 19 October 1883, 6; TA, 15 November 1876, 2; TS, 12 September 1889, 2; TS, 21 September 1889, 2; NZH, 22 March 1878, 2; TS, 29 August 1885, 2.
[109] TA, 8 April 1876, 2.
[110] CG, 1 January 1877, 4; Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 184.
[111] NZH, 26 August 1885, 8.
[112] AS, 20 November 1895, 4.
[113] TA, 11 March 1887, 3.
[114] AS, 14 December 1895, 8; AS, 7 December 1895, 8.

[115] This idea came from Margaret Edgcumbe's research into Katerina.
[116] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 264–265.
[117] Lush and Drummond, *Thames journals*, 264–265.
[118] TA, 15 November 1877, 4.
[119] NZH, 2 April 1889, 5.
[120] W.G. Cowie, *Our last year in New Zealand 1887* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co., 1888), 240.
[121] NZH, 8 April 1874, 2; *Te Pīpīwharauroa, He Kupu Whakamārama* (TPHKW), 1 July 1904, 5; *Feilding Star*, 21 December 1901, 4.
[122] *Observer*, 17 October 1896, 18.
[123] Porter, "Mary Ann Martin," 425.
[124] Porter, "Mary Ann Martin," 425.
[125] TS, 19 March 1878, 2.
[126] TA, 20 March 1878, 3.
[127] TS, 19 March 1878, 2.
[128] TA, 20 March 1878, 3.
[129] TA, 20 March 1878, 3.
[130] TA, 22 March 1878, 2.
[131] TA, 20 March 1878, 3.
[132] TA, 5 April 1884, 3; *Korimako*, 15 April 1884, 3.
[133] TA, 5 April 1884, 3; *Korimako*, 15 April 1884, 3; Mrs Taipari could refer to either Mereana Mokomoko (Ngāti Awa) or Tāwai Meketānara (Ngāti Awa), both wives of Wīrope Hōtereni Taipari.
[134] TA, 4 April 1884, 2; see also NZH, 5 April 1884, 5.
[135] TA, 4 April 1884, 2.
[136] TA, 4 September 1879, 3; P. Hart, "The Daldy McWilliams 'outrage' of 1879," *Te Aroha Mining District Working Papers 16* (Hamilton: Historical Research Unit, Waikato University, 2016).
[137] Martin, *Our Maoris*, 215–216.
[138] Cowie, *Our last year*, 239–240.
[139] NZH, 27 March 1889, 4.
[140] NZH, 8 April 1874, 2; *Colonist*, 16 April 1874, 3; TA, 27 June 1879, 3; Rīwai was present during the conflict at Tōtara pā between Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Maru; NZH, 28 June 1879, 5.
[141] Blackley, *Rembrandt*, 3.
[142] TS, 24 June 1878, 2; Hauraki MB No. 11, (1878), Microfilm reel 1363 and 95–253, 1.11, 1.12; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1878, 1400–1401.
[143] TA, 21 March 1882, 3.
[144] B.D. Gilling, "The Maori Land Court in New Zealand: an historical overview," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 13, 1 (1993), 20; C. Comyn, "Colonial and anticolonial credit: the Native Lands Acts and Te Peeke o Aotearoa," *Counterfutures* 13, 1 (2022), 30–43.
[145] *Ko Te Kahiti o Niu Tireni* (KTKNT), 21 February 1895, 69; KTKNT, 18 March 1898, 79.
[146] NZH, 7 January 1903, 5.
[147] NZG, 1904, 1224; email sent from Dave Nikorima Robson to Rendell McIntosh on 19 June 2002.
[148] TS, 30 June 1890, 2; recorded as Keta Pototara.
[149] TS, 30 June 1890, 2.
[150] *Observer*, 14 May 1904, 4.
[151] TPHKW, 1 July 1904, 5.
[152] TPHKW, 1 July 1904, 5.
[153] Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, 2.
[154] TPHKW, 1 July 1904, 5.
[155] *Observer*, 26 December 1896, 18; Margaret Edgcumbe found similarities between Katerina's story and Jessie Weston's 1890 *Ko Méri* character Mary Balmain.
[156] AS, 14 December 1895, 8.
[157] *Greymouth Evening Star*, 26 May 1904, 1; TS, 9 September 1903, 2.
[158] TS, 9 September 1903, 2; NZH, 14 September 1903, 4.

[159] AS, 3 September 1901, 5.
[160] Katerina Nikorima, Auckland to Prime Minister, 16 September 1901. Māori Affairs Office file MLP 1902/67. Supporting Papers #B149.7–9.
[161] "E.F. Warren, to Public Trust," 9 December 1901; B. Schrader, "Native hostelries in New Zealand's colonial cities," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 25, 1 (2017), 28, 39.
[162] Schrader, "Native hostelries," 28, 39.
[163] Entry 112, *Lindauer Art Gallery visitors book*, 3 September 1901.
[164] Translation by Tuterangiwhiu Grant-Cairns, ORA: Online Reo Agency.
[165] Blackley, *Rembrandt*, 2; Blackley, *Galleries*, 22.
[166] Blackley, *Galleries*, 22.
[167] *Observer*, 26 December 1896, 18.
[168] Blackley, *Galleries*, 222.
[169] TPHKW, 1 July 1904, 5.
[170] TPHKW, 1 July 1904, 5.
[171] Blackley, *Galleries*, 219; NZH, 1 November 1901, 3.
[172] Blackley, *Galleries*, 219.
[173] See Blackey, *Galleries*.
[174] Blackley, *Galleries*, 219.
[175] NZH, 1 November 1901, 3; AS, 25 October 1901, 5.
[176] *Otago Witness* (supplement), 24 December 1901, 6.
[177] Blackley, *Galleries*, 219.
[178] Blackley, *Rembrandt*, 2–3.
[179] NZH, 25 May 1910, 8.
[180] *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 8 September 1909, 5.
[181] Māori Electoral Roll, *Western Maori Electoral District* (1908), p.31.
[182] Legislative Council and House of Representatives, *New Zealand parliamentary debates: fourth session, seventeenth parliament: comprising the period from September 21 to October 28, 1911* (Wellington: John Mackay, 1911), 504; I.H. Kawharu, "Pāora, Ōtene," *from the Dictionary of New Zealand biography*, https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3p4/paora-otene.
[183] NZH, 22 September 1911, 6.
[184] Legislative Council and House of Representatives, *New Zealand parliamentary debates*, 504; Kawharu, "Pāora, Ōtene."