

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND CLASS DIVISIONS IN THE TE AROHA DISTRICT

Philip Hart

Te Aroha Mining District Working Papers

No. 118

Revised on December 11, 2017

Historical Research Unit
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

ISSN: 2463-6266

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Contact: prhart1940@gmail.com



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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Abstract: *Although the nature of mining encouraged mateship amongst miners, this ideal was weakened as companies increasingly dominated mining districts. As miners liked to work for themselves to obtain the highest possible financial return and the more proficient ones became managers, should they be regarded as working class or as middle class? But although there were class distinctions, blatant divisions and delusions of grandeur were discouraged, and mining fields displayed at worst a superficial egalitarianism and at best genuine social unity on at least some occasions and issues.*

Te Aroha, unlike Waiorongomai, was not a typical mining township because of the residents' close involvement with farmers and tourists, mingling with the latter in the hot pools and when they visited the goldfield. Examples are given of tourists being actively involved in the social life of Te Aroha. Class divisions increased as mining faded, as illustrated by the clothing and jewellery sported by the 'upper ten' of Te Aroha compared with their poorer neighbours, a contrast also apparent at the more lower-class settlement of Waiorongomai. But despite sartorial distinctions, all sections of Pakeha society mingled at dances, concerts, entertainments, church, and sport; some Maori participated also, especially in rugby, but remained basically separated from the new society that had taken over their district.

Although some younger residents may have admired the antics of 'new chums' and remittance men playing at being miners and generally enlivening social life, those who understood that a new field required serious miners disapproved of those who treated mining as a game. Some highly respectable people were on friendly terms with other residents, and some workers with pretensions liked to describe themselves as 'gentlemen', but such snobs were liable to be deflated by those who did not regard them as their betters. As was usual, the less respectable people at the bottom of the social scale were looked down upon.

There was general resistance to a 'clique' of elite members of the community attempting to control the latter and, in particular, the mines for their own benefit. In elections for local bodies, some men stood explicitly as representatives of working men. But all involved in the industry, whether miners, managers, owners, or investors, were united in trying to uphold its interests.

MATESHIP

To the public outside the goldfields' communities it may, perhaps, seem a breach of good manners or a want of civility to call people by their familiar appellatives rather than by their proper names, with the courtesy title of "Mr" prefixed thereto. But ... to address a man as "mister" in the early gold-digging days was met with a scowl and generally considered *casus belli* [a cause of war]. "Mate" was the word, not mister. Men congregated on goldfields upon terms of equality and fraternity, the brotherhood being socially republican, and it became the habit to call one another by the brotherly pet nicknames of Tom, Dick, Harry, and so forth. The custom has continued down to the present day.¹

Thus 'A Tramp, Esq', otherwise John Dickson Wickham,² a prominent journalist, writing in 1895. Philip Ross May assessed the outlook of early West Coast miners:

Distinctions of class did not exist on the goldfields and it behoved newcomers to remember the fact.... The goldfield community was thoroughly colonial. On the diggings it was not a matter of Jack's being as good as his master, or even a great deal better: Jack *was* the master, an independent capitalist who took wages-work with great reluctance.³

Miners wanted to work for themselves rather than for masters.⁴ Yet after the initial rush, 'distinctions of class and habit, lost sight of in the first scramble for gain, begin to reassert themselves'.⁵ Sometimes kinship ties strengthened mateship, and it has been argued that the common use of nicknames was 'matey' behaviour, but being mates did not mean there was no conflict between miners.⁶ As levels of skills varied, the more competent miners became contractors or managers, often being small independent

¹ 'A Tramp, Esq.', 'Casual Ramblings: From Grass to Gold', *Auckland Weekly News*, 18 May 1895, p. 38.

² See J.D. Wickham, *Casual Ramblings Up and Down New Zealand* (Auckland, 1890).

³ Philip Ross May, *The West Coast Gold Rushes*, rev. ed. (Christchurch, 1967), p. 273.

⁴ Steven Eldred-Grigg, *Diggers Hatters and Whores: The story of the New Zealand gold rushes* (Auckland, 2008), p. 264.

⁵ May, p. 312.

⁶ Eldred-Grigg, pp. 247-257.

capitalists who took up road or drainage contracts, and sometimes combined mining with small-scale farming.⁷ Therefore miners both economically and socially could be either working class or middle class.

SOCIAL DESTINCTIONS

James Belich has argued that New Zealand's 'populist compact' loosened the class divisions brought from Britain:

Article one of this treaty was that class distinctions, while allowed, should not be too oppressive or overt, and that a superficial but significant egalitarianism be maintained in some contexts, such as forms of dress and address.... Article two of the populist compact was that classes work in harmony rather than in the selfish pursuit of class interest, and that overt, tight class community be discouraged.

The third article was that 'the pump of progress should be primed, so that a sufficient supply of real and mythical opportunity was available' for the social advancement of the lower classes.⁸ Perhaps Belich's first article underestimated the degree of small town snobbery. To take two examples, a vendor of shares in the Te Aroha Quartz Crushing Company⁹ seeking Waikato subscribers in January 1881 told of showing the prospectus to a 'gentleman' who immediately 'tore it up and threw it away in disgust because the word "Esq" was placed after the names of some working miners on the provisional directory'.¹⁰ In the second example, three years later the *Te Aroha News* described Thames as always being

a hot-bed of scandal. People absolutely get bald-headed in their endeavours to poke their noses into their neighbour's affairs for the purpose of circulating stories about their little idiosyncracies and moral crookedness. The poor "out-at-elbows" upper crust quarrel amongst themselves like pole-cats but unite in snubbing

⁷ See paper on financial struggles of miners in the Te Aroha district.

⁸ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders, From Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Auckland, 1996), pp. 409-410; see also pp. 321-322, 332.

⁹ See paper on the Te Aroha battery.

¹⁰ Letter from T.G. Sandes, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 January 1881, p. 6.

those whose papas and mammas were below the ranks of grocers or milliner girls.¹¹

Te Aroha was not a typical mining township, being from its beginning closely connected with the farming community and an increasingly important tourist trade created by the hot springs. Some men attracted by the excitements of the first rush were not miners, typical ones or otherwise, as illustrated by the upper crust Kelly Gang, discussed later in this paper, but their example confirmed that in general the ethos of mining settlements was in favour of equality and against blatant class distinctions.¹²

As early as May 1881, one correspondent noted that ‘the upper ten’ polluted the stream providing ‘the drink of the lower ten’,¹³ indicating a degree of geographical as well as social separation, some wealthier residents living higher up the hillside. These slang terms for the ends of the social spectrum (the middle class did not receive a label) were common. At a concert celebrating the opening of the Waiorongomai Public Hall in 1884, two miners performed a ‘character song’ entitled ‘The Upper Ten and the Lower Five’, and were encored: their ‘get up’ was ‘certainly good’.¹⁴ Eleven years later this duet was performed at Waihou and Te Aroha twice in three months.¹⁵ Other terms were also used. In November 1882, a social paper commented that there was ‘trouble at Te Aroha. The “mud pies” intrude on the sacred seclusion of the “jam tarts” ’.¹⁶ A year later, a Waiorongomai correspondent recorded that ‘the reduced jam-tarts are again coming to the front’.¹⁷ The phrase the ‘upper ten’ to describe aristocrats or the upper classes was common in England,¹⁸ and the lower ten (or five) was an obvious derivation, although unknown to dictionaries of slang. The ‘jam tarts’ (in this sense) and ‘mud pies’ were also unrecorded, although the former phrase was common in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century;

¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 19 January 1884, p. 2.

¹² Eldred-Grigg, pp. 351, 353.

¹³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 24 May 1881, p. 2.

¹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 15 November 1884, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 7 August 1895, p. 2, advertisement, 16 November 1895, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Observer*, 18 November 1882, p. 148.

¹⁷ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Observer*, 24 November 1883, p. 12.

¹⁸ Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8 ed., ed. Paul Beale (London, 1984), p. 1292.

the usual meaning of ‘jam tarts’ in Cockney rhyming slang was ‘hearts’,¹⁹ which was inappropriate.

By 1890, when Te Aroha had ceased to be a goldmining township, class divisions were more entrenched. The *Observer* Man wrote in September 1890 that ‘the jam tarts of Te Aroha hold socials in the hall every month. It is a long time since there has been a marriage amongst the “upper ten,” but I expect there will be two or three shortly, as all those who attend seem to be getting mashers’.²⁰ Two months later, he understood ‘that the upper ten of Te Aroha are about to discontinue their fortnightly socials in the hall. What is the matter? Short of funds, eh?’²¹ In 1892 and 1893 the ‘jam tarts’ held monthly dances in the courthouse.²² At the end of July 1894, the ‘toff dance’ was ‘all the rage’.²³ In October the following year ‘great preparations’ were being made ‘for the next tart dance’.²⁴ These events were the height of fashion, as illustrated by a ‘select ball’ held in 1897:

A very select ball was held in the town hall on Friday night to which only the creme of Te Aroha’s aristocracy was invited. The decorations were highly artistic, the music enchanting, and the supper ... was the perfection of culinary art. The handsome costumes worn by the ladies are quite beyond my humble powers of description, while the honoured male guests were attired in full evening dress, set off with the dazzling display of starchy whiteness befitting the occasion. Everything passed off smoothly, the floor having been specially polished. It was 3 a.m. before the rumble of the private carriages of the last departing guest died away.²⁵

The following year, ‘our *bon ton*’, ‘ton’ being an outdated way of referring to the fashionable classes,²⁶ ‘turned out in full force’ to see a circus,²⁷ and two months later ‘the bon-tons held a successful hop’.²⁸ When

¹⁹ Dictionaries cited by Google.

²⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Observer*, 27 September 1890, p. 18.

²¹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 22 November 1890, p. 17.

²² ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 10 September 1892, p. 18, 11 November 1893, p. 21.

²³ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 4 August 1894, p. 21.

²⁴ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 26 October 1895, p. 21.

²⁵ ‘Twinkler’, ‘Te Aroha Notes’, *Thames Advertiser*, 4 May 1897, p. 3.

²⁶ Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang*, p. 1247.

²⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 14 May 1898, p. 21.

²⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 23 July 1898, p. 22.

the Masonic Ball was held later that year, ‘all the elite for miles around’ were expected to attend,²⁹ highlighting that the elite was not confined to the township but incorporated settlers in the surrounding district.

At dances and entertainments open to all, clothing, especially women’s dresses and adornments, denoted social differences and rivalries, as illustrated by a dance held after the soiree and concert celebrating the opening of the Te Aroha school:

The following were the most noticeable dresses:- Miss Wainwright, white oatmeal cloth dress, gold jewellery; Miss Kilian, pale pink missepha cloth dress, very neatly creweled, silver jewellery; Miss Moffat, peacock blue cashmere, silver jewellery; Mrs Sawyer, black velvet and gold jewellery; Mrs Kilian, black silk, handsomely trimmed; Mrs Wilson, handsome black cashmere; Miss D. Kilian, ruby cashmere, trimmings of ruby velvet and cream lace; Miss Clark, bottle green skirt, and royal blue body; Miss Hood, plaid skirt, velvet bodice.³⁰

These were mostly middle and lower middle class women, either married to, or daughters of, shopkeepers and artisans. Wearing finery was not restricted to this class, as illustrated by a Miners’ Ball held at Waiorongomai in October 1885. ‘As emblematic of the special industry represented by the promoters of the Ball, over the doorway on the left side of the platform a prospecting pick and shovel were displayed, whilst similarly placed on the opposite side were a hammer and several drills’. Despite these symbols of an exhaustingly physical occupation, women’s clothes reflected those of the leisured classes, with little distinction based on class apart from a publican’s wife being able to afford more expensive finery. A Waiorongomai publican’s wife wore ‘blue satin trimmed with lace, and cream coloured flowers’, and the wife of a Te Aroha one ‘green velvet, and gold jewellery’. A Waihou farmer’s wife wore ‘dove coloured silk, silver flowers’, a contractor’s wife ‘fawn coloured silk,’ the wife of a mine manager ‘black grenadine, with cream coloured lace’, the wife of a miner ‘cream sateen, pink trimmings’, the wife of a shopkeeper’s bookkeeper ‘marone velvet, silver jewellery’, and the wife of one miner ‘cream sateen, with cardinal trimmings’.³¹ The following year, at another ball at Waiorongomai, the bookkeeper’s wife wore the same dress and jewellery, the local

²⁹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 10 September 1898, p. 22.

³⁰ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 14 July 1883, p. 14.

³¹ *Te Aroha News*, 10 October 1885, p. 7.

publican's wife likewise wore the same dress but with silver jewellery replacing flowers, and her daughter wore 'old gold, cardinal flowers'. The daughter of a storekeeper wore 'plaid homespun, silver jewellery', and the wife of a blacksmith 'black cashmere, gold jewellery'. The wife of one miner wore 'grey lustre, satin to match', and another 'Russell cord, gilt trimmings'.³² Three months later, the publican's wife wore gold jewellery to the ball put on by Waiorongomai's bachelors. Only one miners' wife wore jewellery; instead, satin, silk, and lace trimmings were the norm.³³ A notable example of upstaging other women was reported in 1894: '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'.³⁴

SOCIALIZING

Waiorongomai residents were predominantly miners, but, being only three miles from Te Aroha, people from both places participated in each other's social events as well as those at Waihou and Te Aroha West. For the first fancy dress ball at Waiorongomai, for example, to celebrate the Queen's Birthday in 1887, two passenger coaches as well as private carriages brought people from Te Aroha. Some men wore fancy dress, and mine managers, miners, battery hands, publicans, and farmers were amongst those wearing evening dress.³⁵ All such gatherings were a welcome excuse for socializing, and brought together people of all classes from around the district, especially when children and their schooling was the reason for the get-together. For example, a correspondent described an important event at Waiorongomai in 1884:

Notwithstanding the cry of dull times and the scarcity of money, our townspeople still find means occasionally to enjoy themselves. On Friday evening last the long-delayed opening of the new school-house at Waiorongomai was celebrated in the usual way with a feast for the children and a concert and the inevitable dance for the grown-up folks. The day was fine and the youngsters had a jolly time, there being an abundance of things,

³² *Te Aroha News*, 29 May 1886, p. 2.

³³ *Te Aroha News*, 21 August 1886, p. 3.

³⁴ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 28 April 1894, p. 17.

³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 28 May 1887, p. 2.

both solid and liquid, to gratify the juvenile appetite. The evening performance was a decided success and the building was crammed to the doors, numbers of the stronger sex having to be content with standing room in the porch. Both townships furnished their ablest musicians and sweetest singers, and contributed alike to make the concert one of the best that has been given in the district.³⁶

On the sports field in particular the well educated fraternized with those with less schooling. In 1883 the Te Aroha rugby team included ‘four or five Public School boys who know every move of the game’,³⁷ and were clearly appreciated for this reason. Especially in rugby, men of all occupations participated, as did some Ngati Rahiri. For example, the Te Aroha team that competed against Thames in August 1883 included Henry Ernest Whitaker, legal manager of the Battery Company and a member of the county council,³⁸ two miners and two storekeepers, the warden’s clerk, a surveyor, a shoemaker, a doctor, a farmer, a bootmaker, and Rewi Mokena,³⁹ youngest son of the principal Maori landowner.⁴⁰ Later teams were of a similar mix, and often included a small number of Maori or part-Maori players.⁴¹

Churches sought the participation of all members of the community whatever their occupation, although the more respectable would take the leading roles.⁴²

STATUS OF MAORI

How did Maori fit into the European class system? To Maori, Rewi Mokena was one of the top-ranking members of Ngati Rahiri, but it is difficult to determine how Pakeha viewed him. When the *Te Aroha Mail* in 1882 recorded his marriage to a half-caste, ‘the young and lovely daughter of the late Mr Joseph Cooke’, formerly a storekeeper at the Bay of Islands, it

³⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 8 May 1884, p. 2.

³⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 3 September 1883, p. 3.

³⁸ See paper on Harry and Charles: Henry Ernest Whitaker and Charles Stanislaus Stafford.

³⁹ See paper on his life.

⁴⁰ *Thames Star*, 29 August 1883, p. 2.

⁴¹ See paper on Maori at Te Aroha after the opening of the goldfield in 1880.

⁴² See paper on religion in the Te Aroha district.

headed the news item 'Marriage in High Life'.⁴³ As this is almost the only copy of this newspaper to have survived, it is not possible to determine whether this headline was meant ironically. When Rewi Mokena died in 1911, the *Te Aroha News* described him as 'a man of high standing and besides being exceedingly popular amongst the natives was held in high respect by the residents of Te Aroha',⁴⁴ and a Te Aroha correspondent confirmed that he was 'greatly respected by both races'.⁴⁵ However, as obituaries of Pakeha who had led less than respectable lives illustrated, statements made when they died about their character should not be taken as reflecting people's true opinions. On the other hand, when as part of the local celebrations of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 trees were planted in the domain, a puriri was planted in memory of Hone Werahiko,⁴⁶ the prospector whose discoveries had led to the founding of the township, an English oak was planted for Tutuki Puhi and a totara for Mokena Hou, both recently deceased chiefs, the latter being Rewi's father, and Queen Victoria's Tree was planted by 'Mrs George Lipsey',⁴⁷ otherwise Ema Mokena, Rewi's sister.⁴⁸

Rewi Mokena was also elected to the first vestry of the Church of England in December 1880, along with two surveyors, two miners, a chemist, a farmer, the warden's clerk, the local publican, and Whitaker.⁴⁹ Similar mingling of different social groups took places in all churches, and their children mixed not only at the Te Aroha and Waiorongomai schools but also in Sunday School and, for Protestant children, the Band of Hope.

TOURISTS

The existence of the hot springs brought many visitors seeking relaxation or relief from their ailments, including many who would not normally consider a mining town to be a tourist attraction. An Auckland journalist wrote that, because of the springs, 'many of our aristocratic Aucklanders now send their families to Te Aroha to spend a fortnight or a

⁴³ *Te Aroha Mail*, 3 June 1882, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 8 July 1911, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 July 1911, p. 49.

⁴⁶ See paper on his life.

⁴⁷ See paper on George and Ema Lipsey.

⁴⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

⁴⁹ *Church Gazette*, January 1881, p. 3.

month's holiday'.⁵⁰ According to one member of the domain board, Te Aroha was 'the resort of the bulk of the working Class, who require the use of mineral waters in the treatment of their numerous ailments'.⁵¹ Possibly it was a working-class bather who wrote in the visitors' book that the baths were 'the next great wonder to the pireymids of Egipt'.⁵²

The tourist season ran approximately from the middle of October to the end of May, but some used the baths during the winter months as well.⁵³ With the assistance of Auckland brewery companies, they were provided with reasonably priced accommodation, as one miner, John McCombie,⁵⁴ wrote in 1887:

The main street is adorned with several handsome and commodious buildings. Amongst these are the Palace, Club, and Hot Springs hotels, three wooden structures that would reflect credit on any town in the colony. In fact it would be very difficult to find three better-appointed hostelries, and the charges per day for accommodation are fixed upon the lowest possible scale.... There is a fourth hotel, which, if not so pretentious as the others, is equally as comfortable, and besides, the township boasts of several first-class boarding houses, at which the cost of living is moderate in the extreme.⁵⁵

As the hot springs visitors' books have not survived and in the 1880s the local newspaper recorded names only irregularly and incompletely, it is not possible to make a detailed analysis of the variety of visitors. As an example from February 1885, they included two people from Otago, 25 from Auckland, one from Port Albert, 12 from Thames, two from Waiuku, one from Coromandel, one from Whangerei, one from Paeroa, one from Queensland, and two from Newcastle, New South Wales.⁵⁶ A list published on 2 January the following year gave an incomplete list that included 78 from Auckland, 16 from Thames, ten from the Waikato, one from Napier,

⁵⁰ 'Voz', 'A Holiday at Te Aroha', *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1886, p. 7.

⁵¹ James Mills to Minister of Lands, 5 September 1892, Tourist Department, TO 1, 1891/89, ANZ-W.

⁵² *Waikato Times*, 4 June 1885, p. 2.

⁵³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 30 July 1887, p. 29.

⁵⁴ See paper on Billy Nicholl.

⁵⁵ 'Aboriginal' [John McCombie], 'On the Wallaby', *Thames Advertiser*, 23 December 1887, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 2.

two from Cambridge, three from Queensland, one each from Hamilton, Morrinsville, Karangahake, Christchurch, and Ireland.⁵⁷ A week later, visitors came from 18 places, including one from Melbourne and another from England.⁵⁸ The following week there were one each from Melbourne, Sydney, and Queensland, two from England, and a mother and child from New York. The Palace Hotel accommodated the elite visitors, including the Minister of Public Works, two members of the Legislative Council, one member of the House of Representatives, and two professors.⁵⁹ Later that month the same hotel hosted a major, a major general, and an English clergyman and his wife.⁶⁰ Samples from January 1888 produced the Very Rev Dean Lennard and three other New South Welshmen, three from Melbourne, a colonel from London, and people from the North and South Islands.⁶¹ Amongst the New Zealanders in February were a former Premier, the Under-Secretary of the Native Department, and a Supreme Court judge.⁶²

Later samples reveal the same mix. In the week to 13 January 1900 at least 40 people (there was an unspecified number of ‘family’ mentioned) were staying at the Hot Springs Hotel. The Grand Hotel had 47 staying, Park House had 14, and the Gladstone boardinghouse had 17. Visitors came from all over the North Island, especially Auckland, as well as Sydney, Victoria, and Western Australia; included were ‘Mrs Dr Lindsay and family’, Captain Palmer, and the Member of Parliament for Hawera and his son.⁶³ The following week, over 63 stayed at the Hot Springs, including seven from New South Wales, two from Western Australia, and ‘Lady Tangye and nurse’ from England. Devonshire House and the Temperance Hotel both had 16, Park House had 15 (including two from Sydney), while the Grand had 19.⁶⁴ In the week before 27 January there were over 43 at the Hot Springs, including two of the Nathan families of Auckland and their servants. Four people from Sydney, four from Western Australia, and one

⁵⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 2 January 1886, p. 2.

⁵⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 9 January 1886, p. 2.

⁵⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 16 January 1886, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 23 January 1886, p. 2, 30 January 1886, p. 2.

⁶¹ *Te Aroha News*, 7 January 1888, p. 2, 14 January 1888, p. 2, 21 January 1888, p. 2.

⁶² *Te Aroha News*, 4 February 1888, p. 2, 25 February 1888, p. 2.

⁶³ *Te Aroha News*, 13 January 1900, p. 2.

⁶⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 20 January 1900, p. 2.

from Adelaide stayed at various lodgings.⁶⁵ And in the last example, published on 21 February, there five Australians and one each from Edinburgh, Dublin, and Yarmouth.⁶⁶

The baths added a social element not found in other mining communities. Although some invalids restricted themselves to Te Aroha, some fitter tourists explored the Waiorongomai mines. One journalist, writing in 1885 of the delights of visiting, noted that coaches left for Waiorongomai 'at frequent intervals', from where 'the tourist can visit the batteries, the tramways, and the gold mines'.⁶⁷ These trips to explore the mining areas continued as late as 1898, when large-scale mining was about to cease. 'To Waiorongomai appears to be the favourite drive for visitors to Te Aroha, and during the present summer season numbers of visitors have taken advantage of the regular bus service. 'A trip to the big tunnel, a walk around the old battery, or a ramble up the creek fern-hunting is the way in which the time is generally spent'.⁶⁸

The extent to which tourists fraternized with miners encountered in these explorations was not recorded, but in the early days of the goldfield visitors to the mines were made welcome. In January 1882, one of two Waikato holiday-makers exploring Waiorongomai recorded that, after struggling up a hillside devoid of tracks to the Pride of the West, 'a cooee brought one of the miners to us, and while we were chatting with him' about mining 'some of our Thames friends made their appearance through the bush'. After continuing on they were too exhausted to visit any more mines, 'and having partaken of the kind hospitality of the Diamond Gully miners, who made tea for us, we turned our footsteps homeward'.⁶⁹ There must have been many another friendly contact, visitors relieving the monotony of the miners' lives, but only special visits were recorded. For example, a Te Aroha correspondent reported, one month later, that 'Mrs Wood and a lady friend from Auckland rode up the mountain yesterday in company with her husband' and two other men went as far as the New Find reef:

⁶⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 27 January 1900, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 21 February 1900, p. 2.

⁶⁷ 'Voz', 'A Trip to the Te Aroha Hot Springs', *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 August 1885, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Te Aroha News*, 7 April 1898, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Waikato Times*, 31 January 1882, p. 3.

Their going up seemed to be an omen of good luck, the prospectors having just brought to the surface some very rich specimens which the ladies did not forget to christen with brandy - champagne not being at hand. I may mention they are the first ladies that have been courageous enough to face the dangerous task.⁷⁰

The following year, a Thames clergyman

had the temerity to take three young ladies to the very summit of the mountain of love. "And not only that," says our correspondent, "but down the other side by the mines, visiting all the principal mines, and receiving kind attention from Mr [James] Gribble (manager of the All Nations),⁷¹ who had a nice cup of tea ready for them when they came there - he had passed them on the way up."⁷²

Because of the numbers visiting the mines, in mid-1883 the owners of the Quartzville store filled 'a great want' by adding a restaurant to provide 'a good meal at a moderate price', and it was expected that the number of visitors would 'increase greatly as time goes on'.⁷³

Whilst many visitors would have kept to themselves, at least some of them mingled with miners and other locals on the domain and in the hot pools, in bars and dining rooms, and joined in local festivities. When staying in hotels or boarding houses, they had some contact with local miners and other residents, for some unmarried miners lodged at these places also (for instance, Michael Dineen O'Keeffe⁷⁴ and James Goard).⁷⁵ In 1887, John McCombie stayed in the Club Hotel, and observed his fellow guests:

⁷⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 28 February 1882, p. 2; see also 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 18 March 1882, p. 9.

⁷¹ See *Thames Advertiser*, 13 November 1880, p. 3, 15 November 1880, p. 3, 26 November 1880, p. 3, 10 December 1880, p. 3, 13 December 1880, p. 3, Te Aroha Correspondent, 20 January 1881, p. 3, 27 May 1882, p. 3, 2 June 1883, p. 3, 4 September 1886, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 2, 18 September 1886, p. 2.

⁷² *Observer*, 2 June 1883, p. 172.

⁷³ *Te Aroha News*, 23 June 1883, p. 2.

⁷⁴ See paper on his life.

⁷⁵ *Thames Star*, 19 July 1882, p. 2, 20 July 1882, p. 2, 21 July 1882, p. 2; Gillies J, Judge's Note Books, Criminal 1882-1885, pp. 29-33, BBAE A304/256, ANZ-A.

At dinner that evening all the available space around the table, which is capable of sitting about 40 persons, was well filled, and all sorts and conditions of men were present. There was also a fair sprinkling of ladies, and as is usual in all such cases, where people who are entire strangers to each other, are thrown together for a few hours, or even days, there was but little conversation, and that little was neither brilliant nor interesting. After dinner the male folks adjourned to the smoking room, and as the night advanced tongues loosened by the magical power of sundry libations waxed freely on the general topics of the day.⁷⁶

AN EXAMPLE OF AN INVALID LIVING IN TE AROHA

One wealthy invalid, D'Arcy Texas McDougall, became a popular member of the community. For most of the period from February 1885 to early July 1886, D'Arcy Texas McDougall lived at Te Aroha for the sake of his health. When he took out a mortgage, he gave his occupation as 'invalid'.⁷⁷ For three years before coming to Te Aroha he had suffered from chronic rheumatic arthritis.⁷⁸ He was first mentioned in the local newspaper as a visitor from Queensland seeking relief in the baths.⁷⁹ Despite his middle name, he was not an American: he was born in Texas, New South Wales, and, like his father, was a grazier near Toowoomba. Although he had married in 1871, his wife had not accompanied him to New Zealand, was never mentioned, and they may have separated: they had no children.⁸⁰ It is possible that she had died, but no death was recorded in Queensland for the years 1871 to 1886. Instead of a wife, he brought a servant to care for him.⁸¹

For five weeks in March and April 1885, he tried the healing springs of Rotorua, but did 'not appear to have benefitted by the change, and expresses a decided preference for Te Aroha and its baths'.⁸² In May, he left

⁷⁶ 'Aboriginal', 'On the Wallaby', *Thames Advertiser*, 12 December 1887, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mortgage taken out by D'Arcy McDougall, 4 March 1886, Certified Instruments 1886, BBAV 11581/7a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸ Death Certificate of D'Arcy Texas McDougall, 19 July 1886, Queensland Register of Deaths, 1385/1886, Queensland State Archives.

⁷⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 2.

⁸⁰ Death Certificate of D'Arcy Texas McDougall, 19 July 1886, Queensland Register of Deaths, 1385/1886, Queensland State Archives.

⁸¹ *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1885, p. 2.

⁸² *Te Aroha News*, 1 May 1885, p. 2.

James Warren's hotel⁸³ to live at Ellen Lawless' boardinghouse,⁸⁴ 'where very comfortable apartments have been set apart for his use, and he will be much nearer the baths'.⁸⁵ His stay greatly relieved his symptoms, as revealed by a report, written in December, which almost certainly refers to him, the reporter having mistaken his nationality:

It is said of a certain American gentleman who was almost carried to Te Aroha some time ago suffering from rheumatic gout that for the first week of his sojourn at the springs he had to be wheeled out for his bath. On the second week he was able to walk up, supported on the arm of his faithful attendant; and at the end of the third week he was able to leave his hotel in the middle of the night and walk to the Thames, forgetting in his ecstasy his faithful servant and his hotel liabilities.⁸⁶

Reunited with his servant,⁸⁷ he paid for his accommodation and bought a house close to the domain so he could continue to use the baths.⁸⁸ By January 1886, he was living in Park House, a boarding house, with his servant; at the end of January Mr and Mrs R. McDougall from Queensland, presumably his brother and his wife, were also staying there.⁸⁹ As he undertook no paid work while in New Zealand, employed a servant, and lived in good accommodation, McDougall clearly had considerable financial resources, although by March 1886 he needed to borrow £50 and two months later borrowed £100, all of which was repaid within three months.⁹⁰ He also assisted local mining by purchasing a share in three claims in February 1886 for £5 each.⁹¹

⁸³ See *Waikato Times*, 7 August 1883, p. 2, 8 June 1886, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 11 August 1883, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 28 February 1885, p. 3.

⁸⁴ She was the mother of a Waiorongomai publican: see paper on Thomas Lawless.

⁸⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 30 May 1885, p. 2.

⁸⁶ *Waikato Times*, 3 December 1885, p. 2.

⁸⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1885, p. 2.

⁸⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1885, p. 2.

⁸⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 30 January 1886, p. 2, 20 February 1886, p. 2, 20 March 1886, p. 2.

⁹⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mortgages taken out by D'Arcy McDougall, 4 March 1886, 26 May 1886, Certified Instruments 1886, BBAV 11581/7a, ANZ-A.

⁹¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 195-197, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 5 March 1886, p. 3.

McDougall became popular through his involvement in social activities, an involvement that was more remarked on than that of any other long-term visitors. At a dinner held in May 1885 he responded to the toast to the Army, Navy, Volunteers, and Militia, and, ‘in an exceedingly happy manner, thanked the Company for the kindly interest they had evinced in “the Visitors” ’.⁹² The following month, he gave a recitation at a Masonic Entertainment, and shortly afterwards sang during another such entertainment.⁹³ In mid-July, ‘Messrs D’Arcy McDougall and Outhwaite, two gentlemen who have been residing in our midst for some months past for the benefit of the baths, last night gave a social to a circle of friends numbering about 40’.⁹⁴ William Outhwaite, an early settler, was a lawyer crippled by rheumatism;⁹⁵ his sister Isa⁹⁶ wrote to Sir George Grey about their stay:

We are very happy, those around us being so good and kind.... We are all, myself excepted, more or less invalids and several times a day there is an exchange of sentiments on symptoms and the various effects of the waters. My brother enjoys the baths and though he does not expect any great change feels sure that they will benefit him; for my own part I should like to be able to set up a free hospital here.

The scenery is very fine and I have been asked by the local Warden and Engineer to fill in a plan with the features and surroundings of the domain and springs - it is to be sent to Wellington with the hope of obtaining more funds....

I find endless interest in the Miners, Maories and visitors here. Willie and a fellow sufferer, a Mr D’Arcy McDougall, from Queensland, (in a chair like my brothers) went with me to a “Social” given by some gentlemen here.... Music, recitations and dancing varied the programme, our invalids each contributing their songs.⁹⁷

⁹² *Te Aroha News*, 9 May 1885, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 9 May 1885, p. 3.

⁹³ *Te Aroha News*, 27 June 1885, p. 2, 4 July 1885, p. 2.

⁹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 18 July 1885, p. 2.

⁹⁵ See *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 January 1858, p. 2; *Observer*, 14 April 1900, p. 5; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, pp. 274, 281.

⁹⁶ For William and Isa, see E.E. Burton, ‘The Haunted Park’, *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal*, no. 69 (April 1997), pp. 23-26.

⁹⁷ Isa Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 6 July 1885, illustrated by three sketches of Te Aroha scenery, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, pp. 118-120, Auckland Public Library.

Outhwaite wrote that ‘we like the place. The baths are excellent and agree with me very well’.⁹⁸ He returned in future years to enjoy them.⁹⁹ This was what McDougall planned to do when, in early July 1886, he returned to Toowoomba because he found the winter ‘rather trying to his delicate constitution’.¹⁰⁰ When warmer weather returned, he would return to be with his ‘many friends’.¹⁰¹ But as the baths had relieved, not cured, in mid-July, after an illness of one month, he died from ‘Congestion of the lungs’, aged only 39.¹⁰² In Te Aroha, ‘the intelligence has caused much regret amongst the deceased gentleman’s numerous friends’.¹⁰³

SNOBBERY, AND HOW TO DEAL WITH IT

Some visitors were considered to be putting on superior airs, a common complaint in mining settlements.¹⁰⁴ In November 1882 one miner complained that ‘Auckland aristocrats’ invading Te Aroha looked ‘with lofty contempt on the blue-shirted digger’ and had ‘no compunction about rudely supplanting him in the affectionate esteem of the barmaids, monopolise the billiard-tables, the best beds, and generally put the aforesaid miner into the shade’. Furthermore, his claim had been ‘jumped by a parcel of swell interlopers’.¹⁰⁵ In 1885, ‘a gentleman stopping at one of the hotels was heard to remark the other night that it was a shame that working men should be allowed to use the same baths as the “upper ten” ’.¹⁰⁶ However, a letter written in that year by the daughter of the first registrar of the Supreme Court revealed an absence of snobbery at a social, for ‘there was no exclusion of rank, the local barber being the greatest exquisite....

⁹⁸ William Eugene Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 6 July 1885, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, pp. 144-145, Auckland Public Library.

⁹⁹ For example, William Eugene Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 23 November 1892, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, p. 149, Auckland Public Library.

¹⁰⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 22 July 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ *Te Aroha News*, 24 July 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰² Death Certificate of D’Arcy Texas McDougall, 19 July 1886, Queensland Register of Deaths, 1385/1886, Queensland State Archives.

¹⁰³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 22 July 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Eldred-Grigg, p. 337.

¹⁰⁵ *Observer*, 18 November 1882, pp. 147-148.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 6 June 1885, p. 16.

Mothers too brought their babies, which were kindly nursed by fond papas whilst the Mamas took their turn at the Scottische or Highland fling'.¹⁰⁷

Miners had their ways of dealing with snobs, as 'The Retort Courteous', from 1883, indicated:

At Te Aroha there are two or three scions of our colonial aristocracy, who aspire to be the leaders of *ton* and the arbiters of elegance. These gentlemen always appear at the dinner-table of the principal hotel in evening costume. The other evening a Bohemian miner was seated opposite one of these swells, and endeavoured to engage him in conversation. The exquisite eyed him rather superciliously with elevated eyebrows, and abruptly asked: "Have you finished your dinner?" "Why?" was the reply. "Because if you have, you will perhaps allow me to have mine," and he proceeded to handle his knife and fork. "That's a very cutting remark," quietly returned the Bohemian, amidst a titter along the table. The standing joke of Te Aroha is now, "That's a very cutting remark".¹⁰⁸

Local young men who put on airs were gently ribbed, for example by Te Aroha's *Observer* Man. 'C.G. looked a masher of the first water walking down the street last Sunday evening - stick under one arm, M.H. on the other, and smoking a cigar. Bai Jove!'¹⁰⁹ The Waiorongomai equivalent asked: 'Who is that coxcomb who stands in the most conspicuous part of the town with two pens and one lead pencil under the "hard hitter"?'¹¹⁰, meaning a bowler hat.¹¹¹ H. was reportedly 'a regular fancy man among the ladies. Not quite so much side [‘conceit, pretentiousness’]¹¹² old man'.¹¹³ And L.M., 'of the Palace' Hotel, was told that he 'should not put on such a lot of side at the ball. Some of the young ladies want to know whether he will oblige with a dance'.¹¹⁴ An Irish debt-collector with airs was rebuked:

¹⁰⁷ Isa Outhwaite to Sir George Grey, 6 July 1885, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 25, p. 120, Auckland Public Library.

¹⁰⁸ *Observer*, 8 September 1883, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 30 March 1889, p. 17.

¹¹⁰ 'Waiorongomai', *Observer*, 9 June 1883, p. 180.

¹¹¹ Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang*, p. 531.

¹¹² Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang*, p. 1067.

¹¹³ 'Te Aroha Twists', *Observer*, 13 February 1886, p. 16.

¹¹⁴ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 7 September 1889, p. 18.

There is a slab-sided bark who delivers duns [demands for payment]¹¹⁵ on account of a defunct firm, residing here who, for cool presumption, and putting on airs and side, intermixed with a dash of ignorance, cannot be matched anywhere. The other day he met a former mate – a rough and ready digger, whom he had known in the days of his adversity. On meeting, the digger, who was just off the hills, and dressed in the honest garb of American drill and clay, exclaimed, “Hello! Bill, how are you dishin’ it, mate?” When W. replied, with a look of offended dignity, “Arrah! an’ do ye know who yer spakin’ to? The nixt time ye spake to me, wid ye be plazed to address me as Mister W.?” Exit the miner with a grin like a Cheshire cat. He has had to relate the yarn over and over again to his mates, who always receive it with roars of laughter.¹¹⁶

Girls who thought too highly of themselves were gently mocked: ‘Emma would look much nicer on horse-back if she wouldn’t put on so much affectation’.¹¹⁷ Was she the same woman as Emma H., who had ‘thought herself somebody at the ball on Wednesday, but oh, my daisy, you were put back in your place when you were not good enough for the ball on Friday night’.¹¹⁸ Women with pretensions, including matrimonial intentions for their daughters, were also mocked, as in a poem on the ‘Te Aroha Jam-tart Ball’ that the *Observer* published as ‘a specimen of the kind of poetic effusions that sometimes reach us, and a striking example of the deplorable effects of Te Aroha whisky upon the human brain’.¹¹⁹ It referred to the ball probably arranged by Frances Ann, wife of Moses Hotchin, a restaurant keeper, and their four unmarried daughters¹²⁰ (another had just married, well).¹²¹ Not only did they snub the local ‘belle’, Margretha Emelia Kilian,¹²² they made a gaffe in having women issue the invitations:

Te Aroha is noted for many good things,
And extends kindly friendship to all,
So a wonder it turned out, and in my ear rings,

¹¹⁵ Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang*, p. 352.

¹¹⁶ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 6 October 1883, p. 16.

¹¹⁷ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 10 September 1892, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 30 July 1892, p. 19.

¹¹⁹ *Observer*, 1 December 1883, p. 4.

¹²⁰ See Intestate Probates, BBAE 1591/29, ANZ-A.

¹²¹ Marriage Certificate of Mary Jane Hotchin, 15 January 1883, 1883/1773, BDM.

¹²² See paper on the Kilian family.

When we heard of the famed Jam-tart Ball.

It came thus to pass, that the ladies, good lack,
 In their heads took this freak that we call,
 And determined the gents. to at once give the sack,
 By the aid of their supposed Jam-tart Ball.

Mrs H. 'twas who started it; sent for her friends
 To entertain them, one and all.
 But the failure she suffered, it quite my heart rends,
 At the supposed Te Aroha Jam-tart Ball.

Of course, the famed H. took a part in the play,
 And, like Mrs H., went to the wall;
 For the gents. all declared they would all stay away
 From the supposed Te Aroha Jam-tart Ball.

What a pity it was that they did not work straight,
 And not go for the gentleman tall;
 If properly managed, their success had been great
 At the Te Aroha supposed Jam-tart Ball.

But how petty it was to exclude our Miss K.,
 Whom the gents. have proclaimed one and all,
 Had the invites been given in a courteous way,
 Would have been belle of the Te Aroha Jam-tart Ball.

"All's well that ends well," is a proverb I know,
 But the H.'s with their presence at all
 Will not venture again to such a bad show
 As that dance, called Te Aroha's Jam-tart Ball.

So take my advice, ladies – never assume
 The duties of gents., one and all,
 Or they'll snub you until your position resume,
 And do not issue the cards for a jam-tart ball.

And, like Mrs H. and Misses H., by-the-bye,
 The gents. will soon foolish you call;
 You a husband won't catch, and exclaim with a sigh,
 "I'll never again give a jam-tart ball."¹²³

There were definitely elements of snobbery in relations between the sexes, as snippets of gossip illustrated. 'A young lady here has expressed a wish that miners in their working clothes will not accost her', a

¹²³ 'A Wail from Te Aroha', *Observer*, 1 December 1883, p. 4.

correspondent disapprovingly reported in 1882.¹²⁴ A resident, who well knew the answer, asked: 'Who is the old lady on the Block at Te Aroha who stickles for men of position for her daughter?'¹²⁵ Ten years later, two dances prompted O.M. comments about snobbery:

How nicely the pretty girl told certain young men at the ball that it would suit them better if they used Miss to the young ladies, instead of being so familiar....

Miss H. thought herself somebody at the ball on Wednesday, but oh, my daisy, you were put back in your place when you were not good enough for the ball on Friday night....

Late 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." I think all these select people should be put on an island by themselves with Tawhiao as their king.¹²⁶

‘GENTLEMEN’

Some men described themselves in official records as being ‘gentlemen’, but those who did so when living at Te Aroha in the 1880s were not in fact gentlemen of leisure with no need to earn their living, as the word implied. Charles Gallagher,¹²⁷ who so described himself,¹²⁸ had made such a fortune from mining investments in America that he did not have to work.¹²⁹ When he died, he was recorded as having no occupation,¹³⁰

¹²⁴ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 10 June 1882, p. 201.

¹²⁵ *Observer*, 23 December 1882, p. 230.

¹²⁶ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 30 July 1892, p. 18.

¹²⁷ See paper on his life.

¹²⁸ For example, Birth Certificates of John Edmund Gallagher, 19 October 1883, 1883/15223; Desmond Boniface Gallagher, 14 May 1885, 1885/5642, BDM; *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1887*, p. 9; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mortgage for Charles Gallagher dated 2 October 1890, Certified Instruments 1890, BBAV 11581/11a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 12 April 1890, p. 5; *Waikato Times*, 30 December 1890, p. 2; for details of his financial status, see *Te Aroha News*, 16 June 1888, p. 2 23 June 1888, p. 2, 18 September 1889, p. 7, 25 September 1889, p. 2; *Thames Star*, 29 December 1890, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 January 1891, p. 14; Hesketh and Richmond Papers, MS 440, Box 26, 1051/C, Auckland Public Library.

although during the 1880s he may have prospected in various parts of the North Island.¹³¹ Some other self-made gentlemen had the financial advantage of a financially successful father. For instance, Edward Kersey Cooper, who in 1882 and 1883 gave 'gentleman' as his occupation,¹³² was in fact a prominent mine manager. Born in Suffolk, he had worked for his father until aged 21 'in agricultural work and the estate agency business',¹³³ meaning that he, like the others whose fathers' occupations are known, came from a middle class and possibly relatively economically secure background. John William Richard Guilding¹³⁴ described himself as 'gentleman' on one occasion in 1882,¹³⁵ but was an interpreter and land agent who held such minor positions as poundkeeper, registrar of dogs, and inspector of nuisances.¹³⁶ Paul Joseph Murphy, apparently a miner but with only a fleeting involvement with Te Aroha, described himself as a gentleman in 1882,¹³⁷ but it has not been possible to separate his career from that of others with the same name. Richard Onyon also on one occasion gave himself this designation,¹³⁸ but was in fact a shipping agent; his father had been a London merchant.¹³⁹

Two other men living at Te Aroha in the early 1880s, Charles Stanislaus Stafford and Henry Ernest Whitaker, called themselves gentlemen.¹⁴⁰ Stafford had some basis for calling himself a one, as he came to New Zealand with considerable financial resources.¹⁴¹ He was a Roman

¹³⁰ Inquest into Charles Gallagher, Justice Department, J 46, 1891/1, ANZ-W.

¹³¹ See paper on his life.

¹³² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfer of Shares in Pride of the West, 15 March 1882, Transfers and Assignments 1882, BBAV 11581/1a; Transfer of Shares in Vermont, 29 December 1882, Transfers and Assignments 1882, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 19 October 1882, p. 1523, 27 September 1883, p. 1369.

¹³³ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 475.

¹³⁴ See paper on his life.

¹³⁵ *New Zealand Gazette*, 27 April 1882, p. 647.

¹³⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 1, 19 January 1884, p. 2, 12 April 1884, p. 7, 24 May 1890, p. 2, 26 July 1898, p. 2, 22 February 1915, p. 2.

¹³⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 10 August 1882, p. 1101.

¹³⁸ Thames Baptisms Register 1880-1889, no. 119, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

¹³⁹ Death Certificate of Richard Onyon, 11 February 1889, 1889/370, BDM.

¹⁴⁰ See paper on Harry and Charles: Henry Ernest Whitaker and Charles Stanislaus Stafford.

¹⁴¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 July 1880, p. 3, 19 April 1882, p. 3.

Catholic,¹⁴² the only member of the elite of early Te Aroha to be of this faith. In mid-1883 he was referred to as 'Stalwart Stafford, the idol of Te Aroha',¹⁴³ and when he revisited in 1885, having left the district the previous September, at a reunion of his friends George Lipsey referred 'to his popularity among all classes'.¹⁴⁴ Whitaker was a son of Sir Frederick, for many years Attorney General and twice Premier.¹⁴⁵ Both men were active participants in sporting and social life; in 1882, for instance, the *Observer* asked, 'What would become of Te Aroha but for Harry and Charles, who are always to the fore in any matter of business or amusement'.¹⁴⁶

THE KELLY GANG

Because of the fame of Australia's Kelly Gang of bushrangers, the term became wisely used. For instance, in October 1881 the *Observer* noted that in Auckland it was used by 'a small lot of bucolic persons attired in gaiters and slouch hats, who may be seen at any of the street corners at all hours of the day'.¹⁴⁷ In late January 1881 the *Observer* first mentioned one of the leading members of Te Aroha's Kelly Gang: 'According to a Te Aroha correspondent, Mr Edward Eccles Echalaz (late 12th Lancers), nephew of Lord Lascelles, and several other well-connected gentlemen, are busily engaged in handling the pick and shovel at Te Aroha'.¹⁴⁸ He had been living in Auckland at least as early as 1879, when two men sued him for not paying an IOU for £9 1s 6d and a promissory note for £6, having to be threatened with one month's imprisonment if these small debts were not paid in instalments.¹⁴⁹ That he had to pay in instalments indicated that he was financially embarrassed. A 1930 reference to this aristocratic miner, who went by the name Edward Eccles at Te Aroha and was known as 'Count' Eccles,¹⁵⁰ stated he was a 'near relative of the man who married

¹⁴² *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March 1884, p. 12.

¹⁴³ 'Thames Tittle Tattle', *Observer*, 14 July 1883, p. 14.

¹⁴⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 9 May 1885, p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Record* (Wellington, 1925), p. 73.

¹⁴⁶ *Observer*, 10 March 1883, p. 406.

¹⁴⁷ *Observer*, 15 October 1881, p. 76.

¹⁴⁸ *Observer*, 29 January 1881, p. 195.

¹⁴⁹ Magistrate's Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1879, p. 6, 14 November 1879, p. 6;

Magistrate's Court, *Auckland Star*, 2 October 1879, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ For example, *Observer*, 1 October 1881, p. 38.

Princess Mary.¹⁵¹ The latter was the Princess Royal, the only daughter of George V, who married the sixth Earl of Harewood in 1922; he had been born in 1882, making Eccles the nephew of the fourth earl, whose family name was Lascelles.¹⁵²

Eccles took out a miner's right for the Te Aroha field on 22 December 1880.¹⁵³ The following day, he applied for a residence site, which was granted on 26 January the following year; he seems not to have built on it, for it was forfeited in July.¹⁵⁴ On 16 December 1880 he bought an interest from Keepa Te Wharau, a Ngati Rahiri rangatira,¹⁵⁵ in the Prince of Wales.¹⁵⁶ After working this unprofitable claim for some months, on 21 March, along with nine others, he pegged out the Count, no doubt named after himself, two miles to the south of the Prospectors' Claim.¹⁵⁷ Nine days later he re-pegged it, with the same partners plus one more.¹⁵⁸ As this claim was never registered, it must have been abandoned shortly afterwards. On 23 March, he bought a one-sixteenth interest in the Tui for £4.¹⁵⁹ Early in May, he bought a small interest in the All Nations.¹⁶⁰

Once the Waiorongomai field was discovered, Eccles acquired the Hero, but on 10 November was charged by John Calder, an artist and investor,¹⁶¹

¹⁵¹ *Observer*, 20 November 1930, p. 11.

¹⁵² *Burke's Peerage* (104 ed., London, 1967), p. 1177.

¹⁵³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Rights Butt Book 1880-1881, no. 1647, BBAV 11533/1g, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 55-56, BBAV 11505/3a; Rent Register 1881-1899, folio 7, BBAV 11505/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁵ See paper on his life.

¹⁵⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 157, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, 1881, no. 200, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, 1881, no. 203, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfers and Assignments 1881, no number, dated 23 March 1881, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 155, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶¹ See Supreme Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1870, p. 5; *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 December 1870, p. 4, 24 October 1874, p. 5, Supreme Court, 31 October 1874, p. 11, 16 January 1875, p. 4; *Thames Advertiser*, 25 December 1873, p. 2, 31 August 1874, p.

with not working it. This suit was dismissed on 6 December for reasons that were not published.¹⁶² On 23 November, Calder applied for the Hero as a licensed holding, which was granted on 23 December;¹⁶³ two days previously, Eccles had bought three shares from him for £150. Eccles did not make any profit by selling these shares, for though he sold two on 21 February 1882 for £100 to Thomas Wayth Gudgeon (an agent, auctioneer, and historian),¹⁶⁴ the one transferred to Hugh James Wickens (an Auckland sharebroker and ship owner)¹⁶⁵ on 7 January for the nominal sum of £50 was in fact given to Wickens ‘for some debt’.¹⁶⁶ Also on 21 December, Eccles, who seems to have been Calder’s partner rather than rival, bought two shares in the Agnes from him for £50.¹⁶⁷ These he sold for the same amount to Gudgeon, another presumed partner, in February 1882; in April he purchased two shares in it once more.¹⁶⁸

3, 26 February 1876, p. 2, 27 March 1876, p. 3, 7 December 1876, p. 3, Magistrate’s Court, 14 December 1878, p. 3, 14 July 1881, p. 3; *Waikato Times*, 13 January 1880, p. 2; Una Platts, *The Nineteenth Century New Zealand Artists: A guide and handbook* (Christchurch, 1980), p. 60.

¹⁶² Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 49/1881, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folio 112, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁴ See T.W. Gudgeon, *The History and Doings of the Maoris from the Year 1820 to the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840* (Auckland, 1885); T.W. Gudgeon, *The Defenders of New Zealand* (Auckland 1887): for summary of his career, see pp. 480-482; *Thames Advertiser*, 11 April 1877, p. 3, 8 September 1877, p. 2, letter from ‘Pro Bono’, 12 July 1877, p. 3, 13 January 1879, p. 2, 16 March 1881, p. 3, 12 September 1881, p. 2, 11 May 1886, p. 3; *New Zealand Herald*, 20 October 1883, p. 6; *Auckland Weekly News*, 30 August 1890, p. 14; Elsdon Craig, *Destiny Well Sown: A biography of Lt. Col. W.E. Gudgeon* (Whakatane, 1985), pp. 1-27, 53.

¹⁶⁵ See *Observer*, 26 November 1881, p. 164; *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1881, p. 17, 8 July 1882, p. 16; *New Zealand Gazette*, 1 June 1882, p. 800;

¹⁶⁶ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 10, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 102, 104, 201, BBAV 11581/2a; R. McDonald Scott to George Wilson, 15 February 1883, Applications for Protection 1883, BBAV 11289/10a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 203, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁸ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 35, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, no. 205, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

Late in 1881, Eccles moved to Waihi, where his first residence brought him to the attention of the social papers again. On 1 October, the *Observer* reported that ‘“Count” Eccles is at Waihi, and had the misfortune to be burnt out last week’.¹⁶⁹ On 28 September, he and two others registered the Juno, but, with Gudgeon, forfeited this for non-working one year later.¹⁷⁰ On 5 November, he bought one of the 30 shares in the Sunbeam, selling it three months later.¹⁷¹ In that month, when sued for the forfeiture of the Jupiter, his lawyer

admitted that it had not been worked, but said that the owner of an adjoining claim pegged in the ground, and applied for a license. His client had then lodged an objection to the granting of the license, and allowed the ground to stand, being under the impression that he was protected by the pending litigation. He applied that a fine be fixed in lieu of forfeiture, but, after some discussion, he withdrew the application, and the Warden declared the ground forfeited, and awarded it to the applicant, with costs, 18s, against the defendant.¹⁷²

This was the extent of Eccles’ involvement in New Zealand mining. By October 1882 his address was given as England, and four months later a legal manager stated that he was ‘out of the Colony’.¹⁷³ It is possible that he went briefly to the South Island after leaving Waihi, for he owned a freehold property worth £40 in the borough of Riverton, in Southland,¹⁷⁴ but it is more likely that he had acquired this before going to Te Aroha.

¹⁶⁹ *Observer*, 1 October 1881, p. 38; see Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Ohinemuri Miners’ Rights, 1876-1892, 482/1881 [no precise date recorded], BACL 14441/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁰ Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Thames Claims 1880-1882, claim 974, BACL 14397/13a, ANZ-A; *Thames Star*, 20 October 1881, p. 3, advertisement, 6 October 1882, p. 3.

¹⁷¹ Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1875-1882, folio 184, BACL 14397/10a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷² Warden’s Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 15 November 1881, p. 3.

¹⁷³ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand, giving the Names, Addresses, and Occupations of Owners of Land, together with the Area and Value in Counties, and the Value in Boroughs and Town Districts, October 1882* (Wellington, 1884), p. E 3; R. McDonald Scott to George Wilson, 15 February 1883, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Applications for Protection 1883, BBAV 11289/10a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁴ *Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand*, p. E 3.

What was noteworthy about Eccles was not his brief involvement in mining, which was typical of many, but his social life. Late in August 1881, the ‘Thames Tittle Tattle’ column in the *Observer* reported that ‘“Count” Eccles, of Te Aroha, was down on a visit last week, and made himself quite at home among the ladies. I believe he has given the upper country best’.¹⁷⁵ At Te Aroha and Waihi, he was known for gambling rather than flirting. In November 1881, when he was described as being of Waihi and Te Aroha, he won £150 in a sweepstake.¹⁷⁶ John McCombie, who had participated in the 1880 rush and was a mining reporter in Te Aroha in February 1881,¹⁷⁷ recalled him as

an inveterate gambler, carrying a dice box in his pocket continually, and ever ready to make a bet upon anything, either on the surface of the earth or beneath it. One night two horses and a carriage were disposed of by raffling for £100 - about three times their intrinsic value. The turn-out was won by an Auckland “spieler,” who used loaded dice, and who got away with the plunder before the “swindle” was detected. Speaking on the subject, the Count said: “I don’t mind the swindle a little bit, but I do regret the fact that loaded dice were used under my nose and I was idiotic enough to let it pass without comment.”

McCombie described Eccles as ‘the most notable character’ of the Kelly Gang, a name accorded them partly, no doubt, because of the recent exploits of Ned Kelly’s gang in Australia, but especially because ‘the members used to eat, sleep, drink and work together - in short, they were inseparable’. It was ‘composed chiefly of remittance men’,¹⁷⁸ high-spirited young men sent to the colonies by their exasperated fathers and paid a regular sum to remain there.¹⁷⁹ One exploit in June was publicized:

¹⁷⁵ *Observer*, 27 August 1881, p. 580.

¹⁷⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 2 November 1881, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880, no. 611, issued 25 November 1880, BBAV 11533/1e; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 173, 181, 192, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 January 1881, p. 9; *Thames Advertiser*, 26 May 1881, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ John McCombie, ‘Te Aroha Goldfield’, unsourced newspaper article, 1924, in Mahara Royal Scrapbook, p. 61, MSC 22, Hamilton Public Library.

¹⁷⁹ See Nell Hartley, *Colonial Outcasts: A search for the remittance man* (Morrinsville, 1993), especially pp. 13-17, 177-178.

The noble band of Remittance men at Te Aroha, yclept the “Kelly Gang,” had a spree the other evening. Two new whares were erected, and a house warming took place, which broke up at five o’clock in the morning. Four of the “Gang” had to be taken home on a friendly wheel-barrow. The Hon. ____ got locked in an empty shanty, but found egress through the chimney. It was universally admitted that such conduct did not *soot* a man of his high degree.¹⁸⁰

This escapee-via-chimney was the Hon. Randolph Thomas Rowley, third and youngest son of the third Baron Langford, an Irish peer. His eldest brother had assumed the title of the fourth Baron Langford by 1883, and his second-eldest brother would become the sixth baron.¹⁸¹ After training for the navy, Rowley had served for several years on four different warships before coming to New Zealand.¹⁸² He arrived in August 1878 from Belfast as a member of the second party to join George Vesey Stewart’s special settlement at Katikati, where he owned 100 acres.¹⁸³ Shortly after his arrival, when he publicly criticized Stewart’s arrangements for surveying and providing timber for housing, Stewart responded that Rowley ‘had been spending most of his time in Auckland’ and been very slow to start developing his property. He had already employed a ‘farm servant’ to do much of the work for him.¹⁸⁴ By December, little had been done on his land ‘on the slopes of the hills’ apart from burning off the fern. In so doing Rowley ‘burnt down a good deal of his neighbour’s bush’, prompting a reporter to warn that ‘the utmost caution’ was required in burning fern, ‘and none but the most experienced persons should undertake it’.¹⁸⁵

In 1883, Rowley, then aged 30, married Rosetta Fletcher, whose father, Thomas Henry, was one of the first of Stewart’s Katikati settlers.

¹⁸⁰ *Thames Star*, 7 June 1881, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 9 October 1883, p. 2; *Evening Post*, 4 April 1911, p. 6; *Burke’s Peerage*, 105 ed. (London, 1970), p. 1535.

¹⁸² *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 938.

¹⁸³ *Evening Post*, 4 April 1911, p. 6; *Tauranga 1882-1892*, ed. A.C. Bellamy (Tauranga, 1982), p. 143; Arthur J. Gray, *An Ulster Plantation: The story of the Katikati Settlement*, 2 ed. (Wellington, 1950), p. 50.

¹⁸⁴ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 29 October 1878, Supplement, p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Our Itinerant Reporter, ‘Some Notes on the Katikati Settlement’, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 14 December 1878, p. 3.

When he died in 1889, aged 78, he was recorded as being 'late of Prospect House, Dalky, Ireland'.¹⁸⁶ As explained by a distant relative,¹⁸⁷

The Fletcher family was Anglo-Irish. Rosetta's grandmother was Eliza Fox (born 1784) of the Kilcoursey branch.... The Foxes and the Fletchers were Protestant Irish. The Foxes were minor Anglo-Irish gentry who claimed to trace their lineage back to the time of the Neil Magnus and as such were descendants of the Irish before [the] English colonization of Ireland. They had a coat of arms.¹⁸⁸

The Foxes were neighbours of the Rowleys in Ireland.¹⁸⁹ So the marriage was between the son of an Irish peer and the daughter of Irish gentry, both from strongly Protestant families. On the marriage certificate Rowley recorded his occupation as 'gentleman'.¹⁹⁰ The wedding was reported as a 'Marriage in High Life'. The bride wore 'a silver necklet, locket, and bracelet, with the initials F. and R., the gift of the bridegroom', the initials of their surnames, and the bridesmaids had the same initials engraved on their silver lockets. 'The wedding was a quiet one, so only a few intimate friends of the family were invited. After the ceremony all present sat down to a sumptuous *dejeuner*. The *gateau de mariage* was a triumph of confectionary art'. All the ladies wore their finest dresses and some of the 'numerous and costly presents' were listed.¹⁹¹ They would have a son and a daughter, the former inflicted with the aristocratic names 'Clotworthy Wellington Thomas Edward'.¹⁹²

Rowley later moved from Katikati to Tauranga and on to Whanganui, where he was secretary of the local branch of the Society for the Prevention

¹⁸⁶ Death Certificate of Thomas Henry Fletcher, 16 March 1889, 1889/560, BDM; *Bay of Plenty Times*, 21 March 1889, p. 2; Paul Fox to Philip Hart, 23 August 2016, email [the second sent on that date].

¹⁸⁷ Paul Fox to Philip Hart, 23 August 2016, email [the second sent on that date].

¹⁸⁸ Paul Fox to Philip Hart, 23 August 2016, email; additional information on second email sent on that date.

¹⁸⁹ Paul Fox to Philip Hart, 23 August 2016, email [the second sent on that date].

¹⁹⁰ Marriage Certificate of Randolph Thomas Rowley, 4 October 1883, 1883/1757, BDM; 'Tauranga', *Observer*, 4 August 1883, p. 12.

¹⁹¹ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 9 October 1883, p. 2.

¹⁹² Birth Certificates of Clotworthy Wellington Thomas Edward Rowley, 1885/8029; Doris Louisa Rowley, 1887/9283, BDM.

of Cruelty to Animals.¹⁹³ As Rosetta's family was related to the man who introduced the Act to prevent cruelty to animals into the British parliament, he may have adopted her opinions on this topic.¹⁹⁴ He had quickly become a prominent member of the communities he lived in,¹⁹⁵ in a Tauranga cricket match in November 1878 playing (badly) for 'the All-Comers' against 'the Colonials'.¹⁹⁶ Later that month, at a public meeting he was elected a steward for the Tauranga Jockey Club.¹⁹⁷ In 1880 he was elected one for Katikati's annual races.¹⁹⁸ At Whanganui he was a golfer.¹⁹⁹ He would die in Dunedin in 1910, aged 57;²⁰⁰ Rosetta died 11 years later, when she was 56.²⁰¹ She was not well-off in her last years, leaving an estate valued at £185 11s 1d, mostly cash.²⁰²

McCombie's later and more vivid account of Rowley's experience with the chimney differed in some of the details:

The "gang" built a new residence big enough to accommodate all hands, and one end of it was made up by a spacious chimney. The house had been occupied and the chimney used for some time before it was decided to give a house warming. The material for the spread was imported direct from Auckland, and liquor of every description flowed like water. About 10 p.m. the liquid refreshments gave out, and the hosts decided to finish the night at the "pub." Everyone rose to the occasion except the Hon. Rowley, who had fallen asleep in one of the bunks, and it was deemed advisable to leave him there. Unfortunately the last man out locked the door and put the key in his pocket. About midnight the door of the hotel sitting room - in which the "gang" and their guests were enjoying themselves - was flung open unceremoniously, and everyone was struck dumb by the black apparition which presented itself. Eventually one man recovered

¹⁹³ *Cyclopedie of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 938; advertisement, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 May 1902, p. 3.

¹⁹⁴ Paul Fox to Philip Hart, 25 August 2016, email.

¹⁹⁵ For example, *Bay of Plenty Times*, 25 November 1889, p. 2, 2 November 1898, p. 2, 12 December 1898, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 5 November 1878, p. 3.

¹⁹⁷ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 26 November 1878, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ *Bay of Plenty Times*, 6 March 1880, p. 2.

¹⁹⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 12 September 1904, p. 5.

²⁰⁰ Death Certificate of Randolph Thomas Rowley, 21 December 1910, 1910/7611, BDM.

²⁰¹ Death Certificate of Rosetta Rowley, 25 November 1921, 1921/6121, BDM.

²⁰² Probate of Rosetta Rowley, AAOM 6029/31788, ANZ-W.

his breath sufficiently to ask: “Who are you, and what do you want?” The apparition replied: “Well, at one time I was known as the Hon. Rowley, but, judging by the scared look on your faces, I must now be the “Earl of Hell,” and I am here to partake of the good things provided by my satellites.”

When Rowley woke up, finding the door locked, he made his way out through medium of the chimney, and was completely enveloped in soot for his pains.²⁰³

How many belonged to the Kelly Gang is not known, although there were at least five.²⁰⁴ Rowley did not own any mining shares, and the incomplete record of miners’ rights does not list him; possibly other members were similarly not recorded. If it is possible to judge by a person’s name, Cadwallader Barker, who took out a miner’s right on 16 December (the clerk recorded his name as Chawaleder),²⁰⁵ six days before Eccles, seems a possible contender for membership. But he lived a quiet life in Auckland, Whangaroa, Tirau, and Thames,²⁰⁶ dying in the latter town in 1916, aged 75, when his obituary described him as an ‘old and respected resident’ who was known for his ‘genial and kindly nature’,²⁰⁷ with no implication of a wilder past – and surely he was too old for the Kelly Gang? And in 1877, when living at Thames, he had applied for a position in the police force,²⁰⁸ not a likely occupation for a tearaway.

Another name that stands out is Beaumont George Hotham, who took out a miner’s right on 14 December,²⁰⁹ when he was aged 21.²¹⁰ In 1879 he had attended a levee at Government House in Auckland.²¹¹ He bought

²⁰³ John McCombie, ‘Te Aroha Goldfield’, unsourced newspaper article, 1924, in Mahara Royal Scrapbook, p. 61, MSC 22, Hamilton Public Library.

²⁰⁴ *Thames Star*, 7 June 1881, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Rights Butt Book 1880, no. 782, BBAV 11533/1f, ANZ-A.

²⁰⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, Marriage Notice, 1 May 1915, p. 1, 16 November 1936, p. 12.

²⁰⁷ *Thames Star*, 3 January 1916, p. 4.

²⁰⁸ Police Department, P 1, 71/[120], ANZ-W.

²⁰⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Rights Butt Book 1880, no. 763, BBAV 11533/1f, ANZ-A.

²¹⁰ Death Certificate of Beaumont George Hotham, 14 December 1895, 1895/5579, BDM.

²¹¹ *Auckland Star*, 18 June 1879, p. 3.

shares in two claims.²¹² He applied for two business sites on 13 December, but these applications lapsed,²¹³ and by February 1881 his address was given as Auckland,²¹⁴ suggesting that any involvement with the gang was fleeting. He an owner of the Count, marked out by Eccles and others in March 1881,²¹⁵ his only involvement with Te Aroha mining. When a shareholder in his only other mining investment, a company formed during the Tiki rush at Coromandel in February that year, his occupation was given as ‘gentleman’,²¹⁶ which seems appropriate, and no more demanding occupation has been traced. When he died in Auckland in 1895, he was described as a ‘settler’, which did not suggest he had to work for his living. His father was a clergyman,²¹⁷ and his mother, of Westcroft Chobham in Surrey, was executrix of his estate of £2,071 8s 5d,²¹⁸ which would fit with the picture of him being a remittance man. His estate included land and a house on Waiheke Island, two houses in Auckland with fine furniture, and a farm near Cambridge.²¹⁹ As he had not married,²²⁰ he had no obvious reason for remaining in New Zealand. His part ownership of Eccles’ Count claim does suggest he was a member of the gang, very briefly.

Another way of uncovering the membership of the Kelly Gang is to investigate Eccles’ partners in the claims he partly owned. When the Count was first pegged out, his partners were Hotham, Gregory Goiss, George Hubert Applegate, Arthur Allen, William Crowe, John C. Cole, Joseph Granville Stevenson, Hugh James Wickens, and William James Allen.²²¹ When it was re-pegged, John Waldron Wright²²² had joined the party.²²³

²¹² Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 155, 188, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

²¹³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 37-38, 107, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

²¹⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 February 1881, p. 258.

²¹⁵ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims, 1881, nos. 200, 203, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

²¹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 February 1881, p. 258.

²¹⁷ Death Certificate of Beaumont George Hotham, 14 December 1895, 1895/5579, BDM.

²¹⁸ Testamentary Registers 1896-1899, folio 120, BBCB 4208/4, ANZ-A.

²¹⁹ Advertisements, *Auckland Star*, 9 July 1896, p. 12, 15 January 1898, p. 8.

²²⁰ Death Certificate of Beaumont George Hotham, 14 December 1895, 1895/5579, BDM.

²²¹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 200, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A.

²²² See paper on George Devey and his family.

Nothing has been traced about Crowe, Arthur Allen, or Cole, apart from a J.C. Cole attending a fancy dress ball in Auckland in October 1880,²²⁴ and none of the several men named William James Allen were conclusively tied to this goldfield. As Wickens was an Auckland sharebroker, owner of a coastal steamship, and a director of mining and other companies,²²⁵ he was not a member of the gang. Stevenson gave his occupation as a miner,²²⁶ and was an owner of one Te Aroha claim in 1880 and four at Waiorongomai in 1882 and 1883.²²⁷ Apart from these four years, he left no records of his life in New Zealand, and must be assumed to have left the colony. As Goiss was a miner and labourer, a Roman Catholic, and an Italian of Austrian nationality,²²⁸ he was most unlikely to have been a member. Applegate, as the son of a prosperous Bradford wool and cloth manufacturer, was a possibility,²²⁹ unless the aristocratic members of the gang considered involvement in ‘trade’ a mark of inferiority. ‘A man of some educational attainments’ he was aged 20 in 1880,²³⁰ both of which would have been

²²³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Notices of Marking Out Claims 1881, no. 203, BBAV 11557/1b, ANZ-A [name incorrectly recorded by W.J. Allen as George Walden Wright].

²²⁴ *Auckland Star*, 21 October 1880, p. 2.

²²⁵ See *New Zealand Gazette*, 1 June 1882, p. 800; *Observer*, 26 November 1881, p. 164; Company Files, BBAE 10286/9a, 10286/9c, 10286/10e, 10286/11b, ANZ-A; *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 October 1881, p. 17, 8 July 1882, p. 16; *New Zealand Herald*, 6 April 1882, 25 July 1884, p. 4; *Auckland East Electoral Roll*, 1882, p. 23.

²²⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490.

²²⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 155, BBAV 11567/1a; Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 72, 76-78, 97, BBAV 11500/9a; Register of Applications 1880-1882, no. 52 (note also nos. 48-50), BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490, 19 October 1882, p. 1522, 31 May 1883, p. 722.

²²⁸ See *Waikato Times*, 10 June 1882, p. 2; Paeroa Magistrate’s Court, Notes of Evidence 1884-1892, Hearing of 9 June 1886, ZAAP 13790/1a, ANZ-A; Marriage Certificate of Gregory Goiss, 16 December 1883, 1883/2694; Birth Certificates of Louis John Goiss, 10 May 1884, 1884/9098; Nellie Norah Goiss, 25 June 1885, 1885/10207; Gregory Andrew Goiss, 16 November 1888, 1888/7648, BDM.

²²⁹ Death Certificate of George Hubert Applegate, 22 January 1931, 1931/416, BDM; *Coromandel and Mercury Bay Gazette*, 26 February 1931, p. 2.

²³⁰ *Coromandel and Mercury Bay Gazette*, 26 February 1931, p. 2; Auckland Hospital, Register of Admissions 1870-1885, 157/1883, ZAAP 15287/2a, ANZ-A.

appropriate. Applegate arrived at Te Aroha in late January,²³¹ and after mining for the next two years was a storekeeper for the rest of his life.²³² Wright was also a possible member. He arrived at Te Aroha at the beginning of January 1881, when aged 25.²³³ His father was a gentleman at Reading, his mother was the daughter of a clergyman, and his stepfather, Captain Gerald Butler Beere, was a pioneer surveyor and settler of Hamilton.²³⁴ However, his occupations were manual: gum digging, timber-carting, flour milling, and later a railway guard. Although involved in such refined activities as singing and discussion classes and the teetotal Band of Hope, he also got drunk occasionally and flirted with young women.²³⁵ He considered his fellow kauri timber workers 'a dull lot of fellows'.²³⁶ However, there was nothing to link him with Eccles and his friends.

It does not seem any of the gang accompanied Eccles to Waihi, for both partners in the Juno and Sunbeam were miners; Eccles bought his share in the latter from one of them, Francis Creighton.²³⁷ Aged 21 in 1881, which would have been appropriate, Creighton was born in New Zealand, which was not, and continued to mine at Waihi, Thames, and elsewhere in later years,²³⁸ unlike Eccles and his associates, who quickly tired of mining. The

²³¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miners' Rights Butt Book 1881, no. 1744, BBAV 11533/1h, ANZ-A.

²³² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1881-1893, 43/1881, BCDG 11224/1a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 17 August 1882, p. 1132; *Te Aroha Mail*, n.d., reprinted in *Waikato Times*, 29 May 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 9 June 1883, p. 3, 23 June 1883, p. 2, 1 January 1887, p. 2; *Coromandel and Mercury Bay Gazette*, 26 February 1931, p. 2.

²³³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Rights Butt Book 1880-1881, no. 1661, BBAV 11533/1g, ANZ-A; Birth Certificate of Lorrinor Wright, 11 May 1889, 1889/18858, BDM.

²³⁴ Marriage Certificates of John Waldron Wright, 10 May 1889, 1889/1064; 23 July 1908, 1908/6298, BDM; John Waldron Wright Papers, MSC 14, Hamilton Public Library; Peter Gibbons, *Astride the River: A history of Hamilton* (Hamilton, 1977), pp. 50, 54.

²³⁵ J.W. Wright, Diaries for 1878, 1880, John Waldron Wright Papers, MSC 14, Hamilton Public Library.

²³⁶ J.W. Wright, Diary for 1878, entry for 31 December, John Waldron Wright Papers, Hamilton Public Library.

²³⁷ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1875-1882, folio 184, BACL 14397/10a, ANZ-A.

²³⁸ See Auckland Hospital, Register of Admissions 1884-1893, folio 188, no. 2532, ZAAP 15288/1a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, *Thames Star*, 14 October 1881, 5 November 1881, p.

other partner was Jeffrey or Geoffrey Morton: the spelling varied because of his illiteracy,²³⁹ which would have set him apart from the gang. He was an Irish Presbyterian,²⁴⁰ which would have been appropriate, but his lifelong career as a working miner at Thames, Coromandel, and elsewhere,²⁴¹ starting possibly at the age of 14,²⁴² rules him out as a member. With his brother, in 1873 he had been involved in a hotel brawl that led to his assaulting a constable,²⁴³ but this would not imply any link with the gang, who roistered in a respectable way that did not prompt police involvement.

The members were not involved with mining elsewhere, and seem to have dispersed from Te Aroha by mid-to-late 1881. There was mention of a Kelly Gang in Hamilton in January 1883, although it seems unlikely that they were the same men: 'The Kelly gang were well represented at the late ball; and it really appeared as if they came for the purpose of devouring all before them. I would advise them for the future to get a feed before leaving home'.²⁴⁴ And there was a now totally meaningless reference at the end of that year: 'The Kelly gang has at last got a sight of the wreck'.²⁴⁵

When living at Te Aroha they caused amusement, emulation, and irritation, stories about them circulating throughout the Auckland region. The following practical joke appears likely to have been perpetrated by

²³⁹ 2, 28 November 1881, p. 2; *Auckland Star*, 21 January 1888, p. 5; *Thames Star*, 10 May 1888, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ See Thames Warden's Court, Register of Deeds 1869, folio 449, BACL 14417/4a, ANZ-A.

²⁴¹ Death Certificate of Jeffrey Morton, 3 August 1935, 1935/20134, BDM.

²⁴² For example, *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 18 August 1869, p. 712, 4 November 1869, p. 1482; Thames Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1872-1874, claims 71, 87, BACL 14397/8a; Register of Claims 1880-1882, claims 932, 933, 954, 955, 974, BACL 144397/13a; Coromandel Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1872-1885, folios 66, 81, ZAAN 14044/1a; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folios 163, 191, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Advertiser*, 6 February 1882, p. 3; Death Certificate of Jeffrey Morton, 3 August 1935, 1935/20134, BDM.

²⁴³ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1868-1869, no. 6854, BACL 14358/2a; Auckland Hospital, Register of Admissions 1870-1885, 141/1876, ZAAP 15287/2a, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of Jeffrey Morton, 3 August 1935, 1935/20134, BDM.

²⁴⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 9 June 1873, p. 2, 10 June 1873, Police Court, p. 2, p. 3, Police Court, 13 June 1873, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ 'Waikato Whisperings', *Observer*, 13 January 1883, p. 276.

²⁴⁶ *Observer*, 15 December 1883, p. 4.

them, for they fitted the ‘new chum’ category; it was certainly the sort of jape that they would have indulged in:

A party of new chum diggers, who went to the opening of the Te Aroha goldfield, played a practical joke on the next tent of diggers of a singular sort. No. 1 party who had been out all day prospecting, came home with news of having found gold, and “laid on” the next party to peg out adjoining them, telling them they had a good thing. The boys, in high glee, went each of them and took out miner’s rights. When evening came they shouted half a case of whisky for the information, and all spent a jolly evening together, one telling the other that it was “right this time.” Next morning they all started for the bush, the first party of prospectors taking the lead, and after the boys got about two miles up a high hill, they gave them the slip and returned home to finish the balance of the whisky, not having found gold at all.²⁴⁶

The gang and its imitators received a bad press from the local correspondent of the *Waikato Times*, who, like others, stressed the need for competent miners. In May 1881, he wrote that mining ‘must not be considered by any means a mere reckless “lark” for nice young rowdies to indulge in as a brilliant change of excitement in their rare intervals of sobriety, or as a little more profitable than euchre’.²⁴⁷ Two weeks later, he noted ‘the waste of time and money by silly town snobs, transformed into bold buccaneers and jolly gold-diggers according to the pattern of the *London Journal* and the *Family Herald*’. The depression in mining would mean the disappearance of

the loafers, thank goodness, and the jolly shop-boy diggers will clear off to the fields better suited to their peculiar powers when “tick” is no longer available and their long-expected remittances from the noble heads of the old Simpcox or Buggins families are of no further use in raising the wind.²⁴⁸

This criticism of the ‘new chum diggers at Te Aroha’ was noted by the *Observer*, which warned the correspondent that ‘at least one of them has been known to castigate severely when necessary’.²⁴⁹ Once they were but a

²⁴⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 3 May 1881, p. 3.

²⁴⁷ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 31 May 1881, p. 2.

²⁴⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 11 June 1881, p. 2.

²⁴⁹ *Observer*, 25 June 1881, p. 451.

memory, the *Observer* commented that these remittance men ‘were wont to regard themselves as the *crème de la crème des honnêtes gens*’, which can be translated as ‘the finest men of honour’ or, more poetically, as the ‘crème de la crème of honourable men’; it did not say they were so regarded by the community.²⁵⁰ In April 1881, the *Waikato Times* correspondent described the dress and behaviour of the Kelly Gang along with its more lowly born ‘new chum’ imitators:

Why should a set of very decent tradesmen’s sons, mechanics or lardydardy London shopboys, who think it is the mark of a *real* gentleman to talk a great deal about their papa, pull out a Brummagen silver watch every five minutes, and hold their knives and forks between their second and third fingers to their mortal inconvenience, why should all these good folks, as soon as they commence a digger’s life of gold hunting, think it necessary to assume the ways of a bold buccaneer, a fillibustering roaring freedom from all civilized ways, the dress and manners of a Shoreditch Theatre bandit, or the remorseless bloodstained pirate of a schoolboy’s novel, why should they who are mostly timid or even cowardly fellows enough, think it absolutely indispensable when grubbing for gold to swear as hugely as [Captain] Bodabil [a character in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man in his Humour*], and forswear soap and water, smoke clays [pipes] that make them sick, and put on the manners of a Leicester Square bully with any quiet looking man, who does not seem likely to turn upon them? Why do they walk about with a *coupé la gorge* [cut-throat] sort of swagger, chew tobacco when it doesn’t kill them at once, drink potato whisky and play euchre till one in the morning, sing a good deal in chorus, and affect the manners of extreme good fellowship of roughest description towards one another though showing at the same time the ferocity and strength and readiness of fist proper to the swashbuckler, when it can be shown without danger? Why should all this be more necessary even than comical nigger or slouching hats, moleskin trousers strapped round the waist and at the knees, straps round the wrists, red “belcher ankerchers” worn thief fashion, tied loose round the neck?²⁵¹ Do they get more gold by these means, or are these merely the idiotic affectations of a set of silly asses flattering themselves that they are real working men, new chums going in for free lawless, colonial life? At any rate, they would be hurt to learn that their ways more resembled those of a footman or counter-jumper than a navvy, or even a gentleman. I wonder how many of such blusterers would be as ready to eat his leek if held under his nose

²⁵⁰ *Observer*, 18 November 1882, p. 148.

²⁵¹ For illustrations of belcher handkerchiefs, see Wikipedia.

with a stout stick over it, as Ancient Pistol himself. The class in question generally goes by the name amongst old hands of the “swell covey,” and one can pretty clearly predict their career. They land with from £10 up to £50 or £100, the hard savings of some defunct butler’s widow who has strived to bring up her son genteel, or the proceeds of some old clerk’s life insurance; and, while the money lasts, they cannot brag and lie loudly enough about their rank in life and their titled connections. They go to work in the acting style, the dress being all their claim to the character of a working man, and in a few weeks or months they run through their capital; when they have to go into the mill in earnest as barmen, stablemen, dairymen, swell shopmen, in which branch their beautiful manners and genteel bringing up are generally successful, or more frequently as “loafers,” and they either get ground into shape in a year or two and are ready to commence life again with less pretensions as barbers, or eating-house keepers, when the *coupe la gorge* manner of the “swell covey” [elegant rogues]²⁵² has been thoroughly wiped out, or they go to keep up the supply of gaolbirds, mainly recruited from the “swell covey” class. It is amusing to see how faithfully this class sticks more, particularly to New Zealand, and how exactly alike they all are, and how unfailingly they all run the same course.²⁵³

The members of the Kelly Gang were not the only men from the English or Anglo-Irish aristocracy to be attracted to the excitement of a goldfield. For instance, in September 1892 the Hon. David Carnegie along with his friend Lord Percy Douglas, soon to become Lord Douglas of Hawick, arrived in Western Australia to seek their fortunes on the Coolgardie goldfields. Douglas seems to have done little mining, but Carnegie participated in several prospecting expeditions into desert regions, putting his life in danger from thirst and other hazards.²⁵⁴ He was exactly the type of practical man that the Te Aroha correspondent of the *Waikato Times*, like genuine miners, wanted on their field, for successful mining would only be achieved with men of this calibre, not the aristocratic dilettantes of the Kelly Gang variety, who were mocked at least as much as they were admired and aped.

A FRENCH REMITTANCE MAN

²⁵² Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of the Underworld* (London, 3 ed., 1968), pp. 153-154, 707.

²⁵³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 7 April 1881, p. 2.

²⁵⁴ David W. Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand: A narrative of five years' pioneering and exploration in Western Australia* (London, 1898), pp. 2-124.

In 1892, when Henry (originally Henri) Foulke Gotz,²⁵⁵ aged 23, who had been born in Paris to Leon Auguste Gotz, a banker, married a Te Aroha woman, he described himself as a gentleman, as he did when his first child was born eight months later.²⁵⁶ Six years later, a Te Aroha gossip writer mentioned that ‘our remittance man looks like a groom out of work. It’s the leggings that do it, G.’.²⁵⁷ Descendants confirm that he was a remittance man, but his reason for leaving Paris is not known, nor why he chose New Zealand.²⁵⁸ It is also not clear whether his father required him to leave France, nor how much financial assistance he provided.²⁵⁹ Gotz certainly did not rely on receiving remittances, being a journalist and part-proprietor, manager, and editor of the short-lived *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, as well as being an agent and an auctioneer.²⁶⁰ In 1897, when appointed general manager of the *Te Aroha Times*, another newspaper referred to his ‘well known business capabilities’ and ‘knowledge of the mining industry, and of the Aroha district generally’.²⁶¹ His knowledge of mining meant that during the boom he was asked by a Paris syndicate to prepare a report on the Hauraki goldfields, which he employed an expert to do; the two men acquired options on properties that might be floated by it.²⁶² At Waiorongomai, he was granted one special claim, but did not uplift

²⁵⁵ For photograph of Henri in a French army uniform, see appendix.

²⁵⁶ Marriage Certificate of Henry Foulke Gotz, 11 January 1892, 1892/192; Birth Certificate of Leon Francis Aroha Gotz, 12 September 1892, 1892/9312, BDM.

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

²⁵⁸ Kate Aitken [a great-great-grand-daughter] to Philip Hart, 20 September 2016 [two messages], emails.

²⁵⁹ See Leon Gotz to John Lawson (Official Assignee), 4 May 1889, Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 May 1897, p. 4, advertisement, 12 May 1897, p. 2, 4 October 1899, p. 2.; Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A; *Waihi Chronicle*, n.d. [3 December 1898?], W. Wallnutt Scrapbook, p. 7, 84/173, 923N, Waihi Museum.

²⁶¹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 May 1897, p. 4.

²⁶² *Thames Advertiser*, 28 August 1896, p. 2.

the license.²⁶³ He was prominent in sport, horse racing, music, and community affairs.²⁶⁴

For an alleged remittance man, he seems to have received little money from his family, being in constant financial difficulties; in 1900, for instance, he admitted that he had started his last business ‘with very limited capital’.²⁶⁵ In 1892, he was sued to enforce payment of £2 12s, and two years later was sued for £5 13s.²⁶⁶ Three suits in 1895 totalled £26 18s 4d, and all were followed by judgment summonses. These forced him to pay two amounts into court, the third amount being required to be paid at once or he would be imprisoned for 15 days, a judgment that was suspended on condition that he paid three instalments of £5 per month.²⁶⁷ Another three suits in 1896 totalled £12 12s, the largest debt also requiring a judgment summons to force him to pay the amount into court.²⁶⁸ The sole suit in the following November was for £19 16s 9d, owed to a lawyer who took out a judgment summons in January 1898 and a warrant of committal in July.²⁶⁹ The lawyer agreed to hold the warrant over for one month if Gotz paid £10

²⁶³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Applications 1891-1899, Hearing of 13 September 1897, BBAV 11505/4a; Register of Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1887-1909, folio 125, BBAV 11500/8b, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁴ For his involvement in sport, see *Thames Advertiser*, 28 April 1898, p. 2; *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 13 December 1901, p. 2; *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 March 1902, p. 33; for his involvement in horse racing, see *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1898, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 4 December 1897, p. 2; for his involvement in music, see *Waikato Argus*, 11 May 1897, p. 2; *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2; for his involvement in community affairs, see *Thames Advertiser*, 17 May 1897, p. 3; *Waikato Argus*, 8 March 1898, p. 4, 14 May 1898, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 28 June 1898, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 26 August 1901, p. 2.

²⁶⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 April 1900, p. 15.

²⁶⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 9/1892, 49/1894, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 61/1894, 10, 11/1895; Judgment Summonses heard on 13 March 1895, 9 July 1896, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 18, 32, 37/1896, Judgment Summons heard on 9 July 1896, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁶⁹ Paeroa Magistrate’s Court, Plaintiff Book 1896-1901, 587/1897, BACL 13745/2a; Judgment Summonses Issued 1894-1926, 3/1898, BACL 13747/1a; Home Warrant Book 1881-1928, no. 58, BACL 13748/1a, ANZ-A.

on account, which was done.²⁷⁰ In 1898, a claim against him for £8 11s was non-suited, but he confessed to owing another £8 19s 9d.²⁷¹

In September 1898, Te Aroha's *Observer* Man joked that 'One of our local busters has gone bung. Sign of the "times"'.²⁷² The latter was a reference to the *Te Aroha Times*, which Gotz had managed.²⁷³ Later that year, Gotz claimed that 'he had, during his career, as a journalist, worried the opposition paper so much that ... they had to buy him out'.²⁷⁴ This exaggerated both its success with the public and his implied financial success, for a week after the *Observer* report he had filed as bankrupt.²⁷⁵ His statement to the assignee made both his financial position and his reliance on remittances very clear. 'I am a journalist by profession and have been so engaged for some years, - latterly, for about two years, I have been editing the Te Aroha Times, of which I also was part proprietor', with three others.

My interest was one fifth, for which I paid £50.- I received no salary, and during my whole term of partnership never participated in any profits as the business did not show any. The business was sold last September for £225, - cash, of which I received my one fifth share. This went to repay advances made to me by one of the partners to take up my interest in the Te Aroha Times. For the last 2 1/2 years I have depended entirely on remittances from my father, who allowed me £17 – per month. When he heard of my present difficulties he stopped the allowance, I have had nothing from him since the beginning of December last. The creditors have been pressing me latterly and five have sued & got judgments – finally on the 21st inst. I was adjudicated a Bankrupt on a creditor's petition. I owe £271.10.0 to 30 unsecured creditors & the only assets I possess consist of a 1/5th interest in the "Te Aroha Times" buildings valued at £80, and the same interest in £100 worth of Book Debts.... I will make

²⁷⁰ E.G.B. Moss to Clerk of Court, 11 July 1898, Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, General Correspondence 1898, BBAV 11584/5c, ANZ-A.

²⁷¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 16, 21/1898, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁷² 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 10 September 1898, p. 22.

²⁷³ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 8 May 1897, p. 4.

²⁷⁴ *Waihi Chronicle*, n.d. [3 December 1898?], W. Wallnutt Scrapbook, p. 7, 84/173, 923N, Waihi Museum.

²⁷⁵ Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Register 1893-1905, folio 227, BBAE 5639/2a; Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 2 March 1899, p. 529.

an effort to get an offer for my interest in the assets received. My father is in a position to pay my debts, & will I think on hearing of my being made a bankrupt forward the necessary amount to have the proceedings annulled.²⁷⁶

His assets amounted to only £36.²⁷⁷ In mid-1889, a special creditors' meeting was held to consider 'some correspondence from bankrupt's relatives in Paris'. At the first meeting, Gotz had 'stated that he believed if his father was appealed to he would remit a sum sufficient to meet all claims', but his father had 'absolutely declined to render any assistance'.²⁷⁸ In writing to the assignee, Leon Gotz was very blunt:

When my son arrived in New Zealand, some years ago, I made known by all the means in my power that I would not be responsible for any debts contracted by him, & I must with deep regret declare that I decline to comply with the request of my son's creditors – An annulment of the act of bankruptcy would by no means remove the shame thrown upon me by my son's conduct and it would much more give him the means of contracting new debts, which under the present circumstances he is prevented from doing.²⁷⁹

'Provided the debts did not exceed £300', which they did not, Gotz's brother was willing to pay that amount in annual instalments of £50. As an alternative, Gotz's wife was willing 'to allow a sum of £5 per month, till her husband's debts had been paid. This money was to come out of a monthly remittance received from her father-in-law. Her only condition was that her husband's discharge be facilitated. The creditors agreed to the terms offered by Gotz's wife and brother, and passed a vote of thanks to them'.²⁸⁰ His wife had received an allowance since her marriage, and without her offer, and that of her brother-in-law, 'the prospect of any Dividend, however small,

²⁷⁶ Report of the Official Assignee, 8 June 1899, Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁷ Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 20 June 1899, p. 2.

²⁷⁹ Leon Gotz to John Lawson (Official Assignee), 4 May 1899, Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 20 June 1899, p. 2.

being paid' was 'remote'.²⁸¹ As the assignee had 'no reason to believe that the bankrupt has been guilty of any offence under the Act', he did not oppose his discharge, which was granted in July 1899.²⁸²

A month after being discharged, Gotz combined with Henry McClelland, a stock and share broker,²⁸³ to establish an auctioneering business at Paeroa. After seven months, McClelland and Gotz filed as bankrupt.²⁸⁴

The sworn statements of bankrupts showed that they started business with very limited capital in August last, intending to supply the Paeroa market with fat cattle. They had found the venture unsuccessful, owing to the heavy expenses of obtaining and bringing the cattle to market, and also because of the long credits they found it necessary to give, the butchers being in many instances tied to the dealers. They now filed in order to protect the interests of the general body of the creditors, since two of the number had brought pressure to bear upon them.²⁸⁵

Their office furniture was sold to meet some of their debts.²⁸⁶ In February 1902, his personal bankruptcy was annulled because a first and final dividend of 4s in the £ was paid in June 1900 and in mid-January 1902 a second and final one, 16s in the £, was paid, along with 20s in the £ for McClelland and Gotz.²⁸⁷ Presumably Gotz's wife and brother had paid all the debts. The following month, Gotz took his family to live in

²⁸¹ Hesketh and Richmond to John Lawson (Official Assignee), 8 June 1899, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A.

²⁸² Report of the Official Assignee, 6 July 1899, Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8; Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Register 1893-1905, folio 227, BBAE 5639/2a; Bankruptcy Minute Book 1898-1924, folio 25, BBAE 5631/2b, ANZ-A; Hesketh and Richmond Papers, box 47, 832/G, MS 440, Auckland Public Library.

²⁸³ See *Ohinemuri Gazette*, Warden's Court, 1 July 1896, p 3, 11 November 1899, p. 2, 28 March 1900, p. 2.

²⁸⁴ Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Register 1893-1905, folio 274, BBAE 5639/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 April 1900, p. 15.

²⁸⁶ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 9 May 1900, pp. 2, 3.

²⁸⁷ Supreme Court, Bankruptcy Register 1893-1905, folios 227, 274, BBAE, 5639/2a; Bankruptcy Minute Book 1898-1924, folio 21, BBAE 5631/2b; Bankruptcy Files, 98/65, BBAE 5628/8, ANZ-A; *Auckland Star*, advertisement, 18 January 1902, p. 3, Supreme Court, 24 February 1902, p. 5.

England,²⁸⁸ presumably because his father had forgiven him for whatever had caused him to send his son to the other side of the world and wished to see his three grandchildren (one granddaughter had died).²⁸⁹ He died in his birthplace, Paris, in 1907.²⁹⁰ His eldest son, who called himself Frank Leon instead of Leon Francis Aroha, as registered at birth,²⁹¹ becoming a leading National Party politician and knighted for his services.²⁹²

TWO REAL ENGLISH GENTLEMEN

Ernest Claude Meysey-Thompson and William Herbert Herries were friends at Eton and Cambridge.²⁹³ Meysey-Thompson had been born in 1859, the sixth son of Sir Harry Stephen Meysey-Thompson, the first baronet, of Kirby Hall, North Yorkshire.²⁹⁴ Herries, born in the same year, was descended on both sides of his family from senior army officers, civil servants, and politicians.²⁹⁵ Very well educated, he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree with honours in natural science in 1880,²⁹⁶ but, abandoning thoughts of becoming a lawyer like his father, he left for New Zealand in the following year.²⁹⁷

In September 1880, when Meysey-Thompson arrived in the colony, it was noted that he was ‘a relative of the Private Secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson’,²⁹⁸ briefly Governor of New Zealand in 1879 and 1880.²⁹⁹ The Rev

²⁸⁸ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 22 January 1902, p. 2, 5 March 1902, p. 2.

²⁸⁹ Birth Certificates of Leon Francis Aroha Gotz, 12 September 1892, 1892/9312; Dorothy Maud Gotz, 1894/4498; Geoffrey Ernest Henry Gotz, 7 December 1895, 1896/1689; Hazel Florence Mary Gotz, 23 June 1898, 1898/14250; Death Certificate of Hazel Florence Mary Gotz, 1 March 1899, 1899/1810, BDM; Death Notice, *Auckland Weekly News*, 10 March 1899, p. 1.

²⁹⁰ Whupple.org/85418, Google.

²⁹¹ Birth Certificate of Leon Francis Aroha Gotz, 12 September 1892, 1892/9312, BDM.

²⁹² See Barry Gustafson, *The First 50 Years: A history of the New Zealand National Party* (Auckland, 1986), p. 315.

²⁹³ R.S. and D.C. Herries, *Memoir of Sir William Herries KCMG* (London, 1925), p. 5.

²⁹⁴ Herries, p. 6; *Evening Post*, 9 March 1910, p. 3; Wikipedia.

²⁹⁵ Herries, pp. 1-3.

²⁹⁶ Herries, pp. 3-5.

²⁹⁷ Herries, pp. 1, 5-6.

²⁹⁸ *Auckland Star*, 15 September 1880, p. 2.

Charles Mawhood Meysey Thompson, private chaplain to Sir Hercules, was his eldest brother; he had left England for his health and in early 1881 they spent some weeks at the Waiwera hot springs, unsuccessfully, for Charles died during the return trip.³⁰⁰ Meysey-Thompson had induced Herries to come to New Zealand, and after touring the colony they bought 789 acres at Shaftesbury, upstream from Waiorongomai, in January 1883.³⁰¹ In September, they acquired another 106 acres from another Shaftesbury farmer.³⁰² ‘The land was all in the rough, and neither partner had had practical experience of farming, so they had to learn their work by bitter experience’, and shared ‘amusing’ days of ‘primitive bachelor housekeeping’. Although it ‘was hard work at first’, they were assisted in their housekeeping by a domestic servant.³⁰³ They had a ‘grand mob of steers’ in 1885.³⁰⁴ The farm was sufficiently profitable for both men to be able to make a return trip to England.³⁰⁵ Herries described the ‘rougher Colonial ways’ he experienced in letters home.

There were stories of a horse wanted in the early morning being driven from the paddock into the garden overnight, so as to be easily caught, and proceeding to roll over his wife’s flower beds, destroying what her poultry had spared; of Herries himself with a broken collarbone riding off to the doctor in the hope of finding him at home.³⁰⁶

In June 1889 it was announced that Meysey-Thompson had dissolved the partnership, selling his interest to Herries. The *Te Aroha News* wrote

²⁹⁹ For outline of Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of several colonies, see Wikipedia; for his popularity in New Zealand, see *Observer*, 8 June 1889, p. 17; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1, p. 38.

³⁰⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 25 January 1881, p. 6, 8 February 1881, p. 4; *Star*, 22 December 1881, p. 3; Internet sources.

³⁰¹ Herries, p. 6; Auckland Land Board, Minute Book 1882-1884, p. 18 (18 January 1883), p. 141 (13 September 1883), BAAZ 4019, 12/1, ANZ-A; Lands and Survey Department, Allotment Book 13, folios 137, 143, LINZ, Hamilton.

³⁰² Lands and Survey Department, Certificate of Title Register Books, vol. 32, folios 281, 282, LINZ, Hamilton.

³⁰³ Herries, p. 6; *Auckland Star*, 5 June 1888, p. 5, 11 June 1888, p. 8.

³⁰⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 31 October 1885, p. 2.

³⁰⁵ *Auckland Star*, 22 May 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 5 December 1888, p. 2.

³⁰⁶ Herries, p. 8.

that he would ‘be much missed from this district, and his departure generally regretted’.³⁰⁷ In December, he was best man when Herries was married,³⁰⁸ and the following March he transferred his half-interest in their land to him.³⁰⁹ In England he continued to devote ‘much time to the study and improvement of agriculture’.³¹⁰ In 1910, Herries gave up his farm to concentrate on his political career.³¹¹

Unlike Herries, who did not invest in mining, Meysey-Thompson acquired 120 shares in the Colonist Company, which he was in danger of losing in 1885 because of not paying calls.³¹² In April 1888 he bought one-hundredth of a interest in the Ruakaka, at Tui, for £20, and in December was granted the Silver Cloud, in the same district.³¹³ In 1890, with an Auckland lawyer he floated an English company to mine Hunua coal.³¹⁴ After the flotation, the lawyer wrote to him in London: ‘You and I never discussed the relative proportions we were to receive by floating this Company – I always reckoned that I should receive £500 at the least – You might arrange for a larger sum for yourself’.³¹⁵ It is not known how much he obtained from this flotation. When the Union Steam Sash and Door Company wound up in 1889 he was appointed a liquidator.³¹⁶

³⁰⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 26 June 1889, p. 2.

³⁰⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 7 December 1889, p. 2; *Observer*, 14 December 1889, p. 3.

³⁰⁹ Lands and Survey Department, Certificate of Title Register Books, vol. 32, folios 281, 282, LINZ, Hamilton.

³¹⁰ *Evening Post*, 9 March 1910, p. 3.

³¹¹ *Observer*, 12 February 1910, p. 4.

³¹² Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 1 August 1885, p. 7.

³¹³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Transfer to E.C. Meysey-Thompson, 9 April 1888, Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a, ANZ-A; Warden’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 5 December 1888, p. 2.

³¹⁴ James Russell to E.C. Meysey-Thompson, 11 April 1890, 19 May 1890, Jackson and Russell Letterbook no. 42, pp. 342, 574-576; James Russell to E.C. Meysey-Thompson, 6 October 1890, Jackson and Russell Letterbook no. 43, p. 737, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³¹⁵ James Russell to E.C. Meysey-Thompson, 6 October 1890, Jackson and Russell Letterbook no. 43, p. 737, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

³¹⁶ *Auckland Star*, 28 March 1889, p. 8.

When in the district, Meysey-Thompson participated in social life, once being noted as playing the violin at a Shaftesbury concert.³¹⁷ When in Auckland he participated in concerts in aid of an injured sailor and the new Anglican cathedral.³¹⁸ He was most notable for his involvement in horse racing. He had reared racehorses on the farm, some of which participated in Auckland events.³¹⁹ In January 1889 he was elected president of the Te Aroha Jockey Club.³²⁰ He was recalled as a ‘well-known patron of the New Zealand Turf’.³²¹ He was also a polo player.³²² Herries shared his love of racing and was very interested in the breeding of thoroughbreds, but did not bet on horses. Although with no official role in the Te Aroha Jockey Club in the 1880s, he would later be associated with several clubs, being president of some.³²³

At first Herries was not recorded as participating in community activities. Possibly he preferred the company of his social equals, for ‘he found pleasant company in the house of his neighbour’, a relative of Lord Fermoy.³²⁴ His marriage to this farmer’s daughter was celebrated ‘in the quietest manner possible’, with only ‘a very few intimate friends’ invited.³²⁵ His father-in-law was related to his ‘genial disposition and ability to make friends with all sorts and conditions of men soon made him well known’, and in 1891 his ‘friends and neighbours sent him to represent them’ on the county council. He was so effective in local government that he was encouraged to stand for parliament. ‘Naturally of an easy-going and unambitious character, and disliking publicity and self-advertisement, it was his sense of the duty owed to the community by persons of good education and fair means that induced him to allow himself to be nominated’ for a seat in 1896.³²⁶ His ‘bonhomie and genial ways’ meant success; at his funeral it was recalled ‘that upon making his first speech to

³¹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 18 February 1888, p. 2.

³¹⁸ *Auckland Star*, 28 March 1889, p. 8, 30 April 1889, p. 8.

³¹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 20 November 1889, p. 2; *Otago Witness*, 14 November 1889, p. 25; *Observer*, 19 August 1890, p. 6.

³²⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 23 January 1889, p. 2.

³²¹ *Manawatu Standard*, 29 January 1910, p. 3.

³²² *Auckland Star*, 8 February 1890, p. 5.

³²³ Herries, p. 5.

³²⁴ Herries, p. 6.

³²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 7 December 1889, p. 2.

³²⁶ Herries, pp. 6-7.

the rough mining community at Waihi' he 'immediately won the hearts of those present by a courteous bow'.³²⁷ Eventually Sir William, from 1906 until his death in 1923 Herries was a leading conservative politician. After winning his first election he made his mark as 'a real live man in the House' with 'a foremost place amongst its ablest debaters. Endowed with a ready tongue, incisive satire, a keen sense of humour, and strong argumentative talent' he quickly became one of Seddon's leading opponents, and was praised as 'both a man and a gentleman'.³²⁸ In 1912, when he was Minister of Railways, he was referred to as 'one of the soundest reasoners in Parliament'.³²⁹ Upon his death, he was lauded universally as an example of a real gentleman.³³⁰

In March 1890, Meysey-Thompson was appointed an Extra ADC to the Governor, but by the middle of April was on his way to England.³³¹ It was expected to return near the end of the year,³³² but did not. In 1894 he married, and in 1913 published *India To-day*; during the Great War he became a colonel and recruited many fighters.³³³ His uncle, the second baronet, Sir Henry Meysey Meysey-Thompson, represented the Handsworth electorate, on the edge of Birmingham, as a Liberal and then Liberal Unionist from 1892 until becoming Baron Knaresborough at the end of 1905; Meysey-Thompson then held this seat as a Unionist until 1922. He died in 1944.³³⁴

LOWER DOWN THE SOCIAL SCALE

Although servants attended social events, often they were not treated as equals. In 1886, 'a certain lady was heard to remark that "servant girls only spoil a dance" '.³³⁵ At Waiporongomai in the same year, a similar example of snobbery, though not necessarily referring to a servant girl, was noted, a correspondent asking: 'Who was the gentleman who took a young

³²⁷ Herries, pp. 7, 69.

³²⁸ *Observer*, 2 December 1899, p. 9.

³²⁹ *Observer*, 31 August 1912, p. 4.

³³⁰ See Herries, pp. 23-70.

³³¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 6 March 1890, p. 255; *Auckland Star*, 16 April 1890, p. 4.

³³² *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 April 1890, p. 18.

³³³ See internet sources, especially Great War Forum.

³³⁴ See Wikipedia.

³³⁵ 'Te Aroha Twists', *Observer*, 13 February 1886, p. 16.

lady to the dance on Thursday night and was ashamed to go in with her?³³⁶ And those regarded as disreputable became ‘well known’, in the common phrase, for all the wrong reasons, and were not admired. A Waiorongomai correspondent wrote in December 1882 that ‘D’s mullock shifters have arrived - some bad citizens among them; pass round the tomahawk’.³³⁷ The minority who were drunk, larrikin, or criminal, were unpopular, but disapproval of their behaviour need not be seen as snobbery.

THE ELITE CLIQUE

The elite was mocked or admired when at rugby games, dances, or generally being prominent in the community; but when some of its members were seen as forming a dominant clique, they were actively disliked. Cliques were a feature of small town life: a county councillor commented in 1892 that ‘Waiorongomai was a pretty good place for cliques’.³³⁸ Whilst these were usually based on personalities, religion, or nationality, there was also popular antagonism to a political and social elite that was accused of dominating the local economy for the benefit of what was called the ‘clique’. The *Te Aroha News* reported in December 1883 that a public banquet had been held at the Waiorongomai Hotel to celebrate the first month’s cleaning up at the new battery. ‘Upwards of forty (principally miners) sat down to a bounteous spread’.³³⁹ The real reason for this gathering was provided by the Waiorongomai correspondent of a Thames newspaper: ‘Some miners, no doubt feeling aggrieved that they were not invited to last night’s banquet’ hosted by the Battery Company ‘had an opposition one’ in another hotel.³⁴⁰

Social interaction on sports fields, in hotels, at the hot springs, and at dances and entertainments did not overcome important divisions between workers and their masters. In particular, there was opposition to those believed to be seeking to monopolize political power. In 1882, ‘Waiorongomai’ believed a ‘clique’ was attempting to prevent the establishment of a township there:

³³⁶ ‘Waiorongomai Wrinkles’, *Observer*, 20 March 1886, p. 23.

³³⁷ ‘Waiorongomai’, *Observer*, 23 December 1882, p. 234.

³³⁸ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 26 November 1892, p. 2.

³³⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 8 December 1883, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 7 December 1883, p. 2.

The programme has been and will be (if those who have the power now remain in power) to make Lipseytown the township; to make the Government bring the railway terminus to Lipseytown; to make the bridge at Lipseytown; to make the Government build their offices for the Waiorongomai Goldfield (five miles distant) at Lipseytown, so that the general public and mining community are not to be consulted in the matter, but are to be put to the greatest inconvenience merely to benefit a private individual.

This unnamed person, clearly George Lipsey, was seen to be ‘a particular favourite’ of the government.³⁴¹ In the event, Waiorongomai was established and the offices were not moved to Lipseytown, although the railway line station was constructed there. Although Lipsey owned Lipseytown through his marriage to Ema Mokena, he was not a member of the ‘clique’ controlling the goldfield, which comprised Josiah Clifton Firth of the Battery Company³⁴² and his local representatives, principally Whitaker and Henry Hopper Adams.³⁴³ Before the battery was constructed, Whitaker was reportedly popular with both ordinary residents and the social elite, as illustrated in February 1881 by the *Observer*’s ‘Special on the Spot’:

The Waihou is a splendid river for total immersion, and it is highly diverting of a hot afternoon to see Harry Whitaker, Lindsay and Harry Jackson, big Charlie McLean, of the Thames Scottish, “Slaughterman” Stafford, and other notables wallowing in the limpid, or entering with the zest of school boys into a mud fight from opposite banks of the river.³⁴⁴

Lindsay Jackson was a surveyor.³⁴⁵ Harry Jackson from November 1880 to April 1882 ran livery and bait stables on the opposite side of the river to the township.³⁴⁶ In 1890 a report of marriages amongst Auckland’s ‘jammiest-tartiest’ families included him in the list.³⁴⁷ Charles David Lindsay McLean was a prominent miner and mine manager at Thames, briefly associated with mining at Te Aroha, and drum major of the Thames

³⁴¹ Letter from ‘Waiorongomai’, *Thames Advertiser*, 10 July 1882, p. 3.

³⁴² See paper on the Battery Company.

³⁴³ See paper on his life.

³⁴⁴ ‘Te Aroha Arrows (From our Special on the Spot)’, *Observer*, 19 February 1881, p. 236.

³⁴⁵ See *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 12 November 1892, p. 7.

³⁴⁶ *Waikato Times*, 27 November 1880, p. 2, 14 December 1880, p. 2, 18 April 1882, p. 2.

³⁴⁷ *Observer*, 23 August 1890, p. 7.

Scottish Volunteers.³⁴⁸ Later, Whitaker and Stafford were not viewed so favourably, as indicated by a local correspondent in May 1883: 'Poor doctor; he has quite lost caste with the *elite* of Te Aroha, Staf and his pals, since he refused to visit, without fee or reward, the Maori slaves of the former', presumably a reference to his tenancy of the Wairakau Native Reserve, although there is no record of his employing Maori workers. 'The doctor says he must live, and cannot afford to be at the beck and call of even the ruling firm'.³⁴⁹

Harry Whitaker's involvement in his father's land speculation at Kopu, near Thames, was noted,³⁵⁰ and the *Observer*, when Whitaker's *Te Aroha News* was first published, asked whether this family wished 'to control the whole of the Waihou Valley as well as the Waikato, where Harry's brother Frederick Alexander owned the *Waikato Times* for a time,'³⁵¹ 'or is it to manufacture the sharemarket in Te Aroha stock?' It believed Te Aroha would 'not always suffer itself to be led captive by "the ruling family"'.³⁵² It quoted from the *Te Aroha News*' first editorial that 'Plutus and Ceres will walk lovingly together', and explained that Ceres was the 'mother-earth' of the Romans. 'By Plutus the *News* means the land-sharks. Pluto will, of course, be on hand too. The editor says, "we feel earnestly on this subject." Naturally, we observe that Mr H.E. Whitaker is the proprietor of the Noose',³⁵³ a play on his middle name, Ernest. After Whitaker sold his interest in the *Te Aroha News* late that year, the *Observer* Man wrote that 'the Brothers W. have had enough of newspapers, now that their turn is served. It came out right in the washing – i.e., the first washing',³⁵⁴ a reference to the controversy over the first crushing at the Waiorongomai battery.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁸ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 502; *Thames Advertiser*, 13 August 1896, p. 3; *Observer*, 10 February 1917, p. 5.

³⁴⁹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 12 May 1883, p. 122.

³⁵⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Observer*, 21 April 1883, p. 76.

³⁵¹ See *Descriptive Handbook to the Waikato* (Hamilton, 1880), p. 27; *Waikato Times*, 30 November 1880, p. 2; *Observer*, 11 June 1881, p. 423, 16 July 1881, p. 487; Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1958), p. 118.

³⁵² *Observer*, 9 June 1883, p. 1888.

³⁵³ *Observer*, 19 June 1883, p. 204.

³⁵⁴ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 24 November 1883, p. 8.

³⁵⁵ See paper on the first crushing at Waiorongomai.

In August 1882, 'Miner', of Waiorongomai, told the *Thames Advertiser* that 'the clique or ring which has been the bane and incubus to' the Auckland Province did not want Waiorongomai

known till they have picked the eyes out of it, acquired all the Maori and other lands, and secured all the valuable mining ventures, water rights, etc, so that when prosperity comes ... they may be lords of the people's heritage, and the people kept for hewing wood and drawing water. We want no such artificial distinctions created here,

for the rewards of 'honest industry' should go to the miners.³⁵⁶ The following July, the *Observer* Man reported 'a nice little quarrel *re* local government. Both ends want priority. Harry Whitaker wants to be first Mayor, and Waiorongomai considers he is only a puppy, or puppet, of the others. They won't have it, and they are right'.³⁵⁷ Late in 1883, it was claimed that 'the Stafford-Whitaker crew [were] jubilant at the success of their management of the mines, the department', presumably the Mines Department, and the sharemarket,³⁵⁸ implying that they controlled the goldfield for their own financial benefit.

In March 1884, Richard Wiseman, a Thames tailor renowned as the author of satirical songs,³⁵⁹ was reported to have written a new one commenting 'rather pungently upon the misfortunes of Waiorongomai 'and the actions of gold field celebrities' and prophecying 'the good time coming'.³⁶⁰ One of his accusations was that the 'clique' had manipulated the voting for the Te Aroha school committee, reflecting a belief that Whitaker had engineered the election of Adams:³⁶¹

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!

³⁵⁶ Letter from 'Miner', *Thames Advertiser*, 24 August 1882, p. 3.

³⁵⁷ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 14 July 1883, p. 14.

³⁵⁸ *Observer*, 6 October 1883, p. 14.

³⁵⁹ See *Thames Star*, 30 March 1880, p. 2, advertisement, 10 October 1883, p. 1, letter from W.C., 15 May 1893, p. 2, 8 June 1893, p. 2, letter from Richard Wiseman, 11 July 1893, p. 4, 13 January 1894, p. 2, 24 October 1896, p. 7; *Observer*, 16 July 1881, p. 489, 28 September 1895, p. 5, 13 February 1915, p. 16.

³⁶⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 14 March 1884, p. 2.

³⁶¹ See letter from 'Observer', *Te Aroha News*, 2 February 1884, p. 2.

Men wiser grown won't be made tools in choosing committees of schools

In the good times coming;
The cumulative vote ignored, fit men have chances stronger;
Plotters and nominees be floor'd; wait a little longer.

There's a good time, coming, boys - a good time coming,
You'll all be taken by surprise, when tricksters who have made a rise -

In the good time coming.
For by St. Michael and St. George, and sting of conscience stronger,
Ill-gotten gains they will disgorge; wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming,
When J.P.'s on the Bench will be selected for integrity

In the good time coming.
No *premier*³⁶² influence of a ring - real merit will prove stronger,
And worth, not favour, honour bring; wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!
When he who works with others' brains, and for their plans the credit gains,

In the good time coming,
Parades their knowledge as his own to make his hold the stronger,
In his true colours will be shown; wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!
When those who once were making bricks, wages at bare existence fix,

In the good time coming,
Who now of countless acres brag; they'll get it hot and stronger,
Be worth less than a Waihou snag; wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!
For land-grabbers who filch the ground they're going to build another pound,

In the good times coming;
For those who write misleading pars,³⁶³ they'll build it all the stronger -
You'll see them peeping thro' the bars; wait a little longer.

³⁶² A reference to Frederick Whitaker, who was Premier for the last time from April 1882 to September 1883: *New Zealand Parliamentary Record* (Wellington, 1925), p. 73.

³⁶³ Journalists who puffed mines for the benefit of share speculators.

ENCORE VERSES

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!
 When he who dares right's cause espouse, and petty tyrants anger
 rouse,

In the good times coming,
 Will not be singled out to feel oppression from the stronger,
 Deprived of work to earn a meal; wait a little longer.

There's a good time coming, boys - a good time coming!
 Miners, like men, will then resist all boycotting within their
 midst,

In the good time coming;
 Their spokesman to the last defend, united be the stronger,
 Thus will their own good cause amend; wait a little longer.³⁶⁴

Other verses attacked the Battery Company.³⁶⁵ That the song's class conscious and pro-trades union message was appreciated was indicated by the description in the *Te Aroha News* of the audience's response to another song, 'Local Touches', which Wiseman sang at the same concert:

Notwithstanding that he had given this on a previous occasion in Te Aroha he elicited great applause. As its title implies the song refers entirely to matters local, and its author takes care not to leave his audience in any doubt as to whom or what he is referring to in the various verses. Mr Wiseman is evidently a favourite with a Te Aroha audience, and was listened to throughout with great attention. Shouts of laughter followed some of the lines, and the whole song appeared to be greatly appreciated.³⁶⁶

This song accused Whitaker and his father of controlling the *Te Aroha News* and using it to promote their share speculations at the time of the first crushing, and by implication referred to Whitaker and Stafford obtaining the Wairakau Reserve from Ngati Rahiri. It concluded by blaming the clique for the sudden decline in the fortunes of the district:

Meanwhile Te Aroha's thrown far back, the W__ithering blast
 upon it,

³⁶⁴ Richard Wiseman, 'A Te Aroha Idyl', sung at the Presbyterian Concert, Te Aroha, n.d. [March 1884], Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 36, p. 69, Auckland Public Library.

³⁶⁵ See paper on this company.

³⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 22 March 1884, p. 2.

Now hangs a gloom where all was bright, success they'd well nigh
won it,
What matters who may ruined be, or who their all expended,
In building stores and buying stock, their prospects fair, now
ended.

So that unscrupulous schemers thrive by other people's ruin,
Whole districts now are languishing thro' such nefarious
doing....³⁶⁷

DEFENDING THE WORKERS

The belief that predatory speculators, the Battery Company, and land sharks linked to national economic and political interests was handicapping the development of the district influenced the results of a by-election to the Piako County Council in 1884 as well as the first election of the Te Aroha Town Board in 1887. In the council election, mine manager Edward Kersey Cooper stood on a platform that blamed the troubles of both mines and district on 'mismanagement in various ways' and in particular the Battery Company's monopoly and excessive charges. By cutting battery and tramway charges, mines that were struggling financially would become profitable. He also called for government assistance.³⁶⁸ His election placards were directly aimed at the Battery Company: 'Who reduced the wages but not the crushing? Vote for Cooper'.³⁶⁹ He won with 91 votes whereas a contractor more sympathetic to the clique obtained 68.³⁷⁰ However, on a technicality another election was called.³⁷¹ During the second campaign, Cooper made stronger attacks on Adams' construction and management of the tramway and claimed that in the previous election an attempt had been made to boycott those not on Adams' ticket:

A hotel to be told it will suffer, a storekeeper to be told you will get no more orders, a steamboat company to be told you will get no more freights from a certain party, is disgraceful; it is not only an outrage on the peoples' liberty, but a disgrace to the century

³⁶⁷ Richard Wiseman, 'Te Aroha Touches', first sung on 29 January 1884, Grey New Zealand Letters, vol. 36, p. 65, Auckland Public Library.

³⁶⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 23 August 1884, p. 2, 30 August 1884, p. 2.

³⁶⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 30 August 1884, p. 2.

³⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 30 August 1884, p. 2.

³⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 13 September 1884, p. 2.

we live in. Let one and all stick up for their rights of liberty, and the Despot will have the worst of it in the long run.³⁷²

After this ringing declaration, Cooper at the last minute withdrew his nomination because he considered he had been elected already, and asked his supporters to take no part in it. Forty less votes were cast in the second ballot, and it was stated that many did not vote because he was not standing.³⁷³

In the town board election held three years later, all bar one of the successful candidates stood as workers' representatives.³⁷⁴ About 50 people attended a public meeting to hear their election addresses.³⁷⁵ The chairman, James Mills, a former Chartist and a future mayor,³⁷⁶ supported the Liberal Party.³⁷⁷ He announced that this party 'had identified themselves with four of the candidates in bringing them forward to represent the working men's interest'.³⁷⁸ The addresses were notable for their lack of class feeling. The man who would top the poll,³⁷⁹ Daniel James Frazer, an ironmonger,³⁸⁰ spoke first, and explained his preference for a larger borough instead of a town district. He would attempt to make the best of the form of local government created: 'I am prepared to do my utmost to promote the public good, as my interest is your interest, my prosperity is your prosperity'. The next speaker, carpenter John Cornes,³⁸¹ stated that some people did not

³⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 27 September 1884, pp. 2, 7.

³⁷³ *Te Aroha News*, 4 October 1884, p. 2, 25 October 1884, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 2 October 1884, p. 2, 4 October 1884, p. 2, 16 October 1884, p. 2, 25 October 1884, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁷⁶ See paper on his life.

³⁷⁷ For example, James Mills to William Fraser, 22 November 1891; Charles Ahier to William Fraser, 25 November 1891, Tourist Department, TO 1, 1892/96, ANZ-W.

³⁷⁸ *Waikato Times*, 8 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁷⁹ *Waikato Times*, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁸⁰ See *Waikato Times*, 11 August 1881, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 9 June 1883, p. 3, 8 September 1883, p. 2, 2 February 1884, p. 7, 30 August 1884, p. 2, 13 September 1884, p. 2, 6 December 1884, p. 2, 17 January 1885, p. 2, 28 February 1885, p. 2, 18 July 1885, p. 2, 29 August 1885, p. 7, 19 September 1885, p. 2, 21 August 1886, p. 2, 14 April 1888, p. 2, 6 February 1889, pp. 2, 7, Warden's Court, 5 October 1889, p. 2.

³⁸¹ See *Waikato Times*, 9 April 1885, p. 2, 16 April 1889, p. 2, 18 November 1893, p. 9; *Te Aroha News*, 27 February 1886, p. 2, 15 May 1886, p. 2, 21 August 1886, p. 2, 4 June

know who he was: 'I am a contractor of any description, builder, miner, navvy or anything else to earn an honest pound. I have been at all trades, even a bit of a sailor'. He also wanted a borough, as well as having all public works done by tender, which would obviously be to his advantage. His other policy was that the domain board should be elected. After explaining that Edward Quinn, a mine manager,³⁸² could not attend because of being at a meeting of the domain board, Cornes 'concluded his interesting address by stating that he was proud to be a working man's candidate'.³⁸³ Moses Hotchin, owner of the Temperance Hotel and Dining Rooms,³⁸⁴ the fourth man to be supported by the Liberal Party, despite being present did not speak.³⁸⁵ Patrick Dillon, a contractor,³⁸⁶ who had not received this party's support, 'said that he agreed with all the previous speakers had said, and with them would if elected strive to do his best for the advancement of Te Aroha'.³⁸⁷ The meeting unanimously voted that all five men 'as the working men's candidates be heartily supported'.³⁸⁸ Dillon was the only unsuccessful one; he obtained 97 votes, the last to be elected receiving 99. The other defeated candidates were a publican, a farmer, and Lipsey, possibly unpopular because of being a landlord. 'Much interest was taken in the election, and during the day a number of persons were busily employed in looking up voters and trying to influence them'. A large crowd gathered for the declaration of the poll:

1887, p. 2, Town Board, 5 November 1887, p. 2, 17 August 1889, p. 2, 24 April 1895, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 18 February 1926, p. 10.

³⁸² See *New Zealand Herald*, 18 February 1926, p. 10.

³⁸³ *Waikato Times*, 8 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁸⁴ See *Thames Advertiser*, 19 April 1882, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 16 June 1883, p.3, 6 March 1895, p. 2, Town Board, 13 November 1895, p. 2, 3 March 1898, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 28 April 1885, p. 3, 14 September 1886, p. 3; Te Aroha Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 23 March 1906, p. 7.

³⁸⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁸⁶ See Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 20 March 1884, p. 2, 13 February 1886, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 12 April 1884, p. 2, 28 March 1885, p. 2, 27 June 1885, p. 2, 8 August 1885, p. 7, 20 March 1886, p. 2, 12 February 1887, p. 2, 2 April 1887, p. 2, 4 June 1887, p. 2; Probates, BBAE 1569/1405, ANZ-A.

³⁸⁷ *Waikato Times*, 8 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁸⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

The result was received with great cheers by those assembled. An attempt by the candidates to return thanks, in which Mr Frazer took the lead, was cut short by some of his friends taking hold of him, and carrying him off shoulder high through the township. Later on the Te Aroha Brass Band mustered together, and marching to the Domain played a selection of airs in celebration of the occasion.³⁸⁹

Despite this result, the degree of class-consciousness displayed by miners and others on this occasion is debatable, considering that their representatives comprised a mine manager and members of the self-employed lower middle class. Here as elsewhere, miners were conscious of being members of an industry whose needs united capital and labour, and sought assistance from central and local government to assist capitalists develop the mines and thereby provide employment. They also united in defending themselves from criticism by outsiders. The most dramatic example of that was in 1884, provoked by William Buckland's speech in parliament on the Mines Bill:

The miners are a peculiar set of men. Their money comes and goes easily, and, as far as their labour is concerned, they are the best-paid class of labourers in New Zealand. I have had a great deal of experience both in mining myself and in paying miners, and I know that they have short hours, they work easily, and they are well paid.³⁹⁰

An exaggerated version of these words led to excitement at Quartzville:

A mass meeting of the miners was held at Quartzville on Tuesday evening for the purpose of burning the effigy of Mr W.F. Buckland, M.H.R. A figure, well made up and stuffed with sawdust saturated with kerosene, represented the member for Franklin North, and after a formal trial the learned judge passed the following sentence:- "Prisoner at the bar you have been found guilty by a jury of your countrymen, of a slanderous attack on the gold miners of the Province of Auckland. You have not only ignored their singularly temperate and generally abstemious habits, but have stated before the Parliament of New Zealand that they 'waste their substance in riotous living'. In thus bearing false witness against your neighbour you have outraged both the

³⁸⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1887, p. 3.

³⁹⁰ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 48 (Wellington, 1884), p. 164.

Commandments and the laws. In defaming the goldminers you have, in the words of England's greatest bard, 'robbed them of that which not enriches you, but makes them poor indeed'. The sentence of the court is that you be taken from hence to a place of execution and hung, then when half dead you will be blown up with dynamite; your remains, if any, shall then be burnt to the end, that you may receive no kind of burial." The above sentence having been duly pronounced, a number of the indignant miners forthwith proceeded to carry it into execution amid the howls and execrations of those present.³⁹¹

In addition to the anger expressed there was an entertainment factor, Quartzville being a mining settlement high in the range notable for bleak living conditions and a lack of amusements.³⁹²

In the early 1890s, Te Aroha's Working Men's Club had 'a very pleasant reading room, with papers, periodicals, etc'. In May 1894 it was in 'a highly satisfactory condition' and 'very much appreciated by the many who make use of it'.³⁹³ The following month, members held a dinner and social. 'There were about 30 members and friends present, who did justice to the excellent spread provided ... after which the usual toasts were drunk, and a very enjoyable evening was spent with songs and music'. Francis Pavitt, an architect, surveyor and civil engineer who was for a time the county engineer,³⁹⁴ chaired the evening's entertainment, with James Mills as vice-chairman.³⁹⁵ Although Pavitt also supported the Liberal Party,³⁹⁶ which was as politically radical as any miners became. Eldred-Grigg has noted that miners in general were not strong democrats, for after getting the franchise most didn't bother to vote.³⁹⁷

UNITY IN THE WORKPLACE

Miners united to defend their reputations and their incomes, but there were no strikes to challenge the authority of managers or to demand pay

³⁹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 20 September 1884, p. 2.

³⁹² See paper on living in the bush above Waiorongomai and at Quartzville.

³⁹³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 May 1894, p. 22.

³⁹⁴ See *Thames Advertiser*, 8 October 1883, p. 2, 31 October 1885, p. 3, 17 August 1886, p.

2; *Cyclopedie of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 825.

³⁹⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 June 1894, p. 22.

³⁹⁶ See *Thames Advertiser*, 14 June 1892, p. 2, 28 November 1899, p. 4.

³⁹⁷ Eldred-Grigg, pp. 354-355, 358.

increases. The only major strike, at the beginning of 1884, was in protest at a cut in wages, and the strikers had the support of the press in both Te Aroha and Thames.³⁹⁸ The only other strike in the nineteenth century was in 1897, provoked by Joseph Campbell's³⁹⁹ attempt to impose rules forbidding loitering, talking or smoking during working hours; Campbell had to back down, immediately, not his men.⁴⁰⁰ Miners were, as May noted,⁴⁰¹ independent capitalists, and today's prospector or miner might become a manager or even owner tomorrow, as the paper on Henry Hopper Adams illustrates. Until the late nineteenth century, working miners became managers as a result of long years of experience rather than undertaking special training in their youth, a development that started in Hauraki only after the establishment of schools of mines. This meant there was no social gulf between managers and men, particularly in small Hauraki mines and especially at Waiorongomai, where managers were often in charge of a very few men. Many mines during their developmental stage were staffed with only six men, working in three shifts, there being only enough room in the sole adit for two men to work at a time. In such mines, the manager mined alongside his men, the only difference between them being his supervisory role and ability to hire and fire. Both shared the basic accommodation some companies erected near the mines.⁴⁰² For an example of a mine manager who was particularly popular, see the chapter on Edward Kersey Cooper.

Miners, managers, and directors united to protect the interests of their industry, for example in attempting to extract financial assistance from the government, and in mining communities they were joined by local businessmen, who often invested in claims and whose prosperity depended on successful mining. This can be shown by the nature of the first unions established at Thames, the second of which formed a branch at Te Aroha.⁴⁰³ In 1876, the Miners' Association formed was designed to unite miners and protect their interests by, for example, exerting pressure on the government

³⁹⁸ See paper on the Waiorongomai strike of 1884.

³⁹⁹ See paper on Joseph Campbell and his thermo-hyperphoric process.

⁴⁰⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 16 October 1897, p. 4, 19 October 1897, p. 4.

⁴⁰¹ May, p. 273.

⁴⁰² For example, E.K. Cooper to Harry Kenrick, 23 June 1884, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1884, 32/766, 11289/10a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁰³ See paper on the Thames Miners Union.

to find work for unemployed miners.⁴⁰⁴ The secretary was a local butcher.⁴⁰⁵ James McGowan, a grocer and future Minister of Mines in the Seddon Government, chaired a meeting in January 1890 that decided to form the Thames Miners' Union and urged every businessman in Thames to join.⁴⁰⁶ Its first president had been a manager for 20 years who, two years later, was appointed the town librarian,⁴⁰⁷ and the secretary was another manager.⁴⁰⁸ The *Observer's* comment that the miners had 'been a long suffering people'⁴⁰⁹ indicated that this new organization was designed to defend rather than to attack. A former Waiorongomai miner who was elected its president in 1898, Michael Dineen O'Keeffe, had trained as a mine manager, which, once he ceased to lead the union, was his occupation for the remainder of his life.⁴¹⁰

CONCLUSION

Despite differing and sometimes conflicting economic interests, the main one at Te Aroha being competition between miners and 'agriculturalists' for local and central government assistance, socially there was considerable mixing between the different sections of the community. Economic circumstances did not automatically or permanently slot a person into a particular social stratum, and the constant economic worries of most miners and farmers meant their social standing was decided in other ways.

Maori, the most distinctive element in the local community, generally lived apart from Pakeha during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whilst some Maori were respected, and some who retained their land for a time had a higher income than many Pakeha, this did not make the latter view them as belonging to a superior group. If they were to be included in the Pakeha class structure, most Maori would have been at the bottom, although they would not have viewed themselves as such.

In addition to Maori, there were two other distinct class structures at Te Aroha, the English, exemplified by the Kelly Gang and their admirers,

⁴⁰⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 24 January 1876, p. 3, 27 January 1876, p. 3, 31 January 1876, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 10 August 1876, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 20 January 1890, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 July 1896, p. 5; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 862.

⁴⁰⁸ *Observer*, 19 March 1931, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁹ 'Thames Letters', *Observer*, 1 February 1890, p. 12.

⁴¹⁰ See paper on his life.

and the colonial. There was no indication that colonials saw the Kelly Gang as being their superiors. Their antics may have been amusing to observe or to participate in, but on a goldfield the ‘practical’ man was much more valued than amateurs who had decided to amuse themselves for a while by playing at being miners. ‘New chum’ was not a term of endearment but a slightly contemptuous one; a derivation, ‘new chum gold’, referred to iron pyrites or fools’ gold, an indication that a discoverer of this ‘gold’ was incompetent.⁴¹¹ Their imitators, if the *Waikato Times* correspondent reflected a general attitude, were disliked for aping English wastrels. Likewise the ‘rougher’ colonial elements were disapproved of, and drunkards, wife beaters, and brawlers were at the bottom of the social scale. National and religious divisions also meant people had their own concepts of their own social ranking, and were often ranked differently by others. An Irish Catholic might not be seen as one of the local elite by, for example, a Scottish Presbyterian, but dislike between such groups was muted. For instance, Thomas Gavin, a Catholic, was elected to every post he stood for, with the exception of his narrow defeat in the first mayoral election, despite Catholics being a minority in the community.⁴¹²

Despite unavoidable social divisions, these various groups united to oppose any clique, local or external, seen as trying to dominate their district for its own ends. On the sports field and the racetrack and at socials and dances and the hot pools, there was friendly interaction. This interaction extended to visitors, particularly regular ones like McDougall or ones who lived with them for months. There were of course those who considered themselves superior to the common herd and held their own exclusive balls and socials. That those outside these would-be gilded circles did not defer to their ‘bettters’ was illustrated by their applauding the ‘cutting remark’ retort and their probably mocking use of the term ‘jam tarts’. Most of those who described themselves as gentlemen did not fit the English definition of such a person, and the comment by ‘A Tramp, Esq’ about the ‘socially republican’ behaviour of men on the early goldfields⁴¹³ applied to the later goldfields at Te Aroha. However, such behaviour masked but did not remove underlying economic and class conflicts, and social relationships were both inclusive and exclusive, the processes of social cohesion and social division operating

⁴¹¹ See Partridge, *Dictionary of Slang*, p. 787.

⁴¹² See paper on his life.

⁴¹³ ‘A Tramp, Esq’, ‘Casual Ramblings: From Grass to Gold’, *Auckland Weekly News*, 18 May 1895, p. 38.

simultaneously. Belich's 'populist compact' was certainly accepted in this locality during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

As an example of how social snobbery was common elsewhere, and equally commonly deflated, a story from Waihi:

From an incident which occurred recently in Waihi it appears that caste, and exclusive snobbishness, do not fall in congenial soil in the little city of the great auriferous plain. A ball was inaugurated under the auspices of a few gentlemen who deem themselves a shade superior to those who toil for daily bread and butter. The aristocratic notions of those who took the initiative in the matter were not known to the public at large. In ignorance of this new element in Waihi Society two sanguine swains under the tyrannic rule of Cupid presented themselves with their fair enslavers for admission to the ball but they were peremptorily denied the privilege of mixing with their would-be betters, on the grave plea that the ladies were employed in a public-house. Expostulations and entreaties having proved of no avail, the irritated swains betook themselves to the study of revenge which they carried out in a manner more creditable to their ingenuity than the delicacy of their sentiments. They got some horse hair and cut it very fine. They next procured an extremely volatile chemical which they mixed with the hair. The compound they strewed on the floor, with the result that it formed an extremely irritating affinity with the cuticle of the dancers. This in its turn produced a proportionate effect on the temper of the party, and awful to relate it has been currently reported that three engagements were broken off on that inauspicious occasion.⁴¹⁴

Appendix

Figure 1: A.J. Watson, 'Old Identities of Te Aroha, Auckland: Early Settlers of the District Gathered to Celebrate the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the District', Auckland Weekly News, 15 December 1910, Supplement, p. 11, AWNS-19101215-11-1, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; used with permission.

Figure 2: 'Jubilee of Te Aroha and District, Auckland Province: Fiftieth Birthday Celebrated Last Week', Auckland Weekly News, 10 December 1930, Supplement, p. 55, AWNS-19301210-55-1, Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries; used with permission.

⁴¹⁴ *Hauraki Tribune*, n.d., reprinted in *Thames Advertiser*, 25 August 1897, p. 2.

Figure 3: Henri Faulke Gotz, in French army uniform, n.d.,, Kate Aitken Collection; used with permission.

Figure 4: Violet Frances Gotz with her daughter, probably aged ten, c. 1902, Kate Aitken Collection; used with permission.



OLD IDENTITIES OF TE AROHA, AUCKLAND: EARLY SETTLERS OF THE DISTRICT GATHERED TO CELEBRATE THE THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE DISTRICT.
A. J. Watson, Photo

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JUBILEE OF TE AROHA AND DISTRICT, AUCKLAND PROVINCE: FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATED LAST WEEK.

Throughout last week celebrations were held at Te Aroha to mark the jubilee of the district. The festivities concluded on Saturday with a jubilee fair carnival in the main street. These photographs were secured on Tuesday, which was "old identities" day.

1. Mr. G. W. Keenick, son of the first warden of the Te Aroha goldfields, reading the proclamation, read by his father 40 years ago when the goldfields were first opened.
 2. A poi dance by Maori girls.
 3. Mr. H. Connelly, an old settler.
 4. Mr. H. Connelly, Mayor of Te Aroha, addressing the gathering in the Domain.

5. Mr. G. Williams, firing a gun after the proclamation had been read. He received his father's pistol on 50 years ago.
 6. The Rev. F. A. Jonghuijns and Mrs. Gratton (right).
 7. Mrs. Hes (centre) and Mrs. Gratton (right).
 8. Old identities at the gathering.
 9. Mr. J. O'Shea.

10. Mr. F. G. Reynolds.
 11. Mr. E. Brookeshires, who arrived in 1881, and Mr. G. Graven, a settler in the district for 40 years.
 12. Among those present.
 13. From right: Messrs. E. Bowler, W. A. Taylor, W. G. McCormick and A. A. Bowler.

- Staff Photographer

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