

EDWIN HENRY HARDY: A WAIORONGOMAI MINE OWNER

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Abstract: *Edwin Henry Hardy worked as a surveyor before going to England to study mining. Upon his return in 1896 he was a representative in Hauraki of English mining companies and supervised several Coromandel mines in addition to acquiring mines in several districts for overseas interests. In late 1898 he purchased the former Aroha Gold Mines' property at Waiorongomai, which he developed using his own financial resources but probably backed by his wider family. Using his surveying skills, he traced a reef missed by previous owners, and commenced to develop the mines systematically. He also spent several years improving the battery, experimenting with new treatment processes and seeking a patent for a gold saving method.*

Like all mine owners, Hardy tried to work his property as cheaply as possible, resulting in conflicts with the Thames High School and the county council as he tried to reduce costs. He proved to be very determined in his rows with those he considered his enemies. In addition to developing the Premier mine, profitably, he tested other ground, notable the Big Blow. He supervised both battery and mines, but as he did not have a mine manager's certificate had to employ a series of managers for the latter. After obtaining a good return for several years, in 1904 he formed Hardy's Mines Ltd, retaining a financial interest and for a time supervising its work before becoming involved with other mines and clashing with the company he had formed.

Hardy also held interests in mining companies in other districts. After leaving Waiorongomai, he settled in Te Kuiti and worked as a surveyor, a purchaser of Maori land, and a farmer. As at Coromandel and Waiorongomai, he was prominent in the local community, notably as a member of the borough council and Te Kuiti's second mayor. Over time, his financial state deteriorated, partly through being involved with some very dubious businessmen and their schemes. In 1931 he returned to Waiorongomai to show his son Malcolm where he knew of some good ore, but died in dramatic circumstances before he could show him the location.

For some time Hardy profited from mining, partly because he took over existing workings and partly because he was able to find ore that others had missed, but as with all mining, profits faded and he had to find other ways

to earn a living. But compared with other mine owners at Waiorongomai, he was, for a time, very successful.

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND EARLY YEARS

Edwin Henry Hardy¹ was born in Dunedin in 1859, the second son of Henry Frederick Hardy, an architect, and Isabella, daughter of David Calder.² Isabella was his father's first wife, and there were three other sons and a daughter from this marriage. One year after her death, Henry married Catherine McCallum, and would have another son and daughter.³ All these children were alive at the time of Henry's death in 1904; his eldest son was an accountant at Dunedin, Edwin Henry was a mine owner at Waiorongomai, the third son was an ironmonger in Melbourne, the fourth was a doctor in Edinburgh, where he had been trained (he would later practice in Parkstone, Dorset), and the fifth was deputy harbourmaster at Port Chalmers. The elder daughter was married to the manager of the Bank of New Zealand at Thames, whilst the younger, being unmarried, was living at home.⁴

Arriving in Dunedin from England in 1853, aged 22, Henry Frederick Hardy became a master builder and architect. He was secretary and architect to the Provincial Education Committee, designing many schools in addition to churches, factories, houses and shops.⁵ Appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1882,⁶ for many years he was a member of the Dunedin City Council, and unsuccessfully stood for mayor in 1897. He was also a long-serving member of both the Charitable Aid and Hospital Board and the Benevolent Institution Trustees Board. His sole attempt to be elected to parliament failed by five votes. 'An ardent churchman', he held many more

¹ For a photograph of him in his last years, see *Auckland Star*, 27 April 1931, p. 8.

² Birth Certificate of Edwin Henry Hardy, 1 June 1859, 1859/9291, BDM; *Otago Daily Times*, 15 February 1904, p. 5.

³ Death Certificate of Henry Frederick Hardy, 14 February 1904, 1904/2539, BDM.

⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 February 1904, p. 5; additional information on the fourth son provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

⁵ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 February 1904, p. 5; Hardwicke Knight and Niel Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin: An illustrated architectural guide to New Zealand's Victorian city* (Dunedin, 1988), pp. 112-118; the index has more references to buildings he designed, photographs of some being included.

⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 6 April 1882, p. 553.

positions in the Anglican Church, including as the first lay canon of St Paul's Cathedral.⁷ His property in Dunedin and Otago was valued in 1882 at £16,538, and, with Dr Thomas Morland Hocken owned other property valued at £7,405; he had built Hocken's house, and from the mid-1860s they had a 'long enduring business association'.⁸ As well as being the architect and builder of the Mosgiel Woollen Company's mill, he was one of its directors.⁹ His sole mining directorate was with the Shotover Terrace Company, in 1873.¹⁰ Upon his death in 1904, the value of his estate was £16,936 14s 8d.¹¹

Edwin Henry Hardy's schooling consisted of five years at South Dunedin District School, three and a half years at Dunedin High School, and one and a half years at Christ's College in Christchurch.¹² He studied mathematics at Otago University, but did not take out a degree;¹³ he did obtain a first class result for French in 1876, and play for the university cricket club.¹⁴ According to his entry in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, he 'entered the Government Survey Department in 1876, passing the Junior Civil Service examination in May, 1877, and afterwards serving a survey cadetship in the Central Otago Goldfields District'.¹⁵ Appointed a cadet in the Otago District of the Surveyor-General's Department on 1 August 1877,¹⁶ in December 1879 he was ranked fourteenth out of the 23 candidates who sat the senior examination for the civil service, winning the third class of merit in English, the second class in arithmetic, geography, and French, and the first class in trigonometry and algebra. Being then a

⁷ *Otago Daily Times*, 15 February 1904, p. 5.

⁸ *A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand ...* (Wellington, 1884), p. H 18; A.J. Hocken, *Dr T.M. Hocken: A gentleman of his time* (Dunedin, 1989), p. 22.

⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 November 1903, p. 36; additional information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

¹⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1 May 1873, p. 265, 3 July 1873, p. 408.

¹¹ Testamentary Register, Wellington, folio 91, no. 68, AAEC 638/156, ANZ-W.

¹² *New Zealand Gazette*, 12 February 1880, p. 156.

¹³ Statement by E.H. Hardy, document A, October 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BBAE 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7 (Christchurch, 1898), p. 25.

¹⁴ *Otago Daily Times*, 4 November 1876, p. 2, 15 November 1876, p. 3, 2 December 1876, p. 2, 9 December 1876, p. 2, 26 February 1877, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25; see also C.A. Lawn, *The Pioneer Land Surveyors of New Zealand* (Auckland, 1979), p. 113.

¹⁶ *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 September 1877, p. 933.

cadet in the Engineer's Branch of the Public Works Department, he was able to substitute plane trigonometry for Latin as his compulsory subject.¹⁷ In April 1880 he passed the Government Survey examination,¹⁸ and on 10 March the following year was appointed an assistant surveyor in the Survey Department.¹⁹

A grandson, David Calder Hardy, described his grandfather as a man who, 'if he did something, he did it very thoroughly'.²⁰ He 'liked to keep up with modern techniques',²¹ and was 'a clever man, academically [a] very clever man'.²² His skills included photography²³ and technical drawing, 'at which he was very very good at. He was quite an artist, and, all in all, had a tremendous range of capability'.²⁴ Although he did some sketches, he mainly confined his artistry to architectural drawing. He also had mechanical inventiveness, being able to visualize ways to improve machinery.²⁵ 'Mathematically', according to his son Jason, he 'could add up three columns with ease. He could add up columns just like that, you know, several columns at a time and put down the answer'. He was also recalled as being a perfectionist,²⁶ illustrated by winning a prize for handwriting: he 'topped everything he tried'.²⁷

PERSONAL LIFE

¹⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 12 February 1880, p. 156.

¹⁸ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25.

¹⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 28 April 1881, p. 261.

²⁰ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 9 of transcript.

²¹ David Calder Hardy, marginal note dated 6 November 1986 on p. 9 of transcript of interview in Auckland on 19 April 1986.

²² Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 12 of transcript.

²³ His photographs of the pink and white terraces at Rotomahana were destroyed, along with many other glass negatives, in a clean up of his farm in 1937: information provided by David Calder Hardy.

²⁴ David Calder Hardy interview, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 14 of transcript with his correction, 6 June 2007.

²⁵ David Calder Hardy, marginal note dated 6 November 1986 on p. 15 of transcript of interview in Auckland on 19 April 1986.

²⁶ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 21 of transcript; additional information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

²⁷ David Calder Hardy, marginal note dated 6 November 1986 on p. 21 of transcript of interview in Auckland on 19 April 1986.

On 13 December 1882, Annie Shales Hill arrived in Dunedin from Melbourne.²⁸ She had been born in Sheffield, England, in March 1856.²⁹ In the 1870s she had been ‘an artist pupil of Frederick Walker ARA’, a prominent painter,³⁰ and they hoped to get married but he died of tuberculosis in June 1875, aged only 36, leaving her ‘quite a lot of money’. Clearly taking a long time to recover from his death, her family ‘felt she should go to Australia and to New Zealand’ to meet some of her relations.³¹ John Watson Walker, Frederick’s cousin and a leading mine manager,³² was to have met her when she disembarked in Dunedin, ‘but being detained at the time’, Hardy, also Walker’s cousin, ‘went instead’ and ‘they fell in love at first sight’.³³ In the following November, those staying at Lake House, Takapuna, Auckland, included ‘Miss Hill, England; Mr E.H. Hardy, Dunedin’.³⁴ They did they marry until January 1885, when he was aged 25, three years younger than his bride.³⁵ Their eldest child and only daughter, Isabel Lydia, was born in October 1885 at Te Kopuru,³⁶ halfway between Ruawai and Dargaville, and their eldest son Frederick Bernard was born there three years later.³⁷ Jason Valentine was born in Dunedin in 1890,³⁸ and their last child, Malcolm York, was born in Sheffield in January 1896.³⁹

²⁸ *Otago Witness*, 16 December 1882, p. 14.

²⁹ Death Certificate of Annie Shales Hardy, 21 October 1939, 1939/19784, BDM.

³⁰ See John George Marks, *Life and Letters of Frederick Walker ARA* (London, 1896); Clementina Black, *Frederick Walker* (London, 1902).

³¹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994; David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 24 April 2014, 7 July 2015, 8 July 2015, emails; ‘Frederick Walker (painter)’, *Wikipedia*.

³² See paper on his life.

³³ Information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007; David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 24 April 2014, 7 July 2015, 8 July 2015, emails.

³⁴ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1883, p. 6.

³⁵ Marriage Certificate of Edwin Henry Hardy, 28 January 1885, ancestry.co.uk; Death Certificates of Edwin Henry Hardy, 26 April 1931, 1931/3088; Annie Shales Hardy, 21 October 1939, 1939/19784, BDM.

³⁶ Birth Certificate of Isabel Lydia Hardy, 24 October 1885, 1885/13820, BDM.

³⁷ Birth Certificate of Frederick Bernard Hardy, 23 August 1888, 1888/16290, BDM; Birth Notice, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 September 1888, p. 1.

³⁸ Birth Certificate of Jason Valentine Hardy, 1890/8313, BDM.

³⁹ Death Certificate of Malcolm York Hardy, 15 August 1963, 1963/26982, BDM.

One of Hardy's employees at Waiorongomai, Thomas Franz Holt, noted in 1900 that his wife was 'some what invalided', and had Ada Pilgrim, the wife of his mine manager, 'as housekeeper'.⁴⁰ Holt expected his wife would 'like her, she seems to be a very kindly disposed & unassuming woman, but is very subject to attacks of nervous prostration or something of that kind'.⁴¹ The cause of these attacks was not recorded, but a grandson's recollection of one peculiarity of her husband suggests one possible reason. 'Granddad had a great abhorrence of fish bones, Granny went to a great deal of trouble to remove them all, but sometimes missed one, with a great deal of coughing and spluttering, his whole meal would be discarded'.⁴² He recalled his grandmother as having a fiery temper and also as being psychic.⁴³

SURVEYOR

On the recommendation of William Arthur, chief surveyor for the Otago district, in 1881 Hardy was appointed as Staff Surveyor for the Northern Wairoa district, where he 'carried out the major and minor triangulation and topographical surveys of the country, and was engaged in settlement surveys until 1892'.⁴⁴ Becoming the officer in charge of the department in the North Auckland District, he was based at Dargaville, 'where he also acted as land purchase officer' of Maori land,⁴⁵ and 'Inspected Measured and Valued timber for government'.⁴⁶

The first annual report on his work stated that in the year to 30 March 1882 he had made four trigonometrical closures and three chain closures, his mean ratio of error being 0.4, the second lowest of all the government surveyors. This work consisted of trigonometrical and topographical surveys of 49,000 acres of the Tokatoka district, along with 4,161 acres of rural and suburban land, 33 town sections, and 2.8 miles of roads, railways, and

⁴⁰ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 13 September 1900, T.F. Holt Letters 1900-1901, p. 15, Museum Archives, Te Aroha; interview with David Calder Hardy, in Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 10 of transcript.

⁴¹ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 31 October 1900, Holt Letters, pp. 61, 63.

⁴² Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

⁴³ Interview with Frank McAdam, Rotorua, 21 July 2007.

⁴⁴ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25; Lawn, Part 4, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1931, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Statement of E.H. Hardy, document A, October 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

water races.⁴⁷ In the following 12 months, his mean ratio of error of closure per mile in links was 1.15, the fifth best.⁴⁸ His rate of error continued to be very low, and, in his report for the year to 30 March 1884, the chief surveyor for the Auckland District noted that his ‘major work’, which was ‘a revision of some former faulty observations’, produced ‘a better closure than heretofore accepted’. The largest topographical and trigonometrical survey, of 115,660 acres, was done by Hardy ‘during the process of defining scattered applications in the Tokatoka and other districts’; his map was ‘beautifully drawn’, giving ‘a large amount of very useful information, much more so indeed than is usual’.⁴⁹ As well, his work was done more economically than most other surveyors.⁵⁰ In the following 12 months, his main task was to revise ‘a few of the old triangles formerly observed with a very indifferent instrument. Discordant results have been eliminated, and very satisfactory closures made on the general triangulation’.⁵¹ Future surveys of rural and suburban land and roads were not singled out for special comment.⁵²

Occasionally Hardy arranged for land to be set aside for public purposes.⁵³ In 1890, a landowner complained about his withdrawing a block of land from sale, but the Crown Lands Board considered that, because of the large amount of kauri it contained, his action was justified.⁵⁴ However, in the discussion of Hardy’s two reports on this land, one member ‘said it was unfortunate that Mr Hardy had not noticed the timber in the first instance’, and another considered he ‘should be written to and cautioned to be more careful in the future, as his mistake had led to considerable trouble and annoyance’.⁵⁵ At the subsequent meeting, after a letter was received from Hardy ‘explaining the circumstances of the case’ coupled with a report

⁴⁷ *AJHR*, 1882, C-3, pp. 33, 39.

⁴⁸ *AJHR*, 1883, C-2, pp. 14, 47.

⁴⁹ *AJHR*, 1884, C-1, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁰ *AJHR*, 1884, C-1, p. 51.

⁵¹ *AJHR*, 1885, C-1A, pp. ix, 3.

⁵² *AJHR*, 1886, C-1A, p. xi; 1887, C-2, p. 9; 1888, C-1A, p. 29; 1889, C-1A, p. 39; 1890, C-5, p. 45; 1891, C-1A, pp. 6, 53; 1892, C-1, p. 75.

⁵³ For example, Auckland Land Board, Minute Book 1882-1884, Minutes of Meeting of 10 December 1883, p. 182, BAAZ 4019/1, ANZ-A; Crown Lands Board, *Auckland Weekly News*, 19 September 1891, p. 30.

⁵⁴ Auckland Land Board, Minute Book 1889-1891, Minutes of Meeting of 20 November 1890, p. 331, BAAZ 4019/3, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵ Crown Lands Board, *Auckland Weekly News*, 29 November 1890, p. 38.

from the Commissioner of Crown Lands, it was resolved, 'That the remarks made at the last meeting of the Board were made under a misapprehension of the facts, and the Board is of opinion that Mr Hardy acted properly in connection with the withdrawal of the section'.⁵⁶ This was the only public criticism of Hardy's work during his 12 years of surveying for the government; the only other times he was involved in controversy was when he was accused, in 1884 and 1886, of trespassing on Maori land, charges which came to nothing.⁵⁷ That his knowledge of the kauri timber industry was acknowledged was indicated by his brief appearance in 1890 before a commission into the Kaihi Valley Railway Company, when he was asked to provide it with his report and map of the kauri forests he had examined.⁵⁸ With two assistants, he had estimated the quantity and value of these forests, in the Waioua and Tutamoe Survey Districts. 'From my own measurement of 525 standing kauri trees at Mangakahia and Tutamoe, and of the area covered by masses of kauri, I am persuaded that an average tree contains 4,000ft, and that six trees go to the acre'.⁵⁹

Hardy was a foundation member of the New Zealand Institute of Surveyors, and had 'the highest credentials from the Surveyor-General of New Zealand and others'.⁶⁰ Even after ceasing to make his living as a surveyor, he continued to use his skills, in 1901 being granted a license under the New Zealand Institute of Surveyors and Board of Examiners Act of 1900.⁶¹

Whilst living in Northland, Hardy was an active member of the community. In 1888 he attended a meeting at Aratapu to form a cricket

⁵⁶ Auckland Land Board, Minute Book 1887-1891, Minutes of Meeting of 11 December 1890, p. 332, BAAZ 4019/3, ANZ-A; Crown Lands Board, *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 December 1890, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Thames Star*, 31 July 1884, p. 2; Supreme Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 January 1886, p. 3.

⁵⁸ 'Kaihu Valley Railway: Report of Commission appointed to inquire into transaction between the Government and the Kaihu Valley Railway Company Ltd', *AJHR*, 1890, H-6, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁹ E.H. Hardy to Chief Surveyor, Auckland, 12 February 1890, 'Kaihi Valley Railway', p. 17.

⁶⁰ *Otago Daily Times*, 7 January 1904, p. 8; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25; Lawn, p. 113.

⁶¹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 1 August 1901, p. 1587.

club, and was elected to its committee.⁶² In January 1889 he was vice-president of the regatta committee, and in May his 20-foot open sailing boat came second at the Tokatoka regatta.⁶³ To assist the Wesleyans, in the latter part of that year he provided magic lantern entertainments in several settlements.⁶⁴ ‘The pictures were very clear, and of good dimensions. They were also very interesting, many of them being local views, in which some of our village celebrities were recognizable. A view of the Aratapu Regatta introduced many faces at once’.⁶⁵ In May 1890, when living at Te Kopuru, he was elected to the school committee.⁶⁶ Two months later, at the Te Kopuru hall he sang ‘The Midshipmite’, his wife sang ‘Fiddle and I’ with a violin obligato, and they sang the duet ‘The Beautiful Land’.⁶⁷

FIRST INVOLVEMENT IN MINING

In April 1892, he obtained 12 months leave of absence to allow him to travel to England. ‘Mr Hardy is not altogether bent on pleasure, for his trip is principally undertaken to obtain the best surgical skill for the benefit of his eldest daughter’.⁶⁸ It is not known what operation his (only) daughter required, but it must have been successful, and the trip opened up new possibilities. According to his grandson David, a small rush to gold and silver discoveries at Puhipuhi, near Whangarei, in 1889 had ‘whetted his appetite and he started then to study metallurgy and mineralogy and that sort of thing and he then, in 1892’, took his family to live at his father-in-law’s home, ‘Manor Grange’, in Sheffield, where he studied at the Sheffield School of Metallurgy and ‘passed several examinations’.⁶⁹ According to

⁶² Aratapu Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 1888, p. 6.

⁶³ *New Zealand Herald*, Aratapu Correspondent, 25 January 1889, p. 6, Tokatoka Correspondent, 31 May 1889, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Aratapu Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 September 1889, p. 6, 13 November 1889, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Aratapu Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 September 1889, p. 6.

⁶⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, Te Kopuru Correspondent, 9 May 1890, p. 3, Aratapu Correspondent, 8 April 1892, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Te Kopuru Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 3 July 1890, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Aratapu Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 April 1892, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 11 of transcript; additional information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007; David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 16 April 2014, email.

Hardy's own account, he studied metallurgy in the Sheffield Technical College 'under Professor Arnold, remaining nearly five years' (it was only four).⁷⁰ Family tradition had him acquiring mining qualifications at Leeds University as well.⁷¹ Besides her father, his wife had other family and friends still living there,⁷² probably the main reason why he chose to study in that city.

During his time in England, he visited Chatsworth House because a relation, Jacob Hardy, was head gardener to the Duke of Devonshire. When taken up to his room he was 'not shown where the toilet was. He discovered a po under his bed, used it, and accidentally dropped it out of the window where it crashed through the glass-roofed conservatory below. It is said he dressed and made a hurried exit'.⁷³

Hardy had not revealed much interest in mining previously, only one shareholding in a claim being recorded, at Thames, in October 1881.⁷⁴ In 1911 he stated that for 35 years 'I have taken a scientific journal, and for the last thirteen years I have taken the *Coal-mining Journal* of America (Mines and Minerals, &c)', meaning he knew about coal as well as gold. Having 'studied nothing else the whole time', he was able when on a trip up the Mokau River to understand the geology and detect the coal and other minerals exposed.⁷⁵ When a Maori produced a sample of what he thought was copper, Hardy 'showed him by a chemical examination that there was only iron present in that stuff'.⁷⁶

After returning to New Zealand in August 1896,⁷⁷ Hardy represented 'powerful financial corporations in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Sheffield', on

⁷⁰ Statement by E.H. Hardy, document A, October 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25; *New Zealand Herald*, 13 August 1896, p. 4

⁷¹ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 16 April 2014, 7 July 2015, emails.

⁷² Birth Certificate of Annie Shales Hill, 11 March 1856; Marriage Certificate of Edwin Henry Hardy, 28 January 1885, ancestry.co.uk; *King Country Chronicle*, 9 October 1920, p. 5.

⁷³ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 16 April 2014, email.

⁷⁴ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1875-1882, folio 178, BACL 14397/10a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁵ Evidence of E.H. Hardy, *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 64-65, 75.

⁷⁶ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 69.

⁷⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 February 1897, p. 6.

whose behalf he was to acquire and supervise mining properties.⁷⁸ He became one of the four partners in John I. Philips and Co, a firm of mining and civil engineers and mining and land transfer surveyors.⁷⁹ Philips,⁸⁰ the senior partner, had resigned from the Survey Office in July 1896 after 18 years as a field officer 'in order to enter into business on his own account'.⁸¹ Son of a prominent Auckland, Philips would later become involved in Malayan rubber, amongst other overseas ventures.⁸² 'This well known and enterprising firm' extolled its skills in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, stating that since being formed it had 'received a very large share of the engineering work' in Hauraki.

All descriptions of mining surveys, underground works, water-races, and other works pertaining to mining have been carried out in a manner reflecting great credit upon the principal and his associates in the firm. In the busy times of 1895-6, Messrs Philips and Co had as many as sixteen survey parties in the field throughout the mining districts. One of the most important of the firm's productions was the drawing up of a large and comprehensive map of the Peninsula, to the order of Messrs Bewick, Moreing and Co, the well-known mining engineers, of London, showing the exact positions of the different mines, and the country being operated on in the goldfields districts. This map, when published, was the subject of very favourable comment, coming as a great boon to London residents interested in New Zealand mining.... Messrs John I. Philips and Co, having branches throughout the various goldfields districts, enter into agreements with companies to make monthly or quarterly inspections of the different properties submitted to their charge, with an occasional "surprise" inspection, also to survey and report on works in progress, and lay off further works, as required; they also survey, wherever practicable, the strike of reefs in the property, and generally supervise the workings, thus taking the responsibility that the money being spent on the property is being

⁷⁸ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 25.

⁷⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1897: Accounts Opened, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 29.

⁸⁰ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, p. 30.

⁸¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 July 1896, p. 18; *Observer*, 4 July 1896, p. 16.

⁸² See *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1897, p. 4, London Correspondent, 5 March 1923, p. 7; *Auckland Star*, 29 April 1899, p. 4; *Dominion*, 6 April 1910, pp. 4, 6; *Free Lance*, 14 June 1913, p. 4.

laid out to the best possible advantage, and in the most economical manner.⁸³

In 1896, in noting the high calibre of its senior staff, the *New Zealand Mining Standard* listed Hardy as the second person named.⁸⁴ In that September, when a branch office was established at Coromandel, Hardy became 'Mining Surveyor in charge of district'.⁸⁵ He had an important role representing several British mining firms, the caption to an 1898 photograph describing him as the attorney of the Central Finance Corporation 'and other companies'.⁸⁶ The chairman and managing director of this Glaswegian firm was David Nairn Shaw.⁸⁷ This corporation was 'largely interested' in Hauraki mines, especially at Coromandel and Kuaotunu, and in 1897 Shaw spent several months in Western Australia and New Zealand on behalf of 'influential capitalists in Glasgow and Edinburgh'.⁸⁸

In October 1896, it was reported that Hardy's firm had received £250 from one of the largest financial corporations of Scotland as a deposit for an option to purchase the Standard, near Coromandel township. 'Great credit' was due to the 'enterprising firm', for through Hardy, 'the local representative of the Scottish corporation', it had '“placed” their property in probably one of the shortest times on record, viz, two weeks from the first communication by cable'. A 'thorough survey' of the workings was being made, presumably by Hardy, who, in addition to being the representative of this corporation was also 'acting on behalf of a wealthy syndicate in Sheffield, and another in Manchester, who are desirous of obtaining sound, well-tested mining properties'.⁸⁹ These negotiations would involve Hardy in two court cases in 1900, when Edward Claude Randle, then a Coromandel

⁸³ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, pp. 29-30.

⁸⁴ *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News*, 19 December 1896, p. 5.

⁸⁵ *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News*, 18 September 1896, p. 9, 28 November 1896, p. 11; advertisement, *Observer*, 26 September 1896, p. 6.

⁸⁶ *New Zealand and Auckland Weekly News Exhibition Number*, 1898, p. 14.

⁸⁷ Copy of the Register of Directors or Managers of the Hampton Plains Exploration Company, Company Files, BT 31/6132/23453, The National Archives, Kew, London; London Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 February 1898, p. 6; *Auckland Star*, 14 April 1897, p. 7; *Northern Advocate*, 26 November 1898, p. 4.

⁸⁸ *Thames Star*, 1 May 1897, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 9 June 1897, p. 3.

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 21 October 1896, p. 5; *Observer*, 24 October 1896, p. 9.

miner,⁹⁰ demanded the return of 'ore, gold and £2 damages, re value of ore and gold £25'.⁹¹ 'The evidence was contradictory, the plaintiff alleging that the stone was loaned to Mr Hardy to show to a friend, and subsequently sent Home by him to assist in the flotation of the Standard mine'. Hardy's defence was that he had 'acted merely as agent for the option holders, and that the stone was forwarded to England with Mr Randle's consent and for his benefit'; judgment was given for Hardy.⁹² In the following month, Hardy sued Randle for the £2 4s he had not paid, and won.⁹³

In early 1897 development in the Standard was 'pushed on vigorously' under his supervision, reportedly on behalf of English, not Scottish, capitalists.⁹⁴ Described as 'general supervisor', he found a reef he estimated had an average value of nine ounces to the ton.⁹⁵ In late February it was reported that the Conquest, at Tokatea, had 'recently been inspected by and is now put under the supervision of Hardy, who had traced four reefs.'⁹⁶ The following month, after visiting the Arawata Company's property he was quoted as being 'satisfied that further work properly directed would make the mine a payable one'.⁹⁷ In May, he took an option over a foreshore claim, arranged for a manager to work it under his supervision, assisted Glaswegian and London interests to purchase both it and an adjacent claim, and acquired two water race licenses to work them.⁹⁸ He was attorney for Waitaia Gold Mines, a Kuaotunu mine owned by Shaw's corporation.⁹⁹ In

⁹⁰ See *Auckland Star*, Warden's Court, 1 December 1896, p. 5, advertisement, 30 December 1904, p. 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 13 May 1897, p. 6, London Correspondent, 16 October 1900, p. 6, advertisement, 7 March 1903, p. 1; *Thames Electoral Roll, 1899*, p. 84;

⁹¹ Coromandel Warden's Court, Record Book 1899-1911, 1/1900, ZAAP 14047/5a, ANZ-A.

⁹² Warden's Court, *Coromandel County News*, 16 March 1900, p. 3.

⁹³ Coromandel Warden's Court, Warden's Minute Book 1899-1918, entry for 5 April 1900, 1/1900, BACL 14439/1a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 March 1897, p. 6.

⁹⁵ *Thames Advertiser*, 31 March 1897, p. 3.

⁹⁶ *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News*, 27 February 1897, p. 9.

⁹⁷ *New Zealand Mining Standard and Financial News*, 6 March 1897, p. 7.

⁹⁸ E.H. Hardy to Inspecting Engineer, Mines Department, 15 May 1897; James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 15 June 1897, Mines Department, MD 1, 97/1058, ANZ-W; *Thames Advertiser*, 20 May 1897, p. 3, 26 May 1897, p. 3; Coromandel Warden's Court, Register of Gold Revenue Licenses 1897-1910, folios 320, 345, ZAAN 14312/1a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁹ *Thames Star*, 1 May 1897, p. 2; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 472.

September, he applied for the Edinburgh Hauraki, which was granted in the following February;¹⁰⁰ its name implied Scottish capital was involved. Protection was granted in May and September, and little work was done before its surrender in November.¹⁰¹ Also in May 1898, he applied for the Wharncliffe Crag, 40 acres at Tokatea, but withdrew the application on the last day of October.¹⁰² Four days later he applied for 81 acres comprising this and adjacent land as the Wharncliffe Special Claim, again withdrawing his application one month later.¹⁰³ Until it ceased to carry on business in New Zealand in 1899, Hardy was attorney for the Britannia (Hauraki) Company.¹⁰⁴

The most important firm he worked for was the Hampton Plains Exploration Company, an English company floated in 1894 to acquire properties at Coolgardie, in Western Australia, when its capital of £350,000 was over-subscribed. Named after plains near Coolgardie, it explored for gold before developing land for settlement.¹⁰⁵ It purchased many mines, and by late 1898 possessed 'extensive properties in Canada and West Australia'.¹⁰⁶ One of its directors, Lieutenant Houghton Giles, was also a

¹⁰⁰ Coromandel Warden's Court, Nominal Register of Applications 1896-1898, folio 100, ZAAAN 14035/4a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, *Coromandel County News*, 12 January 1898, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ Coromandel Warden's Court, Register of Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1897-1898, folio 755, ZAAAN 14044/3a; Register of Applications 1897-1899, folios 56, 78, 105, ZAAAN 14038/1b; Nominal Register of Applications 1896-1898, folio 143, ZAAAN 14035/4a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰² Coromandel Warden's Court, Nominal Register of Applications 1896-1898, folios 132, 142, ZAAAN 14035/4a, ANZ-A.

¹⁰³ Coromandel Warden's Court, Nominal Register of Applications 1898-1899, folio 1, ZAAAN 14035/4b, ANZ-A.

¹⁰⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 22 June 1899, p. 1179.

¹⁰⁵ *Waikato Times*, 6 November 1894, p. 7; *Mining Journal* (London), 29 June 1895, p. 764; David W. Carnegie, *Spinifex and Sand: A narrative of five years' pioneering and exploration in Western Australia* (London, 1898), pp. 33, 89; Austin Sprake, *Londonderry: The golden hole* (Carlisle, Western Australia, 1991), pp. 15, 164, 165.

¹⁰⁶ See *British Australasian*, 3 January 1895, p. 20, 7 February 1895, pp. 213-214, 28 May 1895, p. 454, 4 April 1895, p. 501, 11 April 1895, p. 548, 9 May 1895, p. 697, 13 June 1895, p. 927, 5 September 1895, p. 1363, 21 November 1896, p. 1852, 16 January 1896, p. 98, 24 September 1896, pp. 1581, 1591, 8 October 1896, p. 1660, 29 October 1896, pp. 1825-1826, 7 January 1897, p. 20, 2 September 1897, p. 1598, 16 December 1897, pp.

director of another British company working at Te Aroha, Tui Gold Mines.¹⁰⁷ According to Hardy's grandson David, when studying in Sheffield Hardy was 'approached and asked if he would be the representative of the Hampton Plains Exploration Company and also to come in as a sort of decision-maker' for three Coromandel companies.¹⁰⁸ When the Hampton Plains company issued mortgage debentures of £100 each, Hardy's father obtained £200-worth. Interest was paid on them up to the end of September 1900, and then an agreement was reached in October 1902 whereby, instead of repaying the principal at the end of that year as required, his father would accept an allotment of 400 fully paid up £1 shares; by that date, 169,212 shares had been issued.¹⁰⁹ At the end of 1904, his father still held his shares and Hardy had 2,599; he had acquired 2,000 of these in October.¹¹⁰

In May 1897, Hardy inspected Waitekauri with David Nairn Shaw, with whom he had purchased the two foreshore claims at Coromandel already mentioned.¹¹¹ Two months later, Hardy applied for three claims at Puhipuhi, in the following March and April sought three more, another in November, and another in February 1899, and claimed he would spend £1,000 developing each one.¹¹² These were really acquired on behalf of the Hampton Plains Gold Mining Company, which through its attorney, Hardy, in July 1898 applied for three claims under its own name.¹¹³ In June 1898 he got the forfeiture of another claim for non-working, but failed to be

2343-2344, 30 December 1897, p. 2424, 21 July 1898, p. 1430; *New Zealand Herald*, 19 November 1898, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Auckland Star*, 11 July 1896, p. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 11 of transcript.

¹⁰⁹ Agreement of 31 October 1902 between Henry Frederick Hardy and the Hampton Plains Exploration Company Limited, Company Files, BT31/6132/23453, The National Archives, Kew, London.

¹¹⁰ List of Persons holding Shares in the Hampton Plains Exploration Company, Limited, on 31 December 1904; Names, Addresses, and Descriptions of the Allottees, Company Files, BT 31/6132/23453, The National Archives, Kew, London.

¹¹¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 26 May 1897, p. 3; *Auckland Star*, 8 June 1897, p. 7.

¹¹² Whangarei Warden's Court, Register of Mining Applications 1897-1901, 28-30/1897, 5-7, 26/1898, 2/1899, BADF 10405/1, ANZ-A; advertisements, *Northern Advocate*, 19 March 1898, p. 4, 23 April 1898, p. 2, 25 February 1899, p. 6.

¹¹³ Whangarei Warden's Court, Register of Mining Applications 1897-1901, 16-18/1898, BADF 10405/1, ANZ-A; advertisement, *Northern Advocate*, 23 July 1898, p. 2.

allowed to work three claims for one man for three months.¹¹⁴ Shaw visited Puhipuhi after inspecting Hauraki, and was 'very much struck with the splendid appearance of this part of the country, which I think has been considerably overlooked in the past'.¹¹⁵ Consequently, in late July it was announced that

The D.N. Shaw Syndicate which bought out the old British Company has sold out to the Hampton Plains Gold Mining Corporation, of London. This Company has been established for some time and is operating mining properties in Nevada, U. S., and in Western Australia. It is, we understand, a strong Company, and is capable of giving Puhipuhi a fair trial. Mr D.N. Shaw has joined the directory of the Company, and will give the Puhipuhi property his special attention.

Mr E.H. Hardy, of Coromandel, is the Colonial representative of the Company and supervises the mine works and surveys. He intends to take up his residence in Whangarei when he can get a house.

Mr H[enry] R[obert] Holman has been appointed mine manager. The treatment of the ore is to be left in the hands of the Rev. Joseph Campbell, whose hyperphoric process has just been successfully tested at Te Aroha¹¹⁶....

Satisfactory assays have been obtained from the ore now available, and Mr Hardy, who visited the mine last week, speaks of the future with considerable hope.¹¹⁷

(Holman, an early settler in Northland, was a carpenter who had recently prospected in Hauraki.)¹¹⁸ Four months later, it was announced that the plant and mine had

been taken over by the Hampton Plains Syndicate, of London. The property, which consists of 300 acres, was purchased from the old company by a syndicate consisting of Messrs D.N. Shaw (of Shaw's Syndicate, Glasgow), John I. Philips (Auckland), and E.H. Hardy (Coromandel). The mine machinery and other plant were taken over and held until the Hampton Plains Syndicate,

¹¹⁴ *Northern Advocate*, 11 June 1898, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 June 1897, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ See paper on Joseph Campbell and his process.

¹¹⁷ *Northern Advocate*, 23 July 1898, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ See Supreme Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 16 June 1886, p. 8, 9 October 1886, p. 5, 23 October 1886, p. 3, 23 December 1886, p. 3; *Northern Advocate*, 27 February 1919, p. 1; *Auckland Star*, 2 May 1927, p. 9.

with a capital of £150,000, purchased the mine and machinery right out. The consideration received by the New Zealand owners was £300 cash and £5000 in £100 debentures, bearing interest at the rate of 7 1/2 per cent, and payable in four years. In addition, the company give 2500 shares in the Hampton Plains Syndicate, fully paid up to £1, the shares being in the mother company and not merely connected with the Puhipuhi property.¹¹⁹

In early 1899, one level was in 800 feet and the other 200, and samples were sent to England; the mining inspector reported that this was ‘the only mine that is being and has been working for some years past’.¹²⁰ A month before his report was written, Hardy had surrendered the company’s claims,¹²¹ as the district did not contain payable ore. Despite his initial enthusiasm, he must soon have realized he was mistaken, for he did not settle at Whangarei.

LIVING AT COROMANDEL

As almost all copies of the Coromandel newspapers for the years 1896 to 1898 have been destroyed, it is impossible to reconstruct Hardy’s life there. According to his grandson David, who prospected near Coromandel in 1948,¹²² he was recalled by ‘many of the old miners and other retired folk who remembered “Mr Hardy,” as apparently he was always addressed’.¹²³

He always was the absolute epitome of an English gentleman.... The table apparently that was set was exquisitely done, everything was done absolutely proper. He rode a white horse.... He was always very highly respected.... He wasn’t one of the boys and yet, apparently, he was extremely well liked. He had quite a lot to do with the opening of the Coromandel hospital and there are three or was it four cots in Coromandel hospital bearing the names [of his children, because he had donated them]. He had quite a bit to do with the building of it and I’m told too that he

¹¹⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 19 November 1898, p. 3.

¹²⁰ George Wilson to Minister of Mines, 12 May 1899, *AJHR*, 1899, C-3, p. 33.

¹²¹ Whangarei Warden’s Court, Register of Mining Applications 1897-1901, 7/1899, BADF 10405/1, ANZ-A.

¹²² See Thames School of Mines, Assay Book 1941-1952, entry for 30 November 1948, School of Mines Archives, Thames.

¹²³ Information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

was the architect and he built the doctor's residence and the chemist's residence.¹²⁴

As part of the family's contribution to building and equipping this hospital, his children 'collected bottles on their trolley to hand in for cash donations'. One old resident told David that his grandfather had 'designed and built what was to become the night nurse's house, across the road from the hospital'; his family believed this was the house sketched by Eric Lee-Johnson many years later.¹²⁵ Two residence sites were held until June 1906, in his wife's name.¹²⁶ One of his two homes, known both as the White House and as the White Elephant, had been brought by sea from Auckland and re-erected on Tiki Road.¹²⁷

In May 1899, after Hardy had left Coromandel, a public meeting held to establish a public battery was informed that he 'had given a berdan as a nucleus of a plant', the chairman hoping 'others would follow so good an example'.¹²⁸

BECOMING A MINE OWNER AT WAIORONGOMAI

In October 1898, Hardy purchased 136 acres at Waiorongomai from Richard Robert Hunt, attorney for the liquidated Aroha Gold Mines.¹²⁹ His purchase included the Empire (the former Premier, Vulcan, and Colonist) and the New Find Nos. 1 and 2, as well as a water race, battery, and 19 dwelling sites, all acquired for a mere £2,000.¹³⁰ His interest in Waiorongomai may have been spurred by advice from his cousin, the leading mine manager John Watson Walker, with whom he was 'very

¹²⁴ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, pp. 20-21 of transcript.

¹²⁵ Information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007; Eric Lee-Johnson, *As I See It: Drawings from north New Zealand* (Auckland, 1969), no. 11, 'Coromandel'.

¹²⁶ Coromandel Warden's Court, Nominal Register of Applications 1901-1912, ZAAN 14035/6a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁷ David Calder Hardy, marginal note dated 6 November 1986 on p. 21 of transcript of interview in Auckland on 19 April 1986; additional information provided on 6 June 2007.

¹²⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 May 1899, p. 6.

¹²⁹ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 7, pp. 28-29.

¹³⁰ R.R. Hunt to Warden, 22 February 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/588; E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 25 September 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/1545, ANZ-W.

friendly'.¹³¹ In mid-November, it was announced that a syndicate had purchased the Aroha Company's mines:

It will be welcome news to the residents of Te Aroha in particular and the district generally, that the battery and the pick of the Aroha Company's mines have passed into the hands of a syndicate, the members of which are fully satisfied of the great value of the property acquired, and are determined to add to the number of bullion producers of the colony within a few months' time....

On the advice of the Rev. J[oseph] Campbell, a three months' option was taken over the property on behalf of a Calcutta syndicate. The line these gentlemen took, however, was this: If the property is so good let local capital secure it, and we will help to provide working capital.

After a further most careful examination, the Rev. J. Campbell has given it as his opinion that the property is one of the best in New Zealand.... Everything of value for carrying on operations in a payable way has been secured, viz, the Empire and New Find sections and battery, cyanide plant, assay plant, tramways, tools, cottages, etc.

Mr Edwin Henry Hardy, of Coromandel, representing local capital, has purchased these properties, and the necessary working capital will be furnished by friends in Calcutta and himself. It is proposed to start operations immediately, making such additions as are necessary for saving the fine gold which the reef contains, and which is for the most part free. At first, operations will be conducted on a small scale, under Hardy's personal supervision, but the amount of payable ore in sight and already opened up ready for stoping justifies the expectation that ere long large works will be in operation at Waiorongomai.¹³²

After a later repetition that an 'influential syndicate at Calcutta' was financing his purchase,¹³³ at Hardy's request an Auckland solicitor, Wilfred Ewing Bruce,¹³⁴ his attorney in the purchase,¹³⁵ responded that 'certain statements' were 'not quite correct'.

¹³¹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1896, p. 11 of transcript.

¹³² *New Zealand Herald*, 16 November 1898, p. 6; reprinted in *Coromandel County News*, 18 November 1898, p. 3, and *Thames Advertiser*, 17 November 1898, p. 3.

¹³³ *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1898, p. 1.

¹³⁴ See *Waikato Times*, 20 May 1893, p. 2; *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1911, p. 8.

¹³⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Memorandum by W.E. Ewing, 8 June 1899, Mining Registrations 1899, BCDG 11288/1a, ANZ-A.

The property has been purchased by Mr Hardy for himself, and he is going to Waiorongomai as owner, and fully prepared to work the mines and battery for the present on his own account. He had, however, received offers from Auckland, Calcutta, and London to provide working capital in return for a share in the property, but these have been refused.¹³⁶

Apart from whatever money Hardy was able to invest, he probably received financial assistance from his father and brothers, for 'there was quite a bit of money in the family'.¹³⁷

Reports of the ground were very positive. 'Some portions of the reef were 'particularly rich', though 'the average obtained by breaking down the whole face, the width of which varies from six to ten feet, is quite sufficient to pay well, while by selection the return can be brought up to between £4 and £5 per ton'. The mines 'were well opened up', with 20,000 tons ready for stoping.¹³⁸ Hardy would 'resume operations in the neighbourhood of where the best gold was got in the early days'.¹³⁹

Late in December 1898, the swing section of the Te Aroha railway bridge was opened, for the first time in about ten years, to enable a barge laden with Hardy's furniture to reach the Waiorongomai landing.¹⁴⁰ According to his biographical details published in 1902 in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, which described Hardy as 'Mining Engineer, Mine and Battery Proprietor', Aroha Gold Mines had failed to discover a payable lode in the levels it had driven:

Mr Hardy, after a careful examination, ascertained that these had not driven upon the gold-bearing reef exposed in the surface workings, but about 30 feet off, parallel thereto. A few months' work laid bare a fine reef, which, during eighteen months, has gone from 3 feet to 9 feet in width, kept a ten stamper battery going day and night, and produced nearly £6000 worth of gold.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Letter from Wilfred E. Ewing, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 1895, p. 5; reprinted in *Thames Star*, 1 December 1898, p. 2.

¹³⁷ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 14 of transcript.

¹³⁸ *New Zealand Graphic*, 20 November 1898, p. 690.

¹³⁹ *New Zealand Mining Journal and Financial Guide*, vol. 3 no. 10 (December 1898), p. 151.

¹⁴⁰ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 21 December 1898, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 472.

He was able to extract payable ore because he had inherited the assay book recording the company's 'systematic' sampling.¹⁴²

IMPROVING THE BATTERY

By March 1899, Hardy's ground was fully manned and the battery was at work.¹⁴³ He advertised for a certificated manager competent in 'Wet Crushing, Amalgamating, Vanning and Cyanide'.¹⁴⁴ The warden reported that, by the end of that month, the battery had been

thoroughly repaired; ten head of stampers, a stone-breaker, and one of the latest concentrators are now in position. The water-race has been put in good repair, and a right to use the county tramway acquired. A staff of men are engaged obtaining ore from the old Premier working, so that a trial crushing will be made at no distant date. Mr Hardy has agreed to allow prospectors and others the use of his battery for trial crushings at any time,

a boon for the district, as previously ore had to be sent to Thames.¹⁴⁵ He was willing to treat ore from other areas also; for example, and no doubt because of his association with the English owners of the Waitaia at Kuaotunu, in October he experimented with five tons of its ore, producing what was described as a very payable result.¹⁴⁶ When Hardy guided the Governor through the reopened plant in May, he was shown 120oz of amalgam. 'In the assay-room, a champagne lunch was served and enjoyed by those present. The Mayor proposed the toast "Success to Mr Hardy's Battery," Mr Hardy making a suitable response, and in turn proposing "The Health of His Excellency" '.¹⁴⁷ In October, a mining reporter recorded that the battery had been working 'almost continuously' for the past five months

¹⁴² E.C. Macpherson to John Henderson, 12 November 1932, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/1/20, ANZ-W.

¹⁴³ E.H. Hardy to Warden, 8 March 1899, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1899, 3/1899, BBAV 11289/15a, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁴ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 22 March 1899, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 3 July 1899, *AJHR*, 1899, C-3A, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 31 October 1899, p. 3.

¹⁴⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 10 May 1899, p. 6.

from eight o'clock in the morning until midnight, and that 'great improvements had been made':

Additions have been made to the machinery, the old dry-crushing arrangements have been demolished, wet crushing has been substituted, till now the whole is complete and admirable for its purpose, the loss in tailings being only about 8s per ton from samples taken over 16 tons of buddlings by sampling rod. The battery consists of a rock-breaker, two automatic Challenge feeders, 10 stamps of 850lbs weight, having manganese shoes and dies. The pulp passes through 40-mesh woven-wire screens on to electroplated [quick]silver copper plates, one ounce [quick]silver per square foot, then passes into grinding and amalgamating pans, and by siphons into six berdans, thence outside the mill, whence it is elevated by hydraulic elevator back to the battery to a raised platform for further treatment, should such be necessary, by buddling, blanket tables, or the 6ft Union vanner, or by cyanide, in connection with which is a centrifugal pump, vacuum pump, and cylinder, and all necessary apparatus. The motive power is furnished by three Pelton wheels, from a 20in diameter hydraulic main, having 240ft head of water, yielding a pressure of 104lb per square inch. The whole of the arrangements have been laid out by Mr Hardy, and erected by Mr George [Robert] Beeson, who also takes the day shift in the battery. Mr Hardy himself takes the night shift, besides attending to the assay department.... From the amount of work done and improvements made at the battery, assay office, etc, Mr Hardy evidently intends to make a long stay. So complete are the arrangements at the battery, where everything is working automatically, that no hand labour beyond feeding the rock-breaker is required, and the cost of treating ore is reduced to an astonishingly small amount. It is intended to erect 10 additional stamps and an electric light plant early in the new year.¹⁴⁸

(Beeson was a local builder and contractor.)¹⁴⁹ As the ore was not refractory, it was 'amenable to wet crushing over tables, in the usual way', and Fraser's pans gave 'very satisfactory results. The cost of treatment has been considerably reduced, and an extraction of about 85 per cent has been obtained', giving a payable return 'equal to about 30s per ton'.¹⁵⁰ As a reflection of his success, Hardy was elected a member of the New Zealand Institute of Mining Engineers at its annual general meeting, held in

¹⁴⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 October 1899, p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ See *Te Aroha News*, 27 May 1909, p. 2; *Observer*, 5 June 1909, p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 September 1899, p. 34.

Thames in February 1900.¹⁵¹ Two months later, another sign of his success was a second inspection of the battery by the Governor, when it was 'stopped on account of extensive additions being made to the stamping plant'; Hardy provided him with 'light refreshments'.¹⁵²

By March 1901, the water race had been 'flumed and deepened and put in first-class order from end to end. The heavy timbers inside the battery have been replaced by new'. Of the improvements planned, the most important was a new ten-stamp battery incorporating grinding and amalgamating pans, as the warden's annual report emphasized:

The battery has been taxed to its utmost day and night. On account of the very fine grinding required to ensure the best extraction of the fine gold, the crushing-power of the stampers has had to be restricted within the limits of the pans. As soon as the new ten stamps are erected the number of men employed will be increased.

The process adopted for the extraction of bullion at the battery is as follows: The gold is fine, interspersed with fine iron-pyrites, copper-pyrites, and silver-sulphide. Cyanide process is not suitable for the extraction of this gold, because of the presence of copper, which interferes with zinc precipitation of the gold. The use of carbon for that purpose, however, has not been tried on a practical scale. The quantity of concentrates will be about 1 per cent. The ore is crushed in a Blake-Marsden rock-breaker into hoppers holding 150 tons; it then passes through two Challenge ore-feeders to a battery of ten stamps, weighing 850lb each; thence the crushed material passes through brass screens, 40 mesh, on to two electro-plated copper plates of 30 square feet each. From the plates it passes continuously through grinding- and amalgam-pans fitted with Hardy's patent amalgam-saving device, the overflow passing over a 6ft Union vanner and a Wilfley table. A separation of the tailings is made by spitzkasten into sluices and sands.

The slimes average 12s 9d per ton of slimes, the sands being almost valueless; the concentrates vary from £9 to £12 per ton, the last assay showing gold 2oz, silver 40oz; value, £12 3s per ton. Half the value of the concentrates is extracted by working them in berdans with lime, the residue passing outside the battery to settling-pits, from which it is removed and dried ready for shipment to the smelter....

There is a complete cyanide plant embracing two 22ft vats, six mixing- and sump-vats, steel vacuum cylinder 12ft by 6ft, zinc

¹⁵¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 2 March 1900, p. 24.

¹⁵² *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 April 1900, p. 37.

precipitation-boxes, centrifugal and air pumps. The motive-power is supplied by 240ft head of water through a 20in diameter pipe to three Pelton wheels of 2ft, 3ft, and 6ft diameter, working vanners, rock-breaker, and stampers respectively. A second Blake rock-breaker, crushing to 1/2in mesh, a Lockwood-Mackay mill, and Pelton wheel have been fitted up, so that the proprietor can, if necessary, treat from 6 to 8 tons of ore daily by cyanide or otherwise, independently of the main battery.¹⁵³

His 'amalgam-saving device' mentioned by the warden Hardy was 'an improved silent continuous discharge apparatus for preventing loss of gold, silver, and mercury from grinding- or amalgamating-pans', for which he sought a patent;¹⁵⁴ it was the only invention he ever patented. A. & G. Price of Thames provided the new ten-stamp battery.¹⁵⁵ Hardy also requested them to provide him with another item, which, judging by the firm's response, was also invented by him: 'We are in receipt of sketch of Crusher Jaws and have no patterns like it. We can do nothing with them unless we can get close measurements to work from'.¹⁵⁶ Nothing more was heard of this device.

When the Hampton Plains Exploration Company withdrew from Puhipuhi, 'a number of pans and other machinery' were transferred to Hardy's battery.¹⁵⁷ He would be sued for the cost of removing this machinery, £54 1s: 'Judgment for plaintiff by consent'.¹⁵⁸ By May 1901, his 'small but very complete plant' comprised ten stamps, six berdans, one Watson and Denny and one Fraser amalgamating pan, one Union vanner, one Wilfley concentrator, and 'cyanide appliances'.¹⁵⁹ Additions continued to be made, for example three vanners in the following April,¹⁶⁰ and as the

¹⁵³ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 31 March 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 4 April 1901, p. 860.

¹⁵⁵ John Watson to E.H. Hardy, 4 February 1901, Letterbook 1900-1901, p. 496, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

¹⁵⁶ John Watson to E.H. Hardy, 25 March 1901, Letterbook 1900-1901, p. 589, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

¹⁵⁷ *Thames Star*, 14 May 1901, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Whangarei Magistrate's Court, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 July 1901, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ John Hayes (Inspecting Engineer) to Minister of Mines, 20 May 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, p. 17.

¹⁶⁰ *Thames Star*, 16 April 1902, p. 1.

nature and value of the ore varied, Hardy experimented with new methods of treatment, as was explained by James Coutts, the mining inspector. First, Coutts described the ore being taken from the Premier:

In the low level have appeared bands of the white, curly, gold-bearing quartz which in the upper workings formed a compact mass 15ft ahead of the face of the drive. Assays of these bands show a value of £2 0s 5d per ton. The ore is more refractory in silver-sulphide than in the upper levels, but samples in bulk passed over vanners readily yield concentrates containing gold 2oz 18dwt 20gr, silver 56oz 5dwt 8gr, valued at £17 7s 9d per ton, which can be profitably shipped to the smelter. The proprietor has treated Premier ore-concentrates by berdanning with lime. This extracts some free gold and amalgam, but leaves a residue containing gold 5dwt, and silver in the form of sulphide 23oz 3dwt 18gr, valued at £3 6s 4d per ton. Cyanide treatment fails to give good results, due to the presence of copper; but retreatment by hydraulic ejector and over vanner, I am informed by Mr Hardy, produces a concentrate profitable for smelting as under: Wilfley concentrator ... value per ton, £26. Union concentrator ... value per ton, £21 13s 6d.

Hardy had also experimented with samples taken from his Big Blow, part of the 'Buck Rock', and with the 5,000 tons of tailings left by previous companies. 'The value of these by 120 assays has been found to be 19s 6d per ton, and a profitable method of treatment has been devised by passing the materials by hydraulic ejector on the vanners', producing concentrates valued at £24 16s 7d per ton and 'suited for shipment to smelter. A third vanner, 6ft wide, by Gates, has been installed' to 'expedite the treatment of the said tailings'.¹⁶¹ Hardy sent concentrates to a Sydney smelter,¹⁶² his son Malcolm later stating that he had 'received £4 10s per ton for the copper contents of the ore worked and this went some distance in paying for the freights and smelting'.¹⁶³ In his March 1903 report, Coutts recorded that the treatment was 'wet crushing and concentrating by vanners. The tailings assay 10s per ton, representing an 88.27-per-cent saving on present ore value. An improved automatic arrangement will shortly be installed by

¹⁶¹ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 13 March 1902, *AJHR*, 1902, C-3, p. 88.

¹⁶² *Auckland Weekly News*, 21 May 1903, p. 26.

¹⁶³ *Te Aroha News*, 24 August 1932, p. 4.

which it is expected the loss will be reduced to 5s or 6s per ton'.¹⁶⁴ Later that year, a second rock-breaker was added because of an increased amount of ore, and the ten stampers and additional vanning machinery were at last erected. An electric lighting plant was being installed, along with a gasolene pressure assay and muffle furnace.¹⁶⁵

Hardy was interested in purchasing either the entire 60-stamper Moanataiari battery, which would have cost him £6,500, or portions of it, but it was sold to one of Henry Hopper Adams'¹⁶⁶ companies instead.¹⁶⁷ Hardy was the first person in New Zealand to install 'the Dodd circular riffled buddle', an American concentrating machine.¹⁶⁸ In August, a mining commentator noted that 'Experiments in concentration have been carried on over a fairly wide field'. Four different types of concentrators were being used: 'Wilfley Table, Dodd's buddle, Gate's vanner, and Union vanners'.¹⁶⁹

By November, the battery was working three shifts under the newly installed electric lights, and Hardy applied for a five-mile water race from the Wairakau Stream to enable him to use the water for 'Electrical Transmission of power to Mines Batteries Mills and factories'.¹⁷⁰ The *Thames Star* wrote that the plant was 'giving very satisfactory results' under his system, which was 'likely to be adopted by other companies owing to the good results obtained'.¹⁷¹ By the end of the year, he had spent £4,000 on his battery, assay plant, and related works, which were described as 'most compact':

The mode of treatment is wet crushing, the ore passing from the stone-breaker by automatic feeders to the 10 stamps, and from thence passing over electroplates (where over 40 per cent of the gold is saved) to revolving pans, where the sand is crushed very

¹⁶⁴ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 March 1903, *AJHR*, 1903, C-3, p. 89.

¹⁶⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1903, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ See paper on his life.

¹⁶⁷ John Watson to E.H. Hardy, 23 February 1903, Letterbook 1901-1903, p. 920; John Watson to E.H. Hardy, 15 May 1903, Letterbook 1903-1904, p. 84, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

¹⁶⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 13 August 1903, p. 41.

¹⁶⁹ 'Obadiah', 'Shares and Mining', *Observer*, 15 August 1903, p. 10.

¹⁷⁰ *Thames Star*, 1 December 1903, p. 2; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1903, 103/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷¹ *Thames Star*, 1 December 1903, p. 2.

fine (saving another 40 per cent of the gold), and is fed from thence into concentrators (some five per cent or six per cent of the value saved being in the shape of concentrates). Roughly Mr Hardy estimates to get an extraction of over 86 per cent, and he makes no effort to save his tailings. Cyanide treatment has been entirely discarded as quite unsuitable to the class of ore milled. The cost of mining and treatment is about 25s per ton. All over that is profit, and during the past 12 months the battery has been kept constantly at work on stuff going over £3 5s per ton.¹⁷²

In his last report before Hardy formed a company, Coutts noted that ‘considerable improvements’ had been made ‘by the erection of concentrating pans, &c’, and it was ‘intended to increase the number of stamps by another ten heads and bring the battery thoroughly up to date’.¹⁷³

SEEKING TO REDUCE COSTS

Like all mine owners, Hardy sought ways to reduce costs as much as possible. In July 1899, he complained to the mining registrar that he was being wrongly charged rent for the New Find No. 2, the surveyor having wrongly included it within his Empire Special Claim.¹⁷⁴ Accepting that a mistake had been made, the registrar suggested that the rent should be reduced by the amount Hardy had paid himself, not by what Aroha Gold Mines had paid.¹⁷⁵ In September, Hardy wrote a detailed letter to the Minister of Mines explaining how there had been a mistake in the survey for over five years, and enclosing copies of his correspondence over the matter:

Now, on account of the mistakes made by the Survey & Warden’s departments I have been put to law expenses and much trouble, fares to Auckland &c and moreover my application for exchange

¹⁷² *New Zealand Herald*, 1 December 1903, p. 6.

¹⁷³ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 14 March 1904, *AJHR*, 1904, C-3, p. 45.

¹⁷⁴ E.H. Hardy to Mining Registrar, Te Aroha, 11 July 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/1545, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁵ Mining Registrar to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 August 1899, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, pp. 542-543, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A; E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 25 September 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/1545, ANZ-W.

of title under the new Mining Act has been postponed from time to time and in the meantime I was debited 10/- per acre for all my property when I might only have been paying 2/6.

The recommendation of the Te Aroha registrar is absolutely illogical inasmuch as, if I am entitled to £5-10 I am entitled to the whole rent overpaid viz £20, because the property, at Dec 1st when I paid my first rent, was actually standing in the books of the Wardens Office Te Aroha under the name of the Aroha G. Mines Co and was not transferred to me by sanction of the Warden till more than a month after that date...

As I am holding the property as a bona fide worker having had 12 to 15 men continuously employed on it since December last, and as I have been put to law expense, travelling expense and extra rent through no mistake of my own but through that of Government officials - and as every penny is of much moment to me I beg that you will instruct that I be refunded or credited the whole rent paid in excess viz £20 or so. As a matter of justice the Government have absolutely no right to money paid as rent on ground that does not exist.¹⁷⁶

As requested, the £20 overpaid was credited towards future payments.¹⁷⁷

In March 1900, Hardy complained to the Mines Department about the terms under which the high school board granted water rights across its endowment.¹⁷⁸ 'It seems anomalous that I should be obliged to pay £16 per annum for the right to use 10 sluice heads of water when the same can be got under Government regulations for as many pence'. His water race was 'a costly one, due to maintenance charges of aqueducts, pipes, bridges and tunnels. These amounted last year to £60'.¹⁷⁹ He was informed that the government could not reduce the fee.¹⁸⁰

Over a year later, Hardy asked the board to permit him to take up part of their land not at its charge of £3 per acre but at the rates charged by the

¹⁷⁶ E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 25 September 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/1545, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁷ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to E.H. Hardy, 4 October 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/1545, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁸ See paper on the Thames High School Endowment at Waiorongomai.

¹⁷⁹ E.H. Hardy to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 March 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/61, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁰ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to E.H. Hardy, 20 April 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/61, ANZ-W.

government: 2s 6d for the first year, 5s for the second, and 7s 6d for the third. He had first raised this issue with the local Member of Parliament, who passed it on to the Minister, who in turn referred it to the board. Those members who sympathized with Hardy argued that it was better to open their land for prospecting under these conditions than for it to lie idle because, should Hardy find gold, they would receive a percentage of the gold extracted and also obtain many more tenants. Others considered a reduction from £3 to 2s 6d was too great. On the casting vote of the chairman, Hardy's request was approved.¹⁸¹ At its subsequent meeting, at which the chairman described their endowment as a 'white elephant' and wanted it prospected, an unsuccessful attempt was made to rescind that decision, which, on a technicality, was deferred to the following meeting.¹⁸² Before the votes were cast at this, Hardy told them that 'there was a considerable area of auriferous ground in the district ... that might be taken up if the terms were more favourable, but it was impossible for those who required the land to pay £3 per acre'. The board should not expect to receive this amount for land that was 'of a similar nature' to that for which the government charged lesser amounts. He would have to give up the few acres he rented if £3 was levied, and 'he was certain that no one would take up the ground at the rate charged'. Aroha Gold Mines had paid 10s per acre and 'been compelled to throw it up. Last year the speaker had spent £4449, and had employed 22 men. Certainly the Hampton Plains syndicate would have taken up more land had the terms been easier, and they would have employed more men'. The board confirmed its decision to charge a lower rate.¹⁸³

In April 1902, Hardy asked the Minister to remove his assay and dwelling house from the board's jurisdiction when his leases of seven acres containing these expired in June. He had been informed by the board that, upon expiry, he would 'be obliged to bid at auction a rental for both building and land, no compensation being paid, although I have within the last three years greatly improved the premises and redeemed the place from ruin'. The 'excessive rentals' charged for water and machine site and other licenses 'together with low grade ore and heavy quartz haulage charges' were 'a heavy penalty to pay for prospecting this unfortunate district'. He felt 'entitled to the same consideration from a public body that I enjoy from

¹⁸¹ *Thames Star*, 2 July 1901, p. 4.

¹⁸² *Thames Star*, 6 August 1901, p. 4.

¹⁸³ *Thames Star*, 3 September 1901, p. 3.

a Government anxious to make sacrifices in favour of mining', concluding that 'I humbly beg your good and prompt offices to prevent what may prove an insurmountable check to a course which I am earnestly and conscientiously pursuing in the cause of mining'.¹⁸⁴

The warden, Robert Smelt Bush, informed the Minister that Hardy had to pay £13 per annum for his water right whereas 'everywhere else on the field' there was no charge, and confirmed that Hardy had 'spent a few thousand pounds, besides the gold obtained in his operations'.¹⁸⁵ However, the government lacked the power to act as requested. When the leases of his three 'farm lots' came up for auction in late 1902, Hardy obtained lot 13, of 48 acres 1 rood 18 perches, comprising the eastern side of the township adjacent to the battery and including farm land containing the battery site,¹⁸⁶ for £15 per annum, £5 above the upset price. For lot 25 (6 acres 3 roods 6 perches, presumably the area including his assay and dwelling houses),¹⁸⁷ he had to pay £49, £23 above the upset price, and for lot 26 (18 acres 1 rood 5 perches, adjoining the previous one) he paid £25, £10 above.¹⁸⁸ Rival bidders had forced up the price: 'the competition in one or two instances was very keen'.¹⁸⁹ According to an unconfirmed story, another prospector and miner, William Morris Newsham,¹⁹⁰ was responsible. Hardy and Newsham may have disliked each other because the latter was occasionally Thomas Gavin's¹⁹¹ mate in both prospecting and mining;¹⁹² as shown below, Hardy and Gavin quarrelled for years. Hardy's grandson, David, recounted what happened:

¹⁸⁴ E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 30 April 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/61, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁵ Warden to Minister of Mines, 27 May 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 02/569, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁶ See map of this area, DP241, DOSLI, Hamilton.

¹⁸⁷ See plan of Thames High School Endowment sections made by Ernest Feltus Adams, 1902, Te Aroha Museum.

¹⁸⁸ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 11 July 1902, p. 2.

¹⁸⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 July 1902, p. 16.

¹⁹⁰ See paper on his life.

¹⁹¹ See paper on his life.

¹⁹² For example, prospecting together for the Te Aroha Prospecting Association in 1893 and in the Cadman mine in 1902: Mines Department, MD 1, 93/1281, ANZ-W: *Te Aroha News*, 29 March 1902, p. 3.

Newsham for some reason or other, who had a snitcher¹⁹³ against grandpa, decided to bid him up and bid him up and bid him up on his house, you see, and of course grandpa *had* to have his house and had to pay this exorbitant rental - Newsham apparently laughing up his sleeve over it.... Then Newsham's house came up for auction as well, so grandpa turned the tables and did the same thing to him, and got to the stage where Newsham realized that he couldn't pay such an exorbitant rental for it and had to let it go....

When all the auctioneering was over ... my grandfather asked my father if he'd go with him to open up Newsham's house to have a look at it.... Apparently it was opposite the pub.... They went to the front door and they couldn't open the front door, so grandpa said to my father, "Hop round the back, Jason, and see if you can find a window open or something. I'll get in the back way." Dad went round the back and he managed to open it up at the back and was on the way out to the front, and as he opened the front door, here's Newsham coming up the front path with a whopping great tea-tree stick in his hand, you see, and he's had a few drinks by this time and he's about the same size as my grandfather, which was about six feet and pretty well built, and he's coming up and he's saying "Get out of my house! Get out of my house, Hardy!" ... "Go on, get out!" and my grandfather just stood on the front verandah and said "I'm sorry, Newsham, I'm not going - this is my house now" sort of thing and that's that, and Newsham made a lunge at him with the stick: my father thought he was going to get killed.... Grandfather deftly grabbed hold of the stick, gave it a pull, and pulled Newsham off balance and there was a scuffle and Newsham went down on his back on the verandah and he had hold of my grandfather's thumb in his mouth - he had it between his teeth - he was apparently really biting hard - so grandpa being a proper gentleman didn't bash him there and then ... he just stood above him with a clenched fist and said "Newsham, let go my thumb! Let go my thumb, Newsham, or I shall bash your head in!" Whereupon Newsham did let go his thumb and went with his tail between his legs.¹⁹⁴

In March 1903, for the same reasons Hardy unsuccessfully appealed to the board to reduce the rent on his battery site and water race.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ The usual meaning of 'snitcher' is an informer: Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, 8 ed., ed. Paul Beale (London, 1984), p. 1104.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 8 of transcript.

¹⁹⁵ Thames High School, Minutes of Meeting of Board of Governors of 3 March 1903, High School Archives, Thames.

THE TRAMWAY

Another way to reduce costs was to operate the tramway himself. The March 1899 county council meeting considered his proposal to do this on condition that he paid the three tramway hands, fed the two horses, kept the brakes lubricated, replaced any damaged rails and sleepers, and generally safeguarded the council's interest. After discussion, it decided to call for tenders.¹⁹⁶ When its terms were as suggested by Hardy apart from the addition that he was to repair all damage, Hardy declared that he 'could not see his way to assume the responsibility for damage to rolling stock or landslips'.¹⁹⁷ There being no tenders, the council was obliged to continue running it,¹⁹⁸ apart from one month when Hardy operated it, as he described in a letter to it in December:

Early this year I formulated major proposals for taking over the line but your representative, Mr Gavin, insisted on a guarantee of £100, forfeitable in case of breaking of wire ropes or improper maintenance. This I could not agree to because one rope was notoriously defective and there was no custom traffic to compensate me for the risk; but I took the tramway for a month at the Council's risk on Mr Gavin's assurance that it had been put in perfect order. After ten trucks had run the line gave way at a spot which [Albert] Edwards [the tramway foreman]¹⁹⁹ stated was known to be defective and under orders for repair. This cost me £19 and 17 days delay in crushing 20 loads of ore. Your Council never replied to my complaint nor gave me redress. Later on Mr Gavin thinking to make a profit for the Council entirely at the expense of a stock of very poor ore left in the mine by his late English Company, undertook by weekly contract to run ten trucks of ore per day to the battery. For this I made provision by engaging two battery men from Kuaotunu and retaining a cyanide manager. His contract failed through breakage of the

¹⁹⁶ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 23 March 1899, p. 3.

¹⁹⁷ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 30 March 1899, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1897-1899, p. 438, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 29 April 1899, p. 3.

¹⁹⁸ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 26 April 1899, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1897-1899, p. 456, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

¹⁹⁹ See paper on the Piako County tramway at Waiorongomai.

wire rope previously referred to meanwhile I had two men idle at £7 per week.²⁰⁰

In May, Hardy offered £15 towards replacing this broken rope. After Gavin told his fellow councillors that Hardy had 20,000 tons of ore opened up, they agreed to assist him by keeping the tramway open.²⁰¹ The following month, Hardy sent a telegram to the Minister complaining that, although the rope was repaired, the council had only supplied 24 of the promised 50 trucks. 'Council employees lazy hostile and outside my Control, position intolerable no quartz ready for Monday meanwhile four battery shift men permanently engaged respectfully urge absolute necessity government assume command to enable me carry on'.²⁰² The Minister replied that he had done all he could for the district, and that the matter was between Hardy and the council.²⁰³ At the November council meeting, Gavin complained that Hardy had not fulfilled his promise to 'run down about ten trucks of quartz a day', only 'sending down about 20 per week', and suggested the council appoint a man to run the tramway, Hardy paying his wages. 'As things were at present, the tramway was being kept going and in repair for the benefit of Mr Hardy, who was not sending down sufficient quartz to warrant this heavy expenditure'.²⁰⁴ Accordingly, Hardy was informed that, as he would be the only person using it after the start of the new year, in place of the existing arrangement whereby he paid 3s 6d per truck, he must either guarantee a minimum of ten trucks per day or pay the foreman 8s a day regardless of whether the latter was sending down quartz or repairing the line, and must also pay the wages of the other workers.²⁰⁵ Hardy replied in mid-December:

²⁰⁰ E.H. Hardy to Clerk, Piako County Council, c. 16 December 1899, printed in *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 23 May 1899, p. 4; County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 20 June 1899, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1897-1899, p. 497, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁰² E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 10 June 1899 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

²⁰³ A.J. Cadman (Minister of Mines) to E.H. Hardy, 12 June 1899 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁴ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 25 November 1899, p. 4.

²⁰⁵ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 24 November 1899, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 100, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

It is true that I am the only party using the tramway, but it should be noted that this is no crime, and I am merely doing my duty towards those who originally provided the line by working my property to its utmost limit, consistent with economical mining. I am paying more for haulage, viz 34s per day than covers the actual cost, viz, 24s. As the mine improves no doubt more than the present 96 truck loads (144 tons) monthly will be transmitted. The question of maintaining the line in good order is of course not considered in this connection. Whether trucks be run or not the line will suffer, and much more through worn out sleepers than from actual traffic. Your Council must therefore face its responsibilities or cause the ruin of a fine tramway, made at great expense by the Government (£18,000) to develop the mining industry and provide revenue in the shape of gold royalty, and rent for the Piako Council and the Thames High School Board. It is unfortunately an anomaly that the latter body draws the bulk of the mine rentals yet contributes nothing towards the tramway. But there are other delinquencies deserving the severest reprobation. If your advisor in regard to the working of the tram, Mr T. Gavin, locks up or assists in locking up, 220 acres of the best available mining land round about the tram, against those who might prefer to develop it, thereby cutting off possible sources of tramway revenue and persistently recommends the imposition of harassing conditions on one who is doing his utmost with 16 workers and £200 per month, it is high time to cease operations and seek justice elsewhere. On enquiry at the Warden's office I find that the Sceptre Extended Claim, 99 acres, was held by T. Gavin under application before the Court, until June 13th last. The Loyalty Extended Claim, 95 acres, is at present held by him. The Loyalty-Palace Claim, 28 acres, is held in his name and he is, or was, a large shareholder therein, whilst the Cadman Claim is held unworked by Te Aroha residents, notwithstanding that I have offered to treat 50 tons of their ore at the low price of 4s per ton. I am justified in assuming that these parties play the part more as speculative "opportunists" than of real friends either of the Council or myself. Referring to your proposal as to future working of the tramway. I cannot agree to pay the wages of a foreman who is not my servant, as being subversive of discipline. The mine being a low grade proposition, requiring delicate handling, prevents any advance of the following proposals.

These were that he lease the tramway for 12 months 'at a peppercorn rental', employing one experienced man approved by the council plus two extra hands as required; feed the horses; keep the line and equipment in good order; repair trucks 'against ordinary wear and tear'; replace sleepers

if new ones were provided by the council; carry ore for the public 'at the usual rates'; and in general take 'every care but no responsibility' against accidents. 'As to my ability to look after the tramway, and my good faith, I refer you to the Chief Surveyor, Auckland, and the Surveyor-General, Wellington'.²⁰⁶

At its December meeting, Hardy accepted the council's proposal that he pay the foreman to run the line and guarantee sending at least 30 trucks each week; if there were fewer, he must make up the financial deficit. This agreement was to be renewed at each council meeting. According to the *Te Aroha News*, Hardy commented that 'the Council had actually given him better terms than he had asked for'.²⁰⁷ But, two days after the details of the agreement were confirmed,²⁰⁸ Hardy expressed second thoughts:

I have duly considered the above matter along with my mine manager and have determined to reject the proposals of the Council and re-present those of my letter dated December 14th. The present charge of 3s 6d per truck for haulage is already too high. Through unavoidable delays at the mine and battery from time to time a payment of £21 per month for 30 trucks per week with a probability of £42 per month when the battery is running fulltime, is an item large enough to cripple any low-grade mining proposition. Any charges beyond actual wages and costs of concurrent line repairs cannot be tolerated where strict economy is *sine quo nom* [indispensable condition]. On principle I object to pay for line repairs continuously when running quartz only twice or thrice per week. Other parties use the tramway for quartz, firewood, etc. A tramway once in good order should not require new sleepers for years. The present rails will last a lifetime. Why should I who am doing so much to redress the reputation of a district universally condemned, bear the legitimate burden of a professedly just and liberal Government? Any tramway expenses spread over a large and wealthy County are a mere nothing in view of possible mining developments. If the instincts of the Council are so purely agricultural as to prevent the conception of a bold and expansive mining policy, surely it were better to cease to administer this portion of their estates altogether. Referring once more to details, I cannot accept liability for the wages of

²⁰⁶ E.H. Hardy to Piako County Council, 14 December 1899, printed in *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²⁰⁷ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 16 December 1899, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 112, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²⁰⁸ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 19 December 1899, p. 4.

your Council's line assistants although I would be willing to pay the whole staff if my servants. Often two days are taken into delivering ten trucks when with a little extra work after hours one would do. Trucks of quartz on the line often from Saturday until Monday are at the mercy of depredators one of whom has confessed to the abstraction of gold stone therefrom. Again the trucks are so badly worn that fully one-third of their original load escapes on the road when the quartz is fine and wet.

He described his experience of operating the tramway for one month earlier of the year, and the loss it had caused him, as quoted above.

During the winter months the battery had frequently to stop through the contumacy of two tramway assistants who would not turn out in wet weather though that favoured the running of the trucks. One of these men was hostile to my interests because being a drunkard he had been refused work in the mine.

(As this man was not identified, the validity of this accusation cannot be confirmed.)

If the tramway men were my servants such things could not happen. Up to the 14th inst. since June my haulage account for 577 trucks of ore was £101, repairs protested £19, wire rope grant £15, total £135. Every particle of that stone had to be blasted out. In conclusion, I have been harassed beyond bearing by your Council through your supervisor,

Gavin, 'the largest holder of unworked mining land about the tram', and by his 'tramway nominees'. The council 'should not expect at this juncture a profit out of tramway haulage', but should seek to arrange that the high school board, which charged '10 times to 13 times the Government regulation price for water rights covering a costly water race', exchange its mining land for agricultural land elsewhere.

Our disabilities are many and the whole position of affairs is intolerable, so much so that unless immediate relief is immediately forthcoming the mine and battery after twelve months hard work must close down under six months protection pending better legislation, on 31st December next, and 16 men be

thrown out of work to the great detriment of many now comfortably settled families in this township.²⁰⁹

A subsequent letter repeated that his manager could not guarantee to send more than 20 trucks per week, 'and would not be certain of being able to send that quantity, as every part of ore has to be blasted, and is very hard. If stoping work alone were done in the mine things might be different, but we are driving and opening up the ground at the same time, and no more men can be profitably engaged'. He employed a manager, twelve miners, and three battery hands, and 'eighty truck loads would need to be very rich to enable me to make any profit over working expenses. Unless some better arrangement than formerly is arranged, I must stop work'.²¹⁰

After the council deferred considering these letters until its February meeting,²¹¹ a 'dead-lock' occurred, according to the *New Zealand Herald*,

resulting in the stoppage of all work at the mines, tramway, and battery. This means serious loss to the 19 men engaged, and effects almost every family at Waiorongomai, besides storekeepers and other at Te Aroha. Since the property changed hands, some 12 months ago, some £4000 have been spent, and crushing has gone on almost continuously during the last six months. The large reefs have proved quite payable, and, subject to a satisfactory arrangement being come to with the Council as to quartz-haulage, it had been decided to double the present crushing plant. It appears that Mr Hardy has repeatedly offered to lease the tramline and keep it in working order, but the Council objects, and seeks to impose terms which Mr Hardy considers unfair and detrimental to successful working on an extended scale. The questions at issue have been set aside by the Council for one month, pending consultation with the secretary. Meantime all mine work is at a standstill, which is much to be regretted. Ever since the tramway was handed over to the Council by the Government the agricultural and mining sections of the district have been at loggerheads, to the detriment of all legitimate mining enterprise, and those interested in the mining

²⁰⁹ E.H. Hardy to Piako County Council, 20 December 1899, printed in *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²¹⁰ E.H. Hardy to Piako County Council, c. 21 December 1899, printed in *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²¹¹ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 23 January 1900, p. 4.

work of the district feel that it is high time the Mines Department took measures to place matters on a satisfactory footing.²¹²

The *Te Aroha News*, commenting that this paragraph was ‘evidently communicated by’ Hardy, reprinted it along with the letters that had passed between him and the council.²¹³ Despite his threats, Hardy did not close his mine, and after the Christmas holiday continued to operate as before and paying the usual rate of 3s 6d per truck. As he did not increase the number of trucks sent down and the council continued to lose money, at its March meeting it refused to cut the charge. Although it did remove its requirement for a minimum number of trucks per month, it threatened to vary the arrangement if its loss worsened.²¹⁴ In April it was told that two trucks had broken away on the May Queen incline, causing damage, and, according to press reports, ‘instructed the Clerk to inform Mr Hardy that only competent men should be put on’.²¹⁵ This was misreported, for Edwards ran the tramway, not Hardy; when the latter complained that he had been unjustly criticized, the clerk assured him that his name had not been mentioned.²¹⁶ Hardy informed the press that, as the tramway was controlled by the council and worked by its employees, he was ‘not in any way responsible for the recent accident’.²¹⁷

As part of his dispute with Gavin and the council, Hardy charged that, not only did Edwards convey 90,000 feet of timber from the Aroha Gold Mines’ water race for Gavin without charge but that the wagons were so overloaded that some derailed, damaging the line. Edwards was asked to answer these charges, for Hardy intended to inform the press of his complaint.²¹⁸ Upon receiving Edwards’ response, the clerk informed Hardy

²¹² *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January 1900, p. 3.

²¹³ *Te Aroha News*, 25 January 1900, p. 2.

²¹⁴ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 20 March 1900, p. 4; County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 19 March 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 157, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²¹⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 23 April 1900, p. 3; Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 23 April 1900, p. 2.

²¹⁶ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 28 April 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 185, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²¹⁷ Letter from E.H. Hardy, *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 May 1900, p. 31.

²¹⁸ County Clerk to Albert Edwards, 30 April 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 186, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

that Edwards stated 'that there were 42000 feet of timber in 30 trucks,- that these were taken down by himself and Young and Messrs Gavin and Newsham,- that Mr Gavin worked himself and on behalf of the owner of the timber paid all wages, including Edwards' wages and Young's wages'. Details of the wages bill totalling £6 8s were provided. Edwards further stated

that had not Messrs Gavin and Newsham worked in the lowering of this timber others in their place must have been employed and paid,- that at least £6-8-0 would still have remained the actual cost to the Council,- that to meet that amount a rate of 4/6 per truck was required and the rate of 1/- which you mentioned as reasonable for the one grade would have amounted to 30/- and would have meant a loss to the Council of £4-18-0,- that in view of the inadequacy of any reasonable rate per truck Edwards agreed with Mr Gavin that the latter should pay the actual cost in wages which was done,- that this has been the arrangement usually followed in similar cases and in particular it was so arranged recently in the case of the Great Western machinery. Mr Edwards points out that your own mining requisites are carried upon the Tramway free.

He adds,- that in the lowering of this timber no Trucks left the line as stated by you,- that one truck dipped and damaged a sleeper,- that there was no further damage and that the injured sleeper was more than replaced by Mr Gavin's gift of 20 sleepers to the Tramway,- and also, that the trucks were not overloaded there being no more upon them in weight than is frequently upon occasion delivered to you.

Anything further on these matters please put in writing.²¹⁹

In the light of this refutation, Hardy did not inform the press of his charges, but did send a long letter to the May council meeting 'complaining at the arrangement, whereby Gavin was allowed to get down timber at a price which left no profit to the Council for the maintenance of the line'. He had calculated the weight of the timber trucks as two and a half tons, which was too much for a worn and rusted rope. He was charged for wear and tear; why not Gavin?

Moreover, no £100 deposit had been exacted forfeitable in case of breakage, though Gavin had demanded this from him (Hardy). In conclusion, Mr Hardy considered he was being unduly penalized

²¹⁹ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 2 May 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, pp. 188-189, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

for the benefit of other parties using the line, especially as he had contributed £15 towards the cost of a new rope.

To carry timber 'at bare cost of wages' suggested 'an absence of business ability' on the part of the council. During the meeting, it was reported that Hardy had sent men to assist in clearing a small slip and that he was willing to employ tramway hands in his mine when they were not required on the line.²²⁰

Hostilities appear to have ceased for two months, or, if continued, went unreported. Then, because Hardy announced that he would no longer crush for the public, the council decided to raise the charges. On 24 July the clerk informed him that the great expense of working the tramway combined with his decision had accentuated 'the fact that Tramway is really being run at a loss for your sole benefit and preventing the possibility of further revenue being got'; accordingly, one week's notice was given that the charge per truck for using the full length of the line would increase to 4s 6d.²²¹ Two days later, Hardy applied for four months' protection to work with only two miners because of 'excessive charge for haulage',²²² and sent a telegram to the Minister:

Dismissed twenty men from Mine and Battery after eighteen months successful working latterly day and night Recently notified inability crush for public whose support hitherto nominal Piako Council though profiting pound fifteen last month intimate owing to my notification tramway charges raised to four/six per truck this prevents further work urge Government intervention immediately.²²³

Two days later, on 28 July, a local correspondent commented sympathetically on Hardy's case:

The Council imply that the working of the tram is a great expense, whereas it is asserted that up to the 30th of December

²²⁰ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 21 May 1900, p. 4.

²²¹ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 24 July 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 245, Matamata-Piako County Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²²² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1900, 10, 11/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

²²³ E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 26 July 1900 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 00/1020, ANZ-W.

last, after twelve months' working a considerable profit was shown, and during the last month a profit of £15 has been made by the Council on gold duty, mine rent, and haulage from Mr Hardy's property alone. During the eighteen months that the battery has been working the public have had about 50 truck loads of ore crushed, and the returns from the same do not pay for re-arrangement of machinery for his own work.... It may be remarked that the Council has apparently listened to the tale told on behalf of the public, but has never made any inquiries from Mr Hardy as to the reason of his refusal to crush for them.... Only by cheap haulage can the ore be treated in bulk, without selection.²²⁴

The correspondent had thought another ten men were mining, but discovered that 'only two men have been working occasionally outside Mr Hardy's mine'.²²⁵

Also on 28 July, the county clerk informed his chairman, William Phillip Chepmell, a farmer at Kiwitahi,²²⁶ that Hardy had given his men 'notice to leave as from to-day', and had taken his case to the Minister:

I saw him yesterday and again this morning. He states that notwithstanding his Advertisement he did crush last month for Messrs Gavin and Newsham, and that now it is impossible for him to crush for the public if he were asked to do so as in point of fact the Battery is putting through his own Quartz up to its utmost capacity,- working three shifts. He paid more for haulage last month than has ever been paid,- £25-14-6, being for 147 Trucks,- and than that he states no more can be put through the Battery. He states that to charge 4/6 is to stop his operations and insists that with such a charge he must close the Battery. I see there is a letter in 1891 of Mr Northcroft's (then Warden) asking in connection with a Lease that the charge should not be more than 3/6 as in his opinion the Waiorongomai ores would not stand more than that. To-day Mr Hardy was accompanied by Mr Ryan Assistant Mining Inspector. I gave him the figures showing cost of running from June 1899 when Hardy commenced to date. If Gold Duty is taken into account there is no loss to the Council.... The Mining Inspector who had been at Waiorongomai and inspected Mr Hardy's books, &c, appeared to substantiate many of Mr Hardy's statements, and while he was here I took the responsibility of giving Mr Hardy a note to the effect that his

²²⁴ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 28 July 1900, p. 3.

²²⁵ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 28 July 1900, p. 3, 15 August 1900, p. 5.

²²⁶ See *Bay of Plenty Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 12; *New Zealand Herald*, 18 October 1930, p.

Notice re 4/6 was postponed until after next Council Meeting,- this in order that the Council might reconsider the matter in view of his explanations and statements now made. I have seen Mr [Andrew Joseph] Farmer [a councillor]²²⁷ this afternoon and he approves. Will you authorize me to put on the Notices of next Meeting as a special business,- "To reconsider Tramway charges"?²²⁸

He was so authorised, and Coutts was able to tell his department that, pending this meeting, no miners had been discharged.²²⁹ Two days later, he wrote that the council and Hardy had 'been at variance for some time over charges and the working of the tramway' because the former was not prepared to hand it over on the terms Hardy wanted. Coutts considered Hardy should not be given a monopoly over it and recommended that the dispute be left to the two parties to sort out.²³⁰ His superiors agreed, Hardy being informed that the government would not interfere.²³¹

Hardy took his case to the public by informing the *Te Aroha News* that, as the new price was 'prohibitive for conveying low grade ore', he would close his mine. For the past six months the amount crushed for the public 'was very small, in fact nothing to speak of'. During the last month, the battery worked in three shifts putting through 222 tons, its full capacity, and because it 'required full time treating quartz from his own mine' he 'was compelled to cease crushing for the public'. As a further inducement for the council to capitulate, the newspaper was led to understand that Hardy 'had completed arrangements on behalf of persons at Home and elsewhere, whereby £300 per month was to be expended in mines at Waiorongomai'. The article concluded by stating that Hardy would now 'turn his attention

²²⁷ See *Bay of Plenty Electoral Roll, 1900*, p. 20; *New Zealand Herald*, 3 December 1921, p. 10. 31 August 1922, p. 9, 13 February 1929, p. 14, 26 September 1936, p. 18.

²²⁸ County Clerk to Chairman, Piako County Council, 28 July 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, pp. 251-252, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²²⁹ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 July 1900 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 00/1020, ANZ-W.

²³⁰ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 30 July 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 00/1020, ANZ-W.

²³¹ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to E.H. Hardy, 7 August 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 00/1020, ANZ-W.

to an antimony mine at the Bay of Islands in which he is interested', taking some of his miners to work it.²³²

Councillors at their August meeting were presented with the tramway accounts from June 1899 to July 1900 inclusive, showing that whereas Hardy had paid £202 17s 8d all the other miners had paid £35 8s.²³³ After goldfield revenue and duty was taken into account, its loss was just over £27, which did not include Hardy's contribution of £15 towards a new wire rope. As well, Warden Northcroft's letter of 1891, arguing that 3s 6d was a fair price, was read.

Mr Hardy was present at the meeting and made a lengthy statement supporting his contention that a rate of 4s 6d per truck would be prohibitive, quoting figures and returns in proof. The Chairman pointed out that the Council had no desire to be oppressive; and they would not have interfered in this instance, but for the fact that Mr Hardy had publicly advertised he would not crush any ore for the public in his battery.

Chepmell made the same points raised in the clerk's letter to Hardy, who

explained that he did not intend to absolutely refuse to crush for other owners on the hill, but his battery had more ore in front of it than he could overtake for a term, and the advertisement, which he admitted was too strongly worded, was meant to check the flow of stuff from other sources until he could get his own quartz stock reduced. He was quite willing to crush for the public when he was able, in fact he had already stopped his battery in order to put through a small parcel for another man, but it was hardly reasonable to expect him to be always doing this.

The council thereupon decided that, on Hardy 'giving his assurances he will continue to crush for the public when convenient opportunity arose', the lower rate would continue. Hardy 'verbally gave his assurance', meaning 'that this phase of the tramway problems will be considered as settled'.²³⁴

²³² Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, 28 July 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 00/1020, ANZ-W.

²³³ Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, pp. 144, 252, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; the figures given in Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 22 August 1900, p. 4, were incorrectly reported.

²³⁴ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 22 August 1900, p. 4.

Accordingly, in September Hardy withdrew his applications for protection.²³⁵

At the council meeting later that month, 'several letters on tramway matters' were received from Hardy. These seem to have been his earlier letters, in which he objected 'to being considered as the sole source of revenue for the tramway' and argued that 'he was entitled to more consideration being engaged in bona fide mining work, and also being the means of introducing fresh capital to the district'. As the council had dealt with his concerns, it took no further action.²³⁶

Nine months later, Hardy announced that he would not erect the second head of stamps until he received better terms for haulage, and that his proposed aerial tramway from his Big Blow, being closer to the battery, would by-pass the tramway.²³⁷ On 13 July he applied for a certificate of easement to build another 'Aerial Tramway from County Tramway above May Queen Incline to Battery at Smithy foot of County Tramway, also Hoppers for Quartz storage opposite Smithy and at May Queen End. Distance about 8000 feet'.²³⁸ This wire tramway would mean that, as he would only use the top level of the tramway, the cost would be reduced from 3s per truck to 1s.²³⁹ Later that month, the council received another long letter protesting at up-freight being charged on material for his mines. 'He pointed out that the charge was not customary, and that, if persisted in, he would dismiss the two tramwaymen from the mine'.²⁴⁰ In fact, the charges had been modest: 500 feet of planks had been taken up for no charge, and '5 boxes candles, 9 sacks coal, 1 truck frame, sundries iron picks shear steel from Battery, Blacksmith's shop complete, anvil, bellows, wheelbarrow, iron truck and wheels, Sundries Iron picks steel and gelignite from Butler's Spur' had been conveyed for 1s per hundredweight, making a total cost of £1

²³⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1900, 10, 11/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

²³⁶ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 26 September 1900, p. 4.

²³⁷ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 19 June 1901, p. 3.

²³⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 63/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

²³⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 August 1901, Summary, p. 1.

²⁴⁰ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 24 July 1901, p. 2.

1s.²⁴¹ As the council took no action, merely receiving his letter,²⁴² Hardy immediately drew up a plan for the longer aerial tramway, and on 31 July the certificate of easement was issued.²⁴³ At the beginning of October, he applied for six months protection of the Premier 'pending arrangements for Erection of Aerial tramway'.²⁴⁴

Shortly before this application was lodged, Hardy asked Coutts for details of how much he and the government had spent on the tramway, because 'recently I have been oppressed without reason by a charge for goods taken up to the mine (explosives candles &c) in the empties which return'. He explained that the council had

amongst its members, chiefly agriculturalists, certain individuals who have apparently no sympathy with mining, pay very little in rates themselves and who will, if things go on as at present, cause me to abandon the tramway line and confine work to the Big Blow Claim which is within easy reach of the Battery.

Should he erect an aerial tramway, the ground one would be useless. There needed to be 'a little exertion' by the council 'by which they can cause 14 trucks of ore to be run instead of 10 as at present. If the charge remains the same 35/- per day the Council will make a fair profit'.²⁴⁵ Coutts, in referring his letter to the Minister, noted that the council was losing money. Although Hardy was 'continually complaining about the working of this tramway I question very much if he could do it any cheaper or better'. That Hardy should write in such a way 'to try and prevent the council from

²⁴¹ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 8 July 1901, 24 July 1901, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, pp. 475, 479, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁴² Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 24 July 1901, p. 2.

²⁴³ 'Plan of Proposed Aerial Tramway, Waiorongomai, compiled from official plans by E.H. Hardy, Licd. Min. Surveyor, July 29, 1901', Te Aroha Museum; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Residence Sites, Business Sites, and Water Races, 1893-1911, folio 185, BBAV 11500/8a, ANZ-A.

²⁴⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 90/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

²⁴⁵ E.H. Hardy to James Coutts, 25 September 1901, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

getting assistance from the Government I am at a loss to understand'.²⁴⁶ The under-secretary agreed, being 'unable to understand the object of Mr Hardy's letter': if he had a complaint, he should approach the council.²⁴⁷

The aerial tramway was not constructed, although hostilities with Gavin were renewed, indirectly, in January 1902 when, at the conclusion of an interview with a local correspondent, Hardy said that the mining outlook was 'exceedingly hopeful, in spite of the croaking and ill-natured remarks of certain disappointed individuals'.²⁴⁸ On 30 April, in concluding a long letter to the warden outlining his work, he wrote that 12 months' protection was

wanted to ensure rest and peace from irresponsible, overbearing menacing parties to whom is open an equal water supply to my own and easier transport facilities but who prefer to hold unworked abundance of land and exploit and prostitute those privileges in behalf of which they pose as public benefactors.

He would use the period of protection to go to London to raise more capital.²⁴⁹ On the same day, Gavin, the 'irresponsible, overbearing menacing party' referred to, wrote to the Minister that, until 12 months previously, the battery had crushed to the public, 'but owing to a Difference between Mr Hardy and the Piako County Council over haulage charges at that time, he has Refused to crush for the public. When Mr Hardy started he told the Miners that he would crush for them at any time, he crushed two parcels of ore for me but now refuses' unless the council reduced what Gavin considered were reasonable charges. He complained that, after the battery had been idle for six months, Hardy was to go to England to float his mines. 'We Don't object to this but think you can assist uss by not granting the protection unless he will in the meantime keep his Battery open to crush for the public at a fair charge per ton this would be no loss to him as when he is a way he will have to keep a man in charge to look after it'. As Hardy controlled the supply of water, he prevented another plant from being erected. 'Owing to his action the mining is allmost as a Stand

²⁴⁶ James Coutts to Minister of Mines, 27 September 1901, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁷ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to James Coutts, 3 October 1901, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 27 January 1902, p. 4.

²⁴⁹ E.H. Hardy to Warden, 30 April 1902, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1902, 21/1902, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

and the miners have to leave their homes to seek work else where'.²⁵⁰ Asked for his opinion, the warden, Robert Smelt Bush, considered that as Hardy had worked his mines 'with considerable success' and was the only man 'who could be said to have done any mining worth speaking about', he was entitled to have time to obtain capital:

Mr Hardy had done a great deal more, at any rate since 1899 for the field than Mr Gavin. I can find nothing in the office to indicate there was any obligation placed upon Mr Hardy or his predecessors in it to Crush for the public at his Battery. I presume there must be some private grievance between the two gentlemen, but with this we have nothing to do - Nor do I know of any legal requirement by which any battery holder can be forced to crush for the public at his private battery.... Some time ago, I know Mr Hardy in speaking to me mentioned what he had to pay for haulage on the County Tram line, saying it was more than the mines could afford to pay, and that unless he could get it reduced he would have to build an aerial tram.... I do not think private differences should be considered in conjunction with these applications - It would seem some such difference is at the bottom of this objection.²⁵¹

In the light of this opinion, Gavin was informed that the government had no power to interfere with how Hardy ran his plant.²⁵²

In March, Hardy was still talking about erecting the aerial tramway, which was expected to greatly increase the amount of quartz treated.²⁵³ At the next council meeting, it was suggested that, as Hardy was not using the tramway, he should 'be asked to contribute half-cost of keeping a man on to look after' it while 'it was lying idle';²⁵⁴ Hardy ignored this proposal. Although his request in October has not survived, the response of the county clerk suggested that he had wanted control over it. The clerk's telegram was blunt: John Samuel Hill²⁵⁵ was 'appointed Foreman. Absurd

²⁵⁰ Thomas Gavin to Minister of Mines, 30 April 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 02/569, ANZ-W.

²⁵¹ Warden to Minister of Mines, 27 May 1902, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, pp. 650-652, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁵² Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Thomas Gavin, 5 June 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 02/569, ANZ-W.

²⁵³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 21 March 1902, p. 4.

²⁵⁴ Piako County Council, *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 April 1902, p. 22.

²⁵⁵ See paper on the Piako County tramway at Waiorongomai.

to give authority you ask. Absolutely decline'.²⁵⁶ This response must have been related to a complaint about delays and one stoppage that meant Hardy 'had to pay two men for unremunerative labour'.²⁵⁷

After these skirmishes, there was peace apart from one last outbreak early in 1904, when its clerk informed the council that

he had had some difficulty with Mr Hardy over three cases of gelignite which had disappeared from the trucks on the journey up. Mr Hardy refused to pay the £1 freight, and stated he would hold the Council responsible as common carriers. Mr Gavin said that under the circumstances the Council should refuse to carry anything up in the future. All the members concurred. The clerk, in the meantime, was instructed to ascertain the legal aspect of the question.²⁵⁸

Subsequently Hardy was informed that, 'notwithstanding the alleged loss of part thereof, he must pay'.²⁵⁹ In the absence of any further public ructions, it must be assumed that he did.

MINING

Hardy also endured conflicts over his mines. At the September 1900 council meeting, the secretary of the Cadman Syndicate complained that he had lodged a plaint to forfeit their ground. Further, although they had arranged that he would crush 40 or 50 tons for 9s a ton, 'when they sent down a parcel of ten tons he declined to crush under 20s per ton. Mr Hardy, who was present, explained that he was quite willing to crush at the original price, provided that a larger quantity had been sent'.²⁶⁰ Less placatingly, Hardy complained that rents were in arrears for both the

²⁵⁶ County Clerk to E.H. Hardy, 27 October 1902, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1902-1903, p. 175, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁵⁷ Piako County Council, *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 November 1902, p. 22.

²⁵⁸ Piako County Council, *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 March 1904, p. 19.

²⁵⁹ Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 30 March 1904, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁶⁰ Piako County Council, *Waikato Argus*, 26 September 1900, p. 4.

Cadman and Gavin's Loyalty.²⁶¹ That same month, a miner charged Hardy himself with failing to comply with labour conditions and failing to work the New Find; he was fined £2 and costs for the New Find No. 1 and the plaint over No. 2 was dismissed.²⁶²

The expansion of the battery and his continual use of the tramway indicated that his ore was increasingly payable. By early May 1899 four men were getting good stone in the Premier.²⁶³ In August, 'good stone' had come to hand in other mines and he was considering extending the low level tunnel abandoned by Aroha Gold Mines,²⁶⁴ which would 'necessitate the expenditure of a large amount of capital. When the Aroha Company ceased operations, the huge reef had shown an improvement', and 'a further improvement' was expected as this tunnel was extended.²⁶⁵ This plan was not referred to again, either because Hardy examined the true value of the reef more carefully or was unable to obtain the large amount of capital required.

In September, Hardy was obtaining 'payable returns'.²⁶⁶ The following month, his operations were 'being attended with gratifying success', and he had 'met with every encouragement for' extending his mining.²⁶⁷ Later that month, a mining reporter described the workings:

Operations are confined to the Premier section, in stoping and driving northward from the main winze, at a place hitherto supposed to be beyond the dip of the chute of gold, but where there is now gold showing in five different faces. The ground is being stoped vertically 153ft and 200ft horizontally, and intermediate drives laid out. Every particle of stuff taken out is put through the battery; there is no mullock tip. A band, 4ft to 8ft wide, is being attacked at present. This is only one of the many payable bands existing in the reef, which averages over 100ft wide for over a mile. It is intended shortly to put on another lot of

²⁶¹ County Clerk to Receiver of Gold Revenue, Te Aroha, 25 September 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 297, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁶² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Plaints 1900, 34/1900, BBAV 11572/2a; Plaint Book 1899-1949, Hearing of 3 October 1900, BBAV 11551/1a, ANZ-A.

²⁶³ *Thames Advertiser*, 11 May 1899, p. 1.

²⁶⁴ For details of this tunnel, see paper on the New Zealand Exploration Company.

²⁶⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 September 1899, p. 34.

²⁶⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 September 1899, p. 34.

²⁶⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 October 1899, p. 19.

men at the Colonist section, where large quantities of gold have been obtained in the past, over £10,000 worth of the precious metal having been won during the last 14 months it was worked. The ground is already opened up by a low level tunnel and drifts north and south, giving 100ft of backs, under the old run of gold.²⁶⁸

Although output varied from month to month, it was always payable. Different sources gave somewhat different outputs, the higher results giving 713 tons crushed between May and the end of November for a return of 460oz 12dwt.²⁶⁹ As the returns from his first six months' crushings were 'most satisfactory', Hardy decided to employ more miners, extend his operations, and enlarge the battery.²⁷⁰ In late November a mining reporter wrote that he was 'working steadily, with, it is stated, fair success. Mr Hardy deserves success for his pluck and enterprise, and it is believed that the operations now carried on by him will do much towards resuscitating a keen interest in Waiorongomai mining'.²⁷¹ Hardy advertised for 'Five Really First-class Miners', offering them a 'permanent job, and good accommodation', but requiring a written application accompanied by 'testimonials from late employers'.²⁷² At the end of July 1900, a newspaper reported that he had extracted 'about' £3,500 worth of bullion during the past 18 months, paying in wages 'about £200 per month'.²⁷³ Hardy immediately sent a telegram 'asking us to contradict the statements contained in that paragraph, and saying that the figures given therein are incorrect',²⁷⁴ but without providing the correct details.

For the 12 months to 30 March 1900, Coutts reported that Hardy had worked the Premier continuously with ten men, obtaining 'exceedingly encouraging' results. Mining had been 'chiefly confined to working out a block of ground from the side of a winze that was sunk on the reef from the

²⁶⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 October 1899, Supplement, p. 1.

²⁶⁹ County Clerk to Minister of Mines, 23 March 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 00/495, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 June 1899, p. 461, 16 July 1899, p. 502, 16 September 1899, p. 73, 16 October 1899, p. 120, 16 November 1899, p. 163, 16 December 1899, p. 202.

²⁷⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 December 1899, p. 20.

²⁷¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 24 November 1899, Supplement, p. 1.

²⁷² Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 28 November 1899, p. 1.

²⁷³ *New Zealand Herald*, 30 July 1900, p. 6.

²⁷⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 1 August 1900, p. 7.

upper levels' by the previous owners, Aroha Gold Mines. The reef was 'from 100ft to 140ft in thickness', but Hardy had 'been operating on a portion of it (which contains payable gold) varying from 4ft to 8ft wide, which produced 1,006 tons of quartz for a return of 738oz 16dwt of gold, valued at £1,974 4s 2d'.²⁷⁵ This was 'a decided success', Bush considered: the results 'exceeded every expectation', and proved that, 'if only worked properly', there was 'plenty of remuneration for outlay of money in Te Aroha properties'.²⁷⁶ The local newspaper, in February 1900, noted briefly that, 'in a quiet and unassuming manner', Hardy was 'toiling away'.²⁷⁷ In April, one journalist was told that he was 'doing well' and was 'likely to make a success of it.... Evidently he believes in careful work, and steady'.²⁷⁸

In late July 1900, another correspondent provided details of the work done before he announced that work would cease owing to his conflict with the council:

Protection has been asked for four months, and granted, and during the interval some of the men will be removed to the Bay of Islands, where an antimony mine is being worked. The stoppage of work here is far reaching in its effects, as nearly 60 persons are directly interested in the carrying on of the works. During the last month Mr Hardy received instructions to take up property near his own, on behalf of two English companies, who are prepared to spend £275 per month in developing work, and one of these mines was to be manned a month hence. Hr Hardy has intimated, however, that owing to the hostility displayed by the Council, the money will be transferred to Melbourne, to a mine being worked there by his principals.... Last month Mr Hardy crushed 222 tons of ore, which is the full capacity of the battery, and the amount recovered during the time the battery has been working is about £3500, every particle of material taken from the mine having passed through the battery, and only by cheap haulage can the ore be treated in bulk, without selection. The amount given in wages, etc, is £200 per month.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 May 1900, *AJHR*, 1900, C-3, p. 90.

²⁷⁶ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 25 May 1900, *AJHR*, 1900, C-3, p. 117.

²⁷⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 15 February 1900, p. 2.

²⁷⁸ 'Maratuahu', 'Te Aroha: Past and Present', *New Zealand Herald*, 21 April 1900, Supplement, p. 1.

²⁷⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 28 July 1900, p. 3.

(These 'principals', clearly Australian investors, were not named.) In mid-August, after his dispute with the council was resolved, the same correspondent provided details of his work and prospects:

The result of the investigation of accounts for the year ending June 30, 1900, allows a very substantial profit. There are evidences that the Piako County Council is disposed to assist Mr Hardy in his work, after being made aware of the facts of the case. Great improvements have been made in the battery, and new machinery has been put up during the last few months which will further increase the bullion extraction of 85 per cent already attained. Encouraged by his success two British companies, the Hampton Plains Exploration Company [and] a Scottish syndicate have taken up ground amounting to 110 acres, adjoining Mr Hardy.... Twenty men are at present employed at the mine and battery. Mr Hardy feels quite sure that if he gets the help of the council, we may look forward to real good times for Waiorongomai. He is quite willing to assist any parties engaged in bona-fide mining by crushing their quartz when the battery is not fully occupied. He does not wish to hamper anyone. Hitherto the public have given him practically no support in the matter of quartz for crushing. The result has generally been detrimental to the machinery and electro-silver plates, besides entailing much lost time in cleaning out the battery to accommodate their quartz.... The year's work shows a substantial profit, and there is every indication of still better returns for the coming twelve months.²⁸⁰

The Hampton Special Quartz Claim, applied for by Hardy in December, comprised five acres between Gavin's Loyalty Palace and the Sceptre containing the Goldsworthy reef.²⁸¹

In its summary of mining during 1900, the *New Zealand Herald* reported that he had 'consistently worked' his claims, with 'satisfactory and encouraging' results. 'Something like 1100 tons of ore have been treated and over £2000 worth of bullion won'.²⁸² In the following February, Coutts reported that the Premier had been 'steadily worked' and that Hardy believed that when 'opened up it will again become one of the leading gold-producing mines'. He was driving and stoping in it for the 'highly

²⁸⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 15 August 1900, p. 5.

²⁸¹ E.H. Hardy, Plan of Hampton S.Q.C., December 1900, Te Aroha Museum; for the Goldsworthy reef, see paper on the Goldsworthy brothers.

²⁸² *New Zealand Herald*, 18 January 1901, Summary, p. 1.

satisfactory' result of 882oz 9dwt of gold from 1,189 tons crushed, worth £1,918 11s 9d. Twenty men were employed in the mine and battery.²⁸³ In his annual report, Bush wrote that the mines had been 'most systematically worked' under Hardy's personal supervision. Most of the dead work required to open up the Premier had been done:

A gold-bearing stope has been carried along horizontally 250ft, and 153ft in height, which had produced payable returns, the width of the reef varying from 3ft to 9ft. A level 85ft below these workings has intersected the reef, and payable ore has been met with. A rise and winze are being made to connect these levels. Water has been led about 500ft from a waterfall adjoining the mine to provide ventilation for the lower levels.

Prospecting in the Colonist and New Find had produced 'gratifying results', and these mines would be 'systematically worked' once the battery was enlarged. Hardy was crushing everything he extracted 'to ascertain the bulk value of the ore as it stands'. Bush gave a different result to Coutts: 1,641 tons had returned £3419 3s 9d, an average of £2 1s 6d per ton.²⁸⁴ (At that time, any result under £1 10s was regarded as unpayable.)²⁸⁵ The Inspecting Engineer noted, in May, that 'the reef worked is nearly vertical, its course being a little east of north and west of south. The ground is hard and costly to work, and only a portion of the reef is extracted', namely 'a band of about 4ft wide near the middle, the value of which is about £2 5s per ton'.²⁸⁶

WORKING FOR HARDY IN 1900 AND 1901: THE LETTERS OF THOMAS FRANZ HOLT

²⁸³ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 8 February 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, pp. 56-57.

²⁸⁴ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 31 March 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, p. 79.

²⁸⁵ E.C. Macpherson to John Henderson, 14 November 1932, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/1/20, ANZ-W.

²⁸⁶ John Hayes to Minister of Mines, 20 May 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, p. 17.

Thomas Franz Holt, born in Islington, London, in 1853, to a 'Superintendent of Railways', arrived in New Zealand in 1879.²⁸⁷ A clerk, in 1882 he was living at Riverhead, at the northern end of Auckland harbour.²⁸⁸ Appointed clerk of the magistrate's court at Helensville in mid-1884,²⁸⁹ he was a pillar of the local community, being secretary to the Maraetai Road Board and to the school committee as well as a librarian and churchwarden.²⁹⁰ But in the following year, he was convicted of embezzling a small sum from the Helensville Lodge of Foresters and sentenced to six months' labour.²⁹¹ After his release, he worked on the land in the Auckland and Hokianga regions, and married Eliza Helen Squire at Paihia in 1893.²⁹² In about 1895, the family (their eldest son had been born the year before) leased a five-roomed house and five acres at Whangarei. After being out of work for ten months, Holt became a reporter on the *Northern Advocate*, but, after meeting Hardy when the latter was visiting the Puhipuhi 'goldfield', with his friend, Henry Robert Holman, he moved to Waiorongomai in September 1900.²⁹³ His letters to his wife describe his life there before his family joined him.

n.d. [September 1900]

.... We got to Paeroa about midnight, slept on board, caught the 7 o'clock train in the morning & reached Te Aroha about 7.30. Had breakfast there after a stroll round the domain and a drink of the hot spring water, & strolled on to Waiorongomai, leaving our luggage to come by the coach in the afternoon. I don't suppose we

²⁸⁷ England and Wales, District of Islington, Greater London County, April-June Quarter, 1853, Free BDM Birth Index; Death Certificate of Thomas Franz Holt, 19 June 1908, 1908/2846, BDM; Meryl Bassett, Introduction to Thomas Franz Holt, Letters 1900-1901, Museum Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁸⁸ Letter from T.F. Holt, *Auckland Weekly News*, 5 August 1882, p. 13; *New Zealand Police Gazette*, 14 April 1886, p. 73.

²⁸⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 5 June 1884, p. 914.

²⁹⁰ Police Court, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 August 1885, p. 15.

²⁹¹ Supreme Court, Judges' Notebooks, Gillies J, Criminal Cases 1884-1886, pp. 238-241, BBAE A304/257, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Herald*, 30 July 1885, p. 4; *Auckland Weekly News*, Police Court, 8 August 1885, pp. 14-15, Supreme Court, 17 October 1885, p. 14.

²⁹² Marriage Certificate of Thomas Franz Holt, 1893/409, BDM.

²⁹³ Meryl Bassett, Introduction, Holt Letters.

shall begin work until Monday as our tools &c will not be along until Saturday afternoon....²⁹⁴

13 September 1900

I came down to the office this morning to write this but we have been so busy discussing the best plans to adopt and the most convenient land to start operations on that it is nearly 10 o'clock before I begin.

Last Saturday afternoon Holman, Hardy and I went into Te Aroha by the coach, transacted some business and had a bath, but we had to cram it all into about an hour and a half as we only left here at 3.30 and the coach returned at 5 o'clock....

We have not got our shanty built yet, but got so far today as to get most of the timber carried up to the site. We have chosen a very good spot for it, but I think that most likely Holman and I will before long be located down in the township as I think my work will be mostly in the battery and in the office. At present however our work will be mostly prospecting and assaying.

Yesterday we were away at the top of a high hill & the wind up there was terrific, and it was very cloudy all round so that there was not much of a view, but on a fine day you can see a tremendous distance....

I was having a chat with Hardy tonight. I think before long they will arrange matters so that my salary will be £3 a week, whether the secretaryship comes at once or not. There are two or three companies taking up ground here for which Holman will act as mine manager, and I shall get something from each for clerical work besides a regular screw from the Hampton Plains Co. I think from what I can see that good gold will be found here almost at once & if so things will go ahead & if so I shall be able to do well.... By the by as the delay in getting our house built has been unavoidable I shall not have to pay for my board at the hotel for the last fortnight, at least, I shall get it refunded.

Holman is waiting to get back to bed so I must close this....²⁹⁵

(If this 'house' was the shanty erected beside the track leading to the Big Blow, Hardy did not provide a plan of the site until the end of

²⁹⁴ T.F.Holt to E.H. Holt, n.d. [end of August/beginning of September 1900], Holt, Letters, pp. 7, 9.

²⁹⁵ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 13 September 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 15, 17, 19, 21.

October.²⁹⁶ Holman had been the mine manager for the Hampton Claims Company at Puhipuhi, and was now its manager at Waiorongomai.)²⁹⁷

n.d. [20 September 1900]

... We have nearly finished our house & expect to get into it tomorrow. It is splendidly situated on a plateau about 300 or 400 feet above the township with a fine view all round.²⁹⁸

28 September 1900

... Some days it is beautiful & very hot & then a spell of cold blustering squalls. Today has been about the worst I think since we have been here. It poured in torrents all night, and left off a bit about 8 o'clock. Holman & I went up the hill & put in the day carpentering at our shanty. It was a series of terrific squalls with thunder and hail all day, but cleared off in the evening long enough to let us get down again. The three men, [William] Redshaw, McDonald and Bourne are staying up there now, but our compartment is not quite finished. It has been too wet to put some of the timber up but I expect we shall take up our residence by Monday. Last Friday I went in to Te Aroha with Mr Hardy to do some business at the Wardens Court, and then we went to inspect a lot of machinery, tools etc at a Battery just outside of the town which are for sale. We did not get back to Waiorongomai until about eight o'clock....

There was a concert and dance here in the evening but I did not go. Holman and I went up to Hardy's for an hour or two.

On Saturday we all three went to Te Aroha in the afternoon & walked out from there to look at an aerial wire tramway which is for sale. We dined at Te Aroha and came out by the late 'bus. On Sunday Holman & I ... spent the evening at Hardy's. On Monday we all went to Morrinsville.²⁹⁹

(McDonald and Bourne have not been identified. Redshaw, then aged 57,³⁰⁰ had mined in the Tapu district in 1868,³⁰¹ and in 1901 would apply

²⁹⁶ E.H. Hardy, Plan of Residence Site A for Hampton Plains Exploration Company, 30 October 1900, Museum Archives, Te Aroha.

²⁹⁷ *Northern Advocate*, 27 February 1919, p. 1.

²⁹⁸ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, n.d. [20 September 1900], Holt, Letters, p. 25.

²⁹⁹ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 28 September 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 25, 27, 29.

³⁰⁰ Death Certificate of William Redshaw, 12 August 1913, 1913/4376, BDM.

³⁰¹ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1867-1868, no. 808, BACL 14358/1a; Claims Register 1868, folio 148, BACL 14397/1a; Register of Agreements 1868,

for two Waiorongomai claims.³⁰² During the following year he was mining near Whangarei.³⁰³ The Montezuma Company had owned the aerial tramway and battery machinery.)³⁰⁴

In his next letter, sent at the beginning of October, Holt wrote that 'Either Mr Holman or Mr Hardy will be going up to Russell in about a fortnight'.³⁰⁵

11 October 1900

We are now settled in our hut on the hill. We have papered our compartment with brown paper, so are comfortable, but the timber we had to build it with was very green and shrinks very much so that there is plenty of ventilation through the floor and ceiling. It is raining hard, as it has been off and on all this week. We got out last week surveying, but only managed to get out on Monday this week. It has been too wet and on the hills too misty to see any direction.... We had a great climb on Monday, Hardy, Holman & myself & a miner, pegging out some ground and prospecting. We got up about 2000 feet and explored a bit of old workings. At one place we came across a big block of stone that showed gold wherever we broke pieces off, and the loose earth all about showed good gold when washed....

New proprietors have taken the hotel where we were staying and last night they gave a bit of a spread. Holman & I went down as it cleared up about 7 o'clock. They had a very well arranged little affair & we got back to our camp about 11 o'clock. We went down without a lantern, but vowed not to try it again. The tracks were very rough & slippery and it was too dark to see the ground properly. We took care to have one on the return trip.

Today I have been indoors mostly making up monthly returns etc and fixing up things a bit in the shanty.

We went up the hill this afternoon for a couple of hours to start a survey line through the bush, and just got back in time for it came down heavily....³⁰⁶

n.d. [?18 October 1900]

folio 92, BACL 14417/2a, ANZ-A; Notices of Intentions to Marry, 1868, folio 129, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/13, ANZ-W.

³⁰² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 19, 24/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

³⁰³ *Marsdon Electoral Roll, 1902*, p. 57.

³⁰⁴ See paper on Joseph Campbell.

³⁰⁵ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, n.d. [beginning of October 1900], Holt, Letters, p. 31.

³⁰⁶ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 11 October 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 41, 43.

... I expect in a few weeks Holman & I will go to Coromandel to remove some houses there belonging to Hardy, to be re-erected here. There is one good thing about it that all expenses are paid when we move about, and on a liberal scale. When we came back from Te Aroha Hardy said, Just put down our expenses – Self and two witnesses to Te Aroha re plaint for forfeiture. Coach 3/- Dinner 4/6 Whiskey & cigars 3/-. He insists on charging the Company with everything.... There is a little fellow here ... a very sharp youngster. He follows me about when I am doing anything & if I am looking for anything in the shape of tools can generally tell me where to find them. We have had wretched weather up to today, but it is now splendid. From the office where I am writing this there is a very extensive view & in the far distance the tops of the snow clad ranges are visible today for the first time since I have been here....³⁰⁷

23 October 1900

... We are having horrible weather here, hardly a fine day. It has interfered a lot with our work as we cannot get on with anything definite until the surveying is finished and we can only get a day now and again. We were out yesterday & had no rain. We had some tall climbing. I went up to the top of the great rock [Buck Rock] which tops the hill above us. It is only accessible from one side. The other is a perpendicular wall about 200ft high. The top of it where I was is only about six feet across. There was a splendid view.... Today we went out but it set in wet at midday & after waiting about for some time in hope of it clearing we came back to the shanty. I expect however that it will be my last trip up the hill for a time as I am going into the battery tomorrow and may be there permanently. Mr Hardy told me about a week ago that he very much wished me to pick up the battery work and go in there, and on Sunday morning he broached the subject again. The matter stands this way. There are three regular battery hands who take a shift of eight hours each. One of these is an old fellow who is getting past his work, and another he does not care about. He reckons that in a week or so I could take a shift regularly & would soon be able to take a general supervision of the thing & relieve him of some of his work. Holman and he and I talked the matter over including the secretaryship of the business.

Laurence has had no word to go home [England], and a week or two ago Hardy instructed him to bring his office &c up here, as he thought he really had not enough work to warrant his getting £3 per week. As a matter of fact there is only about a couple of hours work a week. Hardy is anxious to get rid of Laurence and let me do the work. I should get 8/- a day for the battery at first, and

³⁰⁷ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, n.d. [?18 October 1900], Holt, Letters, pp. 45, 47.

they propose with the book work & the bit of book keeping I should still do for Holman, to bring my salary up to £3 or £3 10s a week. I told him I was agreeable to fall in with that arrangement....

Tonight Holman was down at the office & Hardy asked him to ask me if I would go on at the battery tomorrow morning so I am going to make a start at it. There is no hard work about it. It is simply to see that the machinery is all going right everything is worked by water power & works automatically. Of course I don't mean that one has only to sit down and look on. There is plenty to do to see that everything is in order and keep it so, as on that depends the amount of gold saved. And of course there are repairs to the machines and such like. I expect that after I have been for a few days with the man who now runs the day shift, I shall take over the shift from 4 o'clock to 12. At present I shall come up here to sleep & have my meals but I expect very soon that Holman will also give up living on the hill, as we hope to be sending stone down to the battery for the Company and he will have to be there to see to its being put through. He will leave McDonald in charge of the workings in the mines, which will mean an extra wage for him. I hope that in two or three weeks everything will be definitely settled and then if it is as satisfactory as it promises to be it will of course be better for us to take up our abode either here or in the immediate neighbourhood....³⁰⁸

(Clearly Laurence was the Hampton Plains Company's secretary at Te Aroha, but nothing about him has been traced.)

31 October 1900

I am wondering whether you are getting the same vile weather in Whangarei as we are here. Occasionally we have a day partly fine but generally the wind is howling and it rains in torrents. Fortunately I have not had to be out in it. I have been working in the battery since last Wednesday with the exception of Friday and Saturday. On Friday morning a slip of earth up in the hills blocked up the "race" which brings the water down for working the battery, so I got McDonald and Redshaw & we went up to clear it away. We did not get it put right until Saturday afternoon. It happened to be fairly fine both days but very windy....

Thursday:..

We have had a fine day for a wonder but I was indoors all day fitting up some new machinery. I notice that visitors are beginning to come around. There was a crowd here today & Hardy showed them round the battery. It must be rather a

³⁰⁸ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 23 October 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 51, 53, 55, 57.

tedious job for the machinery makes such a row that until one gets used to it, it is impossible to hear what any one is saying or to make them hear you. I don't notice it now, but at first I found it a great nuisance.³⁰⁹

27 November 1900

... Mr Hardy did not leave here till Saturday. I hoped to have had a talk with him after the arrival of the mail from Home last week, to learn whether any definite instructions had been sent about Laurence. I did not get a chance however, for he was busy all Thursday & Friday with a gentleman who has been commissioned by the Hampton Plains Co to examine the ground & report on the prospects, & on Saturday morning he left by the first train. I expect he would be in Whangarei this morning. I do not know how long he will be away, but probably he will be back before the end of next week as that is his pay day....

Just round where we are living is very pretty, & I should like to live there but for the nuisance of having to climb up 500 feet or so every evening....³¹⁰

10 December 1900

... It is a great nuisance that Hardy is away so long, since I cannot decide what to do until I come to some more definite arrangement with him....

We have been getting splendid weather here the last week or so, only rather hot. I have been building a porch at Hardy's house at odd times when I could get away from the battery. I expect to finish it tomorrow. Since Hardy has been away there have, of course, been several break-downs & stoppages of the work. The week before last a fall of earth in one of the tunnels through which the water supply runs blocked the water & stopped all the machinery. We had Redshaw, McDonald, myself and two or three others at it for three days before we got the water through again. Then a day or two after we got fairly to work a breakage occurred in the machinery which it took four of us a whole day to put right, & the whole battery had to be stopped the while. Then part of another machine gave way & it was two days before we could get it replaced, during which time half the battery had to remain idle. However, we are swinging along all right now....³¹¹

14 January 1901

... There has been an alteration at the battery. The old fellow who was in charge & on day shift declined to take his turn at the night

³⁰⁹ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 31 October 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 61, 65.

³¹⁰ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 27 November 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 75, 77, 79.

³¹¹ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 10 December 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 83, 85, 87.

shifts & left on Saturday & I take his place. Today I go on at 4 o'clock to midnight, next week midnight to 8 o'clock & the next week 8 to 4 in the day, & so on. Hardy is in Auckland. I think the Hampton Plains Co. are likely to close up here but am not certain....³¹²

Holt's letters, which contained no further information about working for Hardy, ended shortly afterwards because his family had joined him. He continued to work for Hardy, between 1902 and 1905 as a battery assistant.³¹³ For the last three years of his life he was the Waiorongomai postmaster, a post taken over by his widow after his death in 1908.³¹⁴ He was a prominent member of the small community: first elected to the school committee in 1901, he was re-elected in subsequent years and was chairman from the 1902 election until his death.³¹⁵ Despite holding this position, in 1907 he was fined on two counts of allowing his children to be away from school for more than the prescribed period.³¹⁶ His death was sudden. In June 1908, when walking up Fern Spur to visit Hardy's Mines, he dropped dead of a heart attack, being found by a man going to work the 4 o'clock shift.³¹⁷ His widow told the coroner that, about two hours after having breakfast, he 'went up the hill with the intention of placing some machinery at the tunnel'.³¹⁸ His descendants understood that, having been mostly unemployed since Hardy left the district, he had been 'appointed to supervise the remaining workings of Hardy's Mines Ltd' but had died 'on his way to work on the first day'.³¹⁹ His death certificate described him as a battery manager, his probate as an accountant.³²⁰

³¹² T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 14 January 1900, Holt, Letters, pp. 93, 95.

³¹³ *Ohinemuri Electoral Rolls, 1902*, p. 34; *1903*, p. 30; *1905*, p. 36.

³¹⁴ Meryl Bassett, Introduction, Holt Letters; *Tauranga Electoral Roll, 1908*, p. 37; Paeroa Licensing Court, *Te Aroha News*, 20 June 1908, p. 2; *Cleave's Auckland Directory, 1909* (Auckland, 1909), p. 658.

³¹⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 May 1901, p. 14, 8 May 1902, p. 41, 4 May 1905, p. 20, 18 June 1908, p. 37; *Te Aroha News*, 25 April 1907, p. 2, 11 June 1908, p. 2.

³¹⁶ Magistrate's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 1 June 1907, p. 2.

³¹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 20 June 1908, p. 2.

³¹⁸ Inquests, Justice Department, J 46, COR 1908/629, ANZ-W.

³¹⁹ Meryl Bassett, Introduction, Holt Letters.

³²⁰ Death Certificate of Thomas Franz Holt, 19 June 1908, 1908/2846, BDM; Intestate Probates, BBAE 1591/86, ANZ-A.

THE BIG BLOW

In October 1900, Hardy applied to work with fewer men for six months to enable him 'to thoroughly prospect before fully operating' his claims.³²¹ One particular area being prospecting was his Big Blow, at the northern end of Buck Rock, the southernmost outcrop of the main reef and overlooking the flat.³²² It was near where Aroha Gold Mines had made a crosscut in 1895.³²³ On 19 July, he applied for the Big Blow Special Quartz Claim, of 30 acres; being a licensed mining surveyor, he would survey it himself. After the survey was delayed by bad weather, he discovered that much was within the high school endowment, which charged a rental of nearly £3 an acre; accordingly, he informed Bush on 30 October that he had marked out only five acres two roods and 36 perches of 'rough' land 'covered with heavy bush'.³²⁴ At the same time, on behalf of the Hampton Plains Exploration Company, which provided the capital for prospecting this area, he surveyed a residence site beside the track leading to the ground.³²⁵ On 21 September, on its behalf he had applied for the Mammoth Reef Special Quartz Claim, 40 acres that included that portion of Buck Rock he had refrained from marking out because of the high rental.³²⁶ The registered office of this company, along with Waitaia Gold Mines Ltd, of Kuaotunu, was moved to 'Hardy's Mines and Battery' in October 1900.³²⁷ Also late in 1900, Hardy applied on its behalf for the Hampton and Gold King Special

³²¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1900, 20, 21/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

³²² See E.H. Hardy, Plan of Residence Site A for Hampton Plains Exploration Company, 30 October 1900; E.H. Hardy, map of New Mammoth Reefs and Big Blow, 31 October 1900, folder B; map of Mammoth Reef Special Quartz Claim, applied for by J.H. Fleming, 1895, with E.H. Hardy, Big Blow subdivision, 4 March 1902, folder M, Te Aroha Museum; John Henderson, assisted by J.A. Bartrum, *The Geology of the Aroha Subdivision, Hauraki, New Zealand: Geological Survey Bulletin No. 16 (New Series)* (Wellington, 1913), map of all claims appended.

³²³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 April 1902, p. 36.

³²⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1900, 2/1900, BBAV, 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

³²⁵ E.H. Hardy, Plan of Residence Site A for Hampton Plains Exploration Company, 30 October 1900, Te Aroha Museum.

³²⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1900, 4/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

³²⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 11 October 1900, p. 1857.

Quartz Claims,³²⁸ and achieved the forfeiture of the Cadman Special Quartz Claim.³²⁹ In March 1901, as ‘Supervisor and Attorney’ for the Hampton Plains Company, he sold all its property at Waiorongomai;³³⁰ after its properties were abandoned,³³¹ he lost this source of income.

Due to the loss of the local newspaper for this period, full details of his work in this dramatically sited claim are unknown. Bush, in his review of mining to 30 March 1901, gave the first surviving reference to his mining

at the end of the big quartz outcrop above the plain at Waiorongomai. A face of payable quartz has been excavated as an open-cut, being 60ft long by 20ft high and 4ft thick, in excellent ore which, assayed all through, proves to be payable. 200 tons have been extracted preparatory to crushing. The object in carrying on the works at the Big Blow is to provide a supply of quartz near the battery in case of any stoppage of the tramway connecting the more distant mines.³³²

On 30 April, in applying for six months’ protection, Hardy informed Bush that he had worked the ground continuously since 9 January, extracting 200 tons, and had cleared a quarter of a mile of bush for the aerial tramway, all at a cost of £360. Time was ‘required for erection of aerial wire tram and 10 extra stampers at battery’.³³³ In June, he decided that the 7,000 feet of wire rope, ‘intended for aerial tramline, cleared through the bush from the Big Blow claim to the main tram line at the Army Creek bridge’, would instead go directly to the battery because of the

³²⁸ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1900, 3, 6/1900, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A; for E.H. Hardy, Plan of Hampton Special Quartz Claim, December 1900, folder B, Te Aroha Museum.

³²⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Numerical Index of Registrations 1889-1912, entry for 3 October 1900, BBAV 11287/2a; Plaintiff Book 1899-1947, Hearing of 3 October 1900, BBAV 11551/1a, ANZ-A.

³³⁰ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 2 March 1901, p. 8.

³³¹ For example, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Gold Revenue Licenses 1881-1929, folio 117, BBAV 11495/1a, ANZ-A.

³³² Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 31 March 1901, *AJHR*, 1901, C-3, p. 79.

³³³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1901, 35/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

dispute about tramway charges.³³⁴ By October, a large sample had been sent down 'by a temporary aerial tramway'; if 'satisfactory', a permanent one would be erected 'forthwith'.³³⁵

Early in 1902, Hardy was planning to increase the number of miners. 'Some excellent ore from a four foot reef' was being extracted, and, being close to the battery, haulage charges would be 'very small'.³³⁶ For the 12 months to 30 March, Coutts reported that

An immense amount of surface excavation has been done, exposing a fine reef for a length of 50ft. In the floor the reef is 3ft wide, making strong and compact towards a junction with the mother lode at the Big Buck reef. Similar junctions at the New Find, Colonist, and Premier Claims produced a rich deposit of gold and silver. About 30 tons of a highly mineralised quartz has been paddocked.

Hardy had informed him that the bulk ore was 'worth about £3 per ton, but it can be sorted out at the mine to produce £10 per ton, and that samples had been treated by vanner, producing concentrates worth £25 per ton for gold and silver, and £1 12s for copper'.³³⁷ In April, Hardy took a sample to Auckland from a 'large new reef' that he had recently discovered, which gave from £15 to £45 to the ton.³³⁸ The sample was about 30 tons 'of good, kindly quartz ... very heavily mineralised, and carried gold, silver, and copper in payable quantities'. The general direction of the three-foot reef, north-east and south-west, headed straight for 'the well-known big reef'. The 'country rock' sampled was 'of a highly favourable character for gold'. Hardy stated that the reef was 'an entirely new discovery, the closest workings to it being those of the old Aroha company, who did a little work about 50 feet away' from it. An aerial tramway three-quarters of a mile long would be erected to connect it with the battery.³³⁹ At the end of that month, he informed Bush that 18 chains had been cleared near the lowest tramway level, the wire rope had been bought,

³³⁴ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 19 June 1901, p. 3.

³³⁵ *Thames Star*, 7 October 1901, p. 2.

³³⁶ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Starr*, 27 January 1902, p. 4.

³³⁷ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 13 March 1902, *AJHR*, 1902, C-3, p. 88.

³³⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 April 1902, p. 36.

³³⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 16 April 1902, p. 1.

6 chains of line cleared and fitted complete with ropes and buckets and brake gear, 2 ore hoppers built and 1 excavated, upper and rocky point removed by blasting 100ft by 25ft by 10ft containing 1700 tons mostly re-stacked as retaining wall, and, Reef extracted and laid bare 30ft deep, driven 60ft by 5ft, winze sunk 3ft by 10ft. To haul a test parcel of ore to the Battery cost 11/- per truck load. The rest must remain at the mine pending easy transportation,

which he was negotiating to obtain.³⁴⁰ At the beginning of September, it was expected that work would soon start and that. It was anticipated that the reefs 'on the big blow' would be more valuable than the Premier, 'their copper, gold, and silver contents bringing them up to £40 per ton'.³⁴¹

During March, Hardy surrendered the Big Blow Special Quartz Claim and was granted the Mammoth Reef Special Quartz Claim, of 19 acres, which included the same area plus all of Buck Rock and the surrounding ground.³⁴² Two months later, he requested a refund of rent on the Big Blow claim, reminding the high school board that it 'decided some months ago that the rent was to be same as Government, and I held on to the property'. He had paid around £17 in rent, whereas his predecessors, Aroha Gold Mines, 'never paid any more than the ordinary Government rates. I look upon the charge, £3 per acre as utterly absurd even to purchase right out, and it comes hard when one has to pay so much for other rents, water, and battery where repairs and renewals are so costly'. The board replied that he must surrender the leases and obtain another before any reduction could be made.³⁴³

In March 1903, three trucks carried ore down Fern Spur Incline from 'Blow', followed by another nine in April.³⁴⁴ During May, work continued 'near the great quartz blow overlooking the township'. Hardy had blasted

³⁴⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1902, 21/1902, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

³⁴¹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 1 September 1902, p. 2.

³⁴² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Numerical Index of Registrations 1889-1912, entry for 24 March 1902, BBAV 11287/2a; E.H. Hardy to Warden, 30 April 1902, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1902, 21/1902, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

³⁴³ *Thames Star*, 6 May 1902, p. 4.

³⁴⁴ Piako County Council, Letterbook 1902-1903, pp. 274, 311, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

'hundreds of tons of stone from a precipitous rocky face to provide access and accommodation. A temporary aerial tramway has been fitted up', and 30 tons had been treated 'with excellent results', the concentrates being sent to Sydney for smelting.³⁴⁵ In August, he applied for six months' protection because of the 'bad state of County track and difficulty of working on surface during winter months also to allow of disposal of property to London Co'. A month later, he declared that he had spent £492 12s 8d in development work, blasting out 1,500 tons 'to prepare a footing for driving and extracting ore'. Ten tons of samples had been 'recently' treated, 'the refractory portion having been forwarded to New South Wales for smelting'. Protection was granted.³⁴⁶ Although Coutts later wrote that he had been informed that the battery tests of 60 tons gave 'sufficient encouragement' to have the aerial tramway erected 'in the near future',³⁴⁷ this cannot have been the case, for Hardy abandoned the ground in mid-November.³⁴⁸

THE PREMIER MINE

The only ore that Hardy extracted in bulk was from the Premier. In September 1901 he told the Minister that he had proved the ore to be payable, and it would be even better when his low level reached a rich chute.³⁴⁹ In the calendar year 1901, he employed 15 men, crushed 1,289 tons, and obtained gold worth £2,384 16s 5d.³⁵⁰ As almost all copies of the *Te Aroha News* from March 1900 to July 1905 have been destroyed, only occasional information can be discovered about his mining during those years. Although the Paeroa manager of the Bank of New Zealand, after visiting his mines in April 1901, wrote that 'they are looking well and

³⁴⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1903, p. 6.

³⁴⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1903, 66/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

³⁴⁷ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 14 March 1904, Mines Department, *AJHR*, 1904, C-3, p. 45.

³⁴⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1903, 96/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

³⁴⁹ E.H. Hardy to Inspector of Mines, 25 September 1901, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

³⁵⁰ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 August 1902, p. 11.

shortly the returns should be increased',³⁵¹ in that month Hardy applied for and was granted six month's protection for the New Find, arguing that until additions to the battery were erected he could not treat all the available ore.³⁵² He then abandoned this ground.

Mining in the Premier was reported in May to be continuing 'very steadily', Hardy 'gradually increasing the number of men employed... During the last few days there has been a considerable increase in the number of trucks of quartz brought down'.³⁵³ In the following month, when the Premier was the only mine at work, he announced 'that a reef three feet wide, the richest ever worked in the district, has been discovered in Hardy's Premier Mines'.³⁵⁴ It formed 'the hanging wall of the nine-foot lode in the Premier section, which has kept the battery going night and day for the past two years', and samples exceeded 'in richness anything ever seen at Waiorongomai'.³⁵⁵ Further details revealed that it extended 'upwards to a height of 153ft' and was 'known to go down for 185ft'.³⁵⁶ In mid-August, a detailed description was published:

Some time ago, whilst exploitation work was being carried on on what is known as the Premier lode at the Vulcan level, a rich chute of ore was intersected at the bottom of a rise which had been carried up to the surface. The vein was about 3ft wide where it came in, and it has since widened out to 5ft, with splendid stone showing in the face, which has been extended a distance of about 50ft from the point where the deposit was met with. The stone is of a free-milling nature, and no trouble is experienced in saving the gold at the 10-stamper battery, which is running regularly, the return from which last month was 110oz melted gold, valued at £308, thus making the total won from the mine since Mr Hardy assumed its ownership over £7000. The new chute of ore promises to amply reward Mr Hardy, as operations have proved that the downward continuation of the system maintained its promising appearance. As good stone was left

³⁵¹ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1901, General Remarks by Manager, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³⁵² Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 16/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A.

³⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, n.d., reprinted in *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 13 May 1901, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ *Thames Star*, 10 June 1901, p. 4; Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Star*, 17 June 1901, p. 2.

³⁵⁵ *Thames Star*, 19 June 1901, p. 3.

³⁵⁶ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 26 June 1901, p. 2.

showing in the floor of the level, a winze was sunk for a depth of 25ft, and an underhand stope run out. In both workings some nice stone was obtained, so Mr Hardy now intends to extend an adit, which is located about 85ft lower down the hill. This drive will only require to be advanced an estimated distance of 50ft to reach the chute developed with such success at the Vulcan level, whilst there is another level 100ft still further down which requires an extension of about 100ft. There will be no difficulty at all in opening out these levels and connecting them with the upper level. There are other reefs upon which to operate, but, being of a lower grade, it has been decided to confine attention at present to the development of the rich chute of ore.³⁵⁷

By September, an average of 70 trucks a week were being sent down,³⁵⁸ and the following month Hardy's 'vigorous policy' of development had produced 'some splendid ore' from a winze being sunk at the Vulcan level. 'A trial crushing of 400 tons has proved very satisfactory, and the low level is being pushed ahead to get under it'.³⁵⁹ In December ore from the new 'low level pay chute' was being treated.³⁶⁰

In January 1902, a Te Aroha correspondent wrote that, when Hardy first took over the mines and battery, 'it was predicted that he would stay six months and get no gold. As a matter of fact he has taken £7000 worth of gold out, the greater part of which has been distributed in this district'.³⁶¹ The *Observer*, which reprinted this report, described Hardy as 'the gentleman who has so successfully demonstrated the fact that there is money to be made out of mining in Te Aroha'.³⁶² By March, after being granted protection only 'a few men' were employed.³⁶³ Coutts reported that, in the 12 months to 30 March, at first Hardy had concentrated on stoping on the reef,

³⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 August 1901, Summary, p. 1.

³⁵⁸ County Clerk to Minister of Mines, 7 September 1901, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 1 [at end of book], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

³⁵⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 October 1901, Summary, p. 1.

³⁶⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 5 December 1901, p. 2.

³⁶¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 27 January 1902, p. 4.

³⁶² *Observer*, 8 February 1902, p. 4.

³⁶³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 21 March 1902, p. 4.

but, as the chute of payable quartz had been worked out above the level, a winze was sunk about 20ft on the reef and stoped up to the level. As the quartz had to be raised to the level with a windlass - thereby increasing the cost of getting it - the manager decided to extend the low level under this place, which has now reached within a few feet of a point immediately under the winze sunk on the reef. Twenty men were employed for most part of the year, but lately they were all discharged.

The battery had treated 1,289 tons for a return of 851oz 18dwt, valued at £2,384 16s 5d.³⁶⁴ In his letter of 30 April requesting protection for 12 months, Hardy provided details of his mining:

Work has been almost continually carried on in this claim since its acquisition from the Aroha G M Ltd. Crushing began in June 1899 and continued, the greater part of the time working three shifts, till February last. The average number of men for the year was 21. The Battery could not maintain more on account of the fine grinding required. On October 30th last I obtained protection for six months as the payable quartz in the upper levels was approaching the fault which in the north end cuts off a three foot reef by a clean hard wall. I worked on however till February by which time I had driven a low level 330 feet and risen 105ft reaching within 15ft of the upper level gold chute. All this was in hard blasting quartz and cost over £2 a foot. To drive through the fault and crosscut and to extend the low level was the next business. To do this economically without another source of crushing ore, or outside capital which I ascertained could not be obtained in N.Z. was impossible....

Seven men are now employed at mine and battery, and will be kept at work and increased in number as ore supplies warrant in spite of protection being granted....

The total sum expended by me so far is over £10,000. All profit has gone towards mines and battery.³⁶⁵

Although granted nine months' protection for all his mines to enable him to visit London to raise capital,³⁶⁶ Hardy did not go there. A correspondent reported in April that the battery was

³⁶⁴ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 13 March 1902, *AJHR*, 1902, C-3, p. 42.

³⁶⁵ E.H. Hardy to Warden, 30 April 1902, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1902, 21/1902, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

³⁶⁶ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 June 1902, p. 745.

running on a parcel of concentrates that had accrued from the past two years work in the Premier mine. These concentrates are not sufficiently rich to shift to the smelting works in Sydney, but by retreatment over vanners their value has been raised from £3 10s to £26 per ton. Their chief value consists in silver sulphides, easily caught on the Wilfley tables and vanners after having been ground in pans to uniform size. The total number of tons crushed for the Premier mine for the past two years is 3157, producing 2600oz bullion, valued at £2 2s 10d per ton, giving a total of £6755 9s 2d.³⁶⁷

By the beginning of September, Hardy was working on a 'new run of gold, a continuation of the ground stoped out during the last two years'. Two tons of concentrates sent to Sydney produced 5oz of gold and 120oz of silver per ton. Only four men were at work, but more would be employed as the ground was opened up; earlier, only one man had been at work, and then two.³⁶⁸ Crushing resumed in late September, and at the beginning of the following month Hardy informed his bank manager that he was employing six miners and one man at the battery. 'Good prospects of mine. Is sure the ore will go much more than £2 per ton'.³⁶⁹ On 2 October he brought £120-worth of retorted gold to the bank: 'Is now on wide reef of stone worth nearly £4 per ton', and he expected the 50 tons from which it was extracted to produce, in all, £188. 'He has 50 tons more similar stone ready to crush & is putting on more miners if he can get them, to keep the battery employed'.³⁷⁰

Assessing the state of the mining industry during 1903, the *New Zealand Herald* considered that Hardy's operations had been 'most successful', for 'bullion to the value of £8250 has been extracted, averaging about £2 8s per ton'. The concentrates averaged £32 per ton and as the method of treatment was 'cheap and effective' the 'abundant supply of

³⁶⁷ Our Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 14 April 1902, p. 1; reprinted in *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 April 1902, p. 36.

³⁶⁸ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 1 September 1902, p. 2; Inspector of Mines to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 4 September 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 07/1014, ANZ-W.

³⁶⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 11, entries for 16 September 1902, 2 October 1902, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³⁷⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 11, entry for 2 October 1902, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

payable ore' warranted expanding the battery.³⁷¹ Coutts, in March 1903, reported that, after a period of development work, the results were

most satisfactory, as a payable chute of ore has been opened up which will keep the battery working for some time to come. The portion of the lode that is being operated on averages 4ft in width, and is the continuance southwards of that worked during the past three years. The gold and silver is evenly distributed, making selections of the richer portions of the lodes (I am informed) impossible.

To date, Hardy had crushed 3,545 tons for a return of £8,222 10s, an average of £2 6s 5d per ton. 'From August to the end of the year the ore has proved to be much richer than formerly, as 388 tons has yielded £1,467 0s 11d, an average of £3 15s 8d per ton'.³⁷² Bush's annual report noted that Hardy was doing 'the only real mining' in the district, and gave a higher value for the ore, about £2 8s per ton; 'present indications show an abundant supply of ore'. The concentrates were sent for treatment to the Dapto Works,³⁷³ located south of Sydney in New South Wales.³⁷⁴ By mid-May the quality was 'steadily improving', the average since January being £4 5s 2d per ton:

The quartz formation of the main lode in the Premier section is over 100ft wide. The central vertical band now being extracted contains the oldest and hardest quartz, and carried very fine free gold, with sulphides of silver and iron, in blue streaky white quartz for a width of 4ft to 12ft, between well-defined walls, the whole of the material taken therefrom being treated at the battery for the returns above mentioned. Good payable ore has been got for the whole distance traversed, viz, 285ft, and as far as the stoping has extended vertically up to 225ft.

Last year the auriferous lode encountered a joint at the northern end, causing faulting and displacement. Two mine managers failed to find payable ore in either north or south end. Nothing daunted, Mr Hardy pushed on from January to August of last

³⁷¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 22 January 1903, Supplement, p. 1.

³⁷² James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 March 1903, *AJHR*, 1903, C-3, p. 89; see also *AJHR*, 1903, C-3, p. 194.

³⁷³ R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 18 May 1903, *AJHR*, 1903, C-3, p. 145; see similar report by mining reporter in *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 26 January 1903, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended: A history of Australian mining* (Melbourne, 1964), p. 278.

year, and was rewarded by rich finds in both ends. In the south end the stopes are being driven northwards to the former workings, and everything is being crushed, while at the north end the reef has been picked up, heaved 6ft eastwards, but larger and richer than before. So far, then, there is no blank in the mine. There are 1400ft yet to drive on the lode to reach a point 350ft below the summit of the range, and a depth of 1750ft to the level of the Thames Valley.

The reef formation has now proved its continuity as a gold-bearer from the New Find claim northwards for a mile, and has shown sufficient data within the last five months for the probable realisation of the hopeful predictions so often expressed by practical mining men with regard to the Waiorongomai field.³⁷⁵

During 1903, Hardy produced from £500- to £600-worth of bullion per month;³⁷⁶ in April he informed his bank manager that the ore body being worked would 'last for years'.³⁷⁷ The following month he ordered American 'electrically-driven rock-drills. These will be worked by water-power dynamo and motors connected to drills by flexible shafts'.³⁷⁸ In June, 'Obadiah' wrote that, because 'private enterprise in gold mining' was 'a very rare commodity in these degenerate days', he was pleased that Hardy's efforts were 'being attended by a fair amount of success', he having extracted bullion worth £745 from 170 tons in the previous month.³⁷⁹ For the three months ending in July, he had obtained £1,706 from 476 tons.³⁸⁰ Hardly surprisingly, the local newspaper in August reported Hardy as appearing 'well satisfied'.³⁸¹ Two months later, he told a Te Aroha correspondent that

everything in connection with his mines at Waiorongomai was progressing satisfactorily. As work continues the quality of the stone maintains its richness; everything broken down is put through the battery. New country opened up is of a promising

³⁷⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1903, p. 6.

³⁷⁶ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Balance Book, Bullion Reports for Half Years to 31 March 1903, 30 September 1903, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³⁷⁷ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 12, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³⁷⁸ *New Zealand*, 27 May 1903, Supplement, p. 2.

³⁷⁹ 'Obadiah', 'Shares and Mining', *Observer*, 20 June 1903, p. 20.

³⁸⁰ 'Obadiah', 'Shares and Mining', *Observer*, 15 August 1903, p. 10.

³⁸¹ *Te Aroha News*, 6 August 1903, p. 2.

nature. A full complement of hands was employed and the battery is kept going night and day.

He had 'worked the mine systematically, and has spent a considerable amount of money, both at the mines and battery, and at his private residence'.³⁸² The calendar year produced £5,024 1s 8d from 1,677 tons of Premier ore; since commencing mining he had obtained £13,246 11s 9d from 5,222 tons.³⁸³ Hardy was so encouraged by these results that he applied in November for three additional special quartz claims, which were granted three months later,³⁸⁴ but were to prove of no value.

On 1 December, the *New Zealand Herald* published a long report on a visit by 'a party of Auckland gentlemen' interested in forming a company, under the headline: 'A Promising Property'. What they saw was 'a remarkable example of what persistent plodding, and enterprise, combined with engineering and mechanical skill, on the part of a private individual may effect'. For five years Hardy had 'steadily and unostentatiously been engaged in mining successfully an immense reef, which had yielded in that time £13,000 worth of gold, working out at an average value of £2 10s per ton for the whole period':

The Premier mine was entered at the south end by the Vulcan level, and the workings first visited were those from which all the ore treated during the past 12 months has been broken out. In the south end a block from 85ft to 100ft high has been stoped out, all the stuff broken down having been sent to the mill. The width of the central band from which the ore has been broken of late averages from 10ft to 12ft, and lies almost perpendicularly between walls, the west one of which is remarkably well defined, and exists from top to bottom of the workings. The length of the block stoped out southwards is 80ft, the lode keeping its width all the way, and in places widening out. At the south end of the stopes, the roof (which was examined at close quarters), and from the roof down the face to the floor of the Vulcan level, exposes a solid lode the whole way, fully 12ft in width. In the north end of the mine a distance of 130ft or more reaches the present face in the intermediate level and stopes. About a year ago this level, which is some 80ft above the Vulcan level, had been extended 120ft, when a break came in, whereupon Mr Hardy transferred

³⁸² Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 16 October 1903, p. 1.

³⁸³ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 January 1904, p. 6.

³⁸⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1903, 98-100/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

his attention to the south end, the work mentioned there having since been carried out. Throughout the whole of the stone seen the characteristics were similar. The quartz is white and thickly impregnated with iron and sulphides of silver, the sulphides in the north end differing from those in the south in that they are decomposed or oxidized. Mr Hardy thought it advisable recently to endeavour to pick up the lode on the other side of the break. Three feet ahead to the east the break was penetrated, and the reef picked up again. This is a highly-important development. The lode has been heaved out of its course about 12ft, and on the other side of the break is richer in ore. Mr Hardy intends leaving the ore ahead (northward) intact for the company it is proposed to form to take over the mines. About 50ft below the break in the intermediate level is a triangular block of ore 50ft high, and measuring 50ft at the base, which is rich. It is streaked thickly with blue-black sulphides. A winze is down from the surface to about 30ft above the Vulcan level, from which and from the stopes off it the lode has been pretty well worked out. The same class of ore existing in the stopes right up, and in the triangular block 30ft above, has been taken out also in the Vulcan level, from whence there are 350ft of backs. There is a lower level still, but this Mr Hardy has so far done no work in. In the south end the face is still fully a quarter of a mile from the boundary. Some of the best stone seen in the mine shows fine gold. All the quartz is white, with sulphides freely distributed throughout, and in parts white decomposed silica veins carry fine amalgable gold in quantity. Throughout, the reef varies from 3ft to 25ft in width, the centre band of the main fissure giving the best results. The work done during Mr Hardy's five years of ownership has been confined to driving and stoping. No sinking, and consequently no pumping, need be done for years to come. That the gold exists underfoot in the Vulcan level (the lowest worked by Mr Hardy) is proven by the fact that the richest stone the present owner ever got out of the property came from underfoot in that level. None of the stone is hard to work, and but 12 men are employed in the mine and battery. A striking fact is that during the past year the only stuff thrown over the tip was that broken out in penetrating the break referred to in the north end. Every ounce of stuff broken out except this has been sent to the mill. The party took several samples of ore and rubble, and each sample panned off afterwards gave really excellent prospects in the dish. Mr Hardy, however, is no believer in assays or mortar tests in the mine. He contends, wisely, that the battery is the best test, and there the ore he wins has to prove itself.

The reporter considered that it would be possible to work down to the plains, 2,000 feet below,

and in case it should be thought advisable to bore on the flat Mr Hardy has secured 15 acres of land there for the purpose. The area of the whole property is 298 acres, 200 acres of which include the old Aroha tunnel and all the known system of reefs in the vicinity. Between the lode system and that of Waihi a striking resemblance exists in the geological formation.

(The Waihi reference was typical of Hardy, like so many others, seeking promising signs.) A pit containing 4,000 tons of old tailings assayed at 19s 6d per ton.³⁸⁵

In its review of Hauraki mining for the year 1903, the *New Zealand Herald* reported positively on Hardy's work:

Mr E.H. Hardy's Premier mine has been continuously worked with sufficient men to keep the battery running 24 hours per day. The result of the year's work was bullion valued at £5024. A new block of quartz averaging 250ft high and half-a-mile in length, is exposed on a face worked up 170ft along a stope 280ft in length. This can be worked economically from the Vulcan level, and should produce, at an average of 3ft of width in the auriferous band, 140,000 tons of ore. The reef formation is over 100ft wide, and is exposed on the outcrop throughout the entire block of mining ground. The prospects for the year are good, inasmuch as rich ore has been met with, and the same fissure walls and character of quartz exist beyond the cross course lode as have been in evidence during Mr Hardy's five years' operations. Few mining properties will stand the test of continuous crushing of the whole of the auriferous ore body, yet such a test has been applied in this instance, and resulted satisfactorily.³⁸⁶

In March 1904, stoping was continuing in No. 2 level, 'with payable results'. During the previous 12 months, 1,561 tons had been treated for a return of 1,728oz 9dwt of gold, value £4,972 18s 2d. An average of 14 men had been employed.³⁸⁷

MINE MANAGERS

³⁸⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 1 December 1903, p. 6.

³⁸⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1904, Supplement, p. 2.

³⁸⁷ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 14 March 1904, *AJHR*, 1904, C-3, p. 45.

Hardy was usually his own battery superintendent, except when A.F. Day, who had only just passed the examination for battery superintendent, was appointed to this post in May 1899.³⁸⁸ As he was never mentioned again, he must have held it for a very brief period. Hardy was explicitly mentioned as supervising all the improvements made in the battery.³⁸⁹

Over five years five mine managers were appointed to control the underground workings, under Hardy's supervision; whether a clash of personalities caused so many changes of manager is not known. The fastest turnover was in 1903, when Hardy notified the Mines Department on 29 June that he had replaced his manager and on 26 September reported another change.³⁹⁰

In 1899, Arthur Henry Marsh managed the New Find.³⁹¹ As Hardy very soon decided to abandon this ground, presumably Marsh had ceased to hold this position by 1900, although for a time he continued to live at Waiorongomai, and was Hardy's assayer until 1904.³⁹² He was not recorded as mining elsewhere, although he may have mining at Puhipuhi and met Hardy there.³⁹³ After ceasing working for him, he became a farmer.³⁹⁴

Richard Edward Pilgrim became manager for the Premier mine when Hardy took it over.³⁹⁵ Although he had been manager for the Pukewhau Company in 1898,³⁹⁶ his experience was limited, this being the only other mine that he was reported to have managed. When he applied for a certificate of competency he was told to pass an examination;³⁹⁷ he never received his certificate. His earlier interest in mining was limited to having

³⁸⁸ *West Coast Times*, 21 April 1899, p. 4; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 19 May 1899, p. 2.

³⁸⁹ For example, *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 October 1904, p. 40.

³⁹⁰ Mines Department, MD 2/8, 03/758, 03/1042, ANZ-W.

³⁹¹ *AJHR*, 1899, C-3, p. 69.

³⁹² County Clerk to A.H. Marsh, 28 July 1900, Piako County Council, Letterbook 1899-1901, p. 204; Piako County Council, Rate Book 1905-1906, Te Aroha Riding, Part Section 26, Waiorongomai, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; *Cleave's Auckland Directory, 1902* (Auckland, 1902), p. 399; *Ohinemuri Electoral Roll, 1902*, p. 43; interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 1 of transcript.

³⁹³ See Marriage Certificate of Arthur Henry Marsh, 6 May 1899, 1899/1730, BDM.

³⁹⁴ Death Certificate of Arthur Henry Marsh, 16 September 1939, 1939/16758, BDM.

³⁹⁵ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 December 1899, p. 196.

³⁹⁶ Photograph, *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Weekly News Exhibition Number*, 1898, p. 14.

³⁹⁷ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 December 1899, p. 196, 16 November 1900, p. 177.

an extremely small interest, five out of 15,000 shares, in the Welcome Extended Company, at Waitekauri, in 1878.³⁹⁸ Most of his experience had been in flour milling, first in other peoples' mills until he erected his own at Pukekohe in 1882.³⁹⁹ He had become a goldminer because financial difficulties in the mid-1890s forced him to abandon his mill and be unemployed for a time.⁴⁰⁰ He did assaying for Hardy, and his wife, Ada, was a servant for in his household.⁴⁰¹ The date they left his employ is not known, but was probably early in 1901; Ada was still housekeeper in late 1900.⁴⁰² David Hardy believed that they departed after 'some domestic problem'.⁴⁰³ Pilgrim moved to Palmerston North and then to Whanganui, became a farmer, and had sufficient faith in Hardy to purchase, in 1910, 100 shares in a company working Hardy's latest Waiorongomai mine.⁴⁰⁴ After his death in 1926, aged 84, his widow, who was about 26 years younger,⁴⁰⁵ discovered her a gift for healing, for which she became famous.⁴⁰⁶

In May 1901, at the age of 58, John Bowler became manager.⁴⁰⁷ He had previously managed the Thames Talisman mine.⁴⁰⁸ Bowler was a very experienced miner and manager at Thames and Ohinemuri, having taken

³⁹⁸ *New Zealand Gazette*, 24 October 1878, p. 1459.

³⁹⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 June 1882, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁰ Bank of New South Wales, Inspector's Half-Yearly Report, 4 March 1895, Auckland: Advances: Special 'A' List Accounts, p. 60; Inspector's Half-Yearly Report, 2 September 1891, A Accounts, p. 51; Inspector's Half-Yearly Report, 30 March 1896, Auckland: A List, p. 60, Acc. No. 102, Box 4, Westpac Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁰¹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, in Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 10 of transcript.

⁴⁰² T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 13 September 1900, 31 October 1900, Holt Letters, pp. 15, 61-63.

⁴⁰³ Interview with David Calder Hardy, in Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 10 of transcript.

⁴⁰⁴ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, ANZ-A; John Stacpoole, 'Ada Pilgrim', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 3 (Wellington, 1996), pp. 400-401; Probates, BBAE 1569/19024, ANZ-A.

⁴⁰⁵ Marriage Certificate of Richard Edward Pilgrim, 2 March 1888, 1888/404; Death Certificate of Richard Edward Pilgrim, 31 August 1926, 1926/5683, BDM; Stacpoole, 'Ada Pilgrim', p. 400.

⁴⁰⁶ Stacpoole, 'Ada Pilgrim', pp. 400-401.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 13 May 1901, p. 2; Death Certificate of John Bowler, 6 December 1904, 1904/6556, BDM.

⁴⁰⁸ *Thames Star*, 12 July 1900, p. 2.

out his first miner's right at Thames in July 1868,⁴⁰⁹ and having interests in several mines on the early goldfield.⁴¹⁰ From 1890 onwards, he was manager for several companies, being favourably referred to in the press; occasionally he reported on mines for investors.⁴¹¹ After working for Hardy, he returned to Thames and became a tributer until his death in 1904.⁴¹²

William Thompson McGregor became manager in June 1903.⁴¹³ Aged 30,⁴¹⁴ after attending the Thames School of Mines he was awarded a first-class mine manager's certificate in 1897.⁴¹⁵ Only two positions as a manager have been noted before he worked for Hardy,⁴¹⁶ and when he applied to be a mining inspector in 1910 he stated that he had had been a manager for only four years.⁴¹⁷ After leaving Hardy's employment, he managed small mines at Thames and a cinnabar mine at Mackaytown.⁴¹⁸ His years of mining caused him to suffer from miner's complaint.⁴¹⁹

⁴⁰⁹ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Miners' Rights 1868, no. 8357, BACL 14358/2a, ANZ-A.

⁴¹⁰ For example, Thames Warden's Court, Thames Claims Register 1868-1869, no. 1447, BACL 14397/3a; Thames Claims Register 1869, nos. 1703, 1776, 1802, BACL 14397/4a, ANZ-A.

⁴¹¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 26 April 1890, p. 22, 22 August 1896, p. 36, 31 October 1896, p. 19, 21 November 1896, p. 20; *Observer*, 25 July 1896, p. 9; *Thames Advertiser*, 17 October 1893, p. 2, 17 June 1895, p. 2, 21 September 1895, p. 3, 11 March 1896, p. 3, 14 November 1896, p. 2.

⁴¹² Bank of New South Wales, Inspector's Half-Yearly Report, 30 September 1904: Thames: Manager's Report, p. 184, Acc. No. 102, Westpac Archives, Wellington; *Thames Star*, 1 November 1904, p. 1, 7 December 1904, p. 2.

⁴¹³ Mines Department, MD 2/8, 03/758, ANZ-W.

⁴¹⁴ Marriage Certificate of William Thompson McGregor, 23 March 1896, 1896/1523, BDM.

⁴¹⁵ L.W. McGregor, *Seed of a Country: A story of the life and times of John and Janet McGregor* (place of publication not given, 1988), pp. 79, 126; Mine Manager's Certificate, William Thompson McGregor Papers, MS 1161, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁴¹⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 27 October 1897, p. 4; Thames Warden's Court, Thames Applications 1902, 166/1902, BACL 14350/48, ANZ-A.

⁴¹⁷ W.T. McGregor to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 31 October 1910, Mines Department, MD 1, 11/237, ANZ-A.

⁴¹⁸ Thames Warden's Court, Thames Applications 1904-1905, no. 2048, BACL 14350/50; Thames Applications 1912-1915, 132/1912, BACL 14350/3a; Mining Applications 1913,

Alexander Caird replaced McGregor as manager in September 1903.⁴²⁰ In the 1880s he had mined at Inangahua and by 1900 was a wages man for the Waihi Gladstone Company;⁴²¹ it is not known when he ceased to work for Hardy. From the brief summaries given above, it will be seen that only three were trained as managers, and only Bowler had wide experience. However, with Hardy ensuring the underground surveys were accurate and using the Aroha Gold Mines' assay book to help discover patches of payable ore it had missed,⁴²² their inexperience was not too severe a handicap.

FINANCES

As several comments by correspondents and officials cited earlier indicated, Hardy was believed to be earning a good income from mining. The earliest report on his finances to have survived is on advances by the Coromandel branch of the Bank of New Zealand for the half-year to March 1900. In addition to providing securities, Hardy had 'other means', and the manager regarded his bullion account as a good one.⁴²³ Six months later, his report read: 'Good Bullion A/C - position sound - man of means Turnover Dr £1808 Cr £1723'.⁴²⁴ When in 1901 he transferred his account to the Ohinemuri branch, Te Aroha not then having a branch, the manager there considered Hardy's Mines and Battery a 'good gold connection'.⁴²⁵ His

38/1913, BA CL 14360/2a, ANZ-A; W.T. McGregor to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 31 October 1910, Mines Department, MD 1, 11/237, ANZ-W.

⁴¹⁹ Miners' Phthisis Pensions, 22 November 1937 list of all pensioners, Social Security, SS, W1844, Box 8, M40, No. 3, ANZ-W.

⁴²⁰ Mines Department, MD 2/8, 03/1042, ANZ-W.

⁴²¹ Advertisement, *Inangahua Times*, 22 November 1886, p. 2; Paeroa Warden's Court, Register of Mining Privileges 1899, folio 134, ZAAP 13761/10b, ANZ-A.

⁴²² E.C. Macpherson to John Henderson, 12 November 1932, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/1/20, ANZ-W.

⁴²³ Bank of New Zealand, Coromandel Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1900, Report on Advances, p. 9, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴²⁴ Bank of New Zealand, Coromandel Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1900, Report on Advances, p. 9; see also Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1901, Report on Advances, p. 9, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴²⁵ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1901, Accounts Opened, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

overdraft was £568, his wife guaranteeing this up to a limit of £800.⁴²⁶ It had risen to £1,431 by 31 March 1902,⁴²⁷ and on 8 July was £1,650. His bank manager noted that Hardy's father 'subsequently visited the mine, and arranged to lend him £500 - practically an advance against the 1/7th share of H.F.H's estate which is to come to E.H.H. on the former's death'.⁴²⁸ Before the end of September, as the overdraft was £1,597, it had been agreed to reduce this to £1,250, with a new guarantee. 'Has since brought in £120 worth of bullion' and was 'working at a large body of ore of same quality which should produce steady returns'.⁴²⁹ It did, but Hardy claimed to have had to spend all the proceeds of his mining; along with other money, he had spent £10,000 by April 1902.⁴³⁰

With an increased return from the Premier, by 31 March 1903 the overdraft had lowered to £869. Security was provided by his wife's guarantee, 'supported by Taupiri coal shares. O/d reduced to £507 on 1st April by bullion, making a total of £2768 from that source in six months. Mine doing well and prospect good'.⁴³¹ His wife owned the 1,425 shares in Taupiri Coal Mines.⁴³² By then his output was 'about £600 per month'.⁴³³ On 6 April, the manager noted that Hardy had been 'showing his resentment of the pressure I had to put on him for reduction' of overdraft by taking his gold to sell to the Thames branch, but had now resumed selling it at Paeroa. The overdraft was now £507, he was 'producing about £600 worth of bullion per month, and says the ore-body on which he is now

⁴²⁶ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1901, Report on Advances, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴²⁷ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1902, Report on Advances, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴²⁸ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 11, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴²⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Ohinemuri Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1902, Report on Advances, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴³⁰ E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 30 April 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/61, ANZ-W.

⁴³¹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1903, Report on Advances, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴³² Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 152 no. 965, ANZ-A.

⁴³³ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1903, Bullion Report, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

working will last for years'.⁴³⁴ By September, his account was in credit. 'Scrip withdrawn and sold, proceeds going to Mrs Hardy's credit in Auckland', and a new overdraft limit of £200 was approved by head office.⁴³⁵ Hardy was producing from £500 to £600 of bullion each month, 'with every prospect of continuing to do so for a long time to come. His total output for the 1/2 year had been £2090'.⁴³⁶ In the 12 months to 30 September, he had made £5,514 after spending £2,400 in the Premier.⁴³⁷

Hardy's father died suddenly on 14 February 1904.⁴³⁸ A family rumour that a son tore up his will⁴³⁹ may have been based on the fact that no will has been preserved in official files, but one did exist, for probate of it and its codicil was granted in the Supreme Court at Wellington on 2 March.⁴⁴⁰ The net value of the estate was £16,936 14s 8d,⁴⁴¹ of which Hardy would have received one-seventh, less the £500 and any other advances made,⁴⁴² assuming that the codicil did not alter his father's earlier intentions. He did obtain his legacy, after a 'rather tense' family 'battle' over the will that required the Public Trust to become involved.⁴⁴³ This inheritance plus the success of his previous year's mining meant that, for the moment, he was financially secure.

⁴³⁴ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 12, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴³⁵ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 12, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴³⁶ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1903, Bullion Report, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴³⁷ *Thames Star*, 10 November 1903, p. 1.

⁴³⁸ Death Certificate of Henry Frederick Hardy, 14 February 1904, 1904/2539, BDM; Inquests, Justice Department, J 64, COR 1904/171, ANZ-W.

⁴³⁹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994.

⁴⁴⁰ Transmission 1904/4143, Lands and Deeds Department, Dunedin; *New Zealand Gazette*, 10 March 1904, p. 839.

⁴⁴¹ Testamentary Register, Wellington, folio 91, no. 68, AAEC 638/156, ANZ-W; *Auckland Weekly News*, 9 August 1906, p. 22.

⁴⁴² Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 11, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁴³ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 13; Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entry for 21 June 1906, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington; information provided by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

FLOATING HARDY'S MINES

In January 1904, shortly before his father's death, it was reported as being probable that a local company would take over Hardy's mines 'and work them on a larger scale than it is possible for one man to do';⁴⁴⁴ (and provide a profit for himself). His grandson David suggested that he had intended

to have proven as much of the ground as he possibly could if he was to advertise it for sale.... His idea was to work some of these reefs for a little while - show how good they were - and then go on to another one.... I think that he reached what he thought was a sort of a peak of perfection and he decided that that was it and he would go and do something else. I'm quite sure that that's what happened, that would be a Hardy trait, would be to really get as good as you could at it - and he did.

He had had Pilgrim 'getting samples from all over the mountain. In other words he had proved what he hoped he could prove and that was what he put up to ... the market to sell'.⁴⁴⁵ 'He was one of those persons - if he did something he did it very thoroughly and I fancy he got bored with it. And decided to sell out while things were going well.... And the boys wanted farms'.⁴⁴⁶

As noted, Hardy's plan to go to London in 1902 to raise capital⁴⁴⁷ was not carried out. In the following August he applied for protection for his Mammoth Reef Special Quartz Claim 'to allow of disposal of property' to a London company, and one month later assured Bush that London and Glasgow agents were interested.⁴⁴⁸ Negotiations came to nothing, hardly surprising considering its undeveloped state and questionable prospects. The Premier was much more saleable, and on 17 November 1903 Hardy applied for six month's protection while he arranged the 'formation of Company to take over holder's interest'.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1904, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 19 of transcript.

⁴⁴⁶ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 9 of transcript.

⁴⁴⁷ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 June 1902, p. 745.

⁴⁴⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Applications 1903, 66/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁴⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Applications 1903, 97/1903, BBAV 11289/17a, ANZ-A.

At the end of that month, a party of Auckland investors inspected the property 'prior to flotation privately by a local company'. On Saturday evening they inspected the battery 'when working under the electric light. The effect was very pretty'. The battery, working three shifts, was 'giving very satisfactory results' under Hardy's 'system', which was 'likely to be adopted by other companies owing to the good results attained'. The following morning they visited the mines, to be 'favourably impressed' with the prospects, for 'rich ore' was to be seen 'where the lode was picked up in the Premier mine beyond the course where formerly work ended'.⁴⁵⁰

This party included Henry Charles Choyce, a leading Auckland draper,⁴⁵¹ George Burns, assayer for the Bank of New Zealand,⁴⁵² Oliver Nicholson, a prominent barrister and businessman,⁴⁵³ and William Bailey, a wealthy timber merchant and engineer who was a prominent investor in mining and director of many mining companies,⁴⁵⁴ and had had a fleeting interest in mining at Tui in 1888.⁴⁵⁵ They were guided by George Elliot, then a company promoter, who had arrived in New Zealand in 1919 and in the twentieth century would become both chairman of the Bank of New Zealand and Sir George.⁴⁵⁶ Despite their reported enthusiasm, none of these

⁴⁵⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 30 November 1903, p. 6; *Auckland Star*, 30 November 1903, p. 2.

⁴⁵¹ K.A. Tucker, *Milne and Choyce: A one hundred year business history, 1867-1967* (Auckland, 1968).

⁴⁵² See *City of Auckland Electoral Roll, 1902*, p. 36; *Auckland Star*, 30 November 1903, p. 2.

⁴⁵³ See *Grey Lynn Electoral Roll, 1902*, p. 47; *Auckland Star*, 7 May 1930, Supplement, p. 39, 28 April 1938, p. 11, 14 November 1945, p. 6; *New Zealand Herald*, 3 August 1938, p. 10.

⁴⁵⁴ See *Thames Advertiser*, 22 February 1898, p. 4; for examples of his investments, see *New Zealand Gazette*. 4 July 1895, pp. 1071, 1075, 25 July 1895, p. 1164, 29 August 1895, pp. 1309, 1310, 5 September 1895, p. 1413, 12 September 1895, p. 1440; for examples of his directorships, see Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 60 no. 417, box 68 no. 466, box 80 no. 337, box 81 no. 555, box 155 no. 982, box 157 no. 996, box 159 no. 1009, and *Observer*, 30 December 1905, p. 5; for his estate, see Probate, BBAE 1569/5681, ANZ-A, and *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 May 1906, p. 20;

⁴⁵⁵ Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 8 August 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁶ See *Grey Lynn Electoral Roll, 1902*, p. 20; *Auckland Electoral Roll, 1903*, p. 76; *Observer*, 7 October 1916, p. 4, 5 July 1919, p. 4; *New Zealand Herald*, 2 January 1923, p.

investors bought shares in the new company, Hardy's Mines.⁴⁵⁷ A second nine-man party visited in early December: one of them, James Henderson, a 'gentleman' with no previous involvement with mining in the district, became a shareholder, and Angus William Gordon⁴⁵⁸ and Charles John Hutchinson⁴⁵⁹ became directors.⁴⁶⁰ By the time of this visit, 'about half of the shares offered to the public (16,000)' had been taken up.⁴⁶¹

According to a mining reporter who accompanied the first party, it was

proposed to form a local company, with a capital of £25,000 in 10s shares (50,000), to take up the group of mines, plant, etc, comprising Mr Hardy's property. The owner, having brought a great enterprise to a successful point (his profits for the year ending September, 1903, were over £3000), feels that the time has arrived when a more extensive scheme of development should be undertaken than a single individual could or should control. He purposes, should a company be floated, to retain a heavy interest, taking £3000 in cash and 20,000 fully paid-up shares. Should the proposed company keep up the returns so as to make a similar profit to that named as having been made by Mr Hardy during the year past, it is estimated that they would be enabled to pay dividends amounting to over 17 1/2 per cent per annum on their issued capital of 36,000 shares (14,000 are to be kept in reserve for the company). They can, if desired, immediately double the milling capacity of the battery (the expense of which is amply provided for by the proposed working capital), and so increase their profits. Mr Hardy had consented to act as supervisor or managing director, so that the new company, if formed, will have the benefit of his past experience, his improvements, and his engineering skill and intimate knowledge of the property.⁴⁶²

6; *Auckland Star*, 6 September 1923, p. 6, 11 December 1925, p. 11, 15 March 1941, p. 12; *Evening Post*, 10 August 1939, p. 15.

⁴⁵⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁴⁵⁸ See paper on Hardy's Mines.

⁴⁵⁹ See paper on Hardy's Mines.

⁴⁶⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 December 1903, p. 6; Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁴⁶¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 December 1903, p. 6.

⁴⁶² *New Zealand Herald*, 1 December 1903, p. 6.

The *New Zealand Mines Record* considered the flotation was a way to work ‘on a larger scale than it is possible for one man to do’;⁴⁶³ ‘Obadiah’, a mining columnist, saw it quite differently:

George and William Elliot, two knowing financial gentlemen who floated off some wonderful mining ventures at the boom time, have got something very good for investors who don’t know what to do with their money. It is Hardy’s Mines at Waiorongomai, a place that has spelt much disappointment and loss to mining investors in the past. But this is so good that George, gentle, plausible George, led a party of probable investors up to Te Aroha, like a Sunday school picnic, to see the great bonanza and pick lumps of gold out of the reef. Also, he took two newspaper reporters, to calculate the profits, and tell the confiding public how much hundreds per cent they are going to get on their investment.

If this company is floated, which is quite possible, Mr Hardy is to get £3,000 cash and 20,000 in paid up shares, while William and George Elliot come in somewhere. But here is a question for the investing public. If Mr Hardy’s mine paid that gentleman steady profits for years, and £3,000 clear profit last year, why is he giving away half of his Golconda for £3,000 - one year’s profit? Why not keep it all to himself, and go on banking such splendid profits? The promoters say the output can be doubled. Then why doesn’t Mr Hardy double the output and bank £6,000 a year? Why does he want to share such a bonanza with people who wouldn’t do anything for him - except give him £3,000 and 20,000 paid up shares?⁴⁶⁴

It is clear from the way this was phrased that ‘Obadiah’, whilst avoiding the laws of libel, was raising doubts about the honesty of the Elliot brothers and the true worth of the property. One week later, the *Observer* published another barbed comment: ‘Another picnic party has been taken up to see those golden reefs at Waiorongomai. The promoters are burning with philanthropic desire to make the British public wealthy’;⁴⁶⁵ (it misunderstood which investors were being targeted). The *New Zealand Herald* believed that a syndicate would be able to work the mines ‘on a larger scale than it is possible for one man to do’.⁴⁶⁶ It had noted that while the average value of the ore over Hardy’s five years was £2 10s per ton,

⁴⁶³ *New Zealand Mines Record*, 16 January 1904, p. 232.

⁴⁶⁴ ‘Obadiah’, ‘Shares and Mining’, *Observer*, 5 December 1903, p. 20.

⁴⁶⁵ *Observer*, 12 December 1903, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 13 January 1904, Supplement, p. 2.

during the last year it had risen to 'over £3 5s'.⁴⁶⁷ (As he was not diamond drilling to test the reef to be opened up, it seems that Hardy assumed the good ore would continue; certainly his taking shares in the new company supports this view.) A mining reporter noted there was 'a large area of maiden country available north and south on the line of reef, and in addition to its existence in the present faces and in the roof of the top stopes, the lode has also been proved under foot in the drive', and predicted 'a promising future'.⁴⁶⁸

A curious tale has come down in the Hardy family. As explained by David Hardy, when the company was formed, his grandfather

remembered that ... in one of the levels of the Premier there was a short drive - it had been put in by the previous company.... They'd put this little short drive in on the left hand side on the main Premier drive and he wondered why they did it so he asked Mr Marsh, who was the assayer at the Battery, to take a sample of the ore, and it was found that it was very rich, so he said to Marsh, "Well, you'd better cover that place up, I think, and leave it and see what happens."⁴⁶⁹

David Hardy assumed that by hiding this find his grandfather hoped to go back again and work the mine himself again should the new owners not discover it.⁴⁷⁰ Another grandson, Frank McAdam, was told that, when this high quality assay was obtained, Hardy commented, 'That's very interesting', and did not tell the new company about this discovery.⁴⁷¹ Perhaps the basis of this rumour was the 1917 statement by Walter Greening, mine manager for Hardy's Mines, that Hardy had 'left good ore in the bottom of a winze sunk from the upper level'.⁴⁷² When the winze was cleared out, 'like all other reports of this kind' this story proved to be untrue.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1903, Supplement, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1903, Supplement, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁹ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 6 November 1986, p. 1 of transcript.

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 6 November 1986, p. 11 of transcript.

⁴⁷¹ Interview with Frank McAdam, Rotorua, 21 July 2007.

⁴⁷² Matthew Paul (Inspector of Mines) to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 19 May 1917, Mines Department, MD 1, 21/2/4, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷³ Matthew Paul to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 22 September 1922, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

Another curious story was recorded by Ronald McIndoe, born in 1891, whose childhood was spent in Te Aroha and who worked in the 'legal office' of Hardy's Mines.⁴⁷⁴ In his memoirs, he wrote of the end of Hardy's Mines: 'The last incident I heard of was Hardy's Mine Office couldn't get their Assay right something going wrong and the gold brick couldn't be separated; so Hardy told "Old Sam" to dig a hole and bury it deep. Sam has been back with Mine detector but can only find rocks'.⁴⁷⁵ (The identity of 'Old Sam' is another puzzle.)

By an agreement signed on 13 April 1904, Hardy received £13,000 from the sale of his property to Hardy's Mines Ltd, in the form of £3,000 cash and 20,000 10s shares fully paid up. He was to be paid £400 per year for three years to be managing director and mine supervisor, retaining the use of his house free of rent. He was permitted to work for other companies. Of his 20,000 shares, he transferred 4,000 to those who had arranged the flotation.⁴⁷⁶ In addition, he was paid £464 17s 8d for 'general stores in hand at mine'.⁴⁷⁷ On 31 May, all his licenses were transferred to the new company.⁴⁷⁸

MORE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS

By 7 July 1904, Hardy had 'invested most of his money in shares', then owning 500 in the South British Insurance Company, 100 in the Bank of New Zealand, and 50 in the Westport Coal Company. His bank manager noted that he would 'probably want limit of £1000 for investment purposes. (Told him I expected I could get it at 6%) Meanwhile may draw £2/300 if he

⁴⁷⁴ Birth Certificate of Ronald McIndoe, 1891/3768, BDM; Ronald McIndoe, typescript reminiscences, n.d., p. 1, MS Papers 3806, Alexander Turnbull Library.

⁴⁷⁵ McIndoe, typescript reminiscences, p. 5.

⁴⁷⁶ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A; Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 13, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁷⁷ Hardy's Mines Ltd, Directors' Report, 31 May 1904, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A; Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 13, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁷⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Numerical Index of Registrations 1889-1912, entry for 31 May 1904, BBAV 11287/2a, ANZ-A.

wants it'.⁴⁷⁹ Within three months of purchasing the bank shares he sold them all,⁴⁸⁰ no doubt profitably. By mid-October he had purchased another 250 shares in the South British Company, obtaining a temporary overdraft of £1,200 for the purpose. When requesting an overdraft limit of £1,500 for 12 months, he told his manager that 'after that he expects to reduce or clear as his father's estate is to be wound up directly'. This limit was approved at the end of October, his security being 650 old South British Shares and 975 new ones.⁴⁸¹

In January 1905, he informed the manager that he had purchased another 100 South British shares. 'He spoke of buying another 50, but I dissuaded him, and he promised to buy no more. Said he will reduce the a/c by selling his Westports immediately after the dividend in Feby or March'. When six days later he did purchase these extra 50 shares, the manager permitted a temporary extension of his overdraft to £2,000.⁴⁸² As of 31 March, he held 1,225 shares in the South British, worth £4,900, and the 50 in Westport Coal were worth £317, but his indebtedness to the bank amounted to £1,913 17s 5d.⁴⁸³ Despite this debt, he continued to buy shares, in November that year purchasing 19 in the Bank of New Zealand.⁴⁸⁴

LIFE AT WAIORONGOMAI

Hardy had a ten-roomed house at Waiorongomai.⁴⁸⁵ David Hardy mentioned that his grandfather

⁴⁷⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 13, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Shares Register 1894-1905, p. 192, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸¹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 13, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸² Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Manager's Memoranda Book 1902-1914, p. 14, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸³ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 31 March 1905, Report on Advances, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸⁴ Bank of New Zealand, Shares Register 1894-1905, p. 192, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁴⁸⁵ Report of F.C. Brown on Hardy's Mines, 1 March 1904, p. 4, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

got a motor car, one of the first motor cars, which apparently had a tiller instead of a wheel and my father went with him in this thing, and the first thing they did was run into the drain because Grandpa felt that the tiller should be turned that way to go that way ... and instead it went the opposite way and landed up in the drain.⁴⁸⁶

The surviving copies of the local newspaper did not record anything about Hardy and his motor car. Nor did any newspaper record another family story that, once or twice a year, he held a picnic near Army Creek for all his employees and anyone else who cared to join them.⁴⁸⁷

Some examples of his participating in community life have survived. In 1900 he invited two of his employees, Holt and Holman, to spend a Sunday evening at his house.⁴⁸⁸ During Easter 1902 he created

an interesting spectacle in the shape of an artificial geyser, which could be seen for miles around. A fine stream of water was intermittently ejected to a height of 120ft, while every phase of a natural geyser would be instantaneously imitated, from the bubbling over to the fierce outburst. The subterranean pulsations and the general get up, together with an occasional rainbow, made a strikingly realistic and beautiful effect. A large tank of water 250ft above the orifice of the geyser was the source of supply, the pressure being 110lb per square inch. Strange to say, no taps were used to control this great power.⁴⁸⁹

There are two instances of his kindness to children. In September 1900, Holt recorded that he and Hardy had missed the unfurling of the flag at the Waiorongomai school because of being in Te Aroha.

Just as we were going to the Hot Springs Hotel for dinner in the evening the cadets belonging to the Te Aroha School came marching back from Waiorongomai, there were about twenty of them.... Hardy called a halt and marched the lot of them into the Hotel and gave them lemonade & biscuits.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 12 of transcript.

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 13 of transcript.

⁴⁸⁸ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 28 September 1900, Holt Letters, p. 29.

⁴⁸⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 17 April 1902, p. 31; for photograph of the battery with its artificial geyser, see 1 May 1902, Supplement, p. 12.

⁴⁹⁰ T.F. Holt to E.H. Holt, 28 September 1900, Holt Letters, p. 29.

Two years later, he 'delighted the children of the Waiorongomai school by treating the whole of them to the opportunity of witnessing Messrs Fitzgerald's marvels. Not only did he arrange for their admission to the circus, but he also provided vehicles to convey them to and from the place of entertainment'.⁴⁹¹ Also in 1903, he contributed £1 1s to the Veterans' Home Fund, came second in the Te Aroha Rifle Club's B Class shooting match, and was elected president of the Waiorongomai Cricket Club.⁴⁹²

In addition to being a mine owner, Hardy farmed some of his high school endowment land. In April 1903 he owned a flock of 17 sheep, which had risen to 41 a year later. By April 1905, he had 35, but sold these before leaving Waiorongomai later that year.⁴⁹³ As his elder sons wanted to become farmers, he sought to purchase farmland for them at Cambridge, unsuccessfully, which led him to acquire land in the King Country.⁴⁹⁴

SUPERVISOR OF HARDY'S MINES

As supervisor of Hardy's Mines, Hardy acquired extra ground for it,⁴⁹⁵ and after being granted Hardy's Reefs East and Hardy's Reefs West, near Diamond Gully and the New Find, he sold these to it for £28.⁴⁹⁶ Details of his work for the company are given in the chapter on Hardy's Mines. When he showed a fellow director and some shareholders over the Premier in October 1904, he had 60 tons of ore from the Hero reef paddocked at the entrance to the Colonist low level. As water power was available, he planned to erect 'an auxiliary battery of, say, five head of stamps, near the mouth of the tunnel, and so greatly minimise the cost of treatment, by saving haulage, etc'.⁴⁹⁷ This did not eventuate, although in the 1930s his son Malcolm would utilize this site for his even smaller plant.⁴⁹⁸ In early

⁴⁹¹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 16 April 1903, p. 28.

⁴⁹² *New Zealand Herald*, 27 May 1903, p. 3, 10 July 1903, p. 5; *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 September 1903, p. 34.

⁴⁹³ *AJHR*, 1905, H-23, p.26, 1906, H-23, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 19 April 1986, p. 9 of transcript.

⁴⁹⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1904, 7, 50/1904; Mining Applications 1906, 4/1906, BBAV 11289/18a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁹⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1904, 60, 74, 75, 81/1904, BBAV 11289/18a; Mining Registrations 1904-1906, no. 849, BCDG 11288/2a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁹⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 October 1904, p. 33.

⁴⁹⁸ See paper on Malcolm Hardy.

December, reportedly ‘everything’ was ‘progressing satisfactorily’ and the mine’s prospects were ‘looking better than ever’.⁴⁹⁹ Coutts reported in February 1905 that water pressure with a fall of 85 feet worked ‘two small fans and a quartz hoisting winch designed by the supervisor’ for the Premier,⁵⁰⁰ another example of Hardy’s inventiveness.

He erected a light tramway at the trestle bridge linking the end of the tramway with the battery, to more easily convey materials,⁵⁰¹ and later in the year was supervising more changes to the battery.⁵⁰² The second head of ten stamps was at last erected, and the plant was described as ‘one of the most up-to-date’, being fitted with ‘eight concentrators of the latest type, the Union-Gevin’. As previously, Hardy did not intend to use cyanide.⁵⁰³ The wet crushing required eight amalgamators or vanners plus four Watson and Denny pans, five berdans, and three gold-saving plates. The expanded mill, which could treat 20 tons a day, was ‘a concentrating plant, the free gold being got from the plates and pans, and the concentrates ... from the vanners’. Most of the gold was ‘saved on the plates and in the pans’.⁵⁰⁴

In May 1905, Hardy reported his plans to the annual meeting of shareholders:

He hoped with roasting and chlorination to treat the concentrates with their own plant. The process of roasting and chlorination to be adopted was not at all new, but advances had been made recently whereby mechanical rubbing of the ore had been substituted for handwork. This enabled one man to superintend five or six furnaces, and thus reduced the cost of labour, etc, to a very small figure. Chlorination could be carried on cheaply in this district, and the price of sulphuric acid and hypochloride of lime was as low as in many parts of America.⁵⁰⁵

Later that month, he went to Australia ‘to make full investigation of the working of the latest roasting and chlorinating plant’ to enable him to

⁴⁹⁹ Own Correspondent, ‘Te Aroha Jottings’, *Thames Star*, 5 December 1904, p. 2.

⁵⁰⁰ James Coutts to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 18 February 1905, *AJHR*, 1905, C-3, p. 36.

⁵⁰¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, Piako County Council, 9 June 1904, p. 43, 30 June 1904, p. 36.

⁵⁰² *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 October 1904, p. 40.

⁵⁰³ *Thames Star*, 29 September 1904, p. 1; *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 October 1904, p. 40.

⁵⁰⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 October 1904, p. 33.

⁵⁰⁵ *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 May 1905, p. 37.

advise the company about purchasing one.⁵⁰⁶ He had informed the directors that it would, 'with much economy over present method, treat the gold, silver, and copper contents'.⁵⁰⁷ He took ten tons of concentrates for treatment at Newcastle, under his personal supervision.⁵⁰⁸ Upon his return in August, he reported that his visit had been 'very successful' and that he held 'very promising views for the future' of the battery.⁵⁰⁹

To be successful, it needed good ore as well as new machinery; developments in the mine are explained in the paper on Hardy's Mines. The company also needed capital, and the directors' report to the 1905 annual meeting referred to 'the very handsome presentation' by Hardy 'of 5000 of his own fully-paid shares (4000 of which had already realized £2000 in net cash to the company)'.⁵¹⁰ In the statement of accounts for the following year, amongst the receipts was 'Hardy's Gift Account £500'.⁵¹¹ This represented either the 1,000 shares not sold earlier, or was another 1,000 of his paid-up shares, for by May 1906 he retained only 9,000 of his original 20,000.⁵¹² He had, therefore, only sold either 1,000 or, at the most, 2,000 for his personal benefit, behaviour which proved to his grandson David that he was 'no business man'.⁵¹³ He 'put a helluva lot of money back' into the company, 'even though he disapproved of what they were doing' in developing the mine. By twice giving them more money, 'he was a real idiot in this respect'.⁵¹⁴ Despite saying he would not do so, he twice lent the company money.⁵¹⁵

⁵⁰⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 4 May 1905, p. 37.

⁵⁰⁷ E.H. Hardy to Directors, Hardy's Mines Ltd., 31 March 1905, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵⁰⁸ *Thames Star*, 16 May 1905, p. 1.

⁵⁰⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 10 August 1905, p. 2, 12 August 1905, p. 2.

⁵¹⁰ Hardy's Mines Ltd., Directors' Report, 3 April 1905, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵¹¹ Hardy's Mines Ltd., Receipts and Expenditure 31 March 1905, 31 March 1906, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵¹² Hardy's Mines Ltd., Shares held as at 14 May 1906, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵¹³ David Calder Hardy, marginal note, dated 6 November 1986, added to his interview of 19 April 1986, Auckland, p. 12 of transcript.

⁵¹⁴ Interview with David Calder Hardy, 19 April 1986, Auckland, p. 10 of transcript.

⁵¹⁵ Telephone interview with David Calder Hardy, 16 August 1994.

In 1931, Malcolm Hardy claimed that his father had sold his mines 'on the understanding that he was to be retained as supervisor and that work was to be continued along the lines that he had followed', but after a time a new mine manager ignored Hardy's advice.⁵¹⁶ In fact, this manager was not selected until September 1907,⁵¹⁷ long after Hardy had ceased being supervisor. At first appointed as managing director, in May 1904 he had signed the first company report merely as 'director', and at some unpublicized time before the next annual report in April 1905 ceased to hold this position; that he had stepped down was not mentioned.⁵¹⁸ Referred to by the press as managing director in October 1904, one month later he was one of the two directors who discussed leasing of the tramway with the council; on 31 March the following year he wrote his report as supervisor, not a director.⁵¹⁹ For the 12 months to 31 March 1906, he was paid £582 3s 1d as supervisor,⁵²⁰ slightly less than the £600 he should have received. As neither he nor anyone else was recorded as being supervisor in the report presented to the company's annual meeting on 1 May 1906,⁵²¹ it was clear that he had severed all connections with Hardy's Mines apart from retaining his 9,000 paid-up shares.⁵²²

THE LAST MINES HE SUPERVISED

⁵¹⁶ J.F. Downey (Inspector of Mines) to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 16 October 1931, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

⁵¹⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵¹⁸ Hardy's Mines Ltd., Annual Reports for May 1904, May 1905, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵¹⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 October 1904, p. 40, 27 October 1904, p. 33; Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 23 November 1904, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; Hardy's Mines Ltd, Annual Report for May 1905, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵²⁰ Hardy's Mines Ltd., Receipts and Expenditure 31 March 1905 - 31 March 1906, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵²¹ Hardy's Mines Ltd., Directors' Report for Annual Meeting of 1 May 1906, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

⁵²² Hardy's Mines Ltd, List of Persons holding Shares on 29 May 1907, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1028, ANZ-A.

In January and March 1906, having ceased to work for Hardy's Mines, Hardy applied for two special quartz claims, the Bonanza and the Majestic, 106 acres in the Diamond Gully area, the former being higher up the hillside.⁵²³ In April he applied for a water race.⁵²⁴ In September, he applied for six months' protection for the Bonanza, telling Bush that he had one man working on the ground 'exposing reefs and collecting samples for assay. He has also assisted in the assay with myself of the same. He is at present engaged in prospecting same at my expense. I have sent 1cwt of samples to Western Australia', and was negotiating with a company there to obtain capital to treat these 'highly complex' reefs.⁵²⁵ His application was granted, as was that one month later for the same period of protection for the Majestic, 'pending negotiations for capital'. Hardy declared that 'myself and a miner' had been prospecting and taking assays since the ground was granted and that the new capital would be spent 'to drive a tunnel under the lodes discovered and proved valuable'.⁵²⁶

As Hardy was living in Te Kuiti by May 1906, if not earlier,⁵²⁷ Henry William Dawson did most of the mining in return for a wage and an interest.⁵²⁸ Dawson, aged 57 in 1906,⁵²⁹ was an experienced miner, having mined in Hauraki from the 1870s onwards.⁵³⁰ He was the owner of the Incognita at Maratoto from July 1901 until its surrender in late July

⁵²³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1906, 5, 16, 17/1906, BBAV 11289/18a; Register of Mining Privileges 1893-1910, folio 210, BBAV 11500/2a, ANZ-A; *AJHR*, 1907, C-3, p. 49.

⁵²⁴ 'Plan of Water Right, Applicant E.H. Hardy', May 1906, Te Aroha Museum.

⁵²⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1906, 31/1906, BBAV 11289/18a, ANZ-A.

⁵²⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1906, 35/1906, BBAV 11289/18a, ANZ-A.

⁵²⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1906, 16/1906, BBAV 11289/18a, ANZ-A.

⁵²⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 12A/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵²⁹ Death Certificate of Henry William Dawson, 10 September 1909, 1909/6363, BDM [recorded as William Henry].

⁵³⁰ See *Thames Electoral Roll, 1877*, p. 20.

1906.⁵³¹ The number of assays that he did for Hardy is not known: only one sample was sent to the Thames School of Mines, in February 1907, which produced the very low result of 1dwt 18gr.⁵³² When Waiorongomai Mines Ltd was formed in 1908 to develop these claims, Dawson held 3,950 of the 100,000 shares, and for a time was mine manager and later a director, but died of heart disease in September 1909.⁵³³

When, in July 1907, Hardy applied for the right to construct a water race from Diamond Gully Stream, Coutts was asked to investigate. Hardy, he reported, was

not carrying on any work at present nor are there any indications of mining operations having been conducted in this locality for some time past. It appears to me that the object in view of securing this water race is for the purpose of throwing obstacles in the way of Hardy's Mines (Limited) who are commencing operations and have already let a contract for driving 800 feet in close proximity to the proposed water race; or it may be he contemplates holding it, were it granted, until a purchaser is forthcoming.

He urged Bush not to grant the right unless Hardy satisfied him that he would construct the race and carry on 'bona-fide work in the mines taken up. Neither should the pegging out of the race hold good for an indefinite period in the event of any party working claims in the vicinity requiring water'.⁵³⁴ As Hardy did satisfy Bush, the right was granted,⁵³⁵ but Coutts' letter had revealed his bad relations with the company that had bought his

⁵³¹ Paeroa Warden's Court, Register of Licenses 1901-1905, folios 2, 193, ZAAP 13294/5a, ANZ-A; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, advertisement, 29 March 1901, p. 3, Warden's Court, 5 February 1904, p. 2.

⁵³² Thames School of Mines, Assay Book 1898-1907, entry for 5 February 1907, School of Mines Archives, Thames.

⁵³³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1909, 113/1909, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A; *Thames Star*, 28 January 1909, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 26 August 1909, p. 3, 21 September 1909, p. 2; Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, ANZ-A; Death Certificate of Henry William Dawson, 10 September 1909, 1909/6363, BDM [recorded as William Henry].

⁵³⁴ James Coutts to R.S. Bush, 15 October 1907, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1907, 21/1907, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Mining Privileges 1893-1910, folio 219, BBAV 11500/2a, ANZ-A.

mines. According to David Hardy, the main cause was the 800-foot tunnel already mentioned, which became known as McLean's Level after the contractor who drove it, or the 1100-foot drive from its height above the battery. 'He disapproved of what they were doing, he disapproved of McLean's tunnel for a start, because he said it's going to cost you x amount of shillings ... per foot to drive that tunnel and you've got x number of feet to drive it and you will get so far and you will run out of money'.⁵³⁶

In November 1907, Hardy applied for six month's protection for both claims 'to give time for completing formation [of] Company for more efficient development'. Since the expiry of the previous protection, the ground had been worked 'by my own exertions and with a man who has been constantly employed at my own expense'. He claimed that 'we have recently discovered a good reef' and that negotiations were pending to obtain capital.⁵³⁷ After a brief extension granted in the following June, the claims were successfully floated as Waiorongomai Mines, being worked with four men even before the legal formalities were concluded. Hardy informed the warden on 23 June 1908 that, after systematic prospecting by himself and Dawson, they had 'recently' found rich lodes, which on opening up provided two 'satisfactory' reports from 'experts'.⁵³⁸ The latter were John Kneebone, an experienced mine manager,⁵³⁹ who considered the property had 'a most promising future', and prospector and miner William Francis ('Daldy') McWilliams,⁵⁴⁰ and who claimed never to have seen anything better in all his travels.⁵⁴¹ Both men were rewarded for their reports with paid-up shares when the company was floated.⁵⁴² E.A. Ogle,⁵⁴³ whose education at

⁵³⁶ Interview with David Calder Hardy, 19 April 1986, p. 10 of transcript.

⁵³⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1907, 31/1907, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁸ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 14/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵³⁹ See *Observer*, 12 September 1909, p. 26; *New Zealand Herald*, 13 April 1920, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁰ See *Mining Journal* (London), 20 November 1897, pp. 1374-1375 and paper on the Daldy McWilliams 'outrage'; for his involvement in the Te Aroha rush, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 167, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A; *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2, 24 February 1881, p. 2.

⁵⁴¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴² Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴³ See *Otago Daily Times*, 21 February 1896, p. 1.

the London School of Mines was highlighted, took four samples, three with good values but one being unpayable.⁵⁴⁴ A third report was being made in June on behalf of a large but unnamed company, which would take over the claims if satisfied with their value, 'in which case the flotation already referred to if not completed will not be required'. If it did not take over the property, 'we intend to float a new company to take over and work these claims. We propose to put in a tunnel 500 feet long at once. We will start as soon as we have the money. This will cost £1,000 at the least'.⁵⁴⁵

As their grander hopes were not fulfilled, their more modest arrangement was successfully carried out with the formation of Waiorongomai Mines, which in late September bought Hardy's two claims and water race. He received £300 in cash and 15,000 fully paid up shares, each of 5s, the total nominal capital being £25,000 in 100,000 shares. A director, his faith in these mines was indicated by the fact that, in 1910, not only had he retained 6,300 of his paid up shares and purchased another 1,000, but his wife and two eldest children each bought 1,000 shares.⁵⁴⁶

To assist the new company, Hardy offered to 'lay out the first tunnel free of charge'.⁵⁴⁷ He set to work immediately, at the end of July sending a telegram to the first shareholders' meeting 'that he was there laying out the proposed 500ft tunnel ready to start work'.⁵⁴⁸ The *Te Aroha News*, predictably, was optimistic, writing that over the past two and a half years Hardy and Dawson had exposed 'several good lodes which have stood the test of extensive assays made on behalf of four different parties.... Our good friend, Mr Hardy, has once more come to the rescue of this district and will be distributing a fair amount of money amongst us. We beg to extend to him ... a hearty welcome'.⁵⁴⁹

The Auckland press was informed that it was 'estimated that only a very small proportion of the capital will have to be called up, and that, with arrangements which ensure quick returns for ore won, an exceptionally

⁵⁴⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 14/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴⁶ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, ANZ-A.

⁵⁴⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 2 July 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁴⁸ *Observer*, 1 August 1908, p. 20.

⁵⁴⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 28 July 1908, p. 2.

short time should elapse before the mine is remunerative'.⁵⁵⁰ Under the headline: 'Very Encouraging Prospects', the *Te Aroha News* reported that the Ferguson Mining and Smelting Company, which had taken up shares, thought 'highly of the property on account of its bullion and flux bearing qualities'.⁵⁵¹ Although it admitted that past inability to treat the refractory ore 'no doubt' had helped to explain the neglect of the district by miners, it announced that,

fortunately, Mr F[rederick] C[apel] Brown [of the Komata Reefs Company]⁵⁵² has solved the difficulty and has proved the sulphide ore met with in the lower levels is amenable to a very simple process, in that it can be treated on the spot satisfactorily, without smelting and with a very inexpensive plant, so that the company will start with knowledge and experience not formerly available, and the capital required after the mine is opened will be much less than was formerly thought to be necessary.

Coupled with the 'very high' value of the ore, this meant that Waiorongomai's future was 'now fairly well assured'. It quoted five assays made by the manager of the Ferguson Company's Waiomu smelting works that gave values per ton of gold and silver of £4 11s, £20 11s 3d, £3 14s 2d, £5 4s 1d, and £5 7s 9d, each assay being from a different reef. It was expected that 'an expenditure of about £2,000 will cover the expense of proving the many reefs'.⁵⁵³ Later assays 'averaged about £6 per ton,' much of the ore being 'rich enough to go straight to the smelter'.⁵⁵⁴

On 5 May, Hardy applied for two machine sites, each of two acres, for batteries. The one for the Majestic was 'at the junction of the Diamond Gully Creek with Waiorongomai Stream, below the Lower Track Waiorongomai', and that for the Bonanza adjoined the tramway 'at the top of Ferguson's old Tramway'.⁵⁵⁵ After the latter application brought an immediate protest from Hardy's Mines, which was using this area in

⁵⁵⁰ *Auckland Weekly News*, 30 July 1908, p. 37.

⁵⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 28 July 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁵² See paper on Hardy's Mines.

⁵⁵³ *Te Aroha News*, 2 July 1908, p. 2; for six of his assays, see Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁵⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 12A, 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

connection with their 1100-foot tunnel, Hardy told the warden why it was required:

I was one time supervisor of Hardy's Mines. I am now one of the largest shareholders also one of the owners of the Bonanza property. I have been 9 years working on that locality. Am familiar with every part of that property. We are going to extend present Loyalty tunnel 500 feet. This is above the tramway. We propose to run on from there 250 yards to this site which has been selected by myself. Absolutely no other place but this for the erection of a battery. I have instructions to start work at once.

To prove that he was not attempting to hamper Hardy's Mines he stressed that he had left them the flattest portion.⁵⁵⁶ After the warden visited the site he granted it on condition that the front boundary was shifted back 20 feet.⁵⁵⁷ Hardy adjusted his plan so that 'the wishes of the Warden have been respected, and the tenements of Hardy's Mine Ld. have not been included in the Machine Site'.⁵⁵⁸ His map revealed that 'No. 1 Proposed Tunnel' would be an extension of the old Inverness tunnel, while 'No. 2 Tunnel Proposed', in the Majestic, would be joined by a new tramway to a proposed battery at the foot of Diamond Gully and to the county tramway at the foot of Butler's Spur.⁵⁵⁹

On the surviving evidence, Hardy did not take an active role in these mines once he had surveyed the low level drive, the work being supervised to some extent by Dawson and in particular by Alexander McGruer, who was appointed mine manager in 1908. Then aged 36,⁵⁶⁰ he had begun a mining in 1889, being trained by his father, a leading mine manager, and

⁵⁵⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A; see also E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Machine site for Waiorongomai Mines Limd., Waiorongomai', n.d. [August 1908], Te Aroha Museum.

⁵⁵⁷ Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 2, 27 August 1908, p. 2; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁸ E.H. Hardy to Clerk, Warden's Court, Te Aroha, 20 September 1908, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1908, 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a; E.H. Hardy to Warden, 25 September 1908, Warden's Office, General Correspondence 1908, BBAV 11584/6c, ANZ-A.

⁵⁵⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Applications 1908, map by E.H. Hardy, c. August 1908, appended to 13/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶⁰ Birth Certificate of Alexander McGruer, 2 December 1872, 1872/11896, BDM.

receiving a first-class certificate of competency as a manager from the Karangahake School of Mines.⁵⁶¹ After Waiorongomai Mines ceased operations, he returned to Karangahake, but continued to praise the lodes he had been working on, in 1910 declaring that he was 'of opinion that when many parts of the goldfields are dead the Waiorongomai field will be a prosperous and paying concern'.⁵⁶² In 1929, he would revisit the area to show investors the portions that could be profitably worked.⁵⁶³ By then he had miner's complaint, from which he would die in 1935.⁵⁶⁴

As was the norm, Waiorongomai Mines was under-capitalised. Although the capital was intended to be £25,000 in 100,000 5s shares, by 30 June 1910 only 22,000 had been sold; the amount called up and paid on each share was 1s 7d.⁵⁶⁵ Not all shares had been on sale, for apart from the paid-up shares given to Hardy and other vendors, 65,000 was kept in reserve for sale 'when funds are required and thus avoid the necessity of making calls'.⁵⁶⁶ The main subscriber was Ferguson's Mining and Smelting Company, with 12,500 shares, which intended to barge both ore and concentrates to its smelting works at Waiomu.⁵⁶⁷ In its 1907 prospectus, this company claimed to have solved the problem of smelting New Zealand's refractory ores, a claim along with the statement that there was a hundred years' supply of ore at Waiomu was considered so dubious by 'Obadiah' that he recommended 'this prospectus to the careful attention of the Auckland Stock Exchange'.⁵⁶⁸ After having tests made by the manager of its smelter and obtaining reports from 'competent and expert Mine Managers', the Ferguson Company acquired shares to secure access to the ore at a cheap

⁵⁶¹ Files on McGruer in Mines Department, MD 1, 03/1273, 05/1038, 11/237, ANZ-W; for his father, see *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 492.

⁵⁶² *Observer*, 7 May 1910, p. 20.

⁵⁶³ Expenses paid to Alexander McGruer, 24 September 1929, Mines Department, MD 1, 10/7/23, ANZ-W.

⁵⁶⁴ Miners' Phthisis Pensions, 1932 list of Thames pensioners, Social Security, SS, W1844, box 8, M40, No. 2, ANZ-W; Death Certificate of Alexander McGruer, 1 August 1935, 1935/18310, BDM.

⁵⁶⁵ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, ANZ-A.

⁵⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 30 July 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁶⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006, box 202 no. 1209, ANZ-A; *Auckland Weekly News*, 30 July 1908, p. 37.

⁵⁶⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 11 April 1907, pp. 6-8, 28; 'Obadiah', 'Shares and Mining', *Observer*, 1 June 1907, p. 20.

rate because it was considered to be similar to its Monowai mine at Waiomu.⁵⁶⁹

The 500-foot tunnel laid off by Hardy would give 400 feet of backs and intersect four large reefs that had given good values, and other reefs to be developed would provide another 700 feet of backs.⁵⁷⁰ By mid-September the 'clearing out and repairing of the old tunnels where rich ore' was reportedly obtained by previous owners was nearly completed, and men were about to 'work the reef'. Initially the Loyalty drive would be extended to cut the Bonanza and Inverness lodes, and Hill's drive would be 'extended to cut the former lode some 400ft higher than at the Loyalty level'.⁵⁷¹ McGruer later wrote that the Bonanza reef had been stoped out by tributers in a level near the surface. As 'the reef in the floor of the level was three feet wide and was worth 4 1/2oz gold per ton' the new drive was put in 200 feet below it.⁵⁷² By December, encouraging ore was being found, 'good stone' being extracted from this low level, and Dawson and others were 'pleased with the outlook'.⁵⁷³ Just before Christmas, it was in 224 feet, progress being slow because of the hard stone. A 'check assay' from the No. 1 lode was 'very encouraging', and by the end of the year another lode had been struck and there were signs of a large body of ore ahead.⁵⁷⁴ Dawson reported on his January 1909 inspection:

Prospecting has disclosed another 6 to 8 foot reef of heavy mineralised sulphide ore, and samples are now being assayed. The reef is situated about 100ft west of the Welcome Lode and parallel to that reef. An upper level is started below the Welcome, which will cut both reefs with about 110 feet of driving and giving 70 feet of backs. Stoping is in progress on the Bonanza reef, the ore being sent to Ferguson's Mining and Smelting Company for treatment. The 18-inch reef cut beyond the Bonanza before the holidays assays for gold and silver £4 4s 9d. The old May Queen

⁵⁶⁹ Ferguson's Mining and Smelting Company, Annual Report for meeting held on 14 July 1909, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 202 no. 1209; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 2 July 1908, p. 2, 30 July 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁷¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 18 September 1908, p. 3.

⁵⁷² Alexander McGruer to Waiorongomai Gold Mines, 1933 [no day or month given], Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 695 no. 4544, ANZ-A.

⁵⁷³ *Thames Star*, 12 December 1908, p. 1; 'Waiorongomai Notes', *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1908, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁴ *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 December 1908, p. 49, 31 December 1908, p. 49.

drive is now being cleaned up, and stoping from this reef will be at once commenced.⁵⁷⁵

Three months later the mining inspector, now Matthew Paul, recorded an average of seven men having been employed during the past year and prospecting as taking place 'at several points'. The drive had struck the Bonanza lode, which was three feet wide, 'giving good values'.⁵⁷⁶ As repairs to the tramway had not been made, as requested, work would have to cease for a time.⁵⁷⁷

Also in March, the Minister was informed that, although the ore was 'practically inexhaustible' and was of value to the Ferguson Company because of its 'almost self fluxing properties', there was insufficient capital for development.⁵⁷⁸ In the following month Paul reported that despite some 'fair' assays, 'sufficient work' had not been done to prove the extent of the good ore. As the Ferguson Company had wasted money erecting a plant and buying mines and had only a small quantity of ore awaiting treatment, none of their mines being productive, 'I cannot see how it is possible to work this and make a profit'.⁵⁷⁹

In July, Waiorongomai Mines requested six months' protection 'pending repairing of Tramway and reconstruction of Smelting Co'. The warden, now Frederick James Burgess, was informed that since its formation £964 had been spent in continuously working with from three to ten men, driving, retimbering, and reopening old levels and opening up new ones.⁵⁸⁰ Dawson stated that, as the Ferguson Company was 'in a bad way financially, treatment had been stopped. He could not state definitely, but he understood the syndicate had every hope of reconstruction on a satisfactory basis'. Protection was granted.⁵⁸¹ There was little real hope of a

⁵⁷⁵ *Thames Star*, 28 January 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁶ Matthew Paul to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 27 March 1909, *AJHR*, 1909, C-3, p. 25.

⁵⁷⁷ Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 30 March 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁸ S.H. Matthews to Minister of Mines, 16 March 1909, Mines Department, MD 1, 09/413, ANZ-W.

⁵⁷⁹ Matthew Paul to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 3 April 1909, Mines Department, MD 1, 09/413, ANZ-W.

⁵⁸⁰ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1909, 113/1909, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-W.

⁵⁸¹ Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 26 August 1909, p. 3.

reconstruction, for as Burgess noted the Ferguson Company had ‘exhausted their capital in the erection of their plant’ and had no funds to carry on.⁵⁸²

As the Ferguson Company owned about two-thirds of the shares,⁵⁸³ its financial ill health during 1909 and 1910 deeply affected Waiorongomai Mines. It was announced Hardy would become a director and ‘accompany the experts’ from Australia in inspecting its properties at Whangaroa (in Northland), Waiorongomai, and Waiomu.⁵⁸⁴ He purchased the necessary 100 shares to become a director, but could do nothing to prevent the inevitable; when the Electrolytic Refining and Smelting Company of Australia abandoned its plan to acquire an interest, it went into liquidation in April 1910.⁵⁸⁵ By then, in the opinion of the *Observer*, its smelters were ‘superfluous. Some of the shareholders’ remarks would do the job just as well’.⁵⁸⁶

Because the Ferguson Company had been unable to pay its calls,⁵⁸⁷ Waiorongomai Mines’ new low-level tunnel had been abandoned after being driven 225 feet.⁵⁸⁸ Protection was sought in April, by which time £1,500 had been spent on ‘prospecting and developing operations from time to time’.⁵⁸⁹ On 27 April, four of the shareholders bought the property for £100, and a special general meeting on 16 June agreed to wind up the company. Hardy held the property in his own name as trustee until it was transferred to the Waitawheta Gold Prospecting Company,⁵⁹⁰ which later became the

⁵⁸² F.J. Burgess (Warden) to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 20 August 1909, Thames Warden’s Court, Warden’s Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 744, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁸³ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1909, 113/1909, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁸⁴ *Thames Star*, 4 December 1909, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 7 December 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁸⁵ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 202 no. 1209, ANZ-A.

⁵⁸⁶ *Observer*, 7 May 1910, p. 7.

⁵⁸⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁸⁸ Alexander McGruer to Waiorongomai Gold Mines, 1933 [no day or month recorded], Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 695 no. 4544, ANZ-A.

⁵⁸⁹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁰ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Registration 1906-1911, no. 1585, BCDG 11288/3a; Register of Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1887-1909, folios 185, 187, BBAV 11500/8b, ANZ-A.

Waitawheta Gold Mining Company. This new syndicate wanted to attract 12 additional members who, by contributing £70 each, would enable the completion of the low level and floating the property in London. The late mine manager, McGruer, was quoted as expecting that, when this level was completed, 'one of the finest properties on the local field will be proved, as it only requires the lodes to exist at a depth to open up a good mine. The values are there in many places, and the property possesses many lodes bearing from 1ft to 10ft wide'.⁵⁹¹ The former chairman of directors, Charles John Hutchinson, a pioneer kauri gum merchant and mining investor,⁵⁹² wrote to London 'to people there who had previously offered me £5000 for the Hardy mines'.⁵⁹³

As payment for his interest Hardy received 513 shares in the Waitawheta Gold Prospecting Company.⁵⁹⁴ The directors' report for the Waitawheta Gold Mining Company for the year ending 31 July 1915 was 'pleased to state' that Hardy, 'who for years carried on Mining activities with great success in the Waiorongomai District, had joined the Board of Directors. Mr Hardy possesses invaluable experience of our mining properties and is acquainted with the best means of treating our ores', and would supervise a new method of treatment of samples.⁵⁹⁵ The first tests were not satisfactory, and on 27 August 1917 Hardy sold his remaining 250 shares, ceasing to have any further involvement with the company; on the same date, his two eldest sons sold their 256 and 257 shares.⁵⁹⁶

When Hardy's Mines was reconstructed in 1909, Hardy retained his 2,250 shares and bought another 642.⁵⁹⁷ At the end of the year he visited the mines with some of the leading shareholders.⁵⁹⁸ By November 1910, he had sold 200 shares, and ten years later was described as one of the

⁵⁹¹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 5 May 1910, p. 36; *Observer*, 7 May 1910, p. 20.

⁵⁹² See *Descriptive Handbook of the Waikato* (Hamilton, 1880), p. 89; *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 March 1884, p. 6, London Correspondent, 24 April 1897, p. 15; *New Zealand Herald*, 12 July 1921, p. 8.

⁵⁹³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1910, 23/1910, BBAV 11289/20a, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁴ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 222 no. 1314, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁵ Waitawheta Gold Mining Company, Directors' Report for the year ended 31 July 1915, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 313 no. 1756, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁶ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 313 no. 1756, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 158 no. 1006; box 165 no. 1208, ANZ-A.

⁵⁹⁸ Waiorongomai Correspondent, *Thames Star*, 22 December 1909, p. 2.

principal shareholders, but as the company's records for that period did not record shareholdings, the exact number held is not known.⁵⁹⁹ By retaining them he was assisting the company, not himself. His son Jason told the story of how, during these years, one of the principal owners, after failing to obtain more financial assistance from him, pointed a revolver at him. Hardy quickly disarmed him and tied him to a chair, later taking him to the police station to be charged.⁶⁰⁰ If this happened, neither the police nor the press recorded it.

INTERESTS IN OTHER AREAS

In the first decade of the twentieth century prospectors sought gold in the King Country, accompanied by the usual exaggerated hopes.⁶⁰¹ Although Hardy took no part, thereby avoiding wasting his money, his interest in extractive industries continued. At Thames, in 1903 he accompanied mining company directors to inspect plans to extend the Moanataiari tunnel.⁶⁰² In 1911 he acquired 1,000 of the 800,000 shares offered for sale by the Standard Oil Company of New Zealand, an exploration company which was quickly wound up.⁶⁰³ In 1914, he informed the Minister of Mines that the Master Cuttler of Sheffield, who was seeking iron, manganese, and mangesite deposits, had sent a representative who wished him to make enquiries about 'land suited to his purpose'. Writing as 'a Mining Surveyor by profession' with 'considerable experience as a Mine owner at Waiorongomai, Coromandel, and other places', Hardy requested the granting of rights over the Parapara iron deposits 'known to me', plus advice about the best area to commence work. This was 'a matter of serious moment and not a speculative venture'.⁶⁰⁴ He was informed that the iron

⁵⁹⁹ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 165 no. 1208; Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1920, 6/1920, BCDG 11289/1a, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰⁰ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994.

⁶⁰¹ For example, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 November 1906, p. 33; King Country Prospecting Syndicate, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 213 no. 1269, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰² *Thames Star*, 19 December 1903, p. 2.

⁶⁰³ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 212 no. 1262, ANZ-A; advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 August 1911, p. 12.

⁶⁰⁴ E.H. Hardy to Minister of Mines, 9 March 1914, Mines Department, MD 1, 14/451, ANZ-W.

sands had already been leased to others.⁶⁰⁵ Also in 1914 he was allotted 100 of the 15,000 £1 shares in the Tapuwae Land and Timber Company,⁶⁰⁶ which operated on the northern shore of the Hokianga harbour. In 1920, he bought 1,000 of the 100,000 five shilling shares in the Caledonia, Kuranui, Moanataiari Consolidated Company of Thames to make money from selling shares, for by 14 January 1922 he held 4,500 and had sold 500. His holding was reduced to 1,350 by 14 November 1923, selling these in the subsequent five months; his wife and two younger sons also bought and sold shares in it.⁶⁰⁷

TE KUITI

After leaving Waiorongomai, Hardy acquired land in the township of Te Kuiti,⁶⁰⁸ and in October 1906, in the first issue of the local newspaper, advertised a new career:

Authorized Land and Mining Surveyor (Late Government
Surveyor).
Real Estate and General Agent.
Representing: Samuel Vaile & Sons, South British Accident
Insurance.
Money to lend on approved security.
Maori Leases Secured and Completed throughout.⁶⁰⁹

Samuel Vaile and Sons were land and estate agents.⁶¹⁰ Te Kuiti was then, from a Pakeha perspective, a primitive settlement on the frontier of civilisation. A woman whose husband was a parliamentarian for this district later recalled, vividly, its state four years after Hardy settled there:

Te Kuiti in 1910 resembled a gold-rush town. Its population had outstripped its conveniences and strained the accommodation it could offer; and still men were pouring in.... The place was a hive of activity. The sound of hammering and sawing was everywhere.

⁶⁰⁵ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to E.H. Hardy, 21 March 1914, Mines Department, MD 1, 14/451, ANZ-W.

⁶⁰⁶ *Evening Post*, 23 April 1914, p. 2.

⁶⁰⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 374 no. 2086, ANZ-A.

⁶⁰⁸ Nominal Primary Index, vol. 5, folio 481, with map in vol. 30, p. 127, DOSLI, Auckland.

⁶⁰⁹ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 26 October 1906, p. 2.

⁶¹⁰ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 22 March 1907, p. 2.

Everyone, unless he happened to be a Maori, seemed in a violent hurry.

The soil was pumice so the roads were fairly dry except when it was actually raining but full of deep holes – almost ponds. A short time before, these holes had been filled with Maori pigs, wallowing, squealing and cumbering up the roads. These had now been banished and some of the holes filled in, but no one dared walk at night without a lantern, for there were no street lights. Nor was there any water supply except for a few tanks.

Express trains brought ‘the buyers or would-be buyers of land. These were the goldminers, on the over-spill of whose wealth this young land-rush town existed. It was said that every second man in the place was a land agent’.⁶¹¹

In February 1907, Hardy informed his bank manager that he was ‘doing well at Surveying’.⁶¹² Two months later, the *Te Aroha News* reported that he was ‘now established in business in Te Kuiti, under the style of the “King Country Land and General Agency” ’.⁶¹³ In 1908, his letterhead read: ‘Native Lands Agency. E.H. Hardy, Authorized Surveyor, Land and General Agent, Fire, Life, and Accident Insurance. Agents Throughout the Dominion. Native Leases Negotiated’.⁶¹⁴ He continued to sell land for many years,⁶¹⁵ in 1911 agreeing with the comment that he had ‘considerable experience in connection with Native land’, having both purchased and cultivated it. Having driven or ridden around the King Country and Taranaki, he had detailed knowledge of some of landforms and of the possibilities of farming outlying areas.⁶¹⁶ In May 1913, when about to make ‘an extended tour of the South Island’, he advertised that he would ‘be pleased to receive at once particulars of properties for sale - freehold, leasehold, native land’.⁶¹⁷ By 1914, ‘Hardy and Co.’ was selling land,⁶¹⁸ indicating that other members of his family were involved.

⁶¹¹ Helen Wilson, *My First Eighty Years* (Hamilton, 1950), pp. 168-169.

⁶¹² Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager’s Diary 1905-1919, entry for 26 February 1907, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁶¹³ *Te Aroha News*, 16 April 1907, p. 2.

⁶¹⁴ E.H. Hardy to Warden, 1 June 1908, Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1908, 14/1908, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A.

⁶¹⁵ For example, *King Country Chronicle*, 27 March 1912, p. 4.

⁶¹⁶ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 73, 75.

⁶¹⁷ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 24 May 1913, p. 4.

As was typical of the time, Hardy and his sons earned money in a variety of ways. In January 1907, he and another 'agent' sent 5,488 pounds of fungus to Hong Kong.⁶¹⁹ Three months later he started purchasing blocks of land, some for later sale but others for farming. He was 'going to clear, fence, and drain his block adjoining Tokipuhuki, as soon as he can secure the necessary labour. If possible, he will start building at an early date'.⁶²⁰ Some of his farmland was leased from Maori owners.⁶²¹ On his land at Waiteti, the first settlement past Te Kuiti on the road to Bennydale, he had by late 1909 'carried out extensive improvements, including the draining of the swamp'.⁶²² When his name was mentioned in parliament as one of the speculators leasing Maori land at a low rate, the Te Kuiti newspaper explicitly mentioned his 2,795 acres of Maori land as not being acquired for this purpose. They 'have had very large sums spent on them for improvements', and were occupied by Hardy and his family.⁶²³ This land, acquired by Hardy and his son Bernard in mid-1910, was at Poro-o-tarao, closer to Bennydale and on the northern side of the tunnel on the main trunk railway line.⁶²⁴ In 1911 he described himself as an 'authorized surveyor and sheep-farmer' and 'a practical farmer'.⁶²⁵

In October 1911, it was reported that he had bought a 'very fine Yearling Jersey bull for his Waiteti place, from the Ruakura experimental farm at Hamilton. He has been making extensive improvements at his Waiteti farm, and has 140 yearlings and other cattle on the place, where he will be milking by machinery next season'.⁶²⁶ At the inaugural show of the King Country Central Agricultural and Pastoral Association, held in

⁶¹⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 July 1914, p. 2.

⁶¹⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Auckland Branch, Securities Register no. 1, p. 61, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁶²⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 22 March 1907, p. 2; for all his farming land held by 1 April 1909, see Valuation Department, Waitomo County Council, Te Kuiti Riding, nos. 261, 480, BBBC 14670, A150/1450; nos. 80, 85, 86, 174, 175, BBBC 14670, A150/1451, ANZ-A.

⁶²¹ For example, *King Country Chronicle*, 13 December 1907, p. 3; Nominal Primary Index, vol. 5, folio 481, DOSLI, Auckland.

⁶²² *King Country Chronicle*, 11 October 1909, p. 2.

⁶²³ *King County Chronicle*, 9 July 1910, p. 5, 16 July 1910, p. 2.

⁶²⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 12 August 1910, p. 6; interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994 [the modern spelling omits the hyphens].

⁶²⁵ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 55, 75.

⁶²⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 October 1911, p. 4.

February 1912, Hardy's 'Dominion Glory' won first prize for a bull calved since 1 July 1910. Hardy also won first prize for two Jersey heifers, any grade, over one and under three months, and second prize for his Holstein heifers and the same prize for two heifers, any grade, under 18 months.⁶²⁷ He had presented a 'considerable sum' to be won as prizes, and became one of the three vice-presidents of the Te Kuiti Horticultural Society.⁶²⁸ In September a local correspondent praised the work done on his farms:

The properties from Waiteti right along the railway to Poro-o-tarao are being brought into cultivation in really good style. Mr E.H. Hardy's property in the Waiteti Valley has only been handled for about three years, and is a remarkable illustration of what can be done by working bush and fern lands in conjunction. The country is of excellent quality, and the fern land has responded to working to well that it vies with the bush in production. In order to obtain this result the land was worked with the plough, and the methods of production were thorough.... The bush land at the tunnel, belonging to Mr Hardy, is growing wonderfully good grass.⁶²⁹

According to his grandson David, Hardy did not work on his farms, leaving most of the work to his second son, Jason, his eldest son, Bernard, mostly travelling around buying cattle.⁶³⁰ After Jason returned from the war, he visited the farm to find 'gates open and dead stock lying about and the place neglected. When he got back to Te Kuiti there was one hell of a row'.⁶³¹ Another grandson, Frank McAdam, recalled him doing a small amount of farm work:

They had a house cow, which he milked, and always counted the strips it took to fill the bucket, and could tell when she was drying off.

The farm dogs from Waiteti were left in his care when Uncle Bernie went to Poro-o-tarao. They were fed in the evening, and one little dog refused to eat her meal until she was let off the next morning. Grandad used to mutter "Damn fool of a dog."⁶³²

⁶²⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 17 February 1912, p. 5.

⁶²⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 1 June 1912, p. 4, 23 October 1912, p. 4.

⁶²⁹ Te Aroha Correspondent, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 September 1912, p. 6.

⁶³⁰ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994.

⁶³¹ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 7 July 2007, email.

⁶³² Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

From 1913 onwards, his sons were explicitly mentioned as being the farmers. In 1913, Jason, of Poro-o-tarao, had 1,791 sheep; he had a flock on that farm until 1922, the highest recorded number being 2,900 in 1916.⁶³³ From 1922 to 1927, Bernard had from 1,454 to 2,522 sheep on the same farm, and had 129 in 1930, the last time such records were published.⁶³⁴ In 1920 Bernard won several prizes for his sheep.⁶³⁵ However, in 1918, Hardy, who gave his address as being care of his son-in-law Cecil McAdam of Te Kuiti, was recorded as possessing 614 sheep, and he continued to own a flock until it was sold after April 1924.⁶³⁶ As he was in Auckland for most of this time,⁶³⁷ it seems they had been bought in his name for his son-in-law.

In 1913, 'Hardy Bros', not Hardy, received the credit for winning their many prizes for cattle at the show,⁶³⁸ and Bernard was on the executive committee of the King Country Central A. and P. Society.⁶³⁹ The two brothers won more prizes the following year.⁶⁴⁰ A 1914 report stated that, four years ago, Bernard had grafted fruit trees on the Poro-o-tarao farm, which were now bearing excellent fruit; his father was 'taking the fruit to Wellington for exhibition'.⁶⁴¹ In mid-1917 a clearing sale of Hardy's 'Waiteti Estate' was advertised: 200 cows and heifers, mostly Jerseys, were on offer, along with pigs, mares, and a complete milking plant.⁶⁴²

When his two elder sons went to fight in the First World War, Hardy employed Harold Smith as farm manager, and in October 1917 successfully asked the Military Appeal Board not to send him to war:

⁶³³ *AJHR*, 1913, H-23, p. 17; 1914, H-23, p. 17; 1915, H-23, p. 18; 1916, H-23, p. 19; 1917, H-23, p. 19; 1918, H-23, p. 20; 1919, H-23, p. 50; 1920, H-23B, p. 20; 1921, H-23B, p. 20; 1922, H-23B, p. 19.

⁶³⁴ *AJHR*, 1923, H-23B, p. 19; 1924, H-23B, p. 18; 1925, H-23B, p. 19; 1926, H-23B, p. 20; 1927, H-23B, p. 21; 1930, H-23B, p. 29.

⁶³⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 6 March 1920, p. 5.

⁶³⁶ *AJHR*, 1918, H-23, p. 20; 1919, H-23, p. 50; 1920, H-23B, p. 20; 1921, H-23B, p. 20; 1922, H-23B, p. 19.

⁶³⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1931, p. 4.

⁶³⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 22 February 1913, p. 2.

⁶³⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 19 February 1913, p. 5, 24 May 1913, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 21 February 1914, p. 5.

⁶⁴¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 23 May 1914, p. 4.

⁶⁴² Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 19 May 1917, p. 4; advertisement, *Northern Advocate*, 8 June 1917, p. 3.

Mr Smith was managing his property and took the place of his two sons who were away on active service and were interested in the property with him. The property consisted of 3000 acres and with the exception of 700 acres it was in grass and heavily stocked. He had several other men employed previously to securing Smith's services but the men were not suitable and his experience proved that it would be difficult to secure a man capable of carrying on the farm.⁶⁴³

In May 1922 Hardy and his sons sold all their live and dead stock in a clearing sale of their remaining farm.⁶⁴⁴

When the Te Kuiti District Co-operative Dairy Company was established in 1911, Hardy was an initial subscriber and one of the first directors. In the first allotment of £1 shares on 1 October, he took 100 of the 726 on offer, the largest number taken by one person in the first eight allotments, paying 2s 6d for each share upon allotment, but did not increase his shareholding later.⁶⁴⁵ When standing for re-election as director in 1914, he received 117 votes, the lowest of the three successful candidates; the two highest votes were 139 and 137.⁶⁴⁶ He did not stand in 1917.⁶⁴⁷

In 1912, the local newspaper wrote that the International Harvester Company had 'a live and pushing agent in Hardy and Co', which had recently acquired the district agency.⁶⁴⁸ This arrangement led to Hardy's involvement in a court case over the hire purchase system, which he said was 'frequently used' in his business. Hardy told the court that he personally held the agency,⁶⁴⁹ but the interest he and his youngest son Malcolm shared in machinery, along with the fact that Malcolm did no farming, suggests that he was the partner in 'Hardy and Co'. Later in that decade, this firm no longer advertised as an agent for this company.

In 1916, Hardy established the Imperial Motor Company in Te Kuiti, based in his Rink Garage, which sold cars and motorcycles and also hired

⁶⁴³ Military Appeal Board, *King Country Chronicle*, 13 October 1917, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁴ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 27 May 1922, p. 6.

⁶⁴⁵ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 275 no. 1559, ANZ-A; *King Country Chronicle*, 24 January 1912, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 1 August 1914, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 8 August 1917, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 19 October 1912, p. 7, 21 December 1912, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 November 1913, p. 37.

out cars and drivers.⁶⁵⁰ No doubt as a way of attracting support, the Te Kuiti Horticultural Society's show was held in the Rink Garage in December 1916; Hardy and his staff were thanked for their assistance.⁶⁵¹ The 'Christmas Shopping' column in the local newspaper wrote that the garage, under Hardy's management, had 'increased in popularity and at all times applications for motor cars receive prompt attention from the staff'.⁶⁵² By 1919, Jason Hardy was in charge of the renamed Hardy Motor Garage.⁶⁵³

Hardy's technological interests led him to experiment with generating electricity, and in 1913 a fire broke out in his outhouse when the benzoline generator leaked and ignited. Afterwards he warned 'all who may have similar generators not to rely upon the so-called waterproof composition with which the generator is coated, but to make sure of preventing a leakage by coating with tar and pitch'.⁶⁵⁴

Photography continued to be a major hobby. In December 1906, the *King Country Chronicle* 'had the pleasure of inspecting some enlargements and coloured photographs' he had done which were 'works of art, the coloured photographs being most pleasing'; the enlargements of local views were made from his photographs.⁶⁵⁵ In 1912, 'Mr Hardy wishes us to state that in the New Zealand Graphic this week there is an illustration of a remarkable *Lilium Auratum*, the photograph of which was supplied by Mr E.H. Hardy'.⁶⁵⁶ The photograph in the *Graphic* had the caption:

Remarkable *Lilium Auratum*. On previous occasions we have published pictures of phenomenal growths of this handsome flower, but this, we think, is the record – two hundred and fifty blooms on one stem. This specimen was grown by Mr E.H. Hardy, near Te Kuiti.⁶⁵⁷

His grandson Frank recalled his combining photography with astronomy:

⁶⁵⁰ For example of advertisement, see *King Country Chronicle*, 18 November 1916, p. 7.

⁶⁵¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 16 December 1916, p. 5.

⁶⁵² *King Country Chronicle*, 23 December 1916, p. 5.

⁶⁵³ A. & G. Price, Letterbook 1919, pp. 32, 772, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

⁶⁵⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 16 July 1913, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 21 December 1906, p. 2.

⁶⁵⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 16 March 1912, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁷ *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, 13 March 1912, p. 38.

He was interested [in] and studied the southern universe, every evening, weather permitting. He had a special room set up at the top of the house, with his telescope, and camera. It took three days to set up the camera in 1930. Next day he would do his calculations in his tiny office. When they studied the photos [they] discovered the most southern star at that time, it was named the “Hardy Star” after him by the New York Astronomical Society, after his death they wrote to my Grandmother, saying he had contributed a great deal to the study of the southern sky.

He was a great photographer, and the family have a great record of the photos he left, he had his own dark room and did all the developing as well.

The local baker’s boy was a great admirer of his photos, and spent hours discussing photography, much to my Grandmother’s disgust, she regarded him as rather common.

In his retirement, Hardy also helped and checked ‘surveys for the Government surveyors’.⁶⁵⁸ After his death, his large photograph collection, along with his personal writings and many of Annie’s paintings, were destroyed when the family left the farm.⁶⁵⁹

Not all his interests were technological. In 1909 he not only attended a séance in Auckland but was one of those selected to search the medium before the performance.⁶⁶⁰ Being unable to attend subsequent ones, he had sent a representative, whose report he gave to the local newspaper.⁶⁶¹ And in the previous year a columnist received an unsolicited contribution:

Dear “Mercurio.” – Enclosed is an explanation of the riddle, “I sit on a rock,” which I would like you to publish. The answer is True Love Knot, not True Lover Knot. Possibly someone may be able to give a better explanation than I have done, but I feel sure I have the correct answer. – Yours truly, E.H. HARDY, Te Kuiti.

ANSWER TO RIDDLE – “TRUE LOVE KNOT.”

“I sit on a rock when I am raising the wind,
But the storm once abated I am gentle and kind.”

⁶⁵⁸ Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

⁶⁵⁹ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 9 October 1910, email.

⁶⁶⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 October 1909, p. 8.

⁶⁶¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 11 November 1909, p. 5.

Explanation: In a gale the true love knot holds firmly. When tension is removed the knot is loose.

“I see kings at my feet who await but a nod,
To kneel in the dust where my footsteps have trod.”

Explanation: True love conquers kings.

“Though seen by the world, I am known but to few.”

Explanation: Lovers are seen, but not generally known. True love is rare though apparently common.

“The Gentile detests me, I am port to the Jew.”

Explanation: The rope end (knotted) or the knotted cat-o'-nine tails or the knout are detested.

“I never have passed but one night in the dark,
And that was with Noah alone in the Ark.”

Explanation: When all the world was drowned true love existed for a single night when Noah and family were alone in the Ark.

“My weight is 3lb, my length is a mile.”

Explanation: The knot is a length of thin rope 47 1/2ft long, forming part of the log-line of a vessel, used to ascertain the rate of speed. So many knots run out per half-minute are equivalent to so many knots or nautical miles per hour. The weight would be about 3.6 per knot, and the knot is a mile.

“And when I'm discovered you will say with a smile,
My first and last is the wish of our isle.”

Explanation: The riddle was published at the time when Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were betrothed, and it was hoped that a true-knot would be tied.⁶⁶²

Hardy entered into the social life of the new township to a far greater extent than surviving sources revealed him doing at Te Aroha and Waiorongomai. In late 1906 he was elected a member of the vestry of the local Anglican church, and took part in debates on prohibition and the

⁶⁶² ‘Mercurio’, ‘Local Gossip’, *New Zealand Herald*, 18 April 1908, p. 1.

suffrage at meetings of the debating society.⁶⁶³ He continued to debate in early 1907, and to narrowly lose the debates when votes were cast.⁶⁶⁴ In March 1907 he convened a meeting to form a racing club, and was elected both its chairman and a steward.⁶⁶⁵ In 1911, he was one of the five vice-presidents of this club.⁶⁶⁶ In November 1906, he helped to draw up the programme for a sports meeting in connection with the debating society.⁶⁶⁷ The following year, he was voted to the chair at a meeting of the sports committee, and was appointed one of its three trustees.⁶⁶⁸ In 1909, he was one of the vice-presidents of the hockey club.⁶⁶⁹ Also in that year he was elected president of the cricket club, and later became one of its three vice-presidents.⁶⁷⁰ His sporting interests appear not to have included rugby, for he never became a vice-president of the local club.⁶⁷¹ In 1911 he was elected vice-president of the choral society,⁶⁷² and the following year, when a new debating society was formed, became its president.⁶⁷³ When this established a mock-parliament he was the Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs and Labour, and in later years he was a vice-president.⁶⁷⁴ In 1915 he provided a 27-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to be raffled for a hospital ship fund.⁶⁷⁵

At a meeting held in Hardy's office in March 1912 to establish a building society, he was elected a director and a member of the three-man establishment committee.⁶⁷⁶ The Te Kuiti Permanent Building and Investment Society was duly formed in June, Hardy being one of those

⁶⁶³ *King Country Chronicle*, 30 November 1906, p. 3, 7 December 1906, p. 3, 28 December 1906, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 18 January 1907, p. 3, 1 February 1907, p. 3.

⁶⁶⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 22 March 1907, p. 2, 29 March 1907, p. 2, 19 April 1907, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 28 January 1911, p. 5.

⁶⁶⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 30 November 1906, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 March 1907, p. 2.

⁶⁶⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 17 April 1908, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 23 September 1909, p. 5. 12 October 1912, p. 5.

⁶⁷¹ For example, *King Country Chronicle*, 15 April 1909, p. 2.

⁶⁷² *King Country Chronicle*, 6 September 1911, p. 5.

⁶⁷³ *King Country Chronicle*, 8 May 1912, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 18 September 1912, p. 5, 25 September 1912, p. 5, 26 April 1913, p. 5, 16 May 1914, p. 4.

⁶⁷⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 29 June 1915, p. 4.

⁶⁷⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 23 March 1912, p. 5.

certifying the adoption of the rules.⁶⁷⁷ During that year he was president of the local Chamber of Commerce, but was replaced in the following February.⁶⁷⁸

INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

It would be surprising if a man with such a high local profile and who participated in so many organizations did not become involved in local government. In 1906 he was chairman of the newly created vigilance committee, which met in his office, and led the successful efforts to obtain a recreation ground.⁶⁷⁹ Early in 1907 he was in contact with a doctor in England who might settle 'should any inducement offer', chaired a meeting to discuss this, and was on the committee to raise the necessary funds.⁶⁸⁰ He also chaired a meeting of subscribers to the district medical fund; however a later meeting devised different proposals to his own scheme.⁶⁸¹

In June 1907, Hardy convened and chaired a meeting to discuss forming a town board, and on his suggestion a committee, of which he was a member, was elected to investigate the best method of establishing it.⁶⁸² Shortly afterwards, he chaired a meeting of the vigilance committee which responded to criticism by listing its achievements: in particular, improving the postal service and railway facilities, obtaining bridges and a recreation ground, increasing the scenic reserve at Mangaokewa Gorge from 130 to 500 acres, obtaining approval for the appointment of cemetery trustees, and having warnings issued against insanitary premises. Its only failure had been to convince the government to buy the township from its Maori owners. As its term of office was shortly to expire, Hardy wanted it replaced by a town board.⁶⁸³ Three months later, he was appointed a cemetery trustee.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁷⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5581/15, ANZ-A; *King Country Chronicle*, 31 July 1912, p. 5.

⁶⁷⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 27 November 1912, p. 4; 8 February 1913, p. 7.

⁶⁷⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 November 1906, p. 3, 8 February 1907, p. 2, 28 June 1907, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 11 January 1907, p. 2, 18 January 1907, p. 3.

⁶⁸¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 March 1907, p. 2, 16 August 1907, p. 3.

⁶⁸² *King Country Chronicle*, 21 June 1907, p. 2, 28 June 1907, p. 3.

⁶⁸³ *King Country Chronicle*, 5 July 1907, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 16 August 1907, p. 3.

His political leanings were revealed in 1908 by his not being on the committee appointed to welcome the Liberal Premier, Joseph Ward, and not taking part in a meeting to decide the issues to be raised.⁶⁸⁵ Later that month, at a banquet to William Massey, the Leader of the Opposition, he proposed a toast to parliament and 'made a neat speech and trusted that Mr Massey would endeavour to remove the disabilities under which we were suffering'.⁶⁸⁶ He was not active in local affairs in that or the following year, when he took no part in a meeting to discuss establishing a borough.⁶⁸⁷

TE KUITI BOROUGH COUNCIL

Hardy became very involved in local politics in 1910. When a meeting in April considered which of the 19 candidates to support in the first borough council election, Hardy was one of the nine chosen.⁶⁸⁸ After describing himself as 'a permanent resident, expending time and means in town and country development', his advertisement gave 'an exposition' of his views:

Capital

Will receive at my hands a warm welcome and every encouragement as the only means to the development of the resources of the town and neighbourhood. Road and street formation, sanitation, water supply and lighting call for immediate attention.

Labour

Can achieve little without prudent co-operation with Capital. My endeavours will be directed towards due recognition of the rights and privileges and the due recompense of each.

By-laws, Rates and Taxes.

The imposition of these without pressure or class distinction; the economic and efficient administration of the Borough funds will receive my careful consideration....

Liquor.

I stand for Temperance and moderation, but for no interference with present concession with regard to private consumption which, apparently, is giving general satisfaction. The public sale of intoxicating liquor will not receive my support.

General.

⁶⁸⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 12 June 1908, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 26 June 1908, p. 5.

⁶⁸⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 6 September 1909, p. 2.

⁶⁸⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 23 April 1910, p. 2.

The town is rapidly growing in importance, backed up as it is by magnificent position, glorious climate, fertile soil and its rivers and field for sport.

Having witnessed the attractiveness of neatly planted streets and reserves in this and other countries, I am strongly in favour of beautifying the town when pressing needs have been met; extending the means for comfortable residence, upholding the dignity of municipal government and maintaining the present good reputation of the town.

Finally

I have a thought for the weak and afflicted, the beast of burden, the “cause that lacks assistance and the good that I can do.”⁶⁸⁹

In his election speech he stated that he ‘had been principally connected, when in business, with the laying out of roads, and for many years owned a battery, with large water power and his own system of electric lighting. He would be pleased to do what he could in these matters’. Should public consumption of alcohol be permitted, he wanted it controlled by the borough.⁶⁹⁰

Hardy was elected at the top of the poll, with 263 votes. James Boddie,⁶⁹¹ who obtained the second highest vote, 241, was elected as the first mayor; Hardy described him as the right man for the job.⁶⁹² Hardy was appointed to the committee to devise the by-laws.⁶⁹³

Hardy used his technical knowledge in debates about providing water and lighting. In late 1910 he opposed a suggested method of supplying water, tapping artesian water and using a Pelton water wheel,⁶⁹⁴ his arguments having the support of the borough’s consulting engineer.⁶⁹⁵ One letter rebuffing Timothy Pine, a leading Te Kuiti resident,⁶⁹⁶ and an

⁶⁸⁹ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 30 April 1910, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1910, p. 2.

⁶⁹¹ See *New Zealand Herald*, 26 December 1931, p. 12, 24 January 1939, p. 12; *Auckland Star*, 26 December 1931, p. 15.

⁶⁹² *King Country Chronicle*, 7 May 1910, pp. 2, 5; for photograph of the first borough council, see Dick Craig, *Land of the Maniapoto (Te Kuiti)*, 1978), p. 126.

⁶⁹³ Te Kuiti Borough Council, *King Country Chronicle*, 11 June 1910, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁴ Letters from E.H. Hardy, *King Country Chronicle*, 15 October 1910, p. 5, 22 October 1910, p. 5, 5 November 1910, p. 3.

⁶⁹⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 2 November 1910, p. 5.

⁶⁹⁶ See *King Country Chronicle*, 19 April 1907, p. 3, 31 May 1907, p. 2, 7 June 1907, p. 2, advertisement, 2 August 1909, p. 2, 25 March 1916, p. 5, 17 June 1920, p. 5; *Waikato*

exponent of the Pelton wheel,⁶⁹⁷ ended bluntly: “The “average engineer” will stick to the first principles of the science of his profession, and the “simple schemes,” that “tickle the ears of the groundlings but make the judicious grieve,” may be safely left to make their “appeal” in vain’.⁶⁹⁸ Pine responded that, as Hardy had ‘again thought it worth while to reply’, there must be ‘a good measure of truth’ in his (Pine’s) views. ‘If not, why does he bring his big guns of hydraulic knowledge to bear against me. If my suggestions are “absurd,” why does he not rely on the strength of the position he first took up and treat me with the contempt that, in his opinion, I deserve?’ Artesian water was possible, as Hardy now admitted, and he concluded by suggesting that Hardy ‘might have shown more consideration towards the feelings of a section of the residents’. Just because some of these people thought Pine’s suggestion was feasible it did ‘not necessarily follow they are “groundlings.” Mr Hardy, with his professed knowledge of etymology, failed, I think, to pause and consider the epithet he bestowed upon them; or, if knowing what it meant, he still made use of it. It says very little for his courtesy’.⁶⁹⁹

Hardy’s response was particularly erudite, and repeated and clarified the reference to ‘groundlings’:

Mr Pine has again shifted his ground re artesian water power. To follow him further in a hydraulic or hydrostatic sense would be a waste of time and space. A visit to the scene of the Council’s proposed operations is strongly recommended. Armed with St. Paul’s prescription given to an illustrious but dyspeptic namesake [to take a little wine for his stomach’s sake], Mr Pine will find the change of venue to Waiteti and its wholesome diluent a capital antidote to any forebodings regarding a gravitation scheme. A legal maxim, apparently endorsed by my friend, advises disparagement if the cause be weak. Peace must therefore be made with those for whom so much solicitude has been expressed. I must endeavour to save my Donellian Bacon: not, however, as a “professed” etymologist. In Shakespeare’s time, the “groundlings” occupied the pit or fore-ground of the travelling theatre. Evolution has transformed them into gods. Metaphorically, they are the unheeding and unlearned whom the skilful actor causes to be

Times, 18 April 1917, p. 4; Death Certificate of Timothy Pine, 1924/7336, BDM; probate of Timothy Pine, AAOM 6029, box 508, no. 34883, ANZ-W.

⁶⁹⁷ Letters from Timothy Pine, *King Country Chronicle*, 8 October 1910, p. 5, 19 October 1910, p. 5, 29 October 1910, p. 6.

⁶⁹⁸ Letter from E.H. Hardy, *King Country Chronicle*, 22 October 1910, p. 5.

⁶⁹⁹ Letter from Timothy Pine, *King Country Chronicle*, 29 October 1910, p. 6.

blinded, in their hilarity, by the dust raised at his more or less entertaining talk. The “judicious” are those, says Shakespeare, “whose censure must outweigh a whole theatre of others.”⁷⁰⁰

However justified, the ‘groundlings’ slur was disliked by its targets, and one year later, during arguments about how to light the township, Hardy was criticised for using it.⁷⁰¹ His views on this issue were not so readily accepted. In June 1910, he informed councillors that ‘he had obtained certain information on a new air gas, which gave an excellent light at half the cost of ordinary gas. He would give full details later’.⁷⁰² He did not refer again to this topic until April 1911, when he announced that ‘he proposed to go to Waipukurau on his way to Wellington, and would report on his return. There appeared to be a consensus of opinion that petrol lighting was right’.⁷⁰³ In August, he provided technical advice about dynamos providing electric power, but considered these too difficult to install because of insufficient water power. He recommended gas lighting, which he had discussed with the patentee of Dreadnought air gas, and wanted to use benzine directly rather than using it to make gas; he wanted the decision made on the basis of cheapness. On the mayor’s casting vote, Dreadnought gas was chosen.⁷⁰⁴ Immediately after this vote, Hardy provided the newspaper with technical details and costs about using electric light at Ekatahuna, arguing that Te Kuiti could not afford electricity until the Mokau River was tapped to provide ‘cheap generative power in overwhelming abundance’.⁷⁰⁵

At the next meeting, Hardy invited councillors to inspect the Dreadnought gas he had installed in his office. In seconding a motion that a report be obtained on hydro-electric power, he admitted his motive was ‘to delay matters pending expert advice’.⁷⁰⁶ He told the council about the system used at Te Aroha to generate electricity,⁷⁰⁷ but although he

⁷⁰⁰ Letter from E.H. Hardy, *King Country Chronicle*, 5 November 1910, p. 3.

⁷⁰¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 October 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰² *King Country Chronicle*, 25 June 1910, p. 2.

⁷⁰³ *King Country Chronicle*, 12 April 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 2 August 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 5 August 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 August 1911, p. 5, letter from E.H. Hardy, 15 August 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 August 1911, p. 5.

announced that he would reply to those who criticized his proposal in a forthcoming issue of the newspaper,⁷⁰⁸ no such letter was published. Although the council received advice from one firm that gas lighting would be cheaper, after a debate in which Hardy did not participate it voted for electricity. When Hardy, another councillor, and the mayor were all thanked for the effort they had put into investigating the issue, Hardy responded that it 'was a labour of love', in which he had been mainly concerned about the expense. 'Most of the arguments used against petrol gas would not hold water. It was no new thing and he had used it with success for lighting and cooking'.⁷⁰⁹ When ratepayers were asked to vote on the issue, at a meeting on the eve of the poll Hardy again recommended petrol gas; electricity was chosen.⁷¹⁰ Four months later, he informed the council that, when at Rotorua, he had obtained information 'which should be of great assistance' in implementing the scheme.⁷¹¹

Hardy was an assiduous councillor, attending 21 of its 25 meetings and 18 of the 22 committee meetings.⁷¹² In April 1911 he again topped the poll with 198 votes, the second highest vote being 184.⁷¹³ In thanking his supporters, he hoped that, 'by impartial advocacy of every good and just cause', he would 'fully maintain the confidence reposed in him'.⁷¹⁴ He was elected to the finance and legal committee and to the fire prevention and sanitation committee, the latter soon involving him in controversy over the siting of the nightsoil depot.⁷¹⁵ When he presented councillors with a large framed photograph of the first council he was thanked for 'his thoughtful action'.⁷¹⁶

In April 1912, Boddie announced that because of business commitments he did not wish to continue as mayor, and would only consent to be nominated if there was no contest and a deputy was appointed to assist him.⁷¹⁷ Then, three days later, he advertised that, having been asked

⁷⁰⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 September 1911, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 6 December 1911, p. 5.

⁷¹⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 17 January 1912, p. 5, 20 January 1912, p. 5.

⁷¹¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

⁷¹² *King Country Chronicle*, 12 April 1911, p. 5.

⁷¹³ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 April 1911, p. 5.

⁷¹⁴ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 29 April 1911, p. 4.

⁷¹⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 6 May 1911, p. 5, 22 August 1911, p. 6.

⁷¹⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 11 October 1911, p. 6.

⁷¹⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 10 April 1912, p. 5.

to stand, he would stand do so.⁷¹⁸ Another four days later, he withdrew his candidacy because Hardy had decided to stand. As Hardy 'was a member of the first council and has supported me in the various undertakings initiated by me, and as I assume the same policy will be continued in the future as in the past, there does not appear to me to be any occasion for a contest'.⁷¹⁹ After Hardy was elected unopposed, he recorded his 'respect for the person and attainments' of Boddie, and promised to 'earnestly emulate his good work and strive to profit by his example'. His 'sole object' was the 'advancement of the best interests of the Borough', having

no axe to grind except that required to clear away the obstacles to a healthful, enlightened and up-to-date town. I shall at all times courteously assist my fellows in any grievance to a state of security and contentment; and, generally, endeavour to improve the lot of every inmate of the household. For the sick and helpless and the hapless, and the dumb animals I have especial care.⁷²⁰

The *King Country Chronicle* wrote that Hardy, as the senior councillor, had 'always taken a keen interest in the affairs of the town', and could 'confidently be regarded as a thoroughly representative and progressive citizen', and a columnist expected him to do good work.⁷²¹

Upon taking up office, Hardy announced he would be at the borough chambers for an hour each morning to receive people who wanted to discuss official business.⁷²² On his suggestion, a book was placed in the council offices to record complaints and suggestions, and checked by the foreman daily.⁷²³ At his installation, he declared there was a need to raise loans to develop the town, which would mean paying interest through the rates. 'Personally, he was one of the largest ratepayers and did not intend to spare himself in his endeavour to advance the place'.⁷²⁴ He later stated that amongst his most 'cherished' ideas was 'to have the chief streets laid off in such a manner as to combine utility with the picturesque by having suitable

⁷¹⁸ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 13 April 1912, p. 4.

⁷¹⁹ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 17 April 1912, p. 4.

⁷²⁰ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 20 April 1912, p. 4.

⁷²¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 20 April 1912, p. 4, 'Onlooker', 'Random Remarks', 24 April 1912, p. 3.

⁷²² *King Country Chronicle*, 1 May 1912, p. 4.

⁷²³ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

⁷²⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

trees planted, and other provisions made for beautifying the town'.⁷²⁵ At his first council meeting as mayor, he informed his colleagues that, after negotiating with the Maori landowners, he had obtained a three-acre reserve for a hospital.⁷²⁶

The first sign of tensions between Hardy and the councillors came within a month of his becoming mayor, when he was criticized for not consulting them about the salary he had offered to the new town clerk; they overruled his offer and lowered the amount.⁷²⁷ No other signs of disagreement were recorded until late October, when a meeting of ratepayers was called to approve a loan of £21,000 to fund improvements agreed to by the council.⁷²⁸ There was considerable disagreement over whether they could afford to raise this money, Boddie being a leader of those who argued that they could not. Hardy created dissent by refusing to accept any amendments; the only motion that he would accept would be to refer the proposal back to the council for further consideration. When such a motion was moved, Hardy refused to accept it because it included an amendment that the Sheridan Street bridge not be built.

Mr Boddie at this point mounted the platform and addressed the meeting. He said in all his experience he had never felt in such an unpleasant position. He had never seen a body of reputable ratepayers so insulted.... If the Mayor refused to accept any of the resolutions he would move a resolution asking him to leave the chair.

Hardy responded that 'he would not accept anything illogical. He would leave the chair', and did so, after which the amendment that the bridge not be built was carried, although the loan was approved.⁷²⁹ Interviewed after this fracas by the *King Country Chronicle*, Hardy said that, while the council was not trying to force anything onto the ratepayers, he opposed interference with its work. He claimed that his action had been 'logical and consistent', and what happened after he left the chair was illegal. A special council meeting decided to postpone erecting the bridge.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 25 September 1912, p. 4.

⁷²⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

⁷²⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 May 1912, p. 5.

⁷²⁸ *King Country Chronicle*, 5 October 1912, p. 6.

⁷²⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 26 October 1912, p. 5; *Waikato Times*, 26 October 1912, p. 4.

⁷³⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 26 October 1912, p. 5, 30 October 1912, p. 5.

Because of what Hardy had said at the public meeting, a former borough engineer, Leonard Grantly Paoti Spencer,⁷³¹ complained that he had made ‘thinly veiled innuendo’ about his work. ‘I consider his taste was very questionable in bringing my name into the controversy’, especially in the light of Spencer’s public criticism of Hardy and the majority of the council, which remained unanswered. Spencer cited the costs of public works to prove that his estimates had been accurate, and complained that ‘a certain section of the Council has been always eager to criticize me and make me a “scapegoat”’.⁷³²

The councillor who had chaired the public meeting after Hardy walked out called another one to consider his behaviour; several councillors were ‘associated with him’.⁷³³ This meeting carried Boddie’s motion urging the council to reconsider the loan proposals.⁷³⁴ At its subsequent meeting, the council did reduce the expenditure to £13,000.⁷³⁵ In a long letter to the newspaper, Boddie noted that only one councillor had backed Hardy’s proposals, which he claimed had not been fully discussed when first put before the council. The decisions of the ratepayers’ meeting were not illegal, for it had not been a statutory meeting, and he considered Hardy was treating ratepayers like schoolboys.⁷³⁶ In response, an ex-councillor argued that Boddie knew ‘full well’ that Hardy was ‘a man more of a condescending nature than a fighter. A man who has done noble work in the council, and a citizen of the highest order, and ... certainly, deserving of more equitable treatment from our first Mayor’.⁷³⁷ On the other hand, ‘Deluded Ratepayer’ was offended at Hardy describing his critics as ‘rowdy’ and treating them with contempt.⁷³⁸

After this controversy, Hardy confined his role at council meetings to being its chairman rather than emulating Boddie by taking the lead in debate. In March 1913, a large number of people urged Boddie to stand as mayor; as Hardy and all the other councillors had signed the requisition asking him to stand and he was ‘approached by a considerable number of

⁷³¹ *Taumarunui Electoral Roll, 1914*, p. 110.

⁷³² *King Country Chronicle*, 26 October 1912, p. 5.

⁷³³ *King Country Chronicle*, 30 October 1912, p. 5.

⁷³⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 2 November 1912, p. 6.

⁷³⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 November 1912, p. 5.

⁷³⁶ Letter from James Boddie, *King Country Chronicle*, 30 October 1912, p. 5.

⁷³⁷ Letter from D.J. Young, *King Country Chronicle*, 2 November 1912, p. 5.

⁷³⁸ Letter from ‘Deluded Ratepayer’, *King Country Chronicle*, 2 November 1912, p. 5.

people privately', Boddie agreed to do so.⁷³⁹ At the conclusion of the last meeting he chaired, Hardy thanked councillors 'for the courtesy extended to him during his term of office, and stated that he had no regrets for the past and no fears for the future of the borough. He thought that under Mr Boddie's guidance borough affairs would be carried on in a businesslike and dignified manner'. Four councillors, not including Boddie, spoke of the 'kindly consideration' Hardy had 'always shown' and 'their appreciation of his good services, and hoped they would see him back at the table as a councillor'.⁷⁴⁰ Hardy did not seek re-election, and when Boddie, elected unopposed, took up office he made no mention of his work as mayor.⁷⁴¹ Nor did the local newspaper comment about it until his death 18 years later, when it recorded that 'large sums of money were borrowed for various works in the town, and his wide experience as a surveyor proved most useful in the carrying out of these works'.⁷⁴² After his retirement, Hardy went on 'an extended tour of the South Island'.⁷⁴³

As mayor, Hardy became a Justice of the Peace. In July 1912, noting the increasing number of cases of disorderly and obscene behaviour committed by drunks, he 'deplored the spread of such conduct, and intended treating all cases of the kind which came before him with severity'.⁷⁴⁴ In this connection, it may be relevant that, in 1921, the Women's Christian Temperance Union had an afternoon tea at 'Mrs E. Hardy's home'.⁷⁴⁵

RELATIONS WITH MAORI

As mayor, Hardy had to liaise with the Maori owners of Te Kuiti. It has already been noted that in the mock-parliament formed in 1912 he was Minister of Native Affairs.⁷⁴⁶ Earlier, a chance discovery strengthened his links with Maori, as recalled by his grandson. 'My father Jason told me that when he was ploughing the swampy ground near the creek and the lime[stone] outcrop to the north' on the Waiteti farm he exposed a

⁷³⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 29 March 1913, p. 5.

⁷⁴⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 16 April 1913, p. 5.

⁷⁴¹ *King Country Chronicle*, 23 April 1913, p. 4, 10 May 1913, p. 5.

⁷⁴² *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1931, p. 4.

⁷⁴³ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 24 May 1913, p. 4.

⁷⁴⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 10 July 1912, p. 4.

⁷⁴⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 17 September 1921, p. 4.

⁷⁴⁶ *King Country Chronicle*, 25 September 1912, p. 5.

greenstone adze known as whakamoetu,⁷⁴⁷ which he ‘hurriedly’ took to Hardy’s house. ‘His father said “By Jove Jason that’s very valuable and we must show it to the Maori elders at the Pa.” Dad went down and brought several back up to the house, much to my grandmother’s concern when they arrived. Anyway they recognized it tight away as Whakamoetu, who it had belonged to and lost it two hundred years before’.⁷⁴⁸ The first public announcement was made in October 1909, when the adze was estimated to be as much as 400 years old, and in this account after being hidden 250 years previously had often been searched for. Hardy decided to present it to the Te Kuiti marae.⁷⁴⁹ In March the following year, in a ceremony at the start of a land court sitting, Judge Rawson, ‘in addressing the gathering of Natives, said that they would all appreciate Mr Hardy’s action, and the straightforward and upright manner in which he had acted’. Patepate Keepa of Rotorua said he was ‘pleased to know that Mr Hardy realized how very important this heirloom was to the Natives. They would give full expression of their feelings towards Mr Hardy on another occasion’;⁷⁵⁰ any such occasion went unreported.

When Hardy stood for the council, his advertisement was printed in Maori as well as English,⁷⁵¹ and included the following paragraph:

Race distinction.

I advocate patience, consideration and courtesy at all times towards our Maori brethren, with the one objective of mutual respect and advancement; will do my utmost to foster that feeling, and while extending to them every privilege enjoyed by the Pakeha shall expect in return the assumption by them of every responsibility thereby incurred.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 11 October 1909, p. 2, recorded its name as ‘whakamoitu’, but David Calder Hardy recalled it was whakamoetu, which although not recorded in a dictionary may mean being put to sleep and revived: David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 7 July 2013, email; Tom Roa (University of Waikato) to Philip Hart, 17 July 2013, email.

⁷⁴⁸ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 7 July 2013, email.

⁷⁴⁹ *King Country Chronicle*, 11 October 1909, p. 2, 9 March 1910, p. 5.

⁷⁵⁰ *King Country Chronicle*, 9 March 1910, p. 5.

⁷⁵¹ Advertisement, *King Country Chronicle*, 30 April 1910, p. 2.

⁷⁵² *King Country Chronicle*, 30 April 1910, p. 2.

His thanks for being re-elected were also published in Maori, as was his advertisement when he stood for the mayoralty.⁷⁵³ When first elected, the *King Country Chronicle* commented that he would ‘sympathetically represent native interests as well as pakeha’.⁷⁵⁴ Any assistance to Maori interests cannot be detected from the reports of the council debates, the only negotiations with Maori that were mentioned, to obtain a site for a hospital,⁷⁵⁵ being of value to both communities. Hardy sometimes gave, or lent, money to indigent Maori, as in 1911, when he gave Paeroroku Rikihana ‘some money’ which the latter asked for ‘because I had not a shilling’.⁷⁵⁶

Hardy’s acquisition of Maori land has been noted. According to family tradition, when the main trunk railway line was being constructed one group of Maori landowners refused to sell their land near the Poro-o-tarau tunnel to the government, but ‘the tribal leader, a lady, I believe, said they would sell to Mr Hardy’, and did.⁷⁵⁷ When leasing 500 acres of forested Maori land in 1910, he assured the land board that he would ‘employ natives in working timber and minerals’⁷⁵⁸ (there were no minerals). A grandson believed he appeared in the land court ‘as an interpreter for the Maoris in land deals’,⁷⁵⁹ but although he did assist Maori he did not know their language, as was shown in 1911 after a political controversy over the sale of Maori land in the Mokau district.⁷⁶⁰ Hardy was required to give evidence to an official enquiry because he was chairperson of a committee of four Maori selected to protect the interest of one faction of the owners by opposing selling.⁷⁶¹ Some of these owners and their lawyer, Francis Henry Dillon Bell, criticized him for having then recommended selling, to their

⁷⁵³ Advertisements, *King Country Chronicle*, 29 April 1911, p. 4, 20 April 1912, p. 4.

⁷⁵⁴ Editorial, *King Country Chronicle*, 7 May 1910, p. 2.

⁷⁵⁵ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

⁷⁵⁶ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 98.

⁷⁵⁷ David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 7 July 2013, email.

⁷⁵⁸ Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 13/p, ANZ-A.

⁷⁵⁹ Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

⁷⁶⁰ ‘Mokau-Mohakatunu Block (Statement in Respect of the)’, *AJHR*, 1911, G-1.

⁷⁶¹ Te Oro Watihi and Tatana Te Awaroa to Bell, Gully, Bell, and Myers, 29 January 1911, Native Affairs Committee, ‘Mokau-Mohakatunu Block’, *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 155.

detriment, Bell not having attending a second meeting because Hardy told him it was unnecessary, 77 per cent of the owners being against the sale.⁷⁶²

In his defence, Hardy produced telegrams making clear that Bell had been reluctant to attend a second meeting of owners and that it was not he but Tuiti Macdonald, an interpreter, who had recommended Bell not attend.⁷⁶³ He also produced the explanation he sent to Bell four months later:

I place on record the fact that I acquiesced in your absence from the second meeting of assembled owners *re* Mokau – first, because I judged from your telegrams that you were hindered by business from being present, unless ordered to be present; second, the result of the meeting of assembled owners justified my acquiescence, because the applicants for the purchase of Mokau (Dalziell and Co.) did not succeed in winning their case. It was not till after the second Court that Dalziell learnt the strength of his opponents represented by my party – namely 77 per cent of the whole.

After the result of No. 2 I understand that Macdonald notified the Court that an adjournment might be made with a view to the consideration by the owners of some arrangement that might be satisfactory to all parties. At that time no way out of the difficulty presented itself as far as I am aware. Luckily, however, about that time Mr David Whyte, representing a syndicate from Hawke's Bay, called upon me (being an old friend) and asked me to subscribe for shares in a company formed to take over the Stubbs's coal property, and the Mokau lands if [Herrman] Lewis succeeded in getting the freehold. I refused to take any shares, but, having heard the whole proposals of the company, thought it would overcome the Native scruples against parting with their land if they could sell and retain an interest in the form of shares. I forthwith laid the proposition before the Natives, and it was promptly accepted, all facts having been divulged and afterwards published in Wellington.⁷⁶⁴

(David Whyte was a land agent at Hastings and later became a sharebroker as well.⁷⁶⁵ In 1907 he was one of Hardy's partners in acquiring

⁷⁶² *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 15-16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 86, 88-90, 96-99.

⁷⁶³ Telegrams, 7-8 March 1911, *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 175-176.

⁷⁶⁴ E.H. Hardy to H.D. Bell, 22 July 1911, *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 155-156.

⁷⁶⁵ See advertisement, *Dominion*, 14 April 1910, p. 6; *Press*, 12 April 1912, p. 7; Gisborne Magistrate's Court, BAJI 5819, A1611, ANZ-A.

Maori land near Te Kuiti.⁷⁶⁶ Herrman Lewis, a Wellington investor, who was involved in various Maori land deals as well as other speculations, would flee the country in 1913 after becoming bankrupt.⁷⁶⁷)

Questioned about his view that Hardy and Macdonald didn't want him to attend the second meeting, because they may have decided, seeing the Maori owners could not meet the cost of litigation, it was best to come to an arrangement, Bell retorted:

Well, they were either knaves or fools. You are asking me to assume that they were fools. I am quite ready to assume that they were fools. I told both of them that they were either fools or knaves.... Either they did not appreciate their duty, and were too silly to see their duty in front of them, or for some reason they agreed to abrogate their duty. I do not know which it was. I told Mr Hardy quite plainly to his face that he was either knave or fool....

They were the people who were guiding the committee whose duty it was to have me there if there was a change.⁷⁶⁸

Macdonald's counter argument was that there were insufficient funds to meet the cost of Bell attending. Once his party found their numbers 'waning', they agreed 'to accept what we thought would be fair and just to both parties – to the sellers and non-sellers', and Hardy was 'deputed by our committee to approach' Herrman Lewis, the representative of a proposed coal mining company.⁷⁶⁹

In his evidence, Hardy explained that he had become involved in November 1910 when asked by one owner 'to assist him to fill in and lodge an application for partition' in the land court. A party of owners later sent a 'deputation' to his house to show him legal opinions about proposed sales.

⁷⁶⁶ Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 14/a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁶⁷ See *Evening Post*, 16 February 1904, p. 6, advertisement, 25 June 1904, p. 3, letter from F.G. Dalziell, 22 July 1911, p. 3, 29 August 1913, p. 3, 15 October 1913, p. 8; 'Scrutineer', 'Light on Mokau', *New Zealand Herald*, 6 December 1911, p. 6; *Truth*, 16 August 1913, p. 2.

⁷⁶⁸ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 25.

⁷⁶⁹ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 28-29.

They said that there was no one in Te Kuiti who could adequately represent their case, and that I was a suitable person to do so, and asked me if I would do it....

They were not quite satisfied that they were getting justice done to them. They had an idea that they should retain their land, and wished me to look into the matter and advise them. This was on a Sunday. I said that I would read through the reports and meet them in the evening at 7 o'clock, which in due course I did. There was rather a large attendance of owners from all round – not in the large meetinghouse there, but in a pretty large building; and everything was thoroughly discussed by them. Tuiti Macdonald was present. After everything had been thoroughly discussed by them I said I should be pleased to go to Wellington to advocate their cause with Mr Bell, and do what I could for them....

When he along with Macdonald and a few of the owners met Bell in Wellington, Bell said he required £100, paid in advance, to handle their case.

We went over to the Wellington Hotel, and I was asked to go outside for a few minutes. On my return Tuiti Macdonald explained that the Natives were entirely without means, and asked if I would pay Mr Bell the money. I said it was rather a bad start: they had come down with no money. I did not see why they should ask me to pay for them; still, I said I did not see why they should go right back after they had been to a the trouble to come to Wellington. I said, "I have not £100 with me; I have £50, and I can get another £50 by the afternoon." They said they were very grateful indeed; they knew I had been the friend of many of the Maoris up there, and they would be very pleased if I would do that.

He gave the deposit of £50 to Bell, who wrote down what he intended to do with the different blocks of land. 'He read it out, and asked me to sign each page of it. I was rather taken aback at that, not knowing but that I might render myself liable for any costs', but did sign. Because Bell had given evidence of accusing him of being a fool, he explained that the only time this expression was used was when he told Bell 'that I had provided the money. He said, "You are a bally fool, Hardy." I asked why? He said, "The Natives will never pay you." That is the occasion on which he said I was a fool. I told him I thought I could trust the older Natives, and I thought everything would be right'. He opposed the sale because 'the older Natives at Mokau had sentimental reasons against disposing of their property'. As there was difficulty in raising money for the expected legal

battles, Bell stating that at least £800 was needed, 'it was arranged that I should have authority to dispose of any lands which were available, either by sale or lease', to raise funds.⁷⁷⁰

On the following day, he clarified that 'the onus of appearing at the Court did not rest with me at all'. Macdonald, as counsel for the Maori owners, 'was the intermediary between myself and the Natives, and I had nothing whatever to do with the Court proceedings', which Bell expected to attend. When he signed Bell's statement, Bell said, 'I do not hold you personally responsible', to which he responded, 'But I do, and I will see that no expenses are incurred which I do not see the prospect of getting paid'. After returning to Te Kuiti, he 'at once set to work to get particulars of the lands available for sale or lease' to raise money to protect the Mokau blocks, starting to give more detail than the politicians wanted. To prove he had not been at fault over Bell not going to Te Kuiti for another meeting, he cited his telegrams, despite Bell discouraging him from making them public.

The adjourned meeting of owners was held in Te Kuiti on 22 March.

In their deliberations I took no part, because they were not conducted in English. The only part I took was to state the efforts I had made towards carrying on this work and the difficulties that had presented themselves to me. I also pointed out that if we proceeded any further, and served the writs, we might be held responsible for any expenses incurred by the other side; and I for one did not care to assume that responsibility. After thoroughly discussing the pros and cons, the Natives themselves decided that they would have to sell or do something; they could not go on any longer. Finally they referred to me, and asked if I had any suggestion to make. I said, "Well, a crisis has come, and desperate measures require desperate treatment. I should like to mention now a matter which I have carefully kept from everybody for quite a month." I then told them that about a month before Mr David White [correctly Whyte], of Hastings, an old friend of mine, with whom I had been doing business for some months before, had called upon me. This would be about the middle or early in February. Mr White had then put before me a paper dealing with a proposition on the part of several persons at Hastings and Napier to acquire the coal-mine on the Mangapapa Block, which is on the north side of the Mokau River,

⁷⁷⁰ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 55-57.

but outside the Mokau Block. Although he declined the offer of 400 £10 shares out of the proposed capital of £100,000, on 11 March he informed the Maori of this development.

In order to appease the sentimental objections of those Natives who did not wish to sell, I said that if they could get some shares in the company they would still retain an interest in the land for the lives. Somebody said, "How many shares should we ask for?" After a little thought I said, "Well let us have 10 per cent of the £25,000." That represented £2,500 in shares,

which politicians pointed out was an incorrect calculation. Both sellers and non-sellers 'had a long conversation about that, and said they thought it would do very well', and on their behalf he went to meet the company's solicitor in Palmerston North with a proposal that, should they sell the freehold, they would receive £25,000 in cash plus £25,000 worth of shares. This was accepted, verbally. Hardy considered this outcome to be 'a fair arrangement', and returned to Te Kuiti to have the deal ratified. 'Everybody of any importance who was interested' attended the meeting on 22 March at which Macdonald explained the deal. Hardy had contacted 'as many as ever I could talk to', explaining the deal. 'I could only converse with those who could speak English, and I did what I could towards making the matter known as much as possible', stressing 'that they would always have an interest in the land. I was not the intermediary. I did not profess to speak Maori'. He considered there were 'many things not quite settled up yet', and when challenged as to why he had acted for opponents of the sale and then took 'the other side of the question', he replied, 'Oh, no, I did not. I simply let the natives decide themselves.... The onus of changing front did not rest with me at all. I simply put the facts as they were, and it was for the Natives to say whether it was satisfactory or not'. He had given 'distinct instructions that no proxies of persons who had offered the slightest objection should be used at the meeting. Only those who were present or had given specific instructions after being informed were represented at that meeting', but there was no need to use the proxies because 'there was a unanimous agreement. I kept in the background. I had nothing to do with the law matters at all. I was only to come in when the Natives wanted some suggestion that might be helpful to them'. The Maori he represented were 'three or four old people' at Mokau, 'the derelicts, as it were'. Asked why he had not engaged counsel for his clients, he claimed there was not time and that he was following instructions. 'I only took from my superiors, and they

were the Natives. They were all there. Every one who has had any dealings with Natives knows that if a man puts his spoke in where he is not wanted he will very soon be shut up'.⁷⁷¹

He was very anxious for Bell to attend the second meeting ('I was very much grieved when he did not come'),⁷⁷² but when challenged about whether he had discouraged Bell from attending before receiving Bell's telegram responded, 'I do not know. Judge that from the telegrams. I sent them practically simultaneously'. Pressed further, he replied,

I have not the telegrams before me, and am not drawing any conclusions from them.

But I am drawing conclusions from them. I want you to answer this question: You had practically made up your mind, according to these dates, before the receipt of Mr Bell's telegram, that he would not be required at Te Kuiti? – No; I gave him plenty of time to say whether he would come or not.

Then Macdonald, according to this telegram, had made up his mind that Mr Bell would not be required? – I do not know. I am not considering the facts at all; I simply place them before you. Macdonald's telegram may have been delayed in some way. You must judge from the telegrams. There are the dates on them. I did not make any comment on them.

You are not able to offer an explanation? – No, I do not offer an explanation.⁷⁷³

He was very concerned about costs. 'I said that I understood that a big gun required a big charge. I asked him not to incur too much expense'. He 'desired his presence very much – in fact, I was expecting a telegram asking me to send him £25 or £50, and I was prepared to advance that money if it had been necessary. As a contribution towards the expenses ... I sent Mr Macdonald £5, so that he should have no excuse for not coming'. He repeated that 'I had no communications with the Natives directly, because I do not speak Maori', but had no doubt the interpreters had explained his views to the owners. All the documents had been translated and 'were read out and explained. We did not spare ourselves. We were practically up all day and night'. The determination not to sell had failed

⁷⁷¹ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 57-62.

⁷⁷² *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 66.

⁷⁷³ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 78.

Simply because the Natives came to the conclusion that they could not possibly carry on. They had not raised any money at all: but we were all afraid that if we made another step we would render ourselves liable to attack from the other side. We perhaps could not withdraw. That is the position as I took it to be, and I did not want matters to go any further. But I went as far as I possibly could go....

I thought I had stirred up a hornet's nest, but as I had put my shoulder to the wheel I did not like to turn back. I fought as long as I could, but I left to the Natives the decision as to what should be done....

They were not influenced in any way whatever by me.

Asked whether, had he been in the position of the owners, he would have sold for £25,000, he answered that '£25,000 under the circumstances was a very big price – a very fair price' compared with the smaller amount they were receiving in rent. 'Not only that, I thought that if the lease went on that place would be locked up for another thirty years, and there was nothing but destitution amongst the Natives at the time: they had made nothing out of their land, and I thought that now was an opportunity for them to make something out of their land'. He 'would not have given that money for it – not half of it'.

Asked whether he was the 'chief organizer for your party?', he responded: 'I was a sort of focus. They touched the button all round, and I did the rest as far as lay in my power. But I could not say much to the Natives, because I do not speak Maori, and I had to call in the assistance of either Damon or Macdonald'.

All those that I saw or had any influence with through Damon or Macdonald expressed their willingness – in fact, many of those who signed the writ really did it out of kindness to me – they did it hesitatingly, so some of them said – they signed because they thought I was their friend, but at the same time they wanted the money. They were bordering on destitution, and some of them wanted to clear the bush from their lands, and the time was getting near where they would have to do it or lose the season. I took every opportunity to make the Natives acquainted with the matter before them.

Asked whether he had advised the Maori to refuse or accept the offer for sale, he explained,

No, not directly, as far as I am aware. I did not really have any conversation with the Natives, because I did not speak Maori, but I have with most of the agents and members of the committee. I may have given them my opinion as to what was advisable. I rather think I did. I did mention that in one of my telegrams to Damon....

I was a sort of focus to whom they intimated their requests. If any meeting was to be held I was telegraphed to arrange it, which I did. Different people in different parts gave orders, and I did the rest; I did not initiate.

Asked if the owners ever asked him whether to sell or not, his reply was, 'No, not on any distinct occasion', and 'No, they never put it in that way'. The owners 'did not put it in any way at all. I could not speak directly to the Natives – I could only speak through the intermediation of them or Mr Macdonald'. Again questioned about whether he had advised them, he responded:

I did not want to prejudice them or to interfere with them in any way. If I were asked by the Natives if I thought it was a fair price I should say certainly, but I could not enter into any explanation with the Natives. The people with whom I was in touch and sympathy all through were members of the committee, but they were scattered far and wide, and I could only see them occasionally. If anything was referred to me by telegram or otherwise I invariably gave a straightforward answer.

His questioner continued to be puzzled by his stance:

I understood from you that you had been adviser, and also acted the part of the Good Samaritan to the Natives, and that in your opinion £25,000 was more than the value of the property, and yet you did not advise them to sell. Do you think you were acting justly in not giving them that advice? – They had the advice of Damon and Macdonald while I was there, but I did not approach them in any way. I took an unprejudiced position with regard to the matter.

Asked if by so acting he had 'done right' by the owners, his answer was, 'Yes. What I have done I did on principle as far as I was able to. I usually acted on what I thought was the best principle throughout'. He added that 'Indirectly I have opposed the sale most unmercifully, because those were my orders to act for the Natives and they did not wish to sell at the start, but when it came to the point that they could not carry on any

longer and said that they must sell, well, all I could do then was to acquiesce in that'. He gave his views to Macdonald and Damon, but 'did not speak to the Maoris and did not have any conversation with any Maori, whether full Maori or half-caste'. If they had been able to raise the £800 needed 'it would have influenced them towards maintaining their original position' and 'I would have advised them to carry on as long as I had funds to carry on the fight'. He had found raising the \$800 difficult. 'Various properties were coming into my hands: I found I could not deal with them'. He repeated that anyone trying 'to force the position' with Maori would 'get their backs up'. He continued to insist 'I did not influence them at all. I avoided all through the fight anything that would appear to be undue influence'.⁷⁷⁴

As for David Whyte and the proposed coal company, he explained that he was 'an old friend of mine, with whom I had had business dealings before', but from what he had seen considered the coal prospects were 'really not worth anything' because of the difficulty of access and because the mine would be below the river level. Anyone who prospected the area for gold would be 'a fool', there was very little limestone, and when Pepene brought samples of what he thought was copper, 'it was really serpentine'.⁷⁷⁵ Whyte had come to Te Kuiti in February to place 'the proposal before me. He did not know at that time that I had anything to do with this affair, and it came as a shock to him when he found that I was connected with it'.⁷⁷⁶ Regarding forming the company, 'I did not think it was my duty to enter too deeply into a thing when I was not intending to take any part in it. I could not help knowing what I did, and I felt justified when the crisis arose to make use of it'. The crisis was 'when they found that they could not possibly go on'. By acquiring shares, they could 'hold them as an investment, so that if the company profited the Natives would do better either in actual sales or profits on working'. Even if the company failed, 'they would have got their pound of flesh in the £25,000. They were out to either gain or lose by the transaction, and if they did not look at it in that light that was their business, not mine'. They 'could not lose on which they were obliged to take at first, which is the £25,000. There was everything to gain, and nothing to lose'.

⁷⁷⁴ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 63-72.

⁷⁷⁵ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 69, 79-80.

⁷⁷⁶ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 77.

I do not consider it was an extra inducement. What it was intended for was to assuage any sentimental feelings of regret that the Natives might have at leaving their ancestral homes. This was more in regard to the people living at Mokau than the others scattered about, who are anxious to cultivate their lands, and who are now cultivating their lands with the money obtained from the [Land] Board.⁷⁷⁷

When the company agreed to an extra payment of up to £1,000 to cover expenses, he informed one of the owners and the two interpreters.

I said, "In arranging for the sale it will be well not to lay too much stress on this feature, lest it should appear to be an extra inducement offered to the Natives to bring about the sale." I did not want them to be over-influenced by that. I said, "If there is any question asked you, reply directly, but do not press it, lest it should be looked upon as an extra inducement to the Natives to sell their property;" and there was an honourable understanding with all the members of the committee with regard to that.

He told 'several' committee members, 'those that I thought were fit to receive any information of that kind'; thereby contradicting his earlier claim not to have spoken directly with any of the owners? As he 'told all the committee who ever attended or did any business with us', this extra sum became general knowledge, with the 'limitation' that 'too much stress should not be laid upon it, lest it might be an extra inducement to them to sell'. He told the committee 'to be circumspect regarding it, but that if any question were asked the questioner was to be told straight out'. Asked if the question was asked, he replied, 'I could not say. All I could do was to make it known to persons whom I was connected with, because that was a thing I could not explain to the Natives'.⁷⁷⁸

Questioned about whether there were alternatives to selling the land, he claimed not to know of any, including negotiations to sell to the government.⁷⁷⁹ Nor did he know that the court had ruled that all the shares in the land were to be equal.⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁷ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 72.

⁷⁷⁸ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 74.

⁷⁷⁹ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 77.

⁷⁸⁰ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 79.

Payment for his services was still in abeyance. He had charged 'The Mokau Natives' £373 6s 2s, and had advanced sums to two of them.⁷⁸¹ Although Aterea had repaid the £100 he paid to Bell, he 'again borrowed £60 from me for himself and his mother, because he had not been paid'. There was more owing, but he did not provide the amount. Asked about a bonus, he explained: 'When they began to talk about the share and some compensation for me for that I said I would leave the room; that that was a matter for them to discuss, and I went out. When I came back they said, "We have discussed this question of the shares, and we wish you to take £55 10s." That was about 2 1/4 per cent', which he was yet to receive.⁷⁸² He explained that he was financing most of his party because 'I had either to pay or let the thing drop. They were absolutely destitute, as far as I could see'. When shown an account showing that he had advanced £157 4s 5d to members of the committee he noted that he had subsequently advanced more. His out-of-pocket expenses of £66 1s 9d 'did not include anything like the out-of-pocket expenses, for I have not included rent paid for offices, &c'. Further, 'when we first started at Mokau the Natives signed a document in which they appointed me the only paid officer of the lot. They agreed to give me £1 1s a day, in addition to out-of-pocket expenses, as long as I continued to act as their agent. Well, they never paid me anything'. When told that his claim for 90 days, combined with the other items, came to £317 16s 2d, he responded, 'It was only a rough way of getting at a rough idea of what our expenses would come to'. When two Maori asked for money to cover their expenses for coming to Te Kuiti, 'I did not question those. They asked for the money; they had no money of their own; and I helped them in every way I could'. As he could not speak Maori, he did not know about their discussions, 'I only got a *résumé* afterwards of what took place. The question of raising funds, of course, was a most important one, and they discussed that among themselves'. Asked how much travelling he had done, he said, 'I have been travelling and attending to the business ever since November, 1910. I have been all over the country. I have entertained the Natives at Te Kuiti. When there was no place for them to stay at I had to find accommodation for them, and act as a sort of general father', and financier. Asked whether he had been offered any inducement to 'exercise influence', he retorted, 'Absolutely none, in any shape or form'. He would produce his final statement at a committee meeting 'and finally settle up everything',

⁷⁸¹ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 39, 40.

⁷⁸² *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 62.

for he was considerably out of pocket: 'There will be a lot of money to be paid – about £1,500 or £1,600 altogether'.⁷⁸³

He later provided additional details. When the owners met at Te Kuiti on 11 March, he was 'instructed to apply to the Mokau [Coal Mining] Company for the expenses of the 'Native agents and law expenses' in addition to the £25,000. It agreed to pay up to £1,000 into a suspense account; so far he had received nothing from this. If the land was not sold, he did not know how his expenses would have been paid: 'That was an eventuality I did not consider'. He had not applied to the land board for any money; 'What I have asked the Board is that if there is any money there it should be sent to the committee to be dealt with'. As the suspense account was 'subject to my guidance and the committee's guidance', he agreed it was under his control. None of this £1,000 would go to the owners.

The total expenses come to about £1,600, and included in that amount are some *ex gratia* payments to Natives who supplied food and otherwise helped our side forward. I did not have any control as to who those persons were who were to receive money, The Natives themselves in committee decided who should receive compensation for anything they contributed.

Asked if he was trying to collect £3,500 to pay expenses, he replied, 'Not at all. I am only endeavouring to collect the amount that is due to us'. He 'refused to have anything to do with' obtaining other money, which was done without his 'sanction'.⁷⁸⁴

In September 1917, the chief justice, Sir Robert Stout, heard arguments 'in an originating summons' brought against Hardy by two Maori women living at Piopio, Teaka (otherwise Te Aka) Pairama and Tehui Pairama. The dispute was over his 1907 surveying of their 386-acre block in the King Country, Karu-o-te-Whenua B, No. 2B, No. 1, which had cost them £27 10s 2d. Their solicitor explained that under the Act of 1894, a surveyor who was not paid could obtain from a land court judge 'an order for payment chargeable on the land. In 1910 Judge Rawson granted such an order chargeable on the lands over a period of five years', but three years later Hardy obtained 'an order vesting in him some 26 acres 1 rood of the chargeable land', which, it was contended, the court had no power to grant. Hardy had then sold this land to an adjoining settler,

⁷⁸³ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 66-68, 70.

⁷⁸⁴ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, pp. 73-74, 76-77.

receiving £150 for it, which he put in his pocket – and for a debt of £27. The Natives held that their land was much more valuable than the amounts paid for it. It was rather remarkable that the Natives never knew anything about the vesting of their land in the surveyor.

The Chief Justice: I am afraid that is not remarkable in Native [Land] Courts. Would not the proper course, if things are as you say, be to commence an action for fraud against the surveyor and the settler?

Hardy's solicitor assented to this suggestion, but contended that the vesting order granted to Hardy was 'perfectly legal' according to the Act of 1903.⁷⁸⁵ Subsequently, Stout ruled that Teaka and Tehui Pairama 'were entitled to redeem the land on payment of the survey fees and five years' interest', but that they would 'have to proceed further to obtain possession of the land from the man to whom Hardy sold'. Hardy then appealed to the court of appeal against Stout's judgment.⁷⁸⁶ His appeal was dismissed 'with costs on the lowest scale', but the court 'made an order for a variation in the original judgment stating that as Mr Wall had obtained a land transfer title to the land Mr Hardy should account to the Natives for the purchase money received from Mr Wall'.⁷⁸⁷

DECLINING FINANCES

Little information is available about Hardy's financial fortunes in his later years. In June 1906, he told the manager of the Te Aroha branch of the Bank of New Zealand that he wanted to spend £250 in erecting a house at Te Kuiti. His father's estate had only sold two houses so far, and 'won't let the others go at prices offered. Has 6 mos. rents coming from Estate in July, say £35, and South British Divd. in Octr. Will sell Waihi or S[outh] B[ritish] Shares if we like'.⁷⁸⁸ These Waihi Gold Mining Company shares had been purchased since early 1905: the number was not given, but they were a good investment. In that month, he also held 1,000 out of 100,000 shares in the Temple Bar Company, which mined at Tararu; acquired for

⁷⁸⁵ *Evening Post*, 17 September 1917, p. 8, 10 May 1918, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁶ *Evening Post*, 26 April 1918, pp. 6, 8.

⁷⁸⁷ *Evening Post*, 10 May 1918, p. 2.

⁷⁸⁸ Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entry for 21 June 1906, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

sale not retention, by February 1908 all were sold.⁷⁸⁹ In February 1907, the same bank manager happened to meet Hardy at the Te Aroha railway station. 'He tells me he is doing well at Surveying at Te Kuiti and expects £700/800 in a month or two. The course of the a/c will be downward', a reference to his overdraft.⁷⁹⁰ It did not reduce, and by March 1908 was £3,267, which with rent and interest payments and other expenses was likely to reach £3,535. When the general manager interviewed Hardy, the latter agreed to raise £700 by the end of the month by selling 300 of his South British shares; if he could sell some land acquired from Maori owners, another £800 could be raised.⁷⁹¹ In September that year, Hardy wrote about clearing up the account to the Te Aroha manager, who recorded the results of a subsequent meeting: 'Again told him he ought to sell some of his S B Shares or Te Kuiti properties, but [Hardy] said he would wait till after annual meeting of S B Coy (9th prox) when he would dispose of shares at Dunedin Ch[rist]ch[urch] Well[ington] and Auckland if he could not otherwise clear the account'.⁷⁹² Some shares must have been sold and he must have received more money from his father's estate, for in September 1909 he had £6,106 in his account in the Te Kuiti branch.⁷⁹³

In 1909, Hardy built his architect-designed house at Te Kuiti,⁷⁹⁴ at a cost of between £537 and £783.⁷⁹⁵ In April that year, his wife leased land within the township valued at £50 and he leased another seven sections, only one of which had any buildings on it, with a total value of £1,540. His seven rural sections were valued at £4,540; only one, his farm, contained any buildings.⁷⁹⁶ He was not boasting, therefore, when he told councillors

⁷⁸⁹ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 209 no. 1249, ANZ-A.

⁷⁹⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entry for 26 February 1907, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁷⁹¹ Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entry for 11 March 1908, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁷⁹² Bank of New Zealand, Te Aroha Branch, Manager's Diary 1905-1919, entry for 16 September 1908, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁷⁹³ Bank of New Zealand, Te Kuiti Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1909, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁷⁹⁴ Still standing, largely unmodified externally, at the end of Hardy Street.

⁷⁹⁵ These were the highest and lowest tenders: *King Country Chronicle*, 25 March 1909, p. 2, 27 September 1909, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁶ Valuation Department, Waitomo County Council, Te Kuiti Riding, 1 April 1909, nos. 74, 99, 110, 130, 131, 137, 179, 210, 261, 480, BBBC 14670, A150/1450; nos. 80, 85, 86, 174,

that 'he was one of the largest ratepayers'.⁷⁹⁷ All the farmland he leased, and then usually purchased, between 1906 and 1916 was Maori land; some was acquired under the names of his wife and his son Bernard.⁷⁹⁸ On occasions he told the land board that the land was acquired for his own use, not for resale.⁷⁹⁹ When there was timber on one block he arranged to clear and burn it for grazing once the timber company had felled it.⁸⁰⁰ His financial state was reflected by his wife advertising in 1911 for a 'Lady Help, capable, all duties, three in family; comfortable home; every convenience; references required'.⁸⁰¹ The following year, at a ball for the hospital fund she wore a black silk gown trimmed with jewelled embroidery.⁸⁰² And from his father's estate he acquired a half-acre section in Dunedin.⁸⁰³

In July 1915 his solicitors told the land board it was 'extremely urgent' that the transfer of one block was received 'by an urgent mail, as our client has had to finance'.⁸⁰⁴ Five months later they requested the urgent transfer of another block he had purchased because he wanted to use it as 'security for a loan'.⁸⁰⁵ Although acquiring the signatures of owners was both

175, BBBC 14670, A150/1451; Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 14/a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁹⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 4 May 1912, p. 3.

⁷⁹⁸ Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355/4/m, 6/g, 6/h, 14/a, 20/w, 20/y, 20/z, 21/a, 21/f, 21/g, 25/j, 29/f, 31/l, 31/m, 32/l, 35/h, 37/n, 43/g, 44/c, 52/c, 63/b, 88/k, 88/l, 88/m, 93/b, 93/c, 123/c, 147/s, ANZ-A.

⁷⁹⁹ Declaration by E.H. Hardy, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 6/g, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁰ E.H. Hardy to President, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, 6 March 1908, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 14/a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰¹ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1911, p. 1.

⁸⁰² *King Country Chronicle*, 3 August 1912, p. 5.

⁸⁰³ Declaration by E.H. Hardy, 22 June 1910, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 14/a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁴ Broadfoot and Finlay to Registrar, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, 8 July 1915, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 88/j, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁵ Broadfoot and Finley to Registrar, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, 13 November 1915, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 93/b, ANZ-A.

expensive and time-consuming, it was necessary to obtain titles to his land 'for the purpose of arranging a loan'.

The Natives interested are very difficult of access, as they are nomads, and I have had an expensive experience assisted by a Licensed Interpreter and Justice of the Peace in tracking them down. I have sent word for them to come to Te Kuiti but they have not come and I do not wish to repeat my visit to them as they are scattered about and unsatisfactory in regard to forwarding receipts if I send money by post.⁸⁰⁶

In 1918, a sign of his greatly reduced finances was the difficulty that A. & G. Price had in obtaining payment of £24 15s 11d. In May, the firm tried the subtle approach: 'As no attention has been taken to repeated renderings of the account, we are wondering whether any mistake has crept into the account. We shall be glad to hear from you'.⁸⁰⁷ By September, it tried bluntness, warning that if not paid within seven days their solicitors would act.⁸⁰⁸ Two months later, he was warned that as the account was 'considerably overdue, we must ask for settlement within the next ten days'.⁸⁰⁹ Payment must have been made, for no further letters were sent. In September 1921, he had a credit balance in the bank of £341 19s 6d.⁸¹⁰

In April 1919, his residence in Takapuna was sold, but he continued to live in Auckland; in July 1920 his temporary address was the Auckland Club.⁸¹¹ In August 1919 his first advertisement as an Auckland land agent and valuer was published with the slogan: 'Your Welfare Our Aim: Be Amongst the Elite: Homes for Gentlefolk'. His office was in the Phoenix

⁸⁰⁶ E.H. Hardy to Registrar, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, 8 October 1915, Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS 15355, 93/c, ANZ-A.

⁸⁰⁷ A. & G. Price to E.H. Hardy, 8 May 1918, Letterbook 1918-1919, p. 153, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

⁸⁰⁸ A. & G. Price to E.H. Hardy, 18 September 1918, Letterbook 1918-1919, p. 560, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

⁸⁰⁹ A. & G. Price to E.H. Hardy, 7 November 1918, Letterbook 1918-1919, p. 711, A. & G. Price Archives, Thames.

⁸¹⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Te Kuiti Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book, 30 September 1921, Creditor Account, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁸¹¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 April 1919, p. 10; *King Country Chronicle*, 20 January 1920, p. 4; Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 374 no. 2086, ANZ-A.

Chambers in Queen Street, and he emphasized his '40 years experience' as a land and mining surveyor'.⁸¹² His advertisements were published regularly until September 1921, but another, larger, one in January 1922 advertised a fine one at Te Kuiti.⁸¹³ According to his obituary, he spent four years in Auckland;⁸¹⁴ electoral rolls record him and his wife living at Te Kuiti in 1919, when he recorded his occupation as farmer, not being resident in 1922, and being once more at their old address of Awakino Road from at least 1925 onwards, when he was a surveyor.⁸¹⁵ In 1926, he described himself as 'Lessee & Authorized Surveyor', of Awakino Road, Te Kuiti.⁸¹⁶

Hardy's financial circumstances deteriorated further during the 1920s. In 1921 he owned four properties in Te Kuiti, mainly the motor garage and his office, which were valued at £3,058; his wife had two properties, total value £577, and the farm was in the name of Hardy Bros.⁸¹⁷ At an unknown date his wife sold her two sections within the township.⁸¹⁸ In March 1922, his Auckland bank balance was £35 5s 5d, which by six months later was only 1s.⁸¹⁹ This figure was not a true indication of his financial state, for by March 1923 he no longer held an account in Auckland,⁸²⁰ indicating that by then he had returned to Te Kuiti. Regrettably for historians, the balance books of the Te Kuiti branch of the Bank of New Zealand no longer exist.

AN IMPRUDENT INVESTMENT

⁸¹² Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 9 August 1919, p. 4.

⁸¹³ Advertisements, *New Zealand Herald*, 14 September 1921, p. 2, 21 January 1922, p. 4.

⁸¹⁴ *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1931, p. 4.

⁸¹⁵ *Waitomo Electoral Rolls, 1919*, p. 54; *1922*, p. 39; *1925*, p. 57; *1928*, p. 59.

⁸¹⁶ E.H. Hardy to Secretary, Auckland Education Board, 30 September 1926, Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸¹⁷ Valuation Department, Waitomo County Council, Te Kuiti Riding, 31 March 1921, 1/230/39, 1/230/109, 1/230/114, 1/230/159, BBBC, A150/1490; 1/230/648, BBBC 14670, A150/1491, ANZ-A.

⁸¹⁸ Valuation Department, Waitomo County Council, Te Kuiti Riding, 31 March 1921, 1/230/178, 1/230/648, BBBC 14670, A150/1490, ANZ-A.

⁸¹⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Auckland Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Books as at 31 March 1922, 30 September 1922, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁸²⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Auckland Branch Half-Yearly Balance Books as at 31 March 1923, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

In 1911, when offered shares in a coal mining company proposing to mine near Mokau, Hardy responded, 'No, you have come to the wrong shop. I will have nothing to do with your company. If I have any money to spare I will put it into sheep and cattle, when I can be sure of a good dividend; but no more companies for me'.⁸²¹ Despite this response, coloured no doubt by his Waiorongomai experiences, in 1920 he did, as noted, acquire shares in a Thames mining company, and in July 1923 became involved in a private company, Tholo Ltd. This was established to carry out an agreement of 3 July between Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, a company manager, Hardy, recorded as an Auckland surveyor, and Sophia Alice Jenson, also of Auckland, wife of George Nicholas Jensen, then of Wellington. The company, of which all were directors, was 'to carry on business as general merchants, timber merchants, mill owners and sawmill factors exporters and importers, indent shipping insurance advertising delcredere and commission agents custom house agents, brokers, carriers, shipowners contractors, storekeepers and manufacturer's representatives anywhere in the world'. Pisarenko and Hardy gave their address as 10 Union Buildings, Auckland, which was the company's address; Hardy was the secretary. Each partner held a third of the £3,000 capital.⁸²² Pisarenko, a Russian, was aged 41 when naturalized in New Zealand in 1913; his occupation was recorded as an 'Arts and Crafts Teacher and Dealer'.⁸²³ The first mention in the press of Pisarenko was as a shareholder in the Eastern Trading Corporation, general merchants and importers and exporters, in 1914.⁸²⁴ The following year, he visited Japan with his wife of two years 'on business connected with the Anglo-Oriental Trading Syndicate', an Auckland firm trying to develop trade with Asia of which he became manager.⁸²⁵

In May 1924, Hardy reported to his fellow directors 'on timber concessions and property of Tholo Limited':

⁸²¹ *AJHR*, 1911, I-3A, p. 59.

⁸²² Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 429 no. 2453, ANZ-A; *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

⁸²³ Naturalization file of Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, Internal Affairs Department, certificate register 60, p. 177, file 1913/957, REPRO 1646, ANZ-W,

⁸²⁴ *Evening Post*, 19 February 1914, p. 4; *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

⁸²⁵ *Auckland Star*, 19 March 1915, p. 2; *Dominion*, 17 August 1919, p. 4; Marriage Certificate of Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, 1913/2864, BDM.

The writer has, during the past nine months, been engaged in the inspector of timbered areas throughout the Auckland Province and as a result has selected the areas noted on the accompanying schedule for acquisition on a royalty basis. Consummation has been effected by legal document or negotiation is in hand to that end. Due regard has been had as to cost of felling, crosscutting, mill treatment, deliver to shipping port etc, further details of which can be inspected. Suffice it to state that these are quite satisfactory to the Company.

To serve the timber supplied two sawmills are under construction, one at Takahue, near Kaitaia in the North and one at Clevedon on the navigable Wairoa South river with access to the Hauraki Gulf and the shores of the Coromandel Peninsula.

In both districts there is good demand for sawn timber and every facility for export overseas. Roads to and from the mills are mostly metalled County highways suitable for motor traffic.

In the vicinity of the Northern mill are areas of virgin Kauri, Totara, Matai, Rimu, and Kahikatea conveniently situated and available for acquisition later on.

Altogether about 40 million superficial feet of marketable timber have been secured on a royalty basis or are under negotiation.

Furthermore in addition to standing bush Tholo Limited has rights over about 800,000 superficial feet of log timber lying ready for transport by road and rafted by water.

The object in forming a new company is the provision of sufficient funds to deal with the timber assured as aforesaid.

In capable hands such a company has every prospect of success. There is an ever-increasing demand for timber, especially the more valuable kinds such as Tholo Limited commands, prices are right, and though timber is a wasting asset, yet in this case it is capable of replenishment at the country opens up and means of access and settlement advance.⁸²⁶

After leasing a mill site to its sole debenture holder, J.D. Williamson, in December 1923, the firm failed to prosper, and on 9 October 1924, on the petition of Robert M. Aitken and William P. Aitken (R.M. Aitken and Sons), who were owed £130 2s 6d, it was ordered to be wound up.⁸²⁷ There were 13

⁸²⁶ E.H. Hardy, 'Report on Timber Concessions and Property of Tholo Limited', May 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21469, 185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸²⁷ *New Zealand Gazette*, 25 September 1924, p. 2240; Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 429 no. 2453; Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 1924/d; Auckland High Court, Miscellaneous Files, BBAE 4982, box 191, no. 2799, ANZ-A.

proved creditors.⁸²⁸ By 12 July that year it had been insolvent to the extent of £3,591: expenditure had been £3,852, ‘all for royalty with the exception of £1296 for salary’, and sales amounted to £259. Liabilities were £6,778.⁸²⁹ On 22 October, a history of the company, written and signed by Hardy and counter-signed by Pisarenko, was presented to the assignee:

In March 1923 Messrs Pisarenko, Hardy, and Jensen (representing Mrs Jensen) agreed to cooperate in importation of Oregon pine under the style of “United Traders.”

A successful importation of 110,000 superficial feet was effective, but lucrative offers held out by clients in the timber trade induced the parties to traffic in New Zealand timbers also. Orders were secured from two firms for twelve months supplies.

The output of a sawmill at Victoria Valley, North Auckland, together with 55,000 feet of sawn timber stacked ready for transport from Awanui to Auckland was negotiated. On arrival here, however, this timber was seized by the mortgagee of the owner’s property on account of interest due, and sold, at a handsome profit, to a sawmiller, but stopped further business.

It then became necessary to secure bush areas on royalty and to arrange for milling.

After much preliminary work and expense in seeking timber and arranging terms it was decided in June 1923 to organize a private limited Company under the style of “United Traders Ltd”, Messrs Gottos Uren & Gregory preparing Agreement and Memo of Association.

In consideration of considerable office and rough field work done throughout the Province from March 1923 and on account of the commercial connections secured together with the many years experience of the parties in the handling of timber it was decided to issue each member 1,000 fully paid up shares in a Company of £3,000 capital with the intention of rapidly increasing same as the value of the Company’s Concessions became apparent to the investing public. Later, the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, to avoid confusion, declined “United Traders” but accepted the style “Tholo Ld” which was duly registered July 23, 1923.

As the Company was now short of funds Mr Hardy in conformity with clause seven of the agreement arranged a Bank overdraft under his security given to Mr J.D. Williamson for £1,000, which was gradually augmented to meet requirements.

On December 5th 1923 Mr Williamson was given a floating debenture covering all assets of the Company for £6,000.

⁸²⁸ Adjourned Meeting of Creditors, 10 November 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸²⁹ *Auckland Star*, 28 October 1924, p. 7.

Meantime a number of logs, chiefly Kauri, totara, and rimu, were offered for delivery at tidal waters [in the] Bay of Islands and accepted by the Company for milling either at Clevedon or at Opua Mill by Messrs King Bros. £100 was advanced to the owner of the logs for completing the roadway of five miles from bush to landing, also £583 for purchase of said logs. Pending settlement of a dispute concerning deduction to be made for defects specified in our Contract, we approached the agents of the Debenture holder (who by this time had gone on a tour of the South Island) for further assistance of £400 for payment of balance on logs which had been cautiously measured, and on which the owner subsequently conceded a substantial and acceptable reduction, subject however to confirmation by the agents of the debenture holder. This confirmation was unattainable, a side issue of no material importance, and entirely germane to the case in point, having intervened. Thus was lost the opportunity of filling a very profitable order, quickly snapped up by Competitors, and bringing about the collapse of the Company's undertakings. Quickly following upon this was the disclosure to our Competitors of supplies of logs awaiting delivery from two quarters on which enormous concessions had been made by owners, almost entirely of Kauri at or close to tidal water handy to Clevedon. In one case there was sold for £1,150 what was purchasable by our Company for £300 on a nominal deposit on easy terms. With a view to rehabilitate the Company, overtures were first made to the Debenture holder's agents, but these promptly compromised the situation by appointing a receiver.

Simultaneously from different sources came offers to reorganize Thole Ld viz from Quick Sale Co on behalf of one Howes, from Messrs Gill and Connor, subsequently from Carter and Beale – as further set out hereunder:-

Re Quick Sales Co, March 24 1924

The above firm, representing Howes, a timber dealer or standing, undertook to invest £3,000, half towards Creditor payments and the balance towards log purchases ready for Clevedon Mill, milling of same and sale to Howes.

The Company (Thole Ld) signed the agreement but the other party defaulted, fearing complications, it was said. Later came advice that Howes had purchased from a Northern Miller our partly purchased logs from Bay of Islands.

Re Connor & Gill

Towards middle of May 1924 Messrs Connor & Gill accepted an option and proceeded to form a Company with capital of £25,000 to take over the assets & liabilities of Thole Ld as a going Concern. Before accepting the option Gill verbally secured time for promotion of a Company from the Solicitors of the debenture holder. Messrs Gill & Connor energetically carried on and intimated that most of the Capital required was bespoken before

issuing a prospectus, but complained that the Solicitors withheld a written undertaking as to a month's time required to complete. This was a vital issue between Gill and his Southern clients, and further efforts proved abortive. Since then, however, Gill & Connor have proved their capability and bona fides by successfully forming another Company similar to that of Thole Ld.

Re F.J. Carter (Aug-Sept 1924), Sawmiller

After perusal of Thole's draft prospectus for re-formation of its organization into a new Company with a capital of £25,000, Carter expressed in writing his readiness to subscribe for 13,000 one pound shares subject to inspection of bushes, agreements, contracts, etc. After full investigation but before completion of his task came public notice by the Receiver offering the assets of the Company for sale, although he was fully aware of all proceedings. This again jeopardized the position and rendered abortive two months' work and expense. Carter has since purchased a sawmill Elsewhere.

Re Beale E.C. Solicitor (retired) Sept-Oct/24

After expiration of tendering for assets of Thole Ld Mr Beale approached the Company with a view towards effecting a Modus Vivendi with the Debenture holder in the interests of all parties concerned.

Being assured of Beale's sincerity after 36 years' experience of his capability by Mr Hardy, the Company gave fullest assistance for thorough investigation of its affairs. Beale, fully satisfied, suggested the desirability of the re-affirmation of Clevedon bush agreements, backed by substantial financial assistance to that End. He, however, was deterred from achieving his object by the decision of Aitken & Sons to maintain their application for liquidation of the Company, notwithstanding advice that Beale as agent of the Debenture holder was collecting data for reconstruction. Thus ends the history of the Company.

Since default by the Company the price of heart timbers has advanced 5/- per 100 ft. Without this increase, however, the Company's assets in timber concessions and machinery etc were estimated to be worth at least £25,000 on a basis of 1/- per 100 above royalty prices payable. As profit of 6/8 per ton was anticipated on Milling, apart from the increase above noted.

In the foregoing statement no blame is imputed to any party, each actuated no doubt by what was conceived to be the proper course to pursue and on prevailing circumstances.⁸³⁰

⁸³⁰ [E.H. Hardy], 'Thole Limd', 22 October 1924 [some punctuation added], Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460/185g, ANZ-A.

(After retiring as an Auckland solicitor, Ernest Clifton Beale devoted his life to cricket, not to company formation.)⁸³¹ A draft paper about reconstructing the company with Beale's involvement noted that the 'present state of money market it is not advisable to seek fresh capital in a large sum until position of Tholo shall be established by working and producing marketable timber'. It proposed various financial ploys to keep operating, the main requirement being 'a Cash advance or Bank guarantee of £2000 for 2 years' to enable them to start milling at Clevedon, 'leaving Takahue Mill in abeyance for a time'.

Duties of Company Members

Hardy will be engaged exclusively with measurements of purchased logs and supervision [of] delivery [of] logs.

Pisarenko, office work & sales at Mill (supervise classing), shipping correspondence, invoicing, and general secretarial work.

Jensen Mill manager working, keeping saws, supervising mill output.

Beale E.C. Managing Director and Auckland representative.

Pisarenko, Hardy, and Jensen would each be paid £7 per week. 'Debenture holder could be represented by Beale as Director (Managing)'.⁸³²

In the draft about reconstructing the company, Hardy provided a summary of his career, omitting his mining and emphasizing his knowledge of the timber trade:

Authorized Surveyor, many years Government Surveyor Northern Wairoa to Hokianga Kauri District. Inspected measured and valued timber for Government, & Expert to Royal Commission on Kauri Timber Kaihu Valley Railway, along with Surveyor General 2 Members of Parliament including Monk, general manager Union Sash & Door Co Ltd.

Sawmill on own property Porootarao and dealt in timber....

Thorough understanding of system of system of log measurement and principles involved.⁸³³

He had elevated an ordinary commission into a royal commission, and exaggerated his involvement by linking himself with such prominent

⁸³¹ See *Auckland Star*, 21 September 1937, p. 9.

⁸³² Draft Prospectus, c. September 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460/185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸³³ Memorandum by E.H. Hardy, c. September 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460/185g, ANZ-A.

people; his 'expert' role was limited to providing evidence on the amount and value of timber on the company's endowment land.⁸³⁴

At the creditors' meeting held on 24 October, the assignee said that the company's bank passbooks 'showed rather a curious state of affairs. One was opened on a deposit of £10 in July last year, and there had been practically nothing else paid in, but there had been regular drawings. The company had just been working on an overdraft', and by March 1924 this account had a debit of £5,748. 'A second account was also opened with no original lodgment, and at the end of March it showed a debit balance of £1024'.⁸³⁵ As Pisarenko left this meeting 'on account of illness', Hardy had to give evidence:

He was mostly engaged outside, and Mr Pisarenko attended to the books. The only capital put into the company was by himself before it was formed into a limited liability company. That was about £200, and since then he had undertaken obligations bringing his liability to about £2600. The three people originally concerned were to get each £365 a year as salary. They had valuable agencies, one of which was for the importation of Oregon timber, and witness gave security for £1000. When the company was formed the three owners got a thousand fully paid up shares. Witness gave his experience, and Pisarenko his agencies, while Jensen (Mrs Jensen's husband) gave his services as an experienced bushman.... Mr Jensen had got £7 a week for 27 weeks, as also had Mr Pisarenko, while witness got £189. The finances then ran out, and witness had been trying since then to keep the company going.

The debenture of £6,000 was given on condition the company's assets were provided as security. 'Things were looking well then, but trouble arose about obtaining logs which the company considered it had purchased at the Bay of Islands'. When the company's books were taken to an accountant's office by Pisarenko, the accountant 'declined to return them because of a debt of £14'. In reply to creditors, Hardy admitted 'There was no capital to Tholo Ltd when it started, the money having been spent as United Traders Ltd. He borrowed £1000', and later the debenture had been obtained along with £250 from an unnamed investor and £400 from 'the Oregon pine venture'. In response to a creditor saying that as the timber concessions 'up north' were on ex-soldiers' section, on which the timber had to be burnt to

⁸³⁴ 'Kaihi Valley Railway', pp. 10-11, 17.

⁸³⁵ *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

clear them, the cutting rights were worthless, Hardy said, 'That is not the opinion of our solicitor'. He explained that 'the company had not represented that it had unlimited capital, and so far as he knew the company had not sold any of its assets to pay a creditor'. One man had taken some mill machinery, and he thought the interest on the debenture was ten per cent. 'In signing the debenture it did not occur to him that he was signing away ... the rights of other creditors'. After a creditor who had 'been working and getting nothing' for seven months called for a full investigation, 'as he was of the opinion that there had been misrepresentation to creditors', it was agreed to adjourn to hear from Pisarenko.⁸³⁶

A full list of Hardy's financial dealings with the company showed he had been paid £509 10s 3d for expenses, office rent, and salary from 5 February 1924 to 10 October 1924, and had provided a total of £2,110 in guaranteeing two mortgages and two promissory notes. He was owed by far the largest amount: £2,619 10s 3d.⁸³⁷

At the adjourned creditors' meeting, on 10 November, after confirming Hardy's account of the company's history Pisarenko outlined his chequered career:

I am a Russian by birth, but naturalized in New Zealand. I came to the Dominion in 1909 or 1910. I was a political refugee from Russia. I had no capital when I came to N.Z. In Russia I occupied a high position in the Government. I came to N.Z. with the intention of settling in the Dominion but having no knowledge of the English language or conditions in the country, I decided to study same. I went into the country and worked in certain places on farms. I spent two years studying the labour conditions of the Dominion. I landed in Auckland and went to Wellington. I was in Palmerston North, Hawke's Bay and Waihi. In the time I had become acquainted with different labour unions. I joined the Goldmine Union. I was not an active member of the other unions. I was for a time employed in making furniture for one Lurie. He had a furniture shop in Karangahape Rd. I worked for him for about 5 or 6 months. After I opened an Arts & Crafts School in Karangahape Rd. I knew all its branches. I consider I am an experienced man. I was in the school for about one year. After[wards] a syndicate was formed and I was sent abroad to secure commercial agencies. I think the name of that was the Eastern Trading Coy. When I returned and brought certain

⁸³⁶ *Auckland Star*, 28 October 1924, p. 7.

⁸³⁷ Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460/185g, ANZ-A.

agencies the syndicate formed themselves into a Coy. That would be about 1912 or 1913. I put no money into that Coy. They promised to appoint me manager. They paid all my expenses to the East to secure the agencies. That Coy did not last long. It went into voluntary liquidation. I think that would be shortly before the war. The Coy paid very little by way of dividend. I was manager of the Coy but not managing director. Mr [Henry Cromwell] Tewsley [a leading Auckland accountant]⁸³⁸ was the managing director. I think the liquidation was a few months before the war. My next movement in conjunction with others was to form another syndicate. I was sent [on] another business trip for that syndicate to the East. That was the Oriental Syndicate. When I returned with certain agencies the second syndicate was formed into a private Coy known as the Anglo-Oriental Trading Coy. I was a traveller for the Coy. It had no manager for the time being. The management was in the hands of Mr Horace Hunt. He was the secretary of the Coy. There was a Board of Managers of which Mr H. Hunt was the Secretary. I took no other part in that Coy outside being a traveller. I received a salary of £3 per week. That last about a year and my salary was increased and I was appointed manager. So far as I remember that was about a year after the Coy started operations. In 1921 I resigned my position and in 1923 the Coy went into voluntary liquidation. Between 1921 and 1923 I had nothing to do with the Coy. I could not get employment. I was doing broking until the beginning of last year when I met Mr Hardy. The Anglo-Oriental Trading Coy had a branch building scheme and also a joinery factory. Mr Jensen was not connected with it at all. I do not take the responsibility of this rather disastrous outcome of affairs. From my point of view it was not satisfactory. There was a house built for my wife by that Coy. I got nothing except my salary. I had certain shares but they came to nothing. I paid for some of them. I had about 1500 or 1700 shares in the Coy. I cannot say at present how much cash I paid. I do not think I got £500 for the 1500 shares. The original shareholders got the agencies I had procured. I cannot say as to whether the Anglo-Oriental Trading Coy paid anything at all. I have never enquired about it. It is not quite correct but to a certain degree it is that I carried out the formation of both those Coys. When I met Mr Hardy I had several agencies. Some American and some German.⁸³⁹

According to the press report of his statement, Pisarenko claimed his 'chief asset' upon arrival was 'his educational attainments. He had been

⁸³⁸ See *New Zealand Herald*, 10 September 1921, p. 8; *Auckland Star*, 7 April 1926, p. 8.

⁸³⁹ Statement by Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, 10 November 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460/185g, ANZ-A.

engaged in university work in Russia'. The failure of the first syndicate had 'urged him to further efforts, and he persuaded another syndicate to send him East in quest of further agencies'. When asked whether 'both these concerns were founded on your schemes', he replied: 'To a certain extent, yes'.⁸⁴⁰

Mr Hardy and I were introduced to each other by Mr Jensen. We decided to join together for the purpose of importing Oregon pine. Mr Hardy was to find the money. I explained to Mr Hardy that I had agencies but no money. I had several other agencies. Aniline Dye and another for wallpapers. I still have them. We decided to confine ourselves to the importation of Oregon Pine. The profits were to be divided between the three of us. Mr Hardy provided all the money. Then we went on the road and secured orders. Mr Hardy got a letter of credit. Several timber merchants approached us to be interested in local timber. We did import a certain amount of Oregon Pine. We made money out of that. I think we made about £400. Our next step was to interest ourselves in local timber. When the Coy was formed it was to be a £3000 Coy and each of the three were to take 1000 shares which [were] to be issues as paid up shares. In consideration for the 1000 shares I was giving my business experience. I had a full knowledge of timber. I studied it in America, Russia and Japan. That was before I came to New Zealand. I considered that my knowledge etc was worth £1000 in shares. When we decided to form ourselves into a Coy it was agreed that each of us should get equal shares. It was not with the idea of securing credit at all. The Coy at that time had no capital whatever. It did not strike me as putting in that bogus agreement that we would be able to obtain credit. The agreement was drawn up by our solicitors. We left the legal position to them. I thought we were justified in starting the Coy without actual capital as by cl. 7 of our Agreement, which is part of Memorandum, Mr Hardy to arrange Bank overdrafts. The agreement did not shew that there were no assets at all. As far as I remember the debenture was given in the beginning of December. In the meantime the Coy had bought machinery, some of which was paid for and some of which was not. We had secured big orders at the time and were very optimistic. We had an accountant keeping the books. I do not understand books much. He was a competent man. I did not think it was necessary to ask the account[ant] the position of the Coy at the time the debenture was given. We all knew the exact position. We did not think we were heavily in debt. We thought that in a few months' time we would be able to pay our debts and have good profits. All the arrangements made with Mr Williamson

⁸⁴⁰ *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

have been through Mr Hardy's guarantee and arranged by Mr Hardy. Under that guarantee there was over £1000 owing. I cannot say what the overdraft was in December, 1923. As against the amount owing to Mr Williamson the Coy had mills in course of construction and it had bushes. I say that at the time our assets were worth £20,000. That is from our point of view as a going concern.⁸⁴¹

In the newspaper version, he did not think 'there was anything wrong in giving a security' to the debenture holder over a plant which had not been fully paid for. They 'were swayed by the magnificent prospects, and felt that within a few months everything would be paid for, and a profit made as well'.⁸⁴²

I was nominally the manager of Tholo Ltd. I was jointly responsible as manager of the Coy. There was no certain definite person mentioned. Mr Hardy got the overdraft immediately after the formation of the Coy on his security. He got the first overdraft from Mr Williamson. Mr Hardy guaranteed Mr Williamson and Mr Williamson guaranteed the Bank.

He mentioned three timber merchants who would 'not be interested in Oregon Pine' unless local timber was provided as well.

There was security given by Mr Hardy but not by the Coy. The money was to be drawn from the Bank. We discussed matters together and decided that under the circumstances 10% was a reasonable rate of interest. We had no time to call creditors together before the debenture was given to Mr Williamson. Mr Williamson's solicitor asked for a debenture and we went to the solicitors to sign the necessary papers. At the time we never thought that there would be any harm. With the orders in hand we thought that everybody would be paid. I think the solicitor read the debenture over to us before we signed it. I do not remember saying that I signed it without ever having read it. I could not have stated it because it would not have been true. I thought it advisable for the three of us to run about the country inspecting bushes etc. It was necessary. The books of account were not kept until Mr Drummond was appointed. I think that

⁸⁴¹ Statement by Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, 10 November 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸⁴² *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

was in August, a few weeks after the formation of the Coy. Before then I kept the accounts.⁸⁴³

In response to the assignee pointing out that their overdraft was about £4,000, Pisarenko 'stated that from the company's point of view the assets were worth quite £20,000'. Asked 'And how much do you think the debenture holder is going to get?', he responded, 'Well, that is a different thing'. After telling him, 'You must have been living in the clouds', the assignee invited the creditors to speak. One, 'who had lost heavily in the company over a contract', wanted the matter placed before the Crown Prospector, but was told that there was no money in hand and the creditors would have to meet the cost. The assignee agreed the creditor 'may have been misled, but in his opinion it was not deliberate'. To the retort that the company was £14,000 in debt and yet the creditors had no redress, the assignee commented: 'You have had to deal with three optimists. I quite agree that the three principals have shown themselves to be most impracticable, and have gone into these undertakings with little prospect of coming out ahead'. The creditors agreed that the liquidator be asked 'to take proceedings against two creditors', presumably the males, 'provided he could do so without expense to the creditors'.⁸⁴⁴

Another newspaper report of Pisarenko's evidence gave the company's liabilities as 'over £14,000, and assets insufficient to repay £1000 to a debenture holder'. Asked for 'the value of the service' he gave for his £1,000 paid up shares, 'Pisarenko stated that he was a timber expert, having studied forestry in America, Russia, and Japan. The £1000 was not meant to represent exactly the monetary value of each partner's services, however, but to indicate that all three were on the same footing in the company'. When he admitted that when it was registered 'there was no actual capital in it', the assignee asked whether he thought he was 'quite justified in starting this company without any capital whatever? Do you not think that there might be a suggestion that the company was a bogus one, inasmuch as it appeared to be capitalized to the extent of £3000, whereas there was no cash in it at all?' Pisarenko disagreed on the grounds that it 'held valuable agencies, and provision was made for an overdraft by one of the partners', meaning Hardy. As they had 'secured very good orders, with the hope of

⁸⁴³ Statement by Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, 10 November 1924, Bankruptch Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸⁴⁴ *Auckland Star*, 10 November 1924, p. 8.

considerable profits, it was all right to give the debenture'; and they hoped to make a good profit in a few months' time. After he admitted that the estimate that the mills and bush options, estimated to be worth about £20,000, 'from the viewpoint of different circumstances' were 'probably worth nothing', the assignee 'expressed a strong conviction that so long as witness could get the money, he did not care particularly where it came from. The company's dealings had been unpractical from the start', being based on Hardy's guarantee to the debenture holder.⁸⁴⁵ *Truth* described this fiasco as 'one of the most amazing instances of business audacity on the one hand and business credulity on the other'. Pisarenko was 'a champion optimist', and Hardy 'cheerfully provided the capital'.⁸⁴⁶

In April 1929, Pisarenko and a partner formed an import and export company called United Traders, in which Pisarenko, who still called himself a company director and held 50 of the 2,000 £1 shares, was not a director.⁸⁴⁷ In August he became a shareholder in the newly formed National Mercantile Agency, 'guarantors, trade assignees and liquidators'.⁸⁴⁸ Because his business ventures continued to be unprofitable, in mid-July 1930 he jumped to his death from the Grafton Bridge in Auckland, leaving letters to the coroner, the police, and others (the one to his wife was not made public) making clear that he had intended to commit suicide. Not only was the pain in his head becoming 'dreadful', he had 'come to the conclusion that I am an absolutely useless man because of his inability to provide 'even necessities' for his wife and having to live on her earnings. 'I leave her no money, any property, absolutely nothing' of any value, and because 'she deserves better conditions in life' had decided to die; 'I am only useless to any body, and specially to my dearly beloved wife'.⁸⁴⁹ Aged 57, and still a company manager, his widow inherited an estate expected to be worth less than £400 but which turned out to have no value at all.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 11 November 1924, p. 12.

⁸⁴⁶ *Truth*, 22 November 1924, p. 1.

⁸⁴⁷ Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 585 no. 3587, ANZ-A.

⁸⁴⁸ *Auckland Star*, 6 August 1929, p. 4.

⁸⁴⁹ Inquest, Justice Department, ACGS 16231, J 6 COR/950 [Micro W 5548], ANZ-W; *Auckland Star*, 28 July 1930, p. 9.

⁸⁵⁰ Death Certificate of Vladimir Eugene Pisarenko, 1930/4860, BDM; Probates, BBAE 1570, P527/1930, ANZ-A.

Hardy, for Beale's benefit, gave a summary of Pisarenko's career, no doubt provided by Pisarenko, emphasizing his knowledge of the timber trade:

He is not only well connected in timber trade but knows it well as for last 10 years was representative of different Sawmills, Phillipine Islands, Japan & America has been doing business in NZ with Oak, Oregon Pine and varioys hardwoods. He visited and studied forests and respective Sawmills in Phillipine Islands, Japan, America & Russia. Having these agencies he was in touch with and trading in local NZ timber Coy before joining Tholo Ld. He knows all branches of timber business, Customs, organization, Management, working, selling etc. He is in a position to take any position in the timber business including the millwork.⁸⁵¹

Whereas Hardy may have not fully understood Pisarenko's business acumen before becoming involved with him, he did know about George Nicholas Jensen, husband of the third partner, whose career and expertise he provided for Beale:

Age 48 years.

Born Wellington, in N Zealand all his life. By trade builder & sawmiller, worked for C.E. Daniels Sawmiller & builder on all classes of kwork and since have contracted for such work from Wellington to King Country. Built first office in Taihape for Raily Dept also work in Te Kuiti for Railway Dept also in Waikato. Had much experience in Taihape & King Country. Had own mill in Aria on Mokau River and was very successful. Whilst sawmilling studied saw doctoring, and bush work, felling, crosscutting, hauling, sawing, classing and delivery with bullocks on bad roads. Qualified to take charge of and work any sawmilling plant, also to erect or fit machinery and can meet any emergency that may happen. Can take any place in a mill, therefore capable of managing. One of his brothers trained under myself is manager for Bartholomew Timber Co and another for Odlum Co at Hitkutaia.⁸⁵²

Jensen would have provided this information, but Hardy must have known there was more to his career, for Jensen was well known at Te Kuiti.

⁸⁵¹ Memorandum by E.H. Hardy, c. September 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

⁸⁵² Memorandum by E.H. Hardy, c. September 1924, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 185/g, ANZ-A.

In June 1909, at a meeting of creditors of a bankrupt Te Kuiti contracting firm, it was disclosed that Jensen was working for his four brothers, trading as Jensen Bros, but could not explain why, despite being an undischarged bankrupt, he had signed an agreement to purchase this firm. 'He had not disclosed to his creditors or the assignee that he had had an interest in the fair. Previous to his bankruptcy he was a building speculator'. The purchase had not gone through because of 'want of money', which the assignee considered 'very convenient'; he claimed not to know that it was an offence not to disclose his interest in this transaction. 'He did not allow people to think he was the sole owner of the business. He did not issue any orders as "Manager for Jensen Bros."' He did not altogether take the leading hand right through in running the concern', but shortly before Christmas had agreed to be manager, for £3 a week, his sole income when he became bankrupt, when he thought his liabilities were less than his assets.⁸⁵³ Jensen Bros, also a Te Kuiti contracting firm, itself was bankrupt, having tried to operate without employing labour and taking on 'too many contracts with too small a capital; it lost about £930 10s in its contracts.⁸⁵⁴ In September, at a creditors' meeting it was revealed that it had started with a capital of £75. As Jensen, manager from its formation, 'had chosen to stay away' despite being asked by his brothers to be present, the meeting was adjourned until he attended.⁸⁵⁵ The subsequent meeting was also adjourned so that Jensen could 'consider his position, and place a proposal before the creditors';⁸⁵⁶ no such proposal was recorded.

Jensen was bankrupted in 1916, when a baker in Mount Eden, Auckland; the 'total deficiency' was £956. At the creditors' meeting in the following April he 'stated that up to September last he was quite solvent. He had at that time two farm properties', one of 2,000 acres and another of 160 acres, both mortgaged, and 'while in this strong position he was persuaded to exchange for a bakery business. Failure to sell his properties, and having to run the business, of which he had no experience, on credit, resulted in the commencement of his trouble.... He was now working in a country sawmill, and endeavouring to repay those who had lost through his

⁸⁵³ *New Zealand Herald*, 2 June 1909, p. 8.

⁸⁵⁴ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 1909, p. 6, 19 August 1909, p. 6, 28 August 1909, p. 7; *Auckland Star*, 27 August 1909, p. 4.

⁸⁵⁵ *New Zealand Herald*, 4 September 1909, p. 8; *Auckland Star*, 4 September 1909, p. 7.

⁸⁵⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 20 October 1909, p. 5.

lack of experience'.⁸⁵⁷ The meeting was adjourned to enable creditors to discover whether he had really lost nearly £1,000 a month. An accountant reported that, 'so far as could be ascertained from the books and accounts, which were in a chaotic state, it seemed that the trading loss was £1385. The bankrupt had apparently grossly over estimated his requirements, the result no doubt being a considerable wastage'. His trading loss had therefore been about £400 a month.

The question was raised by some creditors that bills had been given them, backed by Mrs Jensen, and the bankrupt replied that some bills had been endorsed by Mrs Jensen, and he had, himself, signed some of them with the names of his wife and himself without having consulted his wife. He said that they then had a joint account at a bank on which he was operating, but he also had a personal account at the bank. Most of the trade bills he paid by cheque drawn on the joint account, into which the takings from the bakery had been paid. He could give no reason for paying the business takings into the joint account instead of to his own account, as his wife did not have an interest in the business.

If he could sell his Tikinui property at a price greater than the mortgages the creditors would receive money, but the assignee was not so hopeful.⁸⁵⁸ He proved unable to pay 'anything'.⁸⁵⁹

In March 1921, creditors in her estate were also asked to make their claims.⁸⁶⁰ In August, his discharge was refused because his creditors, owed £4,000, had received nothing despite his wife having inherited property valued at £3,500 plus receiving an annual income of £500. The judge commented that Jensen was carrying on 'the same sort of business in his wife's name. It was believed that by an absurd speculation in Epsom he had lost a considerable sum'.⁸⁶¹ His wife's property had been inherited from her father, on the strength of which by the time he sought to be discharged he had 'entered into 18 land transactions, three large and several small motor car deals, and a motor launch deal'. He had spent his wife's £3,500 and

⁸⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 7 April 1917, p. 5; *Auckland Star*, 13 January 1932, p. 7.

⁸⁵⁸ *Auckland Star*, 29 May 1917, p. 9.

⁸⁵⁹ *Auckland Star*, 19 May 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁶⁰ Advertisement, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 March 1921, p. 9.

⁸⁶¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 26 August 1921, p. 7.

owed £4000 to 95 creditors.⁸⁶² The fact that he was an undischarged bankrupt explained why his wife, and not himself, was a shareholder and director in Tholo.

In 1922, S. Jensen and Company, of Auckland, but formed by Jensen and his wife when he was a builder at Pukerimu, was sued for his wages by a timber merchant of Huntly, and in the following year it was bankrupted after being unable to meet a debt to the Huntly Brick and Fire Clay company.⁸⁶³ When Jensen 'again got into difficulties', in 1926, 'he called a private meeting of his creditors and they accepted an assignment. There was still £800 unpaid'. He was warned two years later that he was still undischarged.⁸⁶⁴ In mid-1929 he became a major shareholder in the Lincoln Sawmilling Company.⁸⁶⁵ Then, in October 1931, when a sawmill manager of Henderson, he filed as bankrupt, owing £800 and having no assets.⁸⁶⁶ He was then carrying on business as Avon Brothers.⁸⁶⁷

After the principal creditors and the assignee had investigated, in the following January the creditors' meeting was informed that as he had breached the Bankruptcy Act by incurring 'several debts without disclosing the fact that he was an undischarged bankrupt', along with other breaches, he would be prosecuted. When one creditor noted that he had over valued the value of many of his assets, another commented the he was 'blamable more for lunatic optimism', being 'an irrepressible optimist' who 'always seems to think the morrow will bring forward what he wants'. The meeting was adjourned to see if his relatives could make an offer.⁸⁶⁸ Four months he pleaded guilty to having obtained credit amounting to £262 6d 5d from three people whom he had not informed he was an undischarged bankrupt. After outlining his financial history, the Crown Prosecutor commented, 'One hardly knows what to do with a man like this'. The largest debt, £200, 'was

⁸⁶² *Auckland Star*, 19 May 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁶³ Hamilton Magistrate's Court, Action Files, BCDG 114616, A 919; Hamilton Bankruptcy Files, BCDG 17482, 31/636, ANZ-A.

⁸⁶⁴ *Auckland Star*, 19 May 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁶⁵ *Auckland Star*, 5 June 1929, p. 4.

⁸⁶⁶ Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 1931/243, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Herald*, 22 October 1931, p 12; *Auckland Star*, 19 May 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁶⁷ Official Assignee, Wellington, to Official Assignee, Auckland, 15 September 1937, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 1931/243, ANZ-A.

⁸⁶⁸ *Auckland Star*, 13 January 1932, p. 7.

a loan he got from one man who was to receive a job at £6 per week'. Jensen's counsel tried to explain why he acted as he did:

All his life Jensen has been an optimist and will believe anything that a business man might tell him. He has been a victim of circumstances, a bungler and a muddler. Some years ago he exchanged a valuable farm for a bakery business, and his trouble to-day has been the result of getting in with the wrong associates."

Counsel said that motor car dealers pestered him to buy motor cars, and in another case the representative of a firm told Jensen that currants were about to soar in price, with the result that he bought £200 worth for his bakery business.

Mr F.K. Hunt, S[tipendary] M[agistrate]: They were not paid for, so what's the difference?

Jensen was at present managing a sawmill, continued counsel. He received no wages, but he would accept a half-interest in the sawmill only when all his creditors had been paid in full. "Jensen has not a single vice and he is a devoted father," he said. "It is no fault of his own that he is in this position to-day."⁸⁶⁹

As a consequence, at the age of 56 Jensen was sent to prison for two months. In sentencing him, the magistrate said that he had received a 'most unsatisfactory' report from the probation office. 'It seems that you cheated nearly every person you came across. You induced people to put money into your business and they lost it. I cannot extend leniency in this case'.⁸⁷⁰

In May 1932, his wife was also adjudicated as being bankrupt, having a 'deficiency' of £977 5s 1d. A 'Married Woman Possessed of Separate Estate', including a mill at Henderson, she owed money to 26 creditors and was unable to pay a dividend to any of them. She was not discharged until 1953.⁸⁷¹ Once released and becoming a builder once more, in 1937 Jensen and a relative were each fined £10 for underpaying their employees. They had been unable to pay immediately upon conviction because 'their affairs were confused'.⁸⁷² During the 1930s he purchased a joinery factory in Paraparaumu and a hotel and another building in Wellington without completing these purchases as well as not erecting houses for which

⁸⁶⁹ *Auckland Star*, 19 May 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁷⁰ *Auckland Star*, 24 May 1932, p. 9.

⁸⁷¹ Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 1932/79, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Herald*, 20 May 1932, p. 12; *Auckland Star*, 15 July 1932, p. 3.

⁸⁷² *Evening Post*, 17 December 1937, p. 11.

deposits had been paid. He borrowed money, failed to pay debts, including for timber needed for the houses.⁸⁷³

Such were the people Hardy was enticed into providing capital for their Tholo venture. Clearly Hardy worked very hard to make it a success, as his detailed account made clear: whatever he went in for, whether in the mining or timber industries, was undertaken with the utmost determination. But the results were not as anticipated.

CONTINUING FINANCIAL DECLINE

In 1926, the education board sought a site for a school at the small milling settlement of Waimiha, near the southern entrance to the Poro-otarao tunnel. Hearing of this, at the beginning of September Hardy objected to the board taking this land under the Public Works Act

unless fairly recompensed for my outlay in acquiring and maintaining the lease granted to me by the Native Owner July 7/1911.

It will take fourteen days from Sept. 7th at least to formulate my claim, embracing, as it does, reference to many records since and prior to the date of lease.

The costs include interpreters' and JP's expenses, travelling, witnessing, tracings of survey boundaries, Railway lines, preliminary subdivision of the Township and completed surveys, Native Land Court and Maori Land Board charges, law expenses, rent rates &c &c.

I may state that the above section was originally taken up with a view to the erection of a sawmill and sheep and cattle accommodation in connection with my 2000 acre block of milling and pastoral land in the vicinity and elsewhere. This entailed also the lease of five other sections for workmen's cottages.

He had not been able to obtain any benefit from these leases because a road passed through the section being sought for the school.⁸⁷⁴ His section was lot 18 of the township.⁸⁷⁵ At the end of the month he sent a statement

⁸⁷³ Official Assignee, Wellington, to Official Assignee, Auckland, 15 September 1937, Bankruptcy Files, BAEA 21460, 1931/243, ANZ-A.

⁸⁷⁴ E.H. Hardy to Secretary, Auckland Education Board, 4 September 1926, Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸⁷⁵ Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton BACS 15355, 25/j, ANZ-A.

of expenditure in obtaining the sections and sawmill rights along with the agreement with the owners, which had not been registered because the route of the permanent road had not been determined. 'I have waited patiently 16 years and suffered accordingly'. According to his figures, from 1910 to 1926 on his five sections he had spent a total of £514 8s 6d, made up of expenses in securing timber rights, the cost of plans and surveys, rents 'paid and payable' amounting to £232 10s, improvements to two sections costing £13, interpreters' fees, solicitors' fees when dealing with the land court and land board, survey charges, and rates.⁸⁷⁶ Two weeks later, his solicitor informed the board that Hardy had withdrawn his objection to its taking the land, 'without prejudice, of course, to his right to claim compensation'. Hardy considered his site to be 'the only available mill site. If this is so, his claim for compensation might be viewed in a considerably stronger light by the Court'.⁸⁷⁷

After an 'Advisory Inspector' visited the site with Hardy and met a member of the school committee, he reported that Hardy had sold his interest in the Tapuwae mill. The committee member 'believed Mr Hardy at one time had control of a 2,000 acre block, but that he had lost it and that now his sons had leased it from the Public Trustee'. Wahanga, an owner, 'stated emphatically that Hardy had no interest in the land; that the Natives had received no rent from Hardy for 20 years; that the native owners were anxious that the Board should acquire the land as a school site'.⁸⁷⁸ It was, with no further attempts by Hardy to receive financial compensation.⁸⁷⁹

By 1930, Hardy retained possession of only two properties with a combined value of £1,720, one being the family farm; neither his wife nor his children held any land.⁸⁸⁰ As he had retired,⁸⁸¹ he had no income, and as

⁸⁷⁶ E.H. Hardy to Secretary, Auckland Education Board, 30 September 1926, Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸⁷⁷ Reed, Towle and Cooper to Secretary, Auckland Education Board, 12 October 1926, Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸⁷⁸ Memorandum by D.W. Dunlop (Advisory Inspector), 30 November 1926, Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸⁷⁹ Education Board, BAYZ 1601/107d, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸⁰ Valuation Department, Waitomo County Council, Te Kuiti Riding, 31 March 1930, 1/230/637, 1/230/806, BBBC 14670, A150/1495, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸¹ Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007]; no occupation was listed in *Cleave's Auckland Directory, 1931* (Auckland, 1931), p. 705.

he did not make a will it is impossible to know the size of his estate. In January 1937, his widow applied for relief under the Mortgagers and Lessees Rehabilitation Act of 1936. She, along with her husband and son Bernard, had obtained a mortgage in January 1916 from the Public Trust, but by 1937 owed arrears of interest. Their assets exceeded their liabilities by £845 11s 2d, because although they owned no land their investments were valued at £973 9s. These investments, probably made by Hardy, were in six companies: Farmers' Trading, Farmers' Co-operative Auctioneering, New Zealand Farmers' Fertilizer, Northern Steamship, Wilson's Portland Cement, and Goldsborough Mort. Six months later, she withdrew her application for an adjustment,⁸⁸² presumably because the family's finances had improved. Upon her death in 1938, Annie, who did make a will, left a modest estate of £377 12s. She had retained the shares in the Farmers' Fertiliser, Wilson's Portland Cement, and Northern Steamship companies, and had purchased some in the Auckland Gas Company.⁸⁸³

Frank McAdam was not surprised that his grandfather ended his life in relative poverty, recalling that he had trusted 'all and sundry', some of whom could have been 'shysters'. Frank's sister Janice 'always declared he was hopeless with money. We knew as children when saying Good bye he would delve into his pockets, and hand over his small change and that was all he had'.⁸⁸⁴ Frank believed that Hardy did not care about money, his wife being the one who kept control of the family finances. According to family tradition, when his miners drank their earnings their wives would go to Hardy and tell him they had no money, whereupon he would willingly pay them the same amount again.⁸⁸⁵

FINAL VISIT TO WAIORONGOMAI

That Hardy retained an interest in Te Aroha mining was indicated in August 1922, when he assisted to peg out a claim at Tui.⁸⁸⁶ His tales of tracing gold at Waiorongomai had interested his youngest son, Malcolm, who pestered him to show him where the good gold remained in the

⁸⁸² Court of Review, Hamilton, Application for Relief under Mortgagers and Lessees Rehabilitation Act 1936, BCDG 11543, box 10, no. 184, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸³ Probate of Annie Shales Hardy, BBAE 1570/946/39, ANZ-A.

⁸⁸⁴ Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

⁸⁸⁵ Interview with Frank McAdam, Rotorua, 21 July 2007.

⁸⁸⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1922, 11/22, BCDG 11289/1a, ANZ-A.

Premier, and in April 1931, when aged 72, he agreed ‘to have another look around’ his old property.⁸⁸⁷ On the basis of local gossip, the mining inspector later wrote that his old mines had been ‘abandoned for some years before the Hardys thought it worth while to turn to it again, and, as I understand the position, they only did this as a last resort when all their money was gone and they had nothing else to turn to’. He believed Hardy had intended to peg out ‘some of the old ground’.⁸⁸⁸

On the morning of 26 April, after breakfasting at 7.30, Hardy, his sons Jason and Malcolm, and two other men travelled to Waiorongomai.⁸⁸⁹ Despite not having had any more food since breakfast, they set out along the lower track to inspect the Bendigo Battery and then climbed Butler’s Incline, the steepest on the tramway.⁸⁹⁰ According to Malcolm,

The party climbed the hillside at a steady pace. The country was broken and steep. About 2 p.m., when they had almost reached the crest of Butler’s Spur his father was taken ill and sank rapidly. Respirative measures were resorted to until the doctor, who had been sent for, arrived. Life was then extinct.⁸⁹¹

According to what his grandson David was told, ‘a bit over half way Edwin said that he wanted a rest for a few minutes so you go on and wait for me at the top. They did and waited a while then walked back and found he’d collapsed and died’. He added: ‘What is so sad is that a plan existed made by Edwin of the area and not very far away from where they were was the tiny print “rich tellurides”’, which Malcolm would never be able to find.⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁷ Interview with David Calder Hardy, Auckland, 16 August 1994; Statement by Malcolm Hardy, inquest on E.H. Hardy, Justice Department, J 46, 1931/509, ANZ-W.

⁸⁸⁸ J.F. Downey to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 16 October 1931, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

⁸⁸⁹ Inquest on E.H. Hardy, Justice Department, J 46, 1931/509, ANZ-W; *Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Mining Applications 1931*, 14/1931, BCDG 11289/2a, ANZ-A; *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1931, p. 1.

⁸⁹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1931, p. 1; inquest on E.H. Hardy, Justice Department, J 46, 1931/509, ANZ-W.

⁸⁹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1931, p. 1.

⁸⁹² David Calder Hardy to Philip Hart, 5 August 2015, email.

Malcolm indicated the suddenness of his father's collapse by saying that his father had fallen on his back.⁸⁹³ In his evidence to the coroner as published by the local newspaper, Malcolm said that his father 'had always been a robust man enjoying the best of health'.⁸⁹⁴ In his unpublished evidence, Malcolm said that, while his father had given no indication of ill health until he fell, he had on occasions complained of pains on his left side, near the heart, the last time a month previously, but had not been treated for a heart condition.⁸⁹⁵ The death certificate gave the cause of death as heart failure, the doctor who inspected his body believing the 'steep climb' had caused 'overstrain'.⁸⁹⁶

The Te Kuiti newspaper reported that 'his sudden demise came as a great shock to his family, as on the morning of his death he was in his usual good health'.⁸⁹⁷ His grandson Frank confirmed the family's shocked reaction:

I was twelve when he died, and was shattered, as he was rarely ill, and full of energy. He was very strong and was constantly scolded by his wife and my Mother for lifting heavy objects. One in particular was a portmanteau filled with clothes, he would hoist up on his back and stride off.⁸⁹⁸

His widow and family thanked 'all kind friends who sympathized with them in their recent sad bereavement; also for letters, telegrams, cards and beautiful floral tributes'.⁸⁹⁹

CONCLUSION: A SUCCESSFUL MINER?

An article about Waiorongomai written in 1937 by a journalist, Ernest D'Esterre,⁹⁰⁰ who in the 1930s held prospecting licenses there,⁹⁰¹ mentioned Hardy:

⁸⁹³ Inquest on E.H. Hardy, Justice Department, J 46, 1931/509, ANZ-W.

⁸⁹⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1931, p. 1.

⁸⁹⁵ Inquest on E.H. Hardy, Justice Department, J 46, 1931/509, ANZ-W.

⁸⁹⁶ Death Certificate of Edwin Henry Hardy, 26 April 1931, 1931/3088, BDM; *Te Aroha News*, 27 April 1931, p. 1.

⁸⁹⁷ *King Country Chronicle*, 28 April 1931, p. 4.

⁸⁹⁸ Frank McAdam to Philip Hart, n.d. [mid-December 2007].

⁸⁹⁹ Bereavement Acknowledgement, *Auckland Star*, 1 May 1931, p. 1.

One of the pioneers who succeeded was Mr Hardy, and Hardy's mines became well known. He retired and went farming. After many years he returned, to show his son where gold might be found, and climbed up to Butler's Spur to the old tramline he knew so well in his day, and that was the end. He sat down and in a few minutes breathed his last. The old pioneer died with his boots on in the heart of the famous old field.⁹⁰²

D'Esterre shared the common belief that Hardy was the only mine owner to have made money out of Waiorongomai. The fact that the company that took over his mines was named after him, the only one in this district apart from Ferguson's Syndicate to be named after anyone, indicated that he was believed to have been successful. One Te Aroha resident, shopkeeper John Williams,⁹⁰³ who invested in claims there,⁹⁰⁴ wrote in 1914 that his career proved that the field was payable. 'I will be told he picked the eyes out of it, which is sheer nonsense'.⁹⁰⁵

It was not nonsense. As a geologist noted shortly after his death, Hardy had carefully mined 'where he considered values would show a profit', having the advantage of knowing the results of the 'systematic sampling' recorded in the assay book he inherited from Aroha Gold Mines.⁹⁰⁶ This knowledge enabled him, according to one assessment, to extract about 7,872 tons for a return of £23,398 5s 1d, an average of £2 12s

⁹⁰⁰ See paper on prospectors and investors in the Te Aroha Mining District during the 1930s.

⁹⁰¹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Applications 1921-1934, hearing of 15 September 1932, BBAV 11505/6b; Register of Mining Privileges 1913-1932, folio 228, BBAV 11500/4a, Register of Applications 1934-1961, 9/37, BBAV 11505/2a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁰² Ernest D'Esterre, 'Hope and Despair: The Quest for Gold', *New Zealand Herald*, 23 August 1937, p. 8.

⁹⁰³ See *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, pp. 831-832; *Te Aroha News*, 17 October 1917, p. 2;

⁹⁰⁴ See, for example, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1896, 16, 17, 33, 155, 156, 179, 180, 181, 196/1896, BBAV 11289/14a, ANZ-A; *AJHR*, 1897, C-3, p. 98.

⁹⁰⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 31 August 1914, p. 3.

⁹⁰⁶ E.C. Macpherson to John Henderson, 12 November 1932, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/1/20, ANZ-W.

6d, for he lost 5s 6d per ton during treatment.⁹⁰⁷ These figures were higher than those given at the time, which recorded that to the end of 1903 he had crushed 5,222 tons for a return of £13,246 11s 9d.⁹⁰⁸ According to Hardy's own records, before he established the company he obtained 5,584 long tons of bullion valued at £13,324 10s 8d plus concentrates worth £355 9s 11d, a total value of £13,679 19s 9d.⁹⁰⁹ John Francis Downey, mining inspector in the 1930s, wrote in his 1935 history of Hauraki mining that Hardy had 'a measure of success much greater than that enjoyed by any of his predecessors'. The returns submitted to the Mines Department for his output to the end of 1904 (which included the first year of Hardy's Mines' operations) appeared 'to show that for the period he mined 5,433 tons of quartz ... for a return of bullion valued at £12,718. These figures may not, however, be quite reliable. There is a certain confusion in the records of the period, and it is quite possible that bullion to a considerably greater value was won'.⁹¹⁰

Another source of evidence about how much gold was obtained is the gold purchase register of the Thames branch of the Bank of New Zealand. Between January and June 1900 he sold 394oz 2dwt of melted gold, in February 1901 96oz 15dwt, between October and December 1902 344oz 19dwt, and between January and May 1903 316oz 7dwt, a total of 1,152oz 3dwt;⁹¹¹ the values were not recorded. Clearly more gold must have been sold, probably to the Auckland branch, whose records are incomplete.

A mining surveyor noted, in 1933, that Hardy 'worked in a small way and by the cheapest possible methods and managed to keep going without loss for 6 years. Finding he could no longer finance it, in 1904 he formed a

⁹⁰⁷ E.J. Scoble and Hugh Crawford to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 16 May 1936, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

⁹⁰⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 14 January 1904, p. 41.

⁹⁰⁹ Report by F.C. Brown on Hardy's Mines, 1 March 1904, p. 3, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/4/54, ANZ-W.

⁹¹⁰ J.F. Downey, *Gold Mines of the Hauraki District, New Zealand* (Wellington, 1935), pp. 257-258.

⁹¹¹ Bank of New Zealand, Thames Branch, Gold Purchase Register 1899-1932, entries for 11 January 1900, 6 February 1900, 1 March 1900, 5 March 1900, 8 March 1900 (twice), 29 June 1900 (twice), 7 February 1901, 18 October 1902 (twice), 1 November 1902, 20 November 1902 (twice), 19 December 1902 (twice), 5 January 1903, 23 January 1903, 12 February 1903, 28 February 1903, 7 May 1903, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Thames.

Company'.⁹¹² Hardy was indeed worried about costs, because he was financing the development of his mines and battery from the gold won, and only in the last year as a mine owner did he make a clear profit. Downey noted that much had been made of his 'so-called success', but understood that 'most of any financial benefit he enjoyed came rather from the sale of his practically worked-out mine to a company composed largely of Hawke's Bay sheep farmers than from the treatment of the ore'. He stressed that Hardy did not have to open up the mine or erect a plant:

He took over at perhaps the one-hundredth part of the money spent on them a developed mine and a well-found plant, and all he had to do was go right in and break out ore that had already been opened up for him. I have no hesitation in saying that if he had had to pay for the development and meet the original cost of providing the treatment plant, he could only have worked at a heavy loss.⁹¹³

Whilst this was an over-simplification, for Hardy had to trace the lodes missed by the previous owners, undertake dead work to expose them, and improve the treatment plant, Downey's argument was fundamentally correct. Hardy's success was limited, for his recovery of gold was no better than that of previous owners, but his capital costs were low because of the development work he had inherited. Whether the property he acquired for a bargain price was 'practically worked-out' when he sold it is examined in the paper on Hardy's Mines.

Hardy's grandson David viewed his grandfather's achievements more positively, stressing the excessive costs of tramway haulage:

In his time there, he not only found the reef that the previous owners failed to do but found many others and worked what he could of them successfully. As the ore was low grade and refractory, it required more involved and expensive treatment than gold ores in the northern sections of the Hauraki goldfields. From Thames and north to Coromandel, which were secondary deposit ores and most of the gold was free, that is, not locked within other minerals, or refractory.... The Premier proved to be the best section of the field available, so, but for very encouraging

⁹¹² Name obliterated [E.F. Adams?] to R.G. Milligan, 25 November 1933, Eric Coppard Papers, Waihi.

⁹¹³ J.F. Downey to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 1 October 1936, Mines Department, MD 1, 23/1/20, Part 2, ANZ-W.

exploratory work at the Big Blow and other sites, this is where most of the ore was obtained. The problem was, of course, that the Premier at the top end of the field was four miles away from the battery situated at the foot of the mountain, and that was also the total length of the tramway.

It has been amply shown the difficulty Hardy had with the Piako County Council over their excessive charges for the use of the tramway, costs for repair and suchlike that constantly threatened his endeavours to succeed, causing delays and frustration to what was effectively his lifeline. It seemed like a constant battle where Hardy even threatened to stop the whole operation if they didn't give him a better deal. One wonders why an amicable renewable agreement, say for a term of 5 or 10 years, couldn't have been drawn up. As it is, it is obvious he would not have made a threat to shut down lightly as there was too much at stake. If he is accused of picking the eyes out of it, is there any wonder? I certainly would not have blamed him if he had taken the view, that with such uncertainty, let's get what we can get out of it while we can.

His plan to open up a good reef system at the Big Blow, from which he could bypass the use of the county tramway altogether, by the erection of an overhead cable from that site, offered a far shorter distance to the battery, over which he would have had complete control, and must have worried the council, since they would be losing their major customer. One or two other properties little more than two miles up the line, even when they were spasmodically worked, would also be leaving almost two miles of the upper end of the tramway out of action, since it was all Hardy's Mines property. I feel that had he installed his overhead cable, then taken his men from the Premier to the Big Blow, the government and the council would have had to give Hardy a better deal or perhaps closed it down.

However, hindsight is a great teacher. The critics of the day may well have sung a different tune had they been better informed. Hardy found new payable lodes in the field that surely he could choose which of them he wanted to work. As owner, that was his right. I believe that had he been given more support he would not have sold out.⁹¹⁴

Appendix

Figure 1: Edwin Henry Hardy as a young man, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.

⁹¹⁴ Commentary by David Calder Hardy, 6 June 2007.

Figure 2: Edwin Henry and Annie Shales Hardy as a newly married couple, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.

Figure 3: Edwin Henry and Annie Shales Hardy in later years, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.

Figure 4: E.H. Hardy, Waiorongomai battery, n.d., c. 1900, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

Figure 5: E.H. Hardy, Waiorongomai battery and Fern Spur Incline, n.d., c. 1900, possibly with some of his family or friends in foreground, n.d., c. 1900, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

Figure 6: E.H. Hardy, the inside of his Waiorongomai battery, n.d., c. 1900, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.

Figure 7: 'AN ARTIFICIAL GEYSER AT WAIORONGOMAI, AUCKLAND GOLDFIELDS.

During the Easter holidays Mr E.H. Hardy, proprietor of the Premier Mine, showed an interesting spectacle. A fine stream of water was ejected from the ground to a height of 120ft, imitating every phase of a natural geyser'.

(*Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1902, Supplement, p. 12; Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19020501-12-1; used with permission.)

Figure 8: 'Sketch Plan of Waitoki Quartz Claim Waiorongomai, Applied for by E.H. Hardy, 3 April 1901, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 13/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.

Figure 9: E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Premier S.Q.C. & Premier Surplus S.Q.C. being portions of original claims New Find 1 & 2 and Empire', 24 June 1901, SO 12087, University of Waikato Map Library.

Figure 10: E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Proposed Aerial Tramway Waiorongomai', 29 July 1901, University of Waikato Map Library.

Figure 11: E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Hardy's Reefs S.Q.C. Waiorongomai', February 1905, University of Waikato Map Library.

Figure 12: E.H. Hardy, 'To accompany Application of E.H. Hardy for Water Right on Diamond Gully Stream', September 1907, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1907, 21/1907, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.

Figure 13: E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Machine Site Applied for by E.H. Hardy [for Waiorongomai Gold Mines Ltd], August 1908, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.



Figure 1: Edwin Henry Hardy as a young man, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.



Figure 2: Edwin Henry and Annie Shales Hardy as a newly married couple, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.



Figure 3: Edwin Henry and Annie Shales Hardy in later years, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.

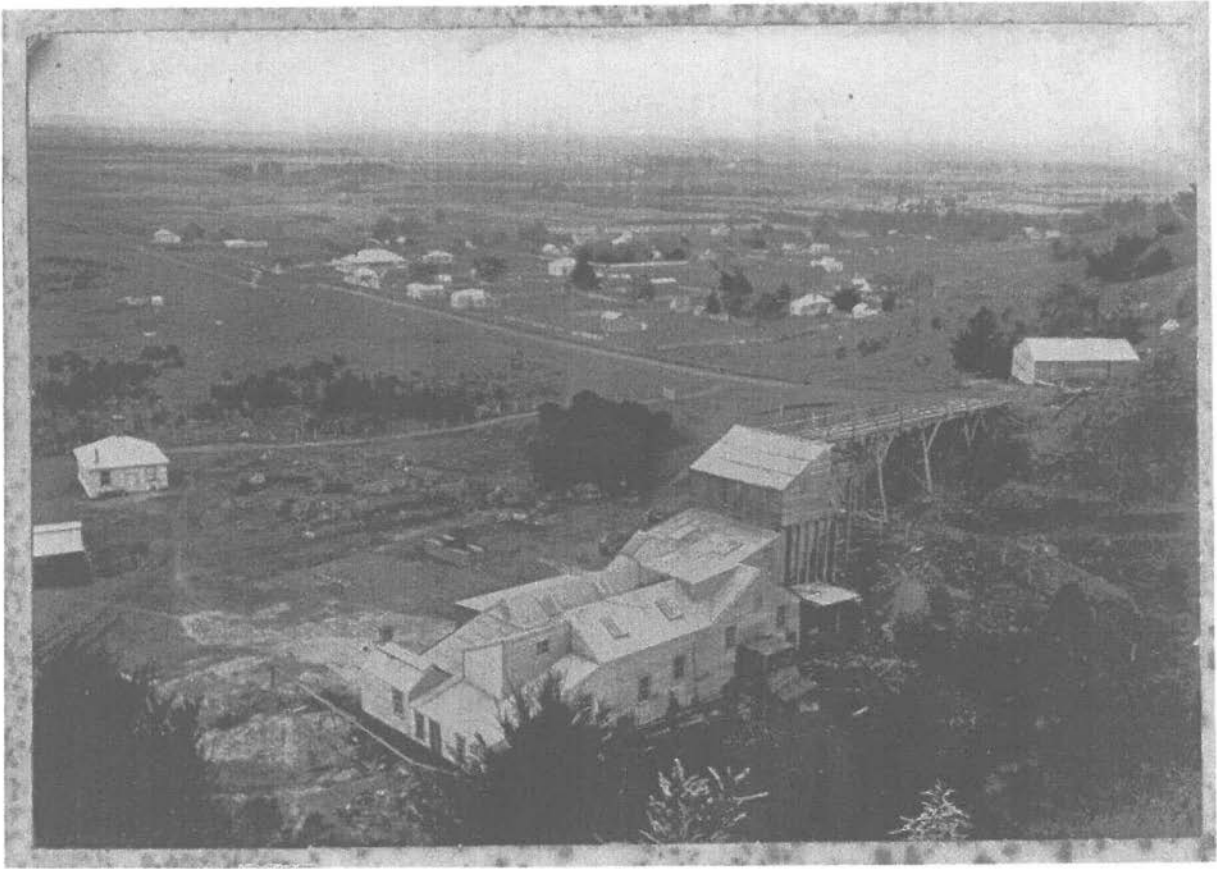


Figure 4: E.H. Hardy, Waiorongomai battery, n.d., c. 1900, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

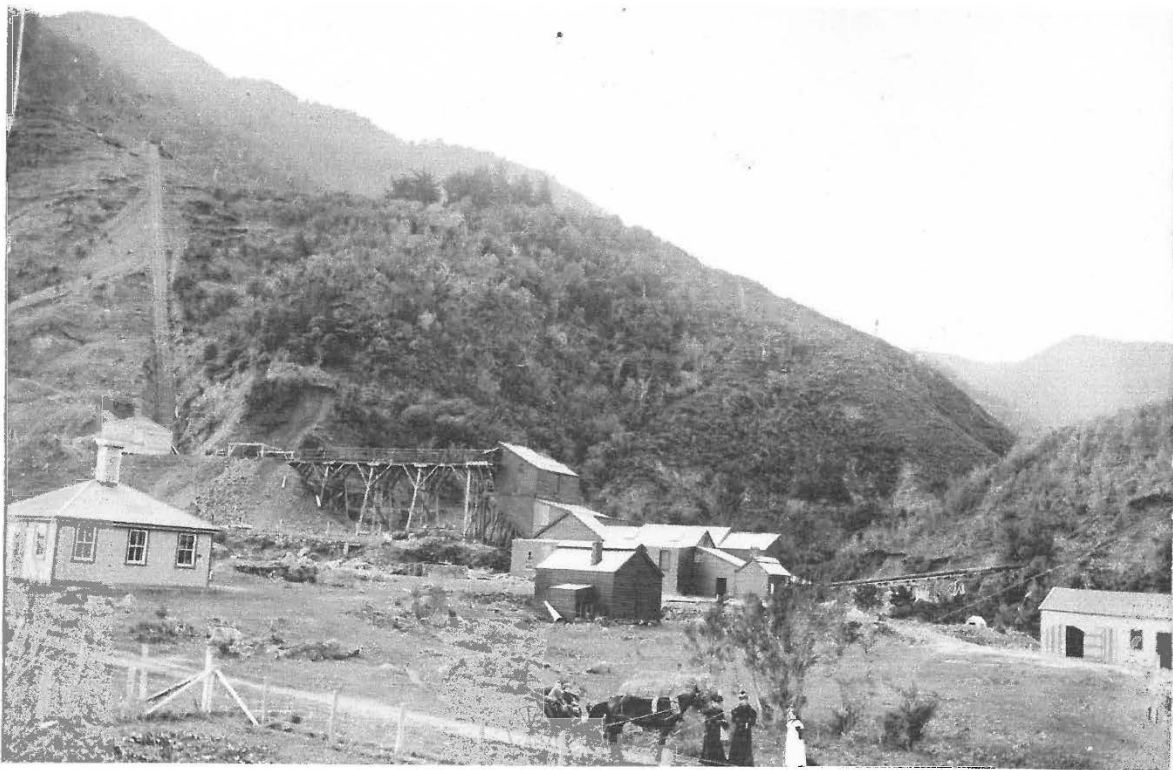


Figure 5: E.H. Hardy, Waiorongomai battery and Fern Spur Incline, n.d., c. 1900, possibly with some of his family or friends in foreground, n.d., c. 1900, Te Aroha and District Museum; used with permission.

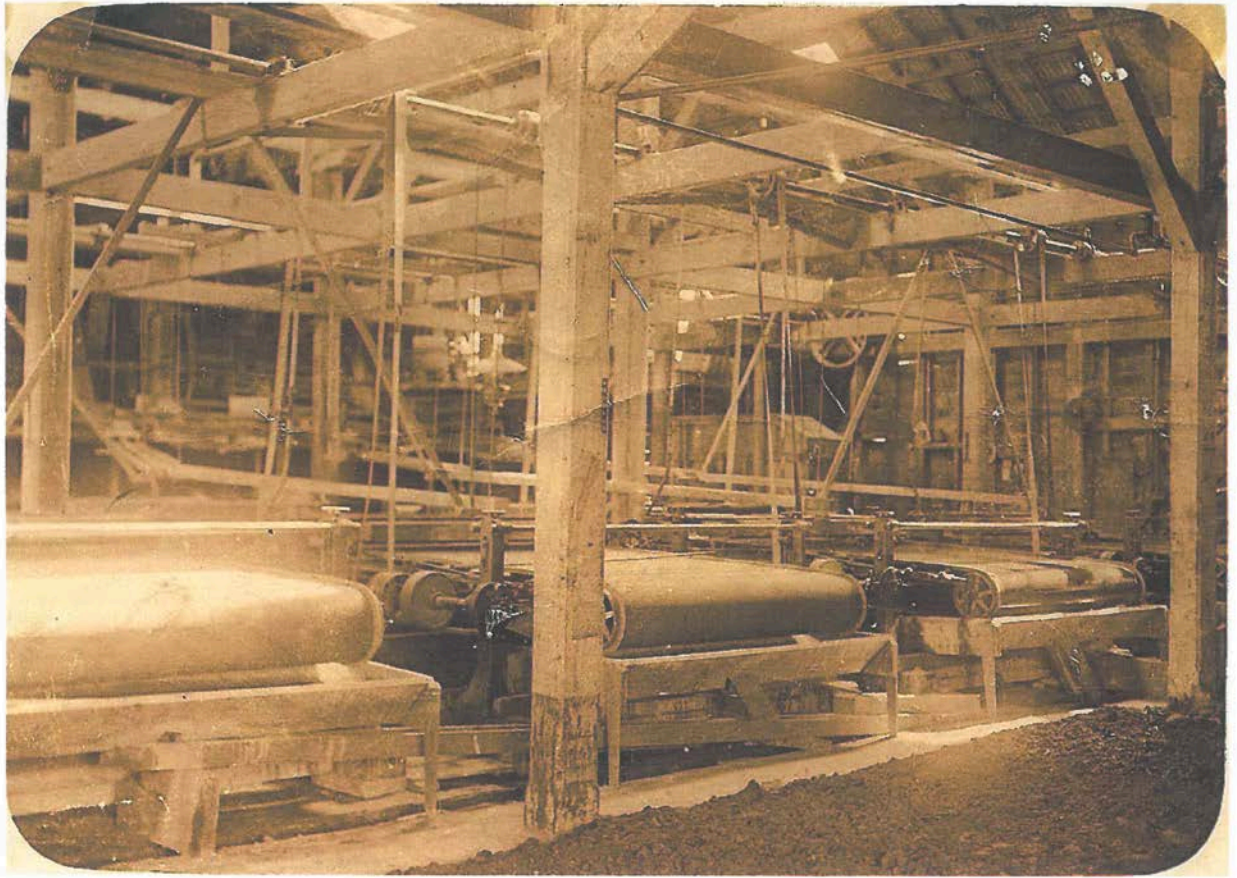
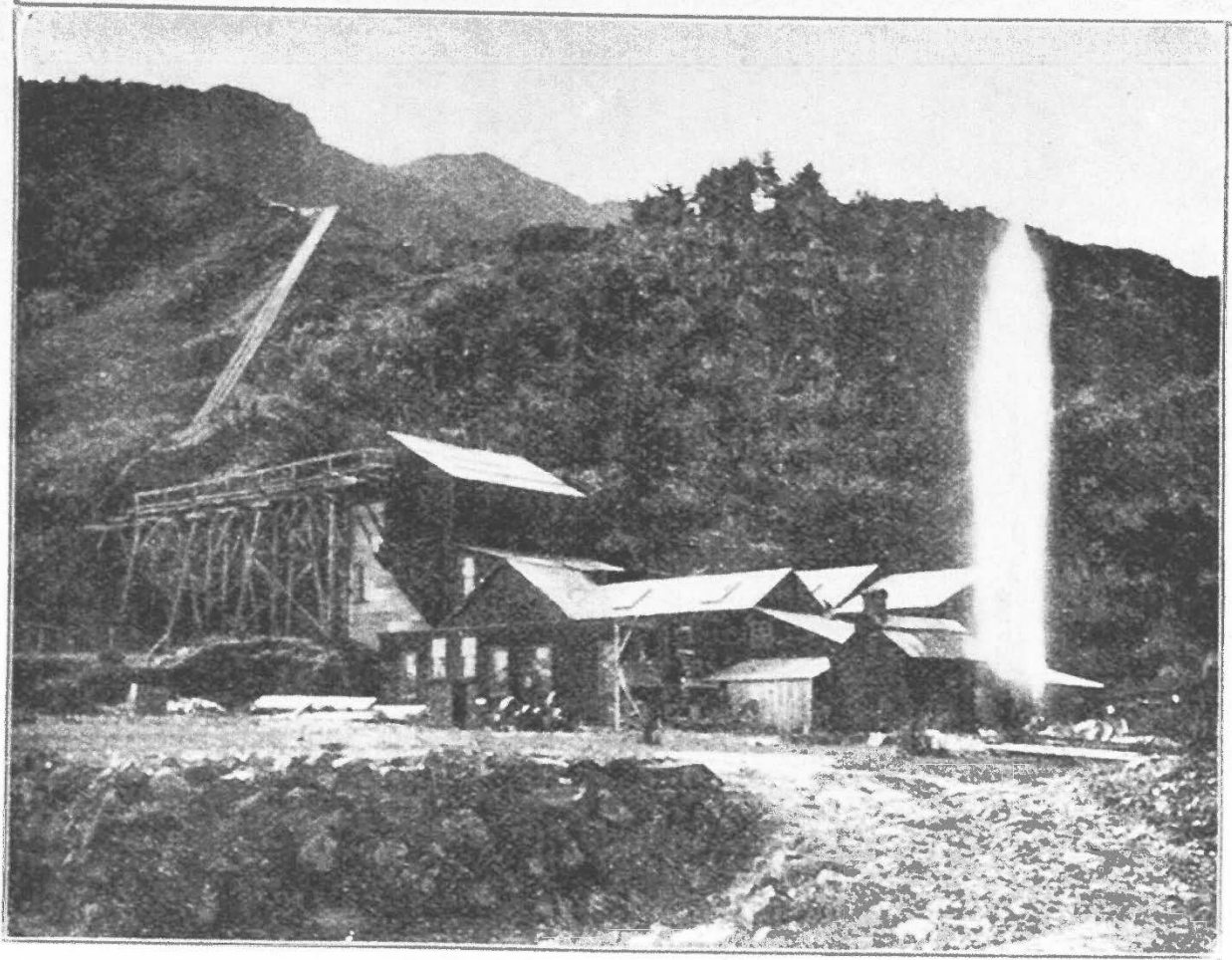


Figure 6: E.H. Hardy, the inside of his Waiorongomai battery, n.d., c. 1900, David Calder Hardy Collection; used with permission.



AN ARTIFICIAL GEYSER AT WAIORONGOMAI, AUCKLAND GOLDFIELDS.

During the Easter holidays Mr. E. H. Hardy, proprietor of the Premier Mine, showed an interesting spectacle. A fine stream of water was ejected from the ground to a height of 120ft, imitating every phase of a natural geyser.

Figure 7: 'AN ARTIFICIAL GEYSER AT WAIORONGOMAI, AUCKLAND GOLDFIELDS.

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(*Auckland Weekly News*, 1 May 1902, Supplement, p. 12; Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, AWNS-19020501-12-1; used with permission.)

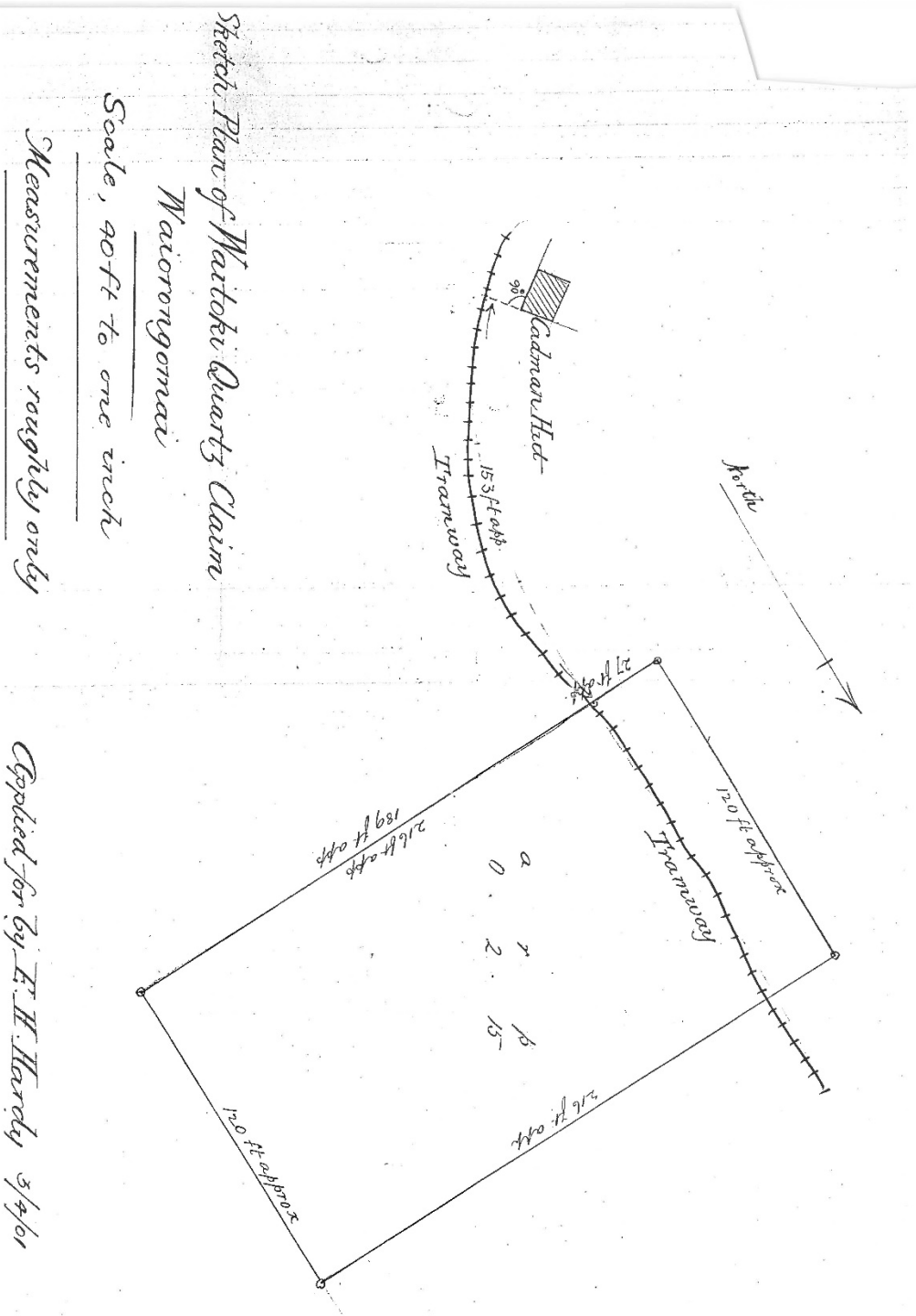


Figure 8: 'Sketch Plan of Waitoki Quartz Claim Waiorongomai, Applied for by E.H. Hardy, 3 April 1901, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1901, 13/1901, BBAV 11289/16a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.

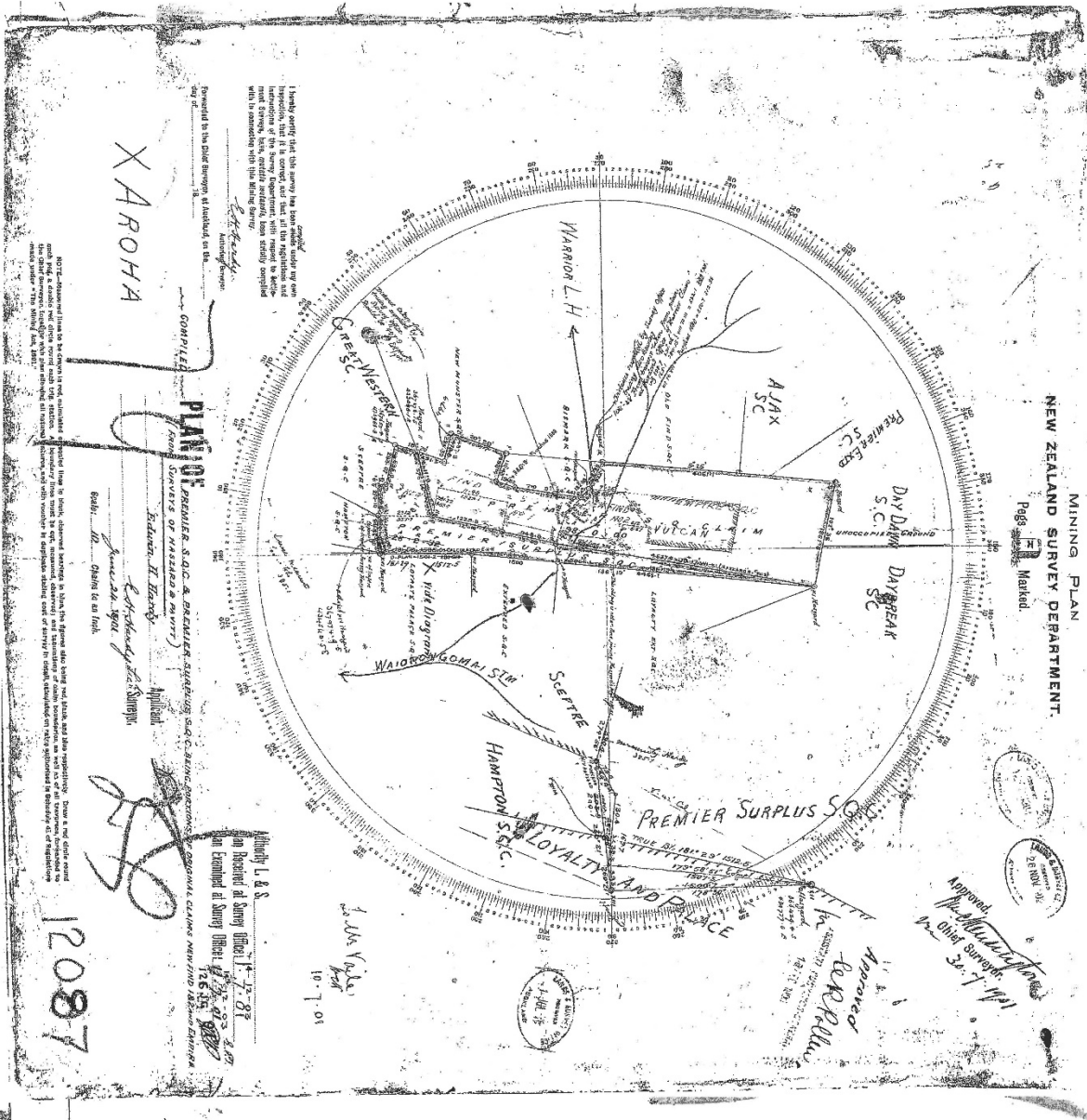


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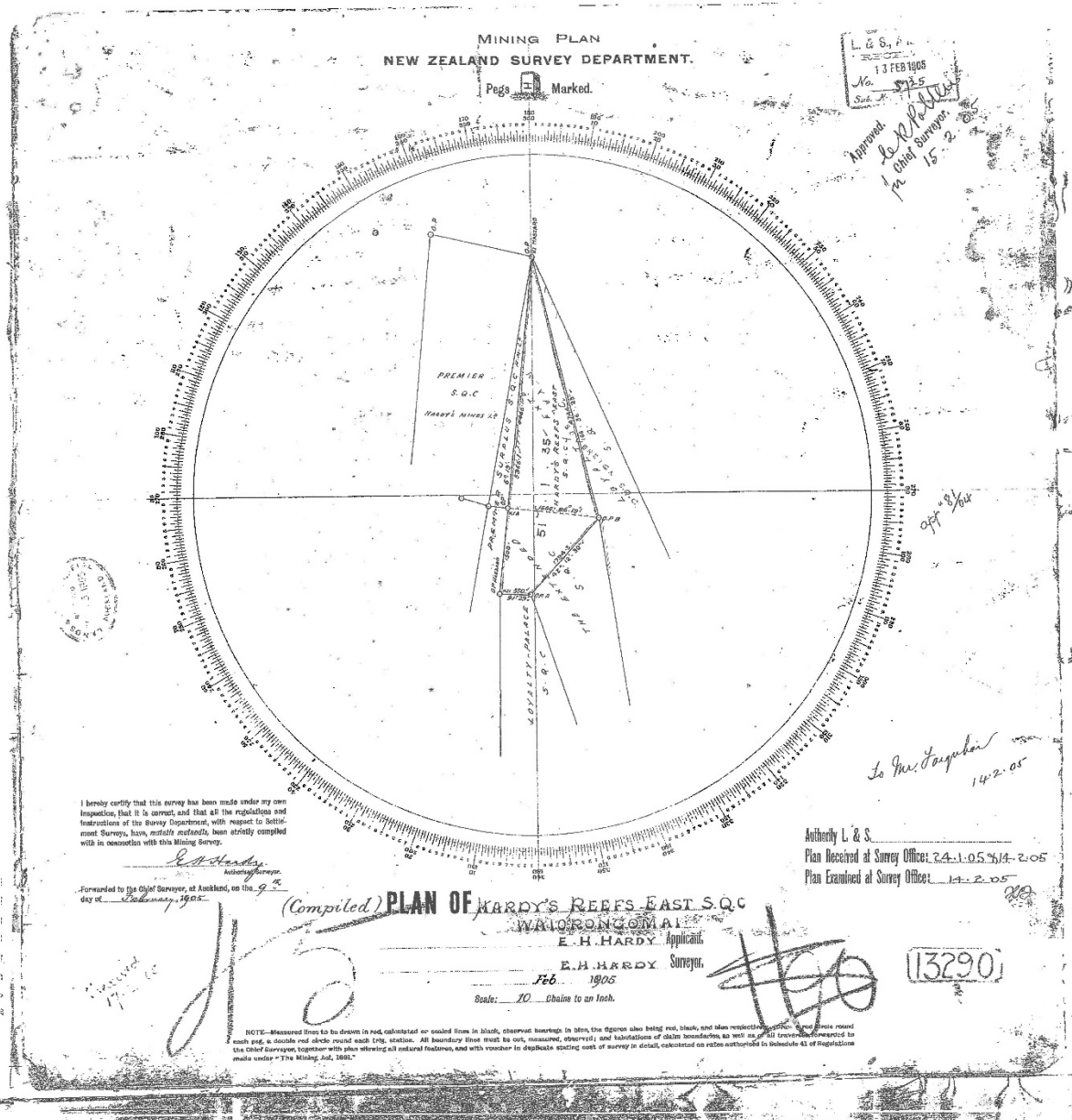


Figure 11: E.H. Hardy, 'Plan of Hardy's Reefs S.Q.C. Waiorongomai', February 1905, University of Waikato Map Library.

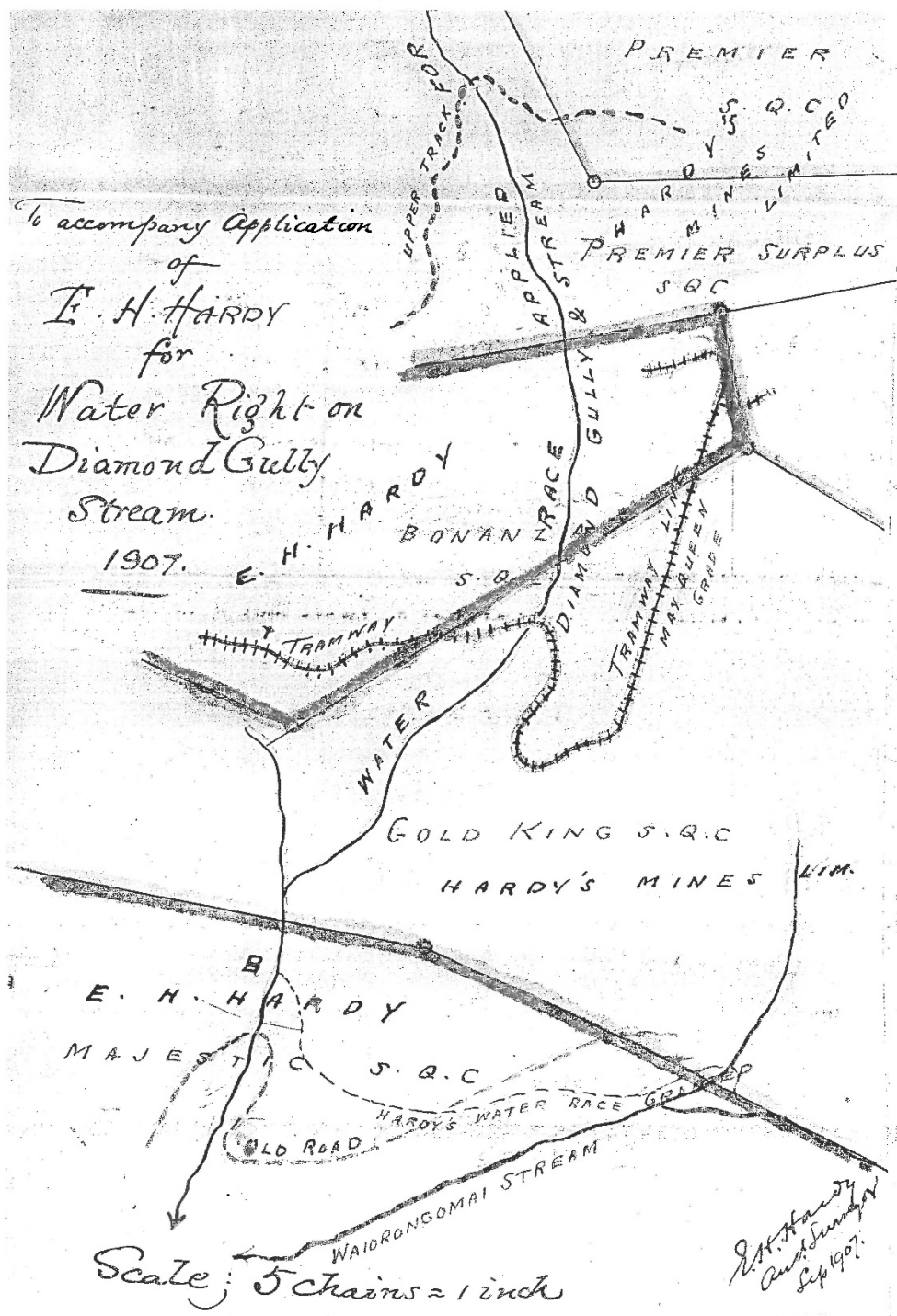


Figure 12: E.H. Hardy, 'To accompany Application of E.H. Hardy for Water Right on Diamond Gully Stream', September 1907, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Applications 1907, 21/1907, BBAV 11289/19a, ANZ-A [Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kawanatanga, Auckland Regional Office]; used with permission.

