

GEORGE LIPSEY: A PAKEHA MAORI WHO MARRIED EMA

MOKENA, DAUGHTER OF MOKENA HOU,

AND SOME OF THEIR CHILDREN

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GEORGE LIPSEY: A PAKEHA MAORI WHO MARRIED EMA MOKENA, DAUGHTER OF MOKENA HOU, AND SOME OF THEIR CHILDREN

Abstract: *George Lipsey, an Irishman, went to the early Thames goldfield and became a publican. He soon acquired close links with Maori, notably with Ema Mokena, the younger daughter of Mokena Hou. After having two children, they married under Pakeha law just before the opening of the Te Aroha field, thereby ensuring that he was entitled to share in the goldfield's revenue. From 1873 onwards he had been living at Te Aroha as a Pakeha Maori, erecting the first wooden house and the first Hot Springs Hotel. When gold was found, he encouraged Mokena Hou to open the field, and subsequently invested in the mines (as did Ema, to a much smaller extent).*

Ema and her two eldest children were granted land in a rapidly developing settlement, and the income received from leasing it enabled Lipsey to erect a substantial residence and to be a benefactor of the new settlement by donating land for churches and a school. A sympathetic landlord, he adjusted the rents to assist residents but opposed giving them the freehold because the land was held in trust for his two eldest children. Despite his steady income, his expenditure regularly exceeded it, and he ended up selling land, though not at first at Te Aroha. Initially opposed to his children selling their land, he came to accept this as being necessary, and spent years trying to obtain the highest prices possible from the government.

A leading figure in the local community, he held several local government positions. Sociable, with a fondness for drink that was usually under control, he was especially enthusiastic about horse-racing. As the spokesman for Ngati Rahiri, he advised the latter and was an interpreter.

All their children were educated, but some died tragically early deaths. After he died, the children sold their land because they needed money to develop their farms.

LIPSEY'S EARLY YEARS IN NEW ZEALAND

Despite the muddled entry in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, which gave his first name as Charles and stated that he was born in 1846, George

Lipse¹ was born in 1840, the second son of Thomas and Anne, née Faris, of ‘Lipse² Park’, Newton Gore (or Newtowngore), County Leitrim, Ireland.² His elder brother, Francis, commonly known as Frank, had been born in 1839.³ The surname was not Irish but either Polish (Lipski?), French, or German.⁴ Although Lipsey ‘was brought up to agriculture’ and in 1865 described himself as a farmer, in 1881 he gave his occupation as watchmaker.⁵ Upon arriving in New Zealand in 1863, Frank joined the police force,⁶ as did Lipsey after landing in Auckland in October 1865.⁷ No details have survived about his experiences as a policeman apart one example of his giving evidence in a court case,⁸ but according to (highly

¹ For photograph of George Lipsey in later years, see *Te Aroha News*, 27 November 1980, p. 3; for a 1910 photograph of him standing amongst some Maori, presumably his in-laws and eldest daughter, see ‘Old Identities of Te Aroha, Auckland: Early Settlers of the District gathered to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the district’, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 December 1910, Supplement, p. 11 [this photograph is *Figure 1* in *Appendix*].

² *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833; Register of Nominated Immigrants 1859-1872, folios 89-90, AREPRO 4711/448, ANZ-A; Register of Applicants for Passages 1859-1872, 9/65, REPRO 1615, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of George Lipsey, 6 November 1880, 1880/2738, BDM; Death Notice, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1913, p. 1.

³ Death Certificate of Francis Lipsey, 25 February 1903, 1903/812, BDM.

⁴ Information provided by Clyde Lipsey, Hamilton, 19 July 2011; Robert Craig Scott to Philip Hart, 7 August 2013, emails.

⁵ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833; Register of Applicants for Passages 1859-1872, 9/65, REPRO 1615, ANZ-W; Aroha Block IX Section 17, Block Files, H1082, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

⁶ Register of Land Grantees 1862-1863, Land Order A1841, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 4155/1b, ANZ-A; Church of England, Parnell Parish Register, baptism dated 19 July 1863, Register 1055, no. 537, Anglican Archives, Auckland; *New Zealand Gazette*, 27 April 1864, p. 174; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 February 1903, p. 2; R.S. Hill, *The History of Policing in New Zealand: vol. 2: The colonial frontier tamed: New Zealand policing in transition, 1867-1886* (Wellington, 1989), p. 218.

⁷ Register of Applicants for Passages 1859-1872, 9/65, REPRO 1615, ANZ-W; Register of Nominated Immigrants 1859-1872, folios 89-90, AREPRO 4711/448, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Herald*, 26 October 1865, p. 6; *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833; press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

⁸ *New Zealand Herald*, 26 January 1867, p. 5.

unlikely) gossip in 1892 he was once again talking ‘of joining the “foorce” once more’.⁹

Lipsey moved to Thames soon after the goldfield opened, his first miner’s right being taken out in mid-November 1867.¹⁰ One of nine owners of the Fearnought at Waiotahi Creek in May 1868, in October he exchanged his interest for 100 of the 660 £10 shares in the Fearnought Company.¹¹ In July the following year he bought a quarter of one share in the Golden View.¹² This comprised all his involvement in Thames mining.

Lipsey was appointed inspector of business licenses in November 1868.¹³ The following September, his allotment and building were valued at £28 10s, and the Bendigo Hotel, which he owned with his brother,¹⁴ was valued at £730.¹⁵ He was on a committee of businessmen to form a fire brigade.¹⁶ His signing the requisition asking John Williamson’s opponent to stand as Superintendent of the Auckland Province¹⁷ resulted in his hotel being damaged by Irish Catholics in a polling day riot. ‘On reaching the corner of Willoughby-street, the windows of the Bendigo Hotel (Lipsey’s) fell a prey, and great damage was done by the missiles’. After moving on to smash the windows of the *Thames Advertiser* the rioters returned to attack the hotel once more, ‘breaking everything that they could’.¹⁸ In October 1871 he was appointed pound keeper, and in the following August the hotel license was transferred to his brother.¹⁹

In May 1873, he was charged with pursuing game at Kirikiri, south of Thames, without a license, the charge being withdrawn when it was

⁹ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 13 August 1892, p. 19.

¹⁰ Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Miners’ Rights 1867-1868, no. 2111, BACL 14358/1a, ANZ-A.

¹¹ Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Claims May-June 1868, folio 15, BACL 14397/1a, ANZ-A; *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 22 October 1868, p. 458.

¹² Thames Warden’s Court, Register of Claims 1868-1869, no. 1465, BACL 14397/3a, ANZ-A.

¹³ *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 30 December 1868, p. 596.

¹⁴ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833; press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

¹⁵ *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 25 September 1869, p. 1163.

¹⁶ *Auckland Weekly News*, 20 November 1869, p. 2.

¹⁷ *Auckland Weekly News*, 18 September 1869, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 November 1869, p. 18.

¹⁹ *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 9 October 1871, p. 260, 9 August 1872, p. 271.

explained that he was holding a gun, which could not fire, for someone else.²⁰ In 1873 and 1874 he was living at Karaka Creek.²¹ After taking no part in the Ohinemuri rush of 1875, in that December, when he signed a memorial calling for a bridge at Karangahake, he had settled in Ohinemuri.²² The following March he was granted a business site at Mackaytown.²³

RELATIONS WITH MAORI

In July 1869, Lipsey, known to Maori as Ripihi or Ripihia, was the sole Pakeha with an interest in one Thames claim,²⁴ which implied friendly relations with its Maori shareholders. In April 1872 he was a witness at the weddings of two rangatira.²⁵ Less cordial relations were revealed just prior to these weddings, when both he and his fellow brawler, Eruati,²⁶ were fined 20s (or 48 hours' imprisonment if not paid) for being drunk. On the charge of breaching the peace by fighting outside a hotel, a Pakeha witness and a constable gave evidence that Lipsey had struck first, without provocation.

Eruati said he was in the sitting room of Butt's hotel when Lipsey came in. Eruati then proceeded towards the door to leave the room, but Lipsey prevented him from so doing. He (Eruati) then went across the room to another room, and was followed by Lipsey, who made a blow at the native when they were outside the hotel. Eruati guarded the strike, and closed with Lipsey, and fell with him to the ground.

²⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, Police Court, 6 May 1873, p. 3, 14 May 1873, p. 2.

²¹ Thames Electoral Roll, August 1873-September 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8183, 3015/73, ANZ-A; *Thames Electoral Roll, 1874*, p. 42.

²² Memorial, April 1876, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8180, 1016/76, ANZ-A.

²³ Thames Warden's Court, Mackaytown and Thames Letterbook, 1876-1896, p. 21, BACL 14458/1b, ANZ-A.

²⁴ Thames Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1868-1869, no. 1465, BACL 14397/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁵ Marriage Certificates of Meremana Konui to Hemainia Karaka, 18 April 1872, 1872/4689; Raika Whakarongatai to Raiha Kirikawa Te Nga, 18 April 1872, 1872/4692, BDM.

²⁶ Not traced.

As the magistrate considered Eruati was ‘only acting in self defence’, the charge against him was dismissed, whereas Lipsey was ‘bound over to keep the peace for three months, himself in £20, and two sureties of £10 each’.²⁷ Another example of ill feeling occurred in December 1876, when he was charged with using insulting and abusive language against a member of the Taipari family.²⁸

As an example of his fears of Maori violence, in 1872, when travelling by boat with other Pakeha to Te Aroha, at a pa beyond Paeroa, presumably the Ngati Hako one, they were assailed by Maori who were enemies of Ngati Rahiri and did not wish them to continue upstream. When a canoe attached itself to the boat to prevent it proceeding, Lipsey grabbed his gun from his cabin but was disarmed by the son of a government official.²⁹ In 1879, after the shooting of Daldy McWilliams near Paeroa,³⁰ Thomas Grattan, a surveyor and ex-member of the Armed Constabulary,³¹ behaved in a manner that Lipsey ‘often used to state’ was ‘worthy of the equivalent of the Victoria Cross’. Grattan was travelling down the Maori trail from Te Aroha to Paeroa at the same time as Lipsey, ‘anxious to get home to Te Aroha’, was coming the other way:

Each was expecting to be attacked by natives, so they had their ears open and eyes well skinned. The rustle of ti-tree scared both, but each was willing to give whoever it was they ultimately met a chance. Grattan’s cry was “Tena-Koa” [‘come now, let me in’].³² Lipsey immediately knew that the voice was not that of a Maori, looked up, and there was Grattan with a big “waddy” [Aboriginal club]³³ – all he carried – raised menacingly. In relating the story afterwards Lipsey used to say “Thank God, Grattan had his nerve at that moment.”³⁴

EMA MOKENA

²⁷ Police Court, *Thames Guardian and Mining Record*, 14 April 1872, p. 3.

²⁸ Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 11 December 1876, p. 3.

²⁹ Barrie Allom, *Dear Tyrant: An extraordinary colonial life* (Masterton, 2014), p. 161.

³⁰ See paper on this ‘outrage’.

³¹ See *Auckland Star*, 29 March 1928, p. 8.

³² P.M. Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Auckland, 1974), p. 44.

³³ *Australian Words and Their Origins*, ed. Joan Hughes (Melbourne, 1989), p. 611.

³⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 30 March 1928, p. 4.

In May 1875, an Auckland court ordered Lipsey to pay the Provincial Education Tax, which was 10s for a bachelor,³⁵ even though he was a father of one child and had another on the way.³⁶ The mother of his children, Ema Mokena, the younger daughter of Mokena Hou and Rina,³⁷ was born in 1851, according to her death certificate, which also recorded that she was born in Thames and had married Lipsey there when she was 18, making her date of birth 1862.³⁸ She did marry in Thames, but not until 1880, when Lipsey was 40 and Ema's age was recorded as 30 and then overwritten as 26, meaning she was born in either 1850 or 1854. Another Pakeha Maori, Daniel Tookey,³⁹ and a miner, Edward Quinn,⁴⁰ were the witnesses.⁴¹ There were no contemporary reports of Ema's appearance, but in 1977 the *Te Aroha News* stated that her 'beauty was unsurpassed'.⁴² In a history of Te Aroha published three years later, family tradition was presumably the source for her being described as fitting 'into the new world of Pakeha settlement in a charming and courteous manner'.⁴³ This was not just family piety: unlike some prominent Maori women living in the district, she was never accused of drunkenness, and the only time that she was involved with the law was in 1900, when she and Aihe Pepene's wife⁴⁴ accused each other of 'abusive words and behaviour' before withdrawing their charges.⁴⁵ In 1881 she was one of those providing food for a soiree for the new Te Aroha

³⁵ Police Court, *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 May 1875, p. 3.

³⁶ Church of England, Register of Coromandel Maori Baptisms 1874-1904, baptisms of Ani Heni Lipsey, 4 August 1874, and Rina Lipsey, 5 September 1875, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

³⁷ See paper on their lives.

³⁸ Death Certificate of Ema Lipsey, 16 May 1906, 1906/377, BDM.

³⁹ See paper on Maori in Hauraki in the Nineteenth Century.

⁴⁰ See paper on his life.

⁴¹ Notices of Intentions to Marry, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/25, folio 216, ANZ-W; Marriage Certificate of George Lipsey, 6 November 1880, 1880/2738, BDM.

⁴² *Te Aroha News*, 15 April 1977, p. 1.

⁴³ Charles Kingsley-Smith, *This is Te Aroha: The story of the founding of Te Aroha and the settling of its adjoining districts, 1880-1980* (Te Aroha, 1980), p. 19.

⁴⁴ See paper on Aihi Pepene.

⁴⁵ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1896-1907, 42, 43/1900, BCDG 11220/1b, ANZ-A.

Wesleyan Church,⁴⁶ the leading force for temperance. That she was illiterate was shown by her signing documents with a cross.⁴⁷

LIVING AT TE AROHA IN THE 1870s

According to the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, at an unspecified date Lipsey ‘settled in Te Aroha, and built the first hotel, the Hot Springs, which he conducted for about a year. He built the first weatherboard house in Te Aroha – a cottage of four rooms’.⁴⁸ When married in November 1880, Lipsey claimed to have lived there for 12 years,⁴⁹ but although he may have visited in 1868, he had not settled. His obituary dated his arrival as 1873, ‘before any European settlement was attempted and was the first male white resident’.⁵⁰ He did not settle permanently in that year, but by then he had made the acquaintance of the Mokena family, for his first child, Ani Heni, was baptized on 4 August 1874.⁵¹ As Ani gave her age as 20 when married in March 1892,⁵² his first association with Ema and her family may have been in 1872. In the electoral roll for 1876 he was recorded as living at ‘Aroha’, where he had a ‘dwelling’,⁵³ possibly more basic than the cottage mentioned in the *Cyclopedia*. That he had become part of the local community was indicated in April 1877, when a Thames delegation arriving by steamer to end strife between Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Tamatera⁵⁴ found that they were expected, for Lipsey, having seen them arrive at the junction of the Ohinemuri and Waihou rivers, ‘had ridden overland and informed the

⁴⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 August 1881, p. 3.

⁴⁷ ‘Te Aroha Goldfield Township’ (map, 1885), with note dated 13 April 1885, Te Aroha Museum; Declaration of Ema Mokena, n.d. [5 August 1886?], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833.

⁴⁹ Notices of Intentions to Marry, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/25, folio 216, ANZ-W.

⁵⁰ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum; this information was repeated by Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 8 May 1913, p. 26.

⁵¹ Church of England, Coromandel Maori Baptisms 1874-1904, entry for 4 August 1874, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁵² Marriage Certificate of Ani Lipsey, 28 March 1892, 1892/244, BDM.

⁵³ *Thames Electoral Roll, 1876*, p. 40.

⁵⁴ See paper on this conflict.

Aroha people that we were coming'. He showed the visitors to 'the quarters assigned to us'.⁵⁵

In March 1878 Lipsey began to erect the first hotel at the hot springs, with some Ngati Rahiri quarrelling over the price of the land and attempting to stop its construction whereas Mokena's hapu was 'most favourable to it'.⁵⁶ The quarrel over the ownership of the springs quickly became 'warmer', with 'a quantity of timber' for the hotel being thrown into the river 'to show the superiority of their claim over that of other hapus'.⁵⁷ This conflict meant the hotel was not completed in late October.⁵⁸ When the license was granted to Akuhata Mokena⁵⁹ in December, the chairman of the licensing court described it as 'well-built and furnished, in a comfortable manner'.⁶⁰

By October 1878, Lipsey, 'who only got title of himself and family to some land at the last Court in Shortland', had 'a comfortable verandah cottage built, and a considerable amount of land ploughed up and ready for crops'. He 'very kindly offered his quarters' to visitors 'and cheerfully supplied us with all his house afforded'.⁶¹ When married in 1880, as in later years he described himself as a farmer.⁶² In January 1880 he was reported as having both a hotel and a boarding house,⁶³ incorrectly, for the hotel remained the property of Akuhata Mokena until sold to George Stewart O'Halloran,⁶⁴ and he never ran a boarding house.

THE TE AROHA GOLDFIELD

⁵⁵ Own Reporter, 'The Ohinemuri Quarrel: The Meeting at Te Aroha', *Thames Advertiser*, 25 April 1877, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 13 March 1878, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 15 March 1878, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Own Correspondent, 'A Flying Visit to Te Aroha and the Hot Springs', *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1878, p. 3.

⁵⁹ See paper on his life.

⁶⁰ Licensing Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 14 December 1878, p. 3.

⁶¹ Own Correspondent, 'A Flying Visit to Te Aroha and the Hot Springs', *Thames Advertiser*, 28 October 1878, p. 3.

⁶² Notices of Intentions to Marry, Births Deaths and Marriages, BDM 20/25, folio 216, ANZ-W; *Waikato Electoral Roll, 1884*, p. 13; *Ohinemuri Electoral Rolls, 1896*, p. 32, 1899, p. 65; Death Certificate of George Lipsey, 6 November 1880, 1880/2738, BDM.

⁶³ *Thames Advertiser*, 16 January 1880, p. 2.

⁶⁴ See paper on his life.

In February 1881, Lipsey sought remuneration from the government for assisting it during the negotiations to open the field. He had helped to persuade Mokena to open his land, and at the request of the native agent, George Thomas Wilkinson,⁶⁵ ‘I did my utmost to bring matters to a successful issue.... Through my long residence in this district and my connection with the leading land owner’, meaning Mokena, ‘and other natives I was in a position to largely assist the Government’.⁶⁶ Wilkinson confirmed that Lipsey had given ‘every assistance’ and had influenced Mokena ‘considerably’, but as his land had been ‘considerably enhanced in value by the opening of the Gold Field’, on his suggestion he received only £10.⁶⁷ ‘Our Special on the Spot’ had already noted the benefits he was receiving:

George Lipsey is a veritable prince of jolly good fellows, and no one envies him his good luck in marrying a Maori *wahine* with a goldfield as her wedding portion. “George” drew about £400 the other day as his first share of the “blunt” collection fees, miner’s rights, etc. He gave a grand champagne “splash.”⁶⁸

After 1880, all Lipsey’s mining investments were at Te Aroha, apart from one Waitekauri company in 1882.⁶⁹ Just before the field was opened, with members of the Mokena family Lipsey went to consult a Hamilton solicitor because Hone Werahiko⁷⁰ had sold some shares in the Prospectors’ Claim ‘in which others had an interest, and without consulting them’.⁷¹ As Ema had been given a quarter of one share by Werahiko,⁷² no more was heard of this complaint, presumably because of this or other financial recompense. Another example of Lipsey’s occasional belligerence, especially

⁶⁵ See paper on Mereā Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

⁶⁶ George Lipsey to Attorney General, 14 February 1881, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

⁶⁷ G.T. Wilkinson to Jackson [no initial], 5 April 1881; G.T. Wilkinson to Native Minister, 12 April 1881, and subsequent memorandum, Mines Department, MD 1, 85/1006, ANZ-W.

⁶⁸ Our Special on the Spot, ‘Te Aroha Arrows’, *Observer*, 19 February 1881, p. 236.

⁶⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 19 January 1882, p. 93.

⁷⁰ See paper on his life.

⁷¹ *Thames Star*, 22 November 1880, p. 2.

⁷² *Thames Advertiser*, 22 November 1880, p. 3.

where money was concerned, was recalled by Henry Ernest Whitaker,⁷³ who, with Thomas Gavin,⁷⁴ pegged out two claims on the eve of opening day.⁷⁵ Lipsey, who later became a friend, ‘came up whilst they were so engaged and proposed to precipitate him down the hill, as he appeared to consider he had no right there’.⁷⁶

Both Lipsey and Ema took out miner’s rights on opening day and both had shares in one of the original claims; he acquired shares in one other.⁷⁷ His purchase of half a share in the Bonanza for 5s produced a sizeable profit: half his interest was sold for £10 and the other half for £12 10s.⁷⁸ He was a shareholder in two mining companies and the battery company, being on the provisional directorate of the latter,⁷⁹ but was not a director when it was registered. Ema, recorded as ‘Emma Ripehia (George Lipsey, husband), Te Aroha, Farmer’, also had shares in the Aroha Company.⁸⁰

After Waiorongomai was discovered, Lipsey had interests in two claims and three companies, and Ema invested in one of these claims.⁸¹ Having bought two shares in Werahiko No. 3 for £15, Lipsey sold one for £20.⁸² In April 1888, he was one of the first to mark out a claim in a new find, in the

⁷³ See paper on Harry and Charles.

⁷⁴ See paper on his life.

⁷⁵ The newspaper gave the date as 24 May, but this was a mistake for 24 November. Whitaker obtained a miner’s right on opening day, and registered these claims a week later: Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miner’s Right no. 449, issued 25 November 1880, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1c; Register of Applications 1880-1882, folios 101, 108, BBAV 11505/3a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 22 May 1886, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Miners’ Rights nos. 315, 353, issued 25 November 1880, Miners’ Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1a; Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 42, BBAV 11567/1a; Plaintiff Book 1880-1898, 2/1880, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁸ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 254, BBAV 11567/1a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 447, 600, 602, BBAV 11581/2a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1797, 20 January 1881, p. 111, 28 April 1881, p. 476; *Thames Advertiser*, 8 January 1881, p. 2.

⁸⁰ *New Zealand Gazette*, 30 December 1880, p. 1796.

⁸¹ Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folios 21, 62, BBAV 11500/9a, ANZ-A; *New Zealand Gazette*, 23 March 1882, p. 490, 27 April 1882, p. 647, 20 September 1883, p. 1345.

⁸² Te Aroha Warden’s Court, Register of Licensed Holdings 1881-1887, folio 21, BBAV 11500/9a; Transfers and Assignments 1882, nos. 209, 308, BBAV 11581/1a, ANZ-A.

gully of Lipsey's Creek,⁸³ otherwise the Tunakohoia, behind the township.⁸⁴ He and Ema were amongst the ten owners of this claim, the Mt Morgan, 'situated about half a mile from front of Court House door up Lipsey's Creek'⁸⁵. He sold his share to Eta Mokena⁸⁶ almost immediately, but continued to be involved in this worthless claim until announcing, after one year, that work was to cease; it was then forfeited.⁸⁷ At the end of 1891, he was a surety for Gavin's bid to operate the tramway.⁸⁸ His last investment, in a company owning worthless ground near Te Aroha, was in 1897.⁸⁹

FARMING

As well as receiving considerable goldfield revenue from his wife's land, Lipsey farmed part of it. In early 1880, the road between the hot springs and the Ngati Rahiri settlement at Omahu was 'virtually closed, as Mr Lipsey, in fencing a paddock, has blocked up the old native track'.⁹⁰ The following year, he fenced his northern boundary, adjoining the Ruakaka Block.⁹¹ In 1883, he advertised six acres of green oats for sale.⁹² In the following year, dogs killed 12 of his sheep.⁹³ In the subsequent year, he received £10 in compensation from the council because it diverted a creek.⁹⁴ By late 1886 he had planted about 1,000 fruit and ornamental trees near the river, and two Chinese had made a vegetable garden on part of his

⁸³ *Te Aroha News*, 21 April 1888, p. 2.

⁸⁴ See *Te Aroha News*, 22 March 1937, p. 5.

⁸⁵ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 1 June 1889, p. 8.

⁸⁶ See paper on her life.

⁸⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 325, BBAV 11567/1a; *Plaint Book 1880-1898*, 12/1889, BBAV 11547/1a, ANZ-A; Warden's Court, *Te Aroha News*, 1 May 1889, p. 2.

⁸⁸ Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 22 December 1891, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 2 January 1892, p. 6.

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Gazette*, 6 May 1897, p. 1030.

⁹⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Thames Advertiser*, 23 April 1880, p. 3.

⁹¹ Advertisement, *Thames Star*, 7 January 1881, p. 3.

⁹² *Te Aroha News*, 22 December 1883, p. 7.

⁹³ *Te Aroha News*, 21 June 1884, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 27 November 1884, p. 2.

land.⁹⁵ In 1910, the orchard inspector charged him with neglecting to eradicate disease, but withdrew the charge.⁹⁶

In 1896, a large portion of Lipsey's Block, mostly fenced off, was being used by his family for 'residence grazing', and Lipsey wanted some of it withdrawn from the goldfield.⁹⁷ The Minister of Mines supported this application, for this land was within the township boundary 'and there being a boom on just now all the available allotments are being taken up'. To enable him to get 'enough land to cultivate for his family', Lipsey did not want any allotments leased for buildings; accordingly, 381 acres were excluded from the goldfield.⁹⁸ At the end of the century, according to the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* he cultivated 'about 115 acres, part of Lipseytown', meaning that portion of Te Aroha owned by Ema and her two eldest children.⁹⁹

HOMES

One of the miners who participated in the opening of the goldfield recalled only two wooden buildings, one being Lipsey's house 'on the hillside'.¹⁰⁰ In August 1882, a new one was being built for him.¹⁰¹ In September 1886, he erected 'a handsome seven-roomed house on his farm'.¹⁰² Sited close to the township and mid-way between the road and railway line, it had an extensive view.¹⁰³ A child who lived in the district in the late nineteenth century recalled Lipsey's property, to the left of the road

⁹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 21 August 1886, p. 2; *Thames Advertiser*, 11 October 1886, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Criminal Record Book 1907-1913, 39/1910, BCDG 11220/2a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁷ J.A. Miller to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 July 1896, with attached plan of Lipsey's Block by Francis Pavitt, n.d. [1896], Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁹⁸ A.J. Cadman (Minister of Mines) to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 7 November 1896, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W; Warden to George Lipsey, 10 May 1897, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfers and Assignments 1896-1899, BBAV 11581/15a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁹ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, p. 833.

¹⁰⁰ Recollections of John O'Shea, *Te Aroha News*, 28 November 1940, p. 5.

¹⁰¹ *Thames Star*, 7 August 1882, p. 2.

¹⁰² *Waikato Times*, 30 September 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰³ *Te Aroha News*, 4 September 1886, p. 2.

to Paeroa, past the Tunakohoa, or Lipsey's, Stream, extending 'for quite some distance and was lined with trees, and a homestead was situated well back off the road'.¹⁰⁴ This homestead, erected on one acre, had a rateable value of £30 in 1888, when he also owned a six-roomed house on 37 acres of suburban land with a rateable value of £35.¹⁰⁵ In October, a fire broke out in the brick chimney in his four-roomed house in Kotuku Street, but as heavy rain had wet the shingled roof, the house did not catch fire.¹⁰⁶ In both 1900 and 1907, the rateable value of their seven-roomed house, on 54 acres of freehold land (meaning Lipsey's Block), was £55.¹⁰⁷

Early in May 1914, a year after Lipsey's death, when the fire bell awoke residents just before midnight, they saw that 'Lipsey Park', as his house was known, was 'doomed to destruction, the flames having had a big hold', and it 'very quickly burned to the ground'. George Lipsey the younger and one of his brothers-in-law could save only an enlarged photograph of his father¹⁰⁸ and a chair. The house, 'in a splendid state of repair', was insured for £300, which the *Te Aroha News* believed was half its value.¹⁰⁹

LANDOWNERS

Through her ancestry, Ema obtained interests in land at Te Aroha, Okauia, Matamata, and Otorohanga.¹¹⁰ In 1873 she became an owner of Waihekau No. 4, and in 1879 of Okauia.¹¹¹ Five years later, when she was granted interests in Waiharakeke East Nos. 1 and 3, she refused to sell her interests to the Crown.¹¹² In 1885, she and her younger brother, Rewi Mokena,¹¹³ became the sole beneficiaries of the will of their father 'because

¹⁰⁴ Recollections of R. Caldwell, *Te Aroha News*, 29 June 1978, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book 1888 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

¹⁰⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 3 October 1888, p. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Books 1900-1901, 1906-1907 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

¹⁰⁸ For a reproduction of this photograph, see *Te Aroha News*, 27 November 1980, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 May 1914, p. 2.

¹¹⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1930, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Books no. 3, p. 114; no. 4, p. 181.

¹¹² Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 131.

¹¹³ See paper on his life.

we always lived with him', as Rewi explained.¹¹⁴ They succeeded to his interests at Okauia Nos. 3 and 4, Waiharakeke West No. 2, and Hungahunga No. 2.¹¹⁵

In December 1885, Ema applied to have her interest in Waiharakeke East No. 1 cut off. These 59 acres were partly bush-covered hills and partly open land. As another owner objected because he had a kainga and grew potatoes there, another selection was agreed to, in lots of 20 and 39 acres.¹¹⁶ She received 1 acre 1 rood 33 perches as her share of Waiharakeke East No. 3, and she and Rewi had their combined interest of 51 acres 1 rood cut out of Waiharakeke West No. 2; the southern part was swamp, the northern 'dry and good'.¹¹⁷

Ema became an owner of Maurihoro in 1884.¹¹⁸ She received some of the share of her brother-in-law, Hare Renata,¹¹⁹ in Te Hopai in Piako in 1890.¹²⁰ With her two eldest children, she became an owner of Awaiti No. 1 in 1894.¹²¹ Three years later, when the succession to her mother was being determined for Te Karamu B, her brother, Ranapia Mokena,¹²² told the court that 'we have agreed that Ema and Rewi stand out. Rewi Mokena can speak for himself only he does not know whether Ema will hold to this arrangement'. The land was allotted to the other three children of Mokena Hou 'provided Ema does not object within a week'; as she did, her name was added.¹²³

Their most profitable land was close to Te Aroha. In late October 1880 the magistrate, Harry Kenrick,¹²⁴ and Wilkinson signed a declaration, 'at the request of Ema Mokena', as she still was, not yet having married Lipsey under Pakeha law. 'We undertake to cut out & reserve from occupation under the Gold-Mining Districts Act all the land from the river to the foot of

¹¹⁴ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 221.

¹¹⁵ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, pp. 221-222; Otorohanga Minute Book no. 3, p. 368.

¹¹⁶ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, pp. 238, 244-245.

¹¹⁷ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 246.

¹¹⁸ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 38.

¹¹⁹ See paper on Eta Mokena and Hare Renata.

¹²⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 26, p. 40.

¹²¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 36A, p. 30.

¹²² See paper on his life.

¹²³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, p. 3.

¹²⁴ See paper on his life.

the hills, within the Reserve Block at Te Aroha required for the use of herself and children'.¹²⁵

Lipseys's Block, otherwise Aroha Block IX Section 17, was between Te Aroha and the Ruakaka Block; the portion included in the township was known as Lipseytown.¹²⁶ These 400 acres had been granted in 1878 to Ema and her eldest children, Akuhata and Ani.¹²⁷ In 1881, their interests were defined, with half going to Ema and a quarter to each child.¹²⁸ Ema and her husband applied to be trustees for the children 'so that we can transfer the allotments which we promised to the Churches'.¹²⁹ In practice, until Ani's marriage in 1892, when the allocations reverted to the original arrangement, Ema received two thirds and her children a third.¹³⁰ In that year, Ema asked 'for the larger share as I have six children younger than these two named in the Grant for which no provision has been made – These six children were born after the Grant was made'. Apart from a portion sold for the railway line, this land was made inalienable.¹³¹ Ema did not add any of her other children to the list of owners. In 1894, she partitioned Block IX Section 17 with Akuhata and Ani, the application being made on their behalf by Lipsey. The court agreed to her requests for 59 acres for herself and 29 acres for each child, the remainder of the 400 acres to be divided on the same proportions.¹³²

Ema had 100 acres of freehold land in the Piako County, valued at £500 in 1882.¹³³ In 1885, Lipsey complained about 'being rated for land held by Government under goldfields regulations, and over which himself and

¹²⁵ Declaration of Harry Kenrick and G.T. Wilkinson, 26 October 1880, Te Aroha Warden's Court, General Correspondence 1880, BBAV 11584/1a, ANZ-A.

¹²⁶ J.A. Miller to A.J. Cadman, 28 May 1892, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹²⁷ James Mackay, Decision of 24 August 1878, Te Aroha Block, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

¹²⁸ Aroha Block IX Section 17, Block Files, H1082, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹²⁹ Ema Mokena to Judge, Native Land Court, Shortland, 20 December 1881, Aroha Block IX Section 17, Block Files, H1082, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹³⁰ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 180-1893, p. 27, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

¹³¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28A, pp. 42-43.

¹³² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 36, p. 101; no. 49, p. 306; no. 54, pp. 67-68.

¹³³ *Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand ...* (Wellington, 1884), p. L 28.

Mrs Lipsey have no control'.¹³⁴ In 1886, his Section 23, one acre in the township, was valued for property tax at £400, and his 53-acre block was valued at £530, valuations that were sustained on appeal, 'objector not [being] the occupier'.¹³⁵ Two years later, the rateable value of Ema's 20 acres of suburban land was £10.¹³⁶ In 1898, Lipsey complained about the valuation, but the Assessment Court upheld it.¹³⁷ Two years later, Ema's 4 acres 1 rood 8 perches of Block IX Section 17A had a rateable value of £10 15s and her 30 acres in Section 17D was £8.¹³⁸ In 1908 his Block IX Section 17 Lot 17, of 15 acres, was valued at £184.¹³⁹

In 1886, Ema and Rewi Mokena inherited their parents' interests in Wairakau,¹⁴⁰ and in May 1894 Lipsey bought Block IX Section 14D, of 38 acres, from Hori More for £30 10s.¹⁴¹

GIFTS OF LAND

Lipsey's obituary described how he acquired land and how the hot springs became public property:

After coming to Te Aroha he married Miss Ema Mokena, and became possessed of a very considerable tract of native land, including what is now the borough of Te Aroha. In true generosity of spirit, Mr and Mrs Lipsey made a gift to the N.Z. government of the present beautiful and picturesque Domain Grounds. This gift should ever stand as a monument to the generosity of the givers, and it would at least be an appropriate act on the part of the Government to erect a tablet in the Domain setting forth the fact herein noted.¹⁴²

¹³⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 7.

¹³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 24 April 1886, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 24 April 1886, p. 2.

¹³⁶ Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book 1888 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

¹³⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 14 May 1898, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Book 1900-1901 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

¹³⁹ Waitoa Riding, Ohinemuri County Council, 1 April 1908, folio 1, Valuation Department, BBAC A150/647, ANZ-A.

¹⁴⁰ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 37.

¹⁴¹ Thames Warden's Court, Inwards Correspondence, 74/1894, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A; Thomas Gavin to A.J. Cadman, 15 June 1899, Mines Department, MD 1, 99/923, ANZ-W.

¹⁴² Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

The government did not take the hint, rightly, for the ‘fact’ was incorrect. Lipsey’s marriage to Ema, in the Thames registry office on 6 November 1880,¹⁴³ was clearly intended to ensure that he received property rights in the new settlement, even though under Maori custom the land remained the property of his wife and the authorities treated it as such. Much of this obituary were incorrect; for instance, that he, not Francis, had the first hotel at Paeroa.¹⁴⁴ Lipsey and Ema had not gifted the domain to the public because before being transferred to the Crown as part of the purchase of the Aroha Block it had belonged to Ngati Rahiri and, in particular, to Mokena Hou.¹⁴⁵ Some involvement in the negotiations over the hot springs and the surrounding land may have occurred, but these were either unrecorded or have been lost to history through the destruction of official records.¹⁴⁶

‘Among other gifts well worthy of mention’, Lipsey’s obituary noted the sites of St Mark’s Anglican Church and the primary school.¹⁴⁷ Immediately after the goldfield was proclaimed, Lipsey ‘was applied to for sites’ for a school and Anglican and Wesleyan churches. He ‘very generously consented to give three acres in one of his paddocks for a school, and half an acre each for the churches, and also agreed to sell half an acre more to each denomination at whatever valuation the Warden put upon it’.¹⁴⁸ The reprinting of this article in the *New Zealand Herald*, on the following day,¹⁴⁹ provoked a letter from ‘Biaordo’:

I would ask how it is that these people can be so generous, seeing that the Government bought the whole of the Aroha lands subject to certain reserves for natives, that up to the present time have never been defined? It is only a few months ago when all these lands were tabooed by the Government, who forbid the natives

¹⁴³ Marriage Certificate of George Lipsey, 6 November 1880, 1880/2738, BDM.

¹⁴⁴ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1918, Te Aroha Museum, compared with *Thames Advertiser*, 21 December 1875, p. 3, 12 January 1877, p. 3, 19 December 1878, p. 3; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 February 1903, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ See paper on his life.

¹⁴⁶ The Hope Gibbons fire in Wellington in 1959, which destroyed most of the records of the Lands and Survey Department, has a lot to answer for.

¹⁴⁷ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

¹⁴⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 1 December 1880, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1880, p. 5.

either to sell or lease, and now we find a Pakeha-Maori giving away sites and leasing land supposed to be granted to his native wife.

As this was the action of a land shark, the government should 'claim this land, and relieve the miner and others of the imposts now pressing upon them'. He again asked how people like Lipsey could

dispose of or give away land that a few months ago was deemed inalienably preserved for the use of the native, and demand utu in the shape of miners' rights, business licenses, &c? What six months ago was considered a crime is now lauded, and a European, through his native wife, is allowed to give or donate away the public estate which is claimed by her to live on and reside from a generous Government.¹⁵⁰

Lipsey provided financial assistance to erect St Mark's Church, of which he became a vestryman.¹⁵¹ Although the site of the first Catholic Church, 'on an eminence adjoining the Hot Springs Domain', was donated by Mokena Hou, it being on his land, Lipsey had used 'his kind offices to further the interests of the applicants'.¹⁵²

In 1882, the Education Board accepted Lipsey's terms that he 'could only lease' a school site 'for 21 years, as the trustee for one of the children, but he undertook to do the best he could to get the freehold'.¹⁵³ Later that year, when he and Ema, 'on behalf of their children', signed this 21-year lease of a school reserve and a site for teacher's house, he again undertook 'to obtain freehold of block for board so soon as law enables alienation in fee simple'.¹⁵⁴ In September, the Te Aroha Township Act was passed, without debate, laying out the streets and gifting two acres as a government reserve and a smaller area as a school reserve.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Letter from 'Biaordo', *New Zealand Herald*, 3 December 1880, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 24 April 1886, p. 2, 10 March 1930, p. 5.

¹⁵² *Freeman's Journal*, 21 March 1884, p. 12.

¹⁵³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 6 May 1882, p. 18.

¹⁵⁴ Secretary, Auckland Education Board, to Secretary, Education Department, 23 August 1882 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 82/1169, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 43 (Wellington, 1882), pp. 470, 533, 598, 643, 783; 'Te Aroha Township Act, 1882', *The Statutes of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1882), pp. 886-1887.

In January 1886, Lipsey's solicitor, James Archibald Miller, informed the Native Minister that, when Te Aroha was laid off, the owners had reserved part of the land for church purposes. They now wished to give some to the Church of England, 'but owing to a Reservation contained in the Crown Grant' it was 'necessary the Governor should first give his consent'.¹⁵⁶ This proposal caused considerable discussion about protecting the interests of their two eldest children, for whom the land was held in trust.¹⁵⁷ In support of the Lipsey's desire to gift this land, it was noted that they had already gifted two acres for government buildings as well as land for roads and a school.¹⁵⁸ Ema made a declaration in early August (written in Maori) explaining that she and these children had been granted the 400 acres on which part of Te Aroha stood.

I and my husband laid out with Mr Kenrick's assent a portion of the four hundred acres for a town, and we set apart certain sections for a school and for Government public buildings. We have given the half acre between Lower street Church street and Kenrick Street where the church now stands for the Church of England's purposes, and I consider that it is for the benefit of my children that I should give these reserves for these purposes.¹⁵⁹

Lipsey declared that he had had reserves set aside for churches, had promised sections to the Anglicans and the Wesleyans, and had given land for a courthouse, post office, and police station. 'All these reserves I consider have fixed the township where it now is upon the property of my children & my wife and have made it certain that the property will always be a valuable one'. Both he and Ema wished the land to go to the Church of

¹⁵⁶ J.A. Miller to Native Minister, 26 January 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁷ Under-Secretary, Native Office, to G.E. Barton (Trust Commissioner, Tauranga), 8 March 1886; J.A. Miller to Native Minister, 24 May 1886; G.E. Barton to Bishop of Auckland, 19 March 1886, 12 June 1886, 30 July 1886; Rev. James Marshall to G.E. Barton, 2 April 1886, enclosing undated memorandum, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁸ Memorandum, n.d., appended to Rev. James Marshall to G.E. Barton, 2 April 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁹ Declaration by Ema Mokena, n.d. [5 August 1886?], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

England 'for a nominal consideration. We have plenty of other property'.¹⁶⁰ When the trust commissioner, charged with ensuring that the owners' interests were protected, inspected the site, he noted that the alienation of this land was in the interests of Ema and her children because this would 'enhance the value of the adjoining property and of the town generally'.¹⁶¹ Accordingly, assent to the gift was granted.¹⁶²

LIPSEY AS LANDLORD

In July 1882, 'Waiorongomai' complained about the delay in establishing a township there:

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

A 'clique' was behind this effort to benefit this individual.¹⁶³ Clearly the latter was Lipsey, but he had no close links with the 'Firth clique', which presumably was being referred to.¹⁶⁴

The mining inspector, seeking permission in 1884 to prevent residence sites in Te Aroha being used as gravel pits, warned that if they were damaged 'there may be further trouble with Lipsey'.¹⁶⁵ The following year, Lipsey warned that he would prosecute anyone removing gravel or stones

¹⁶⁰ Declaration by George Lipsey, 5 August 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁶¹ Under-Secretary, Native Office, to G.E. Barton, 8 March 1886; G.E. Barton to Governor, 6 August 1886, with two maps appended, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁶² Memoranda by John Ballance (Minister of Lands), 22 October 1886, and Governor, 23 October 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

¹⁶³ Letter from 'Waiorongomai', *Thames Advertiser*, 10 July 1882, p. 3.

¹⁶⁴ See papers on social divisions and the Battery Company.

¹⁶⁵ George Wilson to Harry Kenrick, 7 April 1884, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Letterbook 1883-1900, p. 23, BBAV 11534/1a, ANZ-A.

from creeks or elsewhere on his land.¹⁶⁶ He sued a miner for £20 in damages for removing a building without permission.¹⁶⁷

By mid-1885, the occupiers of business sites in some of the back streets were objecting to paying £5 per annum to rent allotments of no use for business purposes. A correspondent understood that Lipsey was ‘inclined to modify in some way the conditions of the lease, and some satisfactory arrangement is likely to be arrived at’.¹⁶⁸ At a public meeting held in June 1887 to consider tenure and rents, a letter to Lipsey from his solicitor was read out, arguing that the ‘good and substantial’ tenure one’ was ‘almost as good as a freehold’. The Act enabled ‘a continuous right of renewal at the end of each 21 years’, creating a ‘perpetual lease’, with the government being able to raise the rent and impose conditions at each renewal.¹⁶⁹ Lipsey, invited to speak ‘as representing the Native owners’, said that he held the land in trust until his children came of age.

It was his firm intention to carry out that trust in the same manner as he had received it, in other words, he would not be a consenting party to a freehold being given during the minority of his children. But on the other hand he was both willing and anxious to forward the interests of local residents, and would meet them in any reasonable way.

He would not commit himself to any particular line of action without first consulting his solicitor, but accepted appointment to a committee comprising himself and the town board to ask the government to change the title to leases in perpetuity. A vote of thanks ‘for the consideration and courtesy he had shown in endeavouring as far as he could to meet the wishes of the local residents ... was passed by acclamation’.¹⁷⁰ At a meeting about tenure held in the following year, Lipsey’s ‘very liberal spirit’ was

¹⁶⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 28 March 1885, p. 7.

¹⁶⁷ Te Aroha Magistrate’s Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1884, 210/1884, BCDG 11221/1a; Civil Record Book 1884-1889, 210/1884, Judgment Summons dated 25 November 1884, BCDG 11221/1b, ANZ-A; Magistrate’s Court, *Te Aroha News*, 18 October 1884, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 13 June 1885, p. 3.

¹⁶⁹ J.A. Miller to George Lipsey, 1 June 1887, cited in James Mills to Minister of Justice, 3 February 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 4 June 1887, p. 2.

praised, and he was unanimously thanked for his willingness to grant perpetual leases.¹⁷¹

In October 1889, the chairman of the town board, Edward Gallagher,¹⁷² asked Lipsey to modify the Lipseytown tenure so that sections could be leased in perpetuity and business sites used for homes would be charged at residence site rates.¹⁷³ Lipsey and Ema approved these terms and said they would 'do our utmost to have them carried out'.¹⁷⁴ Two months later, 'Cyclops' complained about the lack of rights for tenants, the newspaper heading his letter 'Home Rule at Te Aroha':

Nine years ago this place was a wilderness. It was cut up and we were allowed to take up business allotments at the very modest rental of £40 per acre per annum, and the more labour and capital we expend upon them, the greater will be the rates and taxes, etc, and should sickness, depression of trade, or any other cause arise which would render a tenant unable to pay the rent, our Courthouse officials, acting as the agents of our landlord, forfeit our properties, and where are we? In the same place as the Irish tenants, viz, in the street; our only title being the rent receipt; and what compensation do we get for the improvements? If we wish to remove from one part of the estate to another part of the same, we cannot do so without the consent of the landlord; and that is not to be obtained without the payment of Backshteesh [his spelling]. There is no doubt that we have much more to complain of than any other tenants. In almost every place that could be mentioned rents, whether ground, house, or shop, are subject to the same fluctuations as business, and investments of other kinds; but not so here. When this place was opened with the flourish of trumpets nine years ago, a labourer's wages were 9s per day; carpenters, 10s to 12s. Anyone having houses to let could get high rents for anything with a roof on it; tradesmen could get high prices and large profits, and get in their money very much better than they can do now. But what a different tale we have to tell now. Good men idle, or working ten hours for from 4s to 6s per day; comfortable dwellings empty, or else let at ridiculously low rents. You can put up with this as best you may, but pay the landlord you must without delay, or else lose all you

¹⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 5 September 1888, p. 2.

¹⁷² See paper on his life.

¹⁷³ Edward Gallagher (Chairman, Te Aroha Town Board) to George Lipsey, 10 October 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁴ George and Ema Lipsey to Edward Gallagher, 15 October 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

have put together. I will give one case to illustrate my meaning: A widow, who was one of the first to come here and start business, has had to succumb to the hard times and work at washing, charring, etc, to support a young family. She is the unfortunate holder of a business section, for which she must pay five pounds per annum. Upon the section, when times were good, she built her house. This said site is now valueless for business purposes. The sites all around her have been reduced to £1 per annum, but not hers, and she cannot, by the conditions under which it was taken up, remove the building to the next section. Why? Because the land laws under which we exist are like the laws of the Medes and Persians. Last year this poor woman had to borrow £5 for her rent, which is again due, and she is compelled to part with her sewing machine to raise the necessary money.¹⁷⁵

‘Fair Play’ responded to this reflection on ‘our landlord’:

Now I can assure he has done many good turns to his tenants and others in a quiet way, and with respect to any real cases of hardship, so far as I’m aware of, that have been put directly under his notice, he has shown a disposition to make any reasonable concessions. I speak this from my own knowledge, having had to interview him both on behalf of myself and others, and in these instances have had the grievances satisfactorily adjusted. Of course, our landlord is feeling the hard times the same as we all do. I think it would be better for persons having a grievance that can be rectified to see him before writing to the papers. I write this as a matter of justice.¹⁷⁶

In April 1891, Gallagher informed Wilkinson that, a year or more previously, the restrictions on selling land in Morgantown had been removed at the request of its Maori owners. Since then, the town board had been told, Lipsey had ‘bought out some of the Shares of the original owners’ for about £60 a share, and it feared that this could result in a repeat of the exploitation suffered by those who had leased sections in Block 27 in Thames, ‘a position the lessees of Morgan’s Town always understood they would be preserved from’. It urged the government to buy Morgantown in the interests of lessees.¹⁷⁷ Wilkinson informed his department that, indeed, some owners had managed to get the ‘restrictions against alienability’

¹⁷⁵ Letter from ‘Cyclops’, *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1889, pp. 2, 7.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from ‘Fair Play’, *Te Aroha News*, 25 December 1889, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Edward Gallagher to G.T. Wilkinson, 10 April 1891, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

removed and had then sold their land to Pakeha. 'I was not informed officially upon the matter, or asked to report upon the applications of the Natives', but he understood that Lipsey was 'buying up the Shares'. Without naming Lipsey, he feared lessees could be 'at the mercy of the speculator who had acquired the freehold from the Native owners, as was the case with "Block 27" '.¹⁷⁸ The under-secretary reported to his new minister, Alfred Jerome Cadman:

In July 1889 applications were received in proper form [from] a majority of the owners under Section 5 of the Native Land Act 1888 for a removal of the restrictions and the restrictions in accordance with the practice & policy then ruling were removed. As Mr Lipsey is no doubt anxious to acquire the freehold of both townships himself & may be presumed to have considerable influence with his relatives the owners – I am opinion that the purchase by the Crown at a fair price would be impossible.¹⁷⁹

When Wilkinson visited Te Aroha to discuss purchasing part of Block IX Section 15, in Morgantown, on behalf of the Crown, he was only able to acquire the interest of Ranapia Mokena's wife. Ema and George Lipsey were 'both very much averse to land selling', and were seeking to acquire the interests of all the Morgantown owners so that they could get the freehold of the entire township. He discovered that the 1889 request to have the restrictions removed was to enable Lipsey to purchase the block. To date, Lipsey had only bought Hare Renata's¹⁸⁰ interest, for about £185, which had been transferred to his daughter Ani. The other owners had refused to sell, but should they change their minds 'they would most likely prefer to dispose of their interests to their relative rather than to any one else', so long as Lipsey paid as much as any rival purchaser. Wilkinson suggested that, if the government wished to prevent private purchase, it should inform the owners it wanted to buy the block and how much per acre it offered.¹⁸¹ The outcome was that, over the next decade, the other owners,

¹⁷⁸ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 15 April 1891, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

¹⁷⁹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to A.J. Cadman (Minister of Native Affairs), 22 April 1891, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁰ See paper on Eta Mokena and Hare Renata.

¹⁸¹ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 15 May 1891, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

including Ani and Akuhata Lipsey, sold their interests in Morgantown to the Crown.¹⁸² By 1905, as one resident expressed it, ‘one-half of the town’, Morgantown, ‘belongs to the Government and the other to the Maoris, the pakeha Maoris’.¹⁸³

In May 1892, Miller, Lipsey’s lawyer, informed Cadman that Lipsey proposed that business sites should be an eighth of an acre, with an annual rental of £3, and residence sites should be a quarter of an acre and £1. Leases would be for 99 years, with valuations made at the end of every 20 years, subsequent rents not to be lower. No buildings or fences were to be removed.¹⁸⁴ The following month, Lipsey suggested that rents for sections in Whitaker Street be £3, those in back and side streets £2, and others £1, which Miller told Cadman was not feasible. ‘He sends me a plan with the different allotments marked with the Rentals on them which it is hardly worth while sending you as you could not utilize it’. Miller thought a reduction to £3 and an extension of the term to 99 years was as much as tenants could fairly ask.¹⁸⁵ Two months later, Lipsey wanted the final terms to be ‘so fixed that even Parliament could not alter them’, which Miller knew to be impossible.¹⁸⁶ Lipsey’s latest terms were that business sites in Whitaker and Bridge Streets be £3 and those elsewhere £2, residence sites to be £1, and anyone carrying on business on a residence site was to pay the higher rate. Leases were to be for 99 years, with revaluation of business sites every 20 years. No buildings could be taken down.¹⁸⁷

In July 1893, a new agreement for Lipseytown was approved by the Trust Commissioner and awaited a judge’s consent because of the ‘infant shares’ of Akuhata and Ani Lipsey.¹⁸⁸ Because of this requirement, an

¹⁸² Details in Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

¹⁸³ ‘Crown Lands: Report of the Royal Commission on Land-Tenure, Land-Settlement, and other matters affecting the Crown Lands of the Colony...’, *AJHR*, 1905, C-4, p. 1043.

¹⁸⁴ J.A. Miller to A.J. Cadman, 28 May 1892, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁵ J.A. Miller to A.J. Cadman, 25 June 1892, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁶ J.A. Miller to A.J. Cadman, 20 August 1892, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁷ Agreement appended to J.A. Miller to A.J. Cadman, 20 August 1892, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁸⁸ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 July 1893, Thames Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1886-1893, p. 742, BACL 14458/2b, ANZ-A.

agreement whereby residence sites were to be held on 99-year leases could not be made until late 1896.¹⁸⁹ Some residents still wanted leases granted in perpetuity, but in 1900 the government ruled that this was not possible under the terms of the wills of Rina Mokena and Mokena Hou.¹⁹⁰

In February 1902, the mayor, James Mills,¹⁹¹ complained to James McGowan, the Minister of Mines, that an attempt was being made to force holders of residence sites to pay £3. 'I contend that the owners have no right, either in Law or Equity to raise my rent without my Consent', citing in support Miller's letter to the 1887 meeting. Mills reminded McGowan that they had discussed this issue 'at the top of the steps on the Hot Springs Verandah' in Lipsey's presence. 'When I mentioned the matter of the rents having been raised without our Consent, Lipsey interjected the remark that I might never be called on to pay it, thus showing his Consciousness that all was not right'. As leases were 'now falling in', it was 'most important' to rectify the matter.¹⁹² In 1905, 11 tradespeople pledged to pay Ema £5 on allotments in Whitaker Street and the current rental for back sections if their leases were for 'ever and ever' and without any revaluation.¹⁹³ Miller informed McGowan that Ema had agreed to this higher rental on condition there was no revaluation, and 'most likely her family', presumably meaning Ema and Akuhata, would agree. Miller asked whether the government would create a new agreement and whether a 99-year lease was possible.¹⁹⁴ The warden explained that residents had been happy with the existing arrangements until 'very recently, when an agitation for more secure titles than those under the Mining Act commenced through fear of forfeiture, as many persons hold more than one site'; what they really wanted was the freehold.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ *Thames Advertiser*, 16 October 1896, p. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Minister of Lands to A.J. Cadman, 16 July 1900, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁹¹ See paper on his life.

¹⁹² James Mills to James McGowan (Minister of Mines), 3 February 1902, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

¹⁹³ Declaration of George Robson and 10 others, 1 September 1905, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁴ Miller and Son to James McGowan, 13 October 1905, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

¹⁹⁵ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 6 October 1905, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

Lipsey's obituary stated that his 'generous spirit' was proven by 'his successful effort in getting the extension of the 21 years lease of town sections to 99 years'.¹⁹⁶ In contrast, in 1898, when it was proposed to timber the creek that had overflowed, causing flood damage in the Rewi Street area, a member of the town board suggested seeking aid 'from the ground landlord who drew the rents', but the chairman said 'they would get nothing, and need never expect anything from that source'.¹⁹⁷

INCOME FROM LEASING LAND

Before the proclamation of the goldfield, land for miners' houses was allocated at 'a very pretty site, being the gentle slope around' Lipsey's house.¹⁹⁸ On opening day, all his business sites were taken up.¹⁹⁹ Because of the demand, he offered to drain some land to enable more allotments to be laid off and to form a road to the river, where there was said to be 'a very good landing'.²⁰⁰ This landing was not developed, but more allotments were created as the settlement expanded. In mid-December 1880, the business area was enlarged 'by absorbing the large paddock' in front of his house.²⁰¹ 'No fewer than thirty nine residence sites' had been pegged out by mid-January.²⁰² In November 1883, he advertised an extension to the township: 'The Portion of Lipsey's Block opposite Mr Lavery's House, between Whitaker Street and the River, will be Surveyed and thrown open for Occupation under the Goldfields Regulations'.²⁰³ Two years later, after the death of Ema's parents, the Native Minister determined that she and her husband, as trustees for their eldest children, could lease the land in the township they had inherited.²⁰⁴

In mid-1888, Lipsey and his wife, as trustees for Akuhata and Ani, along with five other owners petitioned parliament because £279 of goldfield revenue and £60 from the sale of forfeited business and residence sites had

¹⁹⁶ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

¹⁹⁷ *Te Aroha News*, 28 June 1898, p. 2.

¹⁹⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 1 November 1880, p. 3.

¹⁹⁹ *Thames Star*, 27 November 1880, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ *Thames Star*, 1 December 1880, p. 2.

²⁰¹ *Waikato Times*, 18 December 1880, p. 2.

²⁰² *Thames Star*, 15 November 1881, p. 2.

²⁰³ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 3 November 1883, p. 3.

²⁰⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 20 November 1885, p. 2.

been paid to the county council instead of to themselves. As well, £6 from sale of a forfeited section in Lipsey's Block had gone to the town board.²⁰⁵ Asked to clarify the position, the warden explained that, unlike the agreement reached at Thames, at Te Aroha the government was not required to pay rents for mining licenses to the landowners; however they should receive the £66 from residence and business sites, less the expense of advertising their forfeiture.²⁰⁶ The delay in processing this request caused Lipsey to contact a member of parliament, who reported that the petitioners were 'getting very impatient'.²⁰⁷

Charles John Dearle,²⁰⁸ who was employed to allocate 'native revenue', was consulted by Lipsey in February 1893 about how this was allotted amongst his family. Dearle discovered that allocations for Lipseytown were incorrectly calculated, giving Ema two-thirds, meaning that in the previous two quarters she had been overpaid by £19 18s.²⁰⁹ As an indication of how dependent they were on this revenue, later that year the local policeman was asked, before paying Ema, to inform the chemist 'that the payment is to be made, as he has some arrangement with George and Ema Lipsey re this payment'.²¹⁰

In October 1895, Lipsey sent a telegram to Cadman: 'Have not received rent last two quarters no information obtainable please make enquiries'.²¹¹ The warden, Robert Smelt Bush, explained that pressure of work had meant delays, as Lipsey had been informed, but he would be paid next week. 'Lipsey is the only owner who makes complaints and they come from

²⁰⁵ Petition of George and Ema Lipsey and five others, n.d. [July 1888?], Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W; 'Native Affairs Committee', *AJHR*, 1888, I-3, p. 14.

²⁰⁶ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 23 July 1888; Memorandum of H.A. Gordon to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 7 August 1888; Memorandum of G.T. Wilkinson, 10 November 1888, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁷ J.B. Whyte to Colonial Secretary, 2 November 1888, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁰⁸ See paper on Alice Grey Dearle.

²⁰⁹ C.J. Dearle to George Lipsey, 24 February 1893, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 619, BAACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

²¹⁰ C.J. Dearle to Frederick Wild, 25 November 1893, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 737, BAACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

²¹¹ George Lipsey to Minister of Mines, 3 October 1895 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 95/1714, ANZ-W.

him about once a month'.²¹² The following year, Lipsey complained 'strongly as to the arrears due to him', and Bush felt that he 'could not blame him for being somewhat urgent in the matter', payment having been delayed because office staff were overworked.²¹³

As an indication of the income received from rents, between December 1880 and December 1893 Ema received, on behalf of herself and her two eldest children, £7,103 17s for 'Ema Lipsey's Block'.²¹⁴ Between August 1900 and December 1901 Ema received £124 10s from Lipseytown. Between November 1900 and the latter date, she received £5 1s 11d from Morgantown, £196 5s 9d from 'Sundry', and 'Stamps supplied' amounted to £83 9s 8d.²¹⁵ As an example of the amount she regularly received, in May 1889 she received £130 15s.²¹⁶ In 1903 it was estimated that she received 'something over' £300 each year in Lipseytown rents.²¹⁷

In June 1904, Ema contacted James Carroll, the Native Minister, about payments. 'Please try and get revenue paid more regular it is not satisfactory at present it would be far better if Clerk of Court here pay me mine'.²¹⁸ As officials denied that there was any 'unusual delay in paying the Revenue' and that a change to the system in place would create problems,

²¹² R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 5 October 1895 (telegram), Mines Department, MD 1, 95/1714, ANZ-W.

²¹³ R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 15 June 1896, Justice Department, J 1, 96/1548, ANZ-W.

²¹⁴ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, folios 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

²¹⁵ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Receiver of Gold Revenue, Letterbook 1900-1903, pp. 18, 37, 46, 52, 77, 103, 120, 141, 169, 187, 239, 254, 271, 309, 343, 357, 367, BAFV 13699/1a, ANZ-A.

²¹⁶ Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Native Imprest Account Cash Book, p. 133, BAFV 13716/1a, ANZ-A. For other examples of amounts paid to her and others of her family, see 'Native Revenue, Te Aroha', 1883-1896, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/35b, ANZ-W.

²¹⁷ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 3 August 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²¹⁸ Ema Lipsey to James Carroll, 10 June 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

her request was declined.²¹⁹ In July 1905, Lipsey asked for his revenue to be paid each month instead of quarterly, and at odd times, which was impossible under the current method.²²⁰ The following May, Bush told James McGowan, the Minister of Mines, that ‘every time’ he was in Te Aroha ‘Lipsey interviews me on this subject’. He wished to be paid monthly ‘as the trades people press for their accounts owing to the length of time’ they had to wait under the quarterly payment arrangement, which could not easily be altered.²²¹ The Mines Department confirmed that, under the agreement, payment should remain quarterly.²²²

In November 1905, Bush asked the clerk of the Waihi warden’s court for full details of Lipsey’s revenue:

I want the dates and amounts of all revenue that has been paid to the Crown on account of advances made to the different members of the Lipsey family, statement to show clearly the amounts which have been retained by you from the share of each of them, and on their behalf paid by you to treasury. I want all the particulars with respect to each separately so that I can explain the exact position to each of them with respect of each of their loans. The Government are purchasing some of their land.²²³

In August 1907, Lipsey asked that the clerk of court at Te Aroha, not Waihi, allocate his revenue. ‘Sometimes the money lays in the Post Office here for two months and we receive no communication it is lying there’.²²⁴ Over two years later, he complained that, ‘We have never had a proper statement of our affairs since Te Aroha Gold Field started, we do not receive

²¹⁹ Registrar of Goldfields Revenue, Te Aroha, to Patrick Sheridan, 15 June 1904; Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Patrick Sheridan, 21 June 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²²⁰ R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 7 July 1905, Thames Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 3, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²²¹ R.S. Bush to Minister of Mines, 11 May 1906, Thames Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 102, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²²² Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to R.S. Bush, 26 June 1906, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

²²³ R.S. Bush to Clerk, Warden’s Court, Waihi, 17 November 1905, Thames Warden’s Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 29, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²²⁴ George Lipsey to Hugh Poland, MP, 27 August 1907, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

our revenue regular and we have only just heard about allotments being leased for 5/- and 10/- per annum'. As this was contrary to the agreement, he asked for an investigation.²²⁵ One was made, revealing that these larger sections on the outskirts of the township were granted before the 1893 agreement and that rents could not be changed until the initial term of 21 years had expired.²²⁶

INCOME FROM SELLING LAND

In 1874, a farmer offered to buy Lipsey's allotment near Te Awamutu.²²⁷ As there was no further reference to this land, presumably it was sold. Four years later, Ema was one of 46 owners selling Waiheke No. 4, of 564 acres, the purchase price of £264 to be shared amongst them.²²⁸

In 1885, Lipsey sold 14 1/4 acres for the railway station for £550. The *Te Aroha News* considered that he deserved 'the thanks of the community' for 'the disposition he has all along shown to meet the government in a liberal way, and accept a reasonable price for the land'.²²⁹ When the purchase was completed a year later, it repeated that he had 'from the first shown every desire to meet the Government in a reasonable way, and thus forward the interests of the township'.²³⁰ In contract, the *Thames Advertiser* noted that 'a much larger sum was originally demanded'.²³¹ In January 1887, he sold a one-acre residence site only two minutes walk from the domain, containing an eight-roomed house, with a splendid view and many trees.²³²

In February 1886, Wilkinson asked to meet Lipsey about the 42 acres of the hillside the domain board wished to obtain (Ema has inherited her

²²⁵ George Lipsey to James Carroll, 12 November 1909, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

²²⁶ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 13 January 1910, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2, ANZ-W.

²²⁷ Jackson and Russell to George Lipsey, 29 September 1874, Letterbook, no. 12, p. 162, Jackson and Russell Papers, MS 360, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Library.

²²⁸ Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A806, box 3, no. 142, ANZ-A.

²²⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 18 April 1885, p. 2.

²³⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 10 April 1886, p. 2.

²³¹ *Thames Advertiser*, 17 April 1885, p. 2.

²³² *Te Aroha News*, 8 January 1887, p. 3.

interest from her father.)²³³ Wilkinson asked Lipsey to 'be good enough to discuss the matter' with Ema 'as to price etc, also with any of the other owners over which she or you may have any influence'. As acquiring this land would mean 'increased prosperity' for the town and, consequently, its owners, Wilkinson considered that 'a nominal or small price only should be asked'.²³⁴ All owners bar Akuhata Mokena agreed to sell at what was agreed to be the reasonable price of £5 an acre.²³⁵

At first, in 1889, Ema and her husband sought to use the money they would receive to purchase Mataura, 60 acres on the western bank of the river, adjoining the upstream boundary of the Te Kawana Native Reserve.²³⁶ Lipsey had been investigating acquiring land at Puriri, but negotiations were postponed during Ema's 'serious illness'. After deciding there was no land at Puriri 'suitable for his purpose', he sought instead 'a small block of land at Te Aroha which would suit him', and claimed Mataura had been promised to Ema's father but not transferred.²³⁷ Ema did not seek a grant of it, instead being willing to pay £1 per acre, 'allowing the purchase money of her interests in the land now being purchased by the Government' to extend the domain, £38 6s 9d, 'to be retained, and herself pay the balance'.²³⁸ The Auckland Commissioner of Crown Lands ignored this suggestion.

In March 1887, Dearle explained the nature of Rina Mokena's will and its implications to the head of the Land Purchase Department, Patrick

²³³ G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 15 October 1887, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²³⁴ G.T. Wilkinson to George Lipsey, 24 February 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²³⁵ Ranapia Mokena, Raima Te Hemoata, Rewi Mokena, Hare Renata to Harry Kenrick, 21 April 1886; Harry Kenrick to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 20 May 1886; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Native Minister, 5 July 1886; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Patrick Sheridan, 6 July 1886; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Harry Kenrick, 7 July 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²³⁶ Plan appended to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Warden, 23 January 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/157, ANZ-W.

²³⁷ C.J. Dearle to D.A. Tole (Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland), 20 October 1886, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, pp. 241-242, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

²³⁸ C.J. Dearle to D.A. Tole, 20 October 1886, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, pp. 242-243, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

Sheridan. She had bequeathed Mokena Taone, otherwise Morgantown, to Lipsey and Ema in trust for their eldest daughter, Ani, until she turned 21, when it would be transferred to her, 'free of her husband's control' if she had married. As the will did not permit the trustees 'to sell or dispose of any portion of this property', it could not be sold to the Crown. 'Perhaps the difficulty may be met by giving land in exchange. Ema and George Lipsey are desirous that this should be done, and have chosen land at Te Aroha', meaning Matauraura, but the Commissioner of Crown Lands had not responded to the suggestion that this be arranged.²³⁹ To resolve this impasse, the warden suggested that part of this land should be auctioned, with Ema having first offer.²⁴⁰ In Sheridan's view, 'if the trustees cannot part with the land by sale they cannot I should think part with it by exchange – Legislation would be required to give effect to the proposed exchange and that is not desirable'.²⁴¹ In October, Wilkinson reported on his discussions with Lipsey:

Mr Lipsey says that he and his wife have no wish to cause any obstruction to the completion of this purchase of additional land for the Te Aroha Domain, but they both object to receive a money payment for it. They consider that although Parliament might give them the legal power to set on one side the provision that deceased Rina Mokena made with regard to the land, they would object on principle to disposing of it for money, and would only take advantage of the Act of Parliament for the purpose of enabling them to legally transfer the land. They are however willing, so as not to block the proposed sale, to accept land in exchange for the portion they transfer to Govt. for the Te Aroha Domain. That is, they propose to invest the purchase money in other land in the name of their daughter, the minor.

Their proposal is to be allowed to purchase from Govt. at a fair valuation, to be made by whomsoever Govt. may appoint, the Govt. Reserve, or a portion thereof, abutting on the town of Te Aroha on the Western Bank of the Waihou River.

²³⁹ C.J. Dearle to Patrick Sheridan, 1 March 1887, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, pp. 272-273, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A; see will of Rina Mokena, 22 August 1883, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁰ Warden to Assistant Surveyor General, Auckland, 12 January 1887, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 367, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

²⁴¹ Memorandum by Patrick Sheridan, 3 June 1887, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

As ten acres of Matauraura had been fenced off for a police paddock, Lipsey wanted 'to be allowed to purchase the 56 acres, or such part of it as Govt. may determine, and they agree to pay for in cash any surplus that may be required over and above the amount' received for transferring their interest in the domain extension. Wilkinson had discovered that the land they sought was 'partly swamp', and 'was not required for Town extension purposes'. Lipsey said that their only reason for wanting to acquire this land 'was merely because it is opposite to the land (part of Morgan Town) which his wife owns on the other (East) side of the river'. Wilkinson supported their proposal,²⁴² but once more nothing came of it because any exchange required an act of parliament.²⁴³

In late 1888, when Lipsey told the Minister of Mines that, whilst 'both he and his wife had made it a rule to sell no land whatever', they 'would be prepared to take in exchange' some land across the river, he was told this could not be done without special legislation.²⁴⁴ He then offered to waive his objections if 'allowed an equivalent in land across the River', which he would buy with the money received for selling their interest in the domain extension.²⁴⁵ The warden considered that Matauraura, selected by Ema, was 'out of all proportion as regards River frontage and good and medium land'. As she would receive £40 for selling her interest in the domain extension, she could compete in an auction for part of Matauraura once it was cut into smaller lots.²⁴⁶ The land court intended to subdivide the proposed domain extension between sellers and non-sellers, but Sheridan considered that she should sell her interest before then. 'She will have to wait a long while for the same price (£5 per acre) if she allows the opportunity to pass her. The piece of land which she would like to get in exchange is very valuable'.²⁴⁷

²⁴² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 15 October 1887, with appended plan of the land, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²⁴³ G.T. Wilkinson to George Lipsey, 3 October 1887 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁴ *Te Aroha News*, 26 December 1888, p. 2.

²⁴⁵ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Warden, 23 January 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁶ Warden to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 28 February 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/157, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁷ Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 8 March 1889, Mines Department, MD 1, 89/157, ANZ-W.

In 1891, Ema finally sold her interest in the domain extension for £12 15s 7d, but it took two more years for the land to be transferred because Lipsey had not taken out probate on his mother-in-law's will.²⁴⁸ Sheridan noted that Rina's 'somewhat complicated will' had held up the transfer of this final interest; although her estate was 'very valuable', currently it did not 'yield a commensurate revenue and the trustees are not in the meantime prepared to pay probate and administration duty'. As this meant that a complete title could not be obtained, he suggested adding a clause to the Maori Real Estate Management Act Amendment Bill 'to fix it up'. The Opposition would support this, being 'aware of the necessities of the case. Another death would cause further complications'.²⁴⁹ Accordingly, a clause added to this Act permitting the sale of their interests was passed without any parliamentary discussion.²⁵⁰ In December 1893, formalities were concluded and certificate of title for the extension granted.²⁵¹

In 1893, Ema received compensation for the railway crossing Komata North No. 1 B, of which she was an owner, and sold Kaiatengango No. 2, in the Thames district, for £60.²⁵² In mid-1894, Lipsey offered to sell 37 1/2 acres adjoining Morgantown, known as 'Hori More's piece', of which the 'best part' had been taken up as residence sites. 'I acquired the freehold of it some short time since and now offer the prior right of purchase to the Government', at £5 an acre. 'Private people not living on Block have made me an offer'.²⁵³ Sheridan noted that Lipsey had purchased this land recently for £1 an acre and 'only wants a profit of £4 an acre', whereas the Crown had recently purchased adjoining land for 7s 6d an acre. 'The land having passed into possession of a European could not be acquired out of the Native

²⁴⁸ Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 273, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7; Patrick Sheridan to C.J. Dearle, 7 October 1892 (telegram), 7 October 1892; F.J. Burgess to Patrick Sheridan, 10 October 1892 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²⁴⁹ Patrick Sheridan to James Carroll (Member of Executive Council representing Native Race), 2 October 1893, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²⁵⁰ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 83, (Wellington, 1893), pp. 490, 957, 960; *The Statutes of New Zealand* (Wellington, 1893), p. 173.

²⁵¹ T.W. Morpeth (Native Land Court) to Patrick Sheridan, 1 December 1893, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1893/268, ANZ-W.

²⁵² Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 30, p. 129; no. 35, p. 245.

²⁵³ George Lipsey to A.J. Cadman, 28 June 1894, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1899/234, ANZ-W.

Land Purchase fund', but 'we would be glad to purchase all or any of the Morgantown shares of which Mr Lipsey has control'.²⁵⁴ Lipsey was told that this land could only be purchased under the Land for Settlement Act, 'which causes a good deal of delay and trouble', and, furthermore, the minister would not pay his price.²⁵⁵

In 1897, Ema received £50 in compensation for Te Aroha land taken for the railway from Section 17D (Ani and Akuhata received £12 15s each) and £35 for portions required in two other sections.²⁵⁶ Two years later she sold Waiharakeke East No. 3B for £10.²⁵⁷ At the turn of the century, she and Rewi Mokena sold their interests in 400 acres at Wairakau for £166 10s.²⁵⁸

When, in late 1901, Ani and Akuhata wanted to sell or mortgage their interests in Lipseytown, Lipsey was 'dead against his family, who are the owners, alienating in any way. They are however getting beyond his control'.²⁵⁹ In early 1902, when Akuhata was attempting to raise a loan by using his Lipseytown interests as security, Warden Bush noted that Lipsey was 'indifferent – In fact his wife just now with his consent would mortgage on same terms' as Ani had arranged.²⁶⁰

In May 1902, Ema wished to sell her quarter share in Morgantown and obtain a loan.²⁶¹ Her attempt to obtain this loan, first for £150 and then for £100, using her Lipseytown revenue as security, failed because officials considered that a loan 'as an advance from Mining Revenue to accrue is not

²⁵⁴ Patrick Sheridan to A.J. Cadman, 18 July 1894, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1899/234, ANZ-W.

²⁵⁵ A.J. Cadman to George Lipsey, 21 July 1894, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1889/234, ANZ-W.

²⁵⁶ Decision of Native Land Court, 8 April 1897, Aroha Block 9 Section 17, Block Files, H1082, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

²⁵⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 51, p. 140.

²⁵⁸ Aroha Block XII Section 48, Block Files, H1093, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

²⁵⁹ Patrick Sheridan to R.J. Seddon, 1 October 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁰ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, n.d. [March 1902?], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶¹ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 20 May 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

a proper item to place in the Estimates of the Mines Department'.²⁶² The following January, Ema again approached Bush for a loan of £100 because 'the titree wants clearing and land ploughed on my farm'. Lipsey added a note: 'If Mrs Lipsey gets this money it will pay itself ten fold in a couple of years by improving her property as it is now almost useless'.²⁶³ The loan was approved, on condition that her share in Lipseytown revenue was assigned to the government until it was repaid.²⁶⁴ When Bush made this offer to Lipsey, he said he was 'not prepared to give up all his goldfields revenue. To do so would leave nothing for the family to live upon. He is going to do without the loan',²⁶⁵ a clear indication that it was he, not Ema, who instigated this attempt to raise it. When, two months later, Ema requested a £200 loan to improve her property, this was agreed to on condition the Crown received 'a lien on the shares of all the owners' and half her goldfield revenue was credited to repaying the interest. Unless the loan was repaid, the land would be sold to the Crown by 31 December 1907.²⁶⁶ Granted in the names of Lipsey and his son-in-law Alexander Watson Edwards,²⁶⁷ they repaid the £218 1s 2d, in six instalments.²⁶⁸

In October 1904, Lipsey offered, on behalf of Ema and himself, to sell the freehold of part of Section 17D, 32 acres adjoining the domain, at £10 an acre.²⁶⁹ According to Bush, they were 'anxious for money'.²⁷⁰ Sheridan's

²⁶² R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 18 June 1902; Ema Ripihia to Minister of Mines, 25 June 1902; Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 3 July 1902; Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Minister of Mines, 4 July 1902; Memorandum by Minister of Mines, 26 July 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶³ Ema Ripihia to R.S. Bush, 30 January 1903, with note on bottom by George Lipsey, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁴ Patrick Sheridan to Waldegrave, 6 February 1903; Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 7 February 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁵ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 26 February 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁶ Ema Ripihia to R.W. Bush, 29 May 1903; Patrick Sheridan to Native Minister, 13 September 1903; Agreement with Ema Ripihia, 7 September 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁷ See paper on Ani and Alexander Watson Edwards.

²⁶⁸ Native Revenue, Te Aroha, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/35b, ANZ-W.

²⁶⁹ George Lipsey to R.S. Bush, 12 October 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

view, which became his minister's, was that, as their land was partitioned, they could raise loans themselves instead of seeking government assistance.²⁷¹ Late in November, Bush reported that 'Lipseys family want replies to their proposals as to sales etc Te Aroha', which he recommended should be accepted 'in the interests of [the] country'.²⁷² One day later, Ema repeated the offer to sell this land.²⁷³ Sheridan responded that her offer could not be dealt with until the partition orders were 'signed and registered'; as well, there was 'no approved survey'.²⁷⁴ Three weeks later, Sheridan insisted that his department 'cannot make any further advances to the Lipseys'.²⁷⁵

In June 1905, Cabinet decided that all Maori land in Te Aroha be purchased and removed from the goldfields, with occupiers being granted tenure on the system adopted at Rotorua.²⁷⁶ Bush recommended that the loans sought by the Lipsey family be granted, 'as the more they receive in the shape of loans, the nearer we shall be getting to the freehold of that land'. He may have been getting irritated with the drawn-out negotiations, for he noted that 'every time' he visited Te Aroha 'the owners come to ask what is being done with regard to their request for loans etc'.²⁷⁷ Late that year, when Akuhata and Ani were both selling land, Lipsey, on behalf of Ema, again offered to sell land close to the domain. Bush recommended this be acquired, for although not

²⁷⁰ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 14 October 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷¹ James Carroll [drafted by Patrick Sheridan] to W.H. Herries 21, November 1904 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷² R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 28 November 1904 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷³ Ema Ripihia to R.S. Bush, 29 November 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷⁴ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 6 December 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷⁵ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 28 December 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷⁶ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Patrick Sheridan, 30 June 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁷⁷ R.S. Bush to James McGowan (Minister of Mines), 7 August 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

part of the township proper yet it abuts on to it, and may some day prove of value to the Sanatorium portion of Te Aroha from its close proximity to the present Hot Springs Reserve. I believe this could at present be secured at a very reasonable figure owing to Mrs Lipsey requiring money very badly to pay outstanding debts, later on she may not be so anxious to sell as she is at present.²⁷⁸

The land was estimated to be worth £325; Sheridan recommended paying £260 0s 5d, which Cabinet increased to £266.²⁷⁹

In December, Ema wished to borrow £300 for from 10 to 15 years, to enable her 'to build 2 Houses for my daughters who have no home'.²⁸⁰ Bush recommended the government 'keep on doling out to owners up to a reasonable amount as I feel sure before many years we shall have the freeholding of the whole - It would be a pity to allow outsiders to advance and complicate matters. Persons are willing to lend them money at 10% - I heard one offer made'.²⁸¹ Sheridan told Bush to inform Ema that although his department was 'unable to lend her money' there would be 'no complication' caused by 'her borrowing the money from a source outside the Government, but she can only do so on an assignment of her share of the income from the township. She cannot mortgage her interest in the fee simple'.²⁸² Two months later, Bush was authorized to offer her £10 an acre; in doing so, he reminded her this sum was 'the amount paid to you recently for another portion of this block'.²⁸³ Lipsey, 'for myself and Ema Lipsey', rejected this offer as of 'no earthly use'.²⁸⁴ This phrase was repeated by the

²⁷⁸ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 31 October 1905, Te Aroha Warden's Court, General Correspondence 1905, BBAV 11584/6a, ANZ-A.

²⁷⁹ Patrick Sheridan to Premier, 3 November 1905, with memorandum of Cabinet decision, n.d., Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸⁰ Ema Ripihia to R.S. Bush, 19 December 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸¹ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 5 January 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸² Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 17 January 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸³ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 6 March 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W; R.S. Bush to Ema Lipsey, 15 March 1906, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 79, BAAC 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁴ George Lipsey to R.S. Bush, 19 March 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

valuer who later inspected this land, which he considered was 'of no earthly value to anyone, save as a scenic reserve'.²⁸⁵ 'This must end the matter', Sheridan instructed Bush.²⁸⁶

At the beginning of February 1906, Bush had reported that Lipsey, 'on behalf of his wife', had discussed selling the part of Lipsey Block excluded from the goldfield for the use of his family. 'They do not require it, and Mrs Lipsey has been endeavouring to arrange with me through her husband to have this area put back in the goldfield' and surveyed into residence sites. This area of 32 acres would produce 76 sections, and, instead of leasing it they now wanted to sell it. It was one of the few areas suitable for more housing, and as Ani's land could be purchased at the same time 'some 120 one-third acre sites' would be obtained.²⁸⁷ When Ema declined the offer of £10 an acre, Bush noting that land she had sold for this amount was 'nothing like as valuable as this, owing to its being hillside too steep for residential purposes'; all the land now on offer was suitable for residence sites.²⁸⁸

Ema's will, made nearly seven years before her death, left her estate to her husband and her children in equal shares. Lipsey would lose his entitlement should he remarry, leave their home, or not retain custody of any underage children.²⁸⁹ In February 1907, after her death, Lipsey offered to sell Block 17D for £20 an acre. 'I am anxious to have Mrs Lipsey's Matters fixed up and to do this Money has to be obtained from somewhere'.²⁹⁰ He was told that 'want of succession orders' to her estate had to be overcome first.²⁹¹ He was offered the valuation price of £13 an acre for

²⁸⁵ Valuer General to Patrick Sheridan, 4 July 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸⁶ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 7 July 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁸⁷ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 2 February 1906, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, pp. 59-60, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁸ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 20 March 1906, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 83, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁸⁹ Will of Ema Mokena Ripihia, 7 September 1899, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁰ George Lipsey to R.S. Bush, 4 February 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁹¹ R.S. Bush to George Lipsey, 7 February 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 243, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

56 acres, portion of Section 17A, already surveyed into residence sites in readiness for expanding the township.²⁹² Probate was obtained later that month, and Bush considered the price was reasonable.²⁹³ Lipsey did not, for inferior land had recently been bought at both £32 and over £40 an acre, and when complaining at the low price offered another 12 3/4 acres.²⁹⁴ Bush considered the price 'seems reasonable', thought Sheridan should have bought it before other land was purchased at a higher price, and recommended: 'Better take them while in humour'.²⁹⁵ Sheridan replied that he could not offer more than the valuation, and that he knew nothing of higher prices being paid for other land.²⁹⁶

In April, Lipsey offered to sell Section 17B.²⁹⁷ (He occupied the land between the river and the road, bisected by the railway line and Akuhata occupied the portion above the road.)²⁹⁸ Five months later, Bush explained the situation to Sheridan:

What you have just purchased was valued by Mr Garrett at £3:10 per acre when you were offering £10 for it, subsequently the same valuer valued it at £13 per acre at which price the purchase has been recently completed, and it is stated at Te Aroha, that Mr [Thomas] Gavin²⁹⁹ received something like twenty nine pounds for his land adjoining Morgan Town. Under these circumstances how can you expect anyone to sell better land for £10 per acre even though that is the Land Department's Valuation. What you have just paid £13 for is not as good as this, which is as flat as a table, adjoining Lipsey portion of town, and running along the

²⁹² R.S. Bush to George Lipsey, 15 February 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 251, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁹³ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 27 February 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 253, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁹⁴ George Lipsey to R.S. Bush, 27 February 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁵ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 27 February 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁶ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 11 March 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁷ R.S. Bush to George Lipsey, 24 April 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 309, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

²⁹⁸ Francis Pavitt, Plan of Lipsey's Block, n.d. [1896?], Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W.

²⁹⁹ See paper on his life.

main Paeroa Te Aroha Road. I think the land you are speaking about, is that occupied by Mr Lipsey as his home and a portion by his son Akuhata, if so then the whole of it is the best land at Te Aroha. I think if you can offer a margin from £12 to £15 per acre, I might succeed in acquiring not only the major portion of this, but also the Lipsey owned part of the town. This township dealt with under regulations similar to the native agreement would pay a handsome revenue on the first cost, besides the buildings erected on sections would pass to the Crown, who would be in the same position with respect to them as the native owners are at present. The agreement does not give the tenants the right to remove their improvements on the expiry of the term. I believe the whole family would be willing to sell at the price I have mentioned, for the surrounding land, and the township for what was paid to one son and daughter for their interests. It is very desirable that the freehold of Te Aroha should be secured as soon as possible, and a new scheme drawn out for its Governance different to that provided by the Mining Laws, it is too good an asset to be so liberally dealt with as the Mining Act provides. Kindly let me know if there is any prospect of a better price being offered, as I do not think what you suggest will be entertained.³⁰⁰

Lipsey sought £8,000 for Section 17D no. 1, and £240 for Section 17D No. 4.³⁰¹ Bush wanted Sheridan to purchase all this land. 'A great many of the sections are let at £3 each, and there are substantial buildings erected thereon'.³⁰² Sheridan authorized him to make a final offer of the latest valuation, £12 5s an acre.³⁰³ Although Bush expected Lipsey to sell all of Lipseytown, he offered only 16 acres. He and his family were willing to sell the portion adjoining the township less 'some 20 acres', and Ani was willing to sell Section 17C, near the railway line. Bush asked Sheridan to permit him to 'make one deal with the lot, and thus be done with it'.³⁰⁴ Nearly a month later, Sheridan noted that Ema's will meant this land could not be

³⁰⁰ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 5 September 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1904-1909, p. 380, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

³⁰¹ George Lipsey to R.S. Bush, n.d. [19 September 1907?], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³⁰² R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 19 September 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1904-1909, p. 391, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

³⁰³ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 25 September 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁴ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 30 September 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1904-1909, p. 396, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

alienated.³⁰⁵ A week later, Bush reported that Lipsey still wanted to sell because more of Ema's debts had to be paid; by selling Section 17D No. 4 at £12 5s an acre he would have sufficient money to sort out the probate.³⁰⁶ In December, Lipsey accepted £203 9s 3d for it.³⁰⁷

In March 1908, Sheridan explained to the Mines Department that the small area of Lipseytown not purchased was the property of Ema's 'infant children' and could not be sold until after Lipsey's death or remarriage. The area had been ceded for leasing, which was 'ample for all purposes other than spending a large amount of public money to provide additional revenues for the Te Aroha Town Board'.³⁰⁸ Four months later, Lipsey and his children offered to sell more land for £270.³⁰⁹

Early in 1908, when 81 acres of Section 17D was sold, Akuhata had accepted £140 as his interest and Ema's executors had accepted £220 to meet her debts.³¹⁰ A two-year delay in receiving payment was caused by an incomplete survey and because the title was 'so complicated' by Ema's will that 'extreme caution on the part of the Department' was 'absolutely necessary'.³¹¹ In August 1909, Lipsey contacted Bush about the delayed sale because it was to provide funds to administer her estate, and made a new proposal:

My family now wish to offer for sale to the Government the whole of their interest in the township of Te Aroha for the sum of £5000

³⁰⁵ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 24 October 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁶ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 30 October 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁷ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 10 December 1907, 19 December 1907, Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1904-1909, p. 425, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

³⁰⁸ Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 7 March 1908, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³⁰⁹ George Lipsey, Ani Edwards, M.A. O'Halloran, Elizabeth Barker, and Ema Lipsey to R.S. Bush, 14 August 1908, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

³¹⁰ F.J. Burgess to Patrick Sheridan, n.d. [late September 1908, 16 November 1908?], Thames Warden's Court, Letterbook 1904-1909, pp. 564, 589, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A; Memorandum of 24 March 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹¹ Native Minister to W.H. Herries [drafted by Patrick Sheridan], 27 January 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

(five thousand pounds). At the present time they are receiving in rents about £220 per annum, and as the Agreement provides that a revaluation of business sites shall take place every 20 years, they may very shortly expect to receive an increased amount.

As my children are anxious to build homes for themselves on their remaining lands and improve and work their properties they make the above offer so as to enable them to do this work.³¹²

When forwarded to Wellington, an official queried whether the proposed sale was 'barred by the terms of Mrs Lipsey's will'.³¹³ In October, the local Member of Parliament, who had asked whether the government would purchase land adjacent to the borough 'from such Natives as are willing to sell', was informed that all Maori land 'which the Crown could lawfully acquire has, with the exception of a few sections in the borough now under negotiation for the purpose of making the title boundaries as symmetrical as possible, already been purchased'.³¹⁴ The following March, when the Prime Minister visited Te Aroha, he was asked by the borough council to acquire the Maori land that 'hedged in' the township at a time when new housing was 'badly needed'. His response was positive:

Government proposes to acquire the whole of the native land connected with Te Aroha, and all we want to do is to make sure that we are not being asked excessive prices for it. Our business is not to pay more than its real value. The Native Minister is negotiating for all native lands inside the township, and we are also prepared to go outside. We want to do what is fair to the natives and fair to the country. A place like Te Aroha ought to have the necessary lungs to enable it to extend.³¹⁵

Sheridan recommended purchasing the 150 sections within the township for the amount requested, less the £220 to be paid to Lipsey for the small block under negotiation, but none of the land outside the borough

³¹² George Lipsey to Warden, 28 August 1909, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹³ Memorandum, n.d., on George Lipsey to Warden, 28 August 1909, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹⁴ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 28 October 1909, pp. 665-666.

³¹⁵ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, 10 March 1910, in Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

because of Akuhata's 'improvident' ways.³¹⁶ In October, Lipsey told James Carroll, the Native Minister, that all his children wanted to sell their Lipseytown land. 'They are now getting large families about them and wish to erect Homes for themselves instead of ... paying exorbitant rents'.³¹⁷ Earlier that year, Ani had told Sheridan that her sisters Elizabeth and Ema and brother George all wanted houses at Te Aroha, while Mary Ann wanted one in Thames.³¹⁸ The Crown Law Office, asked to advise whether the Crown could legally purchase land left by Ema, reported in March 1911 that the will was 'inartificially drawn and most difficult to construe'. One clause required that if a child died 'leaving issue such issue should take the share of the deceased parent'.

The position is that G. Lipsey and his children named in the will are together equitable life-tenants of the land in question, and not one of the children has a vested remainder in the land. That being so the Crown cannot purchase from the trustees without committing a breach of trust, for the Crown has knowledge of the terms of Mrs Lipsey's will.

Consequently, 'the only safe manner in which the trustees could be empowered' to sell was by special legislation.³¹⁹ At a Cabinet meeting at the end of September, a petition of Te Aroha residents to purchase the land was discussed, leading, in late October, to clause 13 being added to the Native Land Claims Adjustment Act, permitting the purchase of Lipseytown notwithstanding the terms of Ema's will. This was so uncontroversial that it was noted only in passing in both houses of parliament, whereas other clauses received extensive debate.³²⁰ In late December, £6,000 was offered to buy the remainder of Lipseytown. As land values had risen since the offer

³¹⁶ Memorandum of Patrick Sheridan, 28 July 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹⁷ George Lipsey to James Carroll, 19 October 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹⁸ Patrick Sheridan to Ani Edwards, 2 June 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³¹⁹ Assistant Law Office to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 7 March 1911, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³²⁰ Memorandum of Cabinet meeting, 30 September 1911, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W; *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 156, pp. 965, 1180.

of £4,870 had been made two and a half years before, Lipsey asked for £8,000, but after 'some further discussion' agreed to accept the lower amount.³²¹ The unimproved value of the land was £9,935.³²²

In April 1912, Lipsey wrote to the government about the portion of Lipseytown between the railway line and the river that was excluded from the goldfield. By the terms of Ema's will, on his death it was to be divided equally amongst his daughters Elizabeth, Ema, and Mary.

I have had this divided into three, and my daughters have each selected their portions, and Lizzie is building her home. Mary has left Te Aroha and purchased a farm in the Hawkes Bay district, and is agreeable to dispose of her portion to her two sisters. I am agreeable that they should obtain titles to their portions at once, can you say if it is possible for them to purchase Mary's portion and have titles issued to them at once for the land, or must they wait until my death. I am anxious to see them secure.

He also asked if 'our interests in outside lands' could be sold or 'exchanged for one area, at the present time we are deriving no benefit whatever'.³²³ He was told that the matter was 'under control of the Warden at Te Aroha. You should communicate with him'.³²⁴ Any discussion with the warden went unrecorded, and the land remained unsold at Lipsey's death.

FINANCES

Ema spent her income on her family and farm, and in 1889 she had the graves of her parents in the Te Aroha cemetery

³²¹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 29 September 1910, 30 December 1911, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 2; Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 5 December 1911; Native Minister to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 21 December 1911; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Native Minister, 3 January 1912, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³²² Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Native Minister, 3 January 1912, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³²³ George Lipsey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 2 April 1912, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

³²⁴ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to George Lipsey, 3 May 1912, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-A.

securely and tastefully enclosed. The plot where the graves are situated has been all bricked around in a most substantial manner, and faced with cement, the whole surface of the graves being also cemented. Substantial blocks of cut free stone, eight in number, are erected on the brick foundation, and support a very substantial, ornamental iron paling, about two feet six inches high. The headstone is very massive, arising to a height of eight feet above the surface, and elaborately carved.³²⁵

Her estate was valued at £6,761 2s 4d.³²⁶

Unlike his wife, Lipsey was sued for small amounts on several occasions, and, as noted, periodically complained about slow payment of goldfield revenue. In 1872 he had to be taken to court to force him to pay £2 2s 11d in rates.³²⁷ Still owning property in Thames in March 1879, he was sued for £2 8s in rates, which he paid into court.³²⁸ In 1883, a Thames merchant sued for £6 7s 6d but settled out of court.³²⁹ Six years later, he had to be sued to enforce payment of £2 11s for his subscription to the *Waikato Times*.³³⁰ In 1892, a storekeeper sued for £10 5s but settled out of court.³³¹ The following year, he admitted owing the county council £6 7s 1d.³³² Two years later, the council ordered that he be sued for £2 18s of unpaid rates, 'on which judgment had been obtained'.³³³ In 1896 he

³²⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 11 May 1889, p. 2.

³²⁶ Testamentary Register 1906-1908, folio 51, BBCB 4208/6, ANZ-A.

³²⁷ Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1871-1875, 636/1872, BACL 13737/1b, ANZ-A.

³²⁸ Thames Magistrate's Court, Plaintiff Book 1875-1880, 146/1879, BACL 13737/15b, ANZ-A.

³²⁹ Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1883-1885, 195/1883, BACL 13735/2a, ANZ-A.

³³⁰ Hamilton Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1888-1889, folio 20, entry for 21 February 1889, BCDG 11256/3a, ANZ-A.

³³¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 18/1892, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

³³² Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1889-1896, 11/1893, BCDG 11221/1c, ANZ-A.

³³³ Piako County Council, *Te Aroha News*, 10 August 1895, p. 2.

admitted owing an engineer £6 14s 3d, and in 1909 admitted owing a chemist £7 18s 3d.³³⁴

In 1886, Lipsey avoided the cost of medical treatment by taking one of his daughters, who had suffered from ulcers for eight months, to be treated by a Thames doctor who was paid by the government to treat Maori patients.³³⁵

Ema's income enabled Lipsey to lend money on at least one occasion. In 1885, the local architect made a conditional bill of sale of his piano to him to secure repayment of £23 16s 2d 'and other advances', at a rate of interest of 10 per cent.³³⁶

In 1895, Lipsey had £30 18s on fixed deposit at 4 per cent for 12 months, and in the following year had £32 2s at 3 1/2 per cent.³³⁷ He would leave an estate of only £616 1s,³³⁸ a modest amount considering the value of the land he had gained control of through marrying Ema.

ASSISTING THE COMMUNITY

Before the Christmas holidays of 1880, Lipsey helped to collect funds to erect a public hall, personally contributing £20.³³⁹ Late in 1882 he 'liberally agreed to return the rent' on a hall 'if a site is pegged off in the usual manner', and bought shares in the Te Aroha Public Hall and Reading Room Company.³⁴⁰

In 1882, the county council appointed him as ranger to preserve timber along the banks of the river, with power to prevent people cutting

³³⁴ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 18/1896, BCDG 11221/2a; Civil Record Book 1907-1911, 32/1909, BCDG 11221/2b, ANZ-A.

³³⁵ 'Medical Return for District of Thames for Quarter to 31 March 1886', Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 21/19, ANZ-W.

³³⁶ *Mercantile and Bankruptcy Gazette of New Zealand*, 28 February 1885, p. 67; *Weekly Advertiser and Commercial Gazette*, 28 February 1885, p. 138.

³³⁷ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Books, Fixed Deposits as at 30 September 1895, 31 March 1896, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³³⁸ Testamentary Register 1913-1914, folio 40, BBCB 4208/9, ANZ-A.

³³⁹ *Thames Star*, 3 January 1881, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ *Thames Advertiser*, 4 November 1882, p. 3; Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 41 no. 259, ANZ-A.

unauthorized drains into it.³⁴¹ The following year, he became a trustee for the maintenance of the cemetery and a member of the domain board.³⁴² He was active for ten years in the latter, becoming its treasurer in 1884.³⁴³ In late 1886 he was so opposed to the board considering permitting advertisements in the baths and granting 'Professor' Cadman³⁴⁴ use of the water that he refused to attend its meetings.³⁴⁵ The following February, he was accused of abusing the secretary, Charles Ahier,³⁴⁶ to people he met on street corners. A member considered it 'would be more gentlemanly for him to come to the meetings of the Board and make his complaints'.³⁴⁷ Two years later, when Ahier suggested that an invalid with a skin complaint use No. 7 bathroom, Lipsey exclaimed, 'I wish to tell you, Sir, once for all', that this bath was reserved for Maori, and explained the arrangement.³⁴⁸ He was also blunt with others he considered were a hindrance to the board's deliberations. In 1888 he spoke sharply to one member, John Ilott,³⁴⁹ the editor of the *Te Aroha News*: 'Come now, Mr Ilott, be a good boy, you have had your say. Now do be good and don't make any more trouble about it'.³⁵⁰ His attendance continued to be erratic, the annual general meeting in 1889 having to be adjourned because of his absence.³⁵¹

In 1892, James Mills complained to the Minister of Lands that the baths had always been run in a 'most unbusinesslike Character, the Concern has been run from the commencement for the benefit of a family, and in its interests, and that of a few families'. He named Lipsey as one of

³⁴¹ Piako County Council, Minutes of Meeting of 13 January 1882, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha; Piako County Council, *Waikato Times*, 19 January 1882, p. 3.

³⁴² *New Zealand Gazette*, 20 September 1883, p. 1325; *Te Aroha News*, 29 September 1883, p. 2.

³⁴³ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1884, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ See paper on the Te Aroha hot springs.

³⁴⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 9 October 1886, p. 2.

³⁴⁶ See paper on the Te Aroha hot springs.

³⁴⁷ Domain Board, *Te Aroha News*, 12 February 1887, p. 2.

³⁴⁸ *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1889, p. 2.

³⁴⁹ See chapter on Te Aroha in the 1880s.

³⁵⁰ *Aroha Gazette*, 14 December 1888, press cutting in Tourist Department, TO 1, 1891/198, ANZ-W.

³⁵¹ *Te Aroha News*, 11 December 1889, p. 2.

those upholding 'the old regime'.³⁵² Presumably he was accusing the Lipsey family as being one of those benefiting, but there was no evidence of this apart from his being the landlord of a prosperous township. Lipsey's last action on the board of any note was to move, successfully, that its members have free use of the baths.³⁵³

In 1885, the committee of the public library thanked him 'for the gift of a fine book-case'.³⁵⁴ Later that year, he was a member of the committee formed to organize a petition opposing the removal of Warden Kenrick to another district.³⁵⁵ In 1888, he filled a vacancy on the Te Aroha school committee created by a member resigning, and was re-elected in later years.

³⁵⁶

Lipsey also participated in social activities. In 1885, for instance, he initiated the idea of providing a dinner to Charles Stanislaus Stafford³⁵⁷ to celebrate his visit, and proposed his health in 'felicitous language'.³⁵⁸ Three years later, he was a member of a committee organizing a banquet for Clem Cornes³⁵⁹ after he discovered ore at Tui.³⁶⁰ According to family tradition, his home 'was always open to visitors, and new arrivals intent on making their homes in the town were welcome'.³⁶¹ In 1905, the Piako Mounted Rifles presented him with a 'very handsome silver-mounted walking-stick, suitably inscribed, in recognition of his courtesy in giving the squadron the use of his paddocks for drill, camps, etc'.³⁶²

Lipsey's only recorded involvement in national politics was to support the Liberal candidate in 1891.³⁶³

A MEMBER OF THE LICENSING COMMITTEE

³⁵² James Mills to Minister of Lands, 12 January 1892, Tourist Department, TO 1, 1892/96, ANZ-W.

³⁵³ *Auckland Weekly News*, 11 November 1893, p. 29.

³⁵⁴ *Waikato Times*, 10 February 1885, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 14 February 1885, p. 2.

³⁵⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 19 September 1885, p. 2.

³⁵⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 8 September 1888, p. 7; *Auckland Weekly News*, 7 May 1892, p. 27.

³⁵⁷ See paper on Harry and Charles.

³⁵⁸ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Waikato Times*, 9 May 1885, p. 3.

³⁵⁹ See paper on Clement Augustus Cornes.

³⁶⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 21 April 1888, p. 2.

³⁶¹ Kingsley-Smith, p. 19.

³⁶² *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 August 1905, p. 36.

³⁶³ *Waikato Times*, 17 October 1891, p. 2.

In 1882, Lipsey was elected to the first licensing committee, and in the following year was re-elected unopposed.³⁶⁴ In 1884, when re-elected with 61 votes (the highest scorer received 73), he was noted as not being of 'the strict temperance school'.³⁶⁵ The following year, he was the only successful candidate not standing on the temperance ticket; he came equal third, with 39, the highest vote being 58.³⁶⁶ Re-elected unopposed the following year, he was described as a 'moderate'.³⁶⁷ At a meeting in June, some members opposed granting a license to an unmarried woman. 'Mr Lipsey said that the Act allows a license to be issued to an unmarried lady. Miss Jex was selected by a highly respectable firm, which was a sufficient guarantee of her fitness. They had incurred great expense in making improvements, and he thought the application should be granted'. When an amendment to refuse the license was moved, he briefly stated: 'The law allows, so there can be no objection'. As voting on the amendment was tied, Miss Jex was granted her license.³⁶⁸ Lipsey also told the committee that 'it would be a benefit' to the township if hotels remained open all night;³⁶⁹ was he being serious? In 1887, he topped the poll, but declined to be chairman because his house was outside the township.³⁷⁰ In 1888, he again topped the poll and accepted the chairmanship, and the following year received the equal-second highest vote.³⁷¹ He declined re-nomination as chairman in favour of the chairman of the town board.³⁷² Re-elected in 1890, once again he became chairman.³⁷³ In 1891 he received 47 votes, one less than the highest score.³⁷⁴

As noted, in 1872 he was fined for drunkenness.³⁷⁵ In February 1889, he was involved in an incident in the Hot Springs Hotel that led to the

³⁶⁴ *New Zealand Gazette*, 27 April 1882, p. 634; *Waikato Times*, 22 February 1883, p. 2.

³⁶⁵ *Waikato Times*, 28 February 1884, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 1 March 1884, p. 2.

³⁶⁶ *Thames Advertiser*, 25 February 1885, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 28 February 1885, pp. 2, 3.

³⁶⁷ *Te Aroha Correspondent*, *Waikato Times*, 16 February 1886, p. 2.

³⁶⁸ *Te Aroha Licensing Committee*, *Waikato Times*, 8 June 1886, p. 3.

³⁶⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 12 June 1886, p. 3.

³⁷⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 5 March 1887, p. 2, 12 March 1887, p. 2.

³⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 25 February 1888, p. 3, 3 March 1888, p. 2; *Waikato Times*, 21 February 1889, p. 2.

³⁷² *Te Aroha News*, 27 February 1889, p. 2.

³⁷³ *New Zealand Gazette*, 22 May 1890, p. 586; *Te Aroha News*, 11 June 1890, p. 2.

³⁷⁴ *Waikato Times*, 30 May 1891, p. 2.

³⁷⁵ *Police Court*, *Thames Guardian and Mining Record*, 16 April 1872, p. 3.

accidental wounding of another drinker's eye by John Wood, a butcher and farmer.³⁷⁶ The victim described an 'old man', namely Lipsey, entering the bar with two others. Wood 'wanted the old man to "shout," which he declined to do. Accused then said "We'll shake for drinks," and the old man said, "No, I came in to get a drink, and I don't think I am justified in "shouting" '. Contradictory evidence followed about whether the victim, provoked by Lipsey's refusal to give him tobacco by saying he did not smoke even though he was smoking at the time, had used offensive language to him and called him a loafer. After Lipsey left the bar, Wood said that 'the man that's just gone out is a gentleman'. Lipsey repaid the complement by being a surety for Wood for £100 before the trial.³⁷⁷

In January 1897, the *Observer* reported that Lipsey had 'not enjoyed the holidays to any large extent':

He was taking a rest on Christmas Eve by sitting on the rails of the bridge over the creek crossing Whitaker-street, when he lost his balance and fell head foremost into the creek, which is full of large boulders in this place. In falling, Mr Lipsey struck a projecting beam with his side, thus breaking the force of the fall otherwise his head must have been smashed to a pulp. However, he kicked the beam rather too severely. Although Mr Lipsey's name does rhyme with another suggestive word, we have not the slightest reason to believe that either on Christmas Eve or at any other time he was affected that way.³⁷⁸

The local newspaper for that year is no longer extant, but the *Ohinemuri Gazette* reported that the bridge was near the Hot Springs Hotel, that his head was badly cut, and that he was in great pain from his injured side.³⁷⁹

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In 1884, Lipsey was appointed to a committee to seek support in Waiorongomai for establishing a borough comprising the two settlements.³⁸⁰ Three years later, he was nominated for the newly established town

³⁷⁶ See *Te Aroha News*, 5 September 1921, p. 2, 7 September 1921, p. 3.

³⁷⁷ Police Court, *Te Aroha News*, 16 March 1889, p. 2.

³⁷⁸ 'Pars About People', *Observer*, 16 January 1897, p. 18.

³⁷⁹ *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 31 December 1896, pp. 2, 3.

³⁸⁰ *Te Aroha News*, 25 October 1884, p. 2.

board.³⁸¹ Although receiving 97 votes, he was not elected; the last man elected received 99 and the highest polling candidate 151.³⁸² In 1888, he stood again, coming second with 96, one vote behind the highest result.³⁸³ In thanking the electors, he assured them that they could ‘rely on my doing all in my power to assist the progress of Te Aroha’.³⁸⁴ He and the chairman comprised its works committee.³⁸⁵ When a petition for a borough was organized in the following year, he was one of the signatories.³⁸⁶ Two months later, when the board decided to advertise its new rate in the *Te Aroha and Waiorongomai Times*, published in Cambridge, he protested at sending money out of the district and wanted the advertisement placed in the *Te Aroha News*. ‘If that is the line on which the Board intends to carry on business I will certainly be no party to it, and shall withdraw’, and promptly did.³⁸⁷ The following year he failed to be re-elected; he received 35 votes, the last man elected received 36, and the highest result was 60.³⁸⁸ Two years later, in 1892, he was elected once more, but failed in 1894.³⁸⁹ He did not stand for election again.

SPORT AND HORSE RACING

The only sporting activity Lipsey was recorded as participating in was shooting game birds. In 1892 the *Observer* Man wrote that ‘our great landlord L__ still takes a walk round with his gun and dog’.³⁹⁰ In 1883, he was treasurer of the Boxing Day sports.³⁹¹ In 1890 he was elected patron of the Te Aroha Football Club, and during that decade allowed his paddock to

³⁸¹ *Waikato Times*, 22 February 1887, p. 2.

³⁸² *Te Aroha News*, 12 March 1887, p. 3.

³⁸³ *Te Aroha News*, 19 September 1888, p. 7.

³⁸⁴ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 22 September 1888, p. 2.

³⁸⁵ *Waikato Times*, 15 November 1888, p. 2.

³⁸⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 23 October 1889, p. 2.

³⁸⁷ Town Board, *Te Aroha News*, 18 December 1889, p. 2.

³⁸⁸ *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 September 1890, p. 18.

³⁸⁹ *Auckland Weekly News*, 24 September 1892, p. 23, 29 September 1894, p. 22.

³⁹⁰ ‘Te Aroha’, *Observer*, 13 August 1892, p. 19.

³⁹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 15 December 1883, p. 2.

be used for football and cricket matches.³⁹² During the 1890s he was a vice-president of the football and golf clubs.³⁹³

Lipsey was particularly interested in horse races. For instance, in 1883 his four-wheeled vehicle was wrecked when returning from a Thames race meeting.³⁹⁴ His 'paddock' almost adjoined the Ruakaka racecourse.³⁹⁵ When the first race meeting was held there, in 1881, a 'curious fiasco' was reported. Two of the owners of the course gave permission to use it, but 'the third, a Pakeha-Maori, was "riled" at not being consulted, and gave permission to an outsider to erect a booth on the course. This offer was availed of, though of course the committee can do nothing'.³⁹⁶ Lipsey was one of the stewards for this meeting.³⁹⁷ When a Jockey Club was formed in 1883, he was elected to the committee, and subsequently became its treasurer.³⁹⁸ He was re-appointed for most of the 1880s.³⁹⁹ A steward for the 1889 summer meeting, he acted in this capacity in later years.⁴⁰⁰ In 1897 he was on the committee to organize hack sports as well as a steward.⁴⁰¹ He was also a vice-president in the 1890s.⁴⁰²

LIPSEY'S RELATIONS WITH MAORI AFTER 1880

Lipsey's obituary described him as 'a very fine Maori scholar, and at all times had a leading influence over the natives, and acted as their trusted adviser in matters connected with their lands'.⁴⁰³ As some of this land was

³⁹² *Te Aroha News*, 26 April 1890, p. 2, 28 August 1895, p. 2, 14 April 1898, p. 2.

³⁹³ *Thames Advertiser*, 1 April 1896, p. 2, 18 September 1897, p. 2; *Waikato Argus*, 6 April 1897, p. 2.

³⁹⁴ *Thames Advertiser*, 31 December 1883, p. 2.

³⁹⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 6 November 1886, p. 2.

³⁹⁶ *Thames Star*, 9 February 1881, p. 2.

³⁹⁷ *Thames Star*, 26 January 1881, p. 3.

³⁹⁸ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 February 1883, p. 2; *Te Aroha News*, 8 September 1883, p. 2.

³⁹⁹ *Te Aroha News*, 22 November 1884, p. 2, 16 January 1886, p. 2, 30 October 1886, p. 2, 12 November 1887, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ *Waikato Times*, 9 February 1889, p. 3; *Te Aroha News*, 19 February 1890, p. 2, 16 November 1895, p. 2.

⁴⁰¹ *Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate*, 3 November 1897, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 4 December 1897, p. 2.

⁴⁰² *Te Aroha News*, 23 February 1895, p. 3.

⁴⁰³ Press Cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Library.

leased at less than market rates and much was sold for immediate benefit,⁴⁰⁴ either his advice was poor or it was ignored. His involvement in land issues was confirmed by Wilkinson's writing to him in January 1881 about establishing reserves.⁴⁰⁵ That he was familiar with Maori living in the district was illustrated by his identifying the body of the murdered Himiona Haira.⁴⁰⁶ His skills as an interpreter were often called upon, as when he translated speeches given in Maori at a Wesleyan soiree in 1881.⁴⁰⁷ Recalled as being very fluent in Maori, he was the spokesman for Ngati Rahiri and the person who arranged agreements with Pakeha.⁴⁰⁸ When the domain board was considering building a new bath-house solely for Maori use, Lipsey was consulted, being, as a member commented, 'to a certain extent the mouthpiece of the Natives at Te Aroha'.⁴⁰⁹

When Tawhiao and his retinue visited in 1885, Ngati Rahiri were short of food to provisions.

Mr Lipsey ... with his usual liberality came to the rescue, and made them a substantial present of some potatoes and a fat bullock for the occasion, authorizing the natives to go out and shoot the latter. There was an awkward mistake, the natives shooting the bullock of the wrong man. The matter was soon put right by Mr Lipsey making the necessary amends.⁴¹⁰

A few days later, 'King Tawhiao and suite still continue the guests of Mrs Lipsey, and occupy the cottage in Morgan's paddock'.⁴¹¹ Despite this politeness to the king, Ema was a supporter of the new order in New Zealand: at the climax of the Queen's Jubilee celebrations, 'Mrs George Lipsey' planted 'Queen Victoria's Tree', an English oak.⁴¹² Ema enrolled as an elector immediately after women obtained the vote, being recorded as 'Ema Mokena Lipsey (maori), Te Aroha, domestic duties'.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁴ See paper on the Aroha Block after 1880.

⁴⁰⁵ G.T. Wilkinson, diary, entry for 25 January 1881, University of Waikato Library.

⁴⁰⁶ *Te Aroha Miner*, 12 February 1881, reprinted in *Waikato Times*, 15 February 1881, p. 2.

⁴⁰⁷ *Thames Advertiser*, 12 August 1881, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with Emily Paki, near Huntly, April 1987.

⁴⁰⁹ Domain Board, *Te Aroha News*, 18 December 1889, p. 2.

⁴¹⁰ *Waikato Times*, 28 May 1885, p. 2.

⁴¹¹ *Te Aroha News*, 30 May 1885, p. 2.

⁴¹² *Te Aroha News*, 25 June 1887, p. 3.

⁴¹³ *Waikato Supplementary Electoral Roll, 1893, No. 1*, p. 5.

FAMILY LIFE

Not all their children had their births registered, but they were all baptized into the Church of England, in ceremonies conducted in Maori and with the Maori version of their names recorded:

Ani Heni, baptized in April 1874;

Rina (named after her grandmother), baptized in September 1875;

Akuhata Ripihi (a transliteration of Lipsey), baptized in November 1877;

Rina, baptized in April 1879 (the first Rina had died);⁴¹⁴

Ripipaea Pupiki, baptized in September 1881;

Hori Mokena Ripihi (named after his father and grandfather), baptized in November 1882;

Ema Mihirangi, baptized in August 1885;⁴¹⁵

Eta Moewaka (named after her aunt), baptized in October 1886;

Mereana, baptized in January 1889; and

Hori Ripihia Mokena, a variant on the name of the son who had died the previous month,⁴¹⁶ baptized in February 1892.⁴¹⁷

In the 'Lipsey-Morgan' section of the Te Aroha cemetery, only two of their children are recorded on headstones: George, in January 1891, aged 9, and Lena (Rina Anglicized), in June 1898, aged 21.⁴¹⁸ The date inscribed for George's death was incorrect, for he was drowned on 12 January 1892. He had been in a Maori canoe on the river while a Pakeha boy, aged 11, played on the bank. When trying to reach a willow branch to pull the canoe to shore, George overbalanced and went under water. His brother Akuhata, who was in a second canoe further down the river, came up and 'dived in to

⁴¹⁴ There were seven children living in August 1886, making the first Rina the only one to have died by then: Declaration by Ema Mokena, n.d. [5 August 1886?], Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/27a, ANZ-W.

⁴¹⁵ She believed that she was born on 24 May 1888: Ema Hammond to Town Clerk, Te Aroha, 20 April 1948, Letters re Borough Jubilee Celebrations, 1948, Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

⁴¹⁶ Death Certificate of George Lipsey, 12 January 1892, 1892/679, BDM.

⁴¹⁷ Church of England, Register of Coromandel Maori Baptisms 1874-1904, Register 1090; Register of Thames Maori Baptisms 1886-1921, Register 533, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁴¹⁸ Grave no. 2212, 'Lipsey-Morgan Section', Te Aroha Cemetery.

his rescue' but could not find him because of the strong current. The Pakeha boy described Akuhata waiting, 'sometimes walking about then seeing his father he called him and told his father George was drowned'. Akuhata told the coroner that his father had heard him crying out and came down to see what was the matter. Lipsey said that, after searching the riverbank, he sent a message to the pa for Joe, a Maori, to dive for the body, which he did several times without success. The constable then used drags and dynamite, also unsuccessfully. Hemi (or Timi) Te Rua⁴¹⁹ found the body near the pa three days after the accident.⁴²⁰

According to family tradition, for which there is no contemporary confirmation (but absence of evidence may not disprove it), although George

was a very good swimmer, he failed to reappear after diving beneath the surface. His mother ... realized that her son must have gotten snagged on a branch. Despite the fact that she was in the later stages of pregnancy, she dived repeatedly into the river, totally oblivious to her own safety. She did not give up until she had become totally exhausted, but was unable to find the lad.... On the 1st of February Ema Lipsey gave birth to another son. She named him George Morgan Lipsey, or in Maori, Hori Mokena Ripihia, in honour of his father and grandfather. The child had poor eyesight, which was attributed to the oxygen deprivation he suffered in the womb as his mother gave her all to find her drowning son.⁴²¹

Lena's death was not registered. A popular and attractive young woman, was she the Miss Lipsey who attended a ball in 1894 in 'crème and cardinal (very neat)?'⁴²² The following year, she participated in the jumping competition in the first agricultural show: 'Ladies Hack – Miss L. Lipsey,

⁴¹⁹ Inquest on George Lipsey, Inquests, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1892/95, ANZ-W; for his life, see Maori Land Court, Auckland Minute Book, no. 2, pp. 267-275, 430; Waikato Minute Book, no. 3, p. 112; Hauraki Minute Books no. 2, pp. 244-245; no. 4, p. 240; no. 10, pp. 182, 350-351; no. 36, p. 125; no. 52, p. 286; no. 59, pp. 222, 226-230; no. 60, p. 89; no. 65, p. 65; Aroha Block XII Section 41, Maori Land Blocks, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 1906/317, ANZ-W.

⁴²⁰ Death Certificate of George Lipsey, 12 January 1892, 1892/679, BDM; Inquest on George Lipsey, Inquests, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1892/95, ANZ-W; *Waikato Times*, 14 January 1892, p. 2; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 16 January 1892, p. 5.

⁴²¹ Brian Malcolm, *Te Mokena Hou* (privately printed, n.d. [1990?]), p. 29.

⁴²² 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 9 June 1894, p. 17.

1st. For this contest there were three others, but all failed to clear the desired object'.⁴²³ As a teenager she was photographed by a Thames photographer, the three photos being captioned 'Seated Maori girl wearing a cloak', 'Standing Maori girl wearing a cloak', and 'Half Portrait of Maori Woman wearing a feather cloak'.⁴²⁴ These photographs illustrate how Lipsey's children retained their Maori heritage, which did not discourage Pakeha seeking them as marriage partners. In September 1892, 'Coachie', whoever he was, was 'trying hard for the running with the infant dusky beauty, what will father say when he hears it?'.⁴²⁵ ('Dusky' was a common euphemism for a 'half-caste'.)⁴²⁶ As the next snippet about her by the *Observer* Man indicated that he was referring to Lena, her father had reason to be concerned, for, according to her school records, she was born in either September or October 1878, making her only 14.⁴²⁷ Four months later, in January 1893, the same retailer of gossip noted 'that dusky L.L. does a lot of running after W. lately. For my part, I would prefer the fair girl, but she wouldn't condescend to cut a rival out'.⁴²⁸ Fear of father's wrath appears to be the significance of the following snippet published earlier that month: 'Why did G.S. not go all the way home with L.L. on Friday night?'.⁴²⁹ Eleven months later, the *Observer* Man commented that G.H. and an unnamed 'dusky beauty should not speak so loud when discussing their beaus. Porches have ears'.⁴³⁰

This was the last time that a 'dusky' L.L. was mentioned in this gossip column, although another L.L. continued to flirt with five other young men over the next six years.⁴³¹ Instead of marrying a Pakeha, like her siblings, Lena married a Maori. On 16 June 1896, at the Maori Church at Parawai, Thames, Rina Ripihi, aged 17, of Te Aroha, married Waraki Parata Te

⁴²³ *Te Aroha News*, 9 March 1895, p. 2.

⁴²⁴ Three photographs of Lena Lipsey, incorrectly dated 'c. 1900', GN 672.2L, Library of the Auckland Institute and War Memorial Museum.

⁴²⁵ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 23 September 1892, p. 17.

⁴²⁶ See, for example, its use in reference to Albert Edwards: 'Waiorongomai', *Observer*, 5 September 1885, p. 4.

⁴²⁷ Te Aroha School Roll, November 1890, YCAF 4135/27a, ANZ-A.

⁴²⁸ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 28 January 1893, p. 19.

⁴²⁹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 7 January 1893, p. 16.

⁴³⁰ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 10 February 1894, p. 21.

⁴³¹ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 8 July 1893, p. 23, 5 May 1894, p. 17, 9 June 1894, p. 17, 18 May 1895, p. 21, 27 July 1895, p. 21, 11 June 1898, p. 22.

Mapu, 16, of Parawai. The witnesses included her mother and two of her uncles, Akuhata and Ranapia Mokena.⁴³²

In December 1885, when Okauia No. 3, 868 acres on the western side of the Kaimai range opposite Matamata, was before the land court, Parata Te Mapu of Thames explained that his son Waraki Parata, an owner, had died, leaving two children, a boy aged seven and Waraki Moana, aged 5. The children succeeded to their father's interest in this block and the adjoining Okauia No. 4.⁴³³ As his grandfather died six months before his marriage,⁴³⁴ Waraki Moana took his name, at least for a time. In August 1897, the trustee for two minors, Waraki Parata and Te Pewa, with interests in the Kakaturehau Block, reported having deposited £44 for them. 'They are both married now and one of them has become a parent, consequently they would like to draw some of their money'. It was recorded that Waraki Parata, who was given £10, was 'another name for Waraki Moana'.⁴³⁵ When he died in 1899, one year after his wife, he was known as Waraki Moana once more.⁴³⁶

Lena and Waraki left a daughter, Ani Riripeti Parata, aged 3 in August 1900, when she was living at Te Aroha. One of the trustees in her land was her grandmother, Ema Lipsey.⁴³⁷ On 7 September 1899, Ema made her will, specifying that 'the children of my late daughter LENA LIPSEY' were to share equally in one-seventh of the revenue from her Te Aroha land, but then on the same day signed a codicil revoking this provision.⁴³⁸ Why is not known; nor is anything known about a second child, despite her will explicitly stating 'children'. Her daughter Ani was born in 1897, and Lena died at Manaia on 23 September 1898;⁴³⁹ had she died in

⁴³² Church of England, Register of Thames Maori Marriages 1896-1914, no. 2, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁴³³ Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, pp. 214-215.

⁴³⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, p. 97.

⁴³⁵ Ngaromaki Parata to Public Trust Office, 30 August 1897; William Mair to Public Trustee, 20 October 1897, Kakaturehau Block, Maori Affairs – Public Trust Office, MA-MT 1, 1898/1642, ANZ-W.

⁴³⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, pp. 97, 341.

⁴³⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, pp. 97, 341.

⁴³⁸ Will of Ema Mokena Ripihia, 7 September 1899; Codicil to Will of Ema Mokena Ripihia, 7 September 1899, copies in possession of Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

⁴³⁹ Lanfear Morgan Hape [Ranapia Mokena], Register Book, no. 0650-37, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

childbirth and the second child had lived, at least until the following year? Ani, presumably cared for by Ema, died on 9 November 1904.⁴⁴⁰

The only other child to die during her parents' lifetime was Eta Moewaka, who died in 1903, aged 17, after four months suffering from heart disease, dropsy, and septicaemia.⁴⁴¹

Like the children of other Pakeha Maori in the district, all the children were sent to school.⁴⁴² Most of them married at relatively young ages. The first, in 1892, was Ani, aged 20, to Alexander Watson Edwards,⁴⁴³ a draper.⁴⁴⁴ Elizabeth or Lizzie, otherwise Ripipaea, in May 1902 married Edmund Barker, a driver, when aged 22.⁴⁴⁵ According to the baptismal record of Rina Henrieta, born five months later, she was their daughter, but in reality she was really the illegitimate daughter of Eta and had been adopted by the newly-weds, who raised her as Doreen Eta Barker, thereby hinting at her true parentage.⁴⁴⁶ Later in 1902, Akuhata, aged 26, married Minnie Bossons, 23.⁴⁴⁷

In 1904, an unmarried daughter, Ema's namesake, had a stillborn son, as Ema told the coroner:

It was about three weeks ago that my husband told me that Ema was pregnant.

Last Monday week Ema came to my home and I questioned her if it was true she was in the family way and she said nothing of the sort. She always deceived me about it.

I was sent for to come on Wednesday and told that Reha [her pet name for Ripipaea, otherwise Elizabeth] was very bad I came up here and I found it was not my daughter Reha, but my daughter Ema who was about to be confined, and the birth took place ten minutes after my arrival. I acted as mid-wife. When the child was

⁴⁴⁰ Maori Land Court, Coromandel Minute Book no. 9, p. 93.

⁴⁴¹ Death Certificate of Eta Moewaka Lipsey, 25 March 1903, 1903/786, BDM.

⁴⁴² See Puriri School, Register of Admissions, nos. 65, 270, BAWD 1931/1a; Te Aroha School, Class Lists 1890, YCAF 4135/27a, ANZ-A; Te Aroha School, Admissions Register No. 2 (1889-1897), nos. 659, 679, 709, 812; Admissions Register No. 3 (1898-1904), no. 1172, Primary School Archives, Te Aroha.

⁴⁴³ Marriage Certificate of Ani Lipsey, 28 March 1892, 1892/244, BDM.

⁴⁴⁴ See paper on Ani and Alexander Watson Edwards.

⁴⁴⁵ Marriage Certificate of Elizabeth Lipsey, 13 May 1902, 1902/4979, BDM.

⁴⁴⁶ Register of Piako Maori Baptisms 1901-1909, no. 22, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton; Robert Craig Scott to Philip Hart, 14 August 2013, and attachment, email.

⁴⁴⁷ Marriage Certificate of Augustus Lipsey, 13 September 1902, 1902/4780, BDM.

born the umbilical cord was round its neck, and the child was born dead. No doctor had been sent for.... When I told my husband after the birth about it, he told me to ask Mr Edwards to inform the police.⁴⁴⁸

Unusually, the unnamed stillborn boy was given a death certificate (but not a birth certificate).⁴⁴⁹ Ema would marry Israel William Ernest Hammond, an Auckland 'Motor Car Proprietor', ten years later.⁴⁵⁰

Mary Ann, formerly Mereana, married Hector Joseph O'Halloran, a clerk, in 1905, when aged 19.⁴⁵¹ Under the name of George Morgan Lipsey, the second Hori married Margaret Frances Cornes, in December 1914, when he was a 'gentleman' aged 22 and she was aged 16.⁴⁵²

DEATHS

The only illness recorded for Ema was in late 1886, when she was seriously ill from an undisclosed complaint for some months.⁴⁵³ In May 1906, aged 55, she died of pneumonia, 'somewhat unexpectedly', having been ill for six days.⁴⁵⁴ 'Her Maori relatives held a tangi for her on the "Green" in front of the Lipsey homestead in Burgess Street. The Green was a very large area of land in grass, like a giant lawn, often used for sports meetings'.⁴⁵⁵ She was buried in an Anglican ceremony;⁴⁵⁶ she had always

⁴⁴⁸ Inquests, Justice Department, J 46 COR, 1904/326, ANZ-W.

⁴⁴⁹ Death Certificate of unnamed stillborn Lipsey child, 30 March 1904, 1904/2899, BDM.

⁴⁵⁰ Marriage Certificate of Ema Mihirangi Lipsey, 1914/3286, BDM; Memorandum of September 1916, in Te Aroha: No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

⁴⁵¹ Marriage Certificate of Mary Ann Lipsey, 13 June 1905, 1905/6587, BDM.

⁴⁵² Notices of Intentions to Marry, vol. 10 (1914-1915), entry for 1 December 1914, Hamilton Public Library; Marriage Certificate of George Morgan Lipsey, 1 December 1914, 1914/3509, BDM.

⁴⁵³ C.J. Dearle to Commissioner of Crown Land, Auckland, 20 October 1886, Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 241, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

⁴⁵⁴ Death Certificate of Ema Lipsey, 16 May 1906, 1906/377, BDM; *Waikato Times*, 17 May 1906, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁵ Malcolm, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁶ Church of England, Te Aroha Burial Register 1889-1934, no. 149, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

belonged to the Church of England, and all her children were baptized,⁴⁵⁷ and was a sponsor for baptisms held at Tui Pa.⁴⁵⁸ In 1902, she and her brother Ranapia were the only Maori communicants listed for Te Aroha.⁴⁵⁹ With the loss of the local newspaper, her obituary has been lost, not being reprinted by other papers. The *Thames Star* simply recorded that she was ‘well known at Thames’.⁴⁶⁰ One granddaughter, Doreen Thorne, informed a family historian that

Ema was known for her very generous nature, and thought nothing of putting a handful of sovereigns in the church collection plate. She would load up the Maori relatives or friends with food or money – even strip the house for them – at the back door. George Lipsey would be waiting at the front door to relieve them of their burden.⁴⁶¹

After her death, Lipsey enjoyed the company of his grandchildren.

He would sit on the front verandah with them, looking up at the road at the drays and other horse-drawn vehicles passing by. In his Irish twang, he would tell them that one day, in their generation, they would see those drays going around without horses, and he said that people would travel by air. The grandchildren used to laugh. He told them that an old witch called Mother Shipton had prophesied all that.⁴⁶²

To fill in his days,

He would quite often go down to the hotel, accompanied by his dog Tip, a fairly big, brown and white long-haired sort of cattle dog. They would go down after lunch and come back at about four in the afternoon. On rare occasions he might leave the hotel a bit “tight.” Tip would then walk on the opposite side of the street, exactly opposite, stopping if his master did. If anyone started

⁴⁵⁷ For instance, Church of England, Register of Thames Maori Baptisms 1886-1921, nos. 21, 48, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁴⁵⁸ Church of England, Piako Register of Maori Baptisms 1901-1909, nos. 22, 29, 32, 33, Anglican Diocesan Archives, Hamilton.

⁴⁵⁹ Register of Baptisms in Waikato District 1837-1902, Maori, 1902, List of Communicants, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁴⁶⁰ *Thames Star*, 18 May 1906, p. 2.

⁴⁶¹ Recollections of Doreen Thorne, cited by Malcolm, p. 31.

⁴⁶² Malcolm, p. 31.

arguing with George, Tip would cross over and bristle at them. When as usual he was sober, Tip would follow just behind him and on the right side, always in the same position.⁴⁶³

In early May 1913, according to his death notice Lipsey died ‘after a short illness’.⁴⁶⁴ He had died, suddenly, of apoplexy and cerebral hemorrhage, leaving two sons aged 37 and 21 and four daughters aged between 33 and 26.⁴⁶⁵ His will was written the day before, when his health meant he could only sign with a cross.⁴⁶⁶ His obituary described him as ‘a sterling settler, a true friend, one who had been a real benefactor to Te Aroha, and who for his kindly nature will be greatly missed’. The ‘large number’ attending his funeral ‘testified to the respect in which deceased was held’.⁴⁶⁷ ‘Bridget’, who arrived in Te Aroha in 1903, recalled ‘Lipsey Park known to all as the “Maori Lipsey,” not that people were disrespectful for we loved them – that white man who [was] married to a Maori princess’.⁴⁶⁸

THE CHILDREN SELL THEIR LAND

On Lipsey’s death, his family inherited ‘extensive blocks of land at Morrinsville, Thames, and Te Aroha’.⁴⁶⁹ His will left his estate, worth £616 1s, to his six children in equal shares.⁴⁷⁰ What Ani and Akuhata did with their inheritance is covered in the papers on their lives; this section deals with the other children.

In February 1915, Mary Ann told William Herbert Herries, Native Minister and the local Member of Parliament, that, as she had not lived in Te Aroha ‘for some years’, she was ‘anxious to dispose of’ her land there.⁴⁷¹ She wanted £120 an acre for her 11 acres, the same amount as Ani had

⁴⁶³ Malcolm, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁶⁴ Death Notice, *New Zealand Herald*, 8 May 1913, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Death Certificate of George Lipsey, 2 May 1913, 1913/1592, BDM.

⁴⁶⁶ Probate of George Lipsey, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/300, ANZ-A.

⁴⁶⁷ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

⁴⁶⁸ Recollections of ‘Bridget’, *Te Aroha News*, 22 February 1979, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁹ Press cutting from *Te Aroha News*, May 1913, Te Aroha Museum.

⁴⁷⁰ Probate of George Lipsey, Hamilton Probates, BCDG 4420/300, ANZ-A.

⁴⁷¹ M.A. O’Halloran to W.H. Herries, 15 February 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

received. Sheridan reported that although Ani had received £85 14s per acre, the land her siblings wanted to sell, between the railway line and the river, was 'not nearly so valuable'. He also pointed out that their interests would have to be defined by the court.⁴⁷² The following month a Te Aroha solicitor told Herries that not all of Section 17 could be sold because Ema did not wish to sell her portion. He suggested the purchase of George's land, which was 'more valuable than the balance of the property and far more suited for subdivision into building allotments'; and being to the east of the railway line, there was no problem with access, unlike the rest of their land.⁴⁷³ Presumably prompted by this solicitor, four days later George offered to sell his 23 acres to enable him to 'purchase a larger block of farming country so as to enable me to follow my occupation'.⁴⁷⁴ (He wanted to buy a 100-acre farm.)⁴⁷⁵

In June, Mary Ann asked Herries about her offer: 'I am anxious to get the matter through, seeing that the land is lying idle and not benefiting me in any way, it being fully nine years since I resided in Te Aroha'.⁴⁷⁶ On the same day, the town clerk informed Herries that his council, having been informed that the family were trying to sell to private individuals, wanted the government to buy the land 'and thus forestall land jobbers and speculators from obtaining a footing and exploiting intending residents'.⁴⁷⁷ The following month, Elizabeth, hearing that the Native Land Purchase Board intended to purchase Mary Ann's land at £120 an acre, offered to sell her land for the same price. 'There is a practically new totara house on mine. I would expect compensation for same'. Her reason for selling was to

⁴⁷² Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 11 March 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷³ Barnard and Nicholls to W.H. Herries, 23 March 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷⁴ G.M. Lipsey to Under-Secretary, Native Affairs Department, 27 March 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷⁵ W. Mackie to W.H. Herries, 20 May 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷⁶ M.A. O'Halloran to W.H. Herries, 9 June 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷⁷ F.W. Wild (Town Clerk, Te Aroha) to W.H. Herries, 9 June 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

‘purchase a property large enough to farm on’. (This letter was in Mary Ann’s handwriting.)⁴⁷⁸

Herries was advised that valuations were being obtained. ‘In view of the great value of the land affected, and of the high price which some of the owners appear to expect, it has not been thought advisable to enter into any definite negotiations with the Lipsey family in the meantime’.⁴⁷⁹ A week later George was ‘anxious to complete the deal so as to enable me to complete the purchase of another property with a view to commencing dairying this season’.⁴⁸⁰ The previous day the valuer had determined that 32 acres 3 roods of Section 17A, belonged to Ema, Elizabeth, and Mary Ann, had an unimproved value of £1,350; there was £850-worth of improvements, namely the houses belonging to Ema and Elizabeth. He considered the land ‘would make a good little farm, but being low-lying in places, cut up by gullies’, and with access blocked by the railway line it was not ‘suitable for subdivision purposes except in fairly large blocks’.⁴⁸¹ George’s two portions of Section 17A, one of 15 acres 3 roods and 10 perches with an unimproved value of £1,600 with owner’s improvements of £500, plus 4 acres 3 roods and 10 perches with an unimproved value of £1,300, would provide good residence sites.⁴⁸²

Walter Bowler, president of the Waikato-Maniapoto District Maori Land Board,⁴⁸³ visited Te Aroha in late August to purchase George’s land. Not being ‘pressed for time’, Bowler inspected the block before asking him to sign the transfer, and ‘it was just as well I did so’, as George had fenced in about a quarter of an acre, containing his house, which he did not wish to

⁴⁷⁸ Elizabeth Barker to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 13 July 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁷⁹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to W.H. Herries, 19 July 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸⁰ G.M. Lipsey to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 27 July 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸¹ Memorandum of Valuer General, 6 August 1915; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Judge Holland, Native Land Court, Thames, 7 August 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸² W.F. Walks to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 28 July 1915; Memorandum of Valuer General, 6 August 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸³ See Richard Boast, *Buying the Land, Selling the Land: Governments and Maori land in the North Island 1865-1921* (Wellington, 2008), pp. 306-307.

sell. As George admitted that the house and fences were ‘somewhat awkwardly placed’ for subdivision, ‘after discussion he decided to accept the Crown’s offer of £2100 for the whole of the land’ on the understanding he could buy back, at cost price, the quarter acre around his house, and shift fences at his own cost. Bowler considered the price rather high because of the nature of the block, but Herries, asked for ‘instructions’, told his officials: ‘Take action to acquire’.⁴⁸⁴

As Ema then refused to sell, her interest was partitioned off, causing delays in acquiring her sisters’ land.⁴⁸⁵ In October, Elizabeth urged a prompt decision, for ‘I desire to take over a dairy farm near Drury in preference to my husband seeking outside employment in Te Aroha’.⁴⁸⁶ Bowler explained the new boundaries created by the partition and estimated an unimproved value of ‘about’ £41 13s 11 3/4d per acre, with Ema’s portion being worth more than the remainder, which was ‘in the main rather lower-lying’ and ‘more cut up by small swampy gullies’. It was ‘unfortunate’ that Ema would not sell, ‘as any roading scheme with a view to subdivision would probably have to be carried out through the Crown land adjoining Ema Street and would no doubt enhance the value of her block’. He understood ‘from the ladies that they own scattered interests in many small outlying blocks, but that, being married to Europeans, they are not dependant upon these blocks for a living’.⁴⁸⁷ Two weeks later, Mary Ann asked for an ‘early settlement, as both Mrs Barker and myself have farms ready waiting to go on to’.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ W.H. Bowler (Land Purchase Officer) to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 24 August 1915; Memorandum of Under-Secretary, Native Department, to W.H. Herries, 30 August 1915; Memorandum of Native Minister, 31 August 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸⁵ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Elizabeth Barker, 9 October 1915; Under-Secretary, Native Department, to M.A. O’Halloran, 13 October 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸⁶ Elizabeth Barker to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 16 October 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸⁷ W.H. Bowler to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 23 October 1915, with attached sketch map, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁸⁸ M.A. O’Halloran to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 8 November 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

In November, George told Bowler that, as he was living on the farm he had purchased near Bombay, he no longer needed his Te Aroha house.⁴⁸⁹ Therefore, when the Lands and Survey Department was informed later that month that all of Section 17A No. 1 had been purchased from him for £3,400, it was expected that he would not keep his house and quarter-acre section.⁴⁹⁰ The following month, Elizabeth and Mary Ann were paid £1,825 for Section 17A No. 3, of 21 acres 2 roods 13 perches.⁴⁹¹ They then left Te Aroha without paying their rates.⁴⁹²

In August 1916, Ema applied to be declared a European. 'I am married. Educated at Te Aroha. I passed out of the fourth standard. Can both read and write. My husband was a motor car proprietor and is now going in for poultry farming. I have had to support myself for 10 yrs but have been married two'. As the court recommended she be Europeanized,⁴⁹³ an Order in Council was made two weeks later; another fortnight later she asked whether it would be possible to obtain the deeds for Aroha Block IX Section 17A No. 2.⁴⁹⁴ Asked to discuss this purchase with her, Bowler reported that they 'went into the matter very fully, and she ultimately gave me an undertaking to sell the block for £200 per acre, plus £450 for the house and the other improvements', making a total purchase price of £2,731 5s. This 'undertaking' held good for six weeks, when Bowler gave his opinion of the deal:

⁴⁸⁹ G.M. Lipsey to W.H. Bowler, 15 November 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹⁰ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey Department, 20 November 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹¹ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to Under-Secretary, Lands and Survey Department, 30 December 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹² W.H. Bowler to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 21 December 1915; W.H. Herries to Mayor, Te Aroha, 20 September 1916, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹³ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 65, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁴ Ema Hammond to Registrar, Native Land Court, Auckland, 29 September 1916, plus memorandum of September 1916, Te Aroha No. 1 File, Block Files, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton

I have always been inclined to think that the price of these Te Aroha sections is too high. The owners' ideas of value have of course been influenced by the, to my mind, ridiculously high price of £250 per acre paid for the 10 acres purchased from Mr A. Lipsey. Mrs Hammond's property is handy to the town, and is of much better quality than the area purchased from Mrs Barker and Mrs O'Halloran, being considerably higher. At the same time I think the price asked too high, and am of opinion that it should not be paid until the block has been reported upon by someone more competent to do so than myself.

Having been 'declared a European', Ema was 'free to dispose of the land in open market', but he noted that as there was no legal access from the town side of the railway line she would be unlikely to sell many sections 'if the Crown did not legalize the roads leading to her property'. He thought these should not be legalized until negotiations were either completed or broken off.⁴⁹⁵ They were broken off, and there were no further negotiations until 1928, when Ema succeeded in having this land, just over 11 acres, removed from the goldfield. Being just over half a mile from the post office and with the town 'rapidly extending in this direction', it was becoming increasingly valuable.⁴⁹⁶

In 1919, Block IX Section 31A3, of 5 acres and 3 roods, valued at £200, was partitioned, Ani, Akuhata, Hori, Mereana, and Rihi, otherwise Reha or Ripipaea, all having equal shares.⁴⁹⁷

In the early twenty-first century, the Waitangi Tribunal responded to complaints about how the Lipsey family land had been lost to subsequent generations:

Crown officials resisted the removal of restrictions on sale of the town sections and purchased many of them in the public interest, only when it appeared that the family might sell to private parties to whom they had become indebted. Given article 3 rights and responsibilities, we consider that there are limits to the

⁴⁹⁵ W.H. Bowler to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 2 November 1916, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹⁶ Nicholls and James to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 4 April 1928; Inspector of Mines to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 19 April 1928; Memorandum of Surrender of Lease, 13 June 1928, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/4/2, Part 2, ANZ-W.

⁴⁹⁷ Aroha Block IX Section 31A3, Maori Affairs Department, Hamilton, BACS A192/11437, ANZ-A.

protection that the Crown can accord to individual Maori owners of property which is no longer undivided tribal property.⁴⁹⁸

CONCLUSION

George Lipsey was a lucky Pakeha Maori who would benefit from his personal connections with the owners of that part of the Aroha Block where gold was found. To ensure that he was entitled to share in the resultant revenue, he married Ema under Pakeha law shortly before the goldfield was opened. The income received from mining and, especially, the land taken up for a township kept the family in comfort, although constant indebtedness meant that over time land was sold. At first opposed to his children selling land, he soon accepted this was necessary, and over time he and his children sold their inheritance for immediate financial gain. Both Lipsey and his wife, about whom little detail has survived, were popular in both Maori and Pakeha society, and were fondly remembered.

Appendix

Figure 1, Portion of ‘Old Identities of Te Aroha, Auckland: Early settlers of the district gathered to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the district’, *Auckland Weekly News*, 15 December 1910, Supplement, p. 11; showing Lipsey, second from right in middle row, surrounded by Maori, some of whom may have been his in-laws and the one on his right may have been his eldest daughter Ani.

Figure 2: Francis Pavitt, Plan of Lipsey’s Block, n.d. [1896], attached to J.A. Miller to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 21 July 1896, Mines Department, MD 1, 6/14, Part 1, ANZ-W [Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua]; used with permission.

Figure 3: Subdivisions of Lipsey’s Block, n.d. [1915], attached to W. Bowler to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 23 October 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W [Archives New Zealand Te Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua]; used with permission.

⁴⁹⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Hauraki Report* (Wellington, 2006), p. xli.



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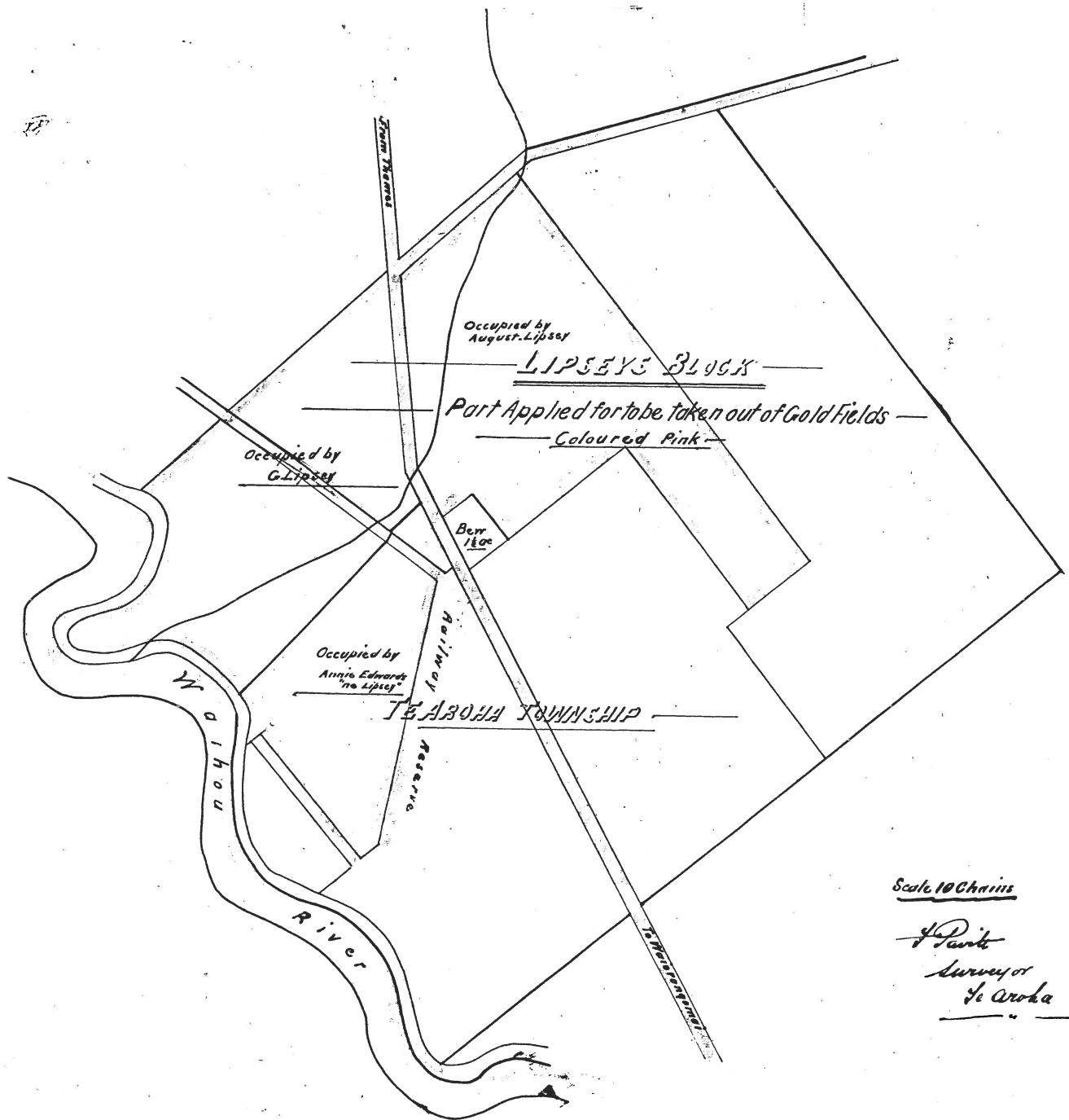


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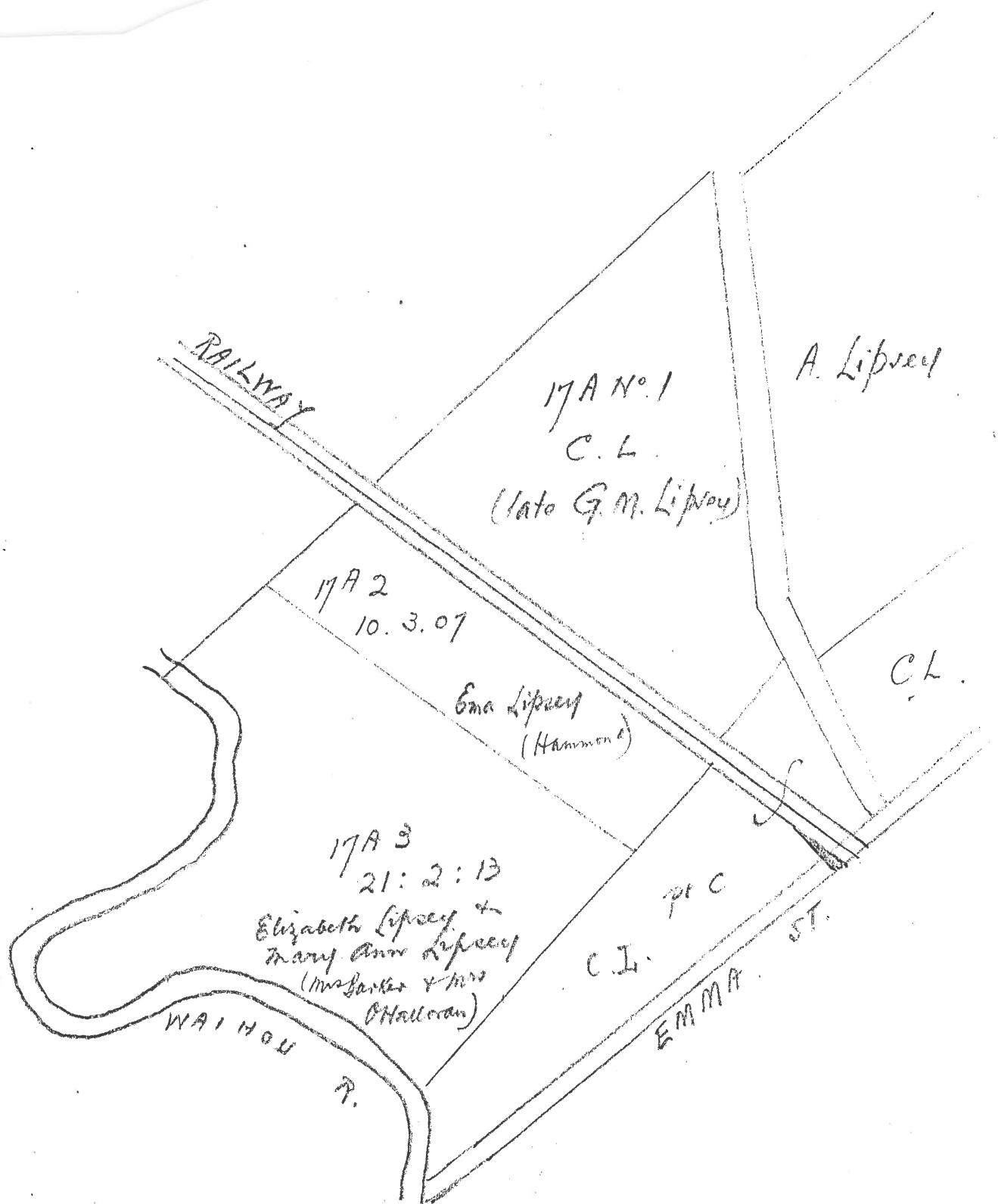


Figure 3: Subdivisions of Lipsey's Block, n.d. [1915], attached to W. Bowler to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 23 October 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W [Archives New Zealand Te Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua]; used with permission.