ANI JANE LIPSEY AND ALEXANDER WATSON EDWARDS

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Abstract: Ani Lipsey, the eldest daughter of George and Ema, was well educated. Her Scottish husband, who settled in Te Aroha in the 1880s, had been apprenticed as a draper, an occupation he followed in both Australia and then New Zealand. In addition, for a couple of decades he owned dairy farms in the Te Aroha district. He was a successful merchant with a steadily expanding and profitable business.

Ani received a good income for a while from goldfields revenue, and put the land she inherited to profitable use. In the early twentieth century she convinced officials that she should be permitted to sell land within the township because the proceeds went to assist her husband's business and because, over time, the government had decided to acquire all the Maori interests in Te Aroha. To assist in selling her land, in 1911 she had it declared European land, she herself being regarded as 'practically a European'.

Both were active in the social life of the township, Ani being a competent pianist, and participated in sporting activities. Both owned racehorses, and Edwards assisted in organizing many race meetings. As part of his efforts to assist the community, for a while he was a member of the borough council. Both were popular, and were fondly remembered.

THEIR EARLY YEARS

Different sources suggest that Ani Heni, or Annie Jane, Lipsey, the first child and eldest daughter of George Lipsey and Ema Mokena,¹ was born either in 1871, 1872, or 1874,² a confusion caused by the non-registration of her birth. Four months after she married in 1892 she was regarded as a legal adult,³ indicating that she must have turned 21, making her probable date of birth mid-August 1871. When given a Maori baptism into the Church of England in August 1874, her parents were recorded as

¹ See paper on George Lipsey and Ema Mokena.

² Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 549, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A; Marriage Certificate of Alexander Watson Edwards, 18 March 1892, 1892/244; Death Certificate of Ani Jane Edwards, 3 March 1930, 1930/552, BDM.

³ Thames Warden's Court, Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 549, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

George and Ema Lipsey, even though they would not be married under Pakeha (or church) law for another six years.⁴ Her education, at Te Aroha, included learning French and 'other languages'.⁵

Alexander Watson Edwards⁶ was born in Scotland, either in Brechin or Forfarshire, in 1858, to David, a cattle dealer, and Margaret, née Watson.⁷ His parents moved to Victoria, Australia, in 1858 and two years later arrived in Auckland; they later settled at Thames, where Edwards was 'apprenticed to the drapery business'.8 In 1879 his father was appointed inspector of sheep for the district and in 1886 became dog registrar.9 His sister Jemima, who married a Te Aroha farmer, died in 1898, 12 days after giving birth, aged 26, on the same day as her baby, leaving a young son. 10 Noted by the local newspaper as being a sister of 'our much respected fellow townsman', she had been 'extremely popular'. 11 Another sister, Jane, had settled at Taupiri with her husband. 12 According to his 1902 account, Edwards spent one year in Melbourne and four in Sydney as a draper, before returning to New Zealand and establishing his Te Aroha store; he omitted to mention he had also worked in Adelaide. 13 According to his obituary, he first settled in Te Aroha in 1882; the first mention of him in the local newspaper was in 1885, when he was a farmer. 14

⁴ Baptism of Ani Heni Lipsey, 9 August 1874, Coromandel Maori Baptisms, 1874-1904, Register 1090, Anglican Archives, Auckland.

⁵ Te Aroha News, 10 March 1930, p. 5.

⁶ For photograph of him as a Jockey Club steward, see *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1934, p. 4.

⁷ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830; Marriage Certificate of Alexander Watson Edwards, 28 March 1892, 1892/244; Birth Certificate of Ema Gwendoline Edwards, 20 September 1893, 1893/16933, BDM.

⁸ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830; for the length of time they were in New Zealand, see Death Certificates of David Edwards, 18 December 1891, 1891/818; Alexander Watson Edwards, 15 December 1927, 1927/9468, BDM.

⁹ Thames Advertiser, 23 May 1876, p. 5, 26 March 1879, p. 2, 26 January 1886, p. 2.

¹⁰ Birth Certificate of Lorne Aroha Macnicoll, 24 March 1898, 1898/4352; Death Certificates of Jemima Duke Macnicol, 2 April 1898, 1898/1526; Lorne Aroha Macnicol, 2 April 1898, 1898/1527, BDM.

¹¹ Te Aroha News, 5 April 1898, p. 2.

¹² Auckland Weekly News, 2 March 1905, p. 34.

¹³ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830; Te Aroha News, 26 June 1886, p. 2.

¹⁴ Te Aroha News, 16 December 1927, p. 1; Thames Advertiser, 8 September 1885, p. 3.

In July 1890, the Te Aroha Observer Man asked 'What takes the supposed heiress of the town to the draper's house so often? Does he (the draper) intend business? Perhaps not such a wealthy spec as you think, old man'. 15 Which was putting a very mercenary spin on their flirtation. Two months later, the same gossip writer noted that 'Our pushing young draper and the heiress are a long time thinking about tying the fatal knot'. 16 One possible impediment to tying the knot of matrimony may have been his father's disapproval, for they married, in March 1892, just over three months after his father died. 17 His mother's opinions cannot have been an obstacle, for she lived until 1905, dying at her daughter's house at Taupari. 18 When they married, when he was 34 and she was 20, 19 the Observer Man did not comment on the long-expected wedding, but another local correspondent alerted Auckland readers to 'an interesting wedding' between 'the well-known and popular draper' and the 'eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs George Lipsey, owners of Te Aroha township', in her parents' house. 'The happy couple left for Rotorua amidst showers of rice and shoes'. 20 These symbols of fertility were good augers, for the following year they had Ema Gwendoline, followed by Dorothea, Elizabeth Augusta (named after Ema's brother Augustus?), Lorna Evelyn, Alexander George, Rina Marguerita, David, Cecil Augustus (later Cecil Arthur), and Colin Lipsey (later Colin Aroha).²¹

FARMER

¹⁵ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 26 July 1890, p. 18.

¹⁶ 'Te Aroha', Observer, 20 September 1890, p. 17.

¹⁷ Death Certificate of David Edwards, 18 December 1891, 1891/818; Marriage Certificate of Alexander Watson Edwards, 28 March 1892, 1892/244, BDM.

¹⁸ Auckland Weekly News, 2 March 1905, p. 32.

¹⁹ Marriage Certificate of Alexander Watson Edwards, 28 March 1892, 1892/244, BDM.

²⁰ Te Aroha Correspondent, Auckland Weekly News, 2 April 1892, p. 23.

Birth Certificates of Ema Gwendoline Edwards, 20 September 1893, 1893/16933; Dorothea Edwards, 25 November 1894, 1895/10751; Elizabeth Augusta Edwards, 10 May 1896, 1896/11243; Lorna Evelyn Edwards, 28 January 1898, 1898/6990; Alexander George Edwards, 11 November 1899, 1899/2206; Rina Margeurita Edwards, 10 May 1901, 1901/12785; David Edwards, 22 March 1904, 1904/19284; Cecil Augustus Edwards, 5 September 1905, 1905/16047; Colin Lipsey Edwards, 20 December 1907, 1908/1373, BDM; Marriage Certificate of Cecil Arthur Lipsey, 26 December 1936, St David's Church, Marriage Register 1936-1943, no. 271, Presbyterian Church Archives, Te Aroha.

Before being a draper at Te Aroha, Edwards was a farmer. In September 1885 he acquired William Wilson's lease of section 6 in the Thames High School Endowment, 82 acres 2 perches 34 roods, with an annual rental of £12 8s 2d.22 Wilson, who had been granted it in 1881, in March 1885 described it as 'several good green paddocks'. 23 In June 1886 Edwards sought 'A Steady Youth about 17 or 18, to Milk and do General Farm Work'. 24 That November he advertised the sale of his 'Good Dairy and Poultry Farm, containing 83 acres, fenced, sub-divided, and drained, four roomed house, large cow shed, stable, etc. One and a-half miles from Te Aroha, and close to Waiorongomai'. 25 As it did not sell, he retained it, and in 1893 was appointed to a committee of lessees wanting the government to take over the endowment.²⁶ His was the first name on the petition to the Waste Lands Committee of parliament that their rents were 'excessive, and the terms of their leases not of sufficient duration to warrant improvements being made'. 27 Two years later he offered to lease approximately 40 acres of drained, grassed, and sub-divided land for 12 months at 12s 6d a week, including the house, dairy, and cowshed.28 The house, occupied by his employees, was valued at £400.29 By 1900 he had obtained a lease of 32 acres in the Hori More Block, on the eastern edge of Te Aroha.³⁰ Two years later he was described as having 'about 200 acres altogether. He breeds thoroughbreds and cattle', but shortly afterwards

²² Thames Advertiser, 8 September 1885, p. 3; Te Aroha News, 12 September 1885, p. 2, advertisement, 6 November 1886, p. 3, 20 May 1889, p. 7.

²³ Thames High School Board of Governors, Minutes of Meeting of 7 June 1881, High School Archives, Thames; *Te Aroha News*, 28 March 1885, p. 7.

²⁴ Advertisement, Te Aroha News, 19 June 1886, p. 3.

²⁵ Advertisement, *Te Aroha News*, 6 November 1886, p. 3; advertisement, *Waikato Times*, 18 November 1886, p. 3.

²⁶ Thames Advertiser, 23 March 1893, p. 2.

²⁷ 'Reports of Waste Lands Committee', AJHR, 1893, I-5, p. 8.

²⁸ Te Aroha News, 16 October 1895, p. 2.

²⁹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 30 September 1895, no pagination, Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

³⁰ Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Book, 1900-1901 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

Waiorongomai land.³¹ In 1903, as a farmer at Waitoa he took 20 shares in the Te Aroha District Co-operative Dairy Company.³² In 1907 he sought to lease from 50 to 100 acres close to Te Aroha.³³

At the annual show in 1897 he won third and fourth prizes for a dairy cow giving the greatest quantity of milk and highest percentage of butterfat.³⁴ In 1900 he was one of the main prizewinners for vegetables, winning first prize for turnips, cabbages, savory, onions (heaviest), leeks, plate of parsley, nectarines, and dessert pears, and second prize for beans, red cabbage, lettuce, onions (brown Spanish), parsnips, vegetable marrows, rhubarb, mangolds, and a collection of vegetables.³⁵ He also won second prize for a buggy horse 15 hands and under, and first prize for a light spring cart horse; Ani came second in the latter category.³⁶

He became treasurer of the Te Aroha Agricultural and Horticultural Society in 1897, and continued to hold this position until resigning in May 1901 'owing to having given up business', being then elected one of the three vice presidents.³⁷ He became its secretary in August that year, with a salary of ten per cent of the receipts.³⁸ After his resignation as secretary was 'received with regret' in May 1903 he was elected to the 'general committee'.³⁹

DRAPER

In late June 1886 Edwards announced he was to open a store in William Wilson's former drapery shop in Te Aroha, on the corner of

³¹ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830; Auckland Weekly News, 4 September 1902, p. 37.

³² Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 176 no. 1085, ANZ-A.

³³ Te Aroha News, 9 April 1907, p. 2.

³⁴ Auckland Weekly News, 6 March 1897, p. 35.

³⁵ *Te Aroha News*, 30 January 1900, p. 2.

 $^{^{36}\} Thames\ Star,\, 29\ January\, 1900,\, p.\,\, 2,\, 30\ January\,\, 1900,\, p.\,\, 4.$

³⁷ Waikato Argus, 3 April 1897, p. 2, 14 May 1898, p. 2; Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 828; Auckland Weekly News, 12 April 1901, p. 26.

³⁸ Auckland Weekly News, 9 August 1901, p. 20, 2 October 1902, p. 32.

³⁹ Auckland Weekly News, 28 May 1903, p. 32.

Whitaker and Rolleston Streets, opposite the domain. 40 The Te Aroha News reported his 'extensive experience in some of the leading Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide houses of business' and that he was 'in a position to purchase his goods in the very best markets for cash, and is prepared to offer extraordinary good value to his customers'. 41 By August he was selling boots and shoes as well as 'gentlemen's outfitting'. 42 Presumably to attract customers, he tendered (unsuccessfully) to sell tickets to the domain baths for ten per cent of the sales. 43 The following March he offered new goods for sale by cash only, and in 1888 advertised as the 'Cheap Cash Draper'.44 In July that year 'our enterprising fellow-townsman' was 'about to show his faith in the prospects of Te Aroha in a very practical manner by erecting large new premises' on the corner of Whitaker and Boundary Streets. 45 A local architect designed a shop larger than the public hall, requiring the removal of a butcher's shop; it cost £321 to erect and fit out. 46 Opened on 1 December, it was described as 'undoubtedly the premier premises of the township', reflecting 'great credit upon the proprietor' and displaying 'his faith in the future requirements and success of this district'. 47

In January 1889, he announced that he would close every evening except Saturday at seven o'clock. 48 In that month he divided his third shop and leased one portion to a watchmaker, and the following month opened his 'new and spacious premises'. 49 The *Te Aroha News* described him as a 'thorough believer in the "small profit and quick return" system of transacting business, and to further encourage the cash system of doing business, announces that he will allow discount at the rate of one shilling in

⁴⁰ For Wilson's drapery shop at Te Aroha, see *Te Aroha News*, advertisement, 21 July 1883, p. 3, 13 October 1883, p. 3; for his drapery shop at Waiorongomai, see *Waikato Times*, 19 November 1881, p. 2, 4 July 1882, p. 2.

⁴¹ Te Aroha News, 26 June 1886, p. 2.

⁴² Te Aroha News, 14 August 1886, p. 2.

⁴³ Waikato Times, 14 December 1886, p. 2.

⁴⁴ Te Aroha News, 26 March 1887, p. 3, advertisement, 10 March 1888, p. 3; advertisement, Waikato Times, 18 October 1887, p. 3.

 $^{^{45}\} Te\ Aroha\ News,\, 25\ July\, 1888,\, p.\ 2; Auckland\ Weekly\ News,\, 1\ February\, 1901,\, p.\ 23.$

⁴⁶ Waikato Times, 30 August 1888, p. 2, 25 September 1888, pp. 2, 3; Te Aroha News, 8 September 1888, p. 2, 12 September 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Te Aroha News, 1 December 1888, p. 2; Waikato Times, 15 December 1888, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Te Aroha News, 16 January 1889, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Te Aroha News, 26 January 1889, p. 2, 27 February 1889, p. 2.

the pound to all cash customers'. 50 In 1890 he added a dressmaking department. 51

In 1892 the *Ohinemuri Gazette* described him as 'the well-known and popular draper'. 52 By then his 'establishment' had been 'greatly enlarged' and he was 'doing a roaring trade'.53 Although in late 1893 he had a 'monster clearing out sale' because of 'retiring from business' and asked for all accounts to be settled, 54 he continued to operate until announcing in March 1895 that he was closing both it along with his Waihi branch store; the Te Aroha News commented that he had earned 'the respect and patronage of a large circle of friends'.55 Two months later he was still continuing 'his genuine clearing sale'. 56 Although he may have been genuine about wishing to retire, he did not do so. In December his 'patriotism' was lauded for grading and asphalting the footpath in front of his shop at his own expense.⁵⁷ Shortly before Christmas, when he offered a discount of ten per cent on all cash purchases of 10s and over, the newspaper noted that he had 'always been noted for giving good value for drapery and boots'.58 In early 1897, when using the sample room at the Palace Hotel, after he accused the 'boots' of stealing shirts and ties the 'boots' returned them, claiming 'they were packed up with his clothes in mistake'. 59

In the big gale of July 1898, after his shop lost its verandah and several windows all the millinery and drapery displayed in these windows were destroyed, and, as some sheets of iron were blown off the roof, the rain did 'great damage'; he estimated his total loss at 'about £500'.60 In January 1901, his premises were burnt down in one of Te Aroha's many fires.61 At that time he occupied two shops, a draper's and a boot shop, his third shop being occupied by a grocer, James McGregor.

⁵⁰ Te Aroha News, 20 November 1889, p. 2.

⁵¹ Te Aroha News, 12 March 1890, p. 2.

⁵² Ohinemuri Gazette, 2 April 1892, p. 5.

⁵³ 'Te Aroha', *Observer*, 28 May 1892, p. 19; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 25 June 1892, p. 5.

⁵⁴ Advertisement, *Hauraki Tribune*, 23 January 1894, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Te Aroha News, 27 March 1895, p. 2.

⁵⁶ Te Aroha News, 15 May 1895, p. 2.

⁵⁷ Te Aroha News, 11 December 1895, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Te Aroha News, 14 December 1895, p. 2.

⁵⁹ New Zealand Police Gazette, 17 March 1897, p. 52, 14 April 1897, p. 68.

⁶⁰ Auckland Weekly News, 2 July 1898, Supplement, p. 1.

⁶¹ Thames Star, 24 January 1901, p. 2; Ohinemuri Gazette, 25 January 1901, p. 2.

The fire originated in Mr McGregor's shop, in the partition separating it from Mr Edwards' boot shop, and when first discovered had a good hold. The brigade was soon on the spot, and with the splendid pressure of water available, managed to confine the fire within the building. The walls are still intact, the principal damage being done to part of the roof, partitions, and stock. Fortunately, 400ft of new hose had just arrived that morning from England, so that the brigade had every facility in that respect. Their performance in confining a fire, fed from such inflammable material, to one building, must be considered most creditable. Beyond the discovery of a rat's nest, at the foot of the partition, where the fire originated, nothing has transpired to throw any light on the origin of the fire.

The building was insured for £450 and his stock for £400; 'much of the drapery' was salvageable. Two days previously, John William May⁶² had taken over his 'drapery warehouse' and had arranged to sell the stock.⁶³ Once the block of shops was re-erected he again talked of giving up business.⁶⁴ In 1902 he was referred to as 'our local land agent', and as agent for the Assets Realisation Board sold dairy farms cut out of the Waitoa Estate,⁶⁵ but he had not abandoned the drapery trade and was not a land agent in later years. Also in 1902 he described his rebuilt premises as 'large and centrally situated in the main street, and the building comprises two shops and an office. There are separate departments for drapery and boots, and each department contains a large and well-assorted stock'.⁶⁶ In March 1906 his recommenced business was expanding quickly, requiring extra capital, and two years later he extended his shop.⁶⁷ Two years later there was a rumour in May that he would take over an Auckland hotel, and his clearing out sale had to sell everything within four weeks.⁶⁸ Yet again he

⁶² See Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830.

⁶³ Te Aroha Correspondent, *Auckland Weekly News*, 1 February 1901, p. 23; *Thames Star*, 25 January 1901, p. 2.

 $^{^{64}\,}Auckland$ Weekly News, 15 February 1901, p. 31, 12 April 1901, p. 26.

⁶⁵ Te Aroha News, 29 March 1902, p. 2, including advertisement; advertisement, Thames Star, 2 April 1902, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830.

⁶⁷ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 3 November 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W; *Te Aroha News*, 12 May 1908, p. 2.

 $^{^{68}}$ Te Aroha News, 3 May 1910, p. 2, 24 May 1910, p. 2.

did not leave, and in September announced his 'First Show of New Goods'.⁶⁹ Not till February 1912 did another man take over his store, which later that year had been 'greatly improved'.⁷⁰

Edwards had not retired from the drapery trade, for early in 1915 it was reported that he had been 'in Tauranga for some time as a Gentlemen's Outfitter' but was expected to give up business there soon. ⁷¹ In January 1917 the *Te Aroha News* understood that he and his family, 'who have been residing in Tauranga for a year or more, intend to return and settle in Te Aroha at an early date'. ⁷² In June, when he became the manager of a new drapery store, it described as 'one of the oldest business men in the town'. ⁷³

EDWARDS' TOWN PROPERTIES

In 1888 and 1889 Edwards bought two business sites at Te Aroha, one of which he transferred to Ani in 1895 while the other was sold to John William May in 1902 when the latter took over one of his shops. This, on allotment 8 of block 5, and bought for £235, was mortgaged from September 1888 to October 1890 for £300, costing him £58 10s in interest payments, and was then re-mortgaged for the same amount for another two years. In 1891 he bought a residence site in Lipsey's Block, transferring it to his wife in 1895; it was sold eight years later. He made some money from his 'paddock' in 1895 when the town board took gravel from it for street improvements.

⁶⁹ Advertisement, Te Aroha News, 24 September 1910, p. 2.

⁷⁰ Te Aroha News, 15 February 1912, p. 2; Ted Axford, A Childhood in Te Aroha, 1907-1913 (Wellington, 1992), p. 60.

⁷¹ *Te Aroha News*, 1 March 1915, p. 2.

⁷² Te Aroha News, 22 January 1917, p. 2.

⁷³ Te Aroha News, 6 June 1917, p. 2, 8 June 1917, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1899, folios 167, 402, BBAV 11492/1a; Rent Ledger 1894-1910, folio 189, BBAV 11570/7a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Transfers and Assignments, 15 July 1888, 29 September 1888, BBAV 11581/9a; 27 October 1890, BBAV 11581/11a; 13 December 1892, BBAV 11581/13a, ANZ-A.

⁷⁶ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Rent Ledger 1881-1899, folio 111, BBAV 11492/1a; Register of Mining Privileges 1894-1910, folio 110, BBAV 11500/2a, ANZ-A.

 $^{^{77}}$ Town Board, $\textit{Te Aroha News},\,13$ November 1895, p. 2.

Until 1889, Edwards rented 'Domain Villa' in Whitaker Street; the weekly rental for this seven-roomed house and his shop was £2.⁷⁸ In February 1889 he bought a reportedly very nice residence site, one of two corner allotments next to the Wesleyan Church, and was to erect a house thereon.⁷⁹ This five-roomed 'very neat house' of 34 square feet with two double-brick chimneys cost him £197 9s; its erection was delayed when a storm blew down the framework.⁸⁰

In 1895 his now six-roomed house plus outbuildings was valued at £300.81 In the twentieth century he lived in a ten-roomed house at Ruakaka, a growing suburb, which in 1908 he argued should be included in the borough.82 When he died he was living at 'Lipsey Park'.83

ANI'S LAND

Under the will of her grandmother, Rina Mokena, Morgan Town (otherwise Mokena Taone) and all its rents and revenues was bequeathed to Ani. Entrusted to her parents until she turned 21, at that age she received this property 'independent of her husband's control if she were married'.⁸⁴ By August 1892 her rents were being paid directly and not via her parents.⁸⁵ The following year the land court awarded her half the interests in Maungatotara No. 1, and one year later she bought Eta Mokena's interest in Aroha Block IX Section 15 for £75.⁸⁶ In 1906 the rateable value of her 28 acres of freehold land west of the railway line was £14, of the dwelling on part of section 17 was £20, and of the 26 acres at the top of

⁷⁸ Te Aroha News, 10 March 1888, p. 2, 3 July 1889, p. 2; Te Aroha Town Board, Rate Book, 1888 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

⁷⁹ Te Aroha News, 16 February 1889, p. 2.

⁸⁰ Te Aroha News, 1 June 1889, p. 2, 6 July 1889, p. 2; Waikato Times, 4 June 1889, p. 2.

⁸¹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 30 September 1895 [no pagination], Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

⁸² A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 26 November 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 13/87, ANZ-W; *Te Aroha News*, 19 December 1908, p. 2.

⁸³ New Zealand Herald, 16 December 1927, p. 1.

⁸⁴ C.J. Dearle to Patrick Sheridan, 1 March 1887, Thames Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 272, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁵ Thames Native Agent's Letterbook 1883-1893, p. 549, BACL 14458/2a, ANZ-A.

⁸⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 29, p. 159; Thames Warden's Court, Inward Correspondence 1879-96, 3 February 1890, 94/23, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A.

Bridge Street was £9.87 Two years her eight-acre section at Ruakaka was valued at £280 and her four-acre one at £140.88

Ani obtained considerable income from goldfields revenue; for instance, between August and December 1900 she received £100 9s 2d.⁸⁹ Her land could be sold or used as security for loans. In 1899, along with her mother she sold her shares in Aroha Block XII Section 48, 400 acres, receiving £55 10s.⁹⁰

In 1891 it was understood that Te Heinga Tawaha, a relative who was one of the owners of the Morgantown portion of Te Aroha, had made a will leaving his interest to Ani. As well, her father had purchased her uncle Hare Renata's⁹¹ interest for about £150 and conveyed it to her.⁹² Nearly three years later she sold her two shares to the Crown for £400.⁹³In 1900 her aunt, Eta Mokena, informed the land court that, because she had no children, she wished to include Ani as an owner of Morgantown.⁹⁴ Five months after Rewi Mokena⁹⁵ died in July 1911, Ani told the land court that he had 'made a will by which the residue of his estate is left to me. (Will produced)'. The case was adjourned because Henrietta Cooke, the first of his wives, objected.⁹⁶ As the court decided in Ani's favour she inherited Kapua No. 2, Okauia No. 4E, and a third interest in Komata North Nos. 1B and 3B.⁹⁷

⁸⁷ Te Aroha Borough Council, Rate Book 1906-1907 [no pagination], Matamata-Piako District Council Archives, Te Aroha.

⁸⁸ Ohinemuri County Council, Waitoa Riding, 1 April 1908, folio 38, Valuation Department, BBBC A150/647, ANZ-A.

⁸⁹ Te Aroha Receiver of Gold Revenue, Letterbook 1900-1903, pp. 18, 37, 46, 52, 77, 103, BAFV 13699/1a, ANZ-A.

⁹⁰ Aroha Block XII Section 48 (=Wairere Block 11 Section 70), H1093, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

⁹¹ See paper on Eta Mokena and Hare Renata.

⁹² G.T. Wilkinson to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 15 May 1891, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

⁹³ C.J. Dearle to Patrick Sheridan, 15 February 1894 (telegram); Patrick Sheridan to C.J. Dearle, 16 February 1894, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

⁹⁴ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 277.

⁹⁵ See paper on his life.

⁹⁶ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 61, p. 20.

⁹⁷ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 61, p. 79.

In the early twentieth century the government acquired ownership of the rest of the township through Ani, her mother, and her eldest brother Akuhata⁹⁸ needing money. In December 1900 the warden advised a land purchase officer that he understood she wanted to raise money on her Morgantown interest: 'Perhaps if you offered to purchase the share just now you might succeed'.99 Eleven days later the chief land purchase officer, Patrick Sheridan, offered £158 for her half share 'if you care to sell – Mr Edwards if convenient had better accompany you – If any other successors wish to sell they had better let me know soon as Government land purchasing is about to cease except through Boards'. 100 No agreement was recorded. In August 1901 her lawyer asked the Native Department whether she would be permitted to mortgage her quarter share in Lipseytown, 166 acres, to obtain £500 at six per cent interest for five years. 101 A month later she asked the minister, James Carroll, to speed up the decision, wanting a reply 'as soon as possible'. 102 At the same time the Prime Minister was urged to acquire Lipseytown by a resident, Thomas McIndoe, 103 who suggested that as Ani and her brother were 'trying to raise money by way of mortgage on their Lipseytown interests', they might 'be tempted with a cash offer'; it would be 'nothing short of a calamity if a private speculator was allowed to "get a finger in the pie" '.104 Sheridan assured Seddon that he would watch out for any attempts to mortgage the land, which was not possible without the Governor's approval, and stop any private person obtaining a lease. 105 In November, Sheridan estimated that Ani had about 130 acres; as these provided her with from £100 to £150 per annum

⁹⁸ See paper on his life.

⁹⁹ R.S. Bush to Gilbert Mair, 17 December 1900, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁰ Patrick Sheridan to A.J. Edwards, 28 December 1900, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

¹⁰¹ Miller and Son to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 13 August 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

 $^{^{102}}$ A.J. Edwards to James Carroll, 13 September 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁰³ See paper on his life.

 $^{^{104}}$ Thomas McIndoe to R.J. Seddon, 24 September 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁵ Patrick Sheridan to R.J. Seddon, 1 October 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

goldfields revenue, she should be able to obtain a loan at a lower interest rate from the government. ¹⁰⁶ The following month the receiver of goldfields revenue informed Sheridan that she had received an average of £118 over the past five years. ¹⁰⁷

When Ani went to Wellington to interview Carroll she asked Sheridan to remove the restrictions so that she could raise a loan, now to be £1,000.108 Two weeks later she sent a telegram: 'Sent in application through Carroll for thousand he said not necessary for me remain Wellington kindly push matter through require urgent'. 109 Sheridan responded by offering £600 in cash immediately if she assigned her revenue to the Treasury, warning that it would take longer to seek a mortgage through the Public Trustee, which required a court hearing, an Order in Council, and then two months' delay. When 'privately' he advised her to accept the £600,110 she responded with another telegram: 'Could you make it £750 Hon Carroll led me to believe would have no difficulty in getting larger amount and made arrangement accordingly'. 111 Two days later she told Sheridan she was 'very much' disappointed at not getting the £1,000; having arranged to acquire some property 'if I only get the £750 it will put me to a great deal of inconvenience it certainly appears to be a very unfair law if one cannot do as they like with their own'. The government valuation of the allotments alone was £11,626, making her quarter interest £2,900. She had reserved 50 acres for her own use (a reflection of the government's concern not to create more landless Maori), 112 and could have obtained the money at lower

¹⁰⁶ Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 16 November 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁷ Te Aroha Receiver of Goldfields Revenue to Patrick Sheridan, 24 December 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁸ A.J. Edwards to James Carroll, 20 November 1901, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁰⁹ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 10 January 1902 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁰ Patrick Sheridan to A.J. Edwards, n.d. [11 January 1902?] (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹¹ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 13 January 1902 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹² For example, Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 24 March 1902 (telegram); Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 3 July 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

interest elsewhere; she had not authorised her lawyer to inform Sheridan of the amount or rate of interest she wanted. 113 On Sheridan's recommendation, 'as a special arrangement' Cabinet approved an advance of £750 out of the Land Purchase Fund in February 1902. 114 A week after receiving this approval she agreed to sell all Lipseytown at a price fixed by the Valuer General, subject to appeal, receiving £750 on signing the agreement and the rest on its completion, by the end of 1907 at the latest; she received this sum in the last week of February. 115

Shortly afterwards, when her brother Augustus sought a loan on the same terms, Sheridan told the warden, Robert Smelt Bush, that in her case 'it was recognized that the money would be profitably invested in her husband's business and she was therefore treated exceptionally'. He regretted that Lipsey's children were 'allowed to fritter away this valuable family estate'. ¹¹⁶ As expected, by November 1907 she had invested £1,200 in Edwards' business. ¹¹⁷ As the £750 was not a loan but an advance on a sale, her Lipseytown rentals would go to repay this should she decide not to sell. ¹¹⁸

In 1903, when the Lipseytown block was subdivided by the land court, Ani was allotted two lots known collectively as Block IX Section 17C, totalling 56 acres 1 rood 9 perches, and a quarter interest in Section 17D, of 141 acres 4 perches, all but just over 16 acres being in the township. ¹¹⁹ In August 1904, Sheridan was informed that Ani and her brother Akuhata had lodged an application to partition section 17D and sought a hearing 'by a

 $^{^{113}}$ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 15 January 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁴ Patrick Sheridan to James Carroll, 30 January 1902; memorandum of 11 February 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁵ Agreement between A.J. Edwards and Patrick Sheridan, 18 February 1902; Peter Gilchrist to Patrick Sheridan, 4 March 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁶ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 20 March 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

 $^{^{117}}$ A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 26 November 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁸ Patrick Sheridan to James Carroll, 19 August 1902; memorandum, June 1902, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹¹⁹ Patrick Sheridan to William Duncan, 6 October 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

special court in Auckland'; he insisted that it be held in Thames or Te Aroha to enable their mother, the principal owner, to attend. ¹²⁰ Three days after the partition was made on 11 October, Ani being allotted Section 17D No. 2, she informed Bush of her willingness to sell her land between the railway line and Whitaker Street and requested details of the latest valuation. ¹²¹ In November, Bush, who wanted Te Aroha acquired by the Crown, told Sheridan that she would sell her interest in it. ¹²²

In the following June, Cabinet decided that all Maori land in Te Aroha should be acquired and removed from the goldfield to provide occupiers with a new system of tenure along the lines of Rotorua. ¹²³ In early August, Bush reported that Ani and her brother wanted to sell most of their interests: 'Every time I visit Te Aroha, the owners come to ask what is being done with regard to their request for loans etc'. ¹²⁴ Two weeks later, Ani told Sheridan that she wished to sell her interest in the block bounded by Bridge, Whitaker, and Boundary Streets. ¹²⁵ His reply was brief: 'My instructions are to purchase the whole of the town sections – Do you agree to this?' ¹²⁶ She immediately responded that she would sell all but the sections on the western side of the railway line, which were 'cultivated and occupied by ourselves'. ¹²⁷ Bush explained to Sheridan what was on offer:

¹²⁰ J.W. Browne (Registrar, Native Land Court) to Patrick Sheridan, 1 August 1904 (telegram); Patrick Sheridan to J.W. Browne, 2 August 1904 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²¹ Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 54, pp. 67-68; A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 14 October 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²² R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 28 November 1904, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²³ Under-Secretary, Mines Department, to Patrick Sheridan, 30 June 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²⁴ R.S. Bush to James McGowan (Minister of Mines), 7 August 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²⁵ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 24 August 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²⁶ Patrick Sheridan to A.J. Edwards, 8 September 1904 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²⁷ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 8 September 1905 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

Mrs Edward's portion contains more area probably than her brother's, but the whole of section 17 with the exception of two allotments is swamp, as are the whole of sections 22 and 23. Only two allotments of these three sections are held under license, but nevertheless, as they form a part of the land subject to the agreement they must be considered with the better portions, as no doubt some day they will be made serviceable. Of Mrs Edward's allotments, nineteen are let at £3, two at £2, and twenty three at £1 per annum, yielding at present a revenue of £84 pr annum. I value her interest at two thousand pounds. 128

Sheridan recommended that she be offered £1,576 10s 4d. 129 In the following February she offered to sell the land most suitable for residence sites, 26 acres near the domain, for £30 per acre. 130 Bush reported that, although most people would see this price as exorbitant, 'to an owner's idea under the circumstances of Te Aroha, I have no doubt the price asked is looked upon as a very reasonable one', for the land could be cut up into 'some sixty allotments'. As the township was growing 'fairly rapidly', he recommended purchase at £15 an acre. 131 Bush was authorised to offer £10 per acre, the amount her mother had received for adjoining land. 132 When Ani did not respond immediately, Bush reported that 'from what her husband said, I do not think she will accept price', and on the following day she told Bush that £25 an acre was the lowest she would go because her land was much better than her mother's. 133 But when the Valuer General reported that this land, part of sections 17A and 17c, was a very steep

¹²⁸ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 31 October 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹²⁹ Patrick Sheridan to R.J. Seddon, 3 November 1905, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹³⁰ A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 15 January 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹³¹ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 13 February 1906, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 66, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹³² R.S. Bush to A.J. Edwards, 15 March 1906, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 79, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹³³ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 20 March 1906, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 83, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A; A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 21 March 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

mountainside, covered in scrub, and 'of no earthly value to anyone, save as a scenic reserve', Sheridan informed Bush: 'This must end the matter'. 134

At the end of October, Ani offered to sell 85 sections plus 26 adjoining acres for £1,750,¹³⁵ and four days later asked that the sale price be decided promptly:

We commenced Business here eight Months ago, and as the Trade is growing Rapidly we find it necessary to get increased Capital to work Same Satisfactorily.

P.S. Please do not Mention the Price or portions offered to any of My People, ¹³⁶

meaning her relatives. As the valuation was £1,292, the highest Sheridan could offer, it was accepted, and in early 1907 the purchase of the 26 acres was completed. In October, Ani offered Bush land mostly near the railway line for sale or lease from which 70 to 80 residence sites could be surveyed. After Sheridan warned that she would have to prove she was not losing all her land, she explained that she had interests in several blocks of land in the Piako and other districts plus 30 acres at Te Aroha containing their home. In February 1908, Bush reported that Edwards asks £120 per acre for either of the pieces of land or both willing to sell

¹³⁴ Valuer General to Patrick Sheridan, 4 July 1906; Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 5 July 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹³⁵ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 31 October 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹³⁶ A.J. Edwards to Patrick Sheridan, 3 November 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

Patrick Sheridan to A.J. Edwards, 27 December 1906 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W; R.S. Bush to A.J. Edwards, 10 January 1907; R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 7 February 1907; R.S. Bush to Under-Secretary, Mines Department, 5 March 1907, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, pp. 233, 243, 259, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹³⁸ A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 30 October 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W; R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 7 January 1908, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 436, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹³⁹ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 16 November 1907; A.J. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 26 November 1907, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

both';¹⁴⁰ Sheridan offered £2,400 for all the land excluding the homestead.¹⁴¹ Edwards, who had taken over the negotiations, responded that his wife would accept this amount for 22 acres, after deducting eight acres for roads and two acres for their house; he wanted the sale made 'as quickly as possible'.¹⁴² In August, along with her father and his other daughters she declared her willingness to sell more Te Aroha land for £270.¹⁴³

At the end of May 1909, when it was announced that 'the paddock on the river side of the railway station, known as Edwards', which was purchased by the Government', was to be 'thrown open for selection as residence sites', there were 'applications five and six deep' for 'the pick of them' from people 'anxious to build', reflecting the 'dearth of suitable dwelling-houses'. A year later, Edwards quarrelled with other borough councillors because he claimed that the top part of Ema Street, the ingress to Edwardstown Road, was his land. A pril 1912 a schoolboy noted that 'about 18 months ago' Edwards had 'divided some of his land into sections and now a regular suburb has sprung up'. 146

In May 1910, Edwards was advised that his wife could not sell any more land under present regulations. When 'last in Wellington' she was told 'her only way would be to proceed under the provisions of Sec 208 of "The Native Land Act, 1909" ', for if 'successful under that section' she would be in 'the same position as a European'. Sheridan considered this reasonable, as she was 'practically a European being married to one of the

¹⁴⁰ R.S. Bush to Patrick Sheridan, 17 February 1908, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 461, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹⁴¹ Patrick Sheridan to R.S. Bush, 11 March 1908, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W; R.S. Bush to A.W. Edwards, 16 March 1908, Te Aroha Warden's Court, Warden's Letterbook 1905-1909, p. 476, BACL 14458/3a, ANZ-A.

¹⁴² A.W. Edwards to R.S. Bush, 20 March 1908, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁴³ Declaration of George Lipsey, Ani Edwards, Mary Ann O'Halloran, Elizabeth Barker, and Ema Lipsey, 14 August 1908, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W.

¹⁴⁴ Te Aroha News, 20 May 1909, p. 2; Te Aroha Correspondent, Auckland Weekly News, 27 May 1909, p. 36.

¹⁴⁵ Te Aroha News, 30 April 1910, p. 2.

¹⁴⁶ Axford, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ Under-Secretary, Native Department, to A.W. Edwards, 3 May 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

leading business men of the place'. ¹⁴⁸ Accordingly, in July 1911 Ani applied to have 'her land at Te Aroha declared European land', and in the following May the court declared Block IX Section 17C to be European land. ¹⁴⁹ She was later able to sell her Lipseytown land for £85 14s per acre. ¹⁵⁰

INVESTMENTS IN MINING

Ani did not invest in mining. Apart from having some connection with a search for gold at Kaimanawa, near Lake Taupo, in 1896,¹⁵¹ with two exceptions all Edwards' investments were close to Te Aroha township; all were unsuccessful. In January 1889 he attended a meeting of shareholders of the Golden Crown, at Stoney Creek;¹⁵² It is not known how many shares he had then, but in March he purchased 15 for £10.¹⁵³ When the Te Aroha Prospecting Association was formed three years later, he elected to its committee.¹⁵⁴ In August 1895 he applied for Mount Morgan, 20 acres near the boundary of the domain reserve, and was granted it the following month; three days later he sold it for £7 2s.¹⁵⁵ Three years later he held 4,800 of the 100,000 shares in the Inland Reefs Company.¹⁵⁶ In December 1898 he applied for the Golden Lead, also near the boundary of the domain

¹⁴⁸ Memorandum of Patrick Sheridan, 28 July 1910, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁴⁹ Miller and Son to Registrar, Native Land Court, Auckland, 29 July 1911, Aroha Block IX Section 17, H1082; Memorandum of Decision of Native Land Court at Rotorua on 31 May 1912, Aroha Block IX Section 17, H1082; Miller and Son to Registrar, Native Land Court, Auckland, 24 June 1912, Te Aroha No. 1 file, H792, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

¹⁵⁰ Patrick Sheridan to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 11 March 1915, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 10/46, Part 1, ANZ-W.

¹⁵¹ Ohinemuri Gazette, 28 October 1896, p. 2.

¹⁵² Waikato Times, 22 January 1889, p. 3.

¹⁵³ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Share Transfers between James Don and A.W. Edwards, 14 March 1889, Transfers and Assignments 1889, BBAV 11581/10a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁴ Auckland Weekly News, 26 November 1892, p. 23; Mines Department, MD 1, 93/1281, ANZ-W.

¹⁵⁵ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Applications for Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1895-1899, 35/1895, BBAV 11582/4a; Register of Licensed Holdings 1887-1909, folio 63, BBAV 11500/8b; A.W. Edwards to John Williams, 24 April 1896, Transfers and Assignments 1896-1899, BBAV 11581/15a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁶ New Zealand Gazette, 6 May 1897, p. 1036.

reserve, becoming its sole owner in the following March; after paying outstanding rent he surrendered it in August 1903. ¹⁵⁷ In 1908 he held 2,000 shares in the Bendigo Company, the only Waiorongomai mine he invested in. ¹⁵⁸ In December 1910, with a partner he gave an option to buy the Pick, Dish, and Golden Slipper, close to the top of the mountain, to a representative of a Sydney firm, which would test the ground; if then sold, they would receive £1,000 in cash and 30 per cent of the new company's shares. ¹⁵⁹ It was not sold.

FINANCES

In September 1895, Edwards' bank manager noted that his overdraft of £144 was down from £271 six months previously and secured by three securities valued at £350. 'Last balance sheet showed a surplus of about £1000. Does fair trade – a/c operative and safe'. ¹⁶⁰ Six months later the manager very briefly commented: 'Sound'. ¹⁶¹ By another six months later the overdraft had fallen to £113. 'Of small means. Doing a fair trade. Leans heavily on merchants. Meets engagements fairly well – but occasionally renews his bills'. ¹⁶² He had not paid off his overdraft by March 1898, but after continuing to reduce it increased to £40 in March 1898. ¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Applications for Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1895-1899, 7/1898, BBAV 11582/4a; Register of Applications 1891-1899, hearings of 27 January 1899, 4 March 1899, BBAV 11505/4a; Transfers and Assignments 1901-1903, 7/1903, BBAV 11581/16a, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁸ List of Shares Allotted in Bendigo Company, 10 September 1908, Company Files, BADZ 5181, box 226 no. 1085, ANZ-A.

¹⁵⁹ Te Aroha Warden's Court, Mining Registrations 1906-1911, 1/1911, BCDG 11288/3a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁰ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 30 September 1895 [no pagination], Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

¹⁶¹ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 31 March 1896 [no pagination], Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

¹⁶² Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Book to 30 September 1896, Report on Advances [no pagination], Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

¹⁶³ Bank of New Zealand, Paeroa Branch, Half-Yearly Balance Books to 31 March 1897, 30 September 1897, 31 March 1898 [no pagination], Bank of New Zealand Archives, Wellington.

As indications of the family's comfortable financial circumstances, in January 1898 Ani advertised for a nurse girl. ¹⁶⁴ When the family planned to leave Te Aroha later that year, she sold all her furniture, which included an eight-piece drawing room suite, an eight-piece horsehair suite, 'first class piano almost new', gipsy tables, and a chandelier. ¹⁶⁵ When his mother died in 1905, Edwards with three other beneficiaries shared the proceeds of the sale of her Taupiri house and half-acre allotment. ¹⁶⁶

Only once was Edwards sued over a debt: for £33 17s, in 1915. ¹⁶⁷ In 1903, 1904, and 1905 Ani was sued to force her to pay £3 6s 3d in taxes owing. ¹⁶⁸ In 1928 she was sued for £4. ¹⁶⁹ Amongst those whom Edwards took to court was his brother-in-law, Augustus Lipsey, in 1901 obtaining a distress warrant to enforce payment of £31 18s 1d. ¹⁷⁰ In January 1903 he sought a judgment summons against him for £56 6s 2d, but his application was struck out. ¹⁷¹ One liability in Lipsey's bankrupt estate in April that year was £59 1s 2d owed to Edwards. ¹⁷²

SOCIAL AND SPORTING LIFE

Ani was occasionally mentioned in the newspaper as leading an active social life; for instance, in 1902, she was the first woman listed as attending an invitation social.¹⁷³ During that year, with one of her sisters she was on a woman's committee organizing private socials for the volunteer fire brigade, at which they both played the piano. (Edwards was a timekeeper

¹⁶⁴ Te Aroha News, 18 January 1898, p. 2.

¹⁶⁵ Te Aroha News, 26 July 1898, p. 2; Waikato Argus, 13 August 1898, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ Probate of Margaret Edwards, Probates BBAE 1567/5516, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁷ Magistrate's Court, Te Aroha News, 12 May 1915, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, 15/1903, 30/1904, 55/1905, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁶⁹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1927-1929, 155/1928, BCDG 11221/6a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷⁰ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Home Warrant Book 1883-1928, 9/1901, BBAV 11498/1a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷¹ Te Aroha Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1896-1907, Judgment Summons dated 27 January 1903, BCDG 11221/2a, ANZ-A.

¹⁷² Memorandum of Akuhata Koroponga Lipsey's liabilities, 16 April 1903, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/35b, ANZ-W.

¹⁷³ Observer, 9 August 1902, p. 9.

for brigade competitions.)¹⁷⁴ In 1908 she held an entertainment to farewell a young woman.¹⁷⁵ Although not a Catholic, two years later she played the piano at a social to raise money to build St Joseph's Church.¹⁷⁶

Edwards supported several sports. In 1886 he was on the committee organizing a regatta on the Prince of Wales' birthday.¹⁷⁷ Four years later his paddock was being used by the cricket and football clubs, and from that year onwards he was one of the many vice presidents of the latter.¹⁷⁸ In 1892 he judged a boat race, and three years later was elected a vice-president of the junior rowing club.¹⁷⁹ In 1917 he was elected vice-president of a 'gentlemen's hockey team'.¹⁸⁰ In contrast, Ani played sport rather than helped to organize it, winning a women's golf competition in 1921.¹⁸¹

In 1898, Edwards, 'one of the keenest sportsmen in the neighbourhood', showed a reporter over the racecourse. ¹⁸² The local newspaper described him as being notable for his love of horse racing. ¹⁸³ In 1890 he was both treasurer and a steward ¹⁸⁴ of the Te Aroha Racing Club, and in November 1895 became treasurer of the Te Aroha Jockey Club, retaining this position for several years. ¹⁸⁵ In March 1897 he was on the works committee of the latter, and the following month was appointed treasurer for the sports and hack races to be held on Easter Monday. ¹⁸⁶ In November he was on the committee organizing 'Hack Sports'. ¹⁸⁷ Two years

¹⁷⁴ Auckland Weekly News, 17 July 1902, p. 34.

¹⁷⁵ Te Aroha News, 13 June 1908, p. 2.

 $^{^{176}\} Te\ Aroha\ News,$ 1 July 1910, p. 2.

¹⁷⁷ Te Aroha News, 23 October 1886, p. 2.

¹⁷⁸ Te Aroha News, 1 February 1890, p. 2, 26 April 1890, p. 2, 23 April 1907, p. 2; Thames Advertiser, 1 April 1896, p. 2; Waikato Times, 6 April 1897, p. 2.

Auckland Weekly News, 24 September 1892, p. 23; Te Aroha News, 16 October 1895, p.2.

¹⁸⁰ Te Aroha News, 13 July 1917, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ Te Aroha News, 6 June 1921, p. 2.

¹⁸² Te Aroha News, 10 March 1898, p. 2.

¹⁸³ Te Aroha News, 12 March 1898, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ For photograph of him as a steward in the early days of the club, see *Te Aroha News*, 29 August 1934, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ Te Aroha News, 19 February 1890, p. 2, 16 November 1895, p. 2; Thames Advertiser, 2 December 1897, p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Waikato Argus, 27 March 1897, p. 2, 3 April 1897, p. 2.

¹⁸⁷ Te Aroha Times and Waiorongomai Advocate, 3 November 1897, p. 2.

later he became a vice-president of the Te Aroha West Hack Club Races. ¹⁸⁸ In 1902 he was a timekeeper at the gymkhana held by the Piako Mounted Rifles. ¹⁸⁹ In 1922, he was secretary of both the Te Aroha Trotting Club and the local branch of the Waikato Hunt, in the following year was secretary of the Waihou Polo Club, and in 1924 secretary of the Waikato Hunt. ¹⁹⁰ He was secretary of the Te Aroha Jockey Club in 1925, if not earlier, retaining this position at the time of his death two years later. ¹⁹¹

One of their racehorses, Honesty, won the South Auckland Cup in Hamilton in 1900. 192 According to her 1930 obituary, Ani was a 'true sportswoman, and about 20 years ago owned and raced the mare Honesty, one of the most consistent thoroughbreds of her time'. 193 Ten years later, Manapouri won the Avondale Handicap in Auckland as well as providing Edwards' only win in the Te Aroha Cup. 194 According to a history of the local club, Manapouri was one of the 'top horses' of the time. 195 Edwards' obituary mentioned that he had other good horses and was 'a great sporting man and at one time was particularly interested in the racing of the thoroughbred'; for an unspecified number of years he had been president of the Jockey Club. 196 The brief history of the club did not mention him as holding this position; if he did, it was before 1909. 197

OTHER COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In 1887 Edwards attended a meeting to discuss establishing a sanatorium. 198 For a time he owned the building housing the public library,

¹⁸⁸ Waikato Argus, 14 October 1899, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Auckland Weekly News, 18 December 1902, p. 33.

¹⁹⁰ Te Aroha News, 16 May 1922, p. 1, 22 March 1923, p. 1, 10 June 1924, p. 1.

¹⁹¹ Cartoon, Observer, 18 April 1925, p. 19; Te Aroha News, 9 December 1927, p. 8, 16 December 1927, p. 1.

¹⁹² Te Aroha News, 13 March 1900, p. 2.

¹⁹³ Te Aroha News, 10 March 1930, p. 5.

¹⁹⁴ Te Aroha News, 12 April 1910, p. 2; D.J. Lloyd and P.J. Reilly, 100 Years of Racing 1880-1980: the Te Aroha Jockey Club (Inc.) (Te Aroha, 1980), [p. 5].

¹⁹⁵ Lloyd and Reilly, [p. 4].

¹⁹⁶ *Te Aroha News*, 16 December 1927, p. 1.

¹⁹⁷ Lloyd and Reilly, photographs of 'Presidents Over the Years', [p. 57].

¹⁹⁸ Te Aroha News, 20 August 1887, p. 3.

and in 1890 reduced its rent to 5s a week.¹⁹⁹ In the twentieth century his 'Club room' was used by societies for meetings.²⁰⁰ In 1902, he was an honorary member of the Te Aroha Rifles.²⁰¹ Six years later he was on the committee of the new Te Aroha Chamber of Commerce.²⁰² Made a justice of the peace in 1909, he must have resigned, because in 1913 he declined to be one; in 1917 he was acting as one once more.²⁰³

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In 1898 Edwards announced he was standing for the new borough council at the request of 'a very large number of ratepayers'; he topped the poll.²⁰⁴ He nominated Thomas Gavin²⁰⁵ for mayor, but his choice was narrowly defeated.²⁰⁶ His career thereon has not been traced, apart from the fact that he was re-elected in the following year and again in 1909 and 1910. Although in 1909 'Ratepayer' stated that he would make a good mayor,²⁰⁷ he stood as a councillor, coming second with 180 votes compared with the highest tally of 191.²⁰⁸ One year later he resigned after quarrelling with his fellow councillors over a road to his land near the railway station.²⁰⁹

In 1900, he was a member of the Waihou Domain Board and a cemetery trustee, and still held these positions eight years later.²¹⁰

DEATHS

¹⁹⁹ Te Aroha News, 16 July 1890, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ For example, *Te Aroha News*, 13 July 1917, p. 2, 19 September 1919, p. 2.

²⁰¹ Cyclopedia of New Zealand, vol. 2, p. 830.

²⁰² Auckland Weekly News, 23 April 1908, p. 36.

²⁰³ Auckland Weekly News, 30 September 1909, p. 23; F.J. Burgess to Under-Secretary, Justice Department, 30 May 1913, Thames Warden's Letterbook 1913-16, p. 31, BACL 14458/3b, ANZ-A; Te Aroha News, 6 July 1917, p. 2.

²⁰⁴ Te Aroha News, advertisement, 30 June 1898, p. 2, 12 July 1898, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ Auckland Weekly News, 2 July 1898, p. 21.

²⁰⁶ See paper on his life.

²⁰⁷ Letter from 'Ratepayer', Te Aroha News, 6 March 1909, p. 3.

²⁰⁸ Te Aroha News, 22 April 1909, p. 2, 29 April 1909, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ Te Aroha News, 30 April 1910, p. 2.

²¹⁰ Te Aroha News, 6 February 1900, pp. 2, 3, 10 December 1908, p. 2.

In December 1927, Edwards died aged 70 of pneumonia; he had had fatty degeneration of the heart for several years. His occupation was recorded as secretary and accountant.²¹¹ No earlier illness had been reported, although in 1900, when returning from Tauranga, his buggy had capsized on a sharp corner and he had hit the ground 'with considerable force', and upon reaching home was 'seized with internal pains'.²¹² His obituary said that, having been in failing health for some time, he had recently been 'unable to leave his room'. He was eulogized for being 'associated in a conspicuous way with those who laid the foundations of Te Aroha and assisted its early development', though living a 'quiet life' in recent years. 'He was a man who was greatly respected and he was sincere and genuine in all that he did'.²¹³ A year after his death, an 'In Memoriam' notice was published: 'Oh, what would we give to clasp his hand, his dear kind face to see, to hear his voice, to see his smile that means so much to us.- Inserted by his loving wife and family'.²¹⁴

Ani did not have a long widowhood, dying in March 1930 of a stroke. She had earlier endured chronic nephritis, or inflammation of the kidneys; she was 56.²¹⁵ Her obituary recorded that she was

beloved by a host of intimate friends throughout the district. She was of a most kindly and charitable disposition and a sincere friend. Members of the many institutions assisted by her over a number of years will revere her memory and her decease will be especially deplored by those who recognised the sterling qualities of one that ever worked willingly for the many good causes whose welfare she had at heart.²¹⁶

CONCLUSION

Both Ani Edwards and her husband were fondly remembered for their involvement in many good causes and their sporting endeavours. Ani had adapted well to Pakeha society, being well educated and a good pianist, and was regarded by officials as 'practically a European being married to one of

²¹¹ Death Certificate of Alexander Watson Edwards, 15 December 1927, 1927/9468, BDM.

²¹² Te Aroha News, 3 March 1900, p. 2.

²¹³ Te Aroha News, 16 December 1927, p. 1.

²¹⁴ Te Aroha News, 14 December 1928, p. 8.

²¹⁵ Death Certificate of Ani Jane Edwards, 3 March 1930, 1930/552, BDM.

²¹⁶ Te Aroha News, 10 March 1930, p. 5.

the leading business men of the place'. Although she sold most of her land, sometimes over the concerns of officials reluctant to create more landless Maori, she invested it wisely in her husband's business, a stark contrast to her brother Akuhata.

Appendix

Figure 1: Plan of Lipsey's Block, showing portion 'Occupied by Annie Edwards, "ne Lipsey" ', c, 1906, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/87, ANZ-W [Archives New Zealand The Department of Internal Affairs Te Tari Taiwhenua]; used with permission.

