

## **WORKS USED FOR A COLD WIND DOWN THE GREY**

### **CHAPTER ONE: A TESTIMONIAL FOR INSPECTOR JAMES ON HIS RETIREMENT**

1. Resident Magistrate's Court., Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XXXI, Issue 11745, 3 March 1888.

The Bason's were a troubled family; Joshua was first before the courts at seven, when he was caught in an orchard attempting to shoot game. However, after serving his time at the industrial school he returned to Wanganui and became a model citizen, raising and showing setters; he died at 34 after cycling home from a dog show and contracting pneumonia and pleurisy, and was much mourned by his mother and brother.

2. All direct quotations in the retirement presentation, with minor changes, were taken from: Presentation to Inspector James, Wanganui Herald, Volume XXII, Issue 6496, 26 April 1888
3. Wanganui Chronicle. and Patea-Rangitikei Advertiser: "Nulla Dies Sine Linea." Friday, April 27, ,1888., Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XXXI, Issue 11782, 27 April 1888
4. This phrase is taken from an email to me from Fran McGowan, Senior Librarian for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, Wellington, New Zealand.
5. The Canterbury Gold Escort., Evening Post, Issue 270, 19 December 1865. The escort story was mentioned in Inspector James' obituary as one he often told.
6. A Magnificent Proposal for A Canterbury Escort., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 849, 19 December 1865
7. The description here is based on an advertisement for an auction at Inspector James' home: Page 3 Advertisements Column 7, Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XXXIII, Issue 11233, 3 April 1891

### **CHAPTER TWO: FINDING GEORGE DOBSON**

8. <sup>1</sup>'The death of Carl Völkner', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/classroom/the-classroom/historic-events-activities/the-death-of-volkner-classroom-activities>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 11-Jul-2014
9. The coal pits mentioned in this chapter became the Brunner Mine, infamous for the 1896 Brunner Mine Explosion, which killed 65 men, the worst industrial accident ever to

happen in New Zealand.

10. Details of James finding the body were noted in several newspapers, especially those writing about the inquest, but the Grey River Argus was always my best source:  
The Murder of Mr. George Dobson., Grey River Argus, Issue 76, 7 July 1866

### **CHAPTER THREE: BACK TO GREYMOUTH**

11. Inspector James was a frequent target of the press, as in this instance.  
Page 1 Advertisements Column 7, Grey River Argus, Issue 72, 28 June 1866
12. A letter writer complained about George Dobson and his part in the condition of the roads in January of the year of the murder:  
The Twelve-Mile., Grey River Argus, Issue 16, 6 January 1866
13. The Dobson family a Julius von Haast were busy on the west coast well before the murder:  
Dr. Haast's Report on The West Canterbury Goldfields, Lyttelton Times, Volume XXIII, Issue 1395, 4 May 1865
14. Oral thrush, a fungal disease of the mouth, most common in premature babies, can kill an infant if it spreads to the lungs or stomach, or “goes through” the baby. Now successfully treated by antibiotics.

### **CHAPTER FOUR: THE AUTOPSY**

15. John Heron wrote an angry letter to the paper about complaints that he was keeping pigs inside the town limits. Heron was also the proprietor of Jack's Nonpareil Pie Shop and played a part in the trial the following year: Where Are Pigs to Be Kept., Grey River Argus, Issue 58, 26 May 1866
16. Things had not changed by the early 1960s, when my father, who was a manager with the Bank of New Zealand, was discouraged from having a wife who worked and was told what to wear to work, much to his displeasure. No brown shoes with dark grey suits!
17. Details of the suicide of the bank manager can be found here:  
Determined Suicide., Grey River Argus, Issue 77, 10 July 1866
18. Queen Victoria's doctors gave her chloroform for the births of her eighth and ninth children in the late 1850s, helping make the practice acceptable. See:

<https://thechirurgeonsapprentice.com/2014/08/15/the-anaesthetized-queen-the-path-to-painless-childbirth/>

19. Both Dr. Foppoly and Dr. Strehz advertised regularly in the Grey River Argus offering the services described in this chapter.
20. Dr. Foppoly had strong feelings about sanitation, although I took some liberties with his habits:  
Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 100, 1 September 1866
21. The autopsy is based on various newspaper accounts of Dr. Foppoly's testimony at the inquest, with occasional words and actions added for dramatic effect.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE: THE INQUEST DAY ONE**

22. Further Confessions of Sullivan., Grey River Argus, Issue 75, 5 July 1866
23. A description of Mr. Revell, who was a major presence on the west at this time, can be found here:  
Hilary Low, *Pay Dirt: 'The Westland Goldfields' from the Diary of William Smart*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2016, p. 87.
24. Information regarding the inquest can be found in these sources:  
The Murder of Mr. George Dobson., Grey River Argus, Issue 77, 10 July 1866  
Resident Magistrates Court., Grey River Argus, Issue 76, 7 July 1866

#### **CHAPTER SIX: KARORO CEMETERY**

25. The funeral of George Dobson was attended by many, and the fact that his friends insisted on carrying his coffin to the cemetery two miles along the rocky, driftwood-strewn beach was a touching testament to the young surveyor:  
Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 72, 28 June 1866
26. The description of the cemetery is taken from a contemporary report: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 57, 24 May 1866
27. The complimentary words about George Dobson were spoken by John Rochfort at a meeting about constructing a monument in George Dobson's memory. In Memoriam.,

West Coast Times, Issue 252, 13 July 1866

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: THE COACH RETURNS**

28. Description of Greymouth taken from a contemporary description.  
Tracks to the Greenstone., West Coast Times, Issue 969, 30 October 1868
29. Thomas Harvey James became a successful architect.
30. James and Mary Ann Hickson went on to have nine more children.
31. For another contemporary description of Greymouth:
32. Wilson's behaviour in his cell is described here:  
Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 87, 2 August 1866

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: DAY TWO OF THE INQUEST**

33. All the material from this section is taken from the inquest into George Dobson's death:  
The Murder of Mr. George Dobson., Grey River Argus, Issue 78, 12 July 1866
34. Mr. Duncan is called Daniel at the inquest and David at the trial. My investigation shows that David Duncan had a store in Maori Gully (Duncan's store, mentioned by Anderson), and that there was not a Duncan called Daniel. I assume the papers got the name wrong at the inquest.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: WANGANUI: THE BOATMAN'S STEPS**

35. For more information about Titokowaru, read the terrific book, *I Shall Not Die*, by James Belich, or see his overview here: James Belich. 'Titokowaru, Riwha', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t101/titokowaru-riwha> (accessed 12 January 2017)
36. Information about Croziers descendants was obtained from Ancestry:  
Ancestry.com. *England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966, 1973-1995* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. William Alexander Jubilee Crozier died in Tooting Bec Hospital, London in 1959, leaving an estate of £177.

37. G. P. Barton. 'Northcroft, Erima Harvey', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 10-Dec-2013. Inspector James' grandson Erima was a noted lawyer, military leader and judge. He was one of eleven members of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, convened in 1946 to try the leaders of the Empire of Japan. Erima Northcroft's mother was Louisa James.
38. The death of Mr. Fox in the Teremakau River is described here: Death by Drowning of Mr. E. B. Fox., Grey River Argus, Volume XVI, Issue 2178, 2 August 1875

#### **CHAPTER TEN: THE NIGHT VISIT**

39. The description of Inspector James' encounter with Wilson was taken from Inspector James deposition at Wilson's trial: The Dobson Murder Case., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 143, 11 December 1866
40. The information about the letter Mr. Fox was asked to carry and other information from DeLacey's testimony was found here:  
Examination of William DeLacey., The Colonist, Volume x, Issue 694, 21 December 1866
41. The meeting between Wilson and James is based on a letter to Inspector James produced in court: Murder of Mr. Dobson, at the Grey., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXV, Issue 156, 15 December 1866

#### **CHAPTER ELEVEN: THE WARNING**

42. Sergeant Walsh was proficient with a loaded stick, or shillelagh, as seen in this article:  
Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume VII, Issue 491, 9 March 1869. Constantine Walsh, a carpenter by trade, arrived from Galway in 1864 aged twenty-five. He was part of an early foray of the gold escort. He disappeared from the news a couple of years after the Dobson murder and reappeared in Christchurch working as a meat inspector. He had been accused of taking a five pound note from a prisoner, which may have led to his new posting.
43. Sullivan's Victorian History., Grey River Argus, Volume XVI, Issue 2004, 9 January

1875

44. At a pretrial in December, Inspector James testified to meeting Sullivan on a previous occasion in Australia:

The Dobson Murder Case., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 143, 11 December 1866

## **CHAPTER TWELVE: THE ARREST/ CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE REPORTER**

Sources for the information in these chapters can found in these articles:

45. West Coast Times. Saturday, September 16, 1865, West Coast Times, Issue 45, 16 September 1865
46. The Grey River Argus. Saturday, June 16, 1866., Grey River Argus, Issue 67, 16 June 1866
47. The Grey River Argus. Saturday, June 16, 1866., Grey River Argus, Issue 67, 16 June 1866
48. Greymouth., Grey River Argus, Issue 69, 21 June 1866
49. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 70, 23 June 1866
50. West Coast Times. Thursday, June 28, 1866., West Coast Times, Issue 239, 28 June 1866

<sup>1</sup> The Colonist. Nelson, Friday, June 22, 1866., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 912, 22 June 1866

## **CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE INTERVIEW**

George Dobson's father, Edward Dobson, spent a considerable amount of time in Greymouth while searching for his son. Mr. Todhunter stayed longer and was there when the body was discovered. They were both in Greymouth when news came about the Maungatapu murders and the discovery of the bodies in Nelson. Sources below:

51. The Murders on the Maungatapu., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 914, 29 June 1866
52. Based on an article in the Nelson Examiner: The Maungatapu Murders., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXV, Issue 79, 28 June 1866

## **CHAPTER FIFTEEN: THE BODY**

53. Inspector Broham's involvement in the search is covered here: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 75, 5 July 1866
54. I may have taken some liberties with his personality, but Broham was much as I describe him: Richard S. Hill. 'Broham, Thomas', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b34/broham-thomas> (accessed 20 April 2017)

## **CHAPTER SIXTEEN: THE MAUNGATAPU MURDERS**

Using flashbacks allowed me to tell the story from Inspector James point of view, as he was not in Nelson during the events of the discovery of the bodies, the trial and the hanging of the three gang members. Sources for these chapter are included below.

55. I grew up drinking home-made ginger beer made from a plant (sugar and yeast) that was divided and passed from one family to another. For instructions on how to make the plant, and to see the kind of bottle James was drinking from, look here: <https://delishably.com/beverages/How-to-Grow-Your-Own-Ginger-Beer-Plant>
56. A ginger beer cork tying contest took place in Greymouth in 1867, during Wilson's trial: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 164, 31 January 1867
57. Inquest on the Body of James Battle., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 916, 6 July 1866
58. The Maungatapu Murders., Grey River Argus, Issue 110, 25 September 1866
59. The Maungatapu Murders., Nelson Evening Mail, Volume I, Issue 101, 2 July 1866
60. 'Sullivan's Betrayal', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/maungatapu-murders/sullivans-betrayal>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), Updated 14-Aug-2015

## **CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: NEITHER MAN NOR BOY**

61. Information about the gang members before they arrived in Greymouth was posted here: The Otago Daily Times. "Inveniam Viam aut Faciam" Dunedin, Saturday, June 23., Otago Daily Times, Issue 1400, 23 June 1866
62. Sullivan's confession: The Nelson Evening Mail. Friday, June 29, 1866. The Maungatapu Murders. Confession of Sullivan., Nelson Evening Mail, Volume I, Issue 99, 29 June 1866
63. More from Sullivan's confession:

- 64. Modern Thuggee., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 917, 10 July 1866
- 65. The Dobson Murder Case., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 141, 6 December 1866
- 66. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 75, 5 July 1866
- 67. The Maungatapu Murders., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXX, Issue 81, 3 July 1866

## **CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: MORE BODIES/ CHAPTER NINETEEN: GEORGE DOBSON'S LAST WALK**

The headless body that Inspector James went up the Arnold Track to investigate was mentioned briefly in an article in the Grey River Argus. However, there were several other men missing, around the same time and I wanted to give a sense of the danger of the bush at that time. I found information about Mr. Tapperell and his past from Ancestry. Information gleaned from the inquest and the trial is also included in these chapters. The various missing men are covered in the articles below:

- 68. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 85, 28 July 1866
- 69. Fatal Boat Accident at the Grey., West Coast Times, Issue 179, 16 April 1866
- 70. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 74, 3 July 1866
- 71. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 76, 7 July 1866
- 72. Inspector James' request appeared in the paper on July 12<sup>th</sup>.: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 78, 12 July 1866
- 73. Murder of Mr. G. Dobson, Near Greymouth., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXV, Issue 89, 20 July 1866
- 74. Hilary Low, *Pay Dirt: 'The Westland Goldfields' from the Diary of William Smart*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2016, p. 87.
- 75. The Twelve Mile., Grey River Argus, Issue 58, 26 May 1866
- 76. A shanty is the term applied to a store selling illegal alcohol or sly grog. Later in 1866 several people were charged with selling sly grog, including Daniel Alabaster and E. B. Fox, the gold dealer: Warden's Court, Greymouth., Grey River Argus, Issue 125, 30 October 1866



77. In early September 1866, according to the papers, strong winds and heavy rain swept the bridge off its foundations and downstream to the Grey. The Arnold., Grey River Argus, Issue 106, 15 September 1866
78. West Coast Times, Tuesday, November 28, 1865, West Coast Times, Issue 76, 28 November 1865
79. West Coast Gold Fields., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXIV, Issue 148, 9 December 1865
80. Mr. Tapperell's state is mentioned in the following article: The Reform Debate., West Coast Times, Issue 266, 31 July 1866
81. A Henry Tapperell was transported from Britain to Australia in 1852 and arrived in 1853, on the St. Vincent, according to the convict records of Australia. He was one of two men with that name born in England in the nineteenth century; the other, with the middle name of China, remained in England into the early twentieth century. The son of the convict later lived in Wellington, New Zealand so it seems likely that this Henry Tapperell was the convict from Australia.
82. The speaker is referring to a meeting held in June in the Shamrock Hotel, Maori Gully, where a road from Greymouth and a post office were both discussed: The Arnold 15152., Grey River Argus, Issue 65, 12 June 1866
83. Quoted in *The Diggers' Story*, Canterbury University Press, 2014, edited by Julia Bradshawe of the Hokitika Museum, p. 139.
84. Mr. Fox was a major shareholder of this company, as well as a broker of the water rights: Page 4 Advertisements Column 2, Grey River Argus, Issue 85, 28 July 1866
85. Tracks to the Greenstone., West Coast Times, Issue 969, 30 October 1868
86. The Grey River Argus. Tuesday, July 10, 1866., Grey River Argus, Issue 77, 10 July 1866
87. A Visit to Rutherglen., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 192, 6 April 1867
88. I'm not sure what school Louisa James attended, but found information on schools in general here:  
Church of England Meeting., Grey River Argus, Issue 16, 6 January 1866  
Greymouth Schools., Grey River Argus, Volume VI, Issue 385, 2 July 1868

## **CHAPTER TWENTY: THE SKITTLE ALLEY**

89. Inspector James' coffee is a latter-day version of what New Zealanders now call a flat white
90. Page 4 Advertisements Column 2, Grey River Argus, Issue 80, 17 July 1866 (The Skittle Alley)
91. New Zealand women got the vote in 1893, and by 1896 both Elizabeth and Louisa James found their way onto the voters' list. Drunkenness persists until this day, although not as obviously as when the pubs closed at six o'clock every day, which was the case when I was growing up. Elizabeth signed the 1893 petition asking for female suffrage. No doubt she, like many women in her time, also campaigned for temperance. I have covered temperance in another of my books, Dead Shot.
92. Later that year, Inspector James was praised in several papers as an expert in physiognomy when he recognized someone being tried for "sly grog selling" (an illicit still owner) as a wanted man: Nelson Evening Mail, Nelson Evening Mail, Volume I, Issue 219, 17 November 1866

## **CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE: THE CRITERION HOTEL**

93. Details of the conversation with Priscilla Fellows are taken from the trial: The Dobson Murder Case., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 144, 13 December 1866
94. A pretrial occurred in late 1866 and some of the details in this chapter come from that instance:  
Resident Magistrate's Court, Greymouth., West Coast Times, Issue 315, 26 September 1866, Supplement  
The Dobson Murder Case., West Coast Times, Issue 380, 11 December 1866  
Statement of Wilson, Charged with Being an Accessory To The Murder Of Mr. Dobson, At The Grey., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand
95. Wilson's alibi was published in the Hokitika Evening Star. The Hokitika Evening Star is not available online, but the alibi was later republished in a Nelson paper: Mr. Dobson's Murder., The Colonist, Volume X, Issue 0, 13 November 1866
96. George Sayle presented what seems to be an early version of a forensic map in court: George Dobson's Murder Wellington Independent 15 December 1866

## **CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO: THE ACCESSORIES**

97. Mr. Rochfort's meteorological observations were in this article:  
Importation of Fish Ova., Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle, Volume XXV,  
Issue 89, 20 July 1866
98. The New Rush at the Teremakau., West Coast Times, Issue 303, 12 September 1866
99. In 1870, Hickson took over James' position at the Greymouth police camp, and James went to Hokitika, in charge of the entire West Coast. In 1877, Hickson was transferred to Canterbury because (according to his gravesite page on Find a Grave) of an ongoing clash with his superior—Commissioner William Henry James.
100. James' talk with Sergeant Hickson is summarized and dramatized from:  
Examination of J. A. Carr., West Coast Times, Issue 389, 21 December 1866. Hickson gave evidence at that hearing.
101. John Aitchison Carr had several names in his family tree (Aitchison, Graham, Paterson, Robertson) that are also found in my family tree, and I believe we are related; however, I have been unable to find the precise link, other than his father Robert Graham Carr marrying his mother Jean Aitchison near my great grandparents' family farm in Kitchside, Lanarkshire. Carr went on to become an undertaker in Westport, a hundred kilometres up the coast from Greymouth. He died a few years later.
102. The description of the Hokitika Gaol is taken from a letter to the paper from a man who had spent some time in the gaol: Correspondence., West Coast Times, Issue 71, 16 November 1865, Supplement
103. These articles includes information about the robbery at the police camp in Hokitika. The Dobson Murder Case—Trial of Wilson., West Coast Times, Issue 373, 3 December 1866
104. Atrocious Murder In Hokitika, Grey River Argus, Volume X, Issue 777, 10 January 1871

## **CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE: BURGESS CONFESSES**

105. Execution of The Murderers., The Colonist, Volume IX, Issue 943, 9 October 1866

106. Burgess' confession was published in several papers, including in the town of execution, Nelson:

The Nelson Evening Mail. Friday, October 5, 1806. Execution of Burgess, Kelly, and Levy., Nelson Evening Mail, Volume I, Issue 183, 5 October 1866

#### **CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR: THE BRIDGE**

107. Details of the hangings can be found here:

Wellington Independent, Wellington Independent, Volume XXI, Issue 2435, 1 November 1866

108. The whole country was angry with Sullivan because he admitted to being present at the murder, turned Queen's Evidence and got away with his crimes:

The Convict Sullivan., Wellington Independent, Volume XXI, Issue 2432, 25 October 1866

#### **CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE: SULLIVAN RETURNS**

109. Although I have no idea where Inspector James might have stayed in Hokitika, the Exchange Hotel sounded interesting and Mr. and Mrs. Kortegast fitted in nicely with my story:

Page 1 Advertisements Column 5, West Coast Times, Issue 194, 3 May 1866

110. A summary of Hamilton's lecture can be found here: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Issue 122, 23 October 1866

111. An ad for the phrenology lecture can be found here:

Page 3 Advertisements Column 4, West Coast Times, Issue 370, 29 November 1866

112. Read more details on the interesting but no longer accepted science of Phrenology here: <http://www.historyofphrenology.org.uk/overview.htm>

#### **CHAPTERS TWENTY-SIX AND TWENTY-SEVEN: THE TRIAL**

Information on the trial is contained in the following articles:

113. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 161, 24 January 1867

114. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 162, 26 January 1867

115. The Dobson Murder., Lyttelton Times, Volume XXVII, Issue 1920, 14 February 1867

116. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 166, 5 February 1867
117. Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 166, 5 February 1867
118. The Grey River Argus. Tuesday, February 5, 1867., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 166, 5 February 1867
119. The Grey River Argus. Tuesday, February 5, 1867., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 166, 5 February 1867

#### **CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT: A LETTER TO THE EDITOR**

120. Wilson attempted to blame James for his problems in a letter to the newspaper: The Dobson Murder., Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 166, 5 February 1867
121. The paper soon came to James' defense with the details given here: Grey River Argus, Grey River Argus, Volume III, Issue 169, 12 February 1867

#### **CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE: A COLD WIND DOWN THE GREY**

122. Rider Haggard's novel was published in three years earlier in 1885 and was available at H.I. Jones's bookstore in Wanganui for six shillings and sixpence. A review in January 1888 commented that Haggard and R.L. Stevenson had revived "the flagging spirits of readers of fiction: Present-Day Fictions, Wanganui Chronicle, Volume XXXI, Issue 11687, 18 January 1888