

Historical Report on Hamilton Street and City Names

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Introduction

This historical report has been commissioned by Hamilton City Council, in association with Waikato Tainui, to assist the Mayor and council members to consider proposals with regard to the renaming of Hamilton to Kirikiriroa and for Von Tempsky, Bryce and Grey streets to also be renamed.

It does not discuss these proposals or take any view on the merits of them but instead briefly examines the historical evidence concerning the naming of these streets and the settlement, before providing historical portraits of the individuals after whom these streets (and the city of Hamilton) are named, i.e. Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky, John Bryce, Sir George Grey, and Captain John Fane Charles Hamilton.

These portraits draw upon a range of historical sources, primary and secondary, including where available existing biographical information about the lives of these individuals. It is not intended to provide an exhaustive account of their life stories. In the case of George Grey, for example, multiple full-length biographies, each running to hundreds of pages, have been published and his life and career extended over multiple countries and continents. By contrast, John Fane Charles Hamilton was a relatively minor historical figure and there remain gaps in what is known about his story, even after locating his naval service records in Britain's National Archives.

For the purposes of this report, connections with Hamilton and the broader Waikato region are highlighted where possible, but not exclusively. Captain Hamilton famously never visited the settlement that would come to be named after him, while John Bryce was best known for his actions elsewhere. As governor, Grey ordered the invasion of Waikato in 1863. But his life story is much bigger than that, as is that of von Tempsky, one of the colonial soldiers who took part in the invasion.

John Fane Charles Hamilton (1820-1864)

Origins of the Name

The military settlement of Hamilton, established in August 1864 on the site of a Māori kainga known as Kirikiriroa, was named in honour of Captain John Fane Charles Hamilton, recently killed during the battle of Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) on 29 April of that year. Evidence for this naming comes from an 1870 farewell dinner to Lieutenant-Colonel William Moule, commander of the 4th Waikato Regiment at the time the new settlement was established. Responding to a toast in his honour, Moule told the gathering that:

it is now more than six years since he cleared a spot 'mid the brown fern at Kirikiriroa, upon which to pitch his tent. He had the honor of naming the settlement after the late Captain Hamilton, of H.M.S. Esk, who died while gallantly fighting for his country and the colonists of New Zealand, at the Gate Pa.¹

Moule's statement was highlighted decades later, when claims were put forth that the settlement had been named after Colonel Hamilton of the 12th Regiment (East Suffolks).² Historian P.J. Gibbon's statement that Moule '[c]onsciously or unconsciously' must also have had in mind other Hamiltons is impossible to verify.³ What we do know is that Moule himself clearly stated that he had named the settlement after Captain Hamilton and that other evidence confirms this fact.⁴

¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 15 April 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18700415.2.30>

² *Waikato Times*, 24 July 1923, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WT19230724.2.89>

³ P.J. Gibbons, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton*, Hamilton: Hamilton City Council, 1977, p.35.

⁴ *Waikato Times*, 2 June 1922, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WT19220602.2.72.1>

Biographical Information

John Fane Charles Hamilton was born in Hildersham, Cambridgeshire, on 28 September 1820.⁵ His father was Colonel John Potter Hamilton and his mother Charlotte Hamilton (nee Fane), the daughter of a long serving Oxford MP.⁶

John joined the navy at the age of 14 in August 1835. He saw active service in the First Opium War (also known as the Anglo-Chinese War) of 1839-42, a series of military engagements intended to force China to allow the importation of opium in payment for tea and other Chinese goods exported to Britain. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the first of what are known as the Unequal Treaties, which opened China up to further British trade and influence. Hamilton was present at and took part in a number of actions during the war prior to the signing of this treaty.⁷

After serving for a time in the Lisbon and Portsmouth naval stations, in 1844 Hamilton was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and posted to the South American station.⁸ However, he was court martialled for disobedience and contempt of orders in 1846 while serving on the sloop HMS *Racer*, and not restored to original seniority until 1848.⁹ The circumstances behind this court martial are not clear.

Between 1848 and 1851 he served on HMS *Prince Regent*, and between 1851 and 1854 on HMS *Bellerophon*. In 1854 he was further promoted to commander and took part in the Crimean War of 1853-56 on HMS *Leander*.¹⁰

⁵ 'John Fane Charles Hamilton (1820-1864)', *Tauranga Memories: Battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga (1864)*, http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/battles_of_gate_pa_and_te_ranga_1864/topics/show/930;

⁶ 'A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Hamilton, John Fane Charles', https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/A_Naval_Biographical_Dictionary/Hamilton,_John_Fane_Charles

⁷ 'A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Hamilton, John Fane Charles',

https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/A_Naval_Biographical_Dictionary/Hamilton,_John_Fane_Charles

⁸ *Daily Southern Cross*, 3 May 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18640503.2.12>

⁹ Admiralty: Officers' Service Records: Hamilton, John F C, Captain, ADM 1961/543, National Archives, London.

¹⁰ Admiralty: Officers' Service Records: Hamilton, John F C, Captain, ADM 1961/543, National Archives, London; Admiralty: Officers' Service Records: Hamilton, John F C, Captain, ADM 196/36/1422, National Archives, London.

In 1855 Hamilton married Laura Parry in Bicester, Oxfordshire. They had three children.¹¹

In 1856 Hamilton became commander of HMS *Elk*, which served at the East Indies and China station, taking part in the Second Opium War against China (1856-60). In December 1857 HMS *Elk* took part in the capture of Canton. In 1858 HMS *Elk* was relocated to the Australia station.¹² Hamilton was promoted to captain in February 1858 following his recent services in China and left the vessel at this time.¹³ Although his movements between 1858 and 1863 are unclear, he probably returned to England.

On 22 May 1863 Hamilton was appointed captain of HMS *Esk*.¹⁴ HMS *Esk* sailed from Portsmouth on 20 May 1863 and docked in Auckland on 4 November 1863.¹⁵ Between the ship's departure from England and its arrival in New Zealand, war had broken out when Crown forces, led by Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron, the commander of British forces in New Zealand, crossed the Mangatāwhiri River on 12 July 1863, commencing the invasion of Waikato.

HMS *Esk* joined a Squadron of Royal Navy vessels deployed to New Zealand and was soon after its arrival deployed as part of the Thames Expedition under Colonel George Carey, the expeditionary force consisting of 44 officers, 922 men and other vessels, including HMS *Miranda*, and the *Sandfly*.¹⁶ Carey had received orders to construct a line of fortifications between Hauraki and Waikato and sailed from Auckland on 16 November 1863. The expedition reached the Firth of Thames just under a week later and commenced constructing a series of redoubts.¹⁷

¹¹ ¹¹ 'John Fane Charles Hamilton (1820-1864)', *Tauranga Memories: Battles of Gate Pa and Te Ranga (1864)*, http://tauranga.kete.net.nz/battles_of_gate_pa_and_te_ranga_1864/topics/show/930

¹² 'Naval Database', <http://www.pbenyon.plus.com/18-1900/E/01585.html>

¹³ *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 November 1863,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18631110.2.16>

¹⁴ Admiralty: Officers' Service Records: Hamilton, John F C, Captain, ADM 1961/543, National Archives, London.

¹⁵ Gerald J. Elliot, 'The Royal Navy in New Zealand: HMS *Esk*, 1863-1866', <http://ellott-postalhistorian.com/articles/HMS-ESK-In-NZ.pdf>

¹⁶ Gerald J. Elliot, 'The Royal Navy in New Zealand: HMS *Esk*, 1863-1866', <http://ellott-postalhistorian.com/articles/HMS-ESK-In-NZ.pdf>

¹⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.281.

However, HMS *Esk* returned to Auckland on 25 November and on 8 December Hamilton and a number of other officers and men left the vessel in order to participate as naval brigade in the Waikato Flotilla, a naval force that took part in the Waikato War and had recently (20-21 November 1863) played a prominent role in the attack on Rangiriri.¹⁸ During his time in Auckland Hamilton attended the military funerals of a number of officers killed in the Rangiriri action.¹⁹

Hamilton probably took part in the occupation of Ngāruawāhia soon after this, a royal salute in recognition of the Queen's flag flying over the settlement being performed on 9 December 1863, before re-joining HMS *Esk* early in January 1864 (although his service records do not describe his movements in any detail at this time).²⁰ A newspaper report noted that a naval brigade led by Captain Hamilton had reached the military camp at Drury on 8 December, marching that same day from Auckland. They were to travel on to the Mangatāwhiri River the next day before shipping on the colonial vessels the *Pioneer* and *Avon* for service in the Waikato.²¹ Waikato Māori had been informed that Governor George Grey would come and talk peace terms with them only after British troops were allowed to enter Ngāruawāhia unopposed and fly the Union Jack there. These terms were complied with in full, Kīngitanga supporters abandoning their settlement and taking down the Māori King's flag. But Grey never came to talk peace.²²

A report late in January 1864 recorded that HMS *Esk* under Captain Hamilton was about to set out for Tauranga from Auckland.²³ Instead, it travelled to the Firth of Thames. By February 1864 Hamilton was described in HMS *Esk*'s log as taking an

¹⁸ 'The Royal Navy in the Waikato Campaign 1863', National Museum of the Royal New Zealand Navy, <http://navymuseum.co.nz/1800-1913-the-royal-navy-in-the-waikato-campaign-1863/>

¹⁹ *Daily Southern Cross*, 30 November 1863, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18631130.2.23>

²⁰ Gerald J. Elliot, 'The Royal Navy in New Zealand: HMS *Esk*, 1863-1866', <http://ellott-postalhistorian.com/articles/HMS-ESK-In-NZ.pdf>

²¹ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 December 1863, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18631209.2.12>

²² Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.267-77.

²³ *New Zealand Herald*, 27 January 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18640127.2.3>

active part in Hauraki operations.²⁴ Since the construction of the various forts in December, a naval blockade had been imposed over the Hauraki district and Hamilton was reported in April 1864 to have confiscated Māori goods for trade from one vessel found to be carrying items worth more than the £100 maximum value that had been stipulated.²⁵ In the same month large numbers of Hauraki Māori agreed to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown, citing the 'uncompromising nature of the blockade' against them as a factor in their decision.²⁶

Back in Auckland, on 20 April 1864 HMS *Esk* and Captain Hamilton welcomed on board a special passenger, Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron. They sailed the same day, reaching their destination at Tauranga the following day. In January 1864 Carey and 600 men had been landed at Tauranga, taking possession of the Te Papa peninsula with the intention of cutting off a supply route for Kīngitanga fighters in the Waikato.²⁷ Some Tauranga Māori began constructing pā in anticipation of an impending clash with Crown forces in their area, convinced that the landing of Carey's men signalled hostile intentions. The arrival of Cameron, who took charge of a force of 1650 men, moved matters closer to open conflict.

In this context, Tauranga Māori had begun fortifying a ridge about five kilometres inland from the Te Papa mission station that Cameron and his officers had commandeered as their headquarters. On 27 April 1864 Cameron reconnoitred the position, known as Gate Pa (Pukehinahina) from a position about 1200 yards away. He was unimpressed by what he saw and gave orders to direct a massive artillery barrage against the pā from first light on 29 April 1864.²⁸ With little sign of activity from inside the pā, and convinced all inside might well be dead, by late afternoon that same day he sent forth a storming party consisting of 150 soldiers from the 43rd

²⁴ Gerald J. Elliot, 'The Royal Navy in New Zealand: HMS *Esk*, 1863-1866', <http://ellott-postalhistorian.com/articles/HMS-ESK-In-NZ.pdf>

²⁵ *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 April 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18640420.2.13>

²⁶ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.281.

²⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.133.

²⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, pp.138-39.

Regiment and 150 sailors and marines from the Naval Brigade. Another 300-strong party, consisting of members of the 43rd Regiment and Naval Brigade, including Captain Hamilton, were to act as a reserve.²⁹

The British entered the pā with ease, encountering minimal resistance. Suddenly, a tremendous but invisible fire was let loose upon them. The Gate Pā defenders were firing from concealed positions beneath the feet of the storming party, inflicting significant casualties. Panicked survivors turned and attempted to flee but were soon mixed up with further reinforcements sent forward by Cameron. Matters quickly became chaotic. In all, over one-third of the storming party ended up as casualties, 31 killed (10 of them officers) and 80 wounded. Māori losses are harder to gauge but might have been between 19 and 32 killed and 25 wounded.³⁰

Among the dead was Captain John Hamilton. A report published a few days later described the circumstances of his death:

The General, who was in the advanced trench of his position, ordered up the supports almost immediately after the storming party rushed the breach; and the second division of blue-jackets and the gallant 43rd, led by Captain Hamilton, of the 'Esk', advanced with a ringing cheer to the support of the forlorn hope. They arrived at a critical moment; the storming party exposed to a murderous fire on all sides, and from hidden assailants beneath, and without an officer left to lead them, were wavering; part were outside the pa. Captain Hamilton sprung upon the parapet, and shouting 'follow me, men!' dashed into the fight. The moment was his last. He fell dead, pierced through the brain by a bullet, and many of his officers shared the same fate.³¹

²⁹ Buddy Mikaere and Cliff Simons, *Victory at Gate Pā? The Battle of Pukehinahina-Gate Pa 1864*, Auckland: New Holland, 2018, p.100.

³⁰ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.140.

³¹ *Daily Southern Cross*, 3 May 1864,
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18640503.2.12>

Hamilton was subsequently buried at the Mission Cemetery in Tauranga. The final entry in his naval service record notes that he was 'killed after great heroism and devotion'.³²

Captain John Hamilton is a minor figure in New Zealand history – to the extent that he does not appear in either major New Zealand biographical dictionary (one edited by G.H. Scholefield in 1940 and another multi-volume work published in the 1990s) and he is chiefly remembered today for the city named after him. He was one of more than 18,000 British officers and men who served in the New Zealand Wars of 1845-72, actions that are no longer widely seen in the straightforwardly heroic terms they once were among some groups.

³² Admiralty: Officers' Service Records: Hamilton, John F C, Captain, ADM 196/36/1422, National Archives, London.

Sir George Grey (1812-1898)

Origins of the Name

Grey Street, located in Hamilton East, was named in 1895 after former New Zealand governor and politician Sir George Grey.³³ It originally referred to the southern end of the main street in Hamilton East, with the remainder, including what is now the main commercial area, known as Heaphy Terrace.³⁴ In 1910 both were named Grey Street, with Heaphy Terrace confined to the area north of the railway line.³⁵

Biographical Information

George Grey was born in Lisbon, Portugal on 14 April 1812. His father, Lieutenant-Colonel George Grey, had been killed in battle against Napoleon's forces just eight days earlier and it was said that overhearing news of his death had shocked his Anglo-Irish mother, Elizabeth Ann Vignoles, into premature labour.³⁶ The young George received his education in England and at the age of 14 enrolled as an officer cadet at Sandhurst military college.³⁷ Upon graduating in 1830, he was commissioned as an ensign in the 83rd Regiment of Foot, serving for six years in Ireland.³⁸

Grey returned to Sandhurst for further training and was promoted to lieutenant. But conditions in Ireland appalled him and army life did not appeal. He proposed an expedition to Western Australian in 1836, travelling there twice between 1837 and

³³ 'Kete Hamilton: Hamilton Streets: Grey Street',

http://ketehamilton.peoplesnetworknz.info/hamilton_streets/topics/show/1219-grey-street

³⁴ P.J. Gibbons, *Astride the River: A History of Hamilton*, Hamilton: Hamilton City Council, 1977, p.348.

³⁵ 'Kete Hamilton: Hamilton Streets: Grey Street',

http://ketehamilton.peoplesnetworknz.info/hamilton_streets/topics/show/1219-grey-street

³⁶ J. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey, K. C. B., 1812-1898: A Study in Colonial Government*, London: Cassell, 1961, p.3.

³⁷ Edmund Bohan, *To Be a Hero: A Biography of Sir George Grey*, Auckland: HarperCollins, 1998, p.18.

³⁸ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

1839. The expeditions were poorly planned and achieved little. During the first expedition, Grey was speared by an Indigenous Australian, who he shot and killed.³⁹

In 1839 he was appointed as the temporary Resident Magistrate at Albany, in Western Australia. He married Eliza Lucy Spencer in the same year. She was 16 years old and more than 10 years younger than George at the time of their marriage.⁴⁰ Their sole child, a son born in 1841, died in infancy.⁴¹ George was said to have blamed Eliza and the pair grew more distant.⁴²

Grey forged his reputation as a dynamic and progressive young administrator with an 1840 memorandum for the British Colonial Office concerning the amalgamation of indigenous peoples into settler society through education and the rapid extension of the rule of law into their communities.⁴³ He returned to England in the same year but was soon offered the governorship of South Australia, resigning from the army in order to take up the post the following year. The South Australian colony was struggling financially and Grey oversaw sweeping cuts in public expenditure. He became deeply unpopular as the results of these retrenchments began to be felt, but by the end of his governorship in 1845 South Australia was in a more prosperous situation. However, his efforts to prevent settler attacks on indigenous communities, and to promote his assimilationist policies, met with limited success.⁴⁴

In 1845 Grey was appointed governor of New Zealand, arriving in Auckland in November of that year to take up the position. At the time of his arrival, the colony was in a state of financial crisis, war had broken out in the north of the country and unresolved tensions in central New Zealand stemming from disputes over New Zealand Company land purchases were threatening to also spill over into open conflict. Grey

³⁹ J. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey, K.C.B., 1812-1898: A Study in Colonial Government*, London: Cassell, 1961, p.12.

⁴⁰ Edmund Bohan, *To Be A Hero: A Biography of Sir George Grey*, Auckland: HarperCollins, 1998, p.42.

⁴¹ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

⁴² James Belich, 'Sir George Grey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11534>

⁴³ Enclosure in Grey to Lord John Russell, 4 June 1840, *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers*, 1841 (311), p.44.

⁴⁴ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

was provided with substantially more military and financial resources than his predecessor, Robert FitzRoy, and immediately set out to impose Crown authority over Māori.⁴⁵

The new governor's first objective was to bring the Northern War to a rapid and decisive end. To this end, the rangatira Hone Heke and Kawiti were given just five days to comply with a Crown ultimatum previously issued by his predecessor or suffer the consequences. Following expiry of the deadline on 5 December 1845, Grey issued orders for Kawiti's new pā at Ruapekapeka to be attacked and its defenders crushed.⁴⁶

The subsequent attack on Ruapekapeka in January 1846, for which Grey was personally present, claimed the lives of 12 British soldiers and sailors and an unknown but probably greater number of Māori defenders.⁴⁷ Only a small number of Māori had been inside the pā at the time of its capture, but Grey nevertheless proclaimed the battle as a 'brilliant success' that had resulted in 'severe defeat and punishment' for Kawiti's forces.⁴⁸ The Northern War and its aftermath would have severe consequences for Ngāpuhi, whose previous trade and commerce was badly damaged and never returned to pre-war levels.⁴⁹

Grey next turned his attention to central New Zealand. There, at Wairau in June 1843, Ngāti Toa rangatira Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata had sought to resist the illegal survey and occupation by the New Zealand Company of lands to which Māori laid claim. The resulting clash left 22 Pākehā and 4 Māori dead. Following the incident, incoming governor, Robert FitzRoy, concluded after investigation that the settlers had been responsible for what happened, as a result of their efforts to claim lands to which

⁴⁵ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

⁴⁶ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, pp.52-53.

⁴⁷ 'The Northern War – Ruapekapeka', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/northern-war/ruapekapeka>

⁴⁸ Vincent O'Malley, "'The Natives Here Rule' – Northland After 1846", in Brad Patterson, Richard S. Hill and Kathryn Patterson (eds), *After the Treaty: The Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2016, p.205.

⁴⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.37.

they had no legal title.⁵⁰ Grey, though, later reversed this finding, at the same time vowing to impose Crown authority over the Cook Strait region.⁵¹

In the Wellington region, a similar scenario was unfolding, with the Company claiming lands in the Hutt Valley that their Māori owners and occupiers insisted had never been sold. Grey arrived in Wellington in February 1846 and ordered troops to take possession of the disputed area. Māori offered to leave provided they received compensation for their property. Grey refused to negotiate, instead declaring martial law over the Wellington region on 3 March.⁵² Fighting followed at Boulcott's Farm on 16 May 1846 and at Battle Hill (Horokiri) between 6-13 August. But Te Rangihaeata evaded capture, eventually making his way to the Manawatū.

Meanwhile, Te Rauparaha, who had taken no part in the fighting, was accused by Grey of secretly aiding his kin. In June 1846 Grey captured and kidnapped the elderly Ngāti Toa rangatira, taking him to Auckland and holding him without trial until Te Rauparaha was eventually permitted to return home in 1848. Grey's actions, intended to eliminate or neutralise perceived threats to his own authority in the Cook Strait region, were widely applauded by settlers. But his actions against one of the most senior rangatira in the land shocked many Māori. Exploiting Te Rauparaha's absence, in 1847 Grey pushed through the purchase of lands at Wairau and Porirua, demanding these in part as utu for the Pākehā slain at Wairau in 1843.⁵³

Grey revealed a ruthless streak in other ways during the Wellington campaign. A group of Whanganui Māori captured at Pāuatahanui in August 1846 were transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), where one of their number, Hohepa Te Umuroa, contracted tuberculosis and died in captivity in July 1847. Another man, Te Whareaitu, was hanged for 'rebellion' at Paremata barracks in September 1846. There was no

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Proceedings at Waikanae, 12 February 1844, GBPP, 1845 (131), p.32.

⁵¹ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui: Report on Northern South Island Claims*, Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2008, vol. 1, chapter 5.

⁵² Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.65.

⁵³ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui: Report on Northern South Island Claims*, Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2008, vol. 1, chapter 5.

evidence he had killed anyone but Grey was determined to stamp his authority by making an example of the unfortunate Te Whareaitu.⁵⁴

Many of the Māori who had taken up arms against the Crown at Wellington came from Whanganui, and in July 1846 Grey extended martial law over the district, presaging the spread of fighting to the region. Troops were stationed at Whanganui in December and the following April a young naval officer accidentally shot and wounded a local rangatira. In response, a group of young Māori males attacked and killed several members of a settler family chosen at random. Five of the six perpetrators of this act (all aged between 12 and 18) were quickly captured, and all but the youngest executed soon after. Crown forces clashed with Whanganui Māori at St John's Wood in July 1847, and some other skirmishing took place, but the fighting soon ended.⁵⁵

A long period of peace and prosperity followed, not just at Whanganui, but across the country. It was aided in large part by Grey's efforts to cultivate relationships with important rangatira and their communities – what critics dubbed his 'flour and sugar' policy – that involved annuities to prominent chiefs, the construction of schools and hospitals (open to all but specifically targeted at Māori), loans to Māori for the purchase of flour mills, agricultural equipment and other items.⁵⁶

Grey also refused to implement instructions received from the British government that effectively required him to confiscate all areas deemed to be 'wastelands' owned by Māori. Any attempt to implement such a policy would be fiercely resisted, Grey warned the Colonial Office, whereas many Māori communities would 'cheerfully' agree to sell any lands not required for their own subsistence at 'trifling' prices provided the Crown monopoly on land purchases was strictly enforced. They would do so, Grey explained, convinced that the 'real payment' for their lands came through all of the benefits they received from entering into such a deal: the enhanced value of their reserves and new

⁵⁴ Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand, 1832-1852*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1968, pp.296-297.

⁵⁵ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, pp.73-75.

⁵⁶ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1974, pp.86-87.

markets for their produce because of the influx of settlers; the provision of infrastructure such as roads; and more specific benefits such as schools and hospitals that were regularly promised as part of Crown negotiations.⁵⁷

These policies heralded the start of a period of large-scale Crown purchasing that saw more than 99% of the South Island and around 20% of the North Island acquired by 1865, typically at a fraction of the price at which these lands were then resold to Pākehā and often with only the barest of reserves.⁵⁸ Iwi such as Ngāi Tahu were rendered virtually landless as settlers took up occupation of the purchased lands and the promised 'real payment' failed to materialise. They and other iwi would spend the next 150 years seeking redress for the very real harm incurred by their people as a result of the Crown's failure to uphold its end of the bargain.⁵⁹

Grey departed New Zealand at the end of 1853 with the colony's finances back in the black and peace restored across the country. In Britain, he had developed a reputation as a progressive, dynamic and humanitarian young colonial administrator. But problems loomed on the horizon. Pākehā had lobbied strongly for self-government – the right to manage their own affairs – and in 1846 the British Parliament passed a new constitution that provided for an elected House of Representatives in New Zealand. But because the right to vote was based on an English-language literacy test at a time when most Māori could read and write only in their own language, the effect of the new constitution was to deny all but a very small number of Māori men the right to participate in this new forum. Grey warned that any attempt to impose this new constitution over the colony would be resisted 'to the utmost' by Māori and successfully argued for the measure to be shelved.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Grey to Earl Grey, 15 May 1848, GBPP, 1849 [1120], pp.22-26; Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.51.

⁵⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, pp.51-52.

⁵⁹ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, 3 vols, Wellington: Brooker & Friend, 1991.

⁶⁰ Grey to Earl Grey, 3 May 1847, GBPP, 1847-48 [1002], p.42; Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.62.

In 1852 the British Parliament passed a further New Zealand Constitution Act providing for elected general and provincial assemblies. This time there was no English literacy test. Instead, the right to vote (restricted to men over the age of 21) was based on property ownership determined according to European forms of land tenure. Since most Māori held their lands under customary title, the effect was the same: most Māori men were excluded from participating. A safeguard was included in the new measure known as section 71. It provided for self-governing 'native districts' to be declared under the mantle of the governor, in effect giving legal status to the existing situation in many districts outside the European townships, where iwi continued to manage their own affairs much as they always had.⁶¹

The problem was that successive governors, including Grey, refused to implement section 71, considering (in Grey's words) that it would be 'better not to require our Courts in any way to recognize the barbarous customs of the native race' and to instead work towards extending the reach of English laws within Māori districts.⁶² And so when the General Assembly met for the first time in Auckland in 1854 it was composed solely of Pākehā men, and its members had been elected almost entirely by the same group: when a few dozen Māori managed to meet the property qualification a few years later, there was an outcry among settlers.⁶³ The new Parliament became a vocal lobby group for Pākehā interests, and overwhelmingly hostile towards Māori, at a time when the latter still constituted a majority of the population (at least until 1858).

Grey had been instructed to stay in New Zealand long enough to oversee the introduction of the new constitution. But he could see what lay ahead and left before doing so.⁶⁴ When he returned more than eight years later, the state of things had changed considerably. Rangatira who felt keenly their exclusion from the mechanisms

⁶¹ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1974, pp.90-91.

⁶² Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.63-64.

⁶³ B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, p.80.

⁶⁴ W.P. Morrell, *British Colonial Policy on the Mid-Victorian Age: South Africa, New Zealand, The West Indies*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, pp.202-203.

of governance established under the 1852 constitution looked to form their own bodies in an effort to better manage their own affairs but found themselves accused of defying Queen Victoria's authority as a result. Given they had been explicitly promised the right to manage their own lands and affairs in the Treaty of Waitangi, many Māori found such a response baffling.

Grey had meanwhile been appointed governor of Cape Colony in what is now part of modern South Africa. There Grey pursued an uncompromising military approach towards the Xhosa people, backed by land confiscations, a scheme of military settlements that he later claimed was the basis for the New Zealand Settlements Act, and various attempts to extend British rule over them. A cattle-killing cult that resulted in more than 40,000 Xhosa dying of starvation was viewed by Grey as a timely opportunity to extend his authority over them. But his plan to attract as many as 8000 German military settlers and their families to the region failed disastrously, generating huge financial losses for the British.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, Grey kept a keen eye on events in New Zealand, where his successor, Thomas Gore Browne, had forced through the purchase of lands at Waitara with only minority support from the owners, precipitating the outbreak of the first Taranaki War in March 1860. Grey privately condemned the Waitara purchase as unjust and offered to return to New Zealand to resolve the crisis. Dissatisfied with Browne's handling of the situation, the Colonial Office eventually agreed. Grey arrived in Auckland in September 1861 for his second term as New Zealand governor. One historian has suggested that Grey was 'not the best, but the worst possible Governor to have sent back to New Zealand in 1861'.⁶⁶ Grey was a natural autocrat, unaccustomed to sharing power with anyone and matters in New Zealand had changed considerably since his first governorship ended.

⁶⁵ Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, pp.139-141.

⁶⁶ Alan Ward, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Maori Wars: A Reconsideration', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 1, 2 (1967), p.157.

For one thing, the Kīngitanga (Māori King movement) had been established, with Potatau Te Wherowhero raised up as the first king in 1858. Browne viewed the Kīngitanga as a threat to the Crown's authority and began preparations to invade its heartland in the Waikato district in 1861, deeming the assistance large numbers of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto fighters had rendered Te Ātiawa during the first Taranaki War to be acts of 'rebellion'.⁶⁷

It was only news of Browne's imminent replacement by Grey that saw an invasion of Waikato timed for September 1861 called off. Grey quickly concluded that 'no adequate preparation' had been made for a military confrontation with the Kīngitanga.⁶⁸ One of his earliest decisions was to order the construction of the Great South Road between Auckland and Waikato. Work on the road began in December 1861 and was completed in March 1863, enabling troops to march overland to Waikato. At the same time, he successfully lobbied for further military reinforcements to be sent to New Zealand and oversaw the construction of armed steamers that could be used to patrol and control the Waikato River.⁶⁹

Waikato Māori expressed alarm at these developments; but far from offering reassurance, Grey was threatening and aggressive, telling Waikato Māori in a December 1861 meeting that the Kīngitanga should be stopped and would be as a result of his planned scheme of 'New Institutions'.⁷⁰ The governor's planned rūnanga system was in this way immediately framed as something that had been devised with a view to undermining the Kīngitanga and that was further reinforced when he later refused to contemplate proposals that would have allowed the Māori King a role in approving measures passed by the official rūnanga to be established. Grey's approach appeared to confirm the worst fears of Kīngitanga supporters and the rūnanga scheme

⁶⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.112.

⁶⁸ Grey to Newcastle, 30 November 1861, AJHR, 1862, E-1, Sec.II, pp.33-34.

⁶⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.162-164.

⁷⁰ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.156.

was dismissed as little more than a ruse intended to undermine support for the King movement.⁷¹

Grey's marriage was an unhappy one and during a voyage to South Africa in 1860 he accused Eliza of infidelity. The pair separated and did not see one another again for decades. By 1862 observers were worried about Grey's mental and physical health. The hectoring and aggressive tone of many of his official communications also came to greatly frustrate the British government, which often found his reports on the state of affairs in New Zealand contradicted by separate despatches from Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron forwarded to the War Office in London.⁷²

Shortly after his arrival in New Zealand in September 1861, Grey privately told his outgoing predecessor, Thomas Gore Browne, that he wanted 'an excuse to take the Waikato'.⁷³ Harriet Browne later wrote of Grey that 'I heard him with my own ears tell Col Browne he hoped the natives would not submit as it would be much better for both races that they should be conquered'.⁷⁴ Observing the Crown's military preparations, some Waikato Māori also became convinced that an invasion was being planned.

In January 1863 Grey made an unscheduled and unannounced visit to the Māori King's headquarters at Ngāruawāhia. Grey himself later claimed to have made generous offers to those assembled that would have secured peace if agreed to, but historians have noted the absence of any credible evidence to support the governor's claims.⁷⁵ Waikato Māori remembered the encounter differently. Grey, it was said, had declared that he would not fight against the Māori King with the sword, 'but I shall dig round

⁷¹ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1974, pp.132-133.

⁷² Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.164.

⁷³ John Gorst, *The Maori King or The Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand*, London: Macmillan, 1864, p.203 [annotated by Thomas Gore Browne], MS-0860, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014, p.116.

⁷⁴ H.G. Browne to C.W. Richmond, 10 January 1862, in Guy H. Scholefield (ed.), *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1960, vol. 1, p.741.

⁷⁵ Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1974, p.157.

him till he falls of his own accord'.⁷⁶ That statement was said to have left a profound impression on the tribes, now aware of the governor's overriding obsession with toppling the Māori King.

Fighting resumed in Taranaki in 1863. In April of that year British troops took forcible possession of lands at Tataraimaka that had been held by Māori as an equivalent for the disputed Waitara block. Following an investigation, the following month Grey announced that Waitara would be returned to its customary owners. But in the interim a party of British troops had been ambushed at Ōakura and nine of their number killed. Meanwhile, in the Waikato, Civil Commissioner John Gorst had been evicted from his post at Te Awamutu after a series of inflammatory articles directed against the Kīngitanga. A planned government courthouse at Te Kohekohe, inside the King's boundary, that was secretly intended to double as a military post, was also a flashpoint for tensions.⁷⁷

At a meeting with ministers on 24 June 1863 Grey formalised plans for an imminent invasion of Waikato that involved clearing out all 'hostile Natives', confiscating their lands and establishing military posts on them stretching across the island. Any remaining lands would be sold to defray the costs of the war.⁷⁸ Grey claimed he had been left with no choice but to launch such an invasion, pointing to supposed evidence of an imminent Kīngitanga attack on Auckland. Historians have been highly dismissive of these claims.⁷⁹ Rewi Maniapoto, a senior Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira and the supposed ringleader of the assault on Auckland (the main market for Waikato Māori produce) was returning from a tangi at Taupō when he learned that British troops had invaded Waikato.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ John Gorst, *The Maori King, or The Story of Our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand*, London: Macmillan and co., 1864, p.324.

⁷⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.178-185.

⁷⁸ Domett to Grey, 24 June 1863, AJHR, 1863, E-7, pp.8-9.

⁷⁹ B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, p.176.

⁸⁰ Renata Tamakihikurangi and others to Featherston, 19 October 1863, AJHR, E-11, p.4.

The war that followed was to have devastating consequences for Waikato Māori and it was Grey who bore direct responsibility for the decision to invade.⁸¹ In November 1863 Rangiriri pā was taken by Crown forces in highly controversial circumstances after a white flag of truce was flown from inside the pā. The Kīngitanga defenders insisted they had not intended to surrender; but after heavy losses suffered by both sides, Cameron took the opportunity to enter the pā and take more than 180 men prisoner. Following the battle, Kīngitanga representatives reiterated their desire for peace. Cameron informed them in response that he was not authorised to bring the war to an end. They would have to await the arrival of Governor Grey, who would only come to talk peace provided British forces were allowed to enter the Māori King's headquarters at Ngāruawāhia unopposed.⁸²

Cameron and his troops entered the deserted settlement of Ngāruawāhia on 8 December 1863, hoisting a Union Jack on a flagstaff that had until days before flown the King's flag. Peace was within grasp. Except that Grey never came. He had not yet achieved the kind of crushing and decisive victory that was thought necessary in order to destroy the Kīngitanga. And meanwhile ministers had their eyes on the rich and fertile lands south of Ngāruawāhia. The war was to be pushed further south.⁸³

The main body of troops advanced up the Waipā Valley towards Rangiaowhia and Te Awamutu early in 1864. But a considerable obstacle remained in their way at Pāterangi, where perhaps the most impressive chain of Māori fortifications ever constructed blocked their further passage south. Cameron decided against attempting to storm Pāterangi. Instead, at 11pm on 20 February 1864 a column of 1230 British troops and their colonial allies marched silently and in single file around the perimeter of the Pāterangi defences. Shortly before dawn the following morning, the troops

⁸¹ B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, p.178.

⁸² Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.267.

⁸³ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.272-277.

reached the near deserted settlement of Te Awamutu. Cameron decided to immediately push on to Rangiaowhia.⁸⁴

What followed at Rangiaowhia in the early hours of Sunday 21 February 1864 – including the deliberate torching of a whare whose inhabitants were killed in the blaze – proved a source of great and enduring pain and bitterness for many Māori. Rangiaowhia was not a fighting pā but an open village that was intended as a place of sanctuary for women, children and elderly men. Following Rangiriri in November, the Kīngitanga had been criticised for bringing women and children into a fighting pā and advised to send them away to a place of safety. Bishop George Selwyn, accompanying the Crown forces as official chaplain, was told nine days before the February attack that Rangiaowhia had been designated such a place and was asked to consult with Cameron and ensure that the people there would not be harmed. Instead, Crown forces targeted the settlement.⁸⁵

Grey was not present for the attack on Rangiaowhia or the final battle of the Waikato War at Ōrākau between 31 March and 2 April 1864, when as many as half of the 300 Māori inside the pā were killed, most during a bloody pursuit when attempting to flee for their lives on foot on the final day. Among those killed were many women, including at least one wounded female prisoner. Another women, Ahumai Te Paerata, was shot and wounded four times but managed to survive. An unknown number of children were also killed. Following the attack on Rangiaowhia, women and children had likely been brought into the pā for their own protection. The Waitangi Tribunal concluded that 'non-combatants were massacred by Crown forces' at both Rangiaowhia and Ōrākau.⁸⁶ Historian James Belich also concluded that the disproportionately large number of Māori killed at Ōrākau compared with those wounded, 'suggests that the Orakau pursuit involved a large-scale massacre of wounded non-combatants'.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p.163.

⁸⁵ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.297.

⁸⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims (Pre-Publication Version)*, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, p.528.

⁸⁷ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986, p.173.

Notwithstanding that Grey was not personally present during these attacks, given his decisive role in ordering the invasion of Waikato he bore a large share of responsibility for what occurred.

And Ōrākau did not mark the end of fighting. There was renewed warfare at Taranaki and further conflicts in the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast and elsewhere across the central North Island, much of it targeted against supporters of the Pai Mārire (good and peaceful) religion founded by Taranaki prophet Te Ua Haumene, and later (after Grey's governorship had ended) against Titokowaru in the west and Te Kooti in the east. Grey had been present for the engagement at Ruapekapeka in January 1846 and took to the field again in July 1865 when he personally led a group of colonial soldiers and their Māori allies in storming a near empty pā at Weraroa in Taranaki. Grey had become embroiled in a bitter dispute with Duncan Cameron, the commander of British forces in New Zealand, who had become increasingly disillusioned with the war, viewing it as an inglorious land grab fought for the exclusive benefit of New Zealand settlers and they clashed again after Weraroa, with Grey falsely claiming that Cameron had refused to make any troops available for the attack.⁸⁸

After 1866 Imperial troops took no further part in the fighting and colonial ministers assumed greater responsibility for the conduct of the war. However, Grey dragged out and delayed sending British troops back, prolonging their stay in New Zealand.⁸⁹ Prior to then, Grey had also sparred with ministers over the extent of lands to be confiscated, eventually agreeing to measures that saw over 3 million acres taken at Waikato, Taranaki, the Bay of Plenty and elsewhere, under the New Zealand Settlements Act and related legislation. Grey had originally claimed to be the architect of the confiscation policy, but later sought to distance himself from it, seeking to preserve some of his earlier reputation as a progressive and enlightened administrator in the face of stern opposition to the policy from the Aborigines Protection Society and

⁸⁸ B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967, pp.231-234.

⁸⁹ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

other missionary and humanitarian groups.⁹⁰ However, his protestations of innocence were unconvincing.

A related dispute between Grey and his ministers concerned the fate of the Rangiriri prisoners. Initially taken to Auckland and held captive on a hulk moored in the Hauraki Gulf, before being transferred to Grey's personal estate on Kawau Island, the prisoners escaped from the island in September 1864 and eventually made their way back to Waikato. However, others had died during their captivity.⁹¹

In 1866 the Colonial Office was alerted to allegations of atrocities committed by British troops and their allies during General Trevor Chute's January 1866 Taranaki campaign. Confronted with the allegations (including, among other things, that Chute – Cameron's replacement as commanding officer – had issued orders for no prisoners to be taken), Grey reacted indignantly, describing the statements as a 'base and wicked calumny' and leaking the confidential despatch to his ministers.⁹² The British government was fast losing patience with Grey and in 1868 his tenure as governor was terminated. Although still relatively young, he would never again be offered a similar appointment.

Grey instead returned to Britain where he tried but failed to get elected as a Liberal member of the House of Commons. In 1870 he returned to his home on Kawau Island and an early retirement, before being drawn into colonial politics in 1874 at the head of a movement opposing the abolition of provincial government. In 1875 he was elected Auckland Provincial Superintendent and in the same year entered the General Assembly as MP for Auckland City West.⁹³ Although the provincial government system was abolished in 1877, Grey's own political fortunes were on the rise and in October

⁹⁰ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.412-418.

⁹¹ 'Memoranda and Reports Relative to the Maori Prisoners', AJHR, 1864, E-1, Part II.

⁹² Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, pp.163-166.

⁹³ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

of the same year he became Premier (now called Prime Minister) of an administration that included a mix of liberals, radicals and some conservatives.⁹⁴

During his time as Premier, hopes were high that Grey would be able to broker a peace settlement with the Kīngitanga. He attended a number of important hui and at times it appeared that an agreement might be close. But a stumbling block remained the Crown's unwillingness or inability to return the confiscated lands in full, rather than the small fraction of them that formed part of Grey's offer.⁹⁵

In October 1879 Grey's administration fell when several MPs defected. During his time as Premier he had championed a number of radical causes, including universal manhood suffrage. He remained in Parliament until 1895, continuing to advocate for a number of sweeping changes to the status quo, including an elected rather than appointed upper chamber and governors, and was 'seen by some as the grand old man of New Zealand politics, by others as a dangerous eccentric staying long beyond his time'.⁹⁶

Elected to Parliament again in 1893, he left New Zealand for the final time the following year. Back in England he was granted an audience with Queen Victoria and reconciled with Eliza. He died in London on 19 September 1898 and was buried in St Paul's Cathedral.⁹⁷

Besides his political life, Grey was also an avid collector, amateur ethnographer and botanist. He donated a substantial collection of rare manuscripts and books to the Auckland Public Library and his lavish mansion, along with some of the exotic flora and fauna he introduced, can still be seen on Kawau Island today.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

⁹⁵ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.572-578.

⁹⁶ James Belich, 'Sir George Grey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11534>

⁹⁷ Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1g21/grey-george>

⁹⁸ James Belich, 'Sir George Grey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11534>

Sir George Grey was a dominant and domineering figure in New Zealand history. A 'brilliant and effective servant of British imperialism',⁹⁹ Grey was also frequently ruthless, manipulative and deceitful. Long remembered (by Pākehā at least) as 'Good Governor Grey', his reputation has undergone something of a battering in recent decades as his role in ordering the invasion of Waikato, among other actions, have been subjected to more critical investigation and analysis.

⁹⁹ James Belich, 'Sir George Grey', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11534>

Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky (1828-1868)

Origins of the Name

Von Tempsky Street, located in Hamilton East, was named after the Prussian-born soldier adventurer and artist Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky.¹⁰⁰ Hamilton Borough Council resolved in 1906 to name the street that ran between Hamilton East school and Bridge Street 'in honour of the hero of the Waikato War', according to an account published in the *Waikato Times*.¹⁰¹

Biographical Information

Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky was born in East Prussia on 15 February 1828.¹⁰² He came from a prominent military family and attended cadet school in Berlin in preparation for his own expected career as a military officer. On graduating, von Tempsky joined his father's regiment in 1845. He lasted only nine months in the Prussian Army, travelling to Mosquito Coast, in Central America, where a Prussian settlement was planned.¹⁰³

There, von Tempsky had his first experience of military action, when the settlement came under attack from Nicaraguan forces, serving as an officer in the local militia. It was in the Mosquito Kingdom also that he first met Emilia Ross Bell, his future wife.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ 'Kete Hamilton: Hamilton Streets: Von Tempsky Street', http://kete-hamilton.peoplesnetworknz.info/hamilton_streets/topics/show/2106-von-tempusky-street

¹⁰¹ *Waikato Times*, 22 September 1906, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WT19060922.2.20> ; Hamilton Borough Council minutes, 21 September 1906.

¹⁰² N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempusky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁰³ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempusky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁰⁴ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempusky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

After hearing of the Californian goldrush, von Tempsky travelled there in 1850, spending his next three years trying and failing to make a fortune. He returned to central America, marrying Emilia Bell at the British Bluefields settlement in 1855. They had three children together. After returning to Europe briefly, von Tempsky and his family moved to Australia in 1858, where he tried digging gold in Victoria and dabbled in other jobs.¹⁰⁵

In 1862 von Tempsky crossed the Tasman, spending the next year attempting to work the Coromandel goldfields. Although that again proved unprofitable, he did secure a position as the local correspondent for the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper.¹⁰⁶ When the Waikato War began in July 1863, von Tempsky sought to put together a volunteer unit from among the goldminers. But his efforts were rebuffed, partly it seems because of his German nationality. Von Tempsky instead reported on the early phases of the war and befriended William Jackson, a member of the Papakura Valley Rifle Volunteers.¹⁰⁷

In August 1863 Jackson was appointed as the commander of a new and elite volunteer unit, known as the Forest Rangers, which was intended to specialise in irregular warfare such as bush fighting.¹⁰⁸ Von Tempsky was invited to join the Forest Rangers on an early expedition into the Hunua Range. Impressed by von Tempsky's skills, Jackson suggested that he apply for a commission in the unit. Von Tempsky was appointed ensign in the Forest Rangers, conditional on becoming a naturalised British subject, which was granted on 24 August 1863.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁰⁶ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁰⁷ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.9.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.10.

¹⁰⁹ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

Von Tempsky, along with Thomas McDonnell, later volunteered to scout the area around Paparata in October 1863.¹¹⁰ Both men were able to supply valuable information to the commander of the British forces in New Zealand, Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron, about the strength of Māori defences.¹¹¹

In recognition of their efforts, both men were promoted. Von Tempsky was made captain, effective from 10 November 1863, and the Forest Rangers were reconstituted at the same time into two separate companies. Von Tempsky took control of the No. 2 Company, but with Jackson (still in command of the No.1 Company) having overall command by dint of his seniority.¹¹²

On Sunday 13 December 1863, Jackson's company attacked a camp of Māori men, women and children at Paparata, killing at least seven of them. The Māori party were reportedly at prayer at the time and Jackson's men were soon accused of 'cold-blooded murder' in the *Daily Southern Cross* newspaper.¹¹³ Von Tempsky and his men did not take part in the attack and he recorded that on hearing of what had taken place 'my first emotion was a strong pang of jealousy'.¹¹⁴

Four days later both of the Forest Rangers companies embarked on another three-day expedition into the Hunua Range in pursuit of Māori.¹¹⁵ Although the invading Crown forces had pushed south as far as Ngāruawāhia by December 1863, the Forest Rangers remained based further north at Papakura, securing the Great South Road and Auckland from potential attack from the direction of the Hunua Range.¹¹⁶ Because

¹¹⁰ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, pp.31-32.

¹¹¹ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹¹² Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.34.

¹¹³ *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 December 1863, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18631217.2.11>

¹¹⁴ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.40.

¹¹⁵ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.41.

¹¹⁶ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.42.

of this, von Tempsky did not take part in the actions at Meremere and Rangiriri through October and November.

That changed in January 1864 when von Tempsky and the Forest Rangers No. 2 Company received orders to advance south into Waikato, leaving Papakura on 23 January for Tuhikaramea.¹¹⁷ Shortly after arriving, along with Cameron and his troops, von Tempsky and his men advanced up the banks of the Waipā River to Te Rore. From their Te Rore camp, Cameron contemplated his next move, reconnoitring an impressive line of Māori fortifications less than five kilometres away at Pāterangi.¹¹⁸

On 11 February 1864 von Tempsky and his men took part in a significant engagement at Waiari, a bend on the south bank of the Mangapiko River. It was there that a party of about 50 British soldiers bathing in the river found themselves ambushed by a Māori party. While a small covering party of 20 men held the Kīngitanga force at bay, reinforcements were called for, among them von Tempsky and about 30 of his men.¹¹⁹

Von Tempsky recorded of the battle that:

A ditch of the breastwork of an ancient pa slopped down to the river. It was densely covered with scrub, as well as the bank of the river. My men bounded down into it like tigers. On our hands and knees we had to creep, revolver in hand, looking for our visible foes. The thumping of double-barrel guns around us announced soon that we were in the midst of the nest. I had in all about thirty men. Some were stationed on the top of the bank, others in the very river, and the rest crawling through the scrub. There were strange meetings in that scrub. Muzzle to muzzle, the shot of despair, the repeating cracks of revolvers and carbine thuds, and the brown bodies of Maoris made their

¹¹⁷ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.47.

¹¹⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.285.

¹¹⁹ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.59.

appearance gradually, either rolling down the hill or being dragged out of the scrub.¹²⁰

Although the exact figures are unknown, the Māori force at Waiari suffered heavy losses, with a likely figure of around 35 killed, compared with 6 dead on the Crown side.¹²¹ Von Tempsky's official report of the engagement stated that his own men had personally killed seven Māori.¹²²

Rather than attempt to storm the formidable Pāterangi defences, Cameron decided to try and bypass them altogether. Late on the evening of 20 February 1864 a column of 1230 troops marched silently and in single column around the pā. They marched along the banks of the Mangapiko River, over an old cattle track, before reaching a dray road that took them to the settlement of Te Awamutu.¹²³ Among the advance party was von Tempsky and his men.

The first troops reached Te Awamutu towards dawn on 21 February. The settlement was nearly deserted, save for a few Māori who had stayed back to protect St John's Anglican Church. And so Cameron issued orders for the attacking party to immediately press on to Rangiaowhia a few kilometres away. Cavalry were the first to enter the settlement, receiving orders to charge as they came within sight of it.¹²⁴ Von Tempsky recorded that he and his men had heard the 'rapid crack-crack of revolvers and carbines' as they followed behind, realising that 'the conflict had commenced'.¹²⁵

What followed was completely different from other pā battles of the Waikato War because Rangiaowhia was not a fortified settlement. It was not a pā at all but rather

¹²⁰ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.59.

¹²¹ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.288.

¹²² Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.64.

¹²³ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.291.

¹²⁴ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.70.

¹²⁵ G.F. von Tempsky, *Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864*, p.104, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

an open village without fortifications of its own. The main body of Kīngitanga fighters were at Pāterangi awaiting a British attack that never came. Following the Rangiriri battle in November 1863 the presence of women and children inside the fighting pā was condemned by various figures, including Governor George Grey, and the Kīngitanga urged to remove both to a place of safety.¹²⁶ Nine days before the attack on Rangiaowhia Bishop George Selwyn, then serving as chaplain to the Crown forces, was informed that the settlement had been designated such a place and asked 'to confer with General Cameron and make sure that the people there were left unmolested'.¹²⁷

Most of the residents of Rangiaowhia were women, children and elderly men, sent there in the belief that the British forces would respect its status as a place of safety and sanctuary for non-combatants. Instead, in the early hours of Sunday morning, 21 February 1864, they found themselves under attack, at first by cavalry, followed by foot soldiers, including von Tempsky and his men. Von Tempsky recorded that 'our blood was up', as a result of which his men reached the settlement considerably in advance of many of the other foot soldiers.¹²⁸

There are multiple first-hand accounts of what followed and some of these disagree on crucial points. But the official British return noted that 33 prisoners were captured: 21 women and children and 12 (probably elderly) men.¹²⁹ These returns also noted that 12 Māori had been killed in the attack on Rangiaowhia but made no reference to their ages or gender. That was perhaps hardly surprising given the make-up of most of the residents. And other unconfirmed estimates put the death toll at more than 100.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.295.

¹²⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.297.

¹²⁸ G.F. von Tempsky, Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864, p.104, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹²⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.299-300.

¹³⁰ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.303.

Von Tempsky recorded that he had set out to seize a group of Māori huddled in the Catholic church at one end of the settlement before receiving orders from Cameron to stand down. Obeying reluctantly, von Tempsky and his men marched towards the centre of the settlement, from where firing was still to be heard.¹³¹ There a circle of soldiers had surrounded a whare with a sunken floor and a narrow entranceway. The body of one soldier shot while attempting to enter lay in the doorway. Inside were a group of Māori. Von Tempsky recorded that 'Some neighbouring whares had been set fire to, with a view of communicating the fire to the all-dreaded one'. That seemed, he wrote, 'unfair' and so he decided to rush the whare, retrieving the body of the fallen soldier.¹³²

By this point the flames were lapping over from a neighbouring whare and von Tempsky and his men withdrew. Von Tempsky then described an 'old looking man' coming out of the now burning whare with his hands in the air in a gesture of surrender and cries of 'Spare him!' ringing around. He noted that some of the men, 'blinded by rage, at the loss of comrades perhaps', ignored these pleas, firing at and killing the man. None of the other occupants of the whare dared come out after this incident. All, including a young boy, were torched to death. In all seven people died in the burning whare.¹³³

Hearing of the attack on their families, the Kīngitanga men of fighting age abandoned their position at Pāterangi and rushed back to come to their aid. Prised out of their formidable fortifications, they found themselves under attack the following day at nearby Hairini, suffering heavy losses (at least 30 killed) in the engagement.¹³⁴ Von Tempsky and his men were again present, von Tempsky subsequently permitting the Forest Rangers to loot nearby Māori dwellings.¹³⁵

¹³¹ G.F. von Tempsky, Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864, p.105, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹³² G.F. von Tempsky, Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864, p.108, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹³³ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.301-02.

¹³⁴ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.293.

¹³⁵ G.F. von Tempsky, Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864, p.115, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

They were also present on 23 February 1864, when Crown forces raided and looted the Ngāti Paretekawa settlement of Kihikihi, previously home to Rewi Maniapoto and his people. In the space of a few hours the entire settlement was destroyed before the soldiers returned to camp at Te Awamutu with their spoils.¹³⁶

Von Tempsky and the Forest Rangers were also present at the final battle of the Waikato War, which took place at Ōrākau, a few kilometres from Kihikihi, between 31 March and 2 April 1864. Around 300 Māori from multiple iwi, including women and children, were gathered in the still incomplete pā when it was attacked by Crown forces on 31 March 1864. Women and children had likely been brought into the pā after what took place at Rangiaowhia, when what was understood as their sanctuary had been attacked. The British commander, George Carey, dispersed his men around the pā, believing it was surrounded and bombarding it with heavy artillery. Von Tempsky and his men took up a position to the east of the pā.¹³⁷ That followed initial but unsuccessful efforts to storm the defences.

Inside the pā, matters quickly became critical, the Māori defenders soon running out of food, water and ammunition. Crown forces commencing sapping towards the pā and had nearly reached its outer perimeter on 2 April, when William Mair was sent forth to invite the pā's occupants to surrender. Declining to do so, they instead later fled the pā on foot, attempting to break through British lines and make their way towards the Pūniu River several kilometres to the south. Large numbers were killed in the subsequent pursuit, around 150 in total. Those killed included a number of women, including in at least one case a wounded woman who a number of soldiers gathered around to kill.¹³⁸ Describing the scene afterwards, von Tempsky noted that he was

¹³⁶ G.F. von Tempsky, *Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864*, pp.117-18, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹³⁷ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.97.

¹³⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, p.332.

'sorry to see' women amongst both those killed and the wounded prisoners. However, he declared that nearly all of these cases, apart from one, had been 'accidents'.¹³⁹

Von Tempsky and his men remained in the Waikato district for nearly twelve months after the Ōrākau battle, awaiting the allocation of confiscated lands promised them in return for their services. As a senior officer, von Tempsky received an allocation of 400 acres of rural lands in the Pirongia district.¹⁴⁰ In April 1865 von Tempsky and 50 Forest Rangers were sent to the Whanganui district. He led an attack on a party of about 80 Pai Mārire supporters at Kakakaramea near the Pātea River on 13 May 1865, killing six to eight of their number and earning praise from the Premier, Frederick Weld, for his actions.¹⁴¹

Later in the year von Tempsky was ordered to serve on the East Coast under James Fraser, a more junior and less experienced officer. Feeling slighted, von Tempsky refused and was arrested for disobeying orders but with public opinion strongly on his side was later cleared by a court of inquiry.¹⁴²

In December 1865 he returned to Whanganui, joining an expedition by Major-General Trevor Chute, the new commander of British forces in New Zealand. Chute's force travelled north, attacking and destroying a number of pā early the following month, including Okutuku, Te Pūtahi, Ōtapawa and Ketemarae. A notable feature of the short but destructive campaign was how few prisoners were taken. One of Chute's most senior officers later alleged that orders had been issued that no Māori should be taken alive.¹⁴³ An unknown number of Māori were killed during Chute's five week campaign,

¹³⁹ G.F. von Tempsky, Memoranda of the New Zealand Campaign in 1863 and 1864, pp.151-52, qMS-2008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

¹⁴⁰ Richard Stowers, *Forest Rangers: A History of the Forest Rangers During the New Zealand Wars*, Hamilton: R. Stowers, 1996, p.127.

¹⁴¹ *Evening Post*, 20 May 1865, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/EP18650520.2.8> ; N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁴² N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁴³ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.163.

which involved attacks on an estimated 8 pā and 20 villages, as well as the deliberate destruction of crops in order to render these settlements uninhabitable.¹⁴⁴ Chute's uncompromising and ruthless approach was widely applauded by settlers at the time after his predecessor's increasing reluctance to fight Māori. Von Tempsky was the unnamed author of a short book on Chute's campaign but did not go into any details about his own actions during the course of it.¹⁴⁵

Von Tempsky returned to Auckland for a time, where he was a prominent figure in the social life of the city. Following the disbandment of the Forest Rangers, in January 1868 von Tempsky accepted a commission as Inspector (the equivalent of Major) in the newly-established Armed Constabulary.¹⁴⁶ After serving for a time in Waikato and Whanganui, he was sent to Taranaki when the war against Titokowaru broke out. When the garrison at Turuturumōkai was attacked on 12 July 1868, von Tempsky led a party of reinforcements who arrived at the redoubt to find ten men dead and another six wounded, leaving just six of the original guard unscathed.¹⁴⁷

On 21 August 1868 von Tempsky took part in an attack on Titokowaru's stronghold at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu. Its occupants were initially taken by surprise but rallied strongly to drive the Crown force out. Despite initial newspaper reports claiming a crushing victory, the engagement had been far from decisive.¹⁴⁸

On 7 September 1868 Crown forces advanced on Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu for a third time (there had been an earlier, abortive, effort on 10 August). Advancing through dense bush with a view to attacking from the rear of the pā, the main body of troops became

¹⁴⁴ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.167.

¹⁴⁵ *A Campaign on the West Coast of New Zealand, Comprising the Western Portion of the Provinces of Wellington and Taranaki by European and Colonial Forces, under the Command of Major-General Chute, During the Months of January and February, 1866*, Wanganui: The Times, 1866.

¹⁴⁶ N. A. C. McMillan. 'Tempsky, Gustavus Ferdinand von', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990, updated March, 2006. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t90/tempsky-gustavus-ferdinand-von>

¹⁴⁷ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.194; *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 July 1868, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DSC18680717.2.21>

¹⁴⁸ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.196.

lost and eventually arrived at a clearing in front of Titokowaru's position. Here they found themselves exposed to attack from those inside the pā and others hiding in nearby bush covering, falling in great numbers before orders could be issued for survivors to retreat. Among the colonial troops killed was von Tempsky, or Manu Rau (100 birds) as he was said to be known to Māori on account of his ability to rush from one place to another, doing the work of many soldiers.¹⁴⁹ His death caused panic among other nearby troops and the subsequent retreat was chaotic and confused. The fact that von Tempsky's body, along with the other men killed, could not subsequently be recovered was seen as particularly humiliating. Titokowaru's party instead burned them on a funeral pyre.¹⁵⁰ Von Tempsky had achieved almost folk hero status among many Pākehā during his short time in New Zealand and his death was widely mourned. Although he remains a romantic figure for some, in recent times his reputation has undergone closer examination and critique.

¹⁴⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.197.

¹⁵⁰ James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1983, vol. 2, pp.217-18.

John Bryce (1833-1913)

Origins of the Name

Bryce Street was named by the Hamilton Borough Council in 1910 after John Bryce, a former Member of Parliament, Minister for Native Affairs, farmer and veteran of the New Zealand Wars. The street had originally been known as Grey Street but was renamed when part of Heaphy Terrace was renamed Grey Street East.¹⁵¹ Hamilton Borough Council had resolved to make this change in 1891.¹⁵² In 1905 the same council's legal and finance committee recommended that Grey Street West be renamed Bryce Street.¹⁵³ It is not clear why there was a delay in making the change.

Biographical Information

John Bryce was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1833. His parents were Grace McAdam and John Bryce, a cabinet-maker.¹⁵⁴ Grace died from tuberculosis, prompting a decision that the rest of the family would migrate to New Zealand. In 1840 John junior, along with an older brother, a sister, and his father landed at Petone on the *Bengal Merchant*, the first New Zealand Company ship to sail from Scotland. The family sailed in steerage class, reflecting their straitened circumstances.¹⁵⁵

John's father took up work as a carpenter, before settling on a bush farm in the Hutt Valley.¹⁵⁶ However, New Zealand Company claims over the Hutt Valley were strongly contested by local Māori and in 1846 war broke out in the region. A still young John

¹⁵¹ 'Kete Hamilton: Hamilton Streets: Bryce Street',

http://kete-hamilton.peoplesnetworknz.info/hamilton_streets/topics/show/354-bryce-street

¹⁵² Hamilton Borough Council minutes, 8 September 1891; *Waikato Times*, 10 September 1891, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WT18910910.2.12>

¹⁵³ *Waikato Argus*, 12 August 1905,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIGUS19050812.2.12>

¹⁵⁴ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

¹⁵⁵ G.H. Scholefield (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, vol. 1, p.109; Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.4.

¹⁵⁶ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

junior was said to have been greatly moved by the story of William Allen, a young bugler in the British Army killed in the fighting that took place at Boulcott's Farm on 16 May 1846, recalling Bugler Allen's actions and describing them in heroic terms decades later.¹⁵⁷

It appears that John junior had limited opportunities for formal schooling, and was for the most part self-taught.¹⁵⁸ Later in life he would move freely with men from the upper echelons of British and settler society, many of whom had received their educations at elite English public schools and universities such as Oxford and Cambridge.

John Bryce's fortunes appear to have improved significantly in 1851, when he travelled to the Victorian goldfields with his brother. Both brothers returned to New Zealand two years later wealthy enough to buy and develop farm lands in the Rangitikei district.¹⁵⁹ The following year, in September 1854, he married Elizabeth Ann Campbell. The couple had a large family: eight daughters and six sons.

In 1859 Bryce first entered the world of politics, serving on a number of road boards. His big breakthrough came in 1862, when he was elected as member for Wanganui and Rangitikei on the Wellington Provincial Council. In 1866 he was also elected to represent Wanganui in the General Assembly, before being compelled to resign from his political positions in February 1867 due to ill health (Bryce was a life-long asthmatic).¹⁶⁰

In 1868 war returned to Taranaki and the Kai Iwi Cavalry, a volunteer settler unit, was formed in October and quickly put into action against Ngāti Ruanui prophet and military commander Riwha Titokowaru, who was leading resistance to the confiscation of Taranaki Māori lands. John Bryce, then aged in his mid-thirties, had previous

¹⁵⁷ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.9.

¹⁵⁸ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

¹⁵⁹ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.9.

¹⁶⁰ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.10.

experience in volunteer cavalry and was chosen by members of the unit as its commanding officer.¹⁶¹

The Kai Iwi Cavalry were in action within days of being formed, and soon developed a reputation for ill-discipline.¹⁶² In early November 1868 Bryce's own commanding officer, General George Whitmore, wrote of the unit that:

the Kai Iwi Cavalry Volunteers – a motley group of horsemen from 14 to 60 years of age...a perfect pack of devils, and most uncontrollable. If they smell the natives, they follow Bryce like a pack of hounds, and cut, slay, and destroy the poor natives before you have time to look around you.¹⁶³

Whitmore's comments proved prescient. On 25 November 1868 the Kai Iwi Cavalry set out on their first major expedition. Two days later, on 27 November, they came across a group of Māori at Handley's Woolshed, near Nukumarū. The official report of what followed noted that the Kai Iwi Cavalry had encountered a party of 'Hauhaus', killing eight of their number with sabre, revolver and carbine. It singled out Sergeant George Maxwell for praise, noting that he had 'himself sabred two and shot one of the enemy'.¹⁶⁴

The report omitted one critical detail: the Māori party that the Kai Iwi Cavalry had attacked was not a party of adult Pai Mārire fighters but a group of young children, between 6 and 12 years of age, who were out hunting pigs. One boy, aged about 10, was killed by a single stroke from a sword that decapitated him. Another boy, around 12 years old, died as a result of multiple sword attacks.¹⁶⁵ Maxwell had played a prominent role in these killings. But what of his commanding officer, Lieutenant John

¹⁶¹ James Belich, *'I Shall Not Die': Titokowaru's War, New Zealand 1868-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1989, p.191.

¹⁶² Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.13.

¹⁶³ *Wanganui Herald*, 8 December 1868, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WH18681208.2.8>

¹⁶⁴ W. Newland to Whitmore, 27 November 1868, AJHR, 1869, A-3, p.12, <https://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs?a=d&d=AJHR1869-I.2.1.2.4&e=>

¹⁶⁵ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.204.

Bryce? He was said to have been chasing a runaway horse when some of the cavalry began their advance on the unarmed children and was still chasing it when Maxwell killed the first boy.¹⁶⁶ He later caught up with Maxwell and the other leading men and issued orders for them to retire. Maxwell initially refused before eventually complying. Bryce arrived at the scene in time to watch the second gravely wounded boy die.¹⁶⁷ He had not participated in the killings but knew that those attacked and killed by his own men were innocent children.

Years later there would be sequel to this episode when Bryce sued the Australian journalist and historian George Rusden for libel. Rusden had written in his three-volume history of New Zealand that '[s]ome women and young children emerged from a pah to hunt pigs. Lieutenant Bryce and Sergeant Maxwell of the Kai Iwi Cavalry dashed upon them and cut them down gleefully and with ease'.¹⁶⁸ As there were no women present – only children – and Bryce had not personally 'cut down' anyone, Bryce's high-profile libel action was successful in the London courts.¹⁶⁹

Bryce and the Kai Iwi Cavalry took part in further actions in the war against Titokowaru, none nearly as controversial as what had occurred at Handley's Woolshed, before the unit was demobilised in August 1869 and officially disbanded in November of that same year.¹⁷⁰ Thus ended his time as a military officer, though not his role in directing military operations against Taranaki Māori.

In 1871 Bryce returned to the political stage, elected unopposed as the member for Wanganui in the General Assembly.¹⁷¹ He held the seat until 1881, when he became the member for Waitotara until 1887. Between 1889 and 1890 he represented Waipa

¹⁶⁶ James Belich, *'I Shall Not Die': Titokowaru's War, New Zealand 1868-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1989, p.201.

¹⁶⁷ James Belich, *'I Shall Not Die': Titokowaru's War, New Zealand 1868-1869*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1989, p.203.

¹⁶⁸ G. W. Rusden, *History of New Zealand*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1883, vol.2, p.504.

¹⁶⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/ Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.204.

¹⁷⁰ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.22.

¹⁷¹ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

in Parliament, followed by Waikato between 1890 and 1891.¹⁷² Between 1876 and 1879 Bryce was chair of Parliament's Native Affairs Committee, considering a large number of petitions from Māori seeking relief and redress in respect of various grievances, as well as draft legislation and other matters. One historian notes that 'His views were hopelessly at variance with Maori aspirations'.¹⁷³

When a new government was installed in 1879 under the leadership of John Hall, Bryce was sworn in as Native Minister. He remained in office until August 1884, other than a ten-month period between January and October 1881, following his resignation after falling out with other ministers (and a similar but briefer interlude in April 1882). When Bryce came to office, the prophets Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kakaki were leading a campaign of non-violent resistance to the survey of confiscated lands in southern Taranaki from their base at Parihaka.¹⁷⁴ The people of Parihaka responded to the survey of lands not previously occupied by Pākehā, by ploughing and later fencing the areas concerned. Large numbers of Parihaka men had been arrested and were awaiting trial for their actions.

Bryce quickly signalled his intention to respond in uncompromising fashion, passing legislation that provided for the Māori prisoners to be imprisoned without trial. He dismissed objections by declaring Magna Carta and *habeas corpus* as 'mere legal technicalities' and described the grievances of Taranaki Māori as being entirely without substance.¹⁷⁵ A West Coast Commission was established to investigate any unfulfilled promises to Taranaki Māori. But Bryce declared they had none. His approach was too much for many of his fellow Cabinet ministers, and in January 1881 he resigned. Later that year, with no resolution in sight, Bryce was brought back into the fold.

¹⁷² *The New Zealand Parliamentary Record*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1925, p.81.

¹⁷³ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

¹⁷⁴ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

¹⁷⁵ Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989, p.88.

The more conciliatory William Rolleston, who privately believed the people of Parihaka were genuine in their commitment to non-violent resistance, was prevailed upon to issue one last proclamation before resigning. On 19 October 1881 he gave the Parihaka community 14 days to submit to law or lose any lands they still held.¹⁷⁶ Bryce was immediately sworn in as Native Minister to make preparations for the forthcoming confrontation. All of this took place as the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, raced back from a visit to Fiji, landing just two and a quarter hours after the signing of the proclamation.¹⁷⁷ He believed that Te Whiti's cause was a just one and was furious that the government had taken advantage of his absence to rush through the ultimatum.¹⁷⁸

With Bryce given a free hand to confront the people of Parihaka, preparations were quickly put in place. Te Whiti and Tohu continued to urge their followers to act peacefully, even as speculation as to the forthcoming invasion of their community reached frenzied levels.¹⁷⁹ A force consisting of nearly 1600 Armed Constabulary and volunteers was hastily assembled, commanded by Colonel J.M. Roberts but under the direction of Bryce.¹⁸⁰ Despite determined efforts by Bryce to prevent detailed press descriptions of what unfolded at Parihaka, two journalists managed to sneak into the settlement, witnessing and subsequently reporting on all that unfolded.¹⁸¹

Bryce, riding a white charger and accompanied by Rolleston on foot, advanced on Parihaka on the morning of 5 November 1881 at the head of the force. They were greeted by a large party of skipping, singing and dancing children (in some accounts including boys performing haka).¹⁸² Within the settlement itself a crowd of up to 2500 people had assembled to witness proceedings, with Te Whiti and Tohu continuing to urge calm. Samuel Crombie-Brown, one of the journalists to defy Bryce's media

¹⁷⁶ Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989, pp.154-55.

¹⁷⁷ Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989, p.156.

¹⁷⁸ Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989, p.157.

¹⁷⁹ Hazel Riseborough, *Days of Darkness: Taranaki 1878-1884*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, 1989, p.161.

¹⁸⁰ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

¹⁸¹ *Star*, 7 November 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18811107.2.20>

¹⁸² Rachel Buchanan, *The Parihaka Album*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2009, p.48.

blackout, observed that 'The whole spectacle was saddening in the extreme; it was an industrious, law-abiding, moral and hospitable community calmly awaiting the approach of the men sent to rob them of everything dear to them.'¹⁸³

The Riot Act was read and demands issued for Te Whiti, Tohu and others to hand themselves over for arrest. Te Whiti urged Bryce to come and talk to him instead. But Bryce refused to dismount from his horse and told Te Whiti that the time for talking was over.¹⁸⁴ As constables stepped forward to arrest Te Whiti and Tohu, both prophets continued to urge restraint among their followers as they were led away without resistance. Members of the expeditionary force subsequently looted and pillaged the settlement.¹⁸⁵ The Parihaka community had attracted Māori supporters from all over the country, and Bryce issued orders for the non-resident population to be forcibly dispersed. As the people were removed, their houses were pulled down. Oral histories also record that multiple women were raped.¹⁸⁶ Before leaving the scene, Bryce oversaw the destruction of all crops deemed to belong to outsiders.¹⁸⁷

Following the invasion of Parihaka, Bryce helped to steer through further legislation, indemnifying Crown forces for their actions and providing for Te Whiti and Tohu to be imprisoned without trial.¹⁸⁸ The pair were held for the next 16 months before eventually being allowed to return to Parihaka. Over the following years they rebuilt their community, continuing to peacefully resist the confiscation of their lands and facing further arrests.¹⁸⁹

In his role as Native Minister, Bryce also played a prominent part in negotiations leading to the opening up of the King Country to the North Island main trunk railway line. As part of his strategy to entice Waikato Māori who had taken refuge in the King Country following the Waikato War of 1863-64 to return north of the Pūniu River again

¹⁸³ *Star*, 7 November 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18811107.2.20>

¹⁸⁴ *Star*, 7 November 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/TS18811107.2.20>

¹⁸⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi*, Wellington: GP Publications, 1996, p.206.

¹⁸⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tuatahi*, Wellington: GP Publications, 1996, p.237.

¹⁸⁷ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.71.

¹⁸⁸ Moyra Cooke, 'John Bryce, 1834-1913: The White Charger', MA thesis, Massey University, 2015, p.73.

¹⁸⁹ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, p.208.

so that a potential obstacle to the 'opening up' of the King Country was removed, Bryce introduced a Waikato Confiscated Lands Act in 1880 that provided for small reserves to be set aside for landless 'surrendered rebels'.¹⁹⁰ In 1882 he also introduced an Amnesty Act providing for offences committed by Māori 'in insurrection against Her Majesty's authority' to be subject to a general pardon. Following the legislation, there was speculation as to whether Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, then taking shelter in the King Country, would be included in the pardon. At the instance of Ngāti Maniapoto leader Rewi Maniapoto, Bryce met with Te Kooti in February 1883 and agreed to his pardon.¹⁹¹

In October 1882 Bryce met with King Tawhiao at Alexandra (now known as Pirongia) just north of the King Country. Tawhiao repeated his familiar plea for the confiscated Waikato lands to be returned in full. Bryce rejected this out of hand, offering to return a small portion of the confiscated lands west of the Waipā River and insisting that 'the sovereignty of the Queen must extend over this island from end to end'.¹⁹² Bryce's uncompromising approach, and his offhand treatment of the Māori King, made it impossible for the Kīngitanga to accept what had been offered them. King Tawhiao thereafter looked to the British government and Queen Victoria to intervene, while Bryce focused on negotiations with Ngāti Maniapoto.¹⁹³

In March 1883 Bryce reached agreement with a number of Ngāti Maniapoto leaders, providing for a survey to be commenced for a railway through their territory in return for various measures designed to protect their lands and authority.¹⁹⁴ Ngāti Maniapoto believed they had entered into a sacred 'compact' with the Crown. But they soon found their lands and authority under threat as the King Country was opened up to the operations of the Native Land Court and large-scale land purchase operations. The

¹⁹⁰ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016, pp.497-502.

¹⁹¹ Judith Binney. 'Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t45/te-kooti-arikirangi-te-turuki>

¹⁹² *Waikato Times*, 31 October 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WT18821031.2.12>

¹⁹³ Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars/Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2019, pp.583-84.

¹⁹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims [pre-publication version]*, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, p.797.

Waitangi Tribunal concluded in its 2018 Te Rohe Pōtae report that Bryce acted in bad faith and knowingly misled Ngāti Maniapoto rangatira during the course of negotiations that led to an application in December 1883 for a survey of their external boundary, which later provided the basis for the Native Land Court to commence hearings in the district.¹⁹⁵

As Native Minister, Bryce did attempt some reform of legislation governing Māori land purchases and was said to have detested fraudulent land dealings and speculation by 'land-sharks'.¹⁹⁶ But he also described it as an 'absurdity' for Māori to believe they should manage their own affairs and 'utterly impractical' for them to think they should play a greater role in deciding on ownership of their lands.¹⁹⁷ Although Bryce had not personally killed anyone at Handley's Woolshed in 1868, he turned a blind eye to what had taken place, and was complicit in the affair as a result. It is said that Māori thereafter referred to him as Bryce 'Tangata Kohuru' (Bryce the murderous man), perhaps reflecting belief that he bore responsibility for what had happened.¹⁹⁸ His prominent role in the invasion of Parihaka is more clear-cut. It is an incident today widely remembered as deeply shameful.

Bryce's subsequent political career was less memorable. And personally, he expressed no regret for what had happened at Parihaka, observing on the 25th anniversary of the invasion that he had no misgivings about what had taken place.¹⁹⁹ It was, Bryce said, the event in his life of which he had 'never ceased to be proud'.²⁰⁰ He died at his home in Whanganui in January 1913.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Mana Whatu Ahuru: Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims [pre-publication version]*, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal, 2018, pp.908-911.

¹⁹⁶ Alan Ward, *An Unsettled History: Treaty Claims in New Zealand Today*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1999, p.63.

¹⁹⁷ Bryce to Governor, 11 January 1884, MA 23/1, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; Bryce to Governor, 11 February 1884, G 49/20, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

¹⁹⁸ 'Te Tangata Kōhuru: The Murderous Man', <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/classroom/conversations/te-tangata-kohuru-murderous-man>

¹⁹⁹ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>

²⁰⁰ *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 3 February 1903, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HNS19030203.2.40>

²⁰¹ Hazel Riseborough. 'Bryce, John', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b44/bryce-john>