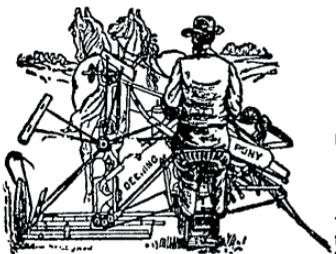


COLENZO

The e-organ of the Colenso Society Inc.,
32 Hawkestone St, Thorndon, Wellington;
dedicated to making known the life and work
of the Reverend William Colenso and thus
forming a pepperpot biography.



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This Machine is without doubt the Best
Value ever offered, and farmers should send us
their orders early. Made in all combinations—
also to sow any quantity as desired.

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OUR PATENT STEEL POINTS FOR SHARES

Are fast superseding all others, and farmers now recognise their value.
We are selling thousands.

TESTIMONIAL:

Please send up 1 dozen Patent Points; the ground is so hard here I cannot do without them,
CHAS. DOME, Middlemarch, April 30, 1898.

CATALOGUES AND ALL INFORMATION FREE ON APPLICATION.

Agents for DEERING ALL-STEEL AND PONY BINDER, the Lightest Draught Binder in
the World.

**John
William
Colenso**

Bishop Natal

Studios, imperious, intellectual,
thoughtful, proud, a scholar....



... and yet youthful, far-seeing,
kindly, enquiring (either he parted
his hair on either side or some of the
images have been reversed)...





...but then this:
stooped, thin, beaten,
retreating stage
left....

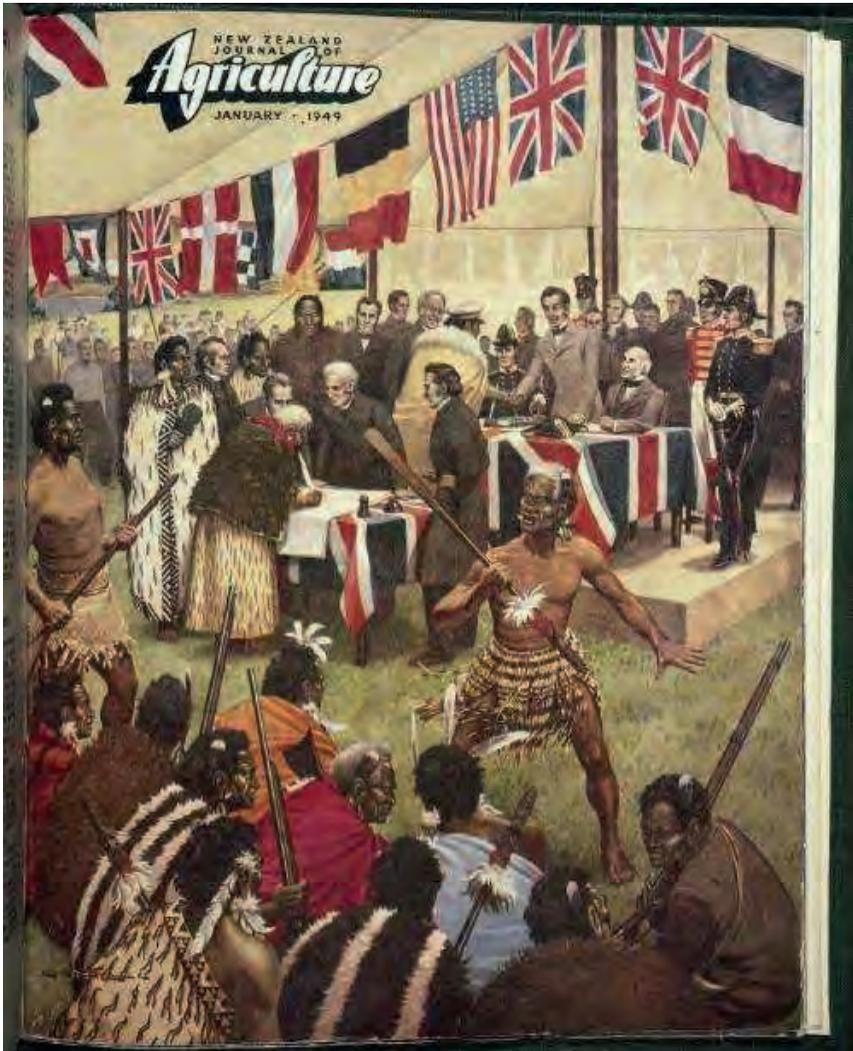
**MEN OF THE
DAY. NO. 92.
THE RIGHT REV.
JOHN WILLIAM
COLENZO, D.D.,
BISHOP OF
NATAL**

“...he desires to live
in charity with all
men, and is yet fated
to find himself en-
gaged in conflicts
which those only can
avoid who are content
to stand by and see
Truth despised, and
Justice trodden under-
foot.”

Cartoon and text from
Vanity Fair, 28 No-
vember 1874.

Cartoon by
Carlo Pellegrini
(aka “Ape”).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi



Reconstruction of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840.
by Leonard Cornwall Mitchell, 1940. ATL image A-242-002

MITCHELL'S painting shows, the National Library Catalogue tells us, a group of Māori in the left foreground, being challenged by one man (Marupo) with taiaha. The flags of many nations are strung along the inside of the roof of a marquee, with tables beyond Marupo. Kawiti is signing the Treaty, watched by witness Rev. Richard Taylor and Mr James Stuart Freeman (standing at right of table-end). Beyond this group is another table (both tables are draped in the Union Jack) with Hone Heke (in cap) shaking hands with Governor William Hobson. The seated figure on Hobson's left (i.e. our right) is James Busby. Other figures are also individually identified in the key on the verso of the work, including Joseph Nias, Willoughby Shortland, Rev. Henry Williams, William Colenso (immediately behind Taylor, a tentpole at the right edge of the door behind him), Samuel Ironside, Felton Mathew, Charles Baker, Tamati Waka Nene, Patuone, Hakitara, Tareha, Moka and Wharerahi.

This is thought to be the most accurate of the reconstructions of the signing of the Treaty. However original accounts state the the Rev. Henry Williams was seated to the right of Governor Hobson, beside Captain Nias and the other clergy standing behind Williams behind the table. The marquee ws 150 ft long with the Governor's raised platform at the end and some 600 people inside. It would therefore not have been possible to see outside as shown in this view. Accounts do not indicate that there were separate tables. In addition, Kawiti refused to sign the Treaty on 6 February and only agreed to sign it later, after being urged to do so by other Maori chiefs.

Mitchell, Leonard Cornwall, 1901-1971. New Zealand artist. Stamp designer for the Post Office 1931-ca 1970. A New Zealand-trained artist; studied at Palmerston North Technical School and a correspondence course in cartoon and caricature from the United States. Head artist with the company Filmcraft under McKenzie in the late 1920s, until the government takeover. Designed posters and illustrations for the Tourist and Publicity Department 1930s. Worked in the art department of the company W D & H O Wills with Ernest Mervyn Taylor. Painted many reconstructions of historical scenes. In 1940s was with Coulls Somerville Wilkie. Designed the commemorative centennial half-crown coin 1940 (see R P Hargreaves' "From beads to banknotes" (1972), page 155). Worked as a commercial artist with his son Alan 1960s.

William Colenso's account of the signing was published in the jubilee year (1890 *The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand, February 5 and 6, 1840: being a faithful and circumstantial, though brief, narration of events which happened on that memorable occasion; with copies of the Treaty in English and Maori, and of the three early proclamations respecting the founding of the Colony. Government Printing Office, Wellington. 42p.*). He composed it from notes taken 50 years earlier, and his account has received almost as much scholarly attention as the Treaty itself.

Colenso had arrived back overland from a visit to Whangarei on Christmas Eve, 1839 and remained at Paihia until 7 April 1840 when he left again for Whangarei. He was famously present at the gathering and signing of the Treaty on 5 and 6 February, and on 11 February wrote to the CMS Secretaries (in a letter begun on 24 January)...

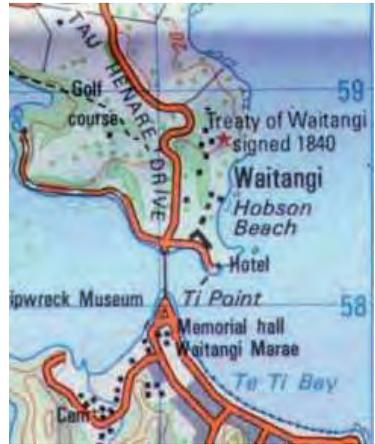
Colenso to the CMS secretaries

24 January 1840:

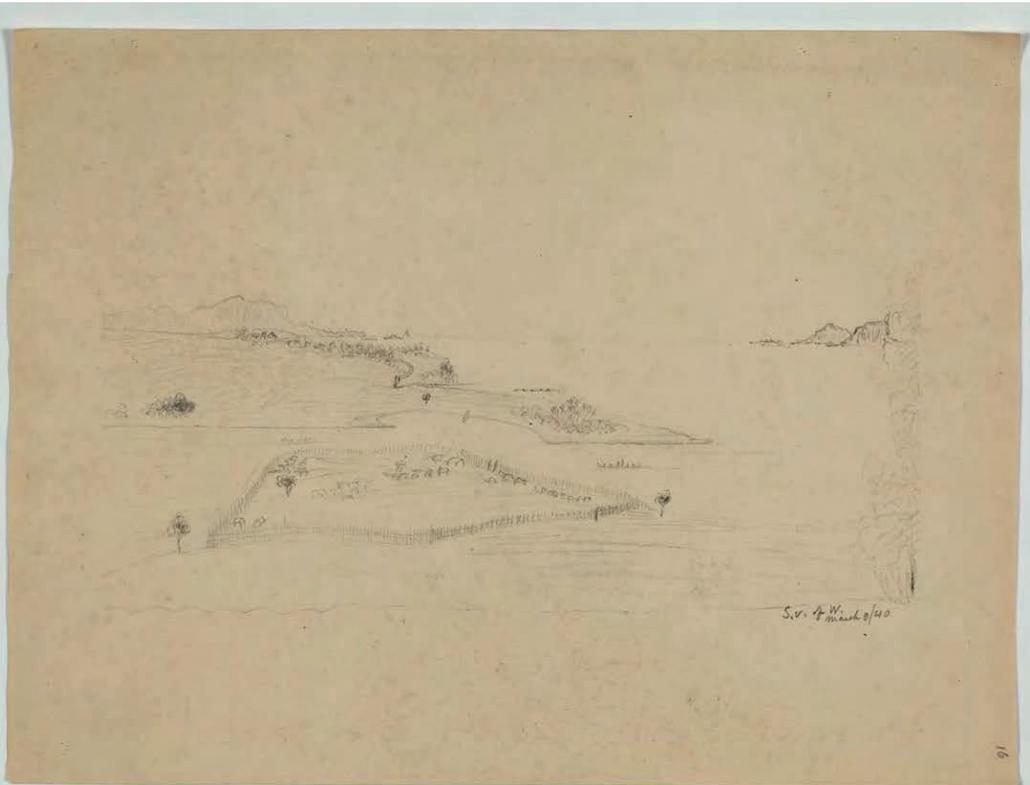
.... H.M.S. "Herald," has arrived, came in the Bay and anchored, on the morning of the 29th. Jany. (bringing Lieut. Governor Hobson and suite. His Excellency has issued 2 Proclamations, (copies of which are enclosed in the parcel of Books, &c.)—has assembled together some of the Chiefs at Waitangi, and has got some to sign the Treaty. The Principal Articles of the Treaty are, 1. The Cession of the Sovereignty of their respective Tribes to the Queen of Great Britain. 2. Their consenting to sell their Lands only through the person appointed by the Government. 3. Their being entitled to the Rights of British Subjects, on their Signing the Treaty. Forty five Chiefs signed the document, several refused to do so; there are not many Chiefs of the first rank among those who have signed. This morning (Monday, Feb. 11.) His Excellency went to Waimate, and tomorrow he goes on to Hokianga; and in a few days to the Southward, in the "Herald," to Issue his Proclamation, and to get the Natives to sign the Treaty. I have little doubt, myself, but that the Natives will come forwards ready enough to sign the same, at the same time, I believe it will be from ignorance of the Articles. [Last week 2 persons, baptized, in the Hokianga district, quarreled, when one cleft the other's face asunder with his axe, so that he died: and since that, in the same neighbourhood, a Chief of the Romish Bishop's party, coolly and deliberately killed a man for the stealing of an handkerchief. Chiefs believe they have a right to do as they please with their slaves, and, for a false accusation, cursing, trespassing on sacred places, Sorcery, &c, &c, they are invariably punished with death—and often without Inquiry.] As to their being aware that by their signing the Treaty they have restrained themselves from Selling their Land to whomsoever they will; I cannot for a moment suppose that they can know it. A proof I can adduce; Hara, a chief of the second rank, in this neighbourhood, and one who wished the Treaty to be signed, and who came forward and signed the same, has since offered to sell his Lands, and, on the person, to whom he offered them, saying, "it was irregular, &c, Hara replied, "What! do you think I won't do as I like with my own?" I believed, and do believe, that the Natives did not fully understand what they signed: believing this, and finding no other person would, I took it upon me to address His Excellency, at the Public Meeting, when the first person was called up to append his Name to the Document. I asked His Excellency, whether His Excellency supposed that the Native Chiefs knew what they were about to do, &c &c. His Excellency, in reply, stated that he had done his best to enable them to understand the same, &c, &c,—I mention this circumstance, my dear Sirs, that in the event of a reaction taking place, you may know the very root from whence such a reaction proceeds.—It is also possible that you may hear of my having addressed His Excellency on this subject from another quarter. Interests are beginning to clash—beginning did I say? they have long since *begun* to do so—and the *dearest* must be supported. Oh! how thankful should I be to the LORD, (though I sometimes feel my poverty,) that HE has kept me from becoming possessed of Land, and, by that means seeking my own welfare before that of my Redeemer, the Society, or the poor New Zealander! I must be enabled to send you *speedily* an account of the Meeting, from notes taken by myself on the spot: But have not time at present to fill out the same, and be given the requisite Information.—

Colenso's sketch of W: where?

In the September 2012 issue of *eColenso* we published an unidentified sketch by William Colenso from the collections in the Mitchell Library, Sydney and asked if anyone could identify the scene depicted. Nobody replied, but the light has dawned, and I believe this is a sketch of Waitangi itself. It is labelled "S.V. of W. March 9/40", which I believe is "Southern view of Waitangi, March 9/1840". If so it was sketched a month after the Treaty was signed, and must therefore be regarded as a highly important image.



- ▼ Colenso's sketch of Waitangi from the south, a month after the Treaty. Cabbage trees (*tī*) grow on Ti Point. The southern point is pallisaded. The road has the same Z-bend as it has today. Blow this image up to see it.



Fact or fiction?

William Colenso's authentic & genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi : a thesis submitted for the Master of Arts in History at Massey University, by Judith Ward: the conclusions are reproduced here with the permission of the author.

This thesis has shown that William Colenso's manuscript of Hobson's arrival and the debate and signing of the Treaty at Waitangi on 5 and 6 February 1840 is an 'authentic' eye-witness account that was written in 1840. It has suggested that the manuscript itself was written shortly after the event and possibly between 12 February 1840 and 16 February 1840. The thesis has also demonstrated that William Colenso was a perceptive observer who, not only put together a well-documented record of the proceedings for the CMS, but also checked the contents of his manuscript with Felton Mathew and possibly others who had also been present at Waitangi in February 1840. However whilst historians can rely on much of Colenso's reconstruction of the Treaty signing, this does not mean that the text can be used without considering the contexts of its creation and the agendas of its author in 1840 and in 1890.

William Colenso's account of the events that unfolded at Waitangi on 5 and 6 February 1840 should be treated with a degree of informed caution. There is no agreement between the European eye-witnesses about the stance that was adopted by Hone Heke at Waitangi on 5 February 1840 but it seems unlikely that a war of words would have ensued between him and Tamati Waka Nene if Heke had spoken in support of Hobson's proposal as outlined by William Colenso. Similarly, Colenso's 1840 account of James Busby's speech is contradicted by Colonial Office records and Busby's private papers, which both corroborate the newspaper article that was written for *The Sydney Herald* by Captain Robertson of the *Samuel Winter*. Whilst the records of Ensign Best confirm that the distribution of tobacco at the end of the meeting on 5 February 1840 was haphazard, the available evidence contradicts Colenso and suggests that there were more chiefs present at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 than the previous day. Similarly, although William Colenso's account of Bishop Pompallier's request for religious freedom is largely substantiated, the records of James Busby, Henry Williams and Bishop Pompallier do not mention Colenso or the role that he claimed to have played in assisting Williams with the Maori wording of the requisite clause.

Colenso's original manuscript, and to some extent his changes in 1890, had a particular purpose and were influenced by his personal views and biases. The clue to Colenso's purpose in writing his 1840 account lies in August 1839 when he wrote a similar

document for the CMS. This account was written within two hours of an argument between himself and Williams over a blanket taken by one or other of their respective 'boys'. According to Colenso, Henry Williams had expressed his displeasure at the way that he had handled the matter and the discussion had become heated after Colenso refused to accept his mistake. Williams is reported to have told Colenso that he had never been so insulted by anyone in all his life and accused the printer of behaving insolently toward him since his arrival in the country. Colenso's account of this incident was written to preempt any complaint that Williams might choose to make to London about his insubordination. It was also intended to justify his conduct and not only included a verbatim record of the alleged conversation but described the gestures that had been used by Henry Williams to intimidate and threaten him.¹

Similar motives appear to have led William Colenso to write an addendum to his letter to the CMS on 11 February 1840. On that occasion he told Dandeson Coates that Hobson had arrived as Consul, held a meeting at Waitangi and persuaded some of the chiefs to sign a Treaty. At that juncture Colenso was worried that Henry Williams would tell the CMS that he had interrupted the meeting at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 and addressed Hobson. He was also concerned that Williams would divulge that he had accused him of failing to explain the Treaty properly and suggested to Hobson that if there was an adverse reaction from Maori, it would be Henry Williams' fault.

To support his assertion that Maori had not understood the articles of the Treaty they had signed, Colenso told the CMS that one of the Maori signatories had subsequently insisted on his right to sell his land to whomsoever he pleased. He also implied that Williams had misled Maori by suggesting that his interests had clashed and that Williams had placed his own welfare first. Colenso closed his letter by telling Coates that he intended to write a memorandum of the events from notes he had taken on the spot and then quickly dispatched it on the *Matilda* on 13 February 1840 when Williams was absent from Paihia. Colenso's manuscript should therefore be seen as an attempt to justify his interference at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 and the disparaging comments he had made about Henry Williams.

¹ William Colenso, *Memoranda of a Convn. which took place between the Revd. H. Williams and myself this morning Augt. 10th, 1839*. Donald McLean Papers. Reference Number MS-Papers-0032-0221. Object #1005636. <http://www.nzcp.govt.nz/detail/?id=1005636&recordNum=2&t=items&q=colenso+&l=en>, retrieved 30 October 2011.

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¹ William Colenso, *Memoranda of a Convn. which took place between the Revd. H. Williams and myself this morning Augt. 10th, 1839*, Donald McLean Papers, Reference Number MS-Papers-0032-0221, Object #1005636, <http://www.nzlib.govt.nz/detail/?id=1005636&recordNum=28&items&q=colenso+&l=en>, retrieved 30 October 2011.

William Colenso also recognized the prejudices of his audience and endeavoured to work them to his advantage. In his 1840 manuscript he described how he had discouraged the CMS missionaries from entering the British Residency while Bishop Pompallier and Father Servant were still inside. He also said that, at his suggestion, the CMS missionaries had stepped out of the line of procession rather than follow Rome. These emendations portray Colenso as a zealous Protestant and he seems to have exaggerated his part in the proceedings in order to garner favour with his London superiors. To this end Colenso had already sent a tract he had written on the *Matilda* which portrayed the Pope and Pompallier as anti-Christ and exposed the errors of Rome.

In a similar vein Colenso amended his manuscript in 1840 and added an account of the role that he had played in assisting Henry Williams to write out the clause requested by Pompallier. By telling the CMS that he had fashioned it to imply that the Catholic faith was synonymous with the pagan beliefs of Maori, Colenso reinforced his persona as a fervent Protestant. He also implied that he was the superior linguist and better positioned to judge whether Maori had understood the meaning and consequences of the Treaty.

Colenso appears to have used the speeches of Te Kemara, Rewa and Moka to capitalize on the Society's disapproval of the missionaries' land purchases. In his 1840 memorandum he told the CMS that 'Kamera' had run up to Williams, pointed directly at him and accused him of stealing his land. He also described the 'excited' mannerisms adopted by this chief 'particularly when addressing himself to Reverend Henry Williams on the subject of land'. Similarly Colenso appears to have used Rewa's speech to tell the CMS that the land purchases of Richard Davis and George Clarke had rendered Waimate Maori landless and Moka's speech to advise them that Maori had demanded the return of their land from Charles Baker. In this way, Colenso exploited Williams' vulnerability to criticism over his land purchases and provided 'evidence' to support his contention that the CMS missionaries had taken advantage of the ignorance of Maori to deprive them of their landed property.

Colenso recounted Hobson's speech and the concerns that had been raised about Henry Williams' translation. He had taken verbatim notes in an old notebook and copied them

into his memorandum minus the last two sentences. These sentences, which distinguished between the humanitarian intentions of the Queen and the avarice of the land speculators, appear to have been added by Henry Williams at the conclusion of his translation of Hobson's speech. Colenso rightly excluded them from Hobson's address. However he also omitted them from his 1840 manuscript because they provided evidence that Williams had encouraged Maori to sign the Treaty as a way of protecting their land from the greed of speculators – a statement that was completely at odds with Colenso's efforts to portray Henry Williams as a land shark who had mistranslated the Treaty to protect his own purchases.

Colenso appears to have used the speeches of Johnson and Jones to point out that he was not the only person who had raised their concerns with Hobson at the Waitangi meeting; that both men had suggested that Henry Williams had not interpreted correctly and had accused him of failing to translate the adverse comments made by the chiefs about the missionaries' land purchases. Colenso also appears to have used Heke's speech to echo his assertion that Maori were like children and could not understand the nature of the document they had signed. Through the medium of Heke's address he also indicated that Maori had placed their trust in the missionaries to advise them and had, by implication, been betrayed.

William Colenso's intention in advising the CMS that the second day's meeting was brought forward seems to have been to imply that Maori had not been given sufficient time to consider the Treaty and that Williams had acted hastily to safeguard his own interests. In a similar vein, his emendation in 1890, in which he said that an elderly chief had run up to Hobson and predicted his death, may have been intended to suggest that Hobson's untimely death in September 1842 was a consequence of irregularities associated with the signing of the Treaty at Waitangi.²

While Colenso's reliance on his 1840 notes makes his published account a largely accurate reconstruction of his 1840 interpretation of the events at Waitangi, changes made in 1890 reflect his different circumstances and those of the colony. In 1890 William Colenso claimed that he had been on intimate terms with the former British Resident. He said that James Busby had read his manuscript on the voyage to Sydney on

² William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, pp. 28-29

the *Eleanor* and made some emendations to it, which he had faithfully copied into his history. Colenso emphasized that his account was 'attested by two capable witnesses' and that his narration stood as Busby had read it 'with his full acquiescence in its correctness'.³

The footnotes attributed to Busby in Colenso's 1890 publication are relatively innocuous. The first maintained that the Union Jack was taken down from the flagstaff during the discussions; the second queried what Colenso had meant by his reference to nature's grey mantle; the third said that Busby had sat on Hobson's immediate right, with Pompallier next to Busby; the fourth claimed that the multi-coloured cloaks worn by some of the chiefs had been gifted to them by Pompallier; the fifth said that little attention had been paid to the speech of a Waikare chief because of the bustle when Tareha and Hakiro arrived, and the final footnote said that the demeanour of Te Kemara had changed on 6 February 1840 after Busby had told him that Hobson would be living in his house at Waitangi. Nevertheless these emendations imply that Busby read and agreed with the contents of Colenso's manuscript in 1840 and that his 1890 jubilee history was therefore authentic. However, there are no emendations by Busby on Colenso's manuscript and none of the footnotes attributed to Busby by Colenso in his 1890 history appear in his 1840 memorandum. Moreover, Busby's speech, which was written by Colenso, is unreliable and includes statements that are contradicted by Colonial Office records and James Busby's private papers.

It is doubtful that James Busby read Colenso's manuscript during his voyage to Sydney on the *Eleanor*. His two year old son James, who died shortly after the family's arrival in Darlinghurst, is likely to have been gravely ill and to have monopolized Busby's attention. It is more likely that Busby was completely ignorant of Colenso's memorandum. His purpose in travelling to Sydney was to address the Legislative Council of New South Wales in opposition to the New Zealand Bill which provided for Commissioners to enquire into the land purchases of people like himself and Henry Williams. In his evidence James Busby said that his right and title to his land at Waitangi had been held sacred by Maori and had never been challenged. He also defended the

³ William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, p. 9.

purchases that had been made by Reverend Henry Williams in support of his large Christian family.⁴

James Busby would not have been enamoured by Colenso's account of Te Kemara's speech in which the chief had accused Busby and Williams of stealing his land. He is also unlikely to have condoned any suggestion that Williams had mistranslated the Treaty or that Maori had signed it in ignorance; the allegations made by Colenso against Henry Williams applying equally to himself. Moreover his brother Alexander had sailed for London on the *Navarino* in June 1840 and had carried some of Wade's sketches of New Zealand in his personal baggage for delivery to the CMS. One would expect that if James Busby had agreed with the contents of Colenso's manuscript, Alexander Busby would have also been asked to convey Wade's copy of it to Dandeson Coates. However, there is no reference to this in Wade's correspondence, which is preoccupied with the survival of his drawings.⁵

In 1890 William Colenso added further footnotes to his jubilee history that are completely at odds with the derisive attitude he had adopted toward Williams in 1840. The first was inserted after Te Kemara's speech and dismissed his allegations that Busby and Williams had stolen his land as 'mere show'. The same footnote also claimed that the chiefs had subsequently given evidence as to the fair sale of their land to the Commissioners; Colenso himself having acted as interpreter. A second footnote stated that Henry Williams had translated fairly what was said at Waitangi on 5 February 1840 but had omitted the repetitious statements made by the chiefs in their respective addresses to Hobson. Further footnotes were added to denigrate Williams' principal critics, Johnson and Jones, and raise doubts about Johnson's ability to speak the Maori language. Finally, Colenso added a footnote which observed that in 1840 Rewa, Moka, Tareha and Hakiro had all lived at Kororareka close to the Roman Catholic mission. This emendation implied that these chiefs had been influenced by Pompallier and appears to

⁴ *The Colonist*, Sydney, Wednesday 15 April 1840, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31724880>, retrieved 28 September 2011; *The Sydney Herald*, Wednesday 15 April 1840, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article10358485>, retrieved 28 September 2011. James Busby junior died at Darlinghurst on 10 April 1840. He was aged 2 years and 4 months; *The Sydney Herald*, Monday 6 July 1840, page 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/12865002?searchTerm=waitangi&searchLimits=sortby=DateAsc>, retrieved 25 June 2011.

⁵ William Wade to Dandeson Coates, 37 Murray Street, Hobart Town, 26 October 1840, William Wade, Outwards Letters, 1835-1844, PC-0165, HL.

have been intended to deflect the 'blame' for Colenso's criticism of Williams' onto the Bishop.⁶

However William Colenso did not act as an interpreter for the Commissioners in the 1840's but declined to do so on the grounds that it would 'divert him from the work for which he came to New Zealand'.⁷ Moreover Colenso had witnessed Henry Williams' deed for Te Hihi in 1836 and James Busby's deeds at Ruakaka and Waipu in December 1839 and February 1840. He had also drafted the clauses in Busby's deeds which gave Maori the right to cultivate small areas of land at Waitangi and Pohuenui. Consequently William Colenso had appeared before Commissioners Godfrey and Richmond as a witness in support of the land claims of both James Busby and Reverend Henry Williams.⁸

Whether or not William Colenso's emendations in 1890 were motivated by his desire to secure a place on the Anglican Synod is open to debate. His reinstatement as a practicing minister and his appointment to the Synod in 1894 followed the publication of his history, in which he had toned down his earlier criticism of Williams. At that time, he

⁶ William Colenso, *The Authentic and Genuine History of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi*, pp. 18, 20, 25; Caroline Fitzgerald (ed.), *Te Wiremu - Henry Williams Early Years in the North*, Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2011, pp. x, 324-325; William Colenso to Dandeson Coates, Waitangi, near Cape Kidnappers, Hawke's Bay, 18 June 1846, Collected papers of and relating to William Colenso, Letters, November 1834-February 1849. MS-0063/A. HL.

⁷ Austin Bagnall & George Petersen, *William Colenso, printer, missionary, botanist, explorer, politician: his life and journeys*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1948, p. 144, note 3.

⁸ Bruce Stirling with Richard Towers, *A report with the Sword but with the Pen: The Taking of the Northland Old Land Claims, Part 1: Historical Overview*. A report commissioned by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust for Wai 1040 # A9, July 2007, pp. 200, 241, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/genericanquiries/northland/northlanddocuments.asp?category=5>, retrieved 28 November 2011; James Busby to Alexander Busby, 1 March 1839, Letters from James Busby to his brother Alexander Busby, 1830-1839. MS 46. Folder 1, p. 91, AML; *Daily Southern Cross*, 20 November 1863, p. 4, <http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cui-bin/paperspast?a=d&ci=search&id=D8C18671120.2.28.1&rspos=181&se=-----10-181---0busby+land+bill+--->, retrieved 29 September 2011; Te Hihi Block, Bay of Islands, 500 acres, Henry Williams, April 1836, from Te Kemara, Marupo, Parangi and others, witnessed by William Colenso, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TurOldP-t1-g1-g1-g12-t4.html>, retrieved 1 December 2011; Ruakaka Block, Whangarei, 25,000 acres, James Busby, 13 December 1839, witnessed by William Colenso, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TurOldP-t1-g1-g1-g10-t1.html>, retrieved 1 December 2011; Waipu Block, Whangarei, James Busby, 25,000 acres, witnessed by William Colenso, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-TurOldP-t1-g1-g1-g12-t4.html>, retrieved 1 December 2011. This deed conveys 300 acres to Maori at Pohuenui; this being their dwelling and cultivations. William Colenso was suspended as a deacon and dismissed by the CMS in November 1852 after his affair with a Maori domestic became common knowledge. Ripeka, who had lived in Colenso's household in Paihia, had accompanied William and Elizabeth Colenso to Ahuriri in 1844. The revelation that she had born Colenso two children, the second dying shortly after birth, ended his marriage. See James Handlin to C.M.S., Salisbury Square, London, 27 December 1852, Wairoa. Hawkes Bay. Letters to the Church Missionary Society, Inwards letters, MS-0498/013, HL; William Colenso, 1811-1899, Printer, missionary, explorer, naturalist, politician, by David Mackay, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c23/1>, retrieved 4 November 2011; Samuel Williams, 1822-1907, Missionary, framer, educationalist, pastoralist, by Mary Boyd, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1w25/1>, retrieved 4 November 2011.

was welcomed into back into the fold by Samuel Williams and William Leonard Williams, the sons of Henry and William Williams.

Finally when William Colenso wrote his memorandum for the CMS in February 1840 he could not have foreseen that in the 21st century the old land claims of James Busby and Henry Williams would continue to dog their descendants or that the government would appoint a commission of inquiry to probe how Ngapuhi had understood the Treaty in 1840. His memorandum was simply written to excuse his behaviour at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 when he had interrupted the meeting and addressed the Queen's representative. In spite of the opinionated and caustic views that he freely expressed in his private correspondence with the CMS, William Colenso was then only 29 years old and very much intimidated by the indomitable Henry Williams. In 1890, when Colenso used his manuscript as the basis of his jubilee history, the reputation of Henry Williams was more secure, requiring Colenso to maintain his criticism in a more restrained manner. Consequently, while historians can now have greater confidence in their reliance on Colenso's account, they also need to acknowledge its limitations and biases and most importantly, the imprint of Colenso's personality on his 'authentic' history of the debate and signing of the Treaty at Waitangi in February 1840.



Maths for Māori

In his 1988 paper “Mathematics in the Pacific Basin” (*British Journal for the History of Science*; 21:401–417) Colenso Society member Garry J. Tee wrote,

“British missionaries dominated most of the Pacific islands and they inflicted not only the Imperial weights and measures, but also sterling currency of guineas, pounds, shillings, pence and farthings. For example, the English missionary printer William Colenso ... arrived in New Zealand in 1835, and one of the first documents printed in New Zealand was Colenso's table of addition and multiplication, with pounds, shillings and pence. In a Rarotongan textbook the student was expected to calculate a cost of £114-0-4²/₇; and similarly in the Melanesian culture of Fiji, the student was expected to handle sums involving £8096-17-11³/₄.”

Colenso's tables are shown overleaf.

KO NGA TEPARA.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
2	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
5	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
6	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
7	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
8	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
9	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
10	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
11	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
12	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
2	4	6	8	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24
3	6	9	12	15	18	21	24	27	30	33	36
4	8	12	16	20	24	28	32	36	40	44	48
5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60
6	12	18	24	30	36	42	48	54	60	66	72
7	14	21	28	35	42	49	56	63	70	77	84
8	16	24	32	40	48	56	64	72	80	88	96
9	18	27	36	45	54	63	72	81	90	99	108
10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120
11	22	33	44	55	66	77	88	99	110	121	132
12	24	36	48	60	72	84	96	108	120	132	144

PENE.

	<i>h.</i>	<i>p.</i>
12	Pene	1. 0.
20	...	1. 8.
30	...	2. 6.
40	...	3. 4.
50	...	4. 2.
60	...	5. 0.
70	...	5. 10.
80	...	6. 8.
90	...	7. 6.
100	...	8. 4.
110	...	9. 2.
120	...	10. 0.
130	...	10. 10.
140	...	11. 8.
150	...	12. 6.
160	...	13. 4.
170	...	14. 2.
180	...	15. 0.
190	...	15. 10.
200	...	16. 8.
210	...	17. 6.
220	...	18. 4.
230	...	19. 2.
240	...	20. 0.
300	...	25. 0.
400	...	33. 4.
480	...	40. 0.

HIRINI.

	<i>P.</i>	<i>h.</i>
20	Hirini	1. 0.
30	...	1. 10.
40	...	2. 0.
50	...	2. 10.
60	...	3. 0.
70	...	3. 10.
80	...	4. 0.
90	...	4. 10.
100	...	5. 0.
150	...	7. 10.
200	...	10. 0.
250	...	12. 10.
300	...	15. 0.
350	...	17. 10.
400	...	20. 0.
450	...	22. 10.
500	...	25. 0.
550	...	27. 10.
600	...	30. 0.
650	...	32. 10.
700	...	35. 0.
750	...	37. 10.
800	...	40. 0.
850	...	42. 10.
900	...	45. 0.
950	...	47. 10.
1000	...	50. 0.

HE MEA TA I TE PERERI I PAIRIA.

Arithmetic tables, printed by William Colenso at the Mission Press at Pahia in 1835 (Alexander Turnbull Library).

Self mutilation

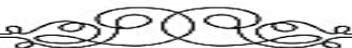
Colenso noted several times (with intense disapproval), during a journey in Northland, the old Māori practice of showing grief by self-mutilation (also observed by Marsden)...

20 January 1838: Entered the village and commenced conversation with the Chief, who had very recently been cutting and slashing his face and breast, to shew the strength of his affection for some relative; he promised for the future to leave off that revolting practice.

24th: The women and children seem to have had repeated occasion to demonstrate their love, from their scarred and seamed countenances and arms; caused by their cutting themselves with a sharp shell—When, O Lord, shall the poor Heathen fully know thy ways?

27th: A man, who had been recently cutting and slashing himself, according to their custom, for the death of a relative, at my rebuking him for so doing, went immediately to the river and washed; I considered this as a very favourable omen, never having known a Native so to act before; as they consider it wrong to wipe off the clotted blood; in its remaining they show their love!

29th: The Father of one of the lads going with me came and asked my permission to cry on parting with his Son! this I readily granted, only stipulating that he was not to slash himself; which he agreed to.



eColenso is a free email Newsletter published by the Colenso Society.

Please forward to anyone who may be interested.

The editor invites contributions on Rev. William Colenso FLS FRS.

Such contributions should be emailed to Ian St George, istge@yahoo.co.nz.

The cover of this issue is based on an advertisement in the *Hawke's Bay Herald*.

From the *Hawke's Bay Herald*,
7 November 1857,
and from *Papers Past*

A P P L E T R E E S .

A FEW CHOICE YOUNG TREES for sale, of superior qualities—among which are some *new* highly-approved long-keeping sorts; also a few *large trees* in full bearing. An early application is necessary.

Apply to MESSRS. NEWTON & BROWNE, Napier; or to

W. COLENZO,
at Waitangi.

Colenso wrote to
Julius von Haast on 3 June 1864,

... (having had) the personal acquaintance of, and after correspondence with, several eminent foreign & British Naturalists, (of whom I may mention, D'Urville, A. Cunningham, Ross, Franklin, Hooker, Dieffenbach, Wilkes and Sinclair,) whose researches and publications I have willingly aided to the utmost....

Colenso's letters to Cunningham and the Hookers are preserved at Kew, but are there others in overseas collections? In Tasmania to Franklin? In Paris to d'Urville? To Wilkes in Washington? In Germany to Dieffenbach? In Geneva to Stephani? In England to Ross?



Aciphylla colensoi aka Spaniard.

A striking member of the carrot family well known to those who wander in subalpine regions. Leaves and the very tall flower heads are armed with strong spines which can make travel uncomfortable—by Mike Lusk.