



eColenso

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Further wanderings with William Colenso

Napier 22–24 February 2019

Call for papers

William Colenso was a nineteenth century printer, preacher, explorer, linguist, avid reader, churchman, writer, politician and more, at a time when multispecialists were fervidly examining this new and fascinating country.

We invite papers on any subject related to the life, times or interests of William Colenso – in other words, on any topic related to nineteenth century knowledge – for a conference to be held at MTG Hawke's Bay from 22 to 24 February 2019.

An abstract of fewer than 200 words should be sent to Ian St George at istge@yahoo.co.nz before 30 July 2018.



Aotahi and the clash of missions

By Clem Earp

During the late 1830s and early 1840s, the country under Colenso's pastoral care included the area from Kawakawa down to the northern Kaipara. He attempted to make regular visits there, although at widely spaced intervals of 6 months to a year. As the representative of the Church Missionary Society, or perhaps more accurately, of the Church of England, he was entering a field where two rival missions—the Wesleyans and Roman Catholics—had not only sent missionaries but were battling over the souls of the local population, both Māori and Pākehā.

This struggle has been documented in a monograph by Stephen Fordyce in a level of detail which would do justice to far larger conflicts. Much of the following is summarised from his work.

The centre of this conflict was a place known then, as it still is, by the name Tangiteroria (Fig. 1). Once an important inland port, it was almost the last place where ships could come up the tidal Wairoa River, just before it branched into the Wairua and Mangakahia tributaries. Here the traveller between the Bay of Islands (or Whangarei) and the Kaipara would have to change between water and land transport.

These days, it hardly detains anyone travelling between Dargaville and Whangarei on SH14, taking “less time to drive through than it takes to say *Tangiteroria*”.¹



Figure 1. Tangiteroria and the former location of other missions, on a modern topographic map. Map grid is 10 km.
After Fordyce (2009), p. 15.

Strictly speaking, Tangiterōia itself was the site of the Wesleyan mission, established in 1836. The Wesleyan presence began with a lay preacher, George Stephenson, who settled there in January of that year. The Rev. James Wallis began visiting in June that year, and finally received permission, and purchased the land for the mission, in October & November. In February 1839, the Rev. James Buller replaced Wallis and was there for the rest of the time Colenso was in Northland.

From June 1840, there was an occasional Catholic presence in the district, with visits from Fr Maxime Petit, Fr Antoine Garin, and, even more importantly, Bishop Pompallier.² A permanent Catholic mission station was not established in the area until mid 1844.

Colenso's first visit to the area was in February 1836, prior to the other missions being established. At that time, the most important person in the district was the paramount chief of Te Parawhau hapū of Ngāpuhi, Te Tirarau Kūkupa (Fig. 2). It was at his kainga



Figure 2. Photograph reputed to be of Te Tirarau Kūkupa. There are some problematic issues. Firstly, the man does not appear to be tattooed, whereas Te Tirarau was known to have a deeply incised moko. It is possible the photographer brushed out the moko, a not unknown procedure at that time. The provenance of the photo is also mysterious. The late Nancy Pickmere (1986, p. 35) acknowledged “Mrs Jo Proctor”; but in her book on the chief (Pickmere 2009) the photo occurs only on the front cover and is uncredited. Fordyce (2009, p. 23) credits it to the “Jo Proctor Collection, Whangarei Museum”. Whangarei Museum informed me that it was not among the photos supplied by them to Fordyce, for the very good reason that it is not in any of their collections. After making inquiries, I found that Te Kōngahu Museum of Waitangi has a copy of this photo on display (Te Tirarau being one of the first signatories of the Treaty), presumably with the approval of Te Parawhau.

that Colenso stayed. The name of the place was Te Aotahi. Colenso wrote: “We entered a large square within the village, on one side of which is the largest house I had seen in New Zealand being near 200 feet in length”.³

The name no longer appears on maps, and indeed, when the Rev. James Buller revisited the area in August 1869, he found that Te Aotahi had been reclaimed by forest.⁴ However, it can easily be located on a chart drawn by George Garwood, master of a vessel that entered the Kaipara in 1846 to pick up timber.⁵ If realistic, the chart shows 11 unnamed buildings at Te Aotahi plus a granary.

Colenso found Te Tirarau very hospitable, but not at all disposed to convert to Christianity. His mana extended from the Kaipara to the northern shores of Whangarei Harbour, and Colenso was to meet him many more times. In 1839, meeting him near Whangārei, Colenso wrote in his journal: “[he] was still the same kind of being that I had ever found him—good tempered, intelligent, & willing to converse, but not to receive the Gospel”.

Te Tirarau was one of the first signatories of the Treaty of Waitangi. He was also probably the author of one of the oldest Māori maps of part of New Zealand, of the mouth of the Kaipara Harbour.⁶ But in spite of being an early adopter of European clothing, housing, and agricultural and commercial practice, the chief steadfastly main-

tained the ancient customs he had grown up with.⁷ On 12 January 1837, less than a year after Colenso first met him, Te Tirarau had a young man killed and cooked, and ate him, in spite of the remonstrations of the Rev. James Wallis.⁸

You will not find the name Tangiterōria in any contemporary Catholic writings; instead they used “Mangaka[h]ia”,⁹ the branch of the Wairoa River on which a temporary mission was first established, or “Hatoī” (“Saint I[renaeus]”), the name of the permanent station closer to the Wesleyans.

Nor will you find the name Tangiterōria in any of Colenso’s writings, he spoke instead of Aotahi and other places on the Wairoa and Wairua Rivers. This may have been out of a sensitivity to avoid any suggestion of encroaching on the Wesleyan mission. Just as the Treaty of Tordesillas notoriously divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, so there had operated a formal division between the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society, giving the west of New Zealand to the former and the east to the latter. After some rancour¹⁰ during 1843–1844, this division was said to have been put on a more stable basis by Bishop Selwyn, although details are hard to find.¹¹

In fact, the Rev. James Buller enjoyed good relations with his Anglican counterparts, and was, for instance, a great admirer of Bishop Selwyn.¹² On Sunday, 11 February 1844, he heard that Colenso was making his way up river back to Waimate on his last journey before moving to Hawkes Bay. He rushed to the river, but missed Colenso who had already begun rounding the Aotahi bend. Buller literally ran across the narrow neck of land, caught Colenso as he came round, and invited him to stay overnight. After dinner, they stayed up talking until “a very late hour”, mostly, by Buller’s report, on the doings of the “Papists”.¹³ Hardly surprising, given that 8 days earlier, Buller had hosted Bishop Pompallier to dinner, where the conversation had apparently not been quite so animated.

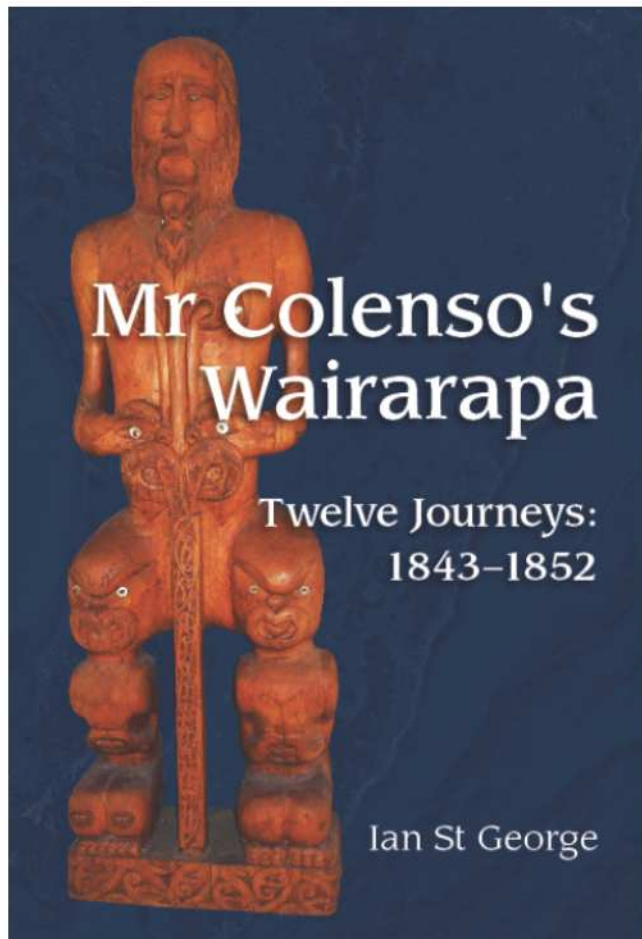
Both men were natives of Cornwall but evidently did not waste time reminiscing.

Notes

1. S. Fordyce (2009), p. 14. According to the Rev. James Buller (1878, ch. 8), the name meant “sound of the trumpet”, but as Fordyce says, the Māori instrument called rōria was more like a Jews harp. One supposes that “sound of the Jews harp” does not have quite the same apocalyptic connotations.
2. J.B.F. Pompallier (1888), pp. 52–54.
3. 23 February 1836. Quoted in B. Byrne (2002), p. 40.
4. Fordyce (2009), p. 430; see also the fate of the memorial tablet, p. 429. Te Tirarau had moved to a grand European-style mansion at Mareikura, south of Tangiterōria (B. Byrne 2002, pp 308–309).
5. Fordyce (2009), p. 312.
6. B. Byrne (2002), p. 60 & fig. 4.10.
7. For a more general view of his life and times than Fordyce’s narrowly focussed monograph, see Pickmere (2009).
8. Fordyce (2009), p. 36, p. 504 n. 16.
9. Pompallier, loc. cit.
10. See, for example, open letters from Rev. Hanson Turton to Selwyn, Daily Southern Cross, 15, 22 & 29 June 1844.
11. See, for example, the precise boundary definitions in the agreement signed at Mangungu, October 1838, by Henry Williams (on behalf of the CMS) and Nathaniel Turner (on behalf of the WMS) (Morley 1900, p. 76–77).
12. Fordyce (2009), pp. 169–171.
13. Fordyce (2009), pp. 212–213.
14. B. Byrne (2002), p. 138.

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Mr Colenso's Wairarapa

Twelve journeys: 1843-1852

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O tempora! O mores!

Dr Dieffenbach & Mr Colenso

Bagnall & Petersen wrote that, “In the summer of 1840-1841 the German naturalist, Dr. Dieffenbach, lived next door, and being aware of Colenso’s interest in natural history was a frequent visitor at his house. Colenso supplied him with many specimens out of his collection of shells, insects, ferns and geological samples, and also gave him much information which he utilised, without acknowledgment, when writing his book on New Zealand.”

In a footnote they added, “Ernst Dieffenbach, M.D., *Travels in New Zealand* (1843). Colenso’s opinion of portions of this work are eloquently if tersely expressed in the marginal annotations made by him in his copy of the book. In several places he points out that Dieffenbach’s statements are based on information obtained from him, while in numerous others he expresses his feelings in the comments ‘stuff’ and ‘liar’.”¹

In the Alexander Turnbull Library is a copy of *Travels* into which Colenso’s pencil comments have been copied. Many of his comments are approving (ticks in the margin, comments such as “hear”); some simply express surprise, others are corrections, others expostulations,

The banks of the Keri-keri are also the only known habitat of the elegant *Clianthus puniceus*.... (“?!?”).

Where wood covers the summits of the hills the trees are stunted, and the forest becomes more open, as the liands seldom

grow at an altitude of more than 800 feet. (“This entirely depends on the soil”).

The kauri is the only pine bearing a cone. (“!! No such thing”).
... some pines, such as the puriri (*Vitex littoralis*).... (“Puriri a pine !!”)

[On the debauchery of Kororareka] I was astonished, and at the same time gratified, to find that the character of the natives had been so little affected by this state of things.
 (“Especially the female char.”)

... we shall be astonished to hear that the whole number of plants at present known... does not amount to more than 632 species. (“Stuff”).

Some comments are made rhetorically to Dieffenbach,

A most beautiful and interesting kind [of lichen] is the *Cenomyce retispora*, which is found in the greatest abundance near the Bay of Islands. (“Not, however, by you, Dr D. – copied from Sir W.J.H’s. remarks on my plants. W.C.”)

The largest additions to our knowledge of the botany of New Zealand were, however, made by Allan Cunningham....
 (“From which ‘Precursor’ you copied & re-dressed up the following Bot. remarks.”).

Johann Karl Ernst Dieffenbach, 1811–1855 was a doctor who knew Darwin and Lyell and came on the *Tory* as naturalist with the NZ Company in 1839; he was the first trained scientist to work in New Zealand. He explored North, South and Chatham islands and was the first to climb Mt Taranaki. He was outspoken in his admiration for Maori, his dislike of settlers and his abhorrence of missionary land sharking.² He found a likeminded friend in the mission printer William Colenso during his stay in the Bay of Islands.

We referred to Dieffenbach and the giant weta in *eColenso* in October 2013.

Colenso's printing office was in a building adjacent to Charles Baker's house at the north end of Paihia beach (see Edwin Fairburn's map, next page) and when Baker left in April 1840 the house "was let to a person named Tibby, who took in respectable boarders, among whom were several well-known to me, as Mr. Felton Matthew Surveyor-General, Dr. Sinclair, Dr. Dieffenbach, &c."³

Colenso wrote in his journal on 16 December 1840, "Morning engaged with Dr. Dieffenbach looking over my herbarium: he said 'You ought to become altogether a Naturalist' – so I would were it not for the work of the Lord."⁴

Much later Colenso would write,

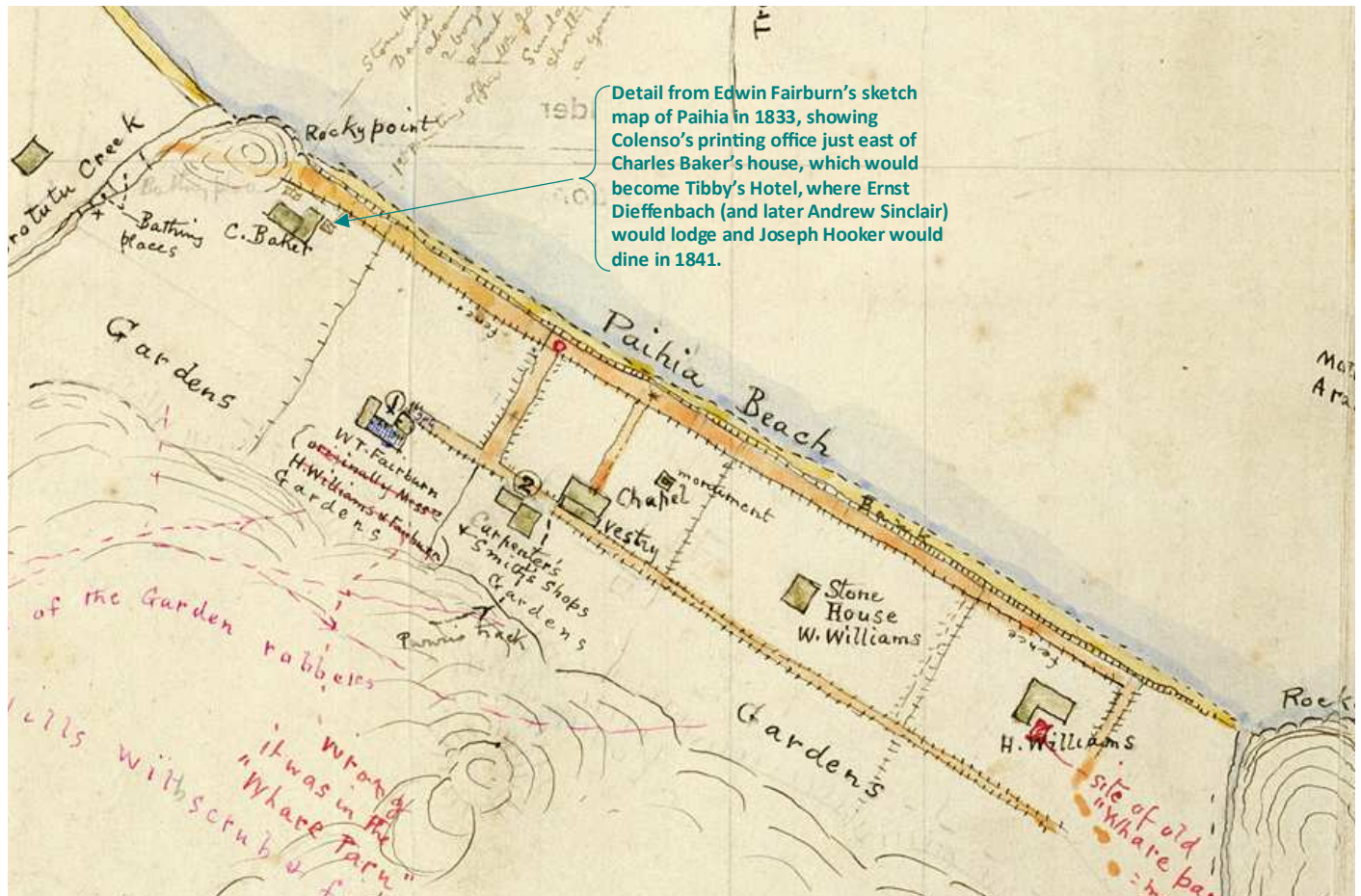
Among the very few early scientific writers on New Zealand, who had themselves travelled in and partially explored the country, I may here mention Dr. E. Dieffenbach, the Naturalist to the New Zealand Company. This gentleman was here in the years 1839–1841, and I had the pleasure of being acquainted with him while he stayed in the Bay of Islands, where, for some time, he lived next door to me. He saw and "overhauled" all my specimens (even then rich in shells, and insects, and ferns, and in geological samples), and many conversations we had respecting the Moa.⁵

Dieffenbach's biographer Gerda Bell wrote, "it is surprising that they did not enjoy each other's company, for their interests were very similar" but Colenso is clear they were friends. Dieffenbach returned to England in October 1841 and Colenso wrote to JD Hooker on 17 March 1843, "Do you know anything of Dieffenbach?"⁶ His *Travels in New Zealand* was published in 1843 and Colenso wrote to WJ Hooker on 7 March 1844, "Dieffenbach's 2 vols., – so kindly sent, have safely reached me – and I thank you greatly for them".⁷

Hooker senior had sent other publications and Colenso was hurt to find his former friend Dieffenbach taking credit for his own and others' work,

The "Sphaeria Taylori" of Berkeley (Lond. Jour. Bot. vol. II., p.210) has been already described and figured, by the Rev. R. Taylor, as *Innominata*, in the Tasmanian Journal vol. I., p.308. I find Mr. Berkeley, remarking on Sph. Robertsii (p. 209), says, – "We are indebted to Mr. Dieffenbach for the knowledge of the moth to which the Larva belongs"! O tempora, O mores! I mentally exclaimed, when I read this for I had not only described but actually shewn Dieffenbach (who up to that time knew nothing of the Animal which produced the larvæ), specimens of the Moth; one of which – of the very identical Moths which D. had handled – I subsequently sent you, and which you have mentioned in your Lond. Journ. Bot., Vol. I., p.304. – published nearly a year before this paper of Mr. Berkeley's!! and about the same time before Dieffenbach's 2 vols.!!!!....

I have scarce had time yet to look into Dieffenbach, but from what little I have seen of it I believe it to be a compilation: but of this more anon. Whilst he was here (as, I think, I mentioned to your son) I came to the conclusion that he knew very little of Botany, and another gentleman (a good Geolo-



gist with whom I am well-acquainted) arrived at a similar illation in reference to the amount of his geological powers. Among other of his errors, he says, he travelled often enough through the “tawai woods” which tree is one of my n. sp. of *Fagus*? and of which I had given him a specimen, and yet, with Cunningham’s Precursor in his hand, he calls this plant “*Leiospermum racemosum*”!! – vide, vol. I., pp. 27, 55. I perceive, in the list of N.Z. shells – which has been drawn up by Mr. Gray for Dieffenbach’s vols. – 2 *Helices* (nos. 142 & 143) which were given by me, together with several other shells of my discovering, from my Cabinet to Mr. Busby on his leaving for England, now described by Gray as n. sp. of his, and as being brought, to England by different gentlemen therein named; whilst the real discoverer, who only got them through much painful and toilsome search – and who generously gave them to different friends – is not so much as once mentioned! My poor friend Cunningham, used feelingly to lament to me his own case – in reference to many of his own plants, which had been kindly adopted in a similar manner: – Sic transit &c.!⁷

Bell noted that Dieffenbach mentioned Colenso only once in *Travels*; she suggested Colenso was “caustic” and “vague” when he wrote, “Some of Dieffenbach’s comments are copied from earlier naturalists, and unfortunately he copied erroneous observations as well as correct ones”. She concluded that “Colenso was probably thinking of himself”. She went on,

If Dieffenbach really can be reproached with plagiarism it was not, as Colenso said, from other authors he “cribbed”, but from his own writings.⁸

Caustic perhaps, but vague? certainly not. Colenso was indeed concerned about unattributed copying of his own work – but also (quite

clearly and specifically) that of Allan Cunningham, William Hooker and Joel Samuel Polack and (by implication) William Williams. Colenso wrote again to JD Hooker in 1844,

I have just commenced Dieffenbach’s (so called) work on N.Z. – and have scarce patience with the good German. Information he obtained from the writer to this, he details as his own – Cunningham’s Botanical remarks he has continual recourse to, even to his little errors – he states certain plants to grow in certain districts, which never existed there – and others he states to belong to genera never seen in N. Zealand – and others as new – which Cunningham’s Precursor, which he had in his hand, mentions (i.e. “*Pukatea*” p.75 vol. 1., “*Laurelia N. Zealandiae*”), – calls the *Vitex littoralis* a “pine” (p. 224, vol. 1.) – and asserts that the fine N.Z. pigeon feeds on the “leaves!” of “*Kahikatoa*” *Leptospermum scoparium* – and, worse still, on its small “seeds”!! (p. 80, vol. 1.) Then again, as to his knowledge of the Native Language – ha, ha, ha, – that is seen throughout the work, in numberless instances – and, fortunately enough, proves to others (what we here know) that he did not write the Grammar or the Vocabulary at the end of the work, which as well as the Songs, Prayers and translations of them, were all supplied. But, jam satis – enough of Dieffenbach: let me beg of you not to adduce him as an authority for any thing respecting the N. History of N. Zealand – especially its botany – unless you have good reason to believe him to be correct – this by the way. I have not yet gone regularly through his compilation.⁹

And again,

– I have waded through a little of Dieffenbach’s compilation, and the more I read the more I am disgusted at it. I need not make any remark to you about its Botany – for, if you have

read the remarks thereon, you will have made your own conclusions thereupon.¹⁰

He wrote about his shell collection to Ronald Gunn in Tasmania,

I have been a dabbler in Conchology from the beginning of my residence in this Country.... Some, which I gave away a few years ago, have been, I find (from Dieffenbach's work) surreptitiously published and that by those persons to whom I gave them!¹¹

To Hector in 1864,

The Land Shells. N.B. those corresponding Land shells mentioned in Dieffenbach's work, vol. II (Gray's Catalogue), were *surreptitiously* published; I discovered them, and gave to others (*under promise &c.*), through whom they reached Gray!!¹²

It was not only Colenso's weta, his plants and his shells that Dieffenbach relied on, but his moth, too...

... the moth described in Dr. Dieffenbach's work on New Zealand, Vol. II., p. 284, (*Hepialus*) was also raised by me from larvæ which I had fed on kumara leaves, much to the annoyance of the Maoris in those times, who made a great fuss and objection to my so doing....Dr. Dieffenbach saw the moth I had raised from the larvæ... at my house in the Bay of Islands, where he was a frequent visitor during his stay there in the summer of 1840–1841; and from me the doctor obtained not a few specimens and much information (like many other visitors of that early period), which, however, he never acknowledged.¹³

Dieffenbach's knowledge of *te reo*, like Taylor's, was rudimentary, as Colenso told von Haast in 1878,

Taylor never knew the language, hence he has made such a dreadful mess (in his Book) of what was collected by others for him. Dieffenbach did just the same.¹⁴

He repeated this in 1880,

There are Maori proverbs published by Dieffenbach (who had them from the missionaries), and by Taylor, but, in both instances, neither the Maori orthography nor their so-called translations are to be depended on, just because neither knew Maori sufficiently.¹⁵

He expanded on this in his *Three literary papers* published privately in 1883,

Dr. Dieffenbach, writing of our N.Z. Birds, says,—“the Cormorants have something solemn in their aspect, and are called by the New Zealanders *Kauwau* or the Preacher,” (!!) and, again, in his “Vocabulary,” appended, (not, however, wholly of his own collecting!) he has, “*Kawau*, a Shag; preaching.” This arises, (1) from his mistake in the orthography and pronunciation of two words, here by him confounded, which widely differ; *Kawau*, being the common name for the Shag; and *Kauwhau*, to address an assembly, speak formally and lengthily, as the old Maori orators and chiefs; hence, to preach (modern). One might as well say, that the two English words, *Cat*, and *Cart*, were alike, in sound and meaning! (2) but this notion (like very many others in Dieffenbach's work) was not original with him; he had got it from Polack's book on New Zealand, published a few years before; who of course, characteristically adds thereto; and the Doctor, having once got hold of the ludicrous idea, (and not heartily liking the Mission-body,) evolved, German-like! the added “solemnity of the Shag's aspect” from the depths of his own mind!*

Dieffenbach also, (passim,) delights in reduplicating common names of birds &c.,—e.g. the Kiwi (*Apteryx* sps.,) is with him Kiwi Kiwi; the Ruru (owl) is Rurururu; the Weka (woodhen), is Wekaweka; the Paraoa (sperm whale), is Paraparaa, &c., &c.¹⁶



“Kiwi Kiwi, or Apteryx Australis”: frontispiece of Vol. 2 of Dieffenbach’s *Travels*

Furthermore Dieffenbach used Colenso’s ideas on the moa,

... (in 1845), we find him reading a paper “On the Geology of New Zealand,” before “the British Association for the Advancement of Science,” in which he says:—“That he has

examined into all the traditions respecting the existence of the Moa, or great bird of New Zealand, and concludes that it has never been seen alive by any natives of New Zealand; the rivers in which its bones have been found flow between banks from thirty to sixty feet high, and, as they are continually changing their course, the remains of the Moa may have been derived from tertiary fluviatile strata.” Of course I cannot help thinking the Doctor was indebted to my published paper on the Moa for this information, as it is given in almost my very words....¹⁷

In his paper on the fossil remains of a new species of tuatara, Colenso noted, “its teeth are composed of little bony points, arising from the bone of the jaw itself” and added in a footnote,

... I was the first to point out this curious novelty; and this I did first to Dr. Dieffenbach (in 1841), from my living specimen, which I had and kept alive for several months. Dr. Dieffenbach then resided at Paihia, Bay of Islands, very near me, and visited me frequently; Dr. Dieffenbach, also, having at that time received from me the very specimen which Dr. Günther has stated in his admirable Memoir as being the first one taken to England, and deposited by Dr. Dieffenbach in the British Museum. This is extracted by Dr. Günther from Dr. Dieffenbach’s early work on New Zealand, vol. ii., p. 205, in which work, however, my quondam* friend omitted to mention how and when he received it, as well as several other similar matters relating to specimens of New Zealand natural history, the Maori language, customs, etc., etc.¹⁸

His *quondam* friend may have borrowed his ideas and his specimens but he shared Colenso’s admiration for the tangata whenua,

* In a letter to RC Harding dated 28 September 1891 Colenso referred to “Dieffenbach’s mistake (?) or wicked jest re the shag”.

* quondam = that once was; former (*Oxford*).

... allow me to bring forward a witness, who—though no friend of the New Zealand Missionaries, and but a poor Christian—has, in this matter at least, plainly and humanely and honorably given us the result of his personal observations. Dr. Dieffenbach, says,—“Of all measures which could be proposed for the benefit of the Aboriginal population, the most important is to leave them undisturbed.... Placed amongst a European colonial community, a Native is little regarded.... He is soon made sensible of the differences of rank, and perceives that he is not treated as one who is made of the same flesh and blood as his Master. Of all the better enjoyments of civilized life he is deprived, as in Colonial Society every one gives up his mind solely to the acquisition of money. In the lower orders, with whom he comes in contact, he can perceive nothing desirable; nothing to prevent his regretting that independence which he enjoyed in his own home, and from the fruits of his own land: he is expected to forget his language; in fact all the sacrifices are on his side. In his own village, on the contrary, he lives in the midst of his kindred and is respected....”¹⁹

Colenso would write again about Dieffenbach’s empathy with Maori in his account of the first fighting at Taranaki,

... I would briefly quote from Dr. Dieffenbach’s work on New Zealand, who was himself a visitor in New Zealand, and a sojourner for some considerable time in those very places on the west coast of the North Island within six years after Dr. Marshall’s visit thither in the Alligator. I knew Dr. Dieffenbach well, and I have no reason to suppose that he knew anything of Dr. Marshall, or of what he had written. Dr. Dieffenbach, however, mentions very feelingly the series of sufferings and losses and deaths which those poor unhappy

tribes of New Zealanders who dwelt on that coast subsequently suffered, year after year, from their numerous and powerful and deadly foes. And he also says: “There are still natives at Te Waimate, which is known as the place where, on the shipwreck of the barque Harriet, a fierce struggle ensued between the natives and Europeans, in which several men were killed on both sides. Although this conflict, according to all the accounts I could collect, was caused by the Europeans, His Majesty’s vessel Alligator afterwards inflicted a severe and summary punishment on the natives.”²⁰

At Kew

Plants in the Herbarium of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, attributed to Ernst Dieffenbach as collector are *Olearia semidentata*, *Dracophyllum affine*, *Cyathodes robusta*, *Corokia macrocarpa*, *Hebe dieffenbachia*, *Hebe odora*, *Ourisia macrophylla*, *Prumnopitys taxifolia*, *Ranunculus nivicola*, *Kelleria dieffenbachia*, *Pimelea buxifolia*.

In addition, the collectors for *Caladenia minor* are written in JD Hooker’s hand as “E.D. W. Colenso Edgerley” possibly referring to collections sent to Kew by Dieffenbach, Colenso and John Edgerley who was in the Hokianga 1835–1841.

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1. Bagnall AG, Petersen GC 1949. *William Colenso*. 98, 102n. A copy of Colenso’s copy of *Travels* is in the Alexander Turnbull Library. According to J Anderson in *The lure of NZ book collecting*, Colenso’s original copy fetched a high price at auction in 1934.
2. Denis McLean 1990. ‘Dieffenbach, Johann Karl Ernst’, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1d13/dieffenbach-johann-karl-ernst> (accessed 27 February 2018).
3. Colenso to the Editor, *Evening Press*, Wellington, 22 November 1890.
4. Colenso’s journal. See *Colenso’s collections* p70.
5. Colenso W 1879. On the Moa. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 12: 63–108.

6. Colenso to JD Hooker. Kew JDH/2/1/4 Letters to Joseph Hooker, Vol IV: p116; ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-10 Reel 27: E436
7. Colenso to WJ Hooker 7 March 1844. Kew Directors' Correspondence LXXIII: p. 47; ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-10 Reel 3: E348.
8. Bell GE 1976. *Ernest Dieffenbach*. Dunmore Press.
9. Colenso to JD Hooker 12 April 1844. Kew JDH/2/1/4 Letters to Joseph Hooker, Vol IV: p118; ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-10 Reel 27: E438.
10. Colenso to JD Hooker 20 May 1844. Kew Directors' Correspondence LXXIII: p. 48; ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-10 Reel 3: E349. Colenso later referred repeatedly to this collection as "Lot pr. Mr. Busby".
11. Colenso to Gunn 18 January 1848. ATL MS-Copy-Micro-0715.
12. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa MU000198/001/0033
13. Colenso W 1878. Notes on the metamorphosis of one of our largest Moths—*Dasyptodia selenophora*. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 11: 300-304.
14. Colenso to von Haast 9 July 1878. ATL MS-papers-0037-046.
15. Colenso to von Haast 10 January 1880. ATL MS-papers-0037-046.
16. Colenso W 1883 Three literary papers read before the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute during the session of 1882. Daily Telegraph Office, Napier. 41p. I On matters relating to the Maori tongue. 1. Of Errors on the part of Foreigners and Colonists, arising from their ignorance of the Maori language; especially of Maori proper names for persons, places, and things.
17. Colenso W 1879 On the Moa. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 12: 63-108. Appendix II. 1. Of Dr. Ernest Dieffenbach's opinion on the Moa.
18. Colenso W 1885. Notes on the Bones of a Species of Sphenodon, (S. diversum, Col.) apparently distinct from the Species already known. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 18: 118-123.
19. Colenso to Grimstone 15 March 1848. ATL qMS-0492. This is Colenso's copy: the original is in the Archives, colonial Secretary's Inward Correspondence, 1848/675.
20. Colenso W 1890 The first European fighting at Taranaki. In Sherrin AA. The Early history of New Zealand: part 1 of Brett's Historical Series: Early New Zealand. Auckland, pp. 435-458. Reproduced as a supplement to *eColenso* April 2018.

The 1872 by-election for the Napier Town seat

In 1872 William Colenso was appointed the first Inspector of Schools in Hawke's Bay. He was at the time a Member of the House of Representatives for Napier Town, so he resigned but sought re-election.

It had not been an altogether harmonious Provincial Council at its June meeting under JD Ormond, as GT Fannin wrote to Donald McLean,

Mr. Colenso and Mr. Kennedy had a tiff—I have marked it in the papers—Sutton also & Colenso—& Buchanan & Colenso—Mr. Buchanan hates Mr. C—for what I cannot make out—He intends to oppose Mr. Colenso at his re-election for the Town because of Mr. C. acceptance of the appt of Inspector of schools, granted to-day. (<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/manuscripts/MCLEAN-1000180.2.1?query=fannin>)

The *Hawke's Bay Times* carried an account of the meeting (19 June 1872),

Mr KENNEDY presented a petition, signed by 48 inhabitants of the town of Napier, objecting to the Market Reserve being dealt

with by the Government. The arguments advanced in the petition (which was read) were very similar to those adduced in the debate, on the previous day. Mr Kennedy moved the reception of the petition.

Mr COLENZO objected. He considered the petition out of order, inasmuch as it referred to a matter already decided by the Council. It was a monstrous proceeding—an attempt almost at intimidation. He was surprised that any member could be found to present this petition. No gentlemanly member would lend himself to such a proceeding.

Mr KENNEDY rose to order. He took exception to the remarks just made, and moved that the words be taken down.

The words were accordingly taken down by the Clerk.

Mr ROUTLEDGE considered that the objectionable expression

should be withdrawn. He appealed to the Speaker as to whether it was not unparliamentary.

The SPEAKER said the words used clearly conveyed an imputation that if it was undesirable should rest upon a member of the Council.

Question put— “That leave be given to the member for the Town to withdraw the words taken down.”— Agreed to.

Mr COLENZO refused to withdraw the expression. He had said that no gentlemanly member would strive in an underhand way to bring an expression of outside opinion to bear upon the Council. To withdraw this would be to say that a gentlemanly member would act in such a way, which he did not believe.

The SPEAKER said that the member for the Town had taken the opportunity to reiterate his statement in a manner more offensive than at first. The remark though made in a kind of general manner, could be intended to apply to no other than the member who introduced the petition. [Mr Colenso: Hear, hear] The rules of fair debate having been transgressed, it was due to the Council that the expression should be withdrawn.

Mr ROUTLEDGE said that the mem-

ber having been ruled to be in the wrong by the Speaker, he would move that if the expression was not withdrawn, the Council pass a vote of censure upon him.

The SPEAKER said that whatever the offending member's private ideas might be, he should withdraw his remark in deference to the opinion of the Council.

Mr COLENZO had nothing further to say. He refused to withdraw his words. He would now retire, leaving the Council to consider the subject in his absence. There might be members present who would be glad to see him expelled from the Council, and perhaps the member for the Town opposite was one.

Mr KENNEDY explained that he had always been on very good terms with Mr Colenso. He simply took exception to a remark which he considered improper and uncalled for.

Mr COLENZO then left the chamber. The Speaker's attention was directed to the fact that strangers were present, and the general public and reporters retired. The Council sat with closed doors for about twenty minutes, and then adjourned for half-an-hour.

On the Council resuming, Mr COL-

ENSO addressed the Speaker in the following terms:— “If the words I used in the warmth of debate were unparliamentary, I heartily withdraw them.”

The question of the reception of the petition was then debated at great length, nearly all the members taking part in the discussion. The motion was at length carried on a division.

[The Provincial Government Gazette](#) of 8 July announced Colenso's appointment. The by-election was set for 17 October and Colenso announced his candidacy. [The Hawke's Bay Times](#) (editor and proprietor Thomas Ben- nick Harding) gave him unstinting support,

THE near approach of the day of nomination for the election of a member of the Provincial Council induces us to examine the respective claims of the two candidates for the suffrages of the town electors. These, as our readers may be aware, are Mr W. Colenso, the late occupier of the seat, who, almost without effort on his part, was at the last election, placed at the head of the poll, and Mr T. K. Newton, who, on the same occasion, was one of the rejected candidates. The reason of the vacancy is that Mr Colenso has accepted an appointment under the Provincial Govern-

ment—that of Inspector of Schools, a position for which he is perhaps better qualified than any other person who might be willing to undertake its duties on the stipulated terms.

The fact of Mr Colenso's accepting this office has been made by his political opponents the ground of a great outcry against him, they being apparently too glad to have the semblance of an accusation to his detriment; but not content with stating the truth, or knowing that the holding of such office is perfectly compatible with the fulfilment of his duties as a representative, they accuse him of purchasing the office by his Government support during the past session of the Council—support which would not have been given, except as the price of the office. It is strange that, in making such a charge, its promulgators should forget that there must always be two parties to such a bargain, and whatever discredit may attach to the purchaser of any office under a Government is reflected on to the Government that so disposes of its patronage. Thus, in the present case, if Mr Colenso is culpable in giving his support to the Government, the Superintendent of Hawke's Bay is as palpably guilty of purchasing sup-

port by an abuse of patronage. The fact, however, is, that since the abolition of the Executive in the Government of this Province, there has ceased to be a Government party. In other words, the Superintendent himself is the only embodiment of such a party, and so far from Mr Colenso having given undue support to Government measures, his opposition was most marked to the solitary measure that could be so characterised during the past session. This was the "Special Settlements Act," which, as introduced, contained several oppressive clauses, some of which Mr Colenso, by his energetic opposition, succeeded in removing, and in modifying others, so that the Bill, as passed, had fewer objectionable features than when first brought forward. We hardly think that this can be what is meant by his support of the Government.

He is also accused of opposing the other town members. This, however, has been when those gentlemen have shewn themselves in their true colors as the representatives, not of Napier, but of class interests, which have been already too powerful both within and without the Council. One of the best illustrations of this fact will be

found in his opposition to the "Wholesale Dealers in Spirituous Liquors Bill," introduced by one of the town members, but opposed by Mr Colenso as conferring unheard of privileges on that particular class, to the detriment of the revenue and the interests of the rest of the constituency. Another case in which Mr Colenso was found in antagonism to some of the other town members was his resistance to the barefaced scheme for closing the road through Clive Square. This scheme was in the interests of the same clique, dwellers in another part of the town. In his obstinate resistance to this attempt, he was supported by one of his colleagues (Mr Lee), and their united exertions have twice succeeded in baffling this scheme, to the manifest interest of the town. If, however, Mr Colenso is defeated, the probability is that, in the interests of the opposing clique, Clive Square may be closed next session, and appropriated to the use of the members of a football club, who, we doubt not, would prefer to have a public reserve enclosed at the public expense for their purposes to providing such a place for themselves.

Still another point on which

Mr Colenso has opposed the town members has been the establishment of a municipality, strongly advocated by the party above alluded to—it being evident that such an institution would confirm and consolidate their influence, weaken that of the great body of the electors, increase cost of government, and produce no adequate benefit in return for its disadvantages. We have, however, fully discussed this question on former occasions, and we, in common with the bulk of our fellow townsmen, award our full approbation to Mr Colenso for his resolute resistance of the scheme. Yet one more instance of his antagonism to his colleagues, and we have done. He opposed, and successfully, a virtual vote of censure upon the conduct of his Honor the District Judge, which was moved and supported in the Provincial Council by unsuccessful suitors in the District Court. This was another case of his uniform practice of upholding the true interests of his constituents against those of merely persons or parties, and for which he well merits the support of the electors.

The contrast between Mr Colenso and his antagonists appears to be, then, that while they are town mem-

bers they are not town representatives, but representatives of peculiar interests, more or less personal to themselves; while he is truly a representative of the whole electoral body, and as such is entitled to their confidence and support.

Sadly, copies of the evening paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, are not available. Its proprietors were EW Knowles, GE Lee, A Kennedy and TK Newton. Lee and Kennedy were Provincial Councillors; Newton was Colenso's opponent in the by-election. The *Times* reported,

LAST night's *Telegraph* contains an abusive article devoted to Mr Colenso, in which that gentlemen's present candidature and his past political conduct are attributed to the lowest motives. Mr Colenso's unpardonable offence appears to be that he accepted an office for which he was well qualified, but for which the *Telegraph* had already nominated a candidate. The key to the animus displayed is to be found in the fact that one of the *Telegraph* proprietors is carrying on an active canvass in opposition to Mr Colenso.

The speeches were made, letters to the editor published and the poll held. The *Times* reported,

NAPIER TOWN ELECTION.

THE result of the poll was declared at noon yesterday by the Returning Officer, who reported the number of votes as follows:

Mr Colenso... .. 83

Mr Newton... .. 82

He therefore declared William Colenso, Esq, to be duly elected. He explained that two votes had been disallowed, it being quite impossible to ascertain for whom they were intended. One voting paper, which he allowed, bore a signature. This was quite irregular, but the name of one of the candidates being erased, there could be no doubt for whom it was intended. In future, however, he would not count any voting paper upon which a name was written. He might add that the allowance or disallowance of this vote made no difference in the general result.

Mr COLENZO said that as they were in close proximity to the Resident Magistrate's Court, where business was going on, he would address them from a convenient spot on the Government lawn.

The assembled electors accordingly adjourned to the place indicated, where the candidates addressed them from a large rock, which formed an

impromptu platform.

Mr COLENZO thanked all the electors who had supported him, individually and collectively. If they had not come forward as they had, he would not have been returned to-day. He knew of upwards of twenty of his supporters who had not polled, being absent at the show and elsewhere, and being confident of his return—a confidence partly accounted for by the tone of his election address. But for this fact, the discrepancy between his present position and the one he held eighteen months ago could not have been accounted for. He had not asked for a single vote; he had no committee, and he did not himself vote, though urged to do so. He complained of the system adopted—not by Mr Newton himself, but by his supporters—of touting and teasing electors for their votes. It was on the principle that all was fair in politics; it was an insult to our civilization; and he had always written and spoken against the system. Kingsley, in one of his essays, alluded to what he called “the Devil’s beatitude”—“Blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed.” He had on the contrary expected something, and had not been disappointed. And even if he had, he

would not have been deprived of the glorious position of a fortnight’s expectation. He would, now refer to a letter published in a local paper, the Times, signed “John Begg.” Had it been anonymous, he would not have referred to it, but he liked a man who opposed him to come out openly. In the first place, Mr Begg said he had always been an opponent of paid officials. Did he wish to see all the officials—Judges, heads of departments and clerks—work for the common weal without pay? Such a proposition would be Chartism of the worst description. Next he (Mr Colenso) found himself described as the obedient mate of Mr Ormond. He had always taken this position—to support the Government in all that was good but, as had been already shown, he had opposed one or two pet ideas of Mr Ormond’s—notably in the discussion which took place on the regulations affecting special settlements.

Mr SUTTON: No.

Mr BUCHANAN: No.

Mr COLENZO continued. He repeated that he opposed Mr Ormond on those resolutions, and moreover pressed him to a division—as the Council records would show. Next, he was accused of voting too much for

Porangahau. Had Mr Begg been to Porangahau? Did he know the position or requirements of that district? He (Mr C) did. Thousands of pounds had been raised from the Porangahau settlers, yet like the people of Clyde at Wairoa, their district had been neglected, and their wants unattended to. It was owing to his knowledge of this that he voted as he did. He was next called a placehunter. He had never sought office, but on the contrary had been sought after to hold the positions he had taken. During one session of the Assembly he had given a general and independent support to the Government of the day. At the close of the session he went to say good-bye to the Premier, and took occasion to ask for one or two things for Hawke’s Bay. The Premier said, “Have you nothing to say for yourself?” He said “No,” and received the reply, “You are the first person who has faithfully supported the Government through the session who has not had some request to make on his own account.” A place-hunter! He abominated the very name. He believed in suitable men filling Government situations, and in their being well paid. With regard to the letter, he did not think the ideas were Mr Begg’s own.

He thought "J.B." would have been a more correct signature than "John Begg."

Mr J. BUCHANAN came forward and asked if that latter remark was intended to refer to him.

Mr COLENZO : Oh !

Mr BUCHANAN said he had no right to speak except on personal grounds, not being an elector for the district, but with the leave of the meeting he would say a word when the candidates had done.

Mr COLENZO said he had laid down an axiom on the nomination day; he would now take it up. "The ace of hearts was worth more than the four of clubs or the five of diamonds." This was not intended to represent a literal fact. He did not know much of the cards, but believed that in one game the four of clubs was of great importance. The four of clubs were these: the clubs held by his friends Messrs Lee, Sutton, Kennedy, and Tiffen. All their influence, direct and indirect, constituted the four of clubs with which the electors were threatened. But all the thumping and battering of the four of clubs had been in vain. What constituted the five of diamonds? Mr Newton's election was required to complete the five. Stand-

ing then at his corner you might see them all, like the spots on the card: Messrs Newton, Kennedy, Lee, Tiffen, and Sutton. But the five of diamonds had gone for nothing. If the result had been the other way, and the five oriental diamonds had been together in the Council—what then? Why, the electors, would have found their mistake, and not rested till they put the old ace of hearts once more in his place. Yes, the influence of the single heart—the man who did his best for those who had given him his commission—was more potent than the club held aloft or the diamond slipped into the pocket. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." Mr Swan had said "unity is strength." True; but whose fault was it that the town members were not united—his fault or the fault of the others? The electors knew best; they placed him a long way ahead of the others, and then those others would not work with him. What kind of unity did the Telegraph demand? Why, that the town members should form a block in opposition to the country. Sapient editor! What would be the immediate result? The country members would retaliate, form a larger and more compact block, and the town would

get nothing. If the editor had been wise he would have tried a different kind of policy. He would have said, "Mr Colenso, your rheumatism is increasing, you cannot hear so well as you used to do—you are not so well fitted to represent us as you were in your younger days." That might have had some weight—more weight than the wild scratching and clawing system. The Telegraph further said he had promised nothing for the future, but had contented himself with pointing to the past. Would any but a greenhorn have raised the objection? Were not past faithful services a better guarantee for the future than a host of nomination promises? No, said the Telegraph, come forward like Jack Cade on Blackheath—promise us that the loaf shall be sold for a penny, and that it shall be felony to drink small beer. He could do better—appeal to the memories of living men around him. The Telegraph further said that the country districts would never think of returning men whose interests lay in the town, and *vice versa*. Here was a precious sample from the article. What district did Mr Kinross represent? Wairoa. And Mr Tiffen, a town member—his interest lay in the country. Here were facts

giving the editor the lie to his face, but the man had not eyes to see it. He was charged with selling his constituents for the office and salary of School Inspector. A poor remnant of that salary remained after deducting expenses. Out of his first quarter's salary of £25, £19 had gone in that way, leaving him 5s 9d exactly for each day's labor. He would now close his rambling address, once more thanking the electors, and assuring them that they might depend upon his ever doing his duty as their representative.

Mr BUCHANAN asked if he was referred to by the initials "J.B."

Mr COLENZO said Mr J. Begg and he had long been friends; had often talked on politics, and agreed on many points. Mr Begg had always hitherto been a supporter of his.

Mr BUCHANAN; No.

Mr BEGG denied that he had been supporter of Mr Colenso.

Mr COLENZO, after referring to the opposition shown to his return by Mr Buchanan, though holding the office of Speaker, concluded in these words: I did mean Mr Buchanan.

Mr T. K. NEWTON said Mr Colenso had put a wonderfully good face on the matter. As for the show, some of

his (Mr N.'s) supporters were absent there also, so that that objection cut both ways. But he considered himself the real victor. Two informal votes were given, which did not count. Those votes, he was informed, were intended for him.

A VOICE: Go to law and prove it.

Mr B. B. JOHNSON, Mr Newton's scrutineer, came forward and said that he had seen the papers in question and fully believed the votes to be intended for Mr Newton. They could not be counted, the electors having failed to make the erasure required by law.

The RETURNING OFFICER said there could be no certainty for whom those votes were intended. He might add that all present at the examination of the papers were under an obligation of secrecy, under a penalty of two years' imprisonment—and double that punishment would not be too great for a man who should violate such an obligation.

Mr NEWTON said these votes, which he believed were intended for him, would have given him a majority of one. Having made this explanation, it did not occur to him to say anything further. He was not their member, and there was no necessity that he should trouble them with his opin-

ions. All that remained for him to do was to thank the electors for their support and their exertions in his favor.

Mr BUCHANAN then mounted the rock and addressed the electors. He denied having had anything to do with Mr Begg's letter—it contained certain errors of fact which he would not have made. He avowed himself an opponent of Mr Colenso, and if he had fired the shots in that letter it would have been with more direct aim. If Mr Newton's committee had taken his advice—had not met in a public house, but had called a public meeting to discuss the subject—the result of this election would have been different.

Mr SWAN would ask Mr Colenso one question. Seeing that the contest was so close, and that two votes were doubtful, would he consent to try the affair ever again.

Mr COLENZO's reply was almost lost in the general mirth excited by this proposition. He expressed himself satisfied with the Returning Officer's decision....

The proceedings then terminated with a vote of thanks to the Returning Officer, moved by Mr Colenso and seconded by Mr Newton.