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William Colenso bibliography

By Donelle McKinley

The William Colenso bibliography is a work in progress. Currently it contains around 1900 records, including letters to and from Colenso, journals, almanacs, pamphlets, articles, ephemera, collections, biographies and other writings about Colenso. There are now several ways to access and use the bibliography, depending on your research requirements.

You can download the full bibliography as standard PDF files at The Colenso Project website:

<http://www.williamcolenso.co.nz/the-colenso-project/william-colenso-bibliography/>

You can download the bibliography by decade as interactive LaTeX PDF files at the Wai-te-ata Press website. These files enable you to click hyperlinked urls to view original item records online:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/wtapress/research/the-colenso-project/the-colenso-project>

You can also visit The Colenso Project Library in Zotero: <https://www.zotero.org/groups/colenso/items>

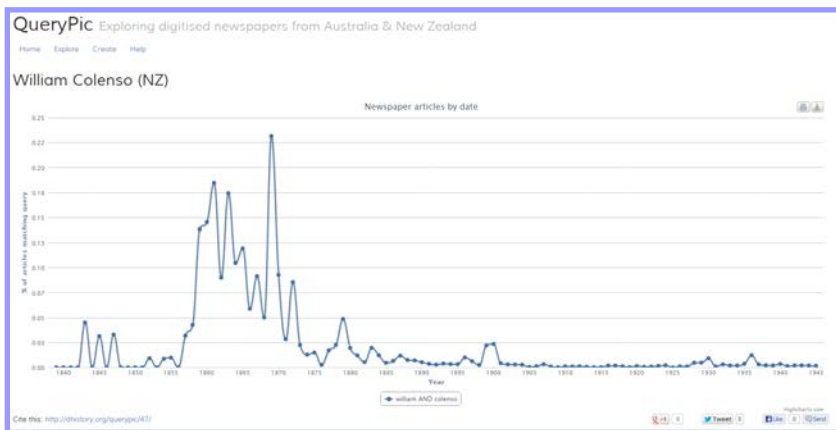
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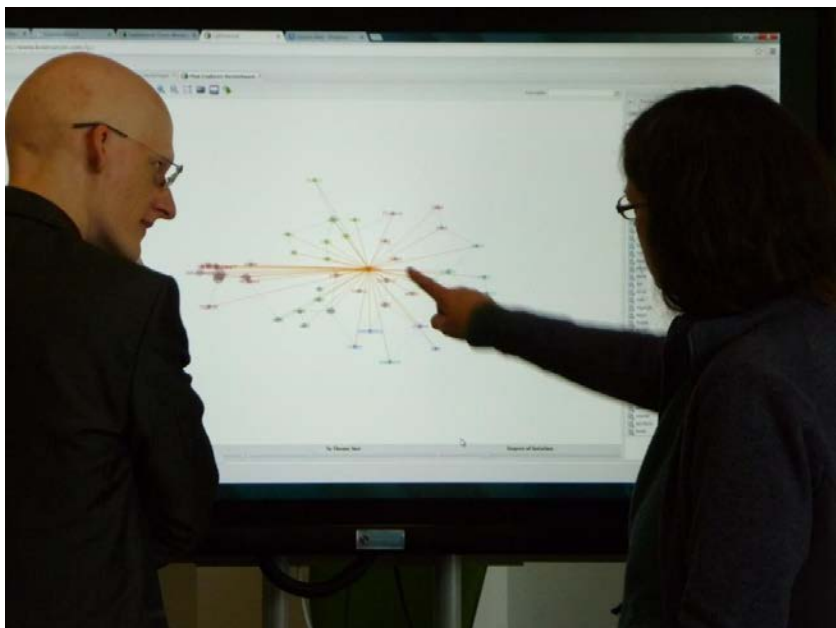
If you know of material that hasn't been included in the bibliography please contact donelle.mckinley@vuw.ac.nz

Experiment and explore

The team at Wai-te-ata Press is exploring the world of William Colenso using new digital tools for data mining and data visualization. One example is QueryPic, which enables anyone to quickly and easily explore digitised newspapers from Australia and New Zealand. Give it a try! <http://dhistory.org/querypic/47/>



Visualising Correspondence Networks



On 2-3 September 2013, Wai-te-ata Press hosted the two-day digital history hack-fest “Visualising Correspondence Networks” at Victoria University of Wellington. The event was sponsored by the Victoria University Research Fund.

The recent availability of digitized letters, diaries, and journals has opened the door to new ways of data-mining, analyzing and visualizing the often complex, multi-person, multi-sited social networks embedded in texts. This two-day event explored the field of network analysis as it relates to historic correspondence.

Around thirty people attended, and participants included historians, computer scientists, and professionals from the cultural heritage sector. The event enabled participants to identify common challenges and opportunities, share knowledge, and learn new skills.

Day one surveyed a number of issues and approaches including data preparation, an introduction to out-of-the-box and bespoke tools, and a demonstration of exemplar projects. Day two was the hackfest, which involved participants working on specific projects developed in a small team environment.

Four groups worked on various datasets. A large team started with Colenso's personal correspondence (courtesy of Ian St George) and that between James Hector and Julius von Haast (courtesy of Simon Nathan and Sascha Nolden), then added the database of Colenso specimens at Te Papa (courtesy of Adrian Kingston). Team members worked on cleaning up the data, then used a number of tools and programmes to show popular words and topics, intensity of links between persons, places, and things, and mapping of sites of letter correspondence and specimen collecting. Definitely a work in progress.

Some of the things participants learned from the event included the value of collaboration, and working as a cross-discipline team. We found that translating knowledge across disciplines is possible but it takes time. The event highlighted the importance of approaching data with a clear research question, and gave participants a greater understanding of data cleaning and entity extraction. Open Refine (formerly Google Refine) was voted the most popular digital tool, which enables anyone with an internet connection and a dataset to clean messy data, transform it from one format into another, extend it with web services, and link it to databases.

For more information about the hackfest please visit <http://wtap.vuw.ac.nz/wordpress/digital-history/events/visualising-correspondence-networks/vcn-resources/>

I have been and am very busy, mostly in the writing way – letters, public & private; as I keep a tally of my scrawls – much like Crusoe his days on the desolate island – I find, I have written from Augt.1, to Decr.31st, – 427 letters, some very long.

Colenso to JD Hooker 13 August 1897





Gazing with a trained eye: fifteen aspects of William Colenso

edited by Ian St George, Eloise Wallace and Peter Wells

Compiled from papers delivered at the William Colenso Bicentenary conference, 2011

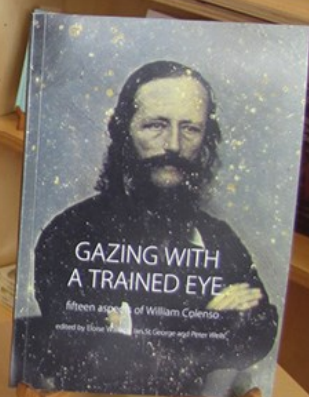
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“believe me, there is a rapture in gazing with a trained eye on this wondrous world.”

—William Colenso in his Presidential address to the
Hawke's Bay Philosophical Institute, 1896.

A harmless lunatic

The Daily Telegraph

THURSDAY May 18, 1871.

In former years, Mr. COLENSO secured for himself a reputation for cleverness, and for a thorough knowledge of human nature. His ambition was ever to become a popular man, a representative of the people—the down-trodden classes; if he could but find a grievance he was happy. Nothing of a melancholy nature turning up, Mr. COLENSO retired into the privacy of his study and pondered over his bosom companion, the much-abused Maori Lexicon. For some years, Mr. COLENSO was absent from the councils of his province. The public believed that he had retired altogether from political life, and many were naturally surprised when he consented, at the solicitation of his friends, to represent a section of the town in the Council.

It was a bright day for him when he discovered that the province was sinking, that a mill-stone was hanging round its neck and dragging it down to ruin; to sever the connecting cord, and to save his country, Mr. Colenso re-entered the political arena. With a modesty as graceful as it was becoming, he permitted himself to be named

Speaker of the Council; but the chair was not the place for him, he fretted over the wrongs of the people, the cry of the burden reached his ears and he was unable to help them. To vacate that chair and rush into the body of the Chamber, was nothing more than what the Champion of the people might be expected to do, and Hawke's Bay held its breath waiting for salvation, and looking for the mill stone to be removed from its galled and suffering neck. There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, &c., and a smile of triumph lit up the countenance of our hero when he tabled his celebrated notice of motion; he seemed to be saying, as he retook his seat, "My bleeding country, I have saved thee!" But lo! the meaning of the precious document gradually dawned upon the minds of members, and the public discovered at a glance that Mr. Colenso is ignorant alike of morality, of business, and the duties of Government. Anything more wicked than his motion could hardly be imagined, coming as it does from a member of our Council. Not content with making himself ridiculous in the opinion of all who read Hawke's Bay newspapers, his motion requires that the whole province, by the voices of its represent-

atives in the Council shall, without loss of time, communicate a falsehood to the General Government of the Colony, viz., that we have been cheated by capitalists; are groaning under excessive usury, and now wish to repudiate our just debts and contracts. The principles of the motion would be too intensely absurd to call for any notice at our hands, did they not denote such shameless immorality on the part of a gentleman who represents this town on our Provincial Council, and the disgrace which that motion brings on its author, being reflected, in a measure, on the whole body of the members. We shall indeed be surprised if Mr. Colenso's motion is not withdrawn; but as it is difficult to credit the author of such a production with any considerable amount of common sense, we fear that, unless such a course is suggested, it would never occur to him to withdraw it. We would advise him to destroy all evidence of, what we cannot but consider, a temporary aberration of intellect. [illegible] the expression [illegible] it delighted Mr. Colenso to apply to us. We are not quite clear as to his meaning, but suppose this delectable quondam missionary means venal, and is measuring our corn by his own bushel. The learned but dilatory lexicographer was kind enough to give the press a lesson as to the force and meaning of the word

preposterous—a word which applies exactly both to Mr. Colenso and to his resolutions.

We regret that we have been obliged to devote so much of our space to this gentleman; but it will not have been wasted if we succeed in impressing upon the electors of Napier that they are disgraced by permitting themselves to be represented by one who can only be regarded as a harmless lunatic.



Peter Wells kindly sent us this wonderful piece of editorialising. "Papers Past" has this to say, "In February 1871, when Napier's population was 2,179, the *Daily Telegraph* made its first, inauspicious appearance. With a liberal political stance – equal rights and opportunities for all – it was launched to combat the dominance of powerful land interests, and campaigned from the beginning for the break-up of the largest land blocks in Hawke's Bay. Managing-director and founding editor, Richard Halkett Lord, a London journalist, even suffered a horsewhipping when his witty and pungent pen outraged a reader."

I am not surprised.

Sadly, the 1871 Hawke's Bay papers are missing from "Papers Past", so it is difficult to find what Mr Lord was on about, but the editorial overleaf from the *New Zealand Herald* of 20 April 1871 may give a clue.

THURSDAY, APRIL 20, 1871

Mr. Colenso, in a speech which he recently delivered at Napier, gave expression to an opinion held by others, that paying interest on borrowed money to a foreign capitalist is very detrimental to the interests of the colony. Assuming that the borrowed money is spent on useless or on unprofitable works, the above view is no doubt correct, but not if the borrowed money enables us to make such a profit from its use that we can pay the interest and leave something for ourselves. There is no manner of difference in this respect between a nation and an individual. A wasteful, extravagant person borrows money, not to enable him to make more, but to live, probably, beyond his means, and he is of necessity impoverished by the transaction. A prudent, energetic business man borrows money to carry on a profitable business, which yields him a considerable net profit, after paying all expenses, including interest on the borrowed money. Now it is quite clear that such a person is in reality bet-

ter off than he was before he paid any interest for the use of money by the increased profits which he has enjoyed through the employment, in his business of increased capital. Herein, then, lies the whole question, does the borrower, by the use of the capital lent to him, and on which he pays interest, make a profit for himself after paying that interest?

And it is the same in respect to a nation as to an individual. But nations borrow money for purposes which will never yield a profit, and yet such expenditure may be necessary. The debt of New Zealand is mainly incurred for war purposes, and this war expenditure is seldom of a very profitable character. The less money we can spend on war and on any other purpose which yields no profit, the more certain will be our progress. The interest sent out of the country for money spent on such purposes is undoubtedly a most serious drawback to the progress and prosperity of the colony. The capital has been spent on works that are not reproductive, that are not profitable, and supposing it was necessary expenditure, then it is clear that we could not

borrow it except from foreign capitalists. rect fruit of borrowed money.

But money may be borrowed for, and, we may hope, be spent on, useful works that will pay all expenses, including interest on the capital which they have cost. And should such works do only this even, for some time to come, they would be equal gain to the colony, a gain represented by the comfort and convenience they ensured to the people, by the amount of extra labour which they caused to be employed, and by the indirect extension of industries. Take an illustration of a railroad for instance. Suppose we had a railway constructed by means of borrowed foreign capital, that the receipts from the traffic upon it paid all working expenses and the interest on the cost of the works, the cost of transport of goods and persons being less by rail than previously, we then have a decidedly profitable transaction in itself. But it must be remembered that there is a considerable additional amount of employment given through the construction and working of a railway, as well as the benefits of an indirect kind in connection with it, and that the profits of this, the extra wages fund, distributed in the country, is the direct fruit of borrowed money. Of course in a nation, young or old, it is far better for the community at large if the money required for public purposes can be borrowed without going to a foreign market for it. But colonies cannot expect to be in that condition for some time, if they are to progress at anything but the slowest pace. And while there is abundance of cheap money in London, and colonies prosper, and until they have prospered sufficiently to have plenty of cheap money themselves, so long will they go to London for capital for public purposes. As we cease importing English ale when we are in a position to brew our own beer at a cheaper price than we pay for the English article, so shall we cease to import English capital when we have sufficient of our own in the market seeking a hirer at a low rate of interest. Till then it is useless to speak of borrowed money ruining the colony, but it may be very useful to cry out against squandering borrowed money and so spending it that we are not the richer but the poorer for having it.

Journals rough & smooth

but 9
dispute - that if they wished (as
they professed) to know the truth
there was the word of God ^{in their own tongue}. But
nothing wd. do - but to discuss
genealogies & the rise of churches,
deceitful wh. poor souls they
could ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~understand~~ ^{understand} I referred them to
the apostolic precept 1 Tim. 1. 4, &
John 11. 9 & refused to ^{hold}
any discussion ^{with them} whatever
They tried every possible
plan they co? think of to
draw ^{me} into dispute ⁱⁿ say.
If I co? but shew y^m y^r.
Error they wd. throw away
their books &c. - but I saw
too plainly ⁺ what spirit
they were ^{of} & always are?
as above. - referring them
to ⁺ quoting,
1st no. ~~xxx. x. xx~~ xviii. 37.
x. 27. &c v. 39 - at last they
s^d. (the old story) my religion
Comm^d with Luther - ^{that I knew nothing}
N. of G. ^{Test. whence I had quoted} was not he - & I had
better burn it, &c - on wh. I
rose & left them: - as I in-
variably do where the W. of G.

Colenso made notes as he travelled, rough, often revised, sometimes on scraps of paper, sometimes in notebooks he called his “bush journals”, later to tidy up and collate them for his official journals sent to the Church Missionary Society.

At left is his “rough journal” for 27 April 1846, relating a dispute with Roman Catholic Māori at Tarawera. Note the shorthand, including the old letter “thorn”—“If I cod. but shew b̄m. pr. error”.

His final version is

They tried every possible plan they could think of to draw me into disputation; saying, If I could but shew them their error they would throw away their books, &c., but I saw too plainly what spirit they were of, and always answered as above; referring them to, and quoting John xviii. 37; x. 27, &c.; and v. 39. At last they said (the old story), my religion commenced with Luther—that I knew nothing—and that the Testament, whence I had quoted, was not the Word of GOD, and I had better burn it, &c., &c.,—on which, I arose & left them: as I invariably do whenever the Word of GOD is abused.

Miwé tried to induce him to exhibit the preacher, and
in his declining, swore upon him, & cursed him; upon
this Te. Katene moved away, when Miwé followed, chal-
lenging him to fight, and finally, drove him into the sea!
Still Te. Katene endured; although, there were more
than 50. natives, and only 5, or, at most 6, whites on the
place! But, on finding that Miwé kept hovering about
at him, when going quietly off in his canoe, he, leaving
the preaches there, returned to the shore, and soon mastered
Miwé, who, when on the ground, beneath Te. Katene, bit
him, and tore his clothes, and holding him down upon
himself, called lustily upon his 2 comrades to come, and
kill the native! Fortunately for both there were several
natives there, who separated them, and kept Miwé while
Te. Katene paddled off.

27. Preparing to leave tomorrow for Tampico ^{(changed).} Pelani is an
28. heavy rain, being the first for some months; every thing
being well nigh, parched up through the long drought. In
consequence of the rain I could not leave as I had intended.
Wrote a note to Abraham Davis, in answer to a short note of
his of this morning in which (he said) he wished to know
whether he was to go out on the Lord's-day to hold Divine
Service, as he had to; I, in reply, first wishing to widen the
breach, desired him to follow his own inclination. I also
wrote a letter for Jaramero to take to the Padre at Huixtli.

March 7. The weather clearing a little, and being greatly
desirous of keeping my appointment, I, and my natives
baggage, bade adieu to the nation of Pelani. Near Huixtli,
we passed a P. Priest and his party, who were coming from
the interior, & going to Richard's village. Forging the hae-
bony, and travelling steadily on, we reached Pelani an
hour after sunset. Found all the lower lands about
the village inundated, through the late heavy rains.
(The people, not expecting me, on account of the weather.)

(Vide, Appendix,
11.)

Removing a “portion” Vandalism in the Wairarapa (To the chagrin of the baser-minded)

Colenso's Journal 29 April 1851.

... Thence on to Hurunuiorangi, which village we reached by sunset. The Natives of this village, who had preceded us, had already erected a screen fence for my tent in a corner of their newly fenced *pa*; on entering which, and looking-up, I saw, a monstrous human image as large as life, obscenely carved on the upper part of one of the large *totara* posts of the *pa*, about 10 feet from the ground. I felt vexed at this, because while such hideous and obscene figures are, alas! too common on all their *old pas*, this *pa* is not only new, but erected chiefly by Baptized Natives. I also believed that this image was meant to represent some one of their old ancestors (as is generally the case), and, therefore, I knew it to be useless to ask the villagers to remove any portion of it; so, watching an opportunity, I seized our axe, and mounting the fence began to lop away to the infinite amusement of my own lads,—the delight of the better informed,—and the chagrin of the baser-minded of the villagers, one or two of whom murmured greatly. Having finished this without interruption, save a volley of words, I descended; & my tent being now pitched, I held Service in the open air, discoursing from 1 John v. 4;* about 40 persons being present.

* “For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.”



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 is an advertisement in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* from Colenso's time.



What influence did Darwin really have on Colenso?

Bagnall & Petersen wrote...

COLENSO'S membership of the local natural history society in Cornwall has been mentioned, but the systematic training in botany so obtained is likely to have been small. The means whereby he found time and opportunity to acquire such knowledge in the preoccupation of mission duties and printing are not known....

During his ten years [in the Bay of Islands] five exploring expeditions called during world cruises. Their officers and scientists naturally visited the mission as the cultural focal point in an otherwise primitive and lawless outpost. Naturalists would inevitably seek the aid of intelligent local knowledge, and any resident with similar interests could not but receive encouragement and stimulation.

The first of these expeditions was that of the Beagle, under Captain FitzRoy, which had entered the bay for a nine-day visit on 21st December, 1835, with the young Darwin as naturalist. The latter's unfavourable impression of the country is fairly well known. Colenso is not mentioned in the Journal of Researches, but the missionary in later life said that he had spent Christmas Day in Darwin's company. As Darwin states that he had on that day attended the Paihia chapel service it is probable that he was later the guest of the mission with some fellow officers. It may reasonably be supposed that the interests and methods of the visitor would be closely studied by Colenso if occasion arose.

The next and by far the most important influence was a personal one. Allan Cunningham....

I have elsewhere shown that Colenso could not have been a member of the "local natural history society" in Cornwall, because it was not established until long after he was in New Zealand, and that before Allan Cunningham's visit his botanical knowledge was slight. Can we now firm up the speculations above about Darwin?

Written at the time

The Beagle arrived in the Bay of Islands on 19 December 1835. Fitzroy's diary made no mention of Colenso...

Mr. Williams, the elder, formerly a lieutenant in the navy, was absent on an exploring and negotiating expedition to the southern parts of the island. I much regretted having missed seeing him, as he was considered the leading person

among the missionary body in New Zealand; and was said, by every one, to be thoroughly devoted to the great cause, in which he was one of the first, and most daring. I walked with Mr. Baker about the little village, or hamlet, of Paihia. A substantial stone building I thought must be the church; but was a good deal disappointed at being shown a small low edifice, as the place of worship; and hearing that the large stone house was the printing establishment. This I did not like....

Paihia is a pretty spot. The harbour of Kororareka lies in front; and an amphitheatre of verdant hills forms the back ground. But it must be hot during the summer, as it is in a hollow, facing the sun. A visit to Mr. J. Busby, the 'British Resident,' at his house (protected by the flag, as I have already mentioned) occupied Mr. Darwin and myself some time. Like most of the missionary dwellings, it is a temporary boarded cottage, intended only for present purposes. Mr. Busby was taking great pains with his garden; and among other plants he anticipated that vines would flourish. Those at Waitangi (the name of his place) are favoured by climate, as well as by the superintendence of a person who so thoroughly understands their culture. At a future day not only New Zealand, but Van Diemen's Land, and all New Holland, will acknowledge the obligation conferred upon them by this gentleman, who made a long and troublesome journey through France and Spain solely for the purpose of collecting vines for Australia, his adopted country.

Our evening was passed in very interesting conversation with Mr. W. Williams, and Mr. Baker; the former had just arrived from Waimate, an agricultural settlement, lately established by the missionaries, in the interior....

On the 23d, I went with Mr. Baker to Tipuna, the place where the first missionaries, Mr. King and Mr. Kendal, established themselves in 1813....

25th. Being Christmas-day, several of our party attended Divine service at Paihia, where Mr. Baker officiated. Very few natives were present; but all the respectable part of the English community had assembled. Instead of performing the whole service first in one language, and afterwards in the other, as at Otaheite, the two entire services were mixed, and the whole extended to such a length that had even the most eloquent divine occupied the pulpit, his hearers could scarcely have helped feeling fatigued. Mr. Baker appeared to be more fluent in the language of New Zealand, than in his own, a fortunate circumstance for the natives, though not for the English who attend his church....

Fitzroy, a young man of 28 and fearful of the loneliness of the long distance sailor, had sought a gentleman companion for the voyage and finally settled on 25 year old Darwin; they became genuine and close friends and were often together ashore (the visit to Busby occupied "Darwin and myself" for some time). Fitzroy was an utter Tory, and one might guess that he preferred to meet (and to document his meeting) with the missionaries and the British Resident than with the 24 year old printer.

Darwin had little to say (and none of it good). He considered Māori to be savages with a much lower character than Tahitians and they and their homes to be *filthily dirty and offensive*. He noted many English residents of the most worthless character, including runaway convicts from New South Wales. By 30 December he was glad to leave New Zealand.

Colenso had been in New Zealand one year, during which he was hard at work at the printing press, with little time for or interest in scientific pursuits. His contemporaneous diary made no mention of Darwin...

25 December 1835 took Tea this afternoon at Bror. Baker's, Capt. Fitzroy, H. M. Ship "Beagle", one of the Party.

I can find no mention of Darwin by William Williams. Charles Baker's 1827–1867 diaries are in the Auckland Museum Library, but that for the latter half of 1835 is missing from the series.

Written much later

On 21 June 1867 Colenso wrote to Julius von Haast...

If you are writing to Darwin, you can tell him,—that I will do my best (con amore), and write to him some time this year 1867. He will, I think, recollect me, as I saw him in 1835, when he was in N.Z. with Fitzroy: besides he knows of me from my good old friend Dr. Hooker.

No letter from Colenso to Darwin has survived.

As Garry Tee pointed out, Heinrich F. von Haast wrote that "Darwin's closest friend, the botanist Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, wrote in 1883 to Sir Julius von Haast asking him to sponsor Colenso as F.R.S; stating that 'Darwin would gladly have signed, had he been alive, for he knew Colenso when in the Beagle!'"

In 1892, when describing the new hebe *Veronica Darwinii*, Colenso said it was...

Named in honour of the illustrious Darwin who visited New Zealand, with Captain Fitzroy, in H.M.S. "Beagle," in 1835, and with whom I had the honour and pleasure of spending Christmas Day in that year.

JD Hooker wrote, in his 1901 tribute to Colenso to the Royal Society,

It was by a visit to the Bay of Islands in 1838 by Allan Cunningham, the celebrated Australian botanist and explorer, then in charge of the Botanical Gardens of Sydney, that Mr. Colenso's attention was first drawn to botany; and to this visit, and those of Darwin in the "Beagle" in 1835, and of the Antarctic Expedition under Sir James Ross in 1841, he ever afterward referred as the most memorable events in his scientific career.

I can find no such "reference" in any of Colenso's letters to Hooker.

Conclusion

It seems pretty well established then that Fitzroy, Darwin, Baker and Colenso met at Christmas 1835.

Perhaps Fitzroy and Darwin found Colenso—wearied by obsessive cycles of composing-printing-distributing-compositing-printing-distributing type, for thousands upon thousands of pages of Māori religious text—an utter bore. Or perhaps the two young men—the budding plant collector and the future great evolutionist—did indeed have deep, important, but unrecalled and unrecorded conversations.

We just don't know.

Where exactly was the Waitangi Mission Station?

Peter Wells found (in Clive by Gary Baines with Craig MacErlich, Clive Charitable Historic Trust Inc, 2013) a reference to the Hawke's Bay Herald of 23 August 1864.

THE FLOODS.

The Tuki Tuki, the Ngaruroro, and the Tutaekuri have been greatly flooded since Saturday—the water reaching its highest on Sunday morning.... The Ngaruroro also greatly overflowed its banks—reaching the Ferryman's house—but the water has subsided since Sunday morning, and the punt, we believe, will be able to ply again this day; but it is very doubtful if drays will be able to cross for some time, as the sea has washed away the shingle between the old Mission house and the Maori chapel, so that the Waitangi now empties itself into the sea, on this side of the former.

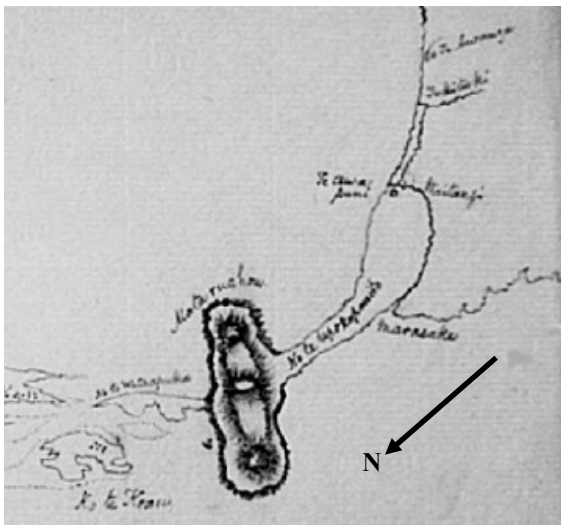
The authors write, “From this, it seems certain that Colenso's Mission was situated on the south side of the Waitangi, on what is now farm property, and the Colenso Memorial of today, 2012, would be better placed there than where it is, in no-mans-land between the sites of the two old bridges.” (p51).

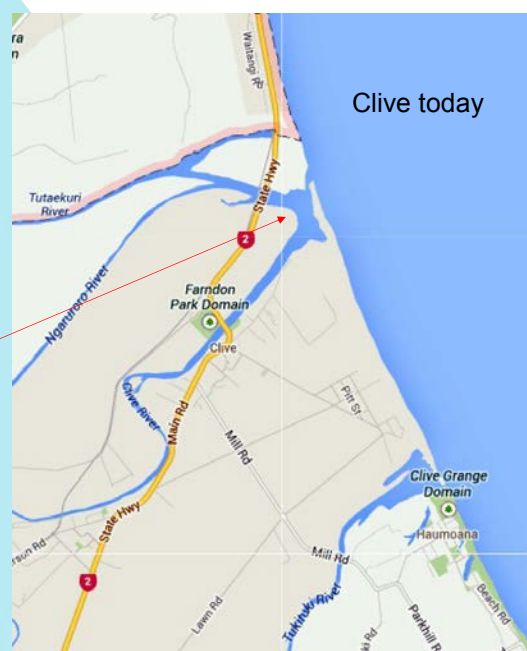
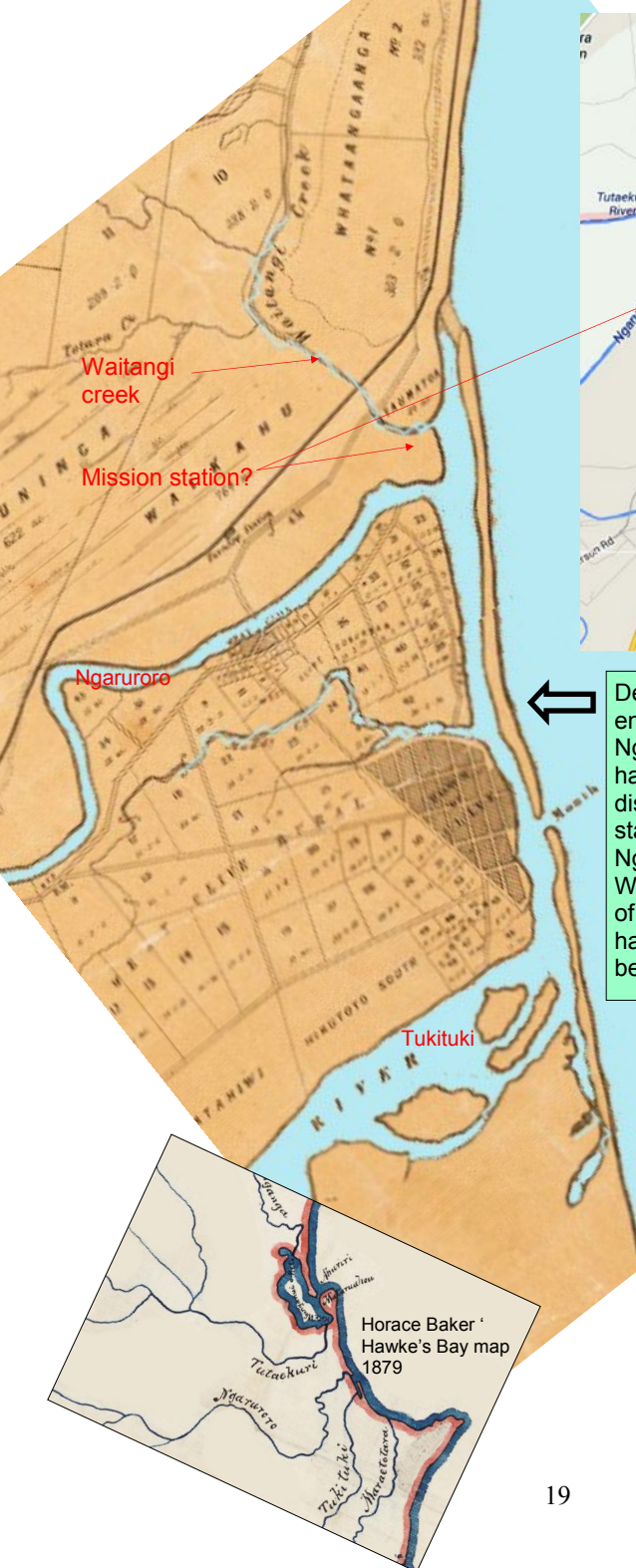
Colenso's own 1834 chart, made shortly after he paced out the site for the Mission station, clearly shows the Awapuni property on the Napier side of the Waitangi.

Colenso wrote on 25 June 1847, “the furious sea effectually damming up the only open and narrow mouth of the 3 rivers (which here disemboque into the ocean), caused the waters rushing from the hill-country to be returned again over the low lands with frightful velocity.”

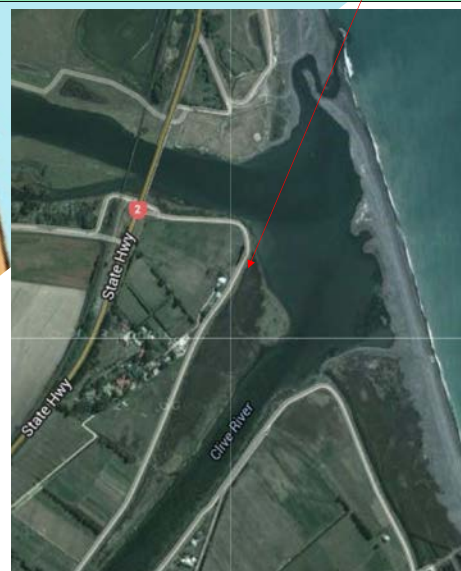
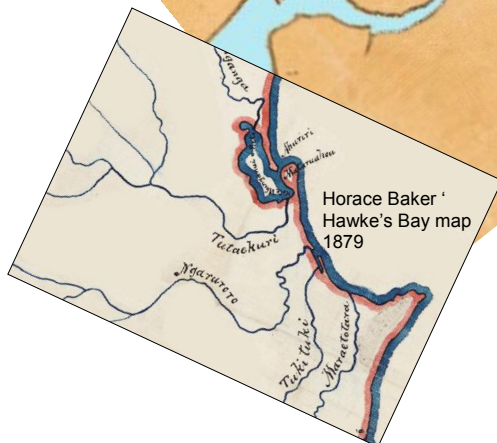
The detail (p20) of the map on the next page shows the arrangement of the Waitangi, Ngaruroro and Tukituki rivers in 1876, *after* the Waitangi had changed its course to empty itself into the sea on the Napier side of the Mission House.

In the 1931 earthquake the Tutaekuri ceased flowing into the Ahuriri Harbour and joined the Waitangi.





Detail of Rochfort's 1876 map showing Colenso's "three rivers"—the Waitangi, Ngaruroro, and Tukituki—after the Waitangi had changed its course in the 1864 floods to discharge into the sea north of the Mission station. Later still the Tutae-kuri and Ngaruroro occupied the lower part of the Waitangi and the Clive occupied the old bed of the Ngaruroro. The mission station must have been on the tongue of farmland between the present Clive and Ngaruroro.





Photographs by Peter Wells:
above, the probable mission site over the river from the Napier side;
below, from the site itself

