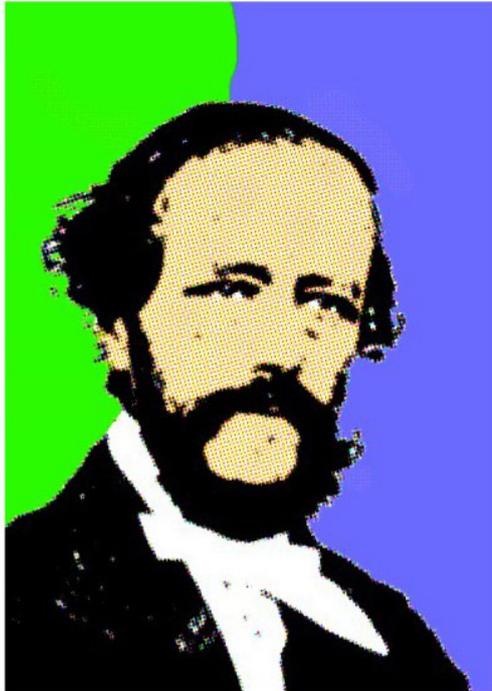




# eColenso

*eColenso* is the free email publication of the Colenso Society, 32 Hawkestone St, Thorndon, Wellington 6011:  
it might be forwarded to interested others. Contributions should be emailed to the editor, Ian St George, [istge@yahoo.co.nz](mailto:istge@yahoo.co.nz).

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## Colenso and his Contemporaries

Wellington 17–19 November 2016

The Colenso Society and the Victoria University of Wellington advise about this upcoming conference. Potential speakers would survey Colenso in his relationships with Māori leaders, with family, with fellow scientists, politicians, churchmen and explorers—and thus enquire into the nature of biography itself.

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In every aspect of nature there is joy; whether it be the purity of virgin morning, or the sombre grey of a day of clouds, or the solemn pomp and majesty of night; whether it be the chaste lines of the crystal on the yonder Ruahine Mountain-range, or the waving ever-changing outlines of distant hills (as those south beyond Havelock and north towards Wairoa) tremulously visible through the slanting rays of the setting sun; the minute petals of the New Zealand daisy, or the overhanging forms of mysterious ancient forests: it is a pure delight to see.

—*William Colenso*

## The Russian flu 1890–1894<sup>1</sup>

After a series of epidemics before 1860, the mortality from influenza in England had fallen till in 1889 it was the lowest recorded in any year.

But in October 1889 influenza was reported in Siberia and by the end of the month at St Petersburg. During November Russia became generally affected, and cases were reported in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, London and Jamaica. In December epidemic influenza became established over the whole of Europe,<sup>2</sup> along the Mediterranean, in Egypt and over a large area in the United States.

In January 1890 the epidemic reached its height in London, and appeared in many British towns. By February the provincial towns of England were most severely affected, but in London and for Europe generally the back of the epidemic was broken. At the same time, however, it appeared in Asia and Africa. In March influenza became widely epidemic in India and made its appearance in Australia and New Zealand. By April and May it was epidemic in Australasia. In fifteen months, beginning with its appearance in Siberia in October 1889, it had traversed the entire globe.

The local outbreaks lasted no more than a month or six weeks. Thus in Europe and North America generally it had come to an end in the first quarter of 1890.

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1. Much of what follows is taken from <http://www.flutrackers.com/forum/showthread.php?t=21210>

2. In some German cities 50% of the population were ill and 0.5–1.2% of the population died (Beveridge W1 1978. *Influenza: the last great plague*. Prodist, New York.)

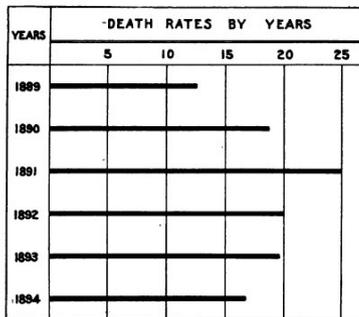


Diagram No. 3—Number of deaths from pneumonia by years 1889 to 1894. Chicago.

A second wave began in March 1891 in the United States and the north of England and during the third quarter of the year New Zealand and Australia had their second attack, more severe than the first. The last quarter of 1891 was marked by a third wave in Europe. All parts, including Great Britain, were severely affected. It lasted through mid-winter and reached its height in London in January 1892.

A fourth milder wave occurred in Britain in the spring of 1893, and a fifth in the following winter, but the year 1894 was freer from influenza than any since 1890.

The disease was often called “Russian” influenza. The Russian summer of 1888 was followed by a bitterly cold winter and a rainy spring. The people were “enfeebled from lack of nourishment,” and when influenza broke out they died in large numbers.

The theories of atmospheric influence (miasma) were quashed by epidemiologists and the conclusion that the disease was “propagated mainly, perhaps entirely, by human intercourse” proved. It travelled along the lines of human communication, and not faster than human beings can travel; in 1889 it travelled much faster than in previous epidemics because in 1889 rail transport and shipping lanes were well established.

It was explosive. In St Petersburg, out of a government staff of 260 men, 220 were taken ill in one night. Dr Bruce Low of St Thomas’s Hospital, London, wrote in January 1890 that “the invasion is sudden; the patients can generally tell the time when they developed the disease; e.g. acute pains in the back and loins came on quite suddenly while they were at work or walking in the street, or in the case of a medical student, while playing cards, rendering him unable to continue the game. A workman wheeling a barrow had to put it down and leave it; and an omnibus driver was unable to pull up his horses.”

Dr J. S. Bristowe: “The chief symptoms of influenza are, coldness along the back, with shivering, which may continue off and on for two or three days; severe pain in the head and eyes, often with tenderness in the eyes and pain in moving them; pains in the ears; pains in the small of the back; pains in the limbs, for the most part in the fleshy portions, but also in the bones and joints, and even in the fingers and toes; and febrile temperature, which may in the early period rise to 104° or 105° F. At the same time the patient feels excessively ill and prostrate, is apt to suffer from nausea or sickness and diarrhoea, and is for the most part restless, though often (and especially in the case of children and those advanced in age) drowsy.” “Cardiac attacks are common, not from organic disease but from the direct poisoning of the heart muscle by influenza.”

The feature “which victims have learned to dread most, is the prolonged debility and nervous depression that frequently follow an attack.... Other common after-effects are neuralgia, dyspepsia, insomnia, weakness or loss of the special senses, particularly taste and smell, abdominal pains, sore throat, rheumatism and muscular weakness. The feature most dangerous to life is the special liability of patients to inflammation of the lungs.”

**LA GRIPPE IS HERE!**  
AND THE BEST WAY  
To Counteract Its Depressing Effects  
IS TO READ TO-MORROW'S  
**Sunday Post-Dispatch**

### Mass mediated worry

Mark Honigsbaum wrote that it was *The Times* that dubbed the sickness “Russian influenza” [3]. The news had flashed along the electric telegraph, sparking running coverage in the mass market dailies. The result was that by the time the first outbreaks began in the City of London, Londoners were already in a state of high anxiety.

“Today we are familiar with the way that the sensational reporting of epidemics, such as the 2009 swine flu outbreak, can spread similar panic and hysteria, but in the 1890s this was a new phenomenon. Coinciding with a boom in cheap newsprint, the Russian flu epidemic was one of the most widely reported epidemics in history.”

It was a sensation. “In 1890 no one had experienced a pandemic of influenza in 42 years. As far as most British physicians were concerned influenza was little more than a synonym for a bad cold or catarrh. Such catarrhs visited the British Isles every autumn and winter, sometimes in epidemic form, but except where they were complicated by bronchitis or pneumonia they were rarely life-

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3. Honigsbaum M 2013. *A History of the Great Influenza Pandemics: Death, Panic and Hysteria, 1830-1920*. IB Tauris, London.

threatening. The Russian flu changed all that, sweeping across Europe and north America in three pandemic waves that left no doubt as to the flu’s morbidity and killing power. In Britain alone some four million people were sickened in the 1889–90 wave and some 27,000 died. Taking into account the subsequent 1891 and 1892 waves, it is estimated some 110,000 Britons perished in the pandemic—a total which approaches the mortality from the better known Spanish flu.

“One of the key moments was the death in the winter of 1892 of Queen Victoria’s grandson, the Duke of Clarence.”

### New Zealand

I can find very little written on the effects of the Russian flu in New Zealand. Te Ara simply tells us, “The 1890s to the 1920s were dominated by two influenza pandemics (1890–94 and 1918), with annual epidemics in between.” Newspapers of the time repeated stories from Europe but had little to say about what was happening here.

The contemporaneous letters and diaries of people like Colenso are therefore of some value in trying to assess the social impact of the epidemic in New Zealand.

### 1891

6 November: *In town, called several places, returned at noon, bringing with me attack of this Epidemic Influenza! Aftn. scarcely fit for any thing! At V.30 p.m. the Bp. called, informed me Mr. Parkinson must still keep his bed, and I take the 2 S. in his ch. tomorrow; — LORD, help, enable: “Thy will be done.”*

7 November: *Heavy day from Influenza!—Aftn. endeavoured to prepare Sermon for the Mg. Service tomorrow, but scarcely know how I may proceed.*

14 November letter to Harding: *I have not begun to write for many reasons—a main one being a rather serious attack of Influenza which commenced w. me on 6th. inst., & has not yet left! rendering me unfit for any & every thing.... I was there (at church), though more fit for my bed owing to this Influenza-attack, indeed I broke down altogether in the Evg. S., but the Congrn. were very good, & seeing how it was patiently waited until I had recovd. & then I continued; but to climb this hill (2nd time) at night was a trial.... this Influenza is heavy. Several are more or less ill: Horace Baker wife & family all laid up!.... I went out of doors at a risk & no doubt have increased (or brought back) influenza by so doing, as it was much more easy yesty.... —Several are laid up w. this epidemic, some very bad, Knowles' Gardener is dying, and so some others—unknown to us.—*

16 November: *got an increase (or return) of Influenza, & left shivering!!*

18 November to Harding: *my chest is painful when I lean forward to write—this horrid influenza still holding sway!.... (20th) I am far from well myself, this influenza with me seems to have taken quite another phase, head-ache, eyes burning & hot, & coughing incessantly, w. gt. pain in chest*

3 December to Harding: *It is pleasing however to find yourself & family so far well & free from this prevalent & injurious epidemic: you give me sad accounts of your acqs. & sc. friends!—Such however may prepare you to hear that I too have been brought very low: I suppose I have never had such an attack since you & I became acqd. —it was well I wrote my "supply." note to you when I did. (on 20th). On 22nd I was obliged to take 2 S. at Aug's., though unfitted—then suffg. from a 2nd relapse of this Influenza—but there was no help for it—save, No S. besides, its being our last Sy. of the year, & I had*

*given special notice on the precedg. Sy. (Evg. S.) of it, & that I looked for a good Congn. &c.—I was the more constrained to go: I managed pretty well the mg. S. but utterly broke down at Evg. S.—had to leave 4 times for vestry & try cold w. & Gowing's Linctus (the Congn. large & sympathising, &c) I went thro the whole. S.,—w. no cough nor hindrance in sermon, wh. was rather longer than normal, but ret'd & climbed this hill at IX. in misery—so all nt., & early called in Dr. H.—Poor dear fellow! he too ill (worse than patient!!) Insomnia &c howr. he came regy. 3 days—then left for S. w. eld. dr. —hoping (?against hope) transferring patients to Spencer—who has been very regr. ever since: hopes last week were slight, age agt. me, & disorder changed on 23rd, to severe bronchitis.*

9 December: *Rev. R. Stewart, who has also been laid up w. severe attack of Influenza: several deaths there.*

11 December: *Dr. Spencer again called—he, now, suffg. from severe cough which, he says, is not Influenza!*

17 December to Andrew Luff: *You still write as freely and as well as ever you did!—I have altered much in this respect, particularly during (or owing to) this attack of Influenza, which on its second relapse, changed to Bronchitis, & nearly carried me. I am now getting round slowly—being still very weak & voice small, unnatural. I trust you (and all yours) are keeping well, and free from this dire malady; though I believe that it is much less serious if care is taken not to expose one self too early—it is the relapse that is so dangerous.*

31 December letter to RB Gore: *Though very much better I am still feeling the weakening effects of my Influenza visitation.*

**1892**

1 January: *Slowly recovering from serious attack of influenza with bronchitis; first seized Nov. 6/91.*

10 January to Harding: *I think I told you of my eldest son's daughter (10–11 yrs)—her long suffering from that horrid influenza, of 8–9 months ago: well, he now writes— “The least extra exertion brings on spasms of the heart. I took her up to Dr. Sanson last wk. (of course, tho' only 2 hours from London, we two had to go up one day & home the next). His verdict was— ‘the heart was in a very bad state, but there was hope, he had had as bad a case before, which had recovered as far as ordinary life was concerned, tho' the mischief was always there! at same time he had cases which ended fatally. This La Grippe left such extraor. weakness behind it that the victims had not much chance. Still (he said) there was a glimmering of hope’:*—and that is something to us, who are low in that commodity, heaven knows.”

31 January to Harding from Dannevirke: *My cough (& weak voice) still continues: both the Dr. here (McLennan in adjg. room), & Robertshawe remark on my cough. There is much of sickness about,— typhoid fever, & influenza cases. Since my last to you I ventured on a short stroll into the nearer wood—only to admire (once more!) & to have surer proof of extreme weakness—want of vigour—ability.— This Dr. too, had influenza at Home w. a relapse! and he still feels the effects! He says, the second attack was very severe; and he derived much benefit from his voyage. He caught a relapse through attending to a patient w. a broken leg, &c.— Kelly, Interpreter (arrived here last night from N.) tells me, that his son who had an attack of Infl. in Novr., has just now got another!—*

10 February to Harding: *Bp. Stuart, I find, had to return to N. on Monday on account of his sister's serious illness; I fear for her, as she is aged & not strong, & she was laid up w. Influenza before Xmas. Another saddening letter from my eldest son re his little daughter.*

18 February: *Sorry to find in paper of this morning that the Bishop of Waiapu's sister (long ill from influenza) died at Napier yesterday!*

20 February to Harding from Dannevirke: *Of course you will have heard of the death of the Bishop of Waiapu's sister, from the fell Influenza! She died on the 7th., the Bp. had come back purposely to see her on the 6th., spent more than a week at N., & had just returned to Wgn. & taken his seat in the Synod! I believe he is still there: but I know nothing. I suppose you knew Shugar? he, too, died this mg. at Ormondville after only a few days illness! caught cold at Norsewood (an Influenza attack) and returned wet to Ormondville (to which place he had removed from Dvk. only a few days before), rapid Inflam. of lungs followed, all day yesterday in delirious agony!—Our Dr. here, Macallan, went to see him on Thursday evg. but too late to be of any service: there are others very ill in this Bush Dist.... (I) felt my exertions at night, restless, cough, & no sleep. However I am I think, steadily improving in genl. health; though certain strange anomalous pains in my chest keep up, and I still feel weak—go out nowhere!... I am still “confined to my rooms”—just walking, occasionally, to P.O. nearby—the extreme length of my present tether: am very much better, but still very weak—wholly interfused (as it were) w. this Codlin M. or Phylloxera, the remaining spawn of that Influenza, which is pre-eminent & “runs through all things;”—several possess the same kind of feelings:—Waterworth, has been staying here seeking health and is ½ mis. about it: his Infl. attack was at Xmas. Just so, Robertshawe; Cowper (Knight's partner a very strong man).*

16 March to Harding: *yesty. Mrs Hill delivd. daughter still-born: I hope the good lady may recover: I almost conclude, their severe loss was owing to her severe attack of Influenza & its distressing effects.*

28 March: *Feeling better, but legs &c. still very weak, almost tottering even in house; this is not rheumatism but effects of influenza*

20 April letter to WW Yates: *I am keeping pretty well; but owing to weakness, &c., in feet and ankles (dregs of Influenza!) I cannot venture into the woods close by nor walk far.*

18 June to Harding: ... *the little grandr. in England, she is still improving, still taking med.—still in Londn. physician's hands: her parents now have good hopes. Last week I had 2 sad notes from John Anderson (my man's son) both f. and m. laid up w. La Grippe, f. severely, John went to seek Dr. H.—who sd. he was not able to climb my hill! but (as John says) “he manfully endeavoured & did so”—but w. this mournful addition—that he, the Dr., did not expect to live thro' another week!! Poor dear old soul! I trust he will yet be long spared to N., we cannot afford to lose him.*

12 July to Harding: *I see in last night's “D.T.” death of Mrs Hobbs, Minister's wife, at Hastings from Influenza—relapse! (What a narrow escape mine was!) she leaves 5 children. Dean Hovell, too, is very ill from it, confined to bed!!*

27 July to Harding: *My people, I regret to say, are still unwell from La Grippe: & several others in N.... Fannin laid up w. gout! Mrs. F. with a severe attack of La Grippe: ditto, Walker Ed. “H.”, ditto Younghusband, the Dean & his family, & several others: the disorder is also at Woodville.—*

30 July: *Walked to the Ch. though in much pain in my feet from remains of that influenza attack.—*

1 August to Harding: *I cannot walk well! This is from the remr. of that Influenza attack, it was so w. me 3 months ago—feet sore in soles, & particularly under toes, when I put my foot on ground & walk, but when sitting or even standing still quite at rest.*

10 October: ... *long walk, & feet sore from influenza remainders!!*

24 October to Harding from Dannevirke: *I cannot visit my old loved haunts in the Bush: Rheum-cum-Influenza still heavy on me dy. & nt.!*

4 November to Harding: *12 mths. tomorrow (5th) since I was first attacked w. this “Influenza,” & not yet free! shall I ever be?*

5 November: *12 months this day since my first attack of “influenza”,—and I not yet free from it!!*

18 November to Harding: *I am keeping pretty well—always excepting these remains of Influenza w. Rheum, so that I scarcely know an hour without pain—still fixed in my rt. shoulder, sometimes arm & wrist, & worse at nights.*

### 1893

15 January: *went out as far as the brow when the rain (coming on) & pains in feet from old influenza caused me to return!—*

22 January: *Returned with difficulty owing to severe pains, suddenly coming on in feet from influenza remains.*

3 February: *At night letter from Rev. E. Robertshawe both him and his wife seriously ill with influenza; also, Rev. J.C. Eccles at Woodville! All coming together very sad.—*

4 February: *This mg. went to town on business—while there my 2 feet taken (again) severely painful w. influenza remains, could scarcely walk back.*

4 February to Harding: *this day has been a trying one to me, w. Infl. pains in feet—I went to town this mg. (first time for this week) & was taken while there with those pains, & returned w. diffy.... Last Sunday I was at Taradale for Tuke, who is still ailing from Influenza.... From a letter to hand I find Robertshawe laid up w. Influenza remains! no Service: and so, Eccles; & Tuke is scarcely able to carry on. And in a note from my eldest son (in pencil, & in bed,) he too is seriously ill from it; his daughter, removed from the house by Dr's. order, had been kindly taken in by the Vicar of the place: so I have plenty of sad news.*

11 February to his nephew William Colenso: *I have had, & still have at times, the remains of that fell & hateful disease—Influenza, which, I suppose, I shall never be free from! .... it is now confined to my feet (soles, & toes beneath) & sometimes prevents me from walking, even on a flat surface.—Hence, I rarely go down to the town below—say about once in 10 days, or so; remaining quiet at home....*

1 March: ... returned tired & and pain from rheumatism influenza remainders.

17 March letter to Mantell: *For nearly all '92 I was invalided! scarcely able to do much at anything, owing to remains of that fell influenza—or its 2nd. relapse—from Novr./91! I am, however, now very much better (having fought my way),—but older, and I feel old age increasingly.*

27 March to Harding: *Letters from Engd. to hand, inform me of my eldest son still suffg. from Influenza remains, much as I was—in feet & legs....*

12 May: *taken again with pain in toes! From influenza dregs!!—*

19 October to William Colenso: *I am keeping very well—at times, now & then, a bit of Influenza remains (from 2nd. relapse!) and curiously enough confined to soles and toes!*

29 October: ... *retd. very tired, influenza again in feet.*

6 November: *Two years ago, this day I was first attacked w. influenza! And it still hangs about me.*

## 1894

12 August to Hans Mortensen: *Several here have died from Influenza....*

## 1897

7 July to Harding: *Since my last, sad news: Death on 6th May of my eldest son's only child—a yg. woman 18 yrs. age. The parents broken-hearted!—"fifteen weeks fighting with death"—at last, her end peace.*

## In short...

Influenza was already epidemic, with several deaths, when Colenso suddenly caught it in Napier on 6 November 1891 (by the afternoon he was “scarcely fit for anything”). Nonetheless he preached to a congregation

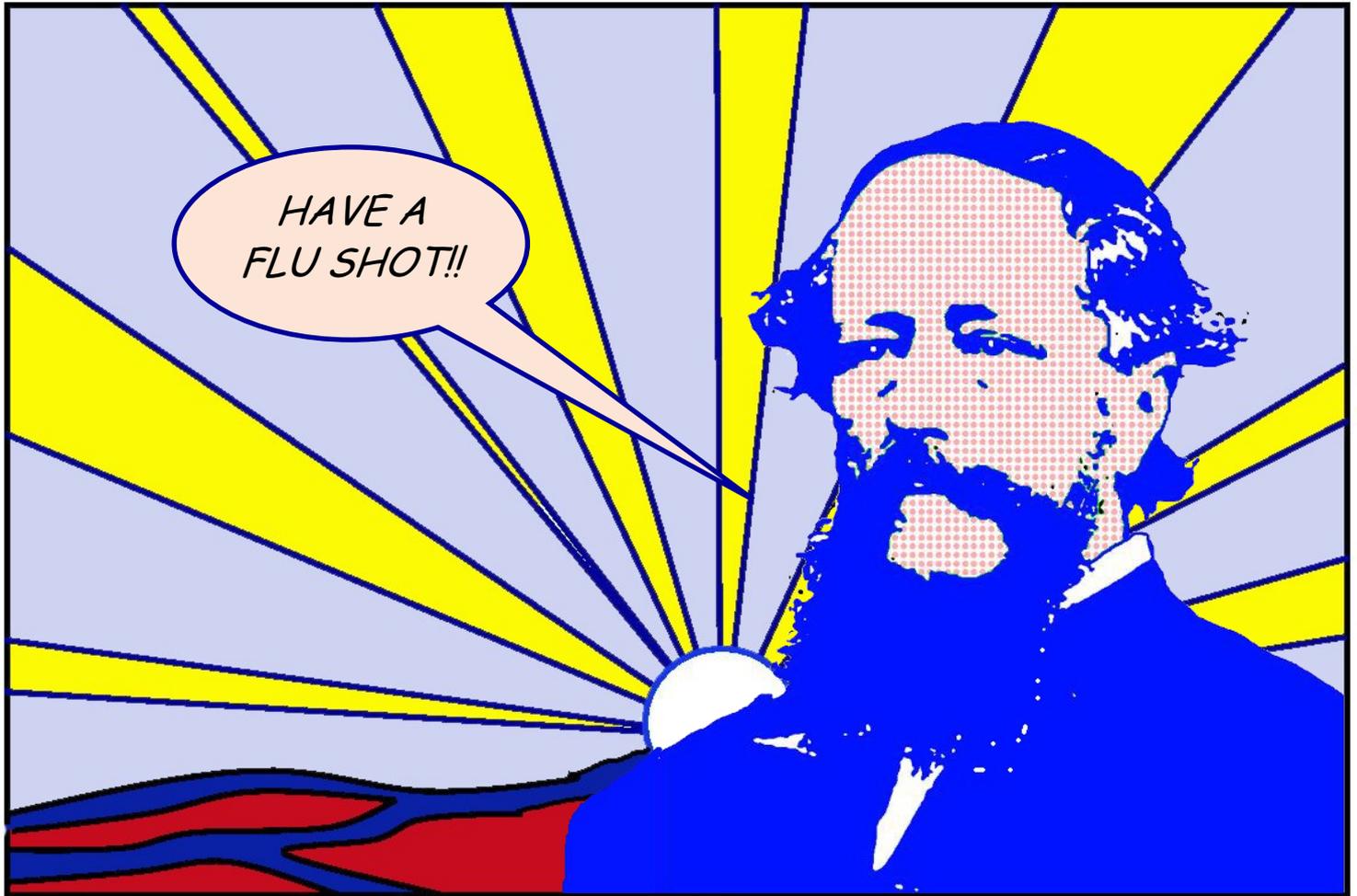


Enrique Simonet: *La Autopsia*, 1890.

two days later, no doubt contributing to its spread. He mentioned shivering, chest pain, headache, burning eyes, incessant cough, secondary bronchitis, weak voice, extreme weakness, want of vigour, weakness and pain in legs and feet (soles, particularly under toes) continuing for two years. Dr Hitchings had secondary insomnia. Dr Spencer had a severe cough. Dr Macallan had a relapse, worse than the original attack. Emily Hill's daughter was stillborn. In England Colenso's grand-daughter's heart was damaged (myocarditis?), leading to her death five years later. The most striking symptoms of Colenso's own illness were the postflu arthritis in the small joints of his feet and the longlasting postviral fatigue, the feature “which victims have learned to dread most” as Dr JS Bristowe wrote.

The 1891–1894 influenza epidemic caused significant disability and death in Hawke's Bay.

In 1892 in Auckland my great grandfather Albert Evelyn Dewes “was taken ill with *la grippe* ... and subsequently other symptoms developed which caused great anxiety to his medical attendants, Drs. Mackellar and Lindsay. An operation had to be performed on account of an abscess, but as consumption had set its seal on its victim the efforts and skill of the medical gentlemen could not avert the final result”. He was 32.



## Colenso extracts from Donald McLean's early diaries

Among the AG Bagnall papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library there is a copy of a letter he wrote to GC Petersen on 18 July 1944. He wrote,

I have also gone through MacLean's diaries for the period of his Hawke's Bay visit on land purchase negotiations (1850–52) which contain more references to Billy than I thought. There is nothing startling in them but again much subsidiary detail especially for background. The tone of reference to Colenso ranges from respect in the beginning to what might be termed fretful impatience in the later stages. It is of interest that there is no reference to Willie before the break nor can any written references or judgements be traced in any way to what was Colenso's secret from one who was a fairly frequent visitor to Waitangi in that period [1].

### 1850

18 December. Pulled down in canoes to te Awapuni Mr. Colenso's place who received us very kindly & invited me to spend the night with him which I did obtaining considerable information from him respecting the natives, their numbers disposition improvement character &c from his account. Hapuku, Moananui Tariha & Puhara have great influence nothing of importance can be effected by the others without their consent, not even the secondary chiefs who in other districts have great influence are able to do anything without the

consent of either one of the above parties.... Mr Colenso has a neat printing press at his station, the gooseberries are now in season & I enjoyed them very much—he complains of the natives & the prowess of the country generally.

19 December. After Breakfast we left for Ahuriri 6 miles from Mr. Colenso's.

24 December. In the evening Rev. Mr. Colenso returned from a tour among his natives, very fatigued looking after his journey.... My boys have gone to Mr. Colenso's meeting, probably I shall be left tomorrow almost to my own solitary meditations.

25 December. A fine roaster and rice pudding for dinner a glass of Madeira sent to me by Revd. Colenso made us all feel that the day was really a Xmas although we had not old man's milk, or the roast beef or plum pudding of old England....

29 December. Received a handsome present wine gooseberries butter cake milk from Rev Mr Colenso.

### 1851

4 January. Further supplies from Mr. Colenso of apple pie milk gooseberries &c.

6 January. Renata and te Watene the former a man who has given Mr. Colenso great trouble has just called to enquire about the purchase of Patea and Manawatu.

8 January. In the morning I pulled in a canoe to Tareha's station along a fine deep river thence across to the river that goes to the Awapuni Miss. Station where I spent the day with Mr. Colenso who is such a straightforward excellent man that I have great respect for

him. The rivers in this neighbourhood abound with wild duck the soil is a rich deposit with raupo & grass on the banks. The surf here has a very heavy drowning sonorous sound as if its rage would overflow the land as it sometimes combined with the inland floods does to a great extent rendering Mr. Colenso's station anything but secure. Mr Colenso and servants took refuge on the tables on one occasion and ever since a whaleboat is kept to remove them in case of future overflow. The sea within its bounds must go—Heaven's Ruler wills it to be so.

9 January. Spent a most pleasant day with Mr. Colenso who has given me many interesting accounts of his experience among the natives & of his various narrow escapes & determined proceedings with them conquering their obstinacy & violent passions. The treatment he received at the hands of the Ahuriri natives through the malicious conduct of Renata & the Chiefs Tariha Moananui and Takamoana is dreadful and shows how cautious I must be in dealing with these people & how bitter they are and how far they will carry their malignant passions when once excited. His life has actually been an imminent danger by them & and so has the life of his faithful Taupo native Renata [*sic: he meant Hamuera?*]. Hapuku has behaved well in the matter & so has Puhara, the details of the case are of very great interest as exhibiting the contradictory changeable and evil disposition of the natives. Wereta's affair at Wairarapa in consequence of Mr Colenso's past argument with him merely proved the loss of his own life which was waylaid if Providence had not shielded him. But what a beautiful picture poor old Caleb's death and confession affords, how encouraging to a Missionary and how pathetically and naturally true Mr. Colenso depicts the old man's dying sentiments.

10 January. Purchased box and goods from Mr. Colenso £13.17.6. Left Mr. Colenso's in the afternoon....

17 January. In the afternoon paid Mr. Colenso a visit and remained there for the night. Had a long conversation with Mr. Colenso respecting native customs in reference land and the places I have in view respecting it.

18 January. Came back from Mr. Colenso's.... Mr. Colenso seems anxious to commence a system of settling among the natives of which I greatly approve, that is having a block of land to himself to divide among them. Say 1000 acres which should most decidedly for such a philanthropic purpose be readily granted even at the expense of Govt.

20 January [*at Patangata*] ... I have had quiet opportunities of advising te Moananui to act with te Hapuku in this sale which he has done admirably and I find that Mr. Colenso has been advising him well on the subject and in fact I have every reason to think highly of Mr. Colenso as a zealous conscientious man and an excellent devoted missionary well entitled to support from the Govt....

26 February. We passed one Pah, of the Ngaio tahu-po. The Chief, Hererini, is a great warrior. Another branch are settled at Ahikakariki, Ihaka's place; who has charged foot passengers going on a line of road, cut by him, for several months. He now agrees to relinquish all further charge for people going on the road; and states that Mr. Colenso wrote to Mr. Williams about it; and that he told them that their charging was wrong.

8 March. Got to Waihinganga in the afternoon; where Mr. Colenso had a large hui. One or two old Chiefs were baptized.

12 March. Went to spend the forenoon at Mr. Colenso's, and stopped there all day. Found him and Mrs. Colenso as usual very kind and communicative on native matters.

13 March. Returned from Mr. Colenso's.

20 March. Letter to Mr. Colenso, Informing him that at the Patangata meeting the natives w. add considerably to the Waipukurau bl. purchase, that I saw the Wakatara and Patangata places he talked of purchasing for a mission station: the first is a romantic spot if sufficiently extensive for the purposes we talked of, that is, for the subsidising of a native village around you and the carrying out of which I shall be really glad, not only to recommend its adoption to the Gov.-in-Chief but to give you all the personal aid in my power from a thorough conviction that it would be productive of much good in furthering your missionary operations and leaving durable evidence to posterity of the fruits of missionary zeal and civilising the natives. I have frequently thought of the subject since you first mentioned it and I shall continue during my ramble, such spots as will be best suited for you, and if we both succeed in fixing on a place and obtaining the same I hope your other project\* will not influence you to leave our adopted Island in which you have laboured so many years. I would have called on Monday only feared you were ruru preparing for your journey— Part of Waipukurau he spoke of offered for sale +++

26 March. I met Maika one of Mr Colenso's teachers who brought me a letter from the former gentleman the contents of which annoyed and surprised me. They were to the effect that he had heard numerous reports among the natives a title of which he would not now relate by which it appeared that I had departed from my original intentions of only purchasing from the natives what lands they did not require, and of having told Hupata in defending his rights that his

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\* On 14 March 1851 Colenso had written to Lieut.-Governor Eyre asking about the possibility of his removing to Australia to be a missionary among the aborigines. Colenso regarded the letter as private, and was dismayed to find Eyre had shown it to Bishop Selwyn. From McLean's comment it seems he had also been told about Colenso's "other project".

word as a single man against the majority was good for nothing. Both these assertions and all the others that Mr. Colenso has heard are quite as unfounded as the great majority of native reports usually are, and however highly I have thought of Mr. Colenso he ought to have patiently made sure of the truth of the reports before he blamed me for acts of which I would not be any way guilty—but where a person indulges in any particular theory and opposes any particular acts it is impossible to satisfy or direct them of unfounded jealousies unless they are very patient discerning men. Justice and fair play to the Sovereign I serve and all her subjects of every race shall be my motto as it always has been, let others say what they will.

The people of Manawarakau are no opposition so much to the Hapuku from jealousy of his Chieftainship and friendship to be Govt. since my residence here that it may be difficult to reconcile them. They all welcome me in a friendly manner and Mr. Colenso has favoured my mission among them more than I expected. At least he does not speak against me in the manner his letter which I shall have the satisfaction of explaining to his face as unfounded would indicate.

29 March. Got to Porangahou and had a long conversation with Mr. Colenso respecting his letter & satisfied him that what he heard respecting it was incorrect. A long talk about a reserve to preserve the natives from entire destruction which Mr. Colenso considers would be their fate if some steps of the kind are not taken. His plan seems to be that one large reserve out of all the districts that may be purchased should be made so that the natives could always resort to it and call it a permanent home, he still seems anxious to have a mission station where he would be entirely isolated from the whites and speaks of the district between Manawarakau and Waimarama bounded by a range of hills that runs parallel with the Tukituki. The land he tells me is poor and hilly not calculated for European purposes. There are 100 natives already residing in it—more could be induced

to go there and by getting a square mile of the land included in the present boundary added to the said block he considers he might focus on that as a permanent home for himself and the natives. Moreover he is quite of opinion that such an arrangement would add greatly to their religious and moral welfare as a race. He certainly deserves the utmost consideration being given to his plans as he has really worked a wonderful change in the natives of this place and the whole bent of his inclination seems to be towards improving & promoting their Xtian welfare. All I am desirous to obtain is his views in writing on these subjects that I may submit them to Sir George Grey—I am afraid I have interfered with Mr Colenso's religious duties by coming here on Saturday but I was afraid I should lose sight of him altogether if I did not do so—The natives seemed to expect that Mr. Colenso and I would have quarrelled about a letter of his he wrote to the Chiefs when he was under false and rather excited impressions respecting the proceedings of the Chiefs and myself—to their surprise however they find us very friendly....

Attended morning and evening prayers at the native chapel and dined with Mr. Colenso remaining with him till 10 at night talking on various subjects. He is better informed on matters connected with the natives that most missionaries I have met. Women's monthly sickness not known by New Zealanders till lately, chastity when living with Europeans of their women beyond doubt.\* Mr. C. Considers that land originally given as a gift from one Chief to another does not empower the recipient to sell but to hold for himself and successors, that no land should be purchased beyond Titiokura as it would rouse the interior tribes against the Europeans if such were done. Hapuku's ideas about Wairarapa, rights there, early Church history. Telford's history miserly conduct.

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\*Now why would McLean write that?—Ed.

31 March. Attended morning service at chapel and had a long conversation with Mr. Colenso on land questions. Mr. Colenso seems most anxious and agrees to finally fix on a station for himself at Manawarakau if the terms he proposes are exceeded to. 1<sup>st</sup> to have the land from Manawarakau to Waihopokia North and thence south as far as the stony beach extends towards Okura also that a large reserve should be purchased there for the natives and afterwards granted or sold to them at a low rate as their wants might suggest. Mr. Colenso is a most zealous missionary but I fancy he has no fixed plan for the benefit of the natives, at least he declines placing his views on paper to be submitted to the Gvt. and my opinion that no plan will surpass that of selling land to the natives wherever they may desire to settle at such as will enable them to purchase without distressing themselves.

3 April [*at Waipuna*]. In the evening Apiata... came... bringing letters one from Rev. W. Colenso asking for a station at Waimarama.

11 April. Called at the French Priest's, and dined there, also at the Rev. W. Colenso's, where I enjoyed apples and raspberry wine. A short chat with Mrs. Colenso, and rode on to Ahuriri, where I find things all quiet.

15 April. I called at Mr. Colenso's, and paid my account £14.

20 April. Got home about 7 last night having spent an hour or two with Mr. Colenso....

24 April. The land about Waimarama is well suited for the natives; and I think, with Mr. Colenso, that from Manawarakau, should be a perpetual Reserve, as there is abundances of fish, shell-fish, and grazing ground for stock that the natives are likely to possess, until they become European in habits and manners. Moreover, the land is not calculated for English settlers.

Harawira is a shrewd, sensible native. He, and E Waka, are the principal Chiefs of this place. They are both anxious for Mr. Colenso to settle here, and I think it would be an excellent place for him.

1 May [at Te Awapuni]. Mrs. Colenso very kind in supplying medicine for sore throat and headache.

9 May. Got to Ngaawapurua at dusk, and heard that Mr. Colenso was delayed from being there, owing to a severe boil on the thigh.

10 May. Left a canister of sago, and a little butter in a jar; also 2 candles for Rev. W. Colenso at Ngaawapurua.

[Wiremu was born on 28 May—Ed.]

7 November. We got to Ahuriri. I called at Mr. Colenso's who told me that in passing the Waipukurau Pa when coming from Patea he had no idea that I was there otherwise he would have called. Be this as it may he was quite as kind as usual and Mrs. Colenso is a person for whom I have a great esteem. I would even like to have their little girl Fanny living with Douglas for a few months as it would greatly improve her and give her a knowledge of English of which she is almost totally ignorant.

11 November. Mr. Colenso told me that they (the natives) seemed doubtful about selling the whole of Moturuahou Island; that they wanted several Reserves on the Island; and Mr. Colenso advised them to have a clause inserted in the Deed, giving them free rights to their vessels entering and leaving the harbour; besides such other hints as would no doubt be to their advantage. Although it does not appear to me essential that the natives require such advice, when they are in treaty with the British Government.

Undated. Write to Mr. Colenso from te Waipukurau if I find a ground of a 1000 or say 2000 acres suited for the station and the new

block and the native name of it.

3 December. Wrote to the Hupuku and Ahuriri Chiefs also to Rev W Colenso by special messenger....

15 December. Started from Ahuriri for Wellington called at Mr Colenso's dined there had a long conversation with the Catholic priests about the purchase of the land they occupy from Puhara which he is most anxious to dispose of. Karaitiana Tariha & others oppose the sale fearing Mr. Colenso will leave the district if they remained at that place, certainly the question assumes such a bearing that it must be referred to the Govr. before I say anything about it.

#### References

1. ATL 89-249-9/08.



Fig. 43—Donald McLean, Esq.,  
1820-1877.