

She substantiates her idea by referring to Wakefield's description, to a Land Court plan of Kohukohu, and to a later sketch of the township by Moreton Jones.

He [Heaphy] shows two barques loading timber—as described by Wakefield at Kohukohu—and shows two buildings on the bank—as the Land Court Plan shows was right for Kohukohu. But the terrace on which the buildings stand is unmistakably Horeke. Both house and store appear rather too palatial for either Kohukohu or Horeke at that time, yet in design the house more nearly approaches the Horeke dwelling . . . than that at Kohukohu . . . while the situation of the store is incorrect for Horeke but more or less right for Kohukohu. The hills behind more closely resemble the outline of Karewakirunga pa upriver from Horeke than that of the hills at the back of Kohukohu. Both stations sported a flagpole and a pair of cannon . . . but the bell shown by Heaphy was probably his own introduction, inspired by that at Mangungu.⁴



T. Moreton Jones, *Te Kohu-Kohu, Hokianga River. (The Residence of Mr Russell)*, pencil and watercolour, 17.4 × 25.7 cm. Auckland City Art Gallery, presented by Hon. E. Mitchelson, 1918.

To accept this argument it becomes necessary to assume that the artist draughtsman, Heaphy, allowed himself considerable artistic licence in recording the topography of a particular place by including details from various places along the way, with the innovation of a bell as a finishing touch. Such a practice appears to be at variance with Heaphy's subsequent recording of places he visited.

Like Ruth Ross, Anthony Murray-Oliver also claimed that Heaphy's