



Richard Taylor, 'A View of the Feast given by the Governor to the Natives at Huaraki [i.e. Horeke] Hokianga Feb. 1840', ink, 9×17 cm. Sketchbook E 296/p. 169, Alexander Turnbull Library.

been painting Horeke? The answer must be that he was not painting Horeke at all or even a composite scene that included Horeke, as there is so little in his painting that corresponds with the Horeke of 1839. Yet it still remains necessary to show that the painting could instead have been an accurate view of Kohukohu at the time Heaphy visited on board the *Tory*. Wakefield's description of Kohukohu is consistent with the content of Heaphy's watercolour. The position of Russell's house and store on the promontory at Kohukohu can be verified, as Ross pointed out, by an early plan of Kohukohu in the Old Land Claim files.

Although Ross and Murray-Oliver had accepted that the two barques loading timber were from the Kohukohu scene, they continued to maintain that the house was McDonnell's at Horeke, rather than Russell's at Kohukohu. They also asserted that the hills behind the house more closely resembled those at Horeke than those behind Kohukohu.⁸ In this instance they have not taken into account Wakefield's further description of Horeke: 'Some cattle belonging to Mr Macdonnell were running on the tops of the hills, and one of these, which we bought for the ship, was very fair meat.'⁹ Certainly not the bush-clad hills depicted by Heaphy!

A photograph of Kohukohu taken in 1920 shows the outline of the hills behind the township to be essentially the same as in Heaphy's watercolour. By this time, the Kohukohu hills had also been cleared. The photographer's viewpoint is from slightly downstream of Heaphy's