



# 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 on William Colenso should be emailed to the editor, Ian St George,  
[istge@yahoo.co.nz](mailto:istge@yahoo.co.nz).

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## What's happening in the Colenso Project right now?

Kia ora tātou! My name is Melissa Bryant. I come from the South Island – Christchurch and Dunedin, Motueka and Greymouth - but I am now in Wellington, and working at Wai-te-Ata Press as a research assistant on the Colenso Project.

Thanks to the *eColenso* Editor for kindly inviting me to share an update on our research.

This is the first year of the Colenso Project's second three-year Marsden Grant, and our aim is to gather together large numbers of texts written by, to, or about William Colenso and his contemporaries, so that we can then apply machine processing techniques to reveal patterns and connections between people, words and ideas. We aim to open new insights into the Victorian Republic of Letters - the nineteenth-century international community of information exchange and knowledge production facilitated by communication technologies and practices in the age of industry.

We've been expanding our catalogue of works by and about William Colenso, using the Zotero online collaborative reference management software. Anyone can access and download that collection of references via Zotero's Colenso group at <https://www.zotero.org/groups/62194> – and if you are logged in to Zotero, you can send a request to join the group, so that you too can add to the collection.

We're adding transcriptions of correspondence to, from, or about

William Colenso to another collection. Here, we encode each letter in an international standard format for archival or historic texts called TEI P5 XML, so that we can apply computer analyses across the whole collection, mix it with other kinds of texts such as William Colenso's lectures, and share it with other researchers who use the same standard.

While we're working on a text, TEI can look something like this.

```
<name type="person">Henry Winkelman</name>}. <name
type="person">CP Winkelman</name>'s photographs were published
in <hi rend="italic"><name type="organisation">NZ Graphic</name>
</hi>and <hi rend="italic"><name type="organisation">Auckland
Weekly News</name></hi>and are in public collections at <name
type="organisation">Te Papa</name> and <name
type="organisation">Archives NZ (Auckland)</name>.</p>
<p rend="justify"><name type="person">Colenso</name>'s extant
1889-1897 diary record frequently refers to <name
type="person">Winkelman</name>; for <date
when="1892-12">Christmas 1892</date>, "Wrote to <name
type="person">Winkelman</name> east 20/ p. notes-10/- for
"namesake" & 10/- for others."</p>
<p>On <date when="1896-07-19">Sunday 19 July 1896</date> <name
type="person">Colenso</name> spent the afternoon "reading S.S.
```

Here you can see one of its great benefits. In this short extract from eColenso January 2015, the Editor has used two different formats for a person's name, and two different formats for dates. This kind of variability is natural in human discourse, and eColenso would be much less interesting without it, but it can be confusing for computers. We've used TEI to mark up sections of this happily diverse natural human language so that the machines can tell that

"Christmas" is a date, and it's in December. This means we can ask the computer to automatically generate a timeline of who was saying what to whom when, or who was writing most about what when.

One person can have several names, and several people can share a name. They might even share that name with places, or other things. We can use TEI to show which name belongs to which person, place, or thing. This letter was written from Waitangi, and we have used a unique identity number to tell us which famous Waitangi.

```
<name type="place"
key="http://wtap.vuw.ac.nz/entities/70244/">Waitangi</name>
</correspAction>
</corresp>
<creation xmlns:tei="http://www.tei-c.org/ns/1.0">
<date when="1839-02-16">1839 February 16</date>
</creation>
</profileDesc>
</teiHeader>
<text>
<front>
<p>1839 February 16: to Busby<note xml:id="ftnl-14" place="foot"
n="14"> ATL Ms-Papers-4855. As Colenso explains, this is a draft which
he copied for Busby, "the sending original to England".</note>
</p>
</front>
<body>
<p>(Copy of Lne: to J. Busby Esqr., in answ. to his of the 14<hi
rend="sup">th</hi>. Inst, requesting information on Capt. Fitzroy's
evidence.)</p>
```

TEI is easy for computers to read, but distracting for humans, so when we want to present the text for a human to read, we use software built by our project's programmer Jamie Norrish to make it look easier on the eye, like this.



No, just joking, it really looks like this,

## 10 March 1883: Hooker to Haast.

<b>Digital document details</b>	Hooker to Haast, 10-3-1883 ATL MS-Papers-0037, folder 104-06
<b>Source document details</b>	Royal Gardens Kew
	March 10/83
ATL MS-Papers-0037, folder 104-0.	My dear Von Haast
Transcription published in "The Correspondence of Julius Haast and Joseph Dalton Hooker, 1861-1886", by Sascha Nolden, Simon Nathan & Esme Mildenhall. Geoscience Society of New Zealand miscellaneous publication 133H, 2013. ISBN 978-1-877480-29-4. Openly available at <a href="https://securepages.co.nz/~gsnz/isleadmin/uploadedigs_downloads/IMP133H.pdf">https://securepages.co.nz/~gsnz/isleadmin/uploadedigs_downloads/IMP133H.pdf</a>	I am desirous of proposing Colenso for the Royal Society, & it is very essential for this purpose that his Certificate should have the signatures of the Fellows in the Colony – You could therefore oblige me by signing in the column below my name. Darwin would gladly [?] have signed had he been alive, for he knew Colenso when in the Beagle I – is this not like going back generations in the history of Science, & to the very dawn of New Zealand science! We are as busy or rather busier than ever here, as the Kew Reports will show you, & the work of the Establishment has become very laborious, leaving little time for [?] personal correspondence.
Encoded into TEI by Melissa Bryant, 12.11.15	I hear of you sometimes indirectly, & of your splendid Museum, & I am a devoted reader of the Transactions of your N.Z. Institute.
	The "Genera Plantarum" is finished at last, thanks to Bertham's indefatigable industry & his liberality for he has provided nearly all the funds. He is now in his 83rd year & very feeble, but

(There is an emerging tradition for scholars in the digital humanities to scatter their conference presentations with pictures of kittens and puppies. Welcome to the whānau, everyone! This particular kitten was shared under a Creative Commons [CC-BY-ND 2.0 licence](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/2.0/) by Tim Ebbs at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ebbsphotography/6056886951/>.)

Currently our collection of texts can only be accessed by members of the research team, but we are working towards making it publicly available, and will keep *eColenso* readers updated.

We use the same processes to index *eColenso*, connecting the information in existing *eColenso* articles to our big collection of primary historic texts, so that researchers will be able to go from an intriguing *eColenso* article to the original source documents to find out more, or from a mysterious name in a source document to an enlightening article about that individual.

All this hunting, gathering, and exploring is dedicated to making known the life, times and work of William Colenso, and we await with anticipation the discoveries of the next two years! We would love to hear from anyone who has material available which may be relevant to the project, and as ever, all interested fellow enthusiasts are most welcome to contact us at <http://colensoandtherepublicofletters.weebly.com/contact.html>



Colenso's gravestone and the rose Peter Wells planted during Colenso's bicentenary year.

## My dear friend and brother Mr. Hadfield

Allan Cunningham wrote to William Colenso on 4 December 1838, mentioning Octavius Hadfield's anticipated arrival in New Zealand and his poor health, and adding, "He will do well I daresay as an assistant in Mr. Wm. W[illiams]'s school at Waimate, placed in a room warmed by a constantly maintained puriri fire."

Colenso wrote from Paihia to the CMS secretaries on 6 February 39: On the 21st, Decr., we were unexpectedly and agreeably surprised by the arrival of the Bishop of Australia, who came in H.M.S. "Pelorus," Capt. Harding, accompanied by the Revd. O. Hadfield.... On the 6th. he admitted the Revd. O. Hadfield to Priest's Orders....

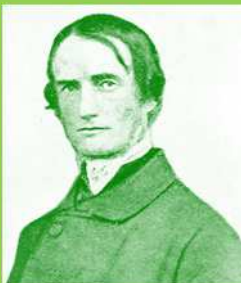
Colenso to Cunningham 1 March 1839: Mr Hadfield is pretty well – has been to Kaitaia.

Colenso to Cunningham 27 May 1839: Mr Hadfield is, I think, in a very delicate state of health – and he pursues the very course to make himself more so, a glass of cold water, for Breakfast, and a bit of bread for Dinner, and little or no outdoor exercise, will never make or support a constitution for a N. Z. Missionary.

Colenso made no further mention of Hadfield until an entry in his Journal of 26 February 1845 in which he referred to "my dear Brother Hadfield". He visited Hadfield every time he visited Wellington during his missionary years in Hawke's Bay (1845–1852).

Colenso's journal 26 March 45: Spent the evening at Mr. St. Hill's kind home, with my dear brother Hadfield.





**Octavius Hadfield** suffered from severe asthma as a child, forcing him to leave school in 1831 and Oxford in 1833. He applied to the Church Missionary Society to become a missionary in

October 1837, was admitted to deacon's orders in September 1838 in Sydney by William Broughton, bishop of Australia, and at Paihia on 6 January 1839 he became the first priest to be ordained in New Zealand.

Hadfield studied te reo while teaching at the mission school at Waimate North and in November 1839 left to begin his work at Waikanae and Otaki. By the end of 1841 was ministering to some 7,000 widely scattered Maori, and supervising 18 schools. His role included peacekeeping. Hadfield's task was complicated by the growing settler population at Port Nicholson (Wellington) and at Nelson, and their pressure for land. Matters came to a head with the confrontation at Wairau on 17 June 1843 when he found his roles as mediator between Maori and settlers and adviser to Governor Robert FitzRoy interfering with his "proper work".

Constant ill health dogged Hadfield until, late in 1844, a serious illness confined him for almost

five years to the home of the Wellington magistrate Henry St Hill [1]. Hadfield maintained contact with Maori friends. At this time the new governor, George Grey, visited Hadfield almost daily and generally accepted his advice. His practical plans for gradual and peaceful assimilation express the breadth of his vision for the colony as an integrated society with equality of rights and opportunity for all.

Hadfield formed a firm friendship with Bishop George Selwyn, although, as an evangelical, he had reservations about the bishop's Puseyite leanings. Selwyn appointed him archdeacon of Kapiti in March 1849.

In October 1849 improved health enabled Hadfield to return to the mission at Otaki.

Over the years Wellington newspapers published many letters expressing Hadfield's views on contentious issues and he had already earned the tag of "political parson" for encouraging Maori to exercise their constitutional right to register as voters; he was bitterly opposed for this action in 1857 by Isaac Earl Featherston, then superintendent of Wellington province.

He campaigned steadfastly from 1855 for state support for all schools, secular and denominational; after the passing of the Education Act 1877, he turned to the development of Sunday schools.

Hadfield had declined the bishopric of Wellington in 1857 on the grounds of ill health, but he succeeded Bishop Abraham in 1870. In 1890 he was elected third Anglican primate of New Zealand,

but resigned because of his health.

*Abbreviated and modified from Te Ara (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h2/hadfield-octavius>).*

#### Reference

1. I can find no diagnosis for his illness. Jacobs wrote

... the Rev. O. Hadfield... was brought to death's door by what seemed a mortal disease. The bishop mourned for him in his letters to his English friends, as though he were already taken away, spoke of him as "Mr. Hadfield, now, perhaps, of blessed memory"—the date of this particular letter was March 9, 1845—and further on, in the same letter, wrote as follows:—"You will easily understand why I value anything which serves to bring the memory of Mr. Hadfield to my mind, when I tell you that I left him at Wellington smitten with an incurable disease, and scarcely dare to hope that I may see him again in this life".

(Henry Jacobs 1887. *Project Canterbury. Colonial Church Histories: New Zealand*. Containing the Dioceses of Auckland, Christchurch, Dunedin, Nelson, Waiapu, Wellington, and Melanesia. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge).

Henry St Hill's letters to the Church Missionary Society are similarly prognostically gloomy, but similarly give no clue as to Hadfield's diagnosis (ATL Micro-Ms-Coll-04-58 reproduces St Hill's letters).



27, 28 March 45: Pouring rain, scarcely any moving out; at Wellington, with Mr. Hadfield and others. It is, indeed, a privilege to be by his bedside; always cheerful—always Christian.

12 Nov 45: This morning, breakfast over, went with Rev. R. Cole, to Mr. St. Hill's, to see the Archdeacon, and my dear friend Rev. O. Hadfield.... Spent day with Mr. Hadfield and others.

10 March 46: Visited my dear friend, Mr. Hadfield: found him much the same as when I left him; he walked, however, a few turns round the garden leaning upon my arm.

22 April 47: ... visited my dear Brother Hadfield, whom I found much as before.

26<sup>th</sup>: Spent evening until a late hour at Mr. St. Hill's with my dear brother Hadfield.

29 Oct 47: During the day I called to see my dear friend & brother, the Rev O. Hadfield, (whom I found just as I had left)....

11 May 48: Evening, we managed to get to Mr. St. Hill's, to see Mr. Hadfield, & dine with them.

17<sup>th</sup>. Called to see Mr. Hadfield for the last time.

9 April 49: I soon went to see my dear old friend Archdeacon Hadfield. Entering his room, rather unexpectedly, I found him up, and dressed, and sitting at dinner!! Consuming, with no common zest the viands (mutton and potatoes) which lay before him!!! a sight, which I had never before been gratified with in all my visits to Wellington—Blessed be GOD for this! He told me, he had not taken any medicine for 6 months, and that he attributed (under GOD) his present state of convalescence to the cold-water system, which, at Dr. Fitzgerald's recommendation and under his direction, he had adopted.

25 April 51 (at Huaangarua – Martinborough): About an hour before sunset Archdeacon Hadfield suddenly arrived on horseback. I was very glad to see my dear friend and brother, whom I had not seen for 2 years, and who was now wonderfully restored to health and labour!

Colenso to McLean 8 Sep 51: Should you see your friend Mr. Taylor, gently tell him, that he is a letter in my debt:—ditto, Archd. Hadfield, & Rev. S. Williams.

Journal 26 Jan 52: The Bishop, also, told me, that Archdeacon Hadfield had expressed himself as being grieved at some remarks of mine, published in the C.M.S. report for 1848–49.

Journal 26 March 52 (Te Kaikokirikiri – Masterton): Archdn. Hadfield arrived, which greatly cheered me.... Spent an agreeable evening with the Archdeacon in my tent.—(They held services in several Wairapa centres before Hadfield left for Wellington on 5 April).

Colenso, confessing his adultery to Selwyn 7 Sep 52: I intend, however to send immediately a notification of a similar nature to Archdeacon Hadfield and to the Rev. Messrs. Cole & Hamlin.

Colenso to CMS secretaries 24 May 1853: But, a Wellington Paper—"the N. Zealand Spectator,") of the 23rd. February, (a Copy of which I suppose—and hope—you have had sent you thence,) which contains a full account of a "Church of England Meeting" there, in which the Governor, the Bishop, and Archdn. Hadfield took prominent parts, will, I believe, do more still towards revealing the Bishop's mind (not to say, the Governor's,) towards myself & the Natives of this District. The speeches of the Governor, of the Bishop, & of Archdeacon Hadfield, in this paper, which I have only lately read, serve me as a key to much that the Bishop has said, as well as to his strange & harsh proceedings concerning me. While, on the other hand, they will never serve to shew, what has been effected through GOD'S blessing on my unworthy instrumentality....



House of the Honourable Henry St Hill, Hawkestone Street, Thorndon, Wellington, [ca 1860]—view from Tinakori Rd.

Hill owned town section 566, on the corner of Tinakori Rd and Hawkestone St, now part of the motorway, adjacent to where Ian St George lives.

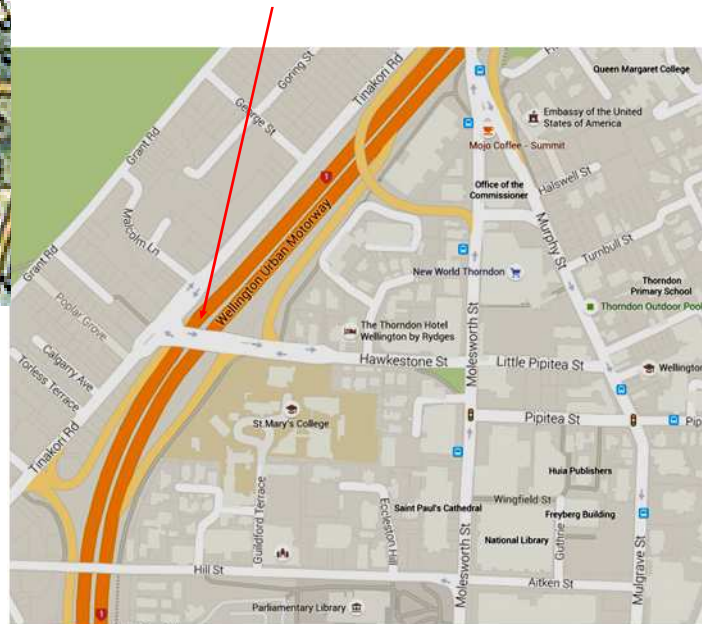




Samuel Charles Brees 1810-1865: View looking up Hawkstone Street, Wellington (1847)  
—looking towards Tinakori hill and Tinakori Road from Hawkstone Street, with cows and a cowherd in the foreground, JT Wickstead's house and garden in the right foreground and Henry St Hill's house behind that.



St Hill's town section no. 566, now occupied by motorway.



... a conversation that I had with Archdn. Hadfield last year at Wairarapa, in which he said, that I was much too strict with regard to the Sabbath, &c., and, that he saw no harm in Natives going to Balls, & Games, &c.

Sadly most of that issue of the *NZ Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* is missing from *Papers Past* so we do not know what was said at the Church of England meeting at Thorndon School. The report in the *Wellington Independent* has nothing that even the increasingly mistrustful Colenso could suspect.

Colenso and Hadfield's friendship was over. Much later, these...

Colenso to Henry Hill 14 Feb 92: Of course you will have seen in the Papers the sad rows in the great Synod! How anyone can support Fitchett is a marvel to me! I consider his acting to arise from his old (& recent) status of a Metht. Minr. His letter re same is in Wgn paper of yesty. (N.Z. Times), and he, I am glad to find, is returned to Dunedin. No doubt the primate was a little hasty, but for that he amply apologized. That Canon Howell is the same creature that performed there in the Cathedral before you in Napier; and I (tho' no lover of Hadfield) am pleased at his inhibiting him in his Diocese.

*See clipping at right ►*

Colenso to Harding 11 Oct 92: And so Hadfield, Wgn. is about to resign his Primacy! Well, not too soon.

Hadfield seems to have been an unusually attractive person; the otherwise hypercritical Edward Jerminham Wakefield wrote of him,

I learned more fully to appreciate the excellent qualities of this genuine missionary of the gospel. He was a perfect enthusiast in his vocation. A highly educated gentleman, gifted with an extraordinary share of talents, and the most delicate and honourable feelings; mild and forbearing, persuasive and unassuming in his manners; of distinguished address and personal appearance; possessed of very extended information on most general subjects: endowed, in short, with all the necessary qualifications for being known and admired in the highest circles of the old world, or for enjoying the luxuries and comforts which attend upon the most self-denying pursuits in a highly civilised society....

### THE PRIMATE'S RULING.

The unfortunate disagreement between the Primate and the Rev. A. R. Fitchett, which arose in consequence of the Rev. Canon Howell being inhibited from preaching in Wellington, is creating intense interest here, and numerous letters are appearing in all the papers on the subject. The Primate is strongly attacked by the writers for his treatment of both Canon Howell and the Rev. Mr Fitchett. Mr Robert Parker, the well-known organist of St. Paul's, who is one of the lay representatives of the Wellington Diocese, now states in a letter in to-night's *Post* that "If the matter is not taken up by the clergy as in vindication of their order it undoubtedly should be," he intends on Monday next to table a motion in the Synod which will bring it to some kind of issue.

—Hawke's Bay Herald 15 February 1892

## Julia Wedgwood's Colenso letters

Hadfield and Colenso had, in their early missionary years, similar tasks and experiences; each scorned the landgrabbing by other missionaries; each managed a huge predominantly Māori parish, each championed Māori causes against the encroachment of whites, each was fluent in te reo, each was evangelical and suspicious of Selwyn's high church leanings. Colenso was more strict, more paternalistic, less tactful than Hadfield, but they had much to share and much in common.

Hadfield had been a lifelong asthmatic, his illness interrupting his university studies. From 1845–1850 he was so ill he was bedridden at the St Hills' home in Wellington; what the illness was cannot be discerned now, but he was “desperately ill, in great pain” and some thought he had strained his heart bringing a boat through a gale in 1842. Selwyn thought he would die.

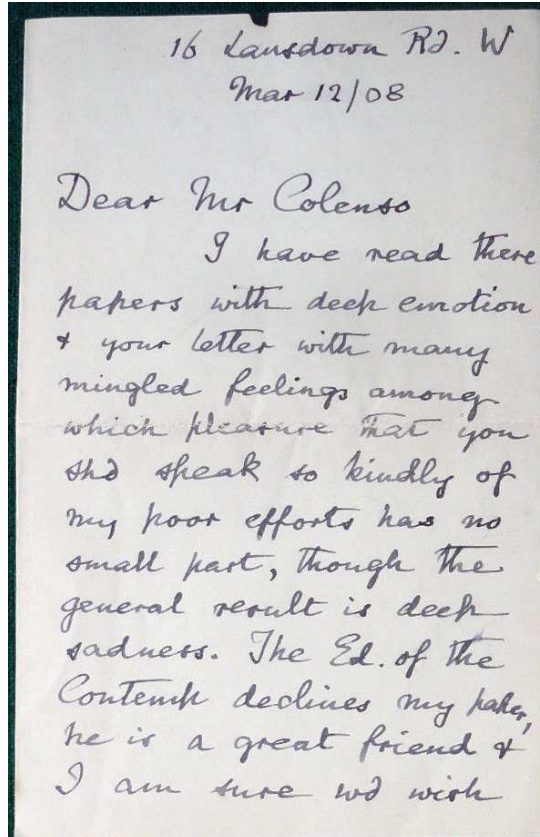
But from what seemed to be his deathbed Hadfield held court, meeting and persuading the men of influence who visited him, among them the young missionary from Hawke's Bay.

Whether Hadfield regarded Colenso as *his* “dear friend and brother” seems doubtful—there is little mention of Colenso by Hadfield's biographers.<sup>1, 2</sup>

Unlike Colenso, Hadfield later opposed Darwinism and disliked the sceptical tendencies developing in philosophy, science and Biblical criticism. He remained a lifelong fundamentalist, while Colenso mellowed intellectually, becoming wiser and more moderate as he aged.

1. Macmorran B 1969. *Octavius Hadfield*. Wellington.

2. Lethbridge C 1993. *The wounded lion: Octavius Hadfield, 1814-1904: pioneer missionary, friend of the Maori & primate of New Zealand*. Christchurch. Caxton Press.



For sale recently on eBay, three 1908 letters from Julia Wedgwood to Frank and Sophie Colenso, the son and daughter-in-law of the late Bishop JW Colenso, in support of Harriet Colenso's work in advocating for the Zulu king, Dinuzulu, son of Cetshwayo.



to insert everything  
I write. I fear the  
same result will come  
from a <sup>short</sup> letter (I knew  
no other had any chance)  
which I sent to the Spec-  
tator today, with an  
earnest entreaty to Mr  
Strackey to embody if  
he does not include  
my protest. I thought  
it better to confine my  
self to what was un-  
deniable as that ~~was~~  
is so adequate & did  
not enter on much that

touches my heart.  
We must trust that  
such endeavours as  
your sister's have their  
reward in the only  
direction from which  
reward could come to  
her - a blessing on  
her poor protégés -  
whether we can discern  
it or not. I never  
saw anything more  
pathetic than that  
photograph.



I have not said  
much that I feel about  
your letter but have  
only time to add that  
in no mere formal  
sense I am

very sincerely yours

F Julia Wedgwood

Mar 18/08

Dear Mr Colenso

I am afraid you  
will think those few lines  
in the Spectator a sad &  
meagre & ineffective  
result of my earnest  
desire to call some atten-  
tion to the cause you  
— I may say we —  
have so much at heart.  
But after Mr Bunting's

opinion against inserting  
anything on the subject  
in the Contemporary.  
I felt my only chance  
lay in confining myself  
to the indisputable,  
& the Editor's note  
at the end of the  
Spectator correspondence  
(his regret to defer  
& omit so much)  
made me feel I  
was right in cutting  
it down if I was to

hope for admission.  
I have received  
one letter which  
makes me hope  
~~others~~ <sup>to some persons</sup> may be awakening  
to a cruel injustice.  
I feel the Zulus are  
the race to whom, in  
a deep sense, we  
owe our Bible  
& the desire that  
in some form this  
influence shd go back  
to them as helpfulness

is one of which the  
very depth in my  
own heart rouses  
a trust in its presence  
in others.

These few poor words  
need no ~~elaborate~~  
acknowledgement

Always yrs

F Julia Wedgwood

We not some  
notice of  
this be  
possible?  
I am dear  
Mrs Colenso  
very sincerely  
yours  
Julia Wedgwood  
Idle rocks  
Stone  
Staffs  
ap 30/68  
I send you this touching  
letter, dear Mrs Colenso,  
according to your sister  
in law's request, & having  
read it carefully 3 times,  
I will not trouble you  
to return it. As I ~~am~~  
have been moving about  
The letter newspaper of  
which she speaks has  
not reached me, but  
to Miss C's statement.



to Miss C's statement. Wd not some

I have no doubt it  
will do so.

I also enclose my answer  
for you to address &  
to read if you care  
to do so. If I had  
been hoping to bring  
the case before the  
readers of a Review  
I wd have pointed  
out to Miss Colenso  
that "she perhaps  
assumes too much

knowledge in English  
readers, but as it is  
I did not wish my  
genuine admiration  
& sympathy to be  
blurred by criticism  
which wd have no  
practical result. I see  
that Col Seeley sd in Pt  
last night that "the utmost  
access to (Dinuzulu) has  
all along been conceded  
to his counsel." This is  
in direct contradiction

notice of  
this be  
possible?

I am dear  
Mrs Colenso  
very sincerely  
yours

Julia Wedgwood

Albereto  
Stone  
Staffs  
4.30/68

### *Literarum personae*

**Dinuzulu** 1868–1913 was the eldest son of the last king of an independent Zululand, Cetshwayo. Cetshwayo had been banished from Zululand to Cape Town in the aftermath of the Zulu defeat in the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War. In the ensuing political fragmentation of post-war Zululand, Dinuzulu attempted to assert his rule as Zulu leader, eventually turning in 1884 to Boer mercenaries to help him defeat his rivals to the throne. However, Dinuzulu's ongoing resistance to British interference in Zululand resulted in his arrest and imprisonment on the island of St Helena, in spite of a protest campaign led by the Colenso family. On his release in 1898, he was installed as a salaried 'government induna' in Natal, where he was expected to advise the colonial state on 'native affairs'. He was subsequently implicated in the 1906 Bambatha Zulu rebellion against the Natal government's imposition of a poll tax, although he denied all involvement in the uprising. In December 1907 martial law was declared in Zululand and Dinuzulu was arrested and charged with treason. The ensuing trial took place at Greytown in Natal, where Dinuzulu was supported by Harriet Colenso and legally represented by Will Schreiner. The trial of Dinuzulu was a calculated move by the colonial authorities to destroy the last vestiges of African autonomy and traditional leadership in order to pave the way for the white-controlled Union of 1910. Dinuzulu was fined and imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

**Harriet (or Harriette) Emily Colenso** 1847–1932 was the eldest daughter of John William Colenso and his wife Frances Sarah Colenso nee Bunyon, well-known Church of England missionaries in Natal and advocates for the Zulu people. On her father's death Harriet Colenso continued her father's advocacy of the Zulu people against the colonial authorities, and she was instrumental in supporting Dinuzulu in 1888–89 and during his later trial between 1908 and 1909. Harriet Colenso was the co-founder with Martin Luthuli (uncle of the Nobel

Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli), of the Natal Native Congress in 1900.<sup>1</sup>

**Francis Ernest (Frank) Colenso** 1852–1910 was a Zulu rights campaigner, son of Bishop John Colenso and brother of Harriet Colenso. He was educated at Cambridge but later returned to Natal where he practised for a time as barrister in Pietermaritzburg and Natal, and he also attempted to act as a diplomatic agent to Cetshwayo, the Zulu king, in order to resolve the boundary dispute which eventuated in the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. After his marriage to **Sophie Frankland** in 1880, Colenso returned to Britain where he worked as an actuary at various insurance companies. However, he still devoted energies to campaigning for Zulu rights and "channelled information from members of his family in Natal to radical and Liberal MPs and humanitarian organizations, wrote letters to the press, made representations to members of the government, and produced pamphlets and drew up petitions to publicize, and seek to remedy, the injustices suffered by the Zulu people".<sup>1,2</sup>

**Sophie Colenso nee Frankland** b.1855 was the daughter of Sir Edward Frankland, Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution. In 1880 she married Frank Colenso. She refused to emigrate to Natal. In 1879 Frank gave up a promising career at the Natal Bar, and returned to England accepting an appointment with the Norwich Union. The Colensos settled in Britain and had four children.<sup>1</sup>

**Frances Julia Wedgwood** 1833–1913 was the daughter of Emma Darwin's brother, Josiah Wedgwood. Julia or "Snow" as she was affectionately known, was considered the cleverest of her generation in the impressively intellectual Wedgwood and Darwin family circles. Through her family she was well connected to many academic and literary luminaries of the day including Thomas H. Huxley, Elizabeth Gaskell, Ruskin, as well as James Martineau and Thomas Erskine. Deeply interested in the reconciliation between an intellectual



Christianity and Darwinism, Julia worked for 22 years on a volume titled *Moral Ideal: a Historic Study*, a history of the evolution of ethics in the great world civilizations, from antiquity down to Victorian scientific positivism and theological modernism. At the zenith of her reputation Julia Wedgwood was considered one of the great female intellectuals, beneath only George Eliot. She was deaf and missed a formal education and furthermore her work was impeded by the expectations placed on her as a maiden aunt in a large family circle, so that she spent much of her adult life caring for relatives' children and ailing elderly relatives.<sup>3</sup>

She was referring in her first two letters to her letter to the *Spectator* of 14 March 1908,

*I am disappointed that so little attention has been aroused by a short dialogue in the House of Commons on March 4th between Mr. Winston Churchill and one or two Members of Parliament, from which it appears that the Zulu chief, Dinuzulu, is now in prison on a charge of murder, rebellion, and conspiracy, and that, according to the Colonial Secretary, "these general charges have not been amplified by any specific facts as to whom he is accused of inciting to murder, or who was the person murdered, or when the incitement was given, or in what the acts of treason, sedition, rebellion, &c., consist." This vague indictment, we are told, will become definite if the examining Magistrate decides that a prima-facie case exists for committal; but surely a prisoner thus charged will enter on his trial at an enormous disadvantage. A preliminary investigation ending in an adverse decision will act on many minds as a verdict, on all as a strong address from the Bench against acquittal; and what lawyer will undertake defence against such an indictment, or what will be the chance of an accused person permitted to begin his defence only at this stage? The law which authorises such procedure is not what Englishmen should call a law; it is merely the result of a proclamation by the Governor in Council. England cannot abdicate the responsibility for such conditions; it remains a moral when it has ceased to be a legal claim. We may strive in vain to preserve our delegates and their victims from the injustice that is born of panic, but not to strive at all is to render ourselves their accomplices.*

—*I am, Sir, &c., JULIA WEDGWOOD.*

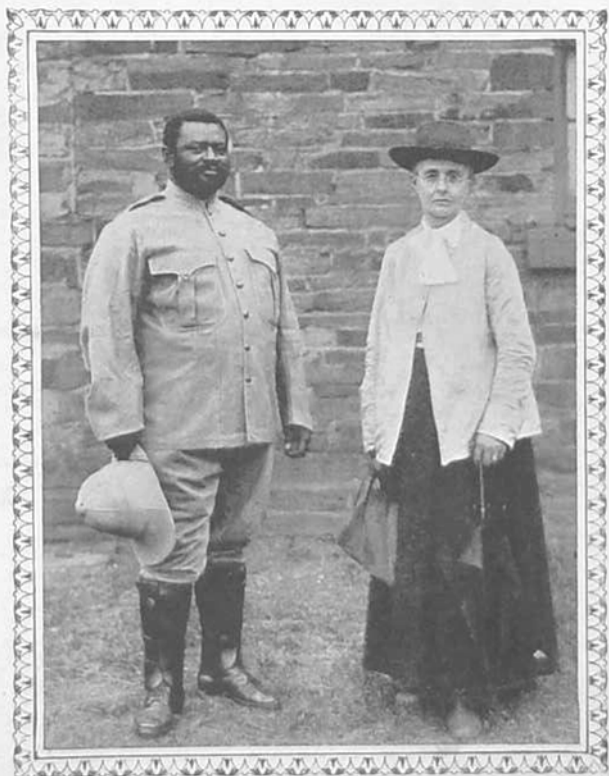
What strikes one in these letters and in their people is the same "liberation theology" that William Colenso tried to practise in New Zealand in his advocacy for Māori, the retention of te whenua and the beauty of te reo. There is no hint of any condescension, of regarding indigenous people as somehow inferior or less deserving—no social Darwinism with its hierarchy of humanity.



Frances Julia ("Snow") Wedgwood



Harriet Colenso



THE "CHILD" AND HIS CHAMPION: DINUZULU AND MISS COLENSO.

Miss Colenso, who is a daughter of the Bishop of Natal and arithmetic fame, resembles her father in her strong sympathies with the South African natives. She has enthusiastically taken up the cause of the Zulu chief, Dinuzulu, now on his trial for high treason at Greytown. Dinuzulu is a son of Cetewayo, and in the picturesque Zulu phrase the people say, with reference to his trial, that "the white men are killing the child"—that is, the child of the king. Each day, when the Court meets and adjourns, the natives spectators utter the royal salute, "Hystiti!" solemnly to the judges, but really, it is said, in honour of Dinuzulu.



Left: from the *Illustrated London News*  
26 December 1908.

Middle: Dinazulu

◀ Sophie Colenso

Frank Colenso ▼



## The Zulu “rebellion” in Natal

In February 1906, only weeks after the election of the new Liberal government in Britain, the killing of two white police officers in Natal led to the declaration of martial law under which twelve Africans were sentenced to death. Elgin’s initial instructions to suspend the sentences led to a standoff with the Colony, the Natal ministry resigning in protest. The British government was forced to “climb down” to a position which Winston Churchill, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, described as “complete surrender”, with Elgin conceding to the Governor of Natal that “HMG . . . have no right to overrule the deliberate judgement of those on the spot who are responsible.” Though the conduct of the Natal government was felt to be reprehensible, Elgin stood by the principle of non-interference and the right of a selfgoverning colony to determine its own affairs, even to the point of removing from the South African Department one official who persisted in advocating stronger intervention.

Elgin’s response to the situation in Natal was influenced by the desire to facilitate negotiations over the first of the two new constitutions. To have intervened too strongly in Natal, an old British colony, would, Elgin thought, have given the impression to the future Boer leadership in the Transvaal that he would be all the more likely to intervene in their colony, a former Boer republic. Conversely, the widespread perception among Natal settlers that the rebellion indicated the

danger of a general “native uprising” probably reinforced such apprehensions among settlers in neighbouring colonies. This was seen by Colonial Office officials to have limited their scope for including measures in the Transvaal constitution to protect the interests of the “natives”, as these might be perceived by the white communities in the new colonies as too liberal.

It is clear that African activists in the new colonies understood the significance of the Natal disturbances. As Msane commented to Harriette: “. . . we look with alarm at our future and the Natal incident is still fresh in our memory when Smyth’s [Natal] Ministry resigned because the imperial Govt. dared to interfere on behalf of the natives . . .” It was not until later in 1907 that the prospect of “unjust and impolitic” legal measures being taken against Dinuzulu, then facing trial for treason, prompted the Colonial Office to flex its muscles and make explicit its disagreement with the Natal government over their “native policy”. This more robust position adopted towards one of its more recalcitrant colonies, however, came too late to benefit the Basuto deputation.

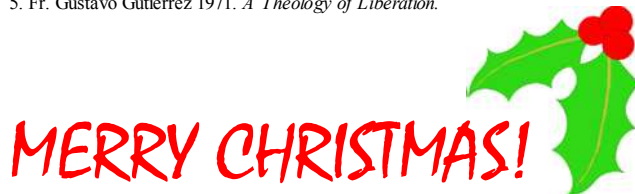
—Gwilym Colenso, “The 1907 deputation of Basuto chiefs to London and the development of British-South African networks”, *The International History Review*, Volume 36, Number 4, August 2014, 619-652.

“Liberation theology is a movement that attempts to interpret Scripture through the plight of the poor. True followers of Jesus, according to liberation theology, must work toward a just society, bring about social and political change, and align themselves with the working class. Jesus, who was poor himself, focused on the poor and downtrodden, and any legitimate church will give preference to those who have historically been marginalized or deprived of their rights. All church doctrine should grow out of the perspective of the poor. Defending the rights of the poor is seen as the central aspect of the gospel.”<sup>4</sup>

The term “liberation theology” has its roots in Latin American Roman Catholicism in mid-20th century,<sup>5</sup> when it was a response to widespread poverty and the mistreatment of large segments of Latin American society (as well as to the wealth and pomp of church leadership)—but the Colensos were practising a similar ideology in Natal and New Zealand much earlier.

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## On Popery, Romishness, Papism...

—from the *Church Missionary Record*, 1840 and 1842

### *Popery.*

Notwithstanding these very promising indications, Satan has contrived to sow tares very thickly among the good wheat. The counteracting influences to the Gospel are various, and were increasing; but the reasonable assumption of the sovereignty of the islands is calculated in some respects to provide a remedy for them. But the most deadly evil of all, Popery, is, in existing circumstances, beyond the power of the Civil Government. We lay before our Readers some proofs of

*The subtleties and superstitions of Popery in New Zealand.*

The following passage is taken from Mr. W. R. Wade's Journal of his visit to the Reinga:—

March 23, 1839.—We met a few Natives, who stoutly defended the Roman-Catholic Bishop, into whose dangerous snare they have fallen. Dr. Pompallier scruples not to make ample use of the prejudices and superstitions of the Natives, thereon to build his Popish mummery. On one occasion, he assured the Natives that he only must be regarded as a sacred personage, and consequently the true Minister of God; for never had he put his hands to any secular work, and in his in-

fancy he was fed from a sacred vessel with a sacred spoon! But as for us, we worked like others, and ate like others. Any Native of the old school would readily draw the desired conclusion. A paper of manuscript hymns was shown us, consisting of sentences from our Catechisms, &c., patched together by some of the Bishop's agents. "See," said Mr. Colenso, "your Bishop has stolen these words out of our book." "Aye," said a shrewd young man, who was the spokesman of the party, "but he tells us that your fathers stole the whole of the book from his Church." Certain it is, that Popery has gained a footing in the land, and there is a call for all true Protestants to be up and doing.

On my return from Wangarei, I found that the Roman-Catholic Priest had challenged the Rev. H. Williams to a public discussion at Kororarika, in the New-Zealand language, which Mr. Williams had accepted. The discussion took place on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 26th and 27th ult. On the one side were four Roman-Catholic Priests: on the other, Mr. Williams and myself. I went to the field with much *fear and trembling*; not as to the ultimate result, but as to my own incapacity and utter unworthiness for such a situation. God, however, graciously

strengthened us, and we were *more than conquerors* through the testimony of Jesus. I could scarcely have considered it possible for men holding Ministerial offices in a professing Christian Church to be so very ignorant of Scripture; or that such men could prevaricate in the manner these did. God enabled us not only to beat down all their arguments with the plain words of Scripture, but also to preach to them *the truth as it is in Jesus*. I could not but fancy that I plainly saw the same spirit which manifested itself in many of their unhappy Church against our Reforming forefathers. They hesitated not to affirm, over and over, that our New-Zealand Testament was all false, being not the Word of God, but merely words of our own. One solitary text of Scripture—Joshua vii. 6—was all they brought forward during the whole of the first day's discussion, and this was done to defend their image worship, &c. They laboured most assiduously to get us to quit the plain Word of God; but they could not succeed.

It grieved me much to hear them tell the Natives, with a triumphant air of assurance, that, by their latest Letters, England was again returning to her right mind, and to the only true faith and Church; and that "Pusey, a great Doctor among them, is the great instrument employed by the Lord in this matter."

I do not think they will be at all desirous of encountering us again, for some time at least; and would fain hope, that both good to the Natives and glory to the Lord may arise from this meeting. It has, in a measure, opened the eyes of the Protestant community to what the Romanists really are.

[Mr. W. Colenso, *Paihia*, N.D., Nov. 17, 1841.



# How do you solve a problem like Colenso?



was unavoidably drawn into discussion with a Native Catechist of the Papist party—who had lately received from them the imposing name of Emanuel, and who—with little knowledge and less grace, yet much zeal,—defended his creed, in true Papist style, to the utter damnation of all others. I was obliged to talk with this zealot much longer than I wished, or than was profitable for myself, he having (as usual) denied the N. Testament to be the word of GOD, which, he asserted his own paltry trash to be!! Some of his arguments, which the Popish Priest had taught him, were not only ridiculous, but highly blasphemous; such as,—“that Jehovah himself hath taught us to make images, inasmuch as He made Adam & Eve, who were images before they became living beings”! and “that the first image-maker, ergo, they are to be made by us ad infin.”!—“that, the Jewish Priests bowed and worshipped before those images; ergo, the countless multitude which Popery has produced, are to be bowed unto and worshipped”!—“that their ministers abstained from profane marriage, in imitation of Christ, and in order to be extra holy like Him”!—and “that none of the Apostles were married save Peter, who, on being called to the Apostleship, immediately put away his wife”! Producing, at the same time his book (a volume of nearly 600 pages!), which contained (among a heap of rubbish) a very creditable translation of St. Matthew’s Gospel, adulterated, however, with popish notes & glosses. To this, the holy Gospel, he triumphantly appealed; asserting, that St. Peter necessarily repudiated

they not of service? what is such by them termed? Is that an evil work? &c—&c—Further, he asserted;— “that Jehovah taught Moses how to make holy images: (he being the first image-maker), ergo, they are to be made by us ad infin.”!—“that, the Jewish Priests bowed and worshipped before those images; ergo, the countless multitude which Popery has produced, are to be bowed unto and worshipped”!—“that their ministers abstained from profane marriage, in imitation of Christ, and in order to be extra holy like Him”!—and “that none of the Apostles were married save Peter, who, on being called to the Apostleship, immediately put away his wife”! Producing, at the same time his book (a volume of nearly 600 pages!), which contained (among a heap of rubbish) a very creditable translation of St. Matthew’s Gospel, adulterated, however, with popish notes & glosses. To this, the holy Gospel, he triumphantly appealed; asserting, that St. Peter necessarily repudiated

works good? are they not all good? should they not be sought after?—and admired? Is not GOD our Father? are we to copy after men, or GOD our Father? should we not seek close conformity to our Father?—and imitate Him in His good works? who made all things? what on the first day? what on the last? of what was man formed? How? Has the body life within it when first formed out of the clay? Was it then a perfect man? Was that body displeasing in GOD’s eyes? what was it? who made that lifeless body out of clay? If GOD had made it of wood instead of clay would it then have been displeasing? would not clay, or wood, made up by a skilful person very closely to resemble a man, be an imitation of that body? are not such things now made by skilful whites in your country for doctors & others? are

his own on his becoming an Apostle; and, shewing me the passage, I found, that the note, on the 14 & 15 verses of the viii. chap., plainly asserted, as a fact not to be doubted, that Peter cast away his wife on his being called!! I remarked to him, from his own book, that St. Peter’s call is mentioned in the iv. Chap., and that doubtless much took place between that period and the events recorded in the viii. chap., when our Saviour restored Peter’s wife’s mother—whose daughter was still [1849 November p.268] called Peter’s wife; and, further, I asked him how he would reconcile the note with the plain declaration of Christ, ch. v. 32. With the natural sharpness of the New Zealander, he immediately saw the dilemma in which he was placed, and, on his being called upon by our auditory to

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# The New Zealand polymath: Colenso & his contemporaries

Wellington 16–18 November 2016