



COLENZO

PROMOTING THE LIFE & WORK
OF THE REV. WILLIAM COLENZO
THE COLENZO SOCIETY INC
WADESTOWN WELLINGTON
NEW ZEALAND

COLENZO ON STACK

In a series of letters to James Hector, Editor of the *Transactions*, William Colenso repeatedly criticised one “Stack”:

1880 July 27: to Hector: *In all that he (J White) is worse than Taylor, and as bad as Stack (!!) who has not $\frac{1}{10}$ th of J. White's knowledge of the Maori lang. &c.—*

1881 October 12 to Hector: *I was much pleased in hearing from the Bishop (President), who had lately returned from the N., that the “Mao. Scholars” were also against Stack. Stack has strange crude notions.*

1881 October 16: to Hector: *You may probably think I have written rather ex cathedra in Appx. II.,—but I wish to put a stop (if possible) to all such sciolist attempts,—or, I foresee, great mischief will endure hereafter when I am gone. I have omitted a small portion of still stronger language, which I had used at our meeting; for I had often nursed Stack when a squalling brat! and knew him and his parents well. I fancy Stack has been a kind of Triton among minnows re Mao. matters, with the savards of ChristCh., (no one there knowing any thing of the Maoris,)—I am sure that he (formerly) led Haast astray in some Maori subjects: and so, I think, I told H. in a note at the time, or, at all events, to be careful, &c.—*

1882 January 8: to Hector: *Thanks many for your kind note of the 4th. (to hand last night), and for accompanying slip of Appx. II.*

I have read it over 3 times! and I cordially acquiesce in several of your proposed alterations,—which are, no doubt, real amendments for such a vol. as your “Trans.”, and I thank you for making them, for which I feel indebted: nevertheless there are a few I would rather had not been made. Still, under all the circumstances, I assent to your corrections; but, if you can allow of what I have marked red (a very small no.) to remain,—in the manner I have indicated on a separate sheet of paper enclosed,—I will thank you. I fancy, that some (at least) of my suggestions you will agree to.

I can very well understand how you came to delete & alter so largely—to tone down, as it were, what I had written & read here—from your point of view in the field: were I there, no doubt, I should have done the same:—or, rather, not altered so ably as you have managed to do. But then, with me, from my position, it is widely different in this one matter—re the Old Maoris & their language; if I know anything at all, I know of this; and I cannot allow Mr. Stack to approach my platform, or standpoint. I assure you, that the idea often occurred to me, when writing that Paper & appendices,—of you, yourself, with your superior knowledge of Geology, being opposed by some tyro, or smatterer, in that Science,—or having to take up some absurdities of his! But then came this great difference: he would have all the Geologists everywhere against him; and he could, also, yet learn from them, from Nature,

& from Books:—but, in this case (Mr Stack and myself), all such could not possibly be; and hence it comes to pass, that I (knowing so much as I do, or think I do,) am driven to speak plainly; at the same time, always desirous of giving my reasons for it....

I have frequently regretted that I did not earlier take up Mr. Stack—in his first Papers of “Ogre bands”, &c, &c.,—which, at the time, I had a great mind to do: and, I may tell you, that one reason for my not doing so, was the old steady friendship which was between his father and myself.—

Who was this Stack? And what had he done to offend?

James West Stack 1835–1919, missionary, clergyman, writer, interpreter, was born in a tent in a pa at the Puriri mission station, the son of James Stack of the Wesleyan Mission in the Bay of Islands. Colenso had known his father well and had journeyed with him, Matthews and William Williams early in 1838 from Paihia to Hicks Bay and overland to Turanga (Gisborne) and back, describing Maori settlements and customs, terrain, lists of Maori vocabulary. See biography at <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s21/1>.



James West Stack

Stack jr., based in Christchurch, had written a few papers on Māori matters, and in 1879 the *Transactions* published his *Notes on the Colour-Sense of the Maori*. Colenso, incensed at this intrusion by the “sciolist” and “smatterer” into what he perceived as his territory, (and not a glad sufferer of fools), in turn read his paper, *On the fine Perception of Colours possessed by the ancient Maoris* and submitted it for publication, omitting “a small portion of still stronger language, which I had used at our meeting”.

It was still far too heady for Hector, who calmed the language even further, leading to Colenso’s 8 January 1882 comment on the proof slips, “I can very well understand how you came to delete & alter so largely—to tone down, as it were, what I had written & read here....”

The original must have been strong stuff indeed, for the published version of his scholarly demolition of Stack’s paper falls little short of an annihilation: unambiguous in its argument and devastating in its directness.

Read it at http://rsnz.natlib.govt.nz/volume/rsnz_14/rsnz_14_00_006660.html.

**The Trans. report of the meeting at which Colenso presented this paper concludes, “A long and animated discussion followed the reading of this paper, in which the President, Mr. Colenso, Mr. Locke, and others, took part, and Mr. Stack’s views were generally opposed and condemned.”*

MAL DE MER

Colenso was a terrible sufferer from sea sickness. The fear of it prevented him from returning “Home” to England, and prevented him from taking up George Grey’s invitation to study the botany of the subantarctic islands: even from his first voyage, when he left St Ives for London, he was sick,

19 Oct 1833: This morning at 7 o’clock went on board the “Edwin” with Mr. Young, she being bound to Cardiff, intending to go by that route and so reach Bristol, but just as we got outside St. Ives Pier, I was taken sick, obliged to go below, and there continued, sick, until the next day.

Aboard the *Prince Regent* bound for Sydney,

July 1st. In ye. Bay of Biscay—great many porpoises.

July 3rd/4 At sea—Recovering from sea sickness off Oporto.

Aboard the *Blackbird* bound for New Zealand,

11 December 1833: At 8 this mornng. the P. Regent passed us, at 9 we left the heads and was sick almost directly.

12 Sick

13 do

14 Sick—making little progress—the horrid cockroaches—noise—motion. Sermon on deck, Mr. Wade—Acts II.

In a letter dated 1 September 1842 to Sir William Hooker: ashore at Hicks Bay after voyaging from Paihia aboard the *Columbine*,

I felt very much exhausted, having had three days of fasting through excess of sea-sickness....

To JD Hooker, 9 April 1864, of his return from Parliament in Auckland, after a stopover at White Island,

In returning from Auckland we were obliged, in a gale, to take refuge in the harbour of a little island off the Coast – and where I got some curious & pleasing spns of Lichens – sea-sick as I was – I was delighted, never saw such a place for Lichens!!

To JD Hooker 11 September 1865,

Sir G. Grey has been talking with me to undertake the visiting the Southern Islets, &c. – Auckland, Campbell, MacQuarrie, Emerald, – (but you know them all) – but I have been obliged to decline: it is not that I am too old, (though I can not now stand the wear & tear I have daily endured in travelling,) but, I suffer so much from sea-sickness! I never knew one to approach me in that abomination, (not even a delicate lady!) with me it does not wear off – I am as bad at the end as at the beg. of a voy., & medical men have assured me, I ought never to go to sea. But while I decline, I have a good (better?) substitute in Dr H.(ector)– whose fitness I have advocated.

To Andrew Luff (a fellow sufferer), who had returned to England, stimulating Colenso to consider going “Home”, at least for a visit, 14 November 1876,

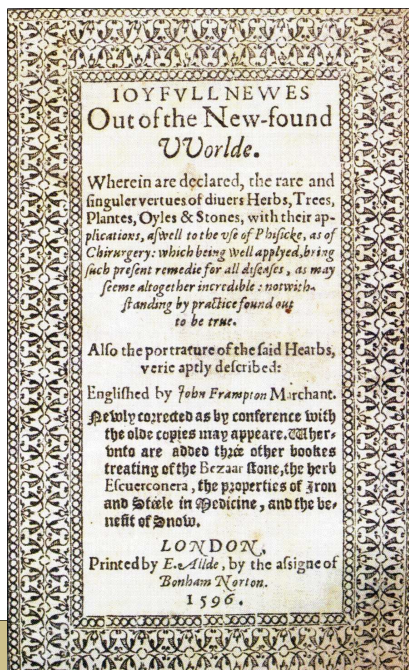
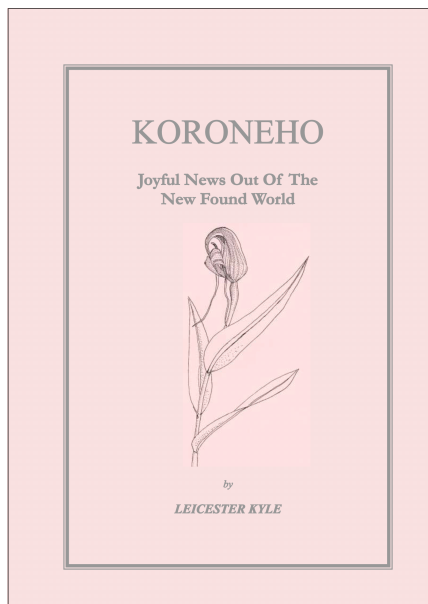
I met the other day in town with a Mr. Paterson (now, the Hon. Mr. P.) who, in '61–'63, was in the House w. me: well, we talked of old matters—& I was surprised at one thing,—he was formerly very subject to the abominable sea-sickness,—but on his last voyage to Scotland & back to N.Z. by sailing ship, was tolerably free from it! Here is hope: hurrah!

To Luff, 13 November 1877,

"Mataura" w. immigrants arrd. on 9th. (holiday) all well, as usual w. us, but one yg. man, (21) was brought on shore to Hospital & died yesterday!—It is said, "sea-sickness"—all the way! poor fellow, you & I can symp. w. him.

18 October 1897 to his nephew William Colenso, who had presumably invited him to revisit Penzance,

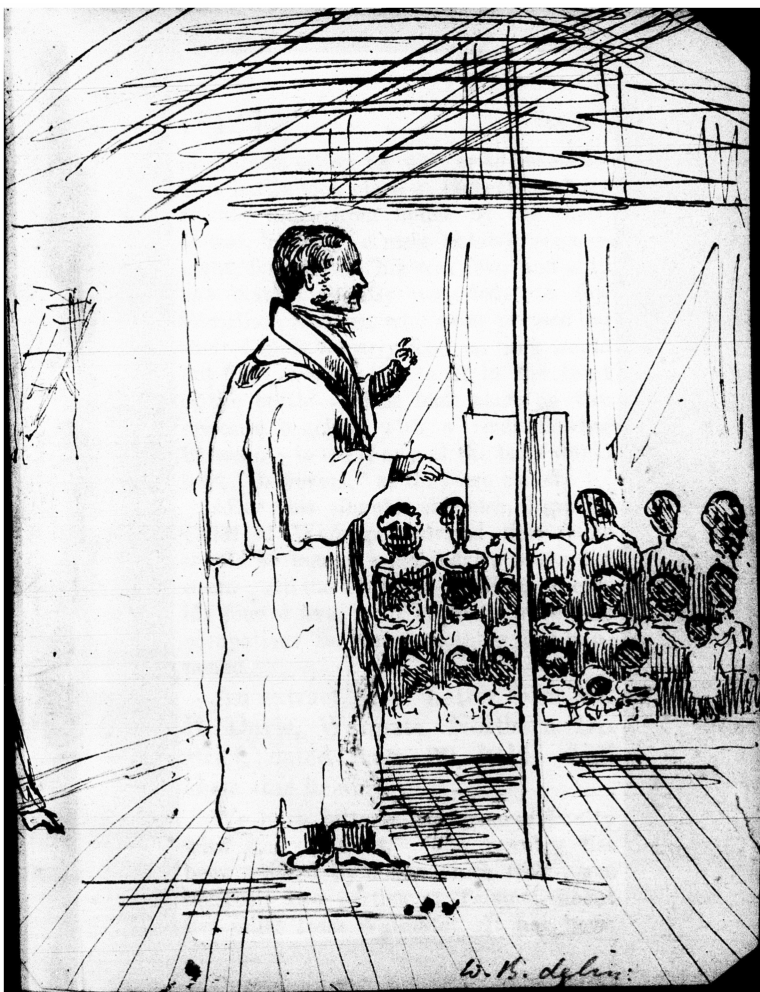
Your kind invitation to your new home in Chapel Street I thank you for.... and what is still worse is the fact of my being such a dreadful bad sailor, never recovering from sea-sickness throughout the voyage: have been warned by medical men, fellow passengers, that I ought not to go to sea at all, as I do so at risk of life: indeed I never knew of anyone like me in this respect.—



When Leicester Kyle subtitled his long postmodern poem *Joyful news out of the new found world* it was a tribute to William Colenso and his new orchid species. But it was also an allusion to John Frampton's sixteenth century translation of the Spanish physician Nicolas Monardes' excited discussion of the medicinal potential of new-world plants (as well as that of oils, stones, fur-balls, iron, steel and snow).

COTTON ON COLENZO

The Mitchell Library in Sydney holds the journals of William Charles Cotton MA (1813–1879), one of Bishop Selwyn's chaplains. They contain some fascinating sketches, among them one of a gowned and beardless William Colenso, teaching Māori boys, presumably at Waimate, drawn by "W.B."—William Bambridge, of whom Wikipedia tells us, "William Samuel Bambridge (1820–1879) was a school-teacher who accompanied Selwyn and Cotton in the Te Waimate mission, before returning to England where he became photographer to Queen Victoria."



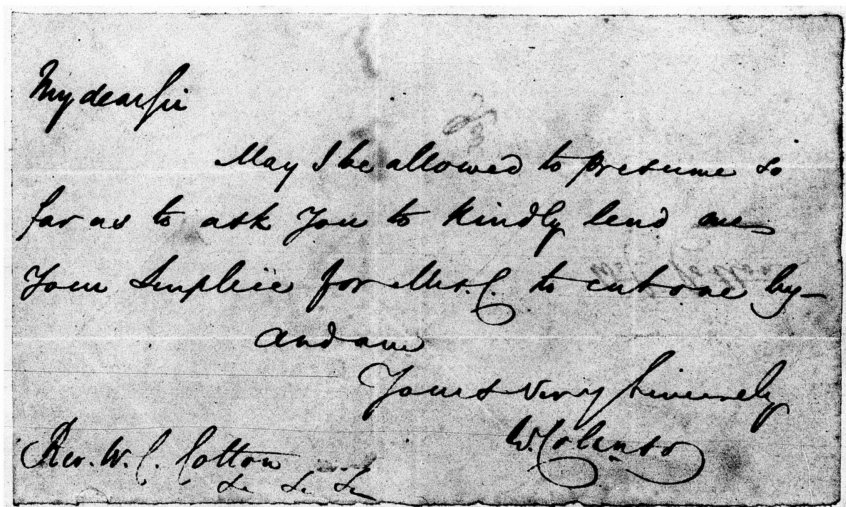
In 1843 Cotton wrote about William Colenso, then studying at Waimate for ordination,

Saturday April 20th.... Lecturing all this morning – I inflicted as severe a dose of antibumptious medicine on one of my adult pupils – “It is not more application, but more humility which you want.” – He had said that he was able to *make out* any passage of Greek or Latin which he might meet with, instancing how he did his Greek Test. – “You forget” said I, “that you are previously acquainted with the English version.” No it was not that – he could do it with any book – so I turned a passage in Thucydides – Sophocles – Aristophanes & Pousias: I begged him to convince himself that he was wrong, and if it were so, to submit to be taught grammar. He looked very sulky all lecture – and afterwards backed out from the trial, by saying it was only Botanical Latin to wh. he referred. This was too absurd – and I gave it him well – telling him to get such rubbish out of his head. The doctor might as well set himself up as a perfect Latin scholar, because he can read a physicians prescription. This is the same individual, who wrote to the late Governor (whom every body else addressed as “Your Excellency”) “My dear Sir, It should appear &c.” The subjoined is not a bad specimen. I give it to show what materials I have to work on – thank God many of them are of different stuff.



William Charles Cotton

Cotton’s “the subjoined” refers to a note Colenso had written to him,



(Today, the Rev. Cotton MA might heed Fowler's words, "Display of superior knowledge is as great a vulgarity as display of superior wealth—greater indeed, inasmuch as knowledge should tend more definitely than wealth towards discretion and good manners").

Colenso had earlier stated his views on academics in the mission field (Colenso to Church Mission Society secretaries 24 January 1840),

One remark in passing, I would beg permission to make, and that is, *That all preachers should be Ordained Missionaries, and, That all should be first tried in the field of labour before they be admitted to the solemn and sacred office of the Ministry.* Be not offended, with me, my dear Sirs, when I say, from what I have seen, and heard, and known, during more than 5 years of practical experience in the Mission Field, it is my decided opinion and firm conviction, that it is actually more needful for Missionary Students to be on probation in the Fields of Missionary Labour, than for them to be on trial within the walls of a College or Institution. A man may be able to compose a most excellent Discourse, he may write an elegant and classical Latin Essay, yea, he may pass his Greek Examination with ease and applause, and, yet, be very unfit for a Practical Missionary; and make, after all, but a very sorry figure in the field.

Stung, perhaps, by Cotton's rebuke, Colenso wrote again to the CMS secretaries on 2 October 1843,

Let it be the Society's particular aim to fill up and strengthen her Mission *here* with *evangelical preachers from England*. I will not, I dare not, make any comparisons, which are at all times invidious, but we know, alas! too well, what is meant in England by being "*educated for the Ministry*";—where the Holy office is selected and entered upon in much the same spirit as the professions of Law, Medicine, or Arms. Further, I would venture to say, my dear Sir, Hesitate about receiving sons, or sons-in-law, or relatives, or friends of Missionaries to the Heathen. If such *must* be put into the Priest's Office in New Zealand, there are other Societies than the C.M.S., and other situations than those of Missionaries. A clever moral man, or a good classic, *may* (?) fill the situation of a Chaplain, who is utterly unfit for that of a Missionary to the Heathen;—such *must* be *converted* men; such *must know* something more powerful than Baptismal Regeneration.... And, still keeping from comparison, I would further venture to say,—that *converted* men of the lower or middle classes will, in *general*, make more useful and more acceptable Missionaries than men from the higher ranks. They are better fitted to go among men of low estate, and are better able to put up with many things, which, too often, astonish and shock the finer feelings of persons educated in a higher rank of life.

eColenso is a free email Newsletter published irregularly by the Colenso Society.

Please forward to anyone interested. Back issues are at <http://www.colensostudy.id.au/>. The editor invites contributions on any matter relating to the life and work of the Rev. William Colenso FLS FRS, emailed to Ian St George (istge@yahoo.co.nz).

The cover of this issue is based on a William Bradley illustration.



St. John's College. The Estimate.

BREAD BILL.

For the Week beginning

Monday July 8 1844.

The Bishop.	<i>12 1/2</i>	per diem.
Bachelor's Mess.	<i>5</i>	do.
Mr. Chapman.	<i>2</i>	do.
Mr. Davies.	<i>3</i>	do.
Mr. Colenso.	<i>2</i>	do.
Mr. Hamlin &c.	<i>4</i>	do.
Collegiate School.	<i>12</i>	do.
Mrs. Watts.	<i>3 1/4</i>	do.
R. Hussey.	<i>1 1/4</i>	do.
Hall Dinner.	<i>10</i>	do.
Total.	<i>55</i>	Bread per diem.
Total.	<i>305</i>	Bread per week.
Total.	<i>321</i>	Flour per week.

SIGNED.

W. F. Cotton

College Tutor,

Cotton appears to have been responsible for distributing the bread, as well as for printing and teaching classical languages.

WILLIAM COLENZO FRS

By Simon Nathan

Soon after Colenso was successfully elected a Fellow of the Linnaean Society (FLS) in 1865, he started to hanker after the more prestigious position as a Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS)—the premier British scientific organisation, of which membership was restricted and highly competitive. He knew that his friend Joseph Hooker, who was well-connected in British scientific circles, had helped both James Hector and Julius Haast to gain their FRS, and hoped that he might be next in line.

In November 1869 he made a tentative approach to Hooker asking if he would support the nomination. Hooker was unenthusiastic as he thought that Colenso did not have a strong enough case to be successful, but wrote to Hector seeking his opinion. Hector was equally half-hearted, stating that “I don’t think that you would get him in if the Parsons or the Missionary Societies have any power or influence”. The matter lapsed as it was obviously not going to be successful without Hooker’s support.

Hooker’s lack of enthusiasm is understandable because at that stage Colenso had published almost no scientific papers apart from the two papers prepared for the 1865 Dunedin Exhibition. But in 1877, after he left the Hawkes Bay Provincial Council and other work, he revived his scientific interests, publishing 73 papers in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* in the next 20 years. In addition, some other manuscripts were not accepted for publication—I suspect partly because the editor, James Hector, didn’t want the *Transactions* to be completely dominated by Colenso—and Colenso published several of these at his own expense.

By 1883 Colenso felt emboldened to ask Hooker again to support his nomination as an FRS. He now had an impressive range of scientific publications covering a wide range of biological and ethnological topics. This time Hooker was supportive, and wrote to Hector with instructions:

“Colenso has signified to me his wish for an F.R.S. & when I consider the length and importance of his contribution to Science I think him most well deserving of the honour. It is most essential that he should have the signatures of all the fellows in the Colony—yourself, Buller & Haast.... To save you trouble I enclose with this notes to Buller & Haast—so kindly circulate the document & let the last signer send the document back to me”.

This was like a royal command. Hooker was a former president of the Royal Society, and if he was supportive there was no doubt that the nomination would be successful. But even he could not ensure instant results, and it took three years until Colenso was notified that he had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In July 1886 the *Hawkes Bay Herald* was able to report with some satisfaction:

“The last mail has brought the news that at a meeting of the Royal Society held on June 4th the Rev. Mr Colenso, of Napier, was made a Fellow of the Society. Not only was the honour conferred on him, but it was conferred in a manner peculiarly gratifying. There were 65 nominations, and only 15 Fellows to be elected, yet Mr Colenso’s election was unanimous. That is, if not unprecedented in the annals of the Society, a distinction rarely accorded, and Mr Colenso may well feel proud of it.”

Colenso’s achievement is all the more remarkable because he spent the later part of his life in Napier, a small provincial town lacking a scientific library, equipment, or other professional scientists with whom he could discuss ideas.

Garry J. Tee, (Department of Mathematics, University of Auckland) writes,

William Colenso's scientific interests had been much stimulated by his discussions with Charles Darwin at Paihia in December 1835, and subsequently he became a renowned botanist and ethnographer. Soon after Darwin's death in 1882, Colenso delivered an eulogy on "that great and useful man" to the Hawkes Bay Philosophical Institute [*Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, v.15 (1883), p.541].

On James Clark Ross's Antarctic Expedition (organized by the BAAS), Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911) was the surgeon–naturalist on HMS *Erebus*. At the Bay of Islands in 1841, Hooker went botanizing with William Colenso, and they remained lifelong friends. Hooker became Charles Darwin's closest friend, and President of the Royal Society of London.

Simon Nathan told of Colenso's pride in becoming a Fellow of the Linnaean Society. "Colenso noted that Hooker had helped Hector and Haast to gain the coveted initials FRS, and he wanted to join them. It took a long struggle - a story for another issue of the eColenso Newsletter" [William Colenso FLS, *eColenso*, May 2012, p.5].

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! . . . Is this not like going back generations in the history of Science, and to the very dawn of New Zealand science?' " [*The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, The Author, Wellington, 1948, p.514].



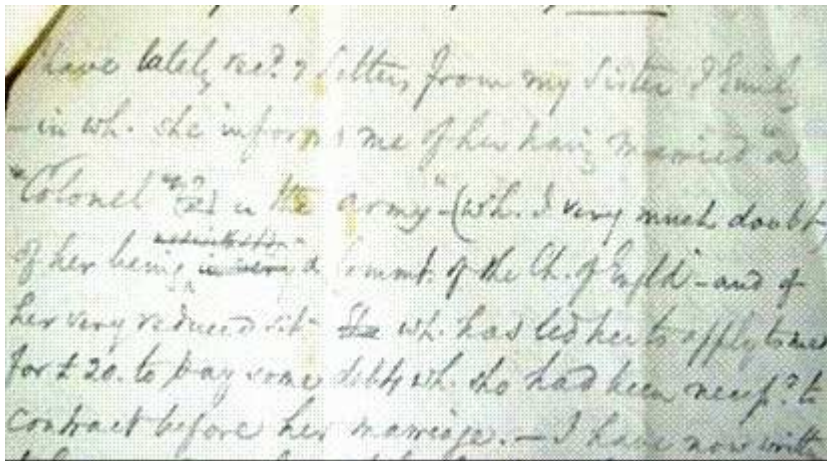
Looking up Mulgrave St Wellington from Thorndon Quay in Colenso's time as a Member of the House of Representatives, about 1865: the 2-storey Thistle Inn (centre left) still stands, Old St Paul's church is prominent on the right, Wadestown and the hill suburbs are undeveloped.

WILLIAM COLENZO'S DOUBTFUL BROTHER-IN-LAW: CAPTAIN JOHN MONTMORENCY TUCKER

By Ann Collins

[References at end, page 21].

When researching his book *The Hungry Heart* Peter Wells found handwritten notes in the National Library of Australia recording William Colenso's reaction to his sister Jane Emily's marriage in 1848:



I have lately received 2 letters from my sister J Emily in which she informs me of her having married "a Colonel (?) in the army" – (which I very much doubt) of her being a communicant of the Church of England – and of her very reduced situation which has led her to apply to me for £20 to pay some debts which she had been required to contract before her marriage. – I have now written

I have lately received 2 letters from my sister J Emily in which she informs me of her having married "a Colonel (?) in the army" – (which I very much doubt) of her being a communicant of the Church of England – and of her very reduced situation which has led her to apply to me for £20 to pay some debts which she had been required to contract before her marriage – I have now written

I am not in possession of the entire note, but he seems to follow on to remind himself to request cousin JWC (John William Colenso, later Bishop of Natal) "to pay JEC (Jane Emily Colenso) a trifle".



mem. in ltr to Saml.
– to order, next time, windows, paper.
– to req^d when I write Cousin JWC
to pay JEC. a trifle —

Peter¹ reports that William charged his brother with investigating his sister's circumstances and to assist her financially "if he is satisfied". Following is a description of my own investigation into Jane Emily's husband John Montmorency Tucker which started with the mention in the will of William Colenso's nephew² of "The Waterloo Medal formerly the property of my uncle, Captain John Tucker who was in that battle". This medal is still retained within the Colenso family. The Waterloo medal was awarded by the British Government to all soldiers present at the Battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras and Waterloo, 16-18 June 1815. It was the first campaign medal issued to all ranks, and to the next-of-kin of all those killed in action.

The Waterloo Roll Call³ lists a Captain John Tucker with the 27th Regiment of Foot, having received his captaincy 3 March 1808. There is also a note associated with Captain Tucker.

John Montmorency Tucker. Exchanged as a captain to 8th Foot 23rd May 1816. Quit service before 1824. Died at Huggen's Military Asylum at Northfleet Kent 22 March 1852.

The Carter family, in Canada, has a document signed by George III appointing "our trusty and well beloved John Tucker, Esquire, Knight of the Crescent" a captain in the 27th Inniskilling Regiment of Foot, commanded by General Francis, Earl of Moira, dated 3 March 1808.⁴

From the London Gazette archives John Tucker started as an ensign with the 28th Foot on the 18th October 1797, transferring to the 14th Foot on the 23 November 1799. He was then appointed as Lieutenant in the 27th Foot from the 14th on 19 July 1800, without purchase. As mentioned before he was made a Captain in 1808, again without purchase.



A Peninsular Medal⁵ was awarded to a Lieutenant John Tucker assigned to the 27th Regiment, who served from 16th July 1800 in Egypt (1801), Maida (4 July 1806) and Barrosa (5 Mar 1811). The first two bars were with the 1st Battalion. For Barrosa he was in command of a body of Spanish patriots. This medal was recently listed in a Spink's Auction Catalogue, with a brief biography.⁶

The 27th Regiment of Foot was raised around the Irish town of Inniskilling. It was the only Irish Foot Regiment at Waterloo.

In October 1800, the fleet carrying troops intended to capture Cadiz and the Spanish Fleet sailed for Egypt. The battalions of the 27th had contracted a severe illness, having spent 5 months in a crowded state on their transports. The 1st was left in Malta to recover and the 2nd was sent back to Lisbon. Both made it to Egypt for the Battle of Alexandria. After the reduction of Egypt both battalions were sent to garrison Malta. The regiment stayed on garrison duty in Malta 1803-04. Egypt was where John Tucker earned the title of

“Knight of the Crescent” a Turkish honour given to British Officers who served under General Abercrombie.⁷

In 1806 the 1/27th was part of an expedition to Naples under Sir James Craig, in cooperation with the Austrians and Russians under the command of Archduke Charles of Austria. The action was aborted after the Austrian defeat at Ulm. Instead Sir James Craig used his troops to take possession of Sicily in February 1806. In July 1806, the 1/27th was employed as part of Sir John Stuart’s expedition to Calabria, where it distinguished itself at the Battle of Maida on the 4th July.

In August 1806 the 1/27th returned to Sicily and was reinforced by the 2/27th, newly returned from England. Both battalions continued on garrison duty through to 1811, the 1st in Sicily and the 2nd in Malta. The regiment did not embark for Spain (and the Peninsular War) until November 1811, when it landed in Southern Spain at Alicante.

As previously mentioned John Tucker spent some of this time with the Spanish Patriots and participated in the Battle of Barossa on the 5th March 1811.

After Napoleon successfully invaded Spain in 1807 and then replaced the Spanish King with his brother Joseph, the population of Spain was so incensed that they started to resist the French occupation. By December 1808 this resistance was in the form of guerrilla warfare. It had a strong religious, patriotic and anti-French character and was conducted with remorseless, murderous fanaticism. As the insurgency spread in 1809, it made Spain “hell on earth” for the French. Over a period of five years, they killed 180,000 French soldiers without on their side losing more than 25,000.

From 1809 to 1812, General Wellington maintained a relatively defensive posture against the French. However, backed up by the Navy, he was able to keep the various independent bands and networks of insurgents well-stocked with money, weapons, ammunition and other supplies to help them sustain their insurgent operations. They also provided Wellington with strategic and operational intelligence about the French troop movements. Presumably, coordination of some of these activities was the role John Tucker played. During this time John Tucker participated in the Battle of Barossa, outside Cadiz.

It is not clear when Tucker rejoined the 1/27th, as he had no bars for any of the Battles in which it was involved – Tarragona (1813), Ordell (1813), Barcelona (1814).

In May 1814 the three Battalions of the regiment met in Bordeaux where the 1st and the 3rd were ordered to America. They arrived in Canada in August 1814, where the 1st was placed under the command of Sir Manly Power for the advance on Plattsburgh. After this was unsuccessful the 1/27th retreated to Montreal.

In November 1814 Major-General Sir Manly Power received orders to proceed with one battalion to reinforce the army at New Orleans, the major-general selected the 1/27th from his own brigade to accompany him, and that battalion embarked on the 5th November at Montreal; 10th December, arrived at Halifax; 18th, sailed; January, Bermuda; 18th February, sailed; March, Port Royal, Jamaica; on 5th sailed; on 14th anchored at the entrance of the Mississippi; on 18th sailed; April 3rd, Jamaica; on 8th sailed for England.

On May 24th the 1st battalion disembarked at Ostende, was conveyed to Ghent in boats, and there cantoned; on June 16th marched from Ghent; on 17th passed through Brussels without halting, and arrived on the morning of the 18th on the field of Waterloo.

The Inniskillings won fame at Waterloo when they saved Wellington's right without giving an inch of ground. It was acknowledged by the Duke of Wellington to have saved the centre of the line. The battalion stood in a square, all day, above the sandpit on the Charleroi Road. It was cut to ribbons and took the full brunt of a French Cavalry charge. Of the 19 Officers present 14 were wounded, 2 were killed. An adjoining regiment offered to lend the 1/27th some officers to which Major Hare refused, saying "the sergeants liked to command the companies, and I would be loathe to deprive them of such honour".⁸

The 27th Inniskillings, in the course of Ney's cavalry attacks was bombarded by a French horse battery. By the end of the battle the battalion had suffered 498 casualties from a pre-battle strength of 750. An officer from a nearby battalion, Captain Kincaid,⁹ commented that the 27th seemed to be lying dead in its square. Kincaid, a veteran of the Peninsular War, said "I had never thought there would be a battle where everyone was killed. This seemed to be it." Their square became known as the "square of the dead".

From the Waterloo Casualty List,¹⁰ Captain John Tucker, listed with the 1/27th Foot, is described as severely wounded. After he rejoined his Regiment in Paris, he was tried by a general court martial for "scandalous and infamous conduct" during November 1815 at Versailles.

Specifically, Tucker was accused of:¹¹

1. Aspersing the character of Sir Lowry Cole, Colonel Warren and the officers of the corps (found not guilty).
2. Taking away a bay mare belonging to a British regiment, effacing the regimental mark and advertising it for sale (found guilty).
3. Taking away a gray mare belonging to a foreign regiment, effacing the regimental mark and selling the mare to Lieutenant Cubigg, of the 27th regiment for 200 francs (found not guilty).
4. Opening the trunks of the late Captain Holmes and appropriating their contents for his own use (found partially guilty of acting inappropriately).
5. Burning or destroying the papers and accounts of Captain Holmes, and those relating to the regiment (found not guilty).

He was dismissed from the service. Subsequently this judgment was reviewed by Wellington and the Prince Regent, and they ordered that Tucker only be placed on half pay due to irregularities in the court proceedings. These following comments were added to the general order book and read at the head of every regiment in His Majesty's service.

"The Prince Regent further observed, that the intemperate style of the prosecutor's address to the Court, in which the prisoner was accused of disgraceful crimes, which are not supported by subsequent proof, appeared to His Royal Highness to be very reprehensible, or, if he, Colonel Warren, believed the existence of

such offences on the part of Captain Tucker, he failed in his most essential duty to the service, by not only delaying to bring them forward, but by living in habits of social intercourse with the prisoner, until he thought proper, upon irrelevant grounds, to bring him to Court Martial on the first charge, of which he was wholly acquitted.”

“His Royal Highness has been further pleased to command it to be signified to Colonel Warren, and to the Officers of the 1st Battalion of the 27th Regiment, that their conduct in general has been highly reprehensible, in assuming the power of admitting Lieutenant Fraser into the corps, after an arrangement had been made for his retirement, rather than stand the issue of a General Court Martial, and in their harsh proceedings towards Captain Tucker, who refused his concurrence to such an irregular proceeding: the steps which the latter took to obtain redress, have not only been made the subject of the charge, but the occasion of bringing forward accusations which were permitted to lie dormant, so as to give the impression to the Prince Regent, that the prosecutor was not actuated by public motives alone, in instituting the charges which, would never had been preferred, had Captain Tucker concurred in the irregular proceeding regarding Lieutenant Fraser.”¹²

Even that sentence seems not to have been implemented, as the Army List of 1817 shows that Tucker exchanged from the 27th into the 8th Foot in May, 1816.¹³

The account of the court martial is very interesting reading. In his defence John Tucker described the series of events that led to the first charge, implying that the other charges were consequences of the original events. There is also more than a hint of the resentment felt by those soldiers who had served in the Peninsular War but not been at Waterloo, which included the three companies forming the headquarters of the Battalion.¹⁴

In Bermuda, during the 1/27th travels between Canada, New Orleans and England, Lieutenant Frazer and Ensign Galbraith had charges laid against them. They were reported to have on a number occasions on the transport and in Bermuda, while under the influence of alcohol, caused rioting and also great offence to John Tucker’s wife.¹⁵ Rather than undergo a court martial the two officers resigned their commissions in the Regiment.

A Lieutenant Mark Oates was tried in January 1814 for insubordination and abusive behavior towards Captain John Tucker aboard a transport in October 1813. He was found guilty and dismissed from the Army. This was probably the same or a similar incident.¹⁶

Tucker relates a story of travelling between Halifax and Bermuda, finishing the journey off with the ship being driven on to rocks when coming into St George’s harbour: “By the powers! Old Eolus never ceased blowing his bellows, with his most determined malice, for three successive weeks, without a day’s cessation: and I know not how much longer we should have experienced the pleasure of making the floor our dinner table, had we not at length gained Bermuda.”¹⁷

Fraser turned up in Paris after Waterloo and requested reappointment to the Regiment. Colonel Warren and the Captains of the Regiment (most who were not at Waterloo) agreed to this despite John Tucker’s express disagreement. Consequently Tucker wrote a

letter to Colonel Sir Lowry Cole and another to Major General Sir Manly Power. The decision was overturned by them. Following this Tucker was “sent to Coventry” by the officers of the Regiment – other than his two brothers-in-law Joseph (2nd Battalion) and Thomas. He was also accused of malingering, using his wound as an excuse to avoid duty with the regiment. He was then arrested on the charges described previously.

An article, supporting Tucker, led to a libel action around 1817 against Robert Scott, proprietor, publisher and editor of the *Military Register* (a weekly newspaper). This action was brought by Colonel Warren. The minutes of the libel action case are even more interesting as the report published at great length the lawyer’s address outlining the libel. There is a very short account of the defense by the publisher “Mr Scott then addressed the jury in his own behalf, by reading a very long written statement” – none of this is included in the account. The publisher was found guilty and had to pay £500 damages. The proceedings of this libel action were taken in shorthand by Alexander Fraser. Alexander was the first name of Lieutenant Fraser, who tried to rejoin the regiment. Were they the same man?

In May 1816 the 8th Foot, Tucker’s new regiment, was quartered in Ireland, but left from Cork in January 1818 for Malta. The regiment was stationed in the Ionian Islands, of the coast of Greece. They were under British rule from 1815 until 1865. The first High Commissioner was Sir Thomas Maitland, nicknamed King Tom by the Greeks - not affectionately.

In January 1819 the regiment then proceeded to Corfu, and shortly afterwards to Santa Maura (on the island Lefkada, previously called Leucada) to reinforce the garrison as the inhabitants had assembled to protest against Sir Thomas Maitland’s constitution and taxes. This insurrection was quelled, then the regiment was sent to Zante (Zakynthos) for the same reason in 1821. Resentment of the English rule had increased because of the actions, including selling Parga to Ali Pasha in 1819, taken to prevent support for the Greek Independence movement. Lord Byron was an active participant in this movement.

On the 6th November 1821, the Lord High Commissioner issued a proclamation to place Zante under martial law and disarm the population. During the days that followed John Tucker’s actions led him to become the defendant in a further court martial in 1822. He was deemed “unfit to hold the King’s Commission”.¹⁸ This time he had been charged with the following:

1. Being intoxicated on the 7th Nov 1821 when the garrison in Zante was weakened during the insurrection (found not guilty).
2. For abusing his authority against some of the citizens of Zante (threatening and incarcerating them), (found guilty – but provoked by their behaviour)
3. For removing some articles from some members of the population (found not guilty).
4. Disappearing without leave during a march on the 13th Nov 1821(found guilty).

The court sentenced him to lose two years seniority and be publicly and severely reprimanded. The sentence was questioned by Sir Thomas Maitland, and then reconsidered and upheld by the court. However taking into account his previous court martial King George IV (previously the Regent) adjudged that Captain Tucker was dismissed from

the service, although in view of his long service he was allowed to keep the value of his commission – in the order of £1,800. The newspaper report seems to indicate that Sir Thomas Maitland pushed for Tucker to be dismissed. Was Tucker the public scapegoat for the brutal actions ordered by “King Tom”, to keep the Ionians from aiding their Greek brothers?

Captain John Tucker, 8th Regiment of Foot retired from the British Army 3 October 1822.¹⁹

On the 2nd May 1839 there is a letter in *The Times* that indicated that at least one officer of the 27th Regiment still resented and disowned Captain John Tucker. It was written in response to a police report that describes the decision by a magistrate to dismiss fraud charges against Captain John Tucker, of the 27th Regiment of Foot. He had been put in the New Prison a week previously, for want of bail, following prosecution by John Booth. Mr. Booth now no longer wished to proceed, after receiving a letter from the Captain stating his intention to travel to France if released, and taking into account that the prisoner had moved in the best society before the present exposure took place.

John Tucker probably did remove himself to France, most likely Nice, as the next we hear of him is when he publishes *Tales of the Camp and Cabinet* in 1844, designated as Colonel John Montmorency Tucker. These two volumes are a compilation of stories supposedly told by “several military officers, of different nations” who had assembled in Nice in the winter of 1842. These gentlemen had formed a club “for the sole purpose of intercourse and amusement, and beguiling away the time with anecdotes of their lives, military adventures, and tales, either of the Camp or Cabinet”. The first story told is that of Ramon Cabrera, “the celebrated Carlist chief”. This is possibly a clue of what Tucker was doing between 1822 and 1839.

After the Napoleonic War finished at Waterloo, *The Times* (5 April 1817) calculated that there were 500,000 ex-soldiers in a British population of 10 to 12 million. After a quarter-century of Continental wars—both the wars against Revolutionary France and the Napoleonic Wars — these men had no other employment history or trade and, therefore, often found themselves in poverty. South America's wars of independence provided many of them with an opportunity to continue their military careers and escape from the prospect of inactivity and poverty at home.

A British Legion fought under Simón Bolívar against Spain for the independence of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru. The Venezuelans called them the Albion Legion. They were composed of over seven thousand volunteers. Their greatest achievements were at Boyacá (1819), Carabobo (1821), and Pichincha (1822), which secured independence for Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, and during the last great campaign, culminating in the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru (1824), which destroyed Spanish rule in South America forever. The British Legions fought until the end of the wars, their number much depleted. The end of this war is considered to be the death of Spanish King Ferdinand VII, in 1833. Then the war disputing the succession of his daughter, Isabella, the First Carlist War (1833-1839) was fought in Spain.

It is very likely that a veteran of 20 years in the British Army, who had served with the Spanish guerillas on the Peninsula, and had been dishonorably discharged with no other trade, would have fought in these wars in South America and Spain. During the course of this military career he may have been promoted to Colonel.

He then published *The Life of the Duke of Wellington* in 1846, again as Colonel John Montmorency Tucker.

On the 16th August 1846 it was reported that he was appointed by Queen Victoria, on the recommendation of the Literary Fund Society to one of the poor benches of the Charter House. The Royal Literary Fund was established in 1790 to aid authors and their dependents in distress. The Charterhouse Hospital provided for around 80 pensioners, usually men who had been in service to the Crown. They received accommodation and food.

On the 25th August 1846 Colonel Montmorency Tucker, of Her Majesty's Service,²⁰ along with some Polish Officers and Gentlemen attended a Magistrate applying for assault warrants against a curate, his clerk, a parish beadle and a police constable. They were accused of disrupting the funeral of a Polish Officer. Colonel Tucker intimated that he was a stranger to the complaining parties but after seeing the distressed gentlemen leaving the Churchyard and hearing from bystanders what had occurred felt it his duty to assist the aggrieved parties.

On the 20th July 1848 John Tucker married Jane Emily Colenso. The banns had been read between 29th August and 12 September 1847 and the wedding had not occurred. The banns were read again in between the 28th May and the 11th June 1848 and this time the wedding eventuated. Losing his place in the Charterhouse, as a consequence of the marriage may have caused the second thoughts. In 1848, it looks as if they obtained the house in Huggens College, a private almshouse, in Northfleet, Kent. Jane at 31 was considerably younger than her husband, who was 68.

1848. Marriage solemnized at <i>St. Mary's Church</i> in the Parish of <i>Spiddington</i> in the County of <i>Huddersfield</i>								
No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Year of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
276	<i>July 20, 1848</i>	<i>John Tucker</i> <i>Jane Emily Colenso</i>	<i>Both of full age</i>	<i>Bachelor</i> <i>Spinster</i>	<i>Gentleman</i>	<i>Spiddington Green</i> <i>Spiddington Green</i>	<i>Walter Tucker</i> <i>Samuel May Colenso</i>	<i>Collector Customs</i> <i>Ironmonger</i>
Married in the <i>St. Mary's Church</i> according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, after Banns, by us, <i>John Wall Buckley</i> <i>John Tucker</i> <i>Jane Emily Colenso</i> <i>William Dwyer</i> <i>Perpetual Curate.</i> This Marriage was solemnized between us, <i>Ann Sabine</i>								

In the marriage certificate John is described as a bachelor, when he was a widower, and JEC's father is described as an ironmonger when he was a saddler. However his son William's writings refer to a shop in London in the 1820s (or earlier) which may have been an Ironmonger's shop.

In 1849 John Tucker also published his *Life and Naval Memoirs of Lord Nelson*.

In 1851 John Tucker was living in Northfleet and described as a retired army colonel. His age was not given, but he was born in Swansea, Glamorgan. He was also described as married, although his wife is not listed in the household (cannot find her in this census at all). This John Tucker was living amongst people associated with Huggens College.²¹

Between 1791 and 1803 a Walter Tucker was listed as a “searcher” for HM Customs in Swansea.²² He married Alice Mansel in 1779 and John was born on the 25th August 1780. His only surviving sister Maria was born in July 1783. His mother died in December 1783 and his father in 1810.²³

John Montmorency Tucker’s death on 22nd February 1852, after 19 days of paralysis on the right side, was registered in North Aylesford. The informant was Jane Emily Tucker, living at 19 Huggens College, Northfleet.²⁴

Jane Emily Tucker was lodging in St Pancras in 1861, not found in 1871, running a lodging house in 1881, and retired to Penzance living on her own means in 1891. She died in 1896. Her brother William, in New Zealand, did supply her with some money and described her as “poor Mrs Tucker”.²⁵ He also told his son, Wiremu, that he should consider Mrs Tucker his friend when reflecting on the annuity that he had just established for him.

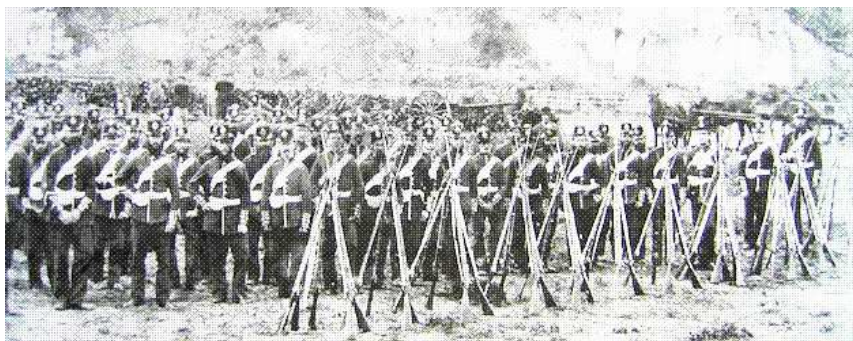
John Tucker’s biography of Wellington was republished in 1880, with an update to include the Duke of Wellington’s death and funeral in September 1852.

After delving into the life John Montmorency Tucker, it is hard to know whether he was a good man or a rogue. Why would a woman of 31 have married him when he was 68, and never remarry after her husband’s death following only four years of marriage? My impression of this man is that he was fascinating - and a talented storyteller. He lived a full life and carried on in the face of the many adversities that came his way. One observer described his military service as “one of long and arduous duties of near twenty years, actively passed in the four quarters of the globe in the service,” and him as a man “who bled in the field of Waterloo!”²⁶

References

1. Peter Wells, *The Hungry Heart, Journeys with William Colenso*, 2011, Vintage, Auckland, page 398.
2. William Colenso (1845-1942), often called the elder.
3. Charles Dalton, *The Waterloo Roll Call 1793-1814*, 1949, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London
4. Transcription from Sarah Carter’s email 8 Nov 2001.
5. A L T Mullen, *Military General Service Roll*, 2006, The Naval & Military Press
6. Spinks Catalogue, 23 July 2009.
7. George Tancred, *Historical record of Medals and Honorary Distinctions*, 1891, Spink & Son, London
8. From the <http://royalirishrangers.co.uk/waterloo.html>
9. John Kincaid of the 95th Rifles in *Adventures with the Rifle Brigade*
10. The Memorable Battle of Waterloo, Christopher Kelly, London 1817
11. *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 April 1816
12. Charles James, *A collection of the charges, opinions, and sentences of general courts martial: as published by authority; from the year 1795 to the present time (1820); intended to serve as an appendix to Tyler's Treatise on military law, and forming a book of cases and references; with a copious index.*
13. Mark Bois, Napoleonic Forum Archives, 29 May 2007

14. The Waterloo Medal was issued to all soldiers (or families) in September 1815, the Military General Service Medal was issued to surviving soldiers in 1847. Waterloo soldiers were also credited with an extra two years service and annuities were paid to widows and dependents of soldiers who died at Waterloo.
15. In the minutes of the court martial a wife and child are mentioned, she was the daughter of the Regiment's Surgeon Edward Smith.
16. Also Charles James
17. *Camp & Cabinet*, page 105
18. *Hobart Courier*, June 1822
19. Ron McGuigan, Napoleonic Forum Archives, 11 February 2008
20. *The London Times*, 25th August 1846
21. 1851 Census HO107/1609/53/22
22. Universal British Trade Directory and The Swansea Guide
23. Glamorgan Parish Records, published by www.findmypast.co.uk
24. Death Certificate, 1852/Q1/2a/376 North Aylesford, supplied by Leo Favret.
25. I don't think he was referring to her financial status.
26. Military Report, 1st May 1816 reporting on his first court martial.



The 65th Regiment in Napier c1864 with their Enfield Long Rifles and bayonets.

The principal Chief now said, he would take me in his large canoe (which had lately been made ready to sail to Manawatu,) to Ohaua, the next village S. in the straits, and so save me a half-day's heavy journey over rocks and cliffs. Breakfast over we got into the Canoe, about 60 souls, the Chief among them, and in 2 hours reached Ohaua. As usual, I got very sick from the rolling of the canoe, which unfitted me for any and every thing for the whole day.

Colenso to CMS Secretaries, 1848.