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was also put in charge of the new Maori girls' boarding school, a favourite project of the bishop. Her first child, Frances Mary, was born in February 1844 when William was, characteristically, absent on a missionary journey. Both Colensos longed to be settled on a mission station among Maori, and William began to believe that his ordination was being delayed in order to keep Elizabeth at Waimate. However, he was ordained as deacon in September 1844, and at the end of the year the family left to establish the Waitangi mission station at Ahuriri in Hawke's Bay.

Elizabeth Colenso was in an environment not unlike that of her childhood. Maori was the only language spoken, even in the home. She began a school for women and children almost immediately. But there were no other missionary families to give support. When William Colenso fell seriously ill, it was Elizabeth, five months pregnant, who nursed him for eight days and nights. In August 1845, some six weeks before the birth of their second child, Ridley Latimer, the family set out on a journey of 130 miles over rugged country to Poverty Bay where Elizabeth could be under the care of fellow missionary Jane Williams. Apart from this it seems that she never left the mission; whole years passed in which she did not see another European woman. For William there were countless reasons for expeditions; for Elizabeth this meant many weeks of solitary responsibility.

Elizabeth Colenso's journals for this period are lost, but according to William Colenso's account, their marriage had become one of form only. The discovery that William was the father of a child born in 1850 to Ripeka Meretene, a member of the household, was a terrible shock to Elizabeth. For over two years, however, she continued to conduct her school and give loving care to the child, Wiremu, before the situation became generally known. William was suspended from his ministry. While refusing Selwyn's demand that he hand the child over to Maori relatives, he accepted that Elizabeth should take Wiremu with her when she left in August 1853 for Auckland, where their two children were now at school. On her departure she had written to her husband: 'If I had no children I would *never* leave you.' But away from the isolation of Ahuriri her letters, sympathetic and affectionate, changed in tone and there was a complete severance of ties with William.

Elizabeth Colenso had some private income from land settled on her by her father. However, in 1854 she joined Benjamin Ashwell and his family at the CMS mission at Taupiri in Waikato, to assist with the boarding school for Maori girls. She taught a range of subjects including reading in Maori and English, history, arithmetic and domestic duties. The seven years she spent there, busy and happy, 'greatly strengthened' the work of the school.

In 1861 Elizabeth Colenso took her children to England to continue their education. In London she was soon engaged in philanthropic work with the Church of England. Her interest in a party of Maori, brought to England by William Jenkins, led to her presentation to Queen Victoria. She acted as interpreter, and was also sought as translator by the Colonial Office. Her major work was her contribution to the publication of the first complete Bible in Maori in 1868. The Old Testament, translated over a long period by Archdeacon Robert Maunsell and revised by a committee in New Zealand, was seen through the press by Elizabeth Colenso and the Reverend George Maunsell. It was a lengthy undertak-

ing; she was correcting proofs throughout the mid 1860s, working on the manuscripts of Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and Isaiah. Returning to New Zealand early in 1867 she helped prepare the revised New Testament for the press, correcting the printed copy, and sometimes suggesting alternative translations. She also wrote scripture stories in Maori.

In 1869 Elizabeth Colenso and her daughter returned to the old mission house at Paihia, where she started a school for Maori children at Te Tii, near the mouth of the Waitangi River. Invited to join the Melanesian mission at Norfolk Island, she taught there from 1876 to 1898, and translated works into Mota, the mission's common language. Crippled with rheumatism, though still translating, she retired to live with her daughter, Frances Mary Simcox, and her family at Forest Lakes, Otaki, where she died on 2 September 1904.

Elizabeth Colenso was 'sincere, humble, unselfish and generous'. Although she had remarkable talent, her commitment to teaching in mission schools kept her in a subordinate role. While her skill with written Maori was outstanding, the choice to spend the latter part of her life with the Melanesian mission suggests that her primary impulse was an evangelising one. JANET E. MURRAY

Bagnall, A. G. & G. C. Petersen. *William Colenso*. Wellington, 1948
Swabey, F. E. 'Elizabeth Colenso'. MS. WTU

Colenso, William 1811-1899

Printer, missionary, explorer, naturalist, politician

C23

William Colenso was born probably on 7 November 1811 and was baptised on 13 December 1811 in Penzance, Cornwall, England. He was the eldest child of Samuel May Colenso, a saddler and town councillor of Penzance, and his wife, Mary Veale Thomas, the daughter of a solicitor. Privately educated by a local tutor, Colenso was apprenticed to a printer at St Ives in 1826, learning the craft which was to take him to New Zealand eight years later.

In 1833 he began work with the London firm of Richard Watts, printers to the Church Missionary Society. Through this contact, and some writing for a religious journal, Colenso came to the attention of the CMS. At the time the society was looking for someone to run a small printing press at Paihia in the Bay of Islands. Colenso secured the job and departed on the *Prince Regent* in June 1834. He arrived at Paihia on 30 December on the schooner *Blackbird* from Sydney.

The failure of the CMS to supply proper equipment and stationery for his small Stanhope press hampered Colenso's work for the first few years. He showed great ingenuity, and his early productions were a considerable achievement. The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand was a 16 page translation into Maori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, which appeared on 17 February 1835. More ambitious was the production of 5,000 copies of William Williams's Maori New Testament. The first of these 356 page books were produced in December 1837. Maori demand was high: a Maori leader in Kaitaia sent a messenger for a copy, bearing the only gold sovereign Colenso had seen in the country. His next major undertaking was 27,000 copies

of the Book of Common Prayer in Maori. These publications came at a critical time for the missions, which had made little progress in their first 15 years. But from 1830 the pace of conversions quickened, as the desire for European goods increased, along with the mana of the missionaries themselves. Colenso's output attracted great Maori interest and increased the authority and extent of missionary influence.

By 1840 Colenso had produced over 74,000 copies of various books and pamphlets, not all religious publications. In October 1835 the first tract produced in English was printed by order of the British Resident, James Busby, warning settlers about the imperialist ambitions of Baron Charles de Thierry. Over the following nine years other official notices and publications appeared, including the first New Zealand government *Gazette* on 30 December 1840. Colenso's most memorable work of this sort was the printing of the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi on 17 February 1840. At the signing his cautious representations to Lieutenant Governor William Hobson that many Maori were unaware of the meaning of the treaty were brusquely set aside. His observations recorded at the time were published as *The authentic and genuine history of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi* (1890), the most reliable contemporary European account of the signing.

At the Bay of Islands his growing enthusiasm for natural history was boosted by the brief visit of Charles Darwin on the *Beagle* in 1835. Although Colenso's skills were those of the collector, he did receive some systematic training through the visit in 1838 of Allan Cunningham, the New South Wales government botanist. This six month sojourn, together with that of Joseph Dalton Hooker in 1841, provided Colenso with useful contacts and friendships, which allowed him to develop his interests.

There was plenty of scope for collecting on Colenso's many journeys. His impatience to expand the missionary aspect of his job drove him to carry the word to districts outside the mission fold and unknown to Europeans. Helped by his rapid grasp of Maori he extended his journeys within Northland, and with William Williams and Richard Matthews took his first overland trip down the East Coast from Hicks Bay to Poverty Bay in 1838. The main objective was to find a mission site, but Colenso botanised and established useful contacts with East Coast Maori.

In 1841–42 and 1843–44 Colenso undertook more ambitious, inland explorations. On the first he travelled from Hicks Bay to Turanganui, the site of William Williams's new mission station near present day Gisborne. Heading south and then westward he explored Waikaremoana and the Urewera region. This traverse presented remarkable opportunities for plant collecting. He adopted the rather unsystematic practice of stuffing botanical specimens down the front of his shirt while on the move. Leaving the Urewera, he travelled to Rotorua, Matamata, Waikato and home to the Bay of Islands via the Manukau and Kaipara harbours.

The journey from October 1843 to February 1844 to select a Hawke's Bay mission site was the longest Colenso undertook. He travelled the now familiar East Coast from Hicks Bay, and then embarked at Turanganui on the *Columbine* with William Williams and landed on the Wairarapa coast at present day Castlepoint. With their Maori guides and bearers they walked north to the

Ahuriri district. A small area on the banks of the Waitangi Stream, near present day Clive, was eventually selected for the mission. After moving north to Wairoa Colenso went inland to Waikaremoana and the Urewera country, scrupulously compiling a census of the remote villages. He returned to Paihia via Tauranga, Waikato, Otahuhu and Kaipara Harbour.

By 1840 Colenso had tired of both his task as a printer and what he perceived as the high church establishment in the Bay of Islands. His somewhat dogmatic, self-scrutinising form of evangelism sought an outlet in missionary activity in remote areas. The CMS, fearful of his proselytising zealotry, fobbed off his applications. Bishop G. A. Selwyn's establishment of St John's College at Waimate North only increased Colenso's persistence, and the bishop reluctantly accepted him as a candidate for ordination.

On 27 April 1843 at Otahuhu, Auckland, Colenso satisfied one of Selwyn's prerequisites for ordination by a marriage (arranged and subsequently loveless), to Elizabeth Fairburn, daughter of the CMS lay missionary W. T. Fairburn. Their first child, Frances Mary, was born a little over nine months later. On 22 September 1844 Colenso was ordained deacon and on 13 December headed south with his wife and daughter to take over the new mission station in Hawke's Bay. Nine months later, in September 1845, a son, Ridley Latimer, was born.

Colenso's responsibilities in his new job were enormous. His parish stretched as far south as Palliser Bay and beyond the Ruahine Range to the upper reaches of the Rangitikei River. The missionary pursued unregenerates throughout this huge area with a fervour which bespoke his aggressive spirituality, his taste for travel and his need to escape from a tortuous and decaying domestic situation. Each spring and autumn he journeyed south to Palliser Bay and sometimes to Wellington, holding religious services and baptising Maori. While his initial success was impressive, as the years went by his impact diminished and many Maori fell away, offended by Colenso's intolerance and haughtiness.

A zeal to convert, to explore and to botanise was behind Colenso's ambition to cross the Ruahine Range to the upper Rangitikei district, known as inland Patea. With a Maori guide and five bearers he made his first attempt one month after arriving at Ahuriri. But the western villages were deserted and the party was forced to return, short of supplies and energy. A successful crossing was achieved two years later, but from the western side. In February 1847 Colenso travelled from Ahuriri to Lake Taupo. Heading south from the lake he crossed the Onetapu and Rangipo deserts to the banks of the Moawhango River, reaching the fortified pa of Matuku. Two days later, ill and weak, he crossed the range which had defeated him in 1845. In his remaining years at the mission he made five more visits to the inland Patea villages.

The four years before Colenso's suspension in 1852 were times of increasing dissension and difficulty at the Hawke's Bay mission. His inflexible, overbearing and humourless nature led to friction with some of the foremost Maori leaders. His opposition to Maori land sales earned him the hostility of the growing number of settlers in Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay, and threatened conflict with Donald McLean. His relationship with his fellow missionaries and the Anglican establishment deteriorated further after 1845. When the missionary with

such a highly developed sense of sin brought disaster on himself, there were many who took quiet pleasure in his misfortunes.

Ripeka Meretene, of Ngai Tapuhara hapu of Ngati Kahungunu, had been brought from Paihia by Colenso as a member of his household. Seeking solace from the coldness of his marriage, Colenso began an affair with the girl, probably in 1848. When Ripeka married Hamuera Te Nehu in 1850 she was already carrying the missionary's child. A boy, Wiremu (William), was born on 28 May 1851. Shortly after, Elizabeth Colenso learned of her husband's infidelity. In September 1852 her own children were taken to Auckland by her brother John Fairburn and she followed with Wiremu a year later. The child was not accepted by the Fairburn family and was sent to relatives in the north before returning to his father's care in 1861. But Colenso did not see his wife and daughter again. In November 1852 he was suspended as a deacon and dismissed from the mission.

For four years Colenso became a virtual recluse, without family and with few friends, living apparently from trading and land sales. Despite a fire at the mission and Selwyn's injunction that he should leave, he stayed on at Waitangi. For a man of such self-righteousness, who had earlier ruthlessly suppressed the 'worldly disposition' he had noticed in himself, and who had chastised Maori for adultery, these were no doubt years of inner torment. He became a figure of ridicule among the Maori community he had enjoined against sin.

When he emerged from obscurity in 1858 Colenso entered the fray of provincial politics, against the local runholders. On 16 February 1859 he was elected to the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council for Napier Town, and became provincial auditor and later provincial treasurer, as well as a member of the provincial executive. In 1861 he was elected to the General Assembly, representing Napier, and held the seat until ousted by Donald McLean, backed by the runholders, in 1866. Although a conscientious member of both provincial council and General Assembly, Colenso was a failure as a politician. He lacked tact, an ability to listen and a capacity to compromise. He lost no opportunity to speak in Parliament, but his speeches were prolix and obscure. He took stands on matters of principle which were often unclear to all but himself.

Although he remained on the provincial council until its abolition, Colenso increasingly turned to writing and botanical work. He published a large number of scientific papers and in 1865 was commissioned by the General Assembly to produce a Maori dictionary. Funding ran out before its completion, leading to more acrimony. He continued to work on it until his death, but only a section was published. This met with considerable criticism. Much more valuable were the historical pamphlets describing the early years at Paihia, the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, and his own inland explorations. In his final years Colenso was regarded as something of a character, a man who had outlived his adversaries. He received a tolerance denied him in his more active years. In 1894 his suspension as deacon was revoked and he was readmitted to the Anglican clergy. He died at Napier on 10 February 1899.

Colenso was a man of great energy, dedication and perseverance. His journeys revealed his courage and endurance, and paradoxically paved the way for the settlement he had opposed. Although he was not a system-

atic scientist, his botanical collecting was of value to others and was acknowledged by Hooker. Colenso founded the printing industry in New Zealand, and set high standards notwithstanding the inadequacies of his equipment.

However, in all matters involving human relations Colenso's career was an unhappy one. Despite his genuine concern for the Maori people he saw them as fickle children, and his behaviour towards them was overbearing. He could be crudely undiplomatic and insensitive to their traditions and sense of honour. His narrow religious views and self-righteous behaviour offended his missionary colleagues. The charges of a lack of spirituality he aimed at them earned him the undying enmity of George Selwyn and William Williams. In politics he revealed a lack of skill and an uncompromising nature. With his quick temper and capacity to harbour a grudge he often descended to bitter and vindictive personal attacks. Unsympathetic to moral laxity in others, when his own great tragic moment came there was no one to sympathise with him.

DAVID MACKAY

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Colenso, W. *Excursion in the northern island of New Zealand*. Launceston, 1844

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Collier, Jeanie 1791/92?–1861

Runholder

C24

Jeanie Collier was born probably in 1791 or 1792, at Monimail, Fife, Scotland, one of a family of seven children. Her father, Robert Collier, was a soldier, who had served in Holland with the 94th Regiment of Foot. His wife, Antonia Ewing, was from Yorkshire. Little is known of Jeanie Collier's early life. As a young woman she lived with the rest of her family at Ardock Cottage, Cardross; later she had her own household at Baile Bruiche, Dunoon. She remained single.

In 1854 one of her married sisters, Leslie Thomson, who had been widowed in 1842, died leaving four sons. The same year the resourceful Jeanie Collier, now in her early 60s, brought three of her orphaned nephews to New Zealand, via Australia. They were Leslie Collier, aged 18; James Elliot, aged 16; and Andrew, aged 14. The eldest brother, Robert James, aged 21, was excluded from the emigration plan by his disapproving aunt because of his dissolute habits. Jeanie's brother, James Collier, who was aged about 40, came too. He was probably backward: she managed his affairs and left him an annuity but did not buy land for him.

In order to provide her nephews with occupations, Jeanie Collier took up land in South Canterbury, becoming the first recorded woman runholder in New Zealand. In November 1854 she applied for runs No 35 and No 36, which took in Crown waste lands from the Otaio River south to the Hook River. The pastoral licence issued on 1 February 1855 charged an annual rental of £7 2s. 6d.; each run comprised 28,500 acres and was estimated to carry 7,125 sheep, or cattle in proportion. She also bought some sections near the main area of land, which was known as Otaio station. In 1856 Run No 36