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**Culture, politics, religion and language
in the letters of French Roman Catholic
missionaries in 1840 New Zealand:
An analysis and translation**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in French, The University of Auckland, 2018.

Abstract

My thesis comprises a documentary translation of letters written in 1840 by Bishop Pompallier and the French Marist missionaries working with him in New Zealand, a cross-disciplinary interpretation and analysis of the source text, and analysis of the translation strategies used.

My translation contributes to knowledge about New Zealand's history and culture by enabling access to the French missionaries' letters for the first time in English in sequential, unabridged form, thus providing new perspectives on early colonial New Zealand and a counter-balance to the predominantly Anglophone views available until now.

I evaluate the extent to which the writings of Pierre Bourdieu on *habitus*, capital, field, and power, and of Jacques Derrida on language and meaning, have been useful in guiding my analysis and interpretation of the language used by the French missionaries.

I use Bourdieu's analytical tools to examine relationships within the Catholic mission, and to show how relationships between the British, the French missionaries and Māori in 1840 New Zealand were shaped by earlier historical events. Relevant archival materials provide a historical context for these cross-cultural encounters. The writings of Māori scholars and the records and findings of the Waitangi Tribunal (2014) have enabled me to gain some access to the views of 1840 rangatira and to help establish the contextual background for the French Marists' letters.

I argue that Derrida's views on language and translation, as exemplified in *la différance*, *la trace* and the impact of retentive and protentive meaning on understanding, open up the possibilities of translation so that it is more fluid, flexible and responsive than notions of strict equivalence would permit, thus enabling the source text to live on in a new and ever-changing context.

Database searches indicate that Bourdieu and Derrida have not previously been used in New Zealand to inform analysis of translation strategies and procedures.

My analysis of cultural lexis used by the early Catholic missionaries shows that while they did not accept the validity of Māori spiritual beliefs, changes in their use of language reflect their growing understanding of, and respect for, Māori and Māori culture.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to The University of Auckland for the award of a Doctoral Bursary (2015, 2016) and a Faculty of Arts Scholarship (2017).

I am most grateful to my main supervisor, Dr Trudy Agar, for her keen insights and knowledge of translation practice and for making supervision sessions so enjoyable. My thanks to my co-supervisor, Dr Vanessa Enriquez Raido, for her guidance on translation theory.

I thank Professor Margaret Mutu and Dr Arapera Ngaha for help with interpretation and translation of Māori phrases used in the source text, and Professor Dame Anne Salmond for providing documentation of evidence given at Waitangi Tribunal hearings.

I am grateful to librarians at The University of Auckland, particularly Mark Hangartner. My thanks to Fr Carlo-Maria Schianchi, Society of Mary Archives, Rome; and to the staff of: Akaroa Museum Archives; Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives; Christchurch Catholic Diocesan Archives; Colin Library, Auckland; Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione, Rome; Kinder House Theological Library, Auckland; Marist Archives, Wellington; St Mary's College Archives, Auckland; and the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

The Marist Fathers have generously provided me with resources and information. My thanks to Frs Larry Duffy, Rome, for copyright permissions; and to Frs Jan Snijders, The Netherlands; Mervyn Duffy and Tony Williams, Auckland, for help with matters related to the first Marist mission to New Zealand; and Fr Justin Taylor, Auckland, for providing access to his then draft biography of Fr Colin (2018).

My thanks to Dr Ellen Carter, Rev. Dr Allan Davidson, Jill Ellis, Brenda Hannay, Emeritus Professor Mac Jackson, Dr Robert Jackson, Dr William Jennings, Dianne Moffitt, Associate Professor Maxine Pfannkuch, Associate Professor Peter Tremewan, and Dr Paul Vincent for their advice and guidance.

My love and thanks to family and friends, who have given me unfailing support and encouragement.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

My thesis comprises an analysis and a translation of a selection of letters written by Bishop Jean-Baptiste Pompallier and French Marist¹ Roman Catholic (Catholic) missionaries in the Pacific, 1836-1854, to Fr (Father) Jean-Claude Colin, Marist Superior General, in Lyons, France. Published in 2009-2010 as *Lettres reçues d'Océanie (LRO)*, [*Letters from Oceania*], a ten-volume collection of 1373² letters, edited by Fr Charles Girard S.M. (Society of Mary) and published in French but not yet translated into English in sequential, unabridged form,³ the letters are valuable primary sources⁴ of information about life in early to mid-19th century Oceania, including Australia, Fiji, Futuna, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Rook, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu, Wallis, Woodlark, and New Zealand. The 333 letters written from New Zealand⁵ represent 24.25% of the full collection.⁶ From these, I have selected 31 letters written mainly in 1840 as the focus of my thesis and translation. However, as these letters should be seen in the context of the entire collection, I cite other

¹ I distinguish here between Pompallier and his missionaries as Pompallier was not a Marist (member of the Society of Mary). However, I use "Marist" to refer succinctly to all the French missionaries, including Pompallier, who were Marist priests or Brothers, were associated with the Marists, or were working under Pompallier as laymen in the New Zealand mission, 1838-1850. See pp.37-38 for discussion of the significance of this difference between the bishop and his men.

² This figure includes eight complementary letters (Girard, 2010, 10, pp.1-19).

³ Fragments of the *LRO* have been translated in recent scholarly articles. A co-operative project for translating selections from the *LRO*, overseen by Fr Mervyn Duffy, Auckland, is published on the *Marist Studies Wiki*, but the translations are not necessarily complete versions of the letters and are not peer-reviewed. A recently published (2015) English translation of *Lettres des missionnaires maristes en Océanie, 1836-1854 : anthologie de la correspondance reçue par Jean-Claude Colin, fondateur de la Société de Marie pendant son généralat*, edited by Girard, comprises excerpts from a selection of letters from all over Oceania. Of the two letters that coincide with my selection for translation (docs 52 and 85), only doc.85 is translated in full in the *Anthologie*.

⁴ "Girard's opus will be the single most most [sic] important foundational contribution to Pacific history in its fullest extent since J.C. Beaglehole's magisterial editions of James Cook's *Journals*" (Hugh Laracy, 2007, pp.383-4).

⁵ This includes all letters written from New Zealand and those written by New Zealand missionaries on voyages to Australia or France if the missionaries were at the time primarily based in New Zealand.

⁶ Girard (2009) states the collection comprises all the letters received from Oceania by the Marist Fathers' general administration, as well as letters sent to family and friends through the central house in Lyons from 1836 to 1854 (Vol.1, p.ix). However, it is clear that, for a variety of reasons, many letters went missing. An unexplained gap is evident in the letters written from New Zealand from 1846-1849 inclusive. Only ten letters have been published for this four-year period, an average of 2.5 letters per year, compared with an average of 24.8 letters per year over the remaining 13 years of the 1838-1854 period of the New Zealand *LRO*. Perhaps Pompallier's absence from New Zealand 16 April, 1846, until he returned on 11 February, 1850, no longer responsible for the Marists, meant a reduction in conflict so fewer letters were written. Additionally, many letters may have been lost on unreliable ships, including frequently used whaling boats. It is also noteworthy that of the 333 New Zealand letters published in the *LRO* 1838-1854, only 16 were written to family members, although other letters might have been sent directly to family members, rather than through Colin.

letters from the *LRO* to clarify and contextualise some of the language and content of my primary selection.

The choice of a predominantly 1840 timeframe for my translation reflects my wish to present a publishable high-interest translation that contributes to knowledge about New Zealand history and culture. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on 6 February, 1840, and consequential changes in Māori-Pākehā relationships mean that the year has a particular, and high, significance for New Zealand readers. It is also an interesting year in the history of the Catholic mission to New Zealand as it marks the fomentation of irreconcilable problems in the mission. A further reason for basing my selection on a particular year is that my translation will thus provide an uninterrupted, but representative, selection from the *LRO* that will be able to be built on and extended by other translators. As the selected letters should be seen in the context of the entire collection, I cite other letters from the *LRO* to clarify and contextualise some of the language and content of my primary selection.

The structure of my thesis, a dissertation followed by my translation as an appendix, complies with and is analogous to University of Auckland requirements for a PhD thesis accompanied by a corpus of creative work. Thus my thesis integrates theory and practice, with the two parts distinct yet interdependent and presenting a reflective approach to the translation process.

The *skopos* or 'purpose' (Hans Vermeer, 1989/2004, p.227) of my work is to give Anglophone readers access to the voices of the French missionaries commenting on New Zealand, its people, its cultures and its politics, as they saw it 179 years ago in 1840. In determining this purpose, I have considered the options identified by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1813/2004): "Either the translator leaves the author in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him". I have chosen the first option as the one best suited to the translation of primary historical documents in order to preserve their authenticity.

Schleiermacher's view that, if this option is chosen the translator should endeavour "to compensate for the reader's inability to understand the original language" (p.49), has encouraged me to develop a "documentary translation" (Christiane Nord, 1991) and analysis of the source text (ST). Nord explains that documentary translations "serve as a document of an SC [source culture] communication between the author and the ST recipient" (p.72).

The significance of a documentary translation is that its focus is on the ST in which a “source-culture sender communicates with a source audience via the ST under source-culture conditions” (p.138). Christina Schäffner (2002) further explains that “a documentary translation serves as a document of a source culture communication between the author and the ST recipient reproducing certain aspects of the ST or the whole ST-in-situation for the TT recipient, who is conscious of ‘observing’ a communicative situation of which s/he is not part” (p.44). (See also Appendix, doc.52, n.189.) Jeremy Munday (2012, p.126) observes that such translations are, and are intended to be, recognized as translations. In preparing the translation for publication I will provide a translator’s introduction that documents “the ST situation in the [target] text environment” (Nord, 1991, p.73) so that the TT reader is aware that the text is a translation, and is offered a means of understanding differences between the contexts of the ST and those of the TT.

Consequently, cognisant of bonds of loyalty both to the ST writers and TT readers, I have tried to ensure that my translation respects the intentions of the ST writers and addresses the needs of the target culture audience (Nord, 1997, pp.125-127). I have used the pragmatic translation procedures endorsed by proponents of documentary translation to mediate between the ST and TT (target text) cultures. I have used footnotes as the least intrusive and most economical way of conveying knowledge that is implicit in the ST but otherwise would not be readily accessible to the TT reader; “exoticizing translation” strategies (Nord, 1991) “to preserve the ‘local colour’ of the source text” (pp.72-73); and, to a lesser extent, “foreignizing translation” (Lawrence Venuti, 1995, p.16) that “resists domestication, fluency, and transparency” (Edwin Gentzler, 2001, p.39) and so gives emphasis to the cultural difference of the French language and to the foreignness of the French Marists’ attitudes to New Zealand in 1840. For instance, I have retained ST religious, political and naval titles in French so that the translation retains some of the exoticism and colour of the ST and is clearly distinguishable from accounts written by British missionaries in the same period.

I use Pierre Bourdieu’s analytical tools of *habitus*, “capital”, “field”, and “power” (see pp.36--38) to interpret past contextual factors, and immediate power relationships, that infuse the language used in the 1840 New Zealand *LRO*. These tools support my examination of the religious, social and political experiences that formed French and British missionaries and British government agents before their arrival in the country and influenced their attitudes and actions in New Zealand. The relevance of Bourdieu’s framework for sociological analysis to both the practice and theory of translation is identified in, for example, *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Michaela Wolf, 2007), in which the author

opens her argument with the now well-accepted view that translation is “necessarily embedded within social contexts” (p.1). The importance of Bourdieu’s analytical framework for studying factors that condition power relations inherent in religious hierarchies continues to be affirmed (see, for example, Michele Dillon, 2019).

Jacques Derrida’s understanding of translation theory and practice (1972/1982a, p.14);⁷ 1985a, pp.165-208;⁸ 1985b, pp.91-162;⁹ 2002, p.19;¹⁰ 1999/2004, pp.423-446;¹¹ 1987/2008, pp.1-6;¹² language and meaning, expressed in his concept of *la différance* (1968/1982a, pp.1-27); his (1972/1982b) views on the “iterability” (p.315), or repeatability, of the written word; the “essential drifting” of meaning (p.316); and his (1998) view that meaning is determined by the specific context of lexical usage (p.79), although the contexts themselves are infinitely variable (1972/1982b, p.320), have led me to consider the validity of notions of equivalence as outlined by translation theorists from Eugene Nida (1964/2004) to Susan Bassnett (2014). In addition, I consider the extent to which Derrida’s (1979) ideas on the relationship between text and context (p.84); *la différance* (1968/1982a, pp.8-9); and *la trace* (1968/1982a, p.13) support close reading and interpretation of the ST and techniques for encoding the ST into the TT.

I demonstrate, through analysis of the language used by French Catholic missionaries writing about culture, politics and religion in 1840 New Zealand, that the relationship between text and context is not only intrinsic to meaning but has at least two separate dimensions related to Derrida’s views on the impact of broad context and infinitely varying specific contexts on determining meaning (see Chs.5 and 6). One of the challenges in developing my translation has been how to transfer the ST meaning,

⁷ “[T]ranslation [is] as it always must be, a transformation of one language by another.”

⁸ E.g. “The translation will truly be a moment in the growth of the original, which will complete itself *in* enlarging itself” (p.188).

⁹ E.g. “Meaning has the commanding role, and consequently one must be able to fix its univocality or, in any case, to master its plurivocality. If this plurivocality can be mastered, then translation, understood as the transport of a semantic content into another signifying form, is possible” (p.120).

¹⁰ “Now, ‘everyday language’ is not innocent or neutral. It is the language of western metaphysics, and it carries with it not only a considerable number of presuppositions of all types, but also presuppositions inseparable from metaphysics, which, although little attended to, are knotted into a system.”

¹¹ E.g. “A relevant translation would therefore be, quite simply, a ‘good’ translation, a translation that does what one expects of it, in short, a version that performs its mission, honors its debt and does its job or its duty while inscribing in the receiving language the most relevant equivalent for an original, the language that is the most right, appropriate, pertinent, adequate, opportune, pointed, univocal, idiomatic, and so on” (p.426).

¹² E.g. “[...] I clearly understand translation as involving the same risk and chance as the poem” (p.6).

which reflects its 19th century context, to a 21st century target audience (TA) for whom differences in time, place, religion and knowledge of culture and history exemplify Derrida's (1968/1982a) views on constantly changing meaning. Database searches¹³ indicate that Bourdieu and Derrida have not previously been used in New Zealand to inform analysis of translation strategies and procedures.

The implicit contextual background of the religious and political cultures underlying the text of the *LRO*, as well as implied and explicit understandings of Māori culture, need to be made as clear as possible to the TT reader. Snell-Hornby's observation that "the term translation has since the early 1980s been broadened greatly from its original, strictly linguistic sense to include aspects of sociology, ethics, postcolonial studies, nonverbal communication, new fields of interest" (p.48) supports my analysis of the broad context of the *LRO*, as well as of coded, non-verbal, and power relationships signalled in the missionaries' letters. I have taken Derrida's (1988a) aphorism "*Il n'y a pas de hors-texte*" (p.148) together with theories on the relationship of language and culture, particularly as espoused by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990a) and Mary Snell-Hornby (2009), who sees culturally oriented translation "as another clear swing away from the rigidly linguistic, retrospective orientation as based on the concept of equivalence to the source text, towards the socioculturally oriented, prospective orientation based on the function of the translation for the target recipient" (p.42) as the basis for my analysis of context as it affects the translation of the *LRO* texts (see p.49 below). At the same time, I accept Nord's (2016) recommendation that in their role as mediators between members of two cultures, translators "should be loyal towards all their partners in the intercultural interaction" (p.571).

The views of Maria Tymoczko (1999, 2007, 2010) (see pp.14-15, 17, 72) and Douglas Robinson (2014) (see p.104) on postcolonial power relationships have influenced my selection of material to translate (see pp.14-17) and my attitude towards the ST. Tymoczko's (2010) view of translations "as records of cultural contestation and struggles rather than (...) simple linguistic transpositions or creative literary endeavors" (p.3) reinforces the value of analysing postcolonial texts to reveal the "[a]symmetrical power relationships" (Munday, 2012, p.205) implicit in accounts of social, cultural, and political connections.

¹³ Databases searched include: Australia/New Zealand Reference Centre, Digital Dissertations, EThOS e-theses online service, Google Scholar, Informit, jstor, Linguistics and Language Behaviour abstracts, MLA International Bibliography, Periodicals Archive Online, Proquest Dissertations and Theses Global, Scopus, The New Zealand Index, Te Puna New Zealand Libraries, Translation Studies Bibliography.

While the *LRO* do not deal primarily with the question of postcolonial relationships, these, as an intrinsic part of the 19th century New Zealand missionary context, are always implied in the background of the letters, although the level of individual writers' awareness of their role in the colonisation process is not always clear. I explore some of these ideas in my discussion of power (pp.38, 104-106), Servant's and Pompallier's eye-witness references to the Treaty of Waitangi (pp.70-77), the unsuccessful bid of the French to claim Akaroa and thence the South Island (pp.77-79), the French missionaries' relationships with Māori, where contestations of power were not one-sided (pp.100, 127), and power struggles within the Marist mission (pp.101-104).

I have researched the cultural, political, and religious environments of the French Catholic missionaries working in New Zealand in 1840, through archival and published texts, and personal communication with Marist Fathers, and experts in Māori history, Māori spirituality, and te reo Māori. In relation to the authenticity of the letters published in the *LRO*, Girard states that he has reproduced the manuscript documents as faithfully as possible, showing erasures and corrections, and indicating in footnotes what the previous versions had been.¹⁴ Checks of letters published in the *LRO* against microfilms of the originals have very occasionally led to the identification of errors in transcription (see Appendix, docs.56[5], n.219; 77[3], n.306).¹⁵

I integrate a variety of approaches, including historical, postcolonial and gender-based analyses, using tools from linguistics, socio-linguistics, and translation studies to interpret the language used in the *LRO*. These approaches are reflected in my multi-layered translation (Nord, 1997, p.126; Schäffner, 2002, p.44); my hermeneutic reading and analysis of the ST; and in the translation procedures used in the TT. This cross-disciplinary approach is supported by Gentzler's (2001) advocacy for the use of "multiple theories of translation from a variety of disciplines and discourses" (p.203) and Andrew Chesterman's (2017) for the use of "bridge concepts [that] can show links between textual, cognitive, cultural and sociological approaches to translation" (p.35).

The value of my translation, and its interest for New Zealanders today, is that it presents perspectives on early colonial New Zealand that are different from the predominantly Anglophone views available

¹⁴ « On a reproduit aussi fidèlement que possible le manuscrit, en respectant notamment son orthographe et ses divisions. Dans le cas de ratures et de corrections, on a reproduit, sauf exception, l'état dernier du manuscrit, en signalant dans l'apparat le ou les états antérieurs » (*LRO*, vol.1, p.xxi).

¹⁵All further references to "doc." or "docs", followed by a number, are to the *LRO* unless otherwise stated.

until now. The private letters of Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) missionaries to family, for example, have generally not been preserved and letters to their organizing bodies were usually reports, rather than personal, or confidential, accounts (Allan Davidson, personal communication, 17 August, 2018).

To date, partly because of the dearth of information about the letters the French missionaries wrote from early colonial New Zealand, and partly because of predominantly Anglocentric accounts of New Zealand history, little is known about the work, or even the presence, of these missionaries here.¹⁶ For the first time, the letters of the French Marists, neither works of literature nor official documented histories of their time, are available in English in a sustained and coherent form without omissions or additions, and with no attempt to enhance or detract from representations made in this essentially private writing.

Venuti (2013) observes: “The past decade has witnessed relatively few projects in which translations have been studied in specific cultural situations at specific historical moments, contextualized with the help of extensive archival research” (p.6). My translation answers this challenge. I hope that, by enabling access to and interpretation of primary historical documents previously unavailable in English, I will contribute to knowledge about New Zealand’s cultural and postcolonial history.

Outline of thesis

In **Chapter 1**, the introduction to my thesis, I have explained what the *LRO* are; my reasons for choosing the 1840 timeframe for my translation; the structure and purpose of my translation and thesis; my reasons for using a ST orientation in my translation; why I have provided a documentary translation; my use of Bourdieu’s analytical tools of *habitus*, capital, field and power in interpreting the language of the ST; my wish to evaluate the usefulness of Derrida’s ideas on language and meaning for guiding translation processes, including close reading and interpretation of the ST; the relevance of concepts about culture and postcolonialism to interpretation of the *LRO*; my research procedures to gain a cross-disciplinary understanding of the contextual background informing the ST; and the value

¹⁶ Neither has a great deal been written about the work of the Marists from 1836-54 in other parts of Oceania, although Laracy (1976 and 2009) has written about the early Marists’ efforts to convert indigenous peoples in the Solomon Islands. French historian Frédéric Angleviel, writing (1989) about the history of Wallis and Futuna, and New Caledonia (2005), has included commentary on the Marists’ early missions in those countries. Catholic priests who have written on the early Marist missions in Western Oceania include Frs Donal Kerr (2000) and Ralph Wiltgen (2010); and Fr John Hosie (1987), describing the early work of the Marists in Australia.

of my research, thesis and translation in filling clearly identifiable gaps in New Zealanders' knowledge about early colonial New Zealand.

Chapter 2 explains the purpose of my translation, its significance and projected readership, outlines how I selected the letters to translate, and shows how I presented the translation in 19th century English and at the same time ensured its readability for 21st century readers.

Chapter 3 examines the coverage of the Marists' mission to New Zealand in both Church and general histories of New Zealand.

Chapter 4 outlines the theoretical framework for my thesis, explaining the links between translation and textual interpretation, including interpretation based on the use of Bourdieu's analytical tools of *habitus*, field, capital and power; the connection between translation and Derrida's ideas on language; and ethical matters arising in the translation process with particular relation to notions of equivalence.

In **Chapter 5** I analyse the broad contextual background of the *LRO* in Bourdieusian terms and show how this context, which informs the ST, contributes to meaning, and thus to translation practice.

In **Chapter 6** I show how meaning is defined by specific, and infinitely variable, semantic contexts.

Chapter 7 discusses hermeneutic tools useful for the analysis of social, power and postcolonial themes evident in the *LRO*, with particular attention to the views of Bourdieu.

In **Chapter 8** I analyse the language used by the early French missionaries to establish whether lexis used in relation to Māori changed over time and, if so, the extent to which such changes show changes in the Marists' attitude to Māori and growth in their understanding of Māori spirituality and culture.

Chapter 9 provides the conclusion to the analytical section of my thesis and leads into the Appendix, my translation of the letters written to Colin, the Marist Superior-General, from 1840 New Zealand.

Chapter 2: Purpose of the translation

Enabling Anglophones to have access to the letters written by French Catholic missionaries to New Zealand and to their views on the peoples, cultures and politics of the country in 1840 is the *skopos* or 'purpose' (Vermeer, 1989/2004, p.227) of my translation. Given the multiple contributors to the *LRO*, and the variety of purposes for, and text types used in, their writing, I have aimed to make my translation responsive to the various demands of the ST, "respecting its tone and register while simultaneously ensuring comprehensibility for the TA" (Raylene Ramsay and Deborah Walker, 2010, p.49; see also Schäffner, 2001, p.23). The translation will "project the image [of the authors] beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin" (André Lefevere, 1992, p.9) and will provide a useful point of contrast with the Anglocentric views and accounts of our colonial past we have heard until now.

ST and TT audiences

The primary purpose of my translation is quite different from that of the ST writers and my translation is aimed at a very different TA.¹⁷ The main audience for the *LRO* was Colin. In addition, family members, friends and seminarians received letters. Extracts from the letters could be published in the *Annales de la propagation de la foi (Annales)* (1822-1854), the publication of the lay organisation, *Propagation de la foi*, established in Lyons in 1822 to support and raise money for the Catholic missions (Kerr, 2000, p.7). The letters could be read aloud at Sunday Mass to edify the faithful and motivate them to donate money to the missions and the missionaries often wrote specifically for this purpose.¹⁸ All of these audiences understood the French missionaries' religious language and thought processes and were immersed in the ideals and beliefs that motivated them.

Although Colin was most frequently the primary audience, it would be an oversimplification to see him, and sympathetic supporters, as the only audience. Always in the background is the figure of Pompallier, who read and edited his missionaries' letters, unless they were about the spiritual state of the writer, in which case the letters could be sealed. However, the priests believed that Pompallier sometimes opened sealed letters (e.g. doc.55[8]). I have therefore translated the note at the top of doc.56, *j'ai décacheté*: 'I have broken the seal', as a significant message from Fr Louis-Maxime Petit to

¹⁷ For simplicity, I have used "audience" to designate both those who listen to and those who read a text.

¹⁸ Examples include docs 33[2] and 58[9], where the elevated style indicates these sections of the letter were intended to be read aloud to an audience.

Colin, letting him know Pompallier had not opened the letter. For many letters, then, Pompallier must be seen as a secondary, but powerful, audience who influenced, even controlled, the content and style of writing except when the missionaries could get letters away without his reading them. The interesting question of the impact of censorship on the missionaries' letters, by Pompallier, the editors of the *Annales*, and possibly by Colin, is beyond the scope of this thesis as it would require extensive searches to see if drafts of letters remain extant. The Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives (ACDA), for instance, hold drafts of some of Pompallier's reports to Propaganda Fide but do not hold drafts of letters written by priests.¹⁹ It is clear from the *LRO*, however, that censorship did take place (see pp.28-30 below, also p.1, n.6).

Because of the potential variety of ST audiences, often for the same letter, the priests, and sometimes Pompallier himself, found ways of writing, metaphorically, between the lines so that the surface meaning was acceptable to all audiences, while a specific audience, mainly Colin, was provided with a subtext. Sometimes this writing is so oblique as to need elucidation from other sources. For example, the expulsion of Br Michel from the mission, described by Pompallier (doc.71[5]) as being because of *des amitiés particulières*, 'particular friendships', coded language for "inappropriate friendships", is referred to even more mysteriously by Fr Jean-Baptiste Épalle as due to Michel's 'loving a family to distraction': *Ce malheureux aimait, on peut dire éperdument une famille* (doc.72[3]), although this is partially clarified by the end of the paragraph (see Appendix, doc.72[3]). Br Edward Clisby's research (cited in Br Joseph Ronzon, 1997, p.20) has been needed to explain what must have happened.

With the exception of ethnographic letters describing cultural experiences, and some passages whose formal, declamatory style indicates they were written to be read from the pulpit, many letters are personal, some intensely so. Their interest lies in their spontaneity and directness. There was generally little time for editing, as evidenced in the frequent disjointedness of Pompallier's style (see, for example, Appendix, doc.71[3]), or for striving to create a good impression. Consequently, the letters are rarely crafted. A notable exception is the careful wording and planned structure of doc.55, in which Fr Servant in effect denounces Pompallier to Colin, thus triggering the eventual collapse of the mission in the north.

¹⁹ Verified by Narelle Scollay, archivist, Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives (personal communication, 22 February, 2017).

Because some letters were never intended to be read by anyone except Colin, the translator has a sense that making them available in English in some way betrays the authors. Nord states (1991) that the translator is responsible, or owes “loyalty”, to both the ST writer and to the TT recipient (pp.28-29), later (1997) suggesting that when these loyalties are in conflict “a documentary translation may be the only way to resolve the dilemma” because “it induces the translator to respect the sender’s individual communicative intentions, as far as they can be elicited” (p.126) and then to convey them to the TA through paratextual means such as footnotes, charts, maps, or embedded or interpolated exegetic text.

Accordingly, I have used footnotes to document aspects of the ST culture that could be unfamiliar to the TT readership. In preparing a future annotated translation for publication, I will also use a translator’s introduction to explain essential elements of the ST contextual background (see Ch.5). These practices shift the emphasis from the TT orientation generally favoured by Nord (1991, 1997) and Schäffner (2001, 2002) as representatives of the functionalist approach to translation, to one that is more ST oriented. The resultant challenge of providing readers with enough information to understand the translation while retaining readability and avoiding “information overload” is recognised, although not resolved, by Peter Fawcett (1997, p.46). Tymoczko (2007) likewise believes translators must set “priorities for their translation” as they cannot “transpose everything in a source text to the receptor language and the target text” (p.211). In addition, provision of a full commentary on the broad context of the *LRO* has been restricted because of regulations regarding thesis length.

Inevitably, in the translation of the *LRO* some of the original meaning is lost, and therefore the ST is different, for readers who are not familiar with Catholic beliefs, prayers and customs, or the Scriptures, and who do not read Latin. Further, the meanings of many words have changed, or at least shifted, since the 1840 period of my selection for translation. The time lapse of 179 years also means that attitudes, and thus understandings and interpretations, have changed. Attitudes to religion, for example, have changed significantly from the 19th to the 21st century. Attitudes to even such basic words as “Father” have changed, not only in terms of Catholic priests, but in terms of 21st century attitudes to the role of the father in the family. In addition, the multiplicity of intellectual, cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the projected TT readership is likely to mean that interest will be in the cultural and political aspects of the letters rather than in their religious content, except insofar as they offer insights into and a contrast with the attitudes and beliefs of British Protestant colonial missionaries contemporary with Pompallier and the French Marists and already well-known to many New Zealanders. I am encouraged in my stance by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990a), who believe the study of

translation has moved to “the larger issues of context, history and convention” (p.11) and that translations “are made to respond to the demands of a culture, and of various groups within that culture” (p.7).

Neither is the impact of the TT on its proposed audience likely to be the same as that of the ST on its 19th century audience. Nida’s (1964/2004) assertion that ST and TT messages should produce a “similar response” (p.160) from their respective audiences cannot be sustained in relation to translations of texts such as the *LRO*, which bridge centuries, languages, cultures, and religions.

Within the broad group of Anglophone readers to whom the translation may be of interest because of the “symbolic capital” (Bourdieu, 1982/1991, p.194) of the French language and increasing cultural, political, and sporting interest in France (Copland, 2016), are various identifiable groups likely to find the *LRO* of particular interest. These include:

- Māori readers wishing to examine ways in which early French Catholic missionaries described their first encounters with Māori;
- adherents to Christian faiths, interested in reading about the New Zealand mission from a French Catholic point of view;
- the general public who, partly as a result of the popularizing work of Belich (1996 and 1998),²⁰ King (2003), and Māori Television,²¹ have developed a lively interest in New Zealand history; and
- readers whose interest has been fostered by the scholarly work of, for example, Anne Salmond (1989-2018), Claudia Orange (2011), and Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris (2014).

Significance of the ST and TT

I argue that although 21st century readers will not understand, or see the significance of, the *LRO* in the same way the original recipients would have, they will appreciate the letters because of their insights into New Zealand’s colonial history. Moreover, changes in the perceived significance of the ST

²⁰ Including his work with Tainui Stephens & Colin McRae in producing *The New Zealand Wars*, a five-part television series (1998).

²¹ For example, the 2009 series, *Lost in translation*, on the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Hanui Royal and Bruce Morrison).

are inevitable when the values, assumptions and perspectives of TT readers differ from those of ST writers (see Kaisa Koskinen, 1994, p.450).

Despite his belief “in the stable determinacy of meaning” (p.1) and in the incorrectness of interpreting a text from a perspective different from the original author’s (p.49), E.D. Hirsch (1976) concedes that the significance of meaning “can change with the changing contexts in which that meaning is applied” (p.80). Views such as Hirsch’s on the unchanging nature of meaning, as opposed to significance, are challenged by Derrida’s (1968/1982a) views on shifts in meaning over time (pp.1-28) and the reciprocal relationship between a translation and its source text: “[T]he translator must assure the survival, *which is to say the growth*, of the original. Translation augments and modifies the original, which insofar as it is living on, never ceases to be transformed and to grow” (1982/1985b, p.122). Venuti (2013) sees translation as not only changing the ST but as changing the receiving culture:

by bringing into existence something new and different, a text that is neither the source text nor an original composition in the translating language, and in the process it changes the values, beliefs, and representations that are housed in institutions (p.10).

While a translation of the *LRO* is unlikely to change the beliefs and values of institutions, it may change the ideas of individual readers who know little about the early French Catholic missionaries, their work with Māori, or where they went in New Zealand, and correct a general misconception that they were in Akaroa only, as part of the French settlement. The translation may also add to general knowledge about Pompallier, a well-known but controversial figure in New Zealand history, and provide more information about life in early colonial New Zealand.

Laracy (2010) provides a realistic evaluation of the importance of the *LRO*:

The release of these letters will mean anyone who wants to say anything about New Zealand or Maori during that period will need to consult these documents, because this is new information, new material. None of this should be taken to imply that the [*LRO*] will necessarily bring any major or revolutionary reinterpretations of New Zealand history, but they do carry much new information that will need to be taken into account in making assessments, framing generalisations and refining characterisations within that field (p.23).

No claim is made, however, that the *LRO* can stand alone as a documentary history. The letters were never intended to act in this way and need to be considered together with the wealth of other documentation of the same historical period, including reports from Captain Hobson to the British

Government, British Parliamentary Papers, Captain Charles Lavaud's instructions from the *Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies* (1840, 14 January), Lavaud's *Rapport général* to the *Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies* 1840-1843, relevant baptismal, marriage and funeral registers, shipping information, letters and journals of Protestant ministers, and journals and letters of Pompallier and the Marists not published in the *LRO*.

John Dunmore (1994) nevertheless suggests care in interpreting such historical documentation:

History exists through historians, in the present, and since the present time, in which historians labour, is never the same, what they reveal to us as history is forever changing. Some people are bold enough to speak of historical truth, but history being interpretation, is a personal truth, and it is therefore a subjective truth (p.2).

It is this “personal truth” that gives the *LRO* its vitality.

Selection and scope of letters to translate

The defining act of selecting passages to translate in an extensive work such as the *LRO* reflects my stance in relation to the ST and my view of the purpose of the TT. Although the French missionaries included a great deal of cultural commentary on New Zealand from the period 1838-54, the focus of their writing was expected to be on their progress towards their own salvation, and their success in enabling Māori to save their souls by being baptised in the Catholic faith (see, for example, Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.48[15]; *LRO* doc.67[1]).

My selection of text to translate is mirrored in an infinite number of micro choices made in the translation process to ensure the translation will achieve its identified purpose. The need to maintain a strong correlation between the purpose of a translation and the translation strategies²² used to achieve this purpose is discussed by translation theorists including, for example, Bassnett and Lefevere (1990a, pp.5-8); Nord (1997, p.74); Toury (1995, p.37); Nida (1964/2004); Vermeer (1989/2004, p.237); Bassnett (2014, pp.83-85).

The views of Anthony Pym (2006), who relates the exchange of letters to the study of sociology, aligned with socio-cultural and power relationships (p.14), and Tymoczko (2010), who sees translations

²² I have adopted Munday's (2012) distinction between translation “strategies” and translation “procedures” or “techniques” (pp.22-24), using “strategy” for the overall orientation of my translation, and “procedures” for specific translation techniques used at given points in the TT.

as “central cultural expressions” and translation as “an ethical, political and ideological activity, not simply as a mechanical linguistic transposition or literary art” (p.3), have influenced my selection for translation. The political, economic, cultural and social positions of Māori in the new colony, Māori attitudes towards colonisation, and the degree to which Māori, and others, understood what was happening, are partially represented in the Marists’ writing, as is, less consciously, the situation of Pompallier and the Marists both as colonisers and as men marginalised by the British colonisation process.

The presentation of my selection of the *LRO* with no omissions or interruptions of interpretative commentary reflects the purpose of my translation, which is different from that used by Jessie Munro (2009a) in her selection of Suzanne Aubert’s²³ letters, which are organised chronologically and in relation to place, with quite long passages of commentary linking the translations, thus providing a cohesive story.

In preparing to make my selection of material to translate from the *LRO*, I looked for letters that:

- show, or reflect, cultural exchanges between the French missionaries and Māori, and with British settlers;
- reflect the voice of Māori, often silent participants²⁴ in the missionaries’ narratives;
- reflect meetings between Christian and Māori worlds and show differences between Māori and the Catholic missionaries in terms of spirituality and religion;
- have political interest in terms of the French-British relationship, Pompallier’s disputed neutrality in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi, and the Marists’ support of the French government’s intentions to acquire and colonise New Zealand;
- provide new insights into the conduct and personal relationships of key players in the establishment and management of the Catholic mission and show the problems leading to a

²³ A French Catholic missionary nun who worked in New Zealand 1868-1926.

²⁴ Jean and John Comaroff (1988) argue that in missionary writing the native voice is “discernible” through the “symbolism of gesture, action and reaction and in the expressive manipulation of language” (p.7). However, Anna Johnston (2003) is “profoundly sceptical” about the capacity of missionary texts to “tell indigenous stories” (p.25). I hope my translation shows the “illocutionary forces” and “perlocutionary effects” (Frederic Schaffer, 2016, p.80) of the Marists’ accounts of conversations with Māori (see p.128. For ST examples, see Appendix, docs 54[4]; 80[7-9], [17], [23]).

breakdown of relationships between Pompallier and his missionaries, and Pompallier and Colin;

- are written from different New Zealand locations and by a variety of writers, to offer a differentiated impression of the New Zealand mission;
- show the attitudes of the French Catholic missionaries, Māori, and European settlers to women; and
- illustrate the complexity of the *LRO* in its language use, including variety of lexis, register, intertextuality, and use of coded language to express ideas that, for whatever reason, could not be broached openly in the ST.

I believe my selection of the 1840 letters meets all these criteria.

A significant loss in my selection is the absence of letters from the Marist Brothers, whose letters in other parts of the *LRO* add rich detail about their daily life and work, the life of the colony, and provide sometimes poignant insights into the Brothers' relationships with Pompallier and the priests.

My selection of letters for translation reflects Gideon Toury's (1995) belief that translations serve the function of "filling in gaps" in a target culture, and that "the observation that something is 'missing' in the target culture which should have been there and which, luckily, already exists elsewhere" is a "persuasive rationale" for undertaking a translation (p.27). Toury's view is endorsed by Bassnett and Lefevere (1990b, p.ix), Theo Hermans (1999, p.117), and Gentzler (2002), who regards translation as a powerful tool that enables readers to re-create their precursors, "thereby producing new modes of articulation for the future" (p.218). I identify a "gap" in available information about the French Catholic mission in New Zealand and argue that the lack of a reliable translation of the missionaries' letters has been a significant factor in this lack of historical knowledge.

Recent researchers, including Hélène Serabian (2005, p.4); Giselle Larcombe (2009, p.1); Sandy Harman (2010, p.1); William Jennings (2010, 2011a, 2011b); and Keith Newman (2010, p.12), have similarly identified this lacuna in New Zealand history. Dunmore (1997) identifies neglect of the French dimension in the history of the Pacific as to some extent due to "the predominance of English-language histories and analyses" (p.300). Thus, just as New Zealand owes a debt to the French missionaries' writing about the early days of the colony, the ST needs translations that enable "neither the life nor the death of the text, only or already its living *on*, its life after life, its life after death" (Derrida, 1979, p.103).

My selection of letters for translation includes descriptions of the priests' work with Māori around Hokianga in the North; the meetings that led to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; accounts of the work of Pompallier and the Marists with Māori in the Waikato, on the east coast, and in the South Island; and letters from Akaroa, written in the aftermath of failed plans for French colonisation of the South Island. The text and subtexts of many of the letters reveal growing conflict between Pompallier and his missionaries and between Pompallier and Colin. My selection includes one of Pompallier's challenging letters to Colin (doc.59) but, as it ends with doc.86, does not include docs 91, 110[2-6], and 116[2-12], angry letters that led to the termination of their relationship and to Colin refusing to send any more missionaries to New Zealand after the departure of the 7th group on 15 August, 1842.²⁵

Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002) identify the need to analyse not only the parts of the ST and source culture that are present in translated texts, "but also the parts that are left out" (p.xx). Accordingly, I have endeavoured to find the voices of Māori, as reflected in the ST, and transmitted through, for example, oral presentations to the Waitangi Tribunal (2014) on the views of rangatira on the Treaty in 1840, the writings of Māori scholars, and Māori interviewees on Māori TV programmes and Radio New Zealand.

Colin's voice is one the reader of the *LRO* becomes curious about, particularly in terms of his advice to the missionaries and his reactions to Pompallier's often angry demands and complaints. For information about this, I have used Colin's published letters (Lessard, 2007).

19th century English and readability

The question of the *skopos* of my translation is closely related to the question of whether to pitch the language of the translation closer to corresponding 19th century English usage, in the interests of historicity, or to New Zealand English as current in 2019, in the interests of readability. However, deciding what constitutes current New Zealand English is not an easy matter. The wide range of language backgrounds in the TA is pertinent to this question since "New Zealand English" embraces a variety of Englishes,²⁶ as Venuti (2013) notes in relation to contemporary American English (p.243). I have therefore tried to keep the language of the TT as far as possible in 19th century English while at the same time making it as readable as possible for an educated 21st century New Zealand audience.

²⁵ Colin sent no more missionaries to any of the Oceania missions after the 15th group left on 15 July, 1849 (Girard, 2010, Vol. 10, p.49).

²⁶ See Allan Bell and Koenraad Kuiper (Eds), *New Zealand English*, 2000.

Other examples of generally readable 19th century New Zealand missionary writing in English referred to in my thesis are: Richard Taylor's (1855/1974) *Te ika a Māui, or New Zealand and its inhabitants*; William Colenso's (1865/2001) *The Māori races of New Zealand* and his account (1890/2004) of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi; Henry Williams' (1961) early journals (1826-1840); and William Williams' (1867/1989) *Christianity among the New Zealanders*, as well as some of his archival letters (1840) to the CMS. The writing in these works would on the whole be clear and intelligible to a New Zealand readership of today, although its accessibility to a more general audience is occasionally compromised by outdated sentence structures (e.g. "Their diseases were but few", Colenso, 1865/2001, p.7); personification of abstract nouns ("Tradition —uniformly speaks of the [...]", p.59); and lexis of Greek and Latin derivation ("In conversation, euphonious words and euphemisms were often chosen" p.41).

In practice, in translating the *LRO*, I found that maintaining the religious register of much of the ST helped keep my translation in 19th century English (e.g. 'God inundates us with His consolations in the midst of our dear savages': *au milieu de nos chers sauvages, Dieu nous inonde de consolations* (doc.54[2])). Keeping to a literal translation of the formal salutations and letter endings of the ST also meant that the TT flowed naturally into 19th century English (e.g.

Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ, The letter you honoured me by writing on the 21st of May 1839 has reached me and has brought me great pleasure:

Très révérend supérieur et cher père en J(ésus) C(hrist), La lettre dont vous m'avez honoré le 21 mai 1839 m'est parvenue et m'a procuré un grand plaisir (doc.52[1])).

Similarly, I have translated:

Agréez les sentiments d'un profond respect avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être dans les s(ain)ts coeurs de J(ésus) et de M(arie), très révérend supérieur et cher père en J(ésus) C(hrist), votre très humble, très obéissant et fidèle serviteur, Servant, mis(sionnaire) apost(olique) as:

Please accept my most respectful good wishes in the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary, Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ, Your very humble, very obedient and faithful servant, Servant miss(ionary) ap(ostolic) (doc.52[22]).

Had I cast these examples in 21st century English, the translated letter endings would have been much simpler and less formulaic but would have lost any semblance of historicity. In addition, the formulaic

endings emphasize the extent to which the writers share, and give voice to, a particular common linguistic heritage rather than expressing their own individuality.

My techniques to help ensure the readability of the ST included breaking up long sentences. For example, Pompallier's 13-line long sentence (doc.59[26]) beginning: *Pour se faire une foible [sic] idée de ma position* contains a series of statements punctuated by semi-colons. In keeping with the simpler punctuation conventions now more generally current I have used full stops instead, breaking the sentence up into eight short sentences, partly to separate out more clearly the several ideas that Pompallier raises and partly to reproduce in a modern form his sense of drama and urgency. Thus my translation is:

To give some small idea of my position, this is what it has been like: When I arrived in New Zealand I discovered hundreds of ministers from other religions in every part of the island I started working in. At the beginning, we could not speak a word. They had been fluent in the New Zealanders' language for a long time. They had excellent printing presses, at least two in the North Island. I found myself quite closely surrounded by 5 or 6 of their numerous stations. Their books, their pamphlets, were circulating everywhere. They were burning with a new zeal to travel to the tribes all around to preach to their few faithful flocks and to warn against me even those who remained idolatrous and had not wanted before to follow their teaching, their thousand and one calumnies and lies against the Church. They were constantly trying to incite the people against the Bishop in particular and to have our throats cut.²⁷

I also inserted paragraph breaks in cases where ST paragraphing ran over several pages, a reflection, no doubt, of the missionaries' shortage of paper and the need to make the best of their limited resources. For example, in doc.80, two paragraphs [20] and [21] extend over five pages of Girard's published text. To make this more readable for a 21st century TA, I have broken the text into five paragraphs, which are still quite lengthy (e.g. up to 23 lines long), but I have not altered Girard's

²⁷ *Pour se faire une foible idée de ma position, voici ce qu'il en a été: j'ai trouvé, à mon arrivée à la Nouvelle Zélande, des centaines de ministres hétérodoxes sur tous les points de l'île que j'entamois; nous ne savions rien dire au commencement, eux possédoient depuis longtemps la langue des Nouveaux Zélandois; ils avoient d'excellentes presses, au moins deux en cette même île du Nord; je me trouvois entouré, à peu de distance, de 5 ou 6 établissements de leurs nombreuses stations; leurs livres, leurs brochures circuloient de toutes parts; ils brûloient d'un nouveau zèle pour parcourir les tribus de tous les côtés pour prêcher à leurs peu d'ouailles fidèles et pour prévenir contre moi même celles qui restoient idolâtres sans avoir voulu auparavant suivre leur enseignement, leurs mille calomnies et mensonges contre l'église, contre l'évêque en particulier tendoient à soulever le peuple et à nous faire égorger à chaque instant.*

system for numbering paragraphs, so that the attentive reader will notice and appreciate the complexity of thought and the linked association of ideas indicated in the length of the ST paragraphs.

I have made slight changes in translating 19th century French lexis and syntax in cases where such changes would significantly improve the readability of the sentence. A literal translation of, for example, doc.59[34]: *la mission a perdu en solidité ce qu'elle a gagné en étendue* as: "The mission has lost in density what it has gained in extent" is difficult to read because the English abstract nouns reduce the effect of contrast expressed in the parallel noun/verb structures ("in density"/"in extent", "has lost"/"has gained"). I have provided a translation in more idiomatic and immediately accessible English that retains the relative formality of the ST and is consistent with a 19th century translation of the French: 'Whilst the mission has gained ground, it has been thinly spread'. Because I know the context in which the letter was written I believe Pompallier meant 'too thinly', indicating his frustration with Colin because he was not sending him enough priests to make the mission effective. However, I have not added this gloss to my translation because I think the implied meaning of the sentence could then be an admission that Pompallier was placing the missionaries in stations by themselves, which he would not want to emphasise to Colin because Colin had explicitly and repeatedly said this was not to happen (see, for example, Lessard, 2007-2009, Vol.1, docs 67[8]; 221[2]). By placing the emphasis on verbs and an adverb ('thinly') rather than nouns, my translation avoids the un-English abstraction of a literal translation and preserves the emphasis of the ST on loss rather than gain. Further, in using 'whilst', which is rarely found after the 19th century (*OED*, 2018), rather than the more modern 'while',²⁸ I have used lexis and syntax that are consistent with 19th century English style. The alliteration of 'gained ground' suggests energy and progress contrasting with the disappointment implied in the almost domestic metaphor 'thinly spread'. Had I translated this sentence into current English usage, I suggest the translation could have been something like: 'The mission has gained ground, but it has been thinly spread', thus substituting a simpler compound sentence structure for a more complex one, but losing the rhythmical balance of both the ST and my 19th century translation.²⁹

²⁸ Both 'while' and 'whilst' are used in nineteenth-century English in the general sense of 'whereas' or 'although', but 'whilst' is arguably more common than 'while' in the 1840s when the emphasis is on contrast. Cf. William Thackeray (1848/1959) *Vanity Fair*: "Whilst her appearance was an utter failure [...], Mrs Rawdon Crawley's *début* was, on the contrary, very brilliant" (p.282).

²⁹ I am grateful to Dr R.L.P. Jackson for his advice on 19th century English (personal communication, 27, 28 February, 2019).

Variations in the written styles of the ST writers, including variations of style within individual letters, contribute to the general readability of the *LRO* and both compel the translator to convey changes of tone, and to choose between synonyms that convey complexities of pent-up emotion within the constraints, for the priests, of a formal letter to a religious superior. Pompallier, although his differences of style indicate that his position was not one of religious subjection to Colin, often uses a variety of styles within the same letter, thus giving Colin imperious commands (e.g. doc. 59[1-12]); reporting on the inadequacies, as he sees them, of his priests and Brothers ([20-23]); requesting, or demanding, more priests and Brothers ([24-25]); more money ([32-33]); slating the work of the “heretics”, or the British Protestant missionaries ([26]); or indulging in high-flown metaphorical language about the importance of his work in New Zealand and the level of suffering he has to, and is willing to, endure ([24-25]). His letter about meeting Otago chief Taiaoroa and his tribe is particularly interesting for its vivid story-telling (doc.80[20]); its account of the travails and dangers of maritime navigation ([21-23]); and his long, apparently verbatim, account of what he said to the tribe to teach them about the Catholic faith ([9-18]).

So, too, the variety in Servant’s letters makes them particularly interesting. His letters are typified by warm, appreciative accounts of early meetings with Māori in their tribal areas (e.g. doc. 52[4-14]); restrained, veiled references to the hardships the Catholic missionaries were experiencing [19-20]; and indignation at what he saw as Pompallier’s mismanagement of the mission, inaccurate reporting of the success of the mission, and mistreatment of the priests and Brothers in his charge (doc.55). The emotional warmth and sense of personal hurt conveyed in his letters are particularly striking. Comte’s letter to his parents (doc.54) is likewise notable for its warmth towards Māori and for the priest’s keen interest in Māori customs and the reactions of Māori to elements of Catholic dogma.

The diverse personalities of the priests, especially Petit-Jean, Servant, Tripe, and Épalle, expressed both through their choice of topic and their language, are evident in their writing and I refer throughout my thesis to the various ways in which these priests convey their emotions and their reflections, both personal and cultural, on their mission.

Summary

Because the ST is written by a variety of authors, each with his own preoccupations and style of writing, I have tried to make my translation responsive to the writers’ individual voices, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions on the extent to which these slight differences are significant or not.

Recognition of the personal quality of some of the letters raises questions about translator loyalty to the authors and the possibility that this loyalty may, at times, be in conflict with making the translation accessible to the TA. I have accepted Nord's suggestion for resolving any possible conflict by using a documentary translation that respects the intentions of the ST author and communicates them to the TA through a variety of paratextual means. I recognise the need to counteract some loss of ST meaning for a 21st century TA who do not share the religious beliefs and attitudes of 19th century Catholic missionaries.

My translation is aimed at a variety of TT audiences, including Māori and the New Zealand general reading public, as well as academics who may have a particular interest in the ST and its insights into New Zealand early colonial history. The translation brings the ST to life and thus, together with other relevant historical documents, adds to New Zealanders' knowledge about Bishop Pompallier, a well-known historical name, but about whose work and relationships, and those of the Marist priests with him in New Zealand, little is known.

I have chosen the 1840 New Zealand letters to translate so that my translation forms an uninterrupted, but representative, selection from the *LRO* that will be able to be extended by other translators. I have aimed to translate the ST into 19th century English while at the same time making it as readable as possible for a 21st century readership. I have outlined the translation techniques I have used to achieve this balance.

In Chapter 3 I show how my translation addresses a significant gap in historical knowledge about early colonial New Zealand.

Chapter 3: The Catholic mission in New Zealand history

Historical knowledge of the French missionaries' letters

A thorough search of New Zealand general and Church histories shows that to date very little is known about the work of Pompallier and the French missionaries in New Zealand. Such work as has been done has largely been by Catholic historians. This gap in historical knowledge can be attributed, at least partly, to the lack of a reliable English translation of the Marists' letters.

Before the *LRO* were published most references to, translations of, or short excerpts from, the early letters of Pompallier and the Marists were from versions published in the *Annales*. However, missionaries' letters were published selectively and, as they could be heavily edited or rewritten, were not always reliable (Frs Jean Coste, 1983, pp.329-330; Ernest Simmons, 1984, p.94, n.14; Snijders, 2012, p.158). Bishop Pierre Bataillon complained from on board the *Arche d'Alliance*, near Samoa, about over-enthusiasm and gross errors in letters as published in the *Annales* (*LRO*, doc.577[7]), as did Fr Pierre Rougeyron, writing from Sydney (doc.680[5]). Fr Claude-André Baty asked that his letters be cut to remove anything that could damage the mission (doc.311[1]). Pompallier told Colin he scrutinised the missionaries' letters before they left New Zealand, and asked Colin to be vigilant about doing the same before sending them to the editors of the *Annales*, lest anything that could be detrimental to the mission be published (doc.59[12]).

I examine some examples of letters published in the *Annales* and translated by New Zealand writers, including Catholic Archbishop Peter McKeefry (1938), Mary Goulter (1957) and Lillian Keys (1957), to show how the original letters were altered, and then further censored by translators, generally to make them more edifying for their Catholic audience.

Jane Thomson (1969) uses some extracts from the *Annales des missions [de la Société de Marie]* and the *Annales des missions d'Océanie*³⁰ and relies on frequent references to Protestant missionaries'

³⁰ Fr Schianchi, Marist Fathers' archivist, Rome, has clarified in personal communication (5 and 13 April, 2016) that there were three collections of *Annales*. The *Annales de la propagation de la foi* were published in Lyons from the end of 1822 by a lay organisation to make known the work of Catholic missionaries around the world and to solicit financial help for their work. From 1855, the SM began to keep its own collection of letters, entitled *Annales des missions de la Société de Marie*. In 1886, this title was changed to *Annales des missions de l'Océanie*, which comprises 14 volumes of letters published from 1855 to 1921, when the publication ceased. All three collections of *Annales* were edited to remove personal or administrative matters.

views on the Catholic mission to support her argument that systemic reasons caused the failure of the mission. Access to the *LRO* might have changed her perspective on the French missionaries' work in New Zealand.

Since the *LRO* have been published, some use has been made of them by writers who can read French. Contributors to Fr Alois Greiler's 2009 *Catholic beginnings in Oceania* refer to the *LRO* as they explore topics related to the mission. Peter Tremewan uses his detailed knowledge of the *LRO* in *French Akaroa* (2010). However, few contributors to *The French place in the Bay of Islands* (Kate Martin and Brad Mercer, Eds, 2011), refer to the *LRO*³¹ although some, including Hazel Petrie (pp.74-89) and Ian Hunter (pp.90-101), use a variety of archival material written in English to support analyses of aspects of the French mission in New Zealand.

Catholic historians, mainly Marist priests, have written extensive analyses of the Oceania mission with reference to the *LRO* and other documentation including, for example, the letters of Colin and Poupinel, his secretary; correspondence and records of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*;³² the chronicles of Gabriel-Claude Mayet; and letters between Colin and Marshal Jean-de-Dieu Soult who, between 1814-1847, was variously French Minister of War, Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Council and Prime Minister (Jean Marie Borghino, 2015). Kerr's (2000) biography of Colin, 1790-1836, is set against the background of the French Revolution and shows the impact of its political and religious upheavals on Colin's early life. Wiltgen (2010) refers to the *LRO* as he provides reasons for both the successes and the partial failure of the Oceania mission, as do Frs Snijders (2012) and Justin Taylor (2018). These latter three writers cite the *LRO* in accurate but fragmentary translations.

The *LRO*, by contrast, have almost all been published from the original manuscripts. Girard (2009) explains: "The manuscript has been reproduced as faithfully as possible, particularly in relation to maintaining original spellings and paragraph breaks. () If the text of a letter has only been preserved as a transcript and the original has been lost, I have noted at the top of the letter that the published letter is a copy of the original" (Vol.1, p.xxi). [Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.]

³¹ Exceptions are Munro (2011, e.g. n.25, p.293); and Serabian, Larcombe and Tremewan (2011, e.g. n.2, p.293).

³² Wiltgen (2010) explains the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, 'Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith', founded by Pope Gregory XV in 1622 to supervise and direct Catholic missionary work around the world, was renamed *Congregatio pro Evangelizatione Populorum*, 'Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples', by Pope John Paul II in 1982 (p.1). I have retained *Propaganda Fide* and *Propagation de la foi* in Latin and French, respectively, as the names of these two separate organisations both mean 'Propagation of the Faith' in English.

More recent writing on the French missionaries in New Zealand has benefited from access to the *LRO*, but no sustained translation³³ of the letters has yet been developed. PhD theses by Serabian (2005), Larcombe (2009), and Harman (2010) include discussion of the *LRO*, but do not provide translations, as this is not their focus. Harman translates short passages to illustrate her argument that “success and failure are problematic terms for the pioneer Marist Māori Mission because evangelisation was and is a work in progress” (p.iii). An MA thesis by Lynley Calder (2009) includes a translation and analysis of one letter from Fr Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean to Colin, from Kororāreka, on 11 December 1841.

Six articles on the *LRO* by Jennings (2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013, 2014) give a perceptive overview of the interest and importance of the letters and contain lively translations of short passages, but do not offer any sustained translations as this is outside their scope. Brief articles by Laracy (2007, 2009, 2010) introduce the *LRO* to a general as well as an academic audience but do not include translations.

New Zealand histories

Most general histories of New Zealand, from the earliest to those of the present day, give little space to the role of the French Catholic mission in early colonial New Zealand. These histories include accounts by well-known historians including Joan Metge (1976), Judith Bassett, Keith Sinclair and Marcia Stenson (1985), Tony Simpson (1986), Sinclair (1991), Paul Moon (1998), William Pember Reeves (1898/1998), Michael King (2003), Anderson et al. (2014), and those by lesser known commentators such as George Angas (1847), Jack Lee (1983), Patricia Bawden (1987), John Wilson (1987), Edmund Bohan (1998), Bob Brockie (2002), Richard Wolfe (2005). Such references as can be found, for example in Angas (1847, Vol.2, p.173) and Reeves (1898/1998, p.134), are notably brief.

Although Philip Turner (1986), examining the “political role, function and attitudes of the Catholic mission within early New Zealand society, both Maori and Pakeha”, suggests “[t]he anxiety of Catholics, and especially Pompallier, to ignore, dilute or deny any political or cultural impact they may have had and to report their interaction with the Māori in a purely ‘religious’ light is a problem the historian cannot ignore” (p.ii), it is not until Belich’s work (1996) that the contribution of the French Catholic mission begins to receive any real attention even from scholarly historians.

³³ See n.3, p.1.

Neither has the relationship between the early Marists and Māori been evaluated, except in a small number of university theses (see p.17) and the writings of Catholic historians (see pp.19--25). Mānuka Henare (2003), offering a Māori view of 19th century New Zealand colonial history, explores the motivations and intentions of the missionaries and colonisers: "The first task in this Māori interpretation of the period is to make sense of what *rangatira*, Māori leaders, were thinking and seeking in the encounter with the missionaries, traders and British colonial officials" (p.7). Henare makes little reference to the early French Catholic missionaries except to mention Pompallier's "report to the Vatican on Ngapuhi understanding of the treaty" (p.219), possibly a reference to Pompallier's description (1850) of discussions held before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (pp.136-137).

Questions about Pompallier's neutrality or partisanship in relation to the Treaty are examined by Peter Low (2011, 1990). Orange provides brief but detailed analyses of Pompallier's attitude towards the Treaty (e.g. 2011, pp.50-51; 58-59). Salmond mentions Pompallier's and Servant's attendance at the Treaty meetings (2017, pp.267-269, 271, 280, 282). I discuss Pompallier's attitude to the Treaty as revealed in his written language (see pp.71-76).

Protestant histories and the French missionaries

The continuation of negative attitudes towards Catholicism into the second half of the 20th century can be partly ascribed to the continued dominance of the Protestant British³⁴ mindset in the erstwhile colony. Some responsibility for this can be attributed to the early Protestant missionaries whose writings influenced the views of later historians. In addition, early sectarian opposition to the French missionaries was overtaken by opposition expressed in no less inflammatory terms as "a virus of anti-Irish and consequent anti-Catholic feeling in the early decades of the twentieth century" (King, 2003, p.177). Phillip Parkinson (2011) argues that the British intrinsically Protestant worldview was transferable to the colonies and that "even in a predominantly secular New Zealand today, sectarian anxieties have never completely abated. We would do a disservice to our own history if we did not acknowledge the prejudices of the past" (p.219).

The availability of a different point of view, recounted by participants writing, in general, without an eye on possible publication, adds a new dimension to historical accounts available until now. Fifty years

³⁴ I have followed Jennings' practice (2010) of using "British" to "describe the heterogeneous colonial population of settlers of largely English origin. The first Marists generally used the term 'English' to describe the Pakeha population, except when referring to Irish Catholics" (n.82, p.363).

after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Colenso's bitterness (1890/2004) towards Catholicism remains evident as he records the reluctance of Protestant missionaries to be in the same room as Pompallier (p.13), let alone follow him to the Treaty negotiations tent (p.14). Over 150 years later, Moon (1998), although distancing himself to some extent, still subscribes to the views of the early missionaries: "[T]he underhand influence of Pompallier cannot be completely dismissed" (p.112).

Allan Davidson (2004) includes a brief, but factual and fair, analysis of the French Catholic missionaries' work in his book *Christianity in Aotearoa* and together with Peter Lineham (2015) has brought a more balanced view to studies of sectarian relationships in New Zealand. Timothy Yates (2013), who cites the *LRO* and a variety of secondary sources, including the unreliable Keys (see pp.20-22), gives a concise account of the beginnings of the Marist New Zealand mission and the causes of tension within it (pp.80-89).

Although mainly analysing the relationship between Church and State in New Zealand from the New Zealand Wars of 1860 onwards, Rex Ahdar and John Stenhouse (2000) comment on general trends in scholarly discussion of race relations and church-state relationships from the early days of colonial New Zealand. They make no specific mention of the work and influence of French Catholic missionaries although, possibly, this could be deemed to be covered by global comments on the influence of missionaries.

More about the French missionaries' work is recorded in Newman's *Bible and treaty* (2010) than in most histories of New Zealand, although Newman's accounts are brief and not always objective (e.g. pp.137, 302, 318). However, he notes his research has made him aware that "some of our foundation stones are missing" (p.12). His observation that the best way of evaluating history is "through the eyes of as many first-hand witnesses as possible, and then through a process of reflection, based on the cultural context of those primary witnesses" (p.8) would support translation of the *LRO* as a means of providing some of those "witnesses".

Catholic histories and the French missionaries

One of the earliest Catholic histories of the New Zealand mission,³⁵ *Les origines de la foi Catholique dans la Nouvelle-Zélande*, by Antoine Monfat (1896), is based on letters written by Pompallier and the early Marists and supplemented by some research on New Zealand. As Marist archivist, Monfat would

³⁵ Other early accounts are by Pompallier (1850; 1888); and Fr Auguste-Joseph Chouvet (1855/1985).

have had access to the original, unedited letters. Although both Serabian (2005, p.19) and Harman (2010, p.9) see Monfat's work as hagiographical, it is more than that as it attempts, though lacking the resources of modern scholarship, to provide some analysis of early New Zealand history. Not required by circumstances to be as oblique as Pompallier and his missionaries as to whether or not Māori should have signed the Treaty, Monfat reports that Māori soon said they had been deceived³⁶ about what they were giving away in the Treaty, and that they came to regret it bitterly (p.320). Although he refers to links between the French government and missionary work (pp.349-350), he does not indicate how fully Pompallier and his priests realised the significance of this connection.

Other early Catholic accounts of the mission are hagiographical and rely on heavily edited, not to say censored, letters published in the *Annales* for their sources. For example, selections from the writings of Pompallier and the French missionaries, translated by McKeefry (1938), are taken from the *Annales de la propagation de la foi* and *Annales des missions d'Océanie*. No clear statement of purpose is included in McKeefry's book, although it contains the reservation: "In compiling this book, use has been made of such extracts only as fitted in with the general idea underlying the publication. Much more material is available" (n.p.). The "general idea underlying the publication" is not defined. However, examination of the excerpts selected for translation clearly indicates the book was intended to edify the faithful and idealise the work of the mission, rather than to show it in a realistic manner.

Keys (1957) also takes much of her material from the *Annales de la propagation de la foi* and the *Annales des missions de l'Océanie* for her overtly hagiographical *The life and times of Bishop Pompallier*. At times, her information about the French mission to New Zealand is contradicted by letters in the LRO. For instance, she writes: "On 20th July [1837] the missionaries were cheered by letters from France" (p.55). However, Pompallier in a letter to Colin, dated 20 July 1837, laments: *Hélas! Rome, Lyon, Belley, tout est dans le silence par rapport à nous*: 'Alas, Rome, Lyons, Belley, all we hear from you is silence' (doc.17[10]). Pompallier wrote to Colin again from Valparaíso on 28 July, 1837, (doc.18[13]): *Si vous nous avez envoyé des lettres depuis que nous avons quitté la France, veuillez vous informer de ce qu'elles sont devenues; nous n'en avons reçu aucune*: 'If you have sent any letters since we left France, would you be so kind as to find out what happened to them. We have not received a single one'.

³⁶ *déclarant qu'on les avait trompés* (p.192)

Keys' translations and accounts of missionary life, based on heavily edited versions in the *Annales* rather than on the original letters now available, include flights of fancy and details and sentiments not found in the original text. For example, she offers (1957) the following translation based on the *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, 1841, Vol.13, p.42:

I had just left Maraewae, and the day began to close, when I arrived at **the tribe of Pawera**. The natives **had assembled and** were saying **together the evening** prayers. We stopped, my companions and I, to listen in **a religious** silence **to this concert of voices rising from the bosom of the seas towards a God but lately unknown**. Oh, how moved I was **at the murmur of their prayers, at the simple music of their hymns! I could not enough admire the miracles of the faith which had changed these tigers into lambs**" (pp.135-136).³⁷

My emphasis marks additions to the text of doc.52[11] as published in the *Annales* and translated by Keys. I have not marked the deletions from, and rewritings of, the *LRO* text.

The original text, as published in the *LRO*:

De Maraewae, j'allai à Pawera, alors la nuit étoit tombante et les naturels commençoient à faire leurs prières. Bien aise de savoir ce qui se passoit parmi eux, je fis signe à mes compagnons de voyages de s'arrêter et de ne pas faire de bruit. Nous nous assîmes et écoutâmes en silence: combien, [sic] j'étois attendri en pensant que ces cruels sauvages d'autrefois se plaisoient à faire leurs prières et à chanter les louanges du Seigneur!

Also published in 1957, Goulter's *Sons of France: A forgotten influence on New Zealand history*, an account of the work of five French Marist missionaries in New Zealand, Frs Catherin Servant, Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean, Antoine Garin, Jean Forest, and Delphin Moreau, is likewise hagiographical rather than analytical in approach and has been limited by lack of access to the primary sources now available through the *LRO*. Like Keys, Goulter does not usually source her material. Her selection of

³⁷ The text as published in the *Annales* (1841, p.42): *Je venais de quitter Maraewae, et le jour commençait à baisser, quand j'arrivai à la tribu de Pawera. Les naturels étaient réunis, et faisaient en commun la prière du soir. Nous nous arrêta mes, mes compagnons et moi, pour écouter, dans un religieux silence, ce concert de voix s'élevant du sein des mers vers un Dieu naguère inconnu. Oh! combien j'étais attendri au murmure de leurs prières, aux chants naïfs de leurs cantiques! Je ne pouvais assez admirer les miracles de la foi qui avait changé ces tigres en agneaux...*

passages for translation tends to gloss over any difficulties the Marists experienced, although she refers to the poverty of the general population of New Zealand at the time (p.24). She specifically excludes writing about the split between Pompallier and Colin that caused the Marists to leave Auckland and the North, stating: “It is unnecessary here to enter into the rather intricate reasons for this exodus” (p.78). Writing, or declining to write, about the difficulties Fr Forest experienced on a voyage between Auckland and the Bay of Islands, vividly recounted in a letter to Fr Épalle (doc.222[10-18]), she says primly, “[t]he gaps in the above letter represent details unsuitable for reproduction in pages destined for the reading of the general public” (p.109). Hagiographical writing on Pompallier and the French Marists, noted by Jennings (2011b, p.18), has continued. Diane Taylor (2016), for example, presents her book on Pompallier as “an unashamedly positive work” (p.6).

Later histories of the Catholic Church in New Zealand focus more on the rift between Pompallier and Colin than on cultural aspects of the French missionaries’ work. However, Simmons (1978) gives an account of their Māori mission, acknowledging Pompallier’s gifts as a missionary, including his keen interest in, and ability to relate well to, Māori, and his instructions to his missionaries to respect Māori for their beliefs, rather than forcing them to immediate change (pp.22-33; 1984, pp.74-96. See also King, 2002, p.14). Simmons (1984) asserts it was possible for Christianity to offer Maori change “without destroying their Māori way of life and values” (p.12). Certainly, Pompallier advises his priests to: “Persuade [Māori] to abandon their superstitions one after another, but only when you have studied their customs to see whether any practice really is superstitious” (Girdwood-Morgan, 1841/1985, ch.8).

Simmons (1978) is frank about the two areas that prevented Pompallier from being a great leader: “[T]he bishop had all the attributes of a great missionary leader except two – prudent financial administration and the ability to win the complete trust of his men” (p.12). Yannick Essertel’s (2015) view, that Simmons focuses too much on Pompallier as an individual, rather than looking at how his historical context impacted on the ways in which he was able to work (pp.36-37), supports my arguments about the importance of contextual analysis in relation to the Catholic mission.

Simmons (1984) used the primary resources then available to him in the ACDA, the Archives of Propaganda Fide and the Archives of the Marist Fathers (APM) (both in Rome). Many of the letters now published in the *LRO* were not available in New Zealand but, conversely, Simmons notes that, at the time, ACDA held copies of “some 500” of Pompallier’s letters that did not exist elsewhere (p.6). Although Simmons translates brief excerpts from letters he could access in French, his focus is on

Pompallier's work, rather than on translation. Simmons' accounts are both more detailed and more accurate than Nicholas Reid's (2011) *Founders and Keepers*, which deals briefly with issues related to Pompallier's leadership without making use of the *LRO*. Simmons' work on Pompallier covers a longer timespan than does that of Snijders, who restricted his valuable study of the French Pacific mission to 1835-1841 (2012), later extended to 1844 (2012-2017).

A readable history of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, with a particular emphasis on the French and Irish influences on the development of the Church, is provided by King (1997). Although his account of the early French Catholic mission lacks detail and complexity, citing only one of the French missionaries' letters from the 1836-1854 period (p.193), King identifies the significance of Pope Paul III's Bull of 1537 in reminding Catholics that "indigenous peoples were as much human beings as their colonisers and conquerors, and that they enjoyed the same natural rights" (p.32). Sceptical, however, about the extent to which this altered the views of "emissaries of cultures" who believed in their "spiritual and moral superiority" over native peoples, King notes: "In New Zealand such a view may have obscured the fact that religion had permeated Māori life for a millennium before the arrival of Europeans" (p.32).

A rather different slant on the Pompallier-Colin rift is provided in a readable, scholarly paper by Munro (2009b), who identifies multiple factors, including religious, cultural, political, financial, and social tensions that could have damaged the relationship (pp.65-85). She notes ambiguities in the scope of Pompallier's spiritual and episcopal authority over the missionaries, a difficulty compounded by confusing advice in letters from Colin (pp.83-84). Perceptively, Munro identifies Colin's "almost visceral conviction that his men were not in good hands while with Pompallier" (p.66) as the deciding factor in determining how he would react to the conflict between the Marist missionaries and their bishop. Citing letters written to Pompallier by Franson and Colin, Munro gives an idea of some of the voices that are unheard in the one-sided conversation of the *LRO*. I discuss (pp.31, 51-53, 80) the importance of these inaudible voices in fleshing out an understanding of the *LRO*.

In my opinion, Munro is correct in believing that the political context the French missionaries came from influenced their thinking so that, despite vows of obedience, the concepts of "liberty, equality and fraternity", also part of their intellectual and psychological make-up in terms of Bourdieu's *habitus*, made them resistant to what they considered ill-judged in Pompallier's behaviour (p.82). Essertel (2015), taking a more conservative view, believes some of the Marists were not easy to manage because they needed more training in the religious life (p.77).

Munro's (2009b) discussion of the importance of the Catholic Māori chiefs in supporting Pompallier is valuable (pp.79-80), as is her discussion of Pompallier's management of the New Zealand political context in which he had to work. Although forthright about Pompallier's shortcomings,³⁸ seeming to favour the gentler, though determined, Colin, Munro is wholehearted in acknowledging the contribution the Marists made to the early colonial settlement of New Zealand: "They have earned their place in our memory. So has Pompallier" (p.85).

Recent analyses by Marist priests, Frs Schianchi (2009) and Snijders (2012), based on primary documentation, give quite different accounts of the breakdown of the Pompallier-Colin relationship. Schianchi, focusing on Colin's dealing with Propaganda Fide in Rome rather than on the situation in New Zealand, leaves the reader wondering why the cardinals responsible, having seen Colin was either unwilling or unable to manage such a large mission at such a distance,³⁹ did not take greater responsibility for overseeing the mission. Solutions adopted, such as dividing the original vicariate of Western Oceania into the vicariates of Central Oceania (1842), Micronesia, and Melanesia (1844), and the New Zealand mission into two dioceses, Auckland and Wellington (1848) (Oceania Marist Province, n.d.), did not address the underlying problems of Colin refusing to send any more men to the mission, or the relationship between bishops and their missionaries, including the division between spiritual and administrative direction. Further, it resulted in the loss of the Māori mission when the Marists left the north. Simmons (1984) finds that after Pompallier was appointed Apostolic Administrator of Auckland he did not provide adequate manpower for the Māori missions in his area (pp.145-146). Essertel's (2015) opinion is that the sheer size of Pompallier's vicarate was one of the factors making it unmanageable (p.71).

Snijders (2012) believes the Marist mission in Oceania was crippled within five years because of structural problems in the way the mission was set up, compounded by conflict between Pompallier and his missionaries, and between Pompallier and Colin (pp.390-393). Critical of both Colin and Pompallier, Snijders (2015) writes: "In 1836 Colin had in fact abdicated his responsibility to care for the

³⁸ Munro (2009a) writes, for example, of Pompallier's "unconscious prevarication which disguised realities; overweening episcopal control, vented in alarming outbursts of anger; and occasional bouts of drunkenness" (p.32).

³⁹ A draft letter dated 27 October, 1842, from Colin to Pompallier, sent to Fransoni for prior approval, told Pompallier that he no longer represented Colin as religious superior, all debts incurred by him would be refused, and all relationships between Colin and Pompallier were in abeyance (Lessard, 2009, Vol.2, doc.18[17, 18, 19]. The cardinal regarded the draft letters, which Colin did not send to Pompallier, as "declaring a complete break" and abandoning the mission (Schianchi, 2009, p.39).

missionaries by entrusting it completely to someone who turned out to be an incompetent and ill-disposed bishop" (Bonus chapter 14).

Thus, difficulties between Colin and Pompallier had multiple causes, including personality differences and structural weaknesses in the definition and separation of the roles and responsibilities of both men, and unresolved ambiguity about whether or not Pompallier was a Marist (see p.37). Pompallier, faced with the practicalities of the mission, did not recognise, although he must have been fully aware of, the difficulties of the newly formed Society in sending significant numbers of priests and brothers to Oceania.⁴⁰ Colin, wishing the Marists to operate unobtrusively, with humility, as if "hidden and unknown",⁴¹ did not appear to appreciate that Pompallier's use of his episcopal title and accompanying insignia helped him gain status with Māori and the British settlers as he had no other capital he could call on (see Appendix, doc.56[6] for a different point of view). These negativities were exacerbated by the slowness and unreliability of communication systems, first exemplified in Pompallier's distress at finding no money from Colin awaiting his arrival in New Zealand (doc.24[13]) and his failure to realise that Colin could not send money or missionaries until he knew where Pompallier was. Snijders' (2012) summary of Pompallier's four changes, en route, of his original plan for travelling from France to New Zealand⁴² justifies Colin's discretion, without minimizing its impact on Pompallier.

Summary

Before the *LRO* were published in 2009, the lack of a reliable translation of the French missionaries' letters 1838-1854 is likely to have contributed to the general lack of attention paid to the mission even by well-known New Zealand general and Church historians, although Catholic historians have, to a limited extent, bridged this gap. However, versions of the French priests' letters in earlier Catholic histories were generally taken from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, an unreliable source as the letters had often been heavily edited by Pompallier, Colin, or staff of *la Propagation de la Foi*. A small number of university theses and histories written by Catholic priests account for most historical evaluation of the relationship between the early Marists and Māori.

⁴⁰ By June, 1841, Colin had sent 18 priests, 15 Brothers, and two laymen to the Oceania mission, not including Pompallier himself (Girard, 2010, Vol.10, pp.37-40).

⁴¹ 'ignoti et quasi occulti' (Coste, Ed., 1975, p.334).

- ⁴²"When leaving France, the plan was: Valparaiso – Gambier – New Zealand.
- In Valparaiso it became: Gambier – Hawaii – Micronesia.
- In the Gambier Islands he changed to: Tahiti – Hawaii – Micronesia.
- In Tahiti he changed to: Micronesia (direct) – Sydney – New Zealand
- On the way it became: Tahiti – Tonga – Wallis – Futuna – Sydney – New Zealand" (p.102).

I have argued that historical anti-Catholic attitudes that underlay New Zealand society into at least the second half of the 20th century can be partly attributed to the intense French Catholic – British Protestant missionary rivalry that sprang up in New Zealand after the arrival of Pompallier and the Marists and was recorded in missionary and historical writing.

Since the *LRO* have been published, some use has been made of them by historians and other commentators who can read French, including Marist priests. To date, no sustained translation of the letters has been developed, although accurate, but fragmentary, translations are now evident in some university theses and recent critical articles and histories. Recent analyses of the Catholic mission attempt to explain the breakdown in the relationships between Pompallier and Colin, and Pompallier and his priests, citing structural problems in the way the mission was set up, lack of funding, poor communication between the two protagonists, delays in communication and mutual distrust.

In the next chapter, I explain how the theoretical framework for my thesis has guided my interpretation and translation of the *LRO*.

Chapter 4: Theoretical framework

Overview

My translation is informed by an analytical, hermeneutical reading that is responsive to the writers' lexical choices and reflects, as far as possible, the sub-texts and unexpressed assumptions underlying their writing. John Caputo's (1997) observation that a deconstructive reading "is exceedingly close, fine-grained, meticulous, scholarly, serious, and, above all, 'responsible,' both in the sense of being able to give an account of itself in scholarly terms and in the sense of 'responding' to something in the text that tends to drop out of view" (p.77) has guided my interpretation and subsequent translation of the *LRO*.

I recognise the essential link between translation and interpretation, identified by Sherry Simon (2005): "Translating is an act of interpretation. Religious authorities have always recognised this fact and that is why each major religious denomination has its own approved translation of the Bible" (p.105). Hans Gadamer (1960/2013) is similarly clear: "[E]very translation is at the same time an interpretation. We can even say that translation is the culmination of the interpretation that the translator has made of the words given him" (p.402). Gayatri Spivak's (1993/2004) more subtle understanding of interpretation is based on the importance of historical context:

[D]epth of commitment to correct cultural politics, felt in the details of personal life, is sometimes not enough. The history of the language, the history of the author's moment, the history of the language-in-and-as-translation, must figure in the weaving as well" (p.375).

Further, she identifies the need to identify and interpret unspoken context: "Rhetoric must work in the silence between and around words" (p.371). This view reflects my understanding that in translating the *LRO*, it is important to be able to interpret and convey not only the overt, surface meaning of the text, but also the underlying, implicit meaning.

Recognition of the impact of differences between the implied contexts and purposes of the ST and the TT leads to discussion of the level of equivalence best suited to the translation of primary historical documents. This discussion raises the question of ethical issues, particularly in relation to loyalty to the ST writers.

Venuti's (2000/2004) claim that a translation can only ever communicate to its target text readers the understanding that foreign readers have of a foreign text "when the domestic remainder released by

the translation includes an inscription of the foreign context in which the text first emerged” (p.487), asserts the necessity for the TT reader to have some understanding of the ST context. This view is endorsed by Hervey and Higgins (2010), who are clear that the “whole context is an important consideration in translation; but the more immediate the context, the more crucial a factor it becomes in making decisions of detail” (p.9).

This view of the interrelationships between context, interpretation, and meaning is captured, I suggest, in Stanley Porter and Jason Robinson’s (2011) understanding that successful hermeneutical practice needs to include “our social, historical, linguistic, theological, and biological influences” (p.2). These “influences” closely align to Bourdieu’s *habitus* (see, for example, Grenfell, 2010, pp.33, 47, 82) and to Derrida’s (1988a) understanding of *hors-texte* (p.148).

Habitus, capital, field and power

I use Bourdieu’s analytical tools of *habitus*, capital, field and power to examine relationships between participants in New Zealand society in 1840, showing how:

- historical events shaped attitudes evident in that society;
- the French missionaries’ lack of economic, social and cultural capital hampered their work, but was partially compensated for by Pompallier’s status as a bishop;
- the missionaries had to operate in several “fields”, including in Māori tribes; with British settlers and government officials; with Pompallier in their missionary stations; and with Colin and their French religious communities, through their letters; and
- the theme of power underlying these relationships is revealed through the language used by both the priests and Pompallier (see pp.100-104).

Bourdieu (1992) explains *habitus* thus:

The *habitus* — embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history — is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product. As such, it is what gives practices their relative autonomy with respect to external determinations of the immediate present (p.56).

This theory is useful in the interpretation of many relationships in 1840 New Zealand, particularly between the British and French colonisers, settlers and missionaries, who arrived in New Zealand with their attitudes already formed by:

- their understanding of their countries' extensive histories of colonisation dating from the 16th century (Harry Cooper and May Marshall, 1933; Barbara Belyea, 2009, p.10);
- religious intolerance, dating primarily from the 16th century (John Coffey, 2014, p.3; Andrea Frisch, 2015, p.2); and
- mutual rivalry dating from the 1066 Norman Conquest (James Belich, 1996, p.14).

Thus, dispositions and mindsets that led to the 1840 colonisation of New Zealand began to develop, in some sense, centuries earlier when the *habitus*, or “set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways” and “are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable” (John Thompson, 1991, p.12), began to be formed (see also Gadamer’s (1960/2013) belief in “*historically effected consciousness*” (p.349)).

These mindsets provide explanations for the suspicion in which the French Marists recount they were held by British officials and sea captains and for the mutual hostility and distrust of French Catholic and British Protestant missionaries. Robert Young’s (2016) view that:

The text of colonial and postcolonial history can be read as a changing palimpsest with the different layers simultaneously reacting with and from each other, however anachronistic that might at times appear to be, rather than evolving as a single narrative (p.xviii),

is helpful in interpreting the multi-layered, multi-cultural, historical context in which the Marists’ 1840 letters were written.

In terms of “capital”, which Bourdieu (1982/1991) states can be political, personal, professional, delegated, and symbolic (p.194), it is evident that the French Marists, on arrival in New Zealand, were sadly lacking. Michael Grenfell (2011) further explains that capital, or what is valued in the “field”, can be cultural, economic, or social, but all of these forms “are symbolically powerful in buying power and prestige by defining one’s position in the social hierarchy” (p.31). It is evident from the *LRO* that the French missionaries in New Zealand suffered from lack of capital in terms of nationality, religion, money, resources, knowledge of Māori and English, status and political power. My analysis of the language used in the *LRO* will give an indication of resultant difficulties and indignities they suffered.

Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant (1992) define “field” as: “a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined (...) by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital)” (p.97). The various

fields in which the Marist missionaries operated would include within their own stations, with Māori particularly within the tribes, and with British settlers, officials, and missionaries.

However, it is in relation to Bourdieusian notions of power, particularly symbolic power, that the *LRO* are particularly interesting. Bourdieu's (1982/1991) focus on "symbolic power (...) an almost magical power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (....) a power that can be exercised only if it is *recognized*" (p.170), offers a way of interpreting the power relationships between Pompallier and his missionaries, and all hierarchical relationships within the Catholic Church mentioned in the *LRO*, as it may for the power of *tohunga* in imposing *tapu* (see discussion of Māori spirituality, pp. 125-130).

Hermeneutic approach

Adopting a hermeneutic approach to translating the *LRO* is, I suggest, a logical corollary of accepting Derrida's (e.g. 1968/1982a) views on the undecidability of meaning (e.g. 1972/2002, pp.41-43), and the impact of context on meaning (p.8). Derrida's (1972/1982b) understanding that endless contextual shifts (p.327) result in changes in meaning is endorsed by translation theorists including Caputo (1987), who observes: "Even to repeat 'exactly the same thing' is to repeat it in a new context which gives it a new sense" (p.142), and Matthew Reynolds (2016): "Words are always being used in new contexts where they take on new meanings and have to be translated in different ways" (p.32).

I consider, therefore, that translation of a work such as the *LRO* requires interpretation of the various contexts permeating the ST (see Chs 5-8); the semantic and conceptual issues arising from its use of language (see Chs 5-9); and the context into which the ST is being translated (see pp. 49-53, 81-82). This interpretation has an impact on translator methodology (see Venuti, 2013, p.179; Reynolds, 2016, p.63; Chesterman, 2017, p.226). The process of interpretation has helped me to identify and analyse changes in the French Marists' use of language to express ways in which they learnt to understand and interpret their new cultural and social environment, particularly Māori culture and religious beliefs.

My translation procedures have been influenced by recognition of the difference between the hermeneutic approach of "polysemy" and Derrida's "*dissemination*", both terms that constitute "two different strategies to deal with the plurality of meanings in language" (Eddo Evink, 2012, p.264). Evink explains polysemy as "the effort to maintain the many meanings of one word within the extensive framework of the hermeneutic circle and the hermeneutic horizon, while dissemination is the force that

inevitably breaks through this circle" (p.264). Although Evink sees dissemination as "not so much a refutation as an enrichment of a hermeneutic understanding of interpretation" (p.281), the main impact of "dissemination" on translation procedures is stronger than that, and is evidenced first in changes in the attitude of the translator, who is enabled to explore levels of meaning instead of being constrained by a narrow definition of its boundaries.

The significance of this distinction between polysemy and dissemination is captured by Venuti (2013). Somewhat surprisingly for a translation theorist and practitioner who has argued strongly for the desirability of preserving the "uniqueness" of the foreign text (for example, 1996, p.99), and who is often seen as advocating simplistic polarisations between faithful and free translations, Venuti promotes a subtler view of translation in a series of essays published between 2000-2012, reflecting "a significant change in [his] thinking" (p.2). Citing Derrida, Venuti (2013) sees a "hermeneutic model" of translation practice as opening up "the interpretive possibilities of translation" so that the ST itself, far from being invariant in meaning, is assumed to be "radically variable in form, meaning, and effect". The ST is subject to shifts in interpretation, caused in the first instance by "the creation of a new context (...) in the translating language and culture" (p.4).

The notion that stability of meaning cannot be claimed for the ST takes Venuti (p.40) beyond the understandings of more traditional adherents of the hermeneutic model, such as Hirsch (1976) who, for example, writes: "At every point [of his book *The aims of interpretation*], the stable determinacy of meaning is being defended, even when significance is under discussion, for without the stable determinacy of meaning there can be no knowledge in interpretation" (p.1). Not all hermeneutic theorists insist that the meaning of the ST is stable, however. Gadamer (1960/2013), for example, writes: "The horizon of understanding cannot be limited either by what the writer originally had in mind or by the horizon of the person to whom the text was originally addressed" (p.413). His claim that the "horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past" and that understanding is always the fusion of present and historical horizons, "*supposedly existing by themselves*" (1960/2013, p.317), is helpful in showing the interconnectedness of the past and the present, and is supportive of Bourdieu's understanding of the impact of *habitus* on attitudes and behaviour.

I believe the new contexts and consequent changes in meaning from the ST to the TT constitute translation gains that compensate for the impossibility of capturing "all meaning associated with the source text" (Tymoczko, 2007, p.309). Erroneously, in my view, Joanna Polley (2009) sees Derrida's understanding of inevitable loss of meaning through translation as creating an "impasse" (p.3), claiming

that the “ultimate insufficiency” of Derrida’s view lies in its “inability to offer productive solutions to the problem of translation” (p.19). Polley appears to have overlooked Derrida’s (1978/2007) statement: “a ‘good’ translation must always *abuse*” (p.67), interpreted by Philip Lewis (1985/2004) as “a good translation must always play tricks” , which he explains as making clear “the sense of a translation effect”, so that the translation does not result from “a simple concern for fidelity or adequacy” but “exerts an unpacking and disseminating effect” (p.261). Douglas Robinson’s explanation (1997) that Lewis is counselling “a measured modulation of both the source-language text and the target language so as to bring about significant shifts in meanings, tonalizations, expectations, outcomes” (p.133) is helpful in showing how Derrida’s views on translation, far from creating an unresolvable impasse, open up translation so that it is sufficiently flexible and nuanced to meet the specific requirements of ever-changing contexts.

I discuss (pp. 40-47) the impact the new context of the early Marist missionaries’ published letters, compared with that of the original letters, has on the interpretation, and thus the translation, of the *LRO*.

Context and meaning

I believe that to have as full as possible an understanding of people, a situation, or an event, the reader or participant needs to have an awareness of the cultural, social, political, historical, and religious contexts that have led to, and surround, the point in question. Consequently, the translator has to find a way of communicating this contextual background. The corollary of Koskinen’s (2000) summary: “[T]he text cannot be separated from its context. A text only comes into being in a context” (p.31) is expressed by Suzanne Jill Levine (2011): “A fundamental tenet of translation is that you don’t translate a text, you translate a context”.

Thus, a polyphonic text, such as my selection from the *LRO*, written by ten people with minimal consultation of one another, over an eleven-month period and from a variety of locations, requires the translator to be attentive to, and convey as well as possible, the various contextual backgrounds of the ST, recognising ways in which both the ST and TT are influenced by the different needs of their respective audiences.

The impact of understanding contexts as textual boundaries that limit, but do not contain, an endless chain of signification (Derrida, 1979, p.81) is that while trying to capture a specific meaning the

translator should recognize and, if possible, convey, the historic meanings of the word that remain as a trace, or palimpsest, even if they are not the focus of its current usage. In addition, when a 21st century reader peruses a 19th century text, meanings that were not yet present in the 19th century context may be evident from the later perspective. The use of *sauvages* in the *LRO* is an example of this (see pp.117-119), as *auguste* is an example of present and past meanings being affected by meanings from the more distant past (see pp.85-89). I have not, however, changed my translation of *sauvages* throughout my TT, partly because English does not have any one-word synonyms for 'savages' (*OED*, 2018) and partly because the changing specific contexts in which the use of *sauvages* occurs in the *LRO* themselves indicate the writers' changes in tone and attitude (see Ch. 8). On the other hand, I have changed my translation of *auguste* to reflect the various contexts in which this word occurs in conjunction with *mère*, 'mother', because of the availability of English synonyms that capture the changing connotations and associations of this word in the various contexts of its usage in the *LRO* (pp.86-88).

I believe this recognition of words with "relationships to past and future" (Kathleen Davis, 2001, p.15) has, to a large extent, freed translators from rigid adherence to close, literal, translation and enabled them to make decisions about TT language that, as far as possible, captures the nuanced meaning of the ST.

In further relation to the concept of "context", I discuss the impact on my translation of Derrida's (1968/1982a) concept of *différance*, which implies that the transfer of meaning is always deferred or delayed (pp.8-9), with consequent changes in meaning due to "the irreparable loss of presence" (p.19) in new contexts. Derrida, (1972/1982b) also explains that *différance* describes both the power of language to indicate what things are not, or what they differ from, and its power to function in the absence or death of the writer or addressee. Thus, *différance* is a way of explaining how meaning, though stable in the sense that endless repetitions build up a certain stability, is paradoxically unstable because of its "essential drifting, due to writing as an iterative structure" (p.316) so that the number of contexts in which specific examples of lexis can appear is limitless.

I argue that the dual meanings of *différance*, 'to differ' and 'to defer', are relevant to the translation of the *LRO*. Thus, in the 19th century, the necessary time lapse between the writing of the Marist missionaries' letters and their reading by their intended receiver(s) caused serious misunderstandings. Difference of space (Derrida, 1968/1982a, p.18) also had a significant impact on interpretation of the *LRO*. The 21st century reader wonders also how well French ST readers could have imagined

differences between the settings of New Zealand and France, new colony and ancient city, untamed rural landscape and urban environment, which embody part of the meaning of the *LRO*, just as setting helps construct meaning in fiction (Anthony Burgess, 2017). The different associations and connotations of these changed and changing meanings are encapsulated in both Derrida's (1968/1982a) *différance* (pp.1-28); and the "trace" (p.13), the multiple layers of historical and future meanings that the translator tries to capture.

I recognise that although a deconstructionist approach positions the translator well in terms of understanding the importance of context and its relation to meaning and provides a useful tool for close reading and interpretation of the text, it does not, nor does it claim to, offer a blueprint for translation. Davis (2001), while citing helpful analyses of translations of Derrida's work by Spivak, Alan Bass, Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (pp.67-90), does not relate their translation strategies to Derridean concepts. Her finding, that Derrida's translators "do not espouse a unified 'translation theory', nor do their practices form a composite that amounts to such a theory" (p.68), illustrates the difficulty of relating translation theory to actual practice. Chesterman (2017) admits his analysis of his own translation strategies has not enabled him to say whether or not translation theory had influenced his translation choices (p.92). Gentzler's (2001) view that "the deconstructionists' entire project is intricately relevant to questions of translation theory, and their thinking is seminal to any understanding of the theoretical problems of the translation process" (p.146), does not address the question of the relevance of deconstructionist theory to actual translation practice although Jan-Louis Kruger's (2004): response: "The key to an application of Derrida's theory has to be sought in the process rather than in the product of translation" (p.62) would seem to obviate the need for this.

Although several translation studies theorists discuss Derridean views on translation (e.g. Rosemary Arrojo, 1998; Koskinen, 1996, 2000; Davis, 2001; Gentzler, 2001, 2002; Kruger, 2004; Pym, 1995a, 2008, 2010; Venuti, 2004, 2013), only Venuti (2013), to my knowledge, provides a sustained analysis (pp.57-79) of the extent to which deconstructive procedures support translation of a specific work, Derrida's (1999/2004) *Qu'est-ce qu'une traduction 'relevante'?* 'What is a 'Relevant' Translation?', in which Derrida himself provides a masterly analysis of his own strategies for translating and interpreting. Attempts to use Derrida's (1987/2008) ideas on language to support practical translation are unlikely to succeed, given his view that: "Deconstruction is not a method and cannot be transformed into one" (p.4). However, insofar as a deconstructionist approach can be used to guide translation processes, it

is possible to describe this approach. Derrida's ideas on the fluidity of meaning, continually reshaped by its immediate, specific context, have enabled me to develop a translation based on the strategy of preserving ambiguities in the ST while finding the most nuanced and appropriate word (Derrida, 1999/2004, p.427) to express specific ST-TT transformations, and allowing "the play of signification" (1967/1978, p.280), rather than using translation "equivalents" that constrict meaning and narrow its focus and referential powers.

Equivalence

I find it hard to disagree with Bassnett's (2014) common-sense stance on equivalence, which is based on the assumption that a degree of equivalence is essential to translation. Bassnett is clear that "the translator must tackle the SL [source language] text in such a way that the TL [target language] text will correspond to the SL version" (p.33). She makes a valid distinction between the precision of mathematical equivalence and the necessarily looser notion of equivalence in translation practice (p.36) and clarifies some of the characteristics of equivalence and the intertextual and intratextual relationships that are part of equivalence in practice (pp.33-39).

The complex question of equivalence in translation, while related to the question of the immutability of the ST, is also closely related to notions of the instability of meaning and to the nature of text, epitomised in Derrida's (1988a) cryptic "*Il n'y a pas de hors-texte*" (p.148), possible meanings of which are provided by, for example, Christopher Norris (1987, p.121-122); Spivak (1997, p.158); Arthur Bradley (2008, p.112-114); Davis (2001, Section 1, n.p.); and Max Deutscher (2014).

Chesterman (2002), in *Can Theory Help Translators*, co-written with Emma Wagner, offers his (mis)understanding of the impact of Derrida's (in)famous sentence: "[M]eanings are not fixed but endlessly shifting and deferred, all is indeterminate, everyone interprets a text in their own way: this means that any notion of equivalence goes out the window, since there is nothing 'objectively there' that can be equivalent to anything else. There is no 'centre'" (p.24). Despite Chesterman's fears, far from "going out the window", the notion of equivalence in translation has been defined, re-defined and challenged by translation theorists from Cicero (55 BC)⁴³ to Chesterman himself (2017) who, further discussing the topic, writes: "[W]e still cannot decide how to define equivalence (...) or even if we need

⁴³ Lefevere (1992) cites Cicero's (55 BC), *De oratore* ("On the orator"): 'I decided to take speeches written in Greek by great orators and to translate them freely' (p.47).

the concept at all" (p.36). I discuss (pp.71, 73, 78, 94, 143) some of the implications of this uncertainty for translation practice.

It seems to me that many of Chesterman's fears, like those of Richard Freadman and Seumas Miller (1992), about the deleterious impact of post-structuralism on the analysis of language and meaning could be allayed by closer reading of Derrida's views on language and thought. Freadman and Miller reject Derrida's ideas partly because of their misapprehension that Derrida denies "the 'originary' authority of the author", (p.10); "the referential power of language" (pp.4, 115, 137); "determinate meaning" (p.10, p.121, p.125); and the constraints context places on meaning (p.123). It is true that Derrida does not accept the "originary authority of the author" and much of his essay "Limited Inc a b c" (1988b, pp.29-110) is a defence of this position, as is "Signature event context" (1972/1982b, pp.307-330). However, Derrida (1972/1982b) affirms the referential power of language (pp.313, 318-319); asserts (1998), "I never said there is indeterminacy of meaning. I think there are interpretations which determine the meaning, and there are some undecidabilities, but undecidability is not indeterminacy" (p.79); and argues (1988a) that while contexts do place constraints on meaning, "the limit of the frame or the border of the context always entails a clause of nonclosure" (p.152).

The question of both semantic and syntactical equivalence that derives from these arguments about interpretation, context and meaning is related to the foreignization/domestication dichotomy identified by Venuti (1996). Tymoczko, amongst others,⁴⁴ has strong reservations about Venuti's stance, finding that although his work has been "extremely stimulating to, and valuable for", translation studies, it has also been "limited". In her belief, theoretical and pragmatic approaches to translation "should account for and enable translation in situations where either foreignizing or domesticating techniques are applicable" (2007, p.249-250). Ramsay and Walker note foreignization can have the effect of exoticizing "marginalised cultures" in a "patronizing and/or elitist manner" and "can result in an obscure and overly literal TT", which does no justice to the "indigenous author, his or her text and culture" (2010, p.47). Gentzler's attitude towards polarisation of the domestication/foreignization debate tends towards the dismissive. He sees it as expressing the same dilemma as the "faithful vs. free debate that has characterised translation" since Cicero was translating Greek into Latin two thousand years ago,

⁴⁴ Gentzler (2011) comments: "The two paradigms Venuti sets up for translation – fluent and foreignizing - seem to allow no middle ground" (p.18). Helen Sturm (2014) notes: "Professional theorists and practitioners who distance themselves to a greater or lesser extent from Venuti's views include [Mona] Baker (2010:115), Gentzler (2011:15-20), Ramsay and Walker (2010:47), Tymoczko (2010:10), and Walker-Morrison (2010:245)" (p.8).

and makes the valid point that Venuti's paradigms of fluent and foreignizing translations "seem to allow no middle ground, whereas many translators use a combination of strategies" (2011, pp.17-18).

My own view is that translation studies have moved on beyond the polarized views expressed by Venuti in 1996, towards Bassnett's (2011) more sophisticated argument that translators have to "translate not only the words on the page but the absent contexts in which those words appear, the text behind the text, as it were, if they are to [...] create something worthwhile" (p. xiii). Bassnett later (2014) endorses the interpretative, analytical and creative skills required, describing translation as [...] the manifestation of one reader's interpretation of a text, the final product of a creative process that may involve many stages of rereading and rewriting" (p.106). Venuti himself (2013) later also acknowledges a subtler form of translation that comes from recognising that "the source text, regardless of whether its genre or text type is humanistic, pragmatic, or technical, is radically variable in form, meaning, and effect". He continues:

The different model I began to imagine opens up the interpretive possibilities of translation, allowing them to vary with the nature of the interpretants applied by the translator but enabling the interpretations to be described and evaluated with clarity and precision in the conditions – linguistic and cultural, social and political- under which the translation is produced and circulated (p.4.).

My strategies for interpreting and conveying the "historical sense of the translated text, produced and received in a particular culture at a particular period" (Venuti, 2013, p.7), are outlined above (pp.6, 13-22, 34-38) and are further exemplified throughout this thesis (e.g.pp.46-47, 65-66, 71-79, 81-85).

Ethical matters

Ethical considerations are seen by Koskinen (1996) as the most interesting aspect of deconstruction and translation: "in a web of multiple and changing meanings, translators have to force a fixture and create a closure. How this is done, on what premises and for whose benefit is precisely the point deconstruction demands us to investigate" (p.24). Munro's (2009a) guidance on ethical issues related to interpretation of primary, and essentially private, historical documents such as the *LRO* is pertinent: "[W]e are essentially unauthorised readers of texts with allusions we cannot fully understand. We need to keep a certain reserve, a spirit of enquiry, as we read" (p.16).

I believe that, although ethical matters related to loyalty to the ST writers (see pp.15, 35, 45-48, 97) are one of the prime considerations in translating the *LRO*, this loyalty is not the only consideration for the

translator. Loyalty to readers in the TA must also be considered, which means there is “a moral responsibility not to deceive them” (Nord, 1997, p.125). This form of loyalty includes ensuring that the TA is offered explanations of ST ambiguities whose meaning is likely to have been clear to ST readers. It also involves the translator preserving a delicate balance so that any inclination to over-translate or under-translate in order to heighten the drama of the narrative or accentuate what the translator can see are the underlying attitudes of the writer are weighed against the need to present primary historical documents accurately, while recognising that the ST itself is an interpretation (see Dunmore, 1994, p.2), as is the translation, and as will be the TA responses to the TT.

Loyalty to the ST writers, in my view a completely different question from fidelity to the ST,⁴⁵ involves the need for the translator to respect the implicit trust of the ST writers in their audience, in the 19th century, mostly Colin. However, in the 21st century, their unknown and unintended audience is likely to have very different religious and cultural values and beliefs. Thus, an issue both ethical and language-based, particularly in relation to interpretation of the language used in the *LRO*, is that the ST writers were unlikely to have foreseen later uses and interpretations of their letters and could not have imagined the new contexts in which they would be read. As a result, questions about respect, trust, and issues of legitimate ownership are related to changing interpretations of texts, questions about the supremacy of the author or the reader, and the responsibilities of the translator. Letters written in haste, often with little time for revision, mostly as single private communications, and by different writers who did not usually show their letters to others, except to Pompallier if he was in the area, have now been presented as one collection of published letters, giving substance and permanence to their former ephemerality, and reducing readers’ awareness of the confidentiality and individuality of the original letters.

This change in form has some bearing on the ways in which the letters are translated and interpreted, unless translators are careful to remember the conditions under which the original texts were written. For example, Servant’s statement about tending to catechists who become ill (doc.55[6]) is difficult to

⁴⁵ The question of “fidelity” to the ST, sometimes seen as “a rather technical relationship between two texts” (Nord, 1995, pp.32-33), is based principally on notions of equivalence and leans more towards “literal” than “free” translation, a distinction made by Cicero 2000 years ago (Bassnett, 2011, p.162) but challenged by Derrida’s (1988a) views on the nature of language and the “incessant movement of recontextualization” (p.136).

follow and the translator must decide whether to add explanatory words so that the sentence makes notional sense to the TA, or whether to assume the TA will understand the ST, a dilemma identified by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1813/2004, p.49). Thus, I have considered whether: *Lorsqu'un catéchiste tombe malade ou qu'il est obligé d'absenter de l'établissement, on ne peut s'imaginer combien en ces diverses circonstances la charité et l'union la plus intime consolent et encouragent* should be translated literally as: 'When a catechist falls ill, or has to be away from the station, you cannot imagine how much charity and the closest union console and encourage in these different circumstances', or if additional words should be inserted so that the translation makes better sense.

I believe that in such a case, where the TT meaning is not only ambiguous but could be seriously misunderstood, the underlying concept of "coming together in God" should be expressed. However, my wish to preserve ST ambiguities in the TT (see p.43) has led me to adhere to the ST in my translation, but to provide what I believe was the intended meaning in a footnote so that TT readers can make their own decision about the underlying meaning of the ST (see Appendix, doc.55[6]) n.208). Such an explanation would not have been required for ST readers.

Summary

My theoretical framework is based on the need for translation to be informed by an analytical, interpretative, and responsive reading of the ST, in relation not only to the language to portray its overt contexts, but also to silences and ambiguities within the text. In support of this argument, I cite Bassnett, Caputo, Hervey and Higgins, Koskinen, Munro, Porter and Robinson, Simon, Spivak, and Venuti.

I have discussed the relevance of Bourdieu's sociological tools of *habitus*, capital, field and power to interpretation of the *LRO* and participant relationships within 1840 New Zealand society, particularly hierarchical, power relationships within the Catholic Church.

The importance of a hermeneutic approach to translation is identified, with reference to Derrida's views on undecidability of meaning and the impact of context on meaning, supported by the views of Caputo, Chesterman, Reynolds, and Venuti. I also cite Evink, Kruger, Lewis, and Robinson, who show how Derrida's ideas on translation open up the process to make it flexible and nuanced. No claim is made, however, that Derrida provides a detailed guide for translation praxis. The value of his work for translators lies in its power to illuminate ways in which language is used and, therefore, translation processes.

The challenge of conveying the broad, historical context of a translation is identified, as well as the challenges of conveying historic and future meanings of lexis used in specific contexts, and unable to be captured in a single translating word. This challenge is also acknowledged by Tymoczko and discussed in detail by Davis. These challenges are related to Derrida's notions of *différance* and *la trace* and have a bearing on the concept of equivalence in translation.

The nature and degree of equivalence that should exist between a ST and a TT has been the basis of arguments about translation for over 2000 years and has involved most translation theorists from Cicero to Chesterman (2017). Venuti's views on domestication/foreignization strategies in translation, later (2013) modified in favour of a more interpretative approach to translation, have contributed to this discussion since the 1990s. I have noted (n.44, p.44) several translation theorists who have expressed reservations about Venuti's earlier work strongly favouring foreignization strategies. My own preference is to see translation as interpretation and rewriting, a view also espoused by Bassnett (2014).

I have acknowledged ethical matters related to translation, including loyalty to the ST authors and "fidelity" to the ST, between which I make a distinction based principally on the views of Nord (1997). In relation to the question of fidelity to the ST, I cite Dunmore's view that what historians present as "history" is a forever changing interpretation that must be recognised as subjective. Therefore, as part of an attempt to reduce subjectivity, I believe the translator should let ambiguities in the ST remain ambiguous in the TT so that 21st century readers are able to inform their own opinion without overt translator interference. However, when ambiguities based on religious assumptions that would have been clear to the ST readership appear to me likely to be puzzling or even mystifying to the TA, I have explained in a footnote what seems likely to me to have been the intended message of the ST writer in order to minimise the possibility of serious misunderstanding.

In Chapter 5, I examine ways in which interpretation of the *LRO* depends to a large extent on the reader's understanding of the broad context underlying the text. I illustrate ways in which this context has informed some of the translation strategies I have used.

Chapter 5: Broad contextual background

In this chapter I analyse the broad context of the *LRO* to show, in Bourdieusian terms, how earlier religious, historical and political attitudes, decisions, and events had an impact on the attitudes and conduct of the French, British, and Māori participants in New Zealand 1840 society, particularly in relation to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

In examining this context, and examples of contextual specificity, (see Ch.6), I show how theories on the relationship of language and culture, particularly as advocated by Bassnett (1998-2014), Bassnett and Lefevere (1990), Snell-Hornby (1988-2009), and Simon (2005), support interpretation and translation of the *LRO*. These theories are consistent with Derrida's (1998) notions of the impact of context on meaning (p.79) and on understanding (p.75).

I believe the TT reader needs this contextual knowledge to appreciate the history, and the cultural and religious beliefs and assumptions, of the ST authors and of other participants in the society they are writing about. Techniques for conveying this background information to the TT reader, as well as unheard voices in this historical story, are discussed below (pp.51-53) as are examples of instances when information provided in the *LRO* corroborates or appears to challenge previous historical writings about pre-colonial and early colonial New Zealand (see pp.62-63, 71-79, 140, 141, n.182).

I base my arguments about the importance of contextual knowledge partly on Bourdieu's analytical tools, particularly *habitus* and power, and partly on my interpretation of Derrida's (1988a) dictum, *il n'y a pas de hors-texte* (p.148) insofar as they are relevant to translation practice. I have identified the significance of Derrida's views on context and meaning (see pp. 4, 40-43, 95) and the need for readers to understand the context that surrounds and informs a text, noting that Derrida's understanding of the impact of broad contextual factors on meaning has not generally been overtly acknowledged by translation theorists. Bassnett and Lefevere (1990a), however, identify the importance of historical and cultural contexts in informing translation: "There is always a context in which the text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (p.11). Texts, therefore, always reflect the historical and cultural conditions under which they have been produced. "[W]hat is studied is the text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs" (p.12).

New Zealand scholars Munro (2009a), and Davidson and Lineham (2015, n.p.), who have anthologised or translated primary historical texts for a wide readership, also identify the need to

provide some form of contextual annotation so that readers can understand cultural and historical allusions and values that are different from their own.

As the TA for the *LRO* will comprise readers with a wide range of language and cultural differences and prior knowledge, the question of how much background and explanatory information to provide is problematic. Polarised views on this question are represented by Pym and Ernest-August Gutt. Pym (1992) warns against “explaining every half-shaded detail, insulting the implied receiver’s intelligence with massive over-translation” (p.86), while Gutt (1992), writing about Biblical translation, claims: “[A] translation can communicate the full intended meaning of the original only if the receptor audience has access to the full context envisaged by the original communicator” (pp.67-68). In practice, however, I believe a compromise is required so that the TA is neither overwhelmed with what could be seen as extraneous material, nor unable to appreciate the TT fully because of the translator’s failure to provide helpful exegesis and relevant contextual information.

<i>Providing TT readers with implicit ST background information</i>
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The *LRO* assume the readers’ immersion in the dogma, prayers, and practices of the Catholic faith, understanding of Catholic devotion to the Virgin Mary, detailed knowledge of the Scriptures, and fluency in Latin. The letters are all written by men, with very few references to women. The 21st century New Zealand population is increasingly irreligious (2013 Census QuickStats), although does not necessarily lack knowledge about religion; has little or no knowledge of Latin,⁴⁶ and general attitudes to the societal roles of both men and women are very different from 19th century attitudes.

To provide some of this essential background information, my planned translator’s introduction will clarify the cultural, historical and religious context of the *LRO* and indicate coded ST messages that might otherwise not be understood. For example, readers need to appreciate the implications of the conflict between Pompallier and the Marists and to understand both Pompallier’s anger and frustration at what he saw as Colin’s ineptitude and delays in sending missionaries and money, as well as Colin’s anxiety about the safety of the men he had sent to New Zealand and his disapprobation of, and reactive hostility towards, Pompallier.⁴⁷ While some of Pompallier’s irascible letters to Colin are within

⁴⁶ Ministry of Education data show a 39.8% decline from 1996-2017 in the number of students taking Latin at secondary school level (Subject enrolment, 2018).

⁴⁷ E.g. see Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, docs 301, 305, 330.

my selection for translation (e.g. doc.59[28]), the angriest outbursts (docs 91 and 116), which triggered his break with the Marists, are outside it. Prior to my selection for translation, three letters from Pompallier criticise Colin, at least by implication, for not sending enough missionaries and funding (docs 29[2], 30[2], 37[3-6]). Once the letters are understood as a whole, interpretation of these earlier expressions of irritation is inevitably coloured by protentive knowledge of the later letters. As a result, the translator has to be careful not to over-translate by using lexis that is more appropriate to the later letters than to the earlier ones.

A particular challenge is the translation of frequent sentences that combine the use of French, Latin and Māori, their writers seemingly unaware they are switching codes. Mindful of Derrida's (1982/1985b) caveat that what can never be translated is the "event" of two or more tongues operating in the same text (p.99), I recognise that translating the Latin and Māori phrases used in the *LRO* would change the ST because the Latin would have been familiar and immediately comprehensible to priests receiving the letters, whereas the unfamiliar Māori language would have been comprehensible only through the context and ST glosses. Moreover, to translate the ST Latin would be to remove the particular qualities of 19th century Catholic spirituality and ST foreignness. The Māori language used in the ST would, on the other hand, be familiar and comprehensible to many, but not all, TT readers. To help overcome these difficulties in the TT, I have retained the ST Latin and Māori and used in-text glosses or footnotes to provide a translation.⁴⁸ I have thus adopted most forms of "paratextual commentary" suggested by Tymoczko (1999)⁴⁹ for encoding and explaining the ST on "more than one textual level simultaneously" (p.22).

Unheard voices

For the reader to understand the wider context of the *LRO*, the letters need to be considered against a variety of other texts, including the views of Māori, letters exchanged within New Zealand by Marist missionaries writing to one another; letters from France and Rome received by Pompallier and the French Marist missionaries, and communications of British missionaries and government officials. Some loss of this contextual background is due to the stringent selection criteria applied by Girard, whose edition presents all the letters received from Oceania that passed through the central Marist administration in Lyons from 1836-1854, while Colin was superior general. Inevitably, some letters that

⁴⁸ For example, see Appendix, doc.72[6].

⁴⁹ Tymoczko suggests the use of introductions, footnotes, critical essays, glossaries, maps, and embedded texts.

would have been part of the collection were lost (see n.6, p.1). Others, for example, from priest to priest within New Zealand, or between Pompallier and the cardinals in Rome, although they form a vital part of the story of the New Zealand mission, were not included because they did not pass through Colin's hands. Where relevant, I have cited examples of these letters in footnotes to the translation or in my critical analysis of the ST.

The strongest sense of absence relates to the Māori voice, heard indirectly through reported accounts and more vividly in occasional reproductions of direct speech (see Appendix, doc.54[4]; also doc. 112[5-7]). Simmons (1984) notes it is easy to forget the part Maori played in their own conversion, as the letters of the missionaries, written for French consumption, naturally mention those "who were known back home" (p.36). Ascribing this silence to 19th century colonialism, which "tended always to make Europeans more important than natives", Simmons nonetheless sees the story of the New Zealand [Catholic] Church in its earliest days as "primarily a Māori story", adding: "[T]he change of mind and heart that created a Catholic Church in New Zealand was mainly the work of Maoris for Maoris [*sic*]. It is our loss that so few of the names of the Maori catechists to whom we owe so much have been preserved' (p.37).

It remains surprising, however, how little of the Māori voice is heard through the *LRO*. Such losses within the ST need to be compensated for, as far as possible, by indicating a context in which the letters can be better understood, such as the generally respectful attitude of the French missionaries to Māori embodied in Pompallier's *Instructions pour les travaux de la mission* (1841a). Further insights into the mission are available through Pompallier's (1850) 'Historical and statistical overview of the New Zealand mission': *Notice historique et statistique de la Nouvelle Zélande*; his *Early history of the Catholic Church in Oceania* (1888) and in Servant's (1842/1973) *Customs and habits of the New Zealanders*.

Colin, in particular, is a silent participant in the one-sided dialogue of the *LRO*. Tantalisingly, *LRO* readers do not have access to his letters to the French missionaries, published separately (see Lessard, 2007), including his drastic, though measured, replies to some of Pompallier's strongly worded letters, or to the clear-sighted comments on the Oceania mission found in the recently published letters of Colin's secretary, Fr Victor Poupinel (Bernard Bourtot, 2014). I have used footnotes where possible to indicate the significance of these supplementary documents.

Thus, my practice in translating the *LRO* has been “in the face of inexhaustible textual nuances [to] respond to some while sacrificing others” (Davis, 2001, p.95) by using footnotes to give some background information but, at the same time as far as possible, capturing the single TT best word for the specific ST context. I see such practice, supported by a translator’s introduction, as appropriate for the translation of primary historical documents such as the *LRO*. To avoid disrupting the flow of the TT and intruding on the voice of the ST author, translation techniques such as interpolated text and translator’s in-text glosses have generally been avoided.

Translation procedures to convey the broad historical context

Understanding the broad context in which the ST operates has enabled me to make specific decisions about how to translate sentences of particular historical interest, such as references to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the proposed appropriation and colonisation of the South Island by the French. These events placed the French Catholic missionaries in the delicate position of trying to suppress their loyalty to France, as evidenced in their mantra: *mais nous travaillons en dehors de la politique, comme notre devoir le demande*: ‘but we work outside politics as our duty requires’ (doc.55[9]), and endeavouring to display attitudes to the British acquisition of New Zealand that were sufficiently unthreatening to avoid the missionaries being expelled from the country (see p.75 below).

Examples of ST writing that require specific translation decisions informed by contextual knowledge include: *j’étois regardé comme un membre hors de la congrégation* (doc.59[22] see p.57); *noire ingratitude* (doc.55[2] see p.64); *On peut dire avec vérité que leurs stations de mission sont plutôt des œuvres de spéculations que des œuvres de religion* (doc.59[15] see p.65); *tribu* (doc.52[4] see p.66); *un lieutenant gouverneur, vassal du grand gouverneur anglais de Sydney* (doc.59[13] see p.71); *prétexte, prise de possession* (doc.59[13]); *très douteux* and *un mystère* (doc.59[14]) see p.71; *par lequel ils lui seroient soumis comme sujets et protégés de même: ce qui n’est rien autre qu’une entreprise évidente de prise de possession de la Nouvelle Zélande par l’Angleterre* (doc.59[13] see p.72); *j’étois ici en ce pays avec les miens pour travailler au salut et de ceux qui ne signeroient pas et de ceux qui signeroient* (doc.59[13] see p.72); *en leur faisant entendre* (doc.52[15] see p.73); *[I]ls nous font sentir combien l’influence qu’ont l’évêque et les missionnaires sur les naturels peut leur être utile* (doc.55[9] see p.73); *un vieillard* (doc.52[15] see p.74); *des chefs conciliateurs* (doc.52[16] see p.74); *heureux* (see p.78) and *la carrière* (doc.70[4] see p.79).

The Society of Mary and Bishop Pompallier

The Marist charism

Underlying the *LRO*, and intrinsic to the mindsets of the French Marist missionaries, is an unquestioning belief in the Catholic religion and, within that, fidelity to the Society of Mary, veneration of the Virgin Mary, and commitment to the missionary role. These characteristics were evident from the inception of the Society. Justin Taylor (2018) cites a letter written in 1822 to Pope Pius VII by “Marist aspirants [who] state the object of the Society of Mary”:

Its purpose is to expend everything for the greater glory of God, for the honour of Mary the Mother of God and for the service of the Roman Church. To work for the salvation of their own souls and those of their neighbor through missions to believers and unbelievers in whatever part of the world the Apostolic see might wish to send us; to catechize the uneducated and ignorant; to train youth in every way to knowledge and virtue; to visit those in prison and the sick in hospitals (p.141).

This early statement implies two basic aims: the Marists were to work to save their own souls and the souls of others through devotion to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although they were to work in missionary fields, both in post-Revolutionary France and later in Oceania, the Marists’ life within the monastery was conceived as one of “silence, prayer and penance” conducted in a spirit of “poverty, humility and fraternity” (p.152).

The conflict between these aims and the demands of the Marists’ missionary work in New Zealand, where Pompallier required both priests and Brothers to press on with the daily physical work of the mission so that it was difficult for them to find enough time for prayer and contemplation, is expressed in Petit’s letter of 6 January, 1840 (doc.56[6]), complaining that Pompallier accused the priests of endless praying: *on nous avoit reproché de prier sans cesse* while Pompallier himself is very focused on the ‘outside world’ and ‘barely even notices that we divide our time a little more than he does between our duty to our neighbour and our duty to ourselves’: *il se livre beaucoup à l’extérieur et ne voit qu’avec peine que nous partageons un peu plus que lui notre tems entre ce que nous devons au prochain et ce que nous nous devons à nous mêmes*. These accusations imply that some of the Marist missionaries saw a possible conflict between the goals of saving their own souls and saving those of others (see also p.89). Greiler (2009) is clear about how such conflicts should have been resolved,

declaring that Colin “founded a religious congregation for personal sanctification and salvation of neighbour – in that order” (p.12).

“[C]entral to the Marist spirit and [...] enshrined in the Constitutions of the Society of Mary” (Taylor, 2018, n.98, p.226) is the phrase *ignoti et quasi occulti*: “unknown and hidden”, which refers both to God “as an object of contemplation who remains ‘unknown and hidden’” (Taylor, p.228) and to the Marists’ desire to work “in a similar way to Mary, the mother of Jesus”, that is, as “an unobtrusive presence”, but “zealous and engaged” (Society of Mary, “Mission”, 1998-2018). Pompallier’s characteristically dominant, almost flamboyant, manner of operating, trading on his episcopal dress and associated accoutrements, his physical height, his charm, his ability to inspire respect (Simmons, 1984, pp.23, 43), set him at odds with the self-effacing Colin, and may have contributed to Colin’s distrust of him.

The Blessed Virgin Mary

An ever-present theme of the *LRO*, and exemplified in various contexts within the priests’ letters, is the Marists’ spiritual relationship with the Virgin Mary, an idealised filial relationship of fundamental importance to them, as the name of the Society indicates. Comte’s humorous, tender letter describing how two Māori women came to his chapel close to nightfall, asking to see *Hehu Kerito* [Jesus Christ] enables the reader to see how the Marists communicated their veneration of Mary to Māori. Comte, on producing a crucifix for the two women, is peremptorily told: ‘That’s not the one. I’ve already seen him. It’s the one who’s with his mother that I want to see’: *Ce n’est pas celui-là, me répondit-elle, je l’ai déjà vu; c’est celui qui est avec sa mère que je veux voir* (doc.54[4]).

The aim of my translation is to show the tone of childlike admiration and wonder in the dialogue, making it sound realistic without removing any of the strangeness. For instance, when the woman points to the baby and says ‘there’s his hat’, *voilà son chapeau*, she clearly means ‘there’s his halo’, but such a replacement would ruin the tone of the story. In this story, I have left the personal pronouns associated with Christ in lower case as a technique for showing an implicit level of meaning, namely, that the women are interested in the image they have been shown but have not accepted Catholic belief in the divinity of Christ. Using contracted verb forms in translating the woman’s direct speech, as I have in all translations of dialogue (see p.124 and Appendix, doc. 80[20], [21]), is a translation procedure to show immediacy and vitality. However, I have used uncontracted forms throughout most of the translation, in accordance with 19th century conventions of written English style, except on a few occasions when the pent-up emotion of the writer appears to break through the restrictions of this form. For example, when Servant tells Colin about Pompallier’s harshness towards him I have translated: [S]/

ces corrections amères (...) je me n'en suis guère aperçu (doc.55[6]) as 'I've hardly noticed whether or not these bitter corrections (...)'.

One of the significant aspects of the 'hat/halo' story, in addition to what it tells us about the Māori women, is what it tells us about Comte himself and the French missionaries' attitude towards the Virgin Mary, given more detail in the subsequent paragraph where he refers to her as: someone children should be taught to trust, *[avoir] une grande confiance en Marie*; a 'tender mother', *tendre mère*; 'Queen of Angels', *la reine des anges*; 'Holy Virgin', *la sainte Vierge*; and a protectress who 'will ensure that her protégés die in the love of the Lord', *celui que Marie protégera mourra dans l'amour du Seigneur* (doc.54[5]).

Within the 31 letters from New Zealand that form my selection for translation, the most frequent references to Mary (9) relate to her protection⁵⁰ of the missionaries, indicating their uncertainty in their new terrain; eight references describe the writers as Mary's children;⁵¹ 19 refer to Mary as their [heavenly] mother;⁵² eight refer to a servant-mistress, or subject-Queen relationship.⁵³ References to the flag Pompallier had made for his ship, the *Sancta Maria*, could be interpreted as making Mary a leader in battle, although Pompallier is careful to describe his emblem as *un pavillon religieux*: 'a religious flag' (doc.80[4]). Thus, viewed in a variety of contexts, the role of Mary in the missionaries' lives appears to have been to give them emotional solace and a sense of being "looked after", by a mother,⁵⁴ protector, and Queen.

In my selection for translation, the four references to Mary as the 'divine mother' and to her 'divine maternity'⁵⁵ are puzzling and, while presenting no difficulty in translation, need the explanation that, although Catholics do not believe Mary is divine, her "divine motherhood" was proclaimed at the

⁵⁰ Docs 58[3], 59[24], 59[26], 64[4], 71[1], 72[5], 80[21], 80[23], 83[10].

⁵¹ Docs 59[25], 63[1], 66[2] (3 refs), 71[4], 76[2], 77[2].

⁵² Docs 54[5], 57[6], 58[9], 59[15], 63[1] (2 refs), 66[3], 68[1], 70[2], 70[4], 72[3], 76[2], 77[10], 80[24], 83[3], 84[1] (2 refs), 85[5], 86[3].

⁵³ Docs 59[29]; 59[34]; 63[1], [2]; 69[1]; 71[8]; 72[8]; 76[2].

⁵⁴ Snijders (2012) suggests that Colin, having lost his mother at an early age, found in the Virgin Mary a heavenly mother to replace her (p.380).

⁵⁵ Docs 57[6], 58[6], 59[22], 63[2].

Council of Ephesus in 431 because she was the mother of Christ, who has “two natures, one divine and one human” (Divine Motherhood, n.d.).

Conflict between Pompallier and the Marists

To understand something of the conflict between Pompallier and the Marists, it is important to know that Pompallier never took vows as a Marist, making instead a formal declaration of loyalty to the Society (Pompallier to Cardinal Franson, 1836, 10 September, in Coste & Lessard, 1960, Vol.1, doc.401). Until this point, however, Pompallier had been considered a Marist (Colin to Pompallier, 1835, 3 August, in Coste & Lessard, 1960, Vol.1, doc.340[2]; Vol.2, doc.657[1]). Coste and Lessard state that Pompallier was appointed to lead the Oceania mission because he was a Marist and because Rome was relying on the Marists to provide missionaries (Vol.1, doc.376, pp.856-857; Vol.2, doc.657, pp.491-492, n.6(a), (d)).

Pompallier's refusal to join the Society of Mary has been a subject of debate. Cardinal Lambruschini's view was that, although permitted to take vows as a Marist, Pompallier did not do so and later on did not consider himself a member of the Society⁵⁶ (1848, 29 May). Simmons (1978) states, enigmatically, that although Pompallier was not professed as a Marist “in every other respect he was a Marist” (p.10). Munro (2009b), more accurately, describes the bishop's refusal to take vows as a Marist as “a cryptic decision” (p.68). Whatever the true basis for Pompallier's decision, it was interpreted as indicating an early estrangement from the Marists (Jean Jeantin, 1895, Vol.1, n.2, p.209) and was one of the factors underlying his frequently difficult relationships with the Marists who worked under him in the Oceania mission.⁵⁷

This contextual knowledge has informed my translation of some of Pompallier's language, which at times betrays an irreconcilable contradiction between his desire to be seen as a Marist and his refusal to take vows as a Marist: *j'étois regardé comme un membre hors de la congrégation* (doc.59[22]), which I have translated literally as: ‘I was regarded as a member outside the Congregation’ without attempting to resolve the contradiction by an explanatory paraphrase, such as ‘I was not regarded as a full member of the Congregation’.

⁵⁶ Translated from Italian by Gabriella Brussino.

⁵⁷ Problems in Pompallier's relationship with the Marist Congregation and associated conflicts of authority are evident in, for example, docs 116[5], 166[12], 174[7], 194[4], 215[4], 218[14-18], 406[75], 1115[18].

Although Pompallier later wrote to the cardinals overseeing the Oceania mission complaining that conflict with his priests was likely to expose the mission 'to inaction, confusion, division and ruin': *à la langueur, à la confusion, à la division et à la ruine* (1846, pp.3-4), this fear seems largely overstated, except insofar as the final split between Pompallier and the Marists led to the end of the mission to Māori in the North. Before this, negative effects of the conflict appear to have been on internal relationships, rather than on the work of the mission itself.

French Revolution and the Marist Order

The impact of the French Revolution on the Catholic Church in France, at institutional as well as individual member level (John Broadbent, 2009, pp.53-54; Kerr, 2000), coupled with Pope Gregory XVI's wishes to expand Catholic missions in the Pacific (Dunmore, 1997, pp.126-127; Kerr, 2000, p.8), provides a broad contextual background, and the impetus, for the French Catholic mission to Oceania. Although the 1789 French Revolution is barely mentioned in the *LRO*,⁵⁸ and not at all in the New Zealand letters, it had a discernible influence on the formation of the Marist Order and is part of the explanation both for its missionary zeal and the nervousness of priests, Pompallier in particular, about the possible impact of political power on the practice of religion.

Biographical writing on Colin describes the stresses of living in a household suffering religious persecution under the Reign of Terror and the trauma of losing both parents before the age of five (Coste, 1975, p.4; Kerr, 2000, pp.32-47). Pompallier lost his father before he was a year old, but as he was born into an upper middle-class family (Essertel, 2015, p.16) and his mother remarried a "wealthy silk trader" (Snijders, 2012, p.2), his family situation would have been more comfortable and less lonely than Colin's, possibly accounting for his more confident manner as an adult.

Although limitations of space preclude analysis of the possible long-term psychological impact of these early losses on both Pompallier and Colin, the relationship between language use and the psychological make-up of the writer is certainly a matter of interest in the *LRO*. Contemporary writings by Marists endorse the value that psychological studies, sociology and cultural anthropology could

⁵⁸ The few references mention 'terrible slaughter', *boucherie affreuse* (doc.409[11]) ; 'terror', *la terreur de notre grande révolution* (doc.449[22]); a Satanic influence, *le même maître qui avait inspiré les révolutionnaires* (doc.652[26]); and the 'indelible memories of the Revolution', [*Jes souvenirs de la grande révolution sont toujours présents à mon esprit* (doc.778[19])].

bring to the analysis of Marist history (Frs Jan Hulshof, 2005, p.13; Timothy Costello, 2009, pp.183-200; Declan Marmion & Alois Greiler, 2009, pp.223-224).

Taylor (2018) observes “the Society of Mary was a child of the Revolution” in the sense that, while previously most founders of religious orders had come from the minor nobility, the founding group of Marists was from “a rural middle class of farmers and artisans” (pp.73-74). It is a matter for conjecture whether the challenging attitudes that were an essential element of the French Revolution were reflected in the inability of many French missionaries to give Pompallier the willing submission he required under obedience (see Munro 2009b, p.82).

Problems of authority, similar to those suffered by Pompallier, also beset the later bishops who feature in the *LRO*. Bishop Philippe Viard, who was disparaged as ‘Marist in name only’, *il n’est mariste que de nom* (doc.439[9]), and who accepted nomination as co-adjutant bishop without first seeking Colin’s approval (doc.453[5]), was, like Pompallier, criticised by his priests for leaving them in stations on their own (docs 992[5], 1228[3]); mismanaging finances (doc.992[5], [6]); not fostering the Māori mission (doc.992[6]); and failing to consult (docs 1207[7], 1212[2]). Bishop Bataillon, also like Pompallier, faced problems of authority arising from financial difficulties (doc.406[51]); the poverty of the missionaries (docs 406[52-53], 453[2]); and continued lack of clarity about the respective roles of the Marist superior general and the vicars apostolic, or missionary bishops (doc.406[54-62]). This repeated cycle of problems indicates systemic difficulties in the administration of the mission and failure to plan adequately for its ongoing maintenance and development.

The missionaries’ lack of psychological preparedness for the initial difficulties they would encounter is described in a letter from Pezant, 21 December, 1852, to Fr Grange, a French priest undecided about joining the mission (doc.1207[3-4]):

But do not come with the erroneous ideas we brought from France. [4] We thought the pagans wanted us (...) Not so. Everyone in Europe must be quite clear about this: in the beginning, they do not want us. They have been stupefied by vice and lack of knowledge of the true religion or led astray by the heretics. They will play all sorts of malicious tricks on you. They will steal from you, insult you, blacken your name, sometimes they will drive you away, they will continually harass you with

demands for tobacco, pipes, clothes, food, etc, etc. They will not lift a finger without being paid for it, although you will devote yourself to them.⁵⁹

Although cultural, sociological and ethnological studies were not available to the early French missionaries, the 21st century reader wonders whether, had the Catholic mission not been prepared in such haste, Colin would have sought more advice from the Picpus Fathers, missionaries in Eastern Oceania since 1834 (Wiltgen, 2010, p.576, n.5) and from the French Government, who could have drawn on resources and knowledge gained from French maritime explorers.

My translation reflects the psychological complexities of the ST writers, conflicts of authority in the mission, tensions between Pompallier and the Marists about requirements for their personal salvation, and ways in which the religious themes of Marianism and humility are conveyed in the language the priests use to describe their missionary work in New Zealand.

Formation of the Marists' cultural attitudes

The French missionaries' attitudes to Māori, shown in the language they use to describe Māori and their interactions with them, are a mixture of admiration, goodwill and camaraderie, and a more negative view, sometimes made sharper, in a later period than my selection for translation, by cold, hunger, exhaustion, and disillusionment at what they saw as Māori cupidity and manipulateness⁶⁰ (see also Monfat, 1896, pp.28-29).

Jennings (2013) attributes the Marists' initial tendency to idealise Māori by downplaying cannibalism to their encounters with "recently-converted Mangarevans in the Gambier Islands" (p.115) and to an idea of the noble savage "derived from Chateaubriand's 1802 *Génie du Christianisme*", which he believes the Marists had "unquestionably read (...) for its comprehensive survey of Christianity and its praise of the missions" (pp.119-120). I agree that the *LRO* contain frequent textual echoes of Chateaubriand (e.g. Fr Tripe's description of birdsong, doc.79[9]) but, this intertextuality aside, little hard evidence is available to show what the French missionaries had read as no lists of their books and belongings in

⁵⁹ *Mais ne venez pas avec les idées fausses que nous avons apportées de France. [4] Nous croyions que les infidèles nous désiraient (...). Non, sachez-le bien tous en Europe; ils ne nous désirent pas au commencement; ils sont abrutis par le vice et l'infidélité, ou pervertis par l'hérésie. Ils vous feront toutes sortes de niches, vous pilleront, vous insultent, vous parleront mal, vous chasseront quelquefois, vous tracasseront continuellement par des demandes de tabac, de pipes, d'habits, de nourriture, etc. etc., ne voudront pas lever une paille de terre pour rien, pendant que vous vous dévouerez pour eux.*

⁶⁰For example, docs 118[5], 174[3], 330[2], 333[11], 384[8].

France have been kept (Schianchi, personal communication, 18 May, 2016). Taylor (2018) also notes (p.38), without specifying authors, that Colin read some of the French and Latin classics while in the minor seminary, but that no records of his major seminary studies are available (p.62). Schianchi advises that the first Marists were brought up on biographies of Saints Francis of Assisi, founder of the Franciscan Order, and Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, 1602-1622. These works would have been intended to inculcate a spirit of humility, poverty and simplicity (see for example, Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, docs 5[4], 48[9]). Kerr also gives examples of theological texts and lives of the saints that influenced the early Marists' spirituality, including the works of St Francis Liguori whose writings Colin promoted because of their compassionate theology (pp.68, 268, 313).

The books the Marists (1836-42) brought from France were mainly on spirituality, priestly responsibilities, and texts to use in refuting heretical arguments, but the inclusion of texts for the use of earlier Jesuit and Dominican missionaries to China, South America, and the Nicobar Islands,⁶¹ as well as d'Urville's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1834/1988), may help explain their missionary zeal and cast some light on the formation of the missionaries' attitudes to Māori.⁶² The strange mixture of acute observation, negativity, and idealised romanticism in the French naval officers' writings is likely to have made the French missionaries unsure of what they might encounter. They show a similar mix of feelings in their various encounters with Māori (see Ch.8).

It is also probable that Marist seminarians, priests and brothers would have read the *Annales*.⁶³ The publication of these letters from missionaries in Europe, Asia, the Indies, Africa, the Americas and Oceania, was designed to interest and inspire readers, both lay and clerical. It is likely that Pope Paul III's encyclical, *Sublimus Dei: On the enslavement and evangelisation of Indians* (1537), was a guiding document for the French missionaries, together with Pope Gregory XVI's *In supremo apostolatus: Condemning the slave trade* (1839), deploring slavery and affirming the rights of "Negroes" to be treated as men, rather than as animals. Propaganda Fide's emphasis on missionaries not changing the practices, customs and way of life of the people they were evangelising, unless they were contrary to

⁶¹ E.g: J. Petitdidier (1834), J. Pérocheau (1839), J. Sättler (1840-1842), Chopard (1846).

⁶² Carol Wills, librarian, Colin Library, Auckland, provided me with a list of books Pompallier and the French Marists brought with them to New Zealand. Compilation by Fr Tony Williams.

⁶³ Schianchi, personal communication, 18 May, 2016.

[Catholic] religion and morality,⁶⁴ is reflected in the *LRO* and in Pompallier's *Instructions pour les travaux de la mission* [*Instructions for mission work*] (1841a). However, despite this guidance, some overt racial prejudice is occasionally evident in the later *LRO* (see p.116).

The New Zealand-French context

The contextual background of French-British relationships in the 18th and 19th centuries provides insights into reasons why the French came to New Zealand as settlers and missionaries, and reasons for some of the difficulties they faced in their new environment. Several historians including Dunmore (1997, 2000); Tremewan (2010); and Salmond (1991, 1997, 2011, 2012), provide detailed analyses of French-British relationships, establishing links between growing nationalism and rivalry over voyages of scientific exploration, and the establishment of colonies in the Pacific.

The writings of early French explorers could serve as useful points of comparison with the French Marist missionaries' writing about Māori and Māori culture. Carol Legge's translation of d'Urville's novel, *Les Zélandais* (1825/1992); Andrew Sharp's (1971) edition of writings from members of Duperrey's crew; and Olive Wright's (1835/1950; 1842-46/1955) translations of d'Urville's journals are particularly interesting for French observations of Māori culture from 1824-1840. In Sharp's (1971) opinion, the main value of Duperrey's visit to New Zealand could well be the accounts it provides "of the impact of European arts, customs and beliefs on those of the Māori. In the fifty-five years since Cook's first visit to New Zealand the old Māori culture had undergone vast changes, and the revolution was accelerating" (p.23). Salmond (1991) agrees that records of these early meetings, although "shaped by the standards and expectations of the eighteenth-century societies from which they came", provide a wealth of information about Māori society that "had not yet been significantly changed by European technology and practices" (p.295) and thus offer a way of measuring and evaluating subsequent changes. The *LRO*, in conjunction with other relevant documentation, could provide a further means of measuring change.

Although Girard (2009, doc.215, n.3) cites Dunmore (1969, Vol.2, p.380) as claiming that Petit, in Pompallier's absence, met d'Urville at Kororareka when the *Astrolabe* was at anchor there, 26 April-4 May, 1840, Girard notes that Petit made no reference to this in letters to Colin. However, Olive Wright's

⁶⁴ See *Istruzione per i Vicari Apostolici della Cina e dell'Indocina* (Instructions for missionaries leaving for the Chinese kingdoms of Tonkin and CochinChina, 1659).

translation (1846/1955) of d'Urville's 1840 journal makes it clear that Petit and d'Urville met at least five times: twice at the mission station (pp.65, 80-81); once at Mass (p.77); and twice on board the *Astrolabe* (pp.73, 82-83). It is safe to assume that on this third visit to New Zealand d'Urville would have talked to Petit about the contrast he and his officers, particularly Louis de Rocquemaurel, found in Māori since their visits in April, 1824 and January-March, 1827.⁶⁵

Culturally transmitted attitudes of discrimination and mutual distrust are evident in the attitudes of the French and British missionaries, sea captains and politicians mentioned in the *LRO*, including the Protestant captain of an American ship leaving Valparaiso for New Zealand, who in 1837 refused to accept Pompallier and his missionaries as passengers because they were Catholics (doc.15[5]). In 1844, Māori converts to Protestantism wanted to drive Catholic Māori off their boat because they were saying a different prayer from theirs: *Dans ma navigation, d'autres naturels missionnaires voulaient chasser du navire des epikopo qui voulaient faire une prière différente de la leur* (doc.323[5]). Fr Jean-Simon Bernard describes being refused a berth on a ship from Auckland to Wellington in 1851 because the Protestant captain's conscience would not allow him to transport Satan's envoys to another area: *sa conscience ne lui permettait pas de transporter dans un autre lieu les envoyés de Satan* (doc.982[11]). Later in the same letter Bernard has no qualms about using the same term of abuse against Protestant missionaries when he asks for prayers that the work of Satan be undone: *que les projets de Satan soient renversés* (doc.982[18]).

New Zealand 1840 context

Māori-Marist encounters

"The unpredictable, dramatic, action-packed first meetings between Maori and Europeans in New Zealand" (Salmond, 1991, p.11) provide some of the context for the social fabric and events of New Zealand in 1840 as represented in the *LRO*. This early contact, including the long-term impact of the encounter between Marion du Fresne⁶⁶ and Bay of Islands Māori in 1772, is well documented by

⁶⁵ D'Urville (1846/1955) wrote of Otago Māori: "[T]hey appeared to have abandoned the old spirit of independence and those warlike qualities, which on my first voyage had seemed to be peculiarly characteristic of the race" (pp.17-18). His officer, Rocquemaurel, is even more critical: "The blankets under which they crouch, devoured by vermin, have destroyed what little industry the Zealander could show in the weaving of flax cloaks and the construction of their huts, which have never been in worse condition than they are today. Thus civilisation has endowed these people with nothing but the means of annihilation" (p.30. Wright, Trans.).

⁶⁶ Referring to Marion du Fresne and the bloody clashes with his French crew nearly half a century before, the rangatira stated they had "heard that the tribe of Marian [*sic*] is at hand coming to take away our land". They therefore prayed that King William would become their "friend and guardian" (William Yate, 1831, 16 November).

historians including Sinclair (1991), Belich (1996), Tremewan (2010), Orange (2011), Anderson et al. (2014), and Salmond (1991, 1997, 2011, 2012, 2014) and may have had some impact on the way Māori saw the French missionaries.

However, the contextual factors of greatest significance to New Zealand historians of the 1840 period had an influence on the Marists' work, but were not their primary focus. Because the French missionaries' writings were essentially Eurocentric in nature, reflecting their French audience, the significant disparity between the Māori and European populations (see Belich, 1996, p.178; and Binney, 2014, p.200) is not evident in the *LRO*, except in the reverse situation in Akaroa, where the Māori population had been severely reduced by Te Rauparaha (docs 70[2] and 86[3]).

Despite the mercantile base of early Māori-European relationships (Orange, 2011, p.17), connections between Māori and the French Marists were not based on a trade relationship, except insofar as Pompallier's "gifts" to Māori paved the way for his acceptance. Pompallier understood the power of these presents, particularly at the start of a mission (docs 52[19], 53[6], 55[5]) and quickly realized the strategic importance of securing the goodwill of the chiefs (doc.29[4]). His practice of retaining personal control of gift-giving to Māori, rather than allowing his priests to distribute gifts also, may account for the displaced resentment in Servant's tone when he complains about the *noire ingratitude*, 'dark ingratitude', of Māori towards priests (doc.55[2]). Nevertheless, the *LRO* show that the priests did not fully understand the Māori custom of reciprocal giving as described by Salmond (1991, pp.216-217), and which chief "Papohé" [*sic*] had to explain to Garin (doc.99[25]).

However, the Marists appreciated the simple kindnesses Māori showed them, sometimes in giving them much needed gifts of food, and learnt something about forms of repayment. Garin, for example, reports an exchange of a pig for sugar and tobacco, and the gratefully received gift of a big basket of potatoes:

[/]I me donna en présent un porc, et en retour je lui ai porté un peu de sucre, du tabac ... et lorsque je m'en allais, il m'a rappelé; c'était pour m'offrir un beau panier de pommes de terre. Je l'ai accepté avec reconnaissance (doc.186[10]).

Comte writes, in April, 1840:

While I was asleep, a chief covered me with his blanket and someone took care to put it back over me when it fell off during the night. So much kindness reminded me of what a holy Father said about J(esus) C(hrist):

Pendant que je dormais, un chef vint me couvrir avec sa couverture, et on avait bien soin de l'arranger lorsque je me découvrais pendant la nuit. Tant de charité me rappela ce qu'un s(ain)t père dit de J(ésus) C(hrist) (doc.54[4]).

The Marists have little to say about the question of land ownership, a matter of prime importance in relation to the Treaty (Binney, 2014, pp.213-217; Waitangi Tribunal, 2014), and one that has had a continuing impact on Māori-Pākehā relationships. Although historians generally see motivation for the British Protestant mission in New Zealand as arising from a desire to civilise “the heathen” before converting them to Christianity (Belich, 1996, p.185; and Sharp, 2016, p.709), the British missionary presence came to be seen by Māori as linked to land acquisition and the wish to colonise the country (Allan Davidson, 2004, p.27; Walker, 2004, p.87; Sinclair, 1991, pp.48-70; Alexander Davidson, 1939, p.i).

Pompallier comments: *On peut dire avec vérité que leurs stations de mission sont plutôt des œuvres de spéculations que des œuvres de religion* (doc.59[15]), which I have translated as: ‘One can truthfully say their mission stations are the work of land speculation rather than the works of religion’, contrasting “the work” with “the works”, to suggest the difference between materialistic and spiritual endeavours, and adding the exegetic “land” to clarify “speculation” and ensure the contrast with “religion” reflects Pompallier’s view of the oppositional nature of Protestant and Catholic work in the mission.

The dependency of Europeans on Māori (Belich, 1996, p.185; Ballantyne, 2012, p.240; and Binney, 2014, p.202) is reflected in the Marists’ need of Māori support to be able to travel safely around the country and into tribal lands. Pezant, for instance, leaving Matamata in 1850 for Horotiu, is grateful for the kind-hearted tact with which chief Te Pakaroa and his tribe provided him with protection on the journey: *J’admire (...) la délicatesse dont ils l’avaient accompagné* (doc.865[10]).

I have translated *tribu* as ‘tribal lands’ in doc.52[4]), rather than as the usual ‘tribe’ (ARTFL,⁶⁷ 1835), because this translation makes sense in this particular context,⁶⁸ as it does in doc.52[11] (i.e. in the 4th use in this paragraph)⁶⁹ and in doc.59[20].⁷⁰ I have adopted this translation on analogy with its use in New Caledonia, where Gabriel Poédi (1997) notes that French *tribu* can refer both to a tribe and tribal lands (p.205). Most of the frequent occurrences of *tribu* in the *LRO* clearly mean ‘tribe’ but some usages are ambiguous and could mean ‘tribe’ or ‘tribal land’ (for example, 57[2];⁷¹ 77[6]).⁷² In these cases, I have used ‘tribe’, as the more usual translation. Although readers could retain the mental “trace” of both meanings, it is not possible for the translator to show these simultaneously without resorting to the technique of providing both alternatives at once (e.g. ‘tribe/tribal land’), as suggested by Matthew Reynolds (2016), who proposes “Prismatic Translation”, or a shift in translation practices that “release the multiple possible meanings of the source text rather than offering just one equivalent” (p.87). In Derridean terms, this procedure would indicate how the signifiers constituting the ST have been replaced “with another signifying chain” (Venuti, 2013, p.71). Reynold’s technique fails to come to grips, however, with the issue of “decidability”, which Derrida (1998) identifies as a necessary part of the translation process, requiring the translator to go through “a terrible process of undecidability” as part of the preparation for decision-making guided by knowledge, information, and infinite analysis” (p.66).

Missionaries and Māori literacy

In terms of the 1840 New Zealand context, Professor Samuel Lee’s work in 1820 of producing a written grammar and vocabulary of te reo Māori, with the help of missionary Thomas Kendall and chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato, was pivotal in enabling both transcription and systematic study of the language (Sinclair, 1991, p.38; Allan Davidson, 2004, p.10; and Binney, 2014, p.194). In terms of Protestant

⁶⁷ The Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), *Dictionnaires d’autrefois: French dictionaries of the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The 1835 dictionary cited is: Le Dictionnaire de l’Académie française. Sixième Édition.*

⁶⁸ *mes voyages ont été fréquents dans les tribus*

⁶⁹ *Le chef de Tairutu vint me presser d’aller célébrer la s(ain)te messe le jour de dimanche dans sa tribu.*

⁷⁰ *je l’enverrai en course dans les tribus.*

⁷¹ *Quand j’étois dans ma tribus, j’étois bon; quand je l’ai quittée pour eux, je devins méchant.*

⁷² *Un jour que j’allais dans une tribu*

missionary effectiveness, the arrival of, in particular, Henry Williams in 1823, William Williams in 1826, and Colenso in 1834, enabled considerable progress to be made in translating the New Testament into te reo Māori, printing it and teaching Māori to read and write (Allan Davidson, 2004, pp.7-15). In terms of the *LRO*, the Marists' inability to keep up with Māori eagerness for reading materials, and the Bible in particular, was a disappointment to both the priests and Māori and was a further cause of tension between Pompallier and his missionaries, and between Pompallier and Colin, because of delays in sending a printing press from France, together with all the requisite parts (e.g. docs 24[15], 33[9], 34[5], 37[7], 49[3]).

Although Pompallier, en route for New Zealand, had been lent a Māori grammar in Santa Cruz (doc.12[27]), and the work of Lee, Kendall, Hongi Hika and Waikato could have been available to him, possibly because he did not trust the work of Protestants, he quickly developed a small catechism in Māori;⁷³ a Māori grammar in Latin and a te reo Māori vocabulary list so that prospective missionaries could begin to learn the Māori language before they left France (docs 34[8-10]); and a later Māori grammar, roundly criticised by Petit-Jean as being written too hastily and containing errors (doc.192[31]).⁷⁴ His missionaries were also critical of Pompallier's slowness to realise the importance of the Bible to Māori. Fr Antoine Séon writes in 1843 that the French missionaries are worn out struggling with Pompallier about the need for appropriate books for Māori: *Une chose nous fatigue, c'est que nous avons à lutter contre monseigneur pour les livres destinés à l'instruction des Maori*⁷⁵ and, lamenting the access Protestant Māori have to the Bible, consoles himself with the thought that God is stronger than the devil: *Cependant Dieu est plus fort que le diable* (doc.253[7]). In 1845, Comte writes: 'For the most part, all the natives can read, except those of a certain age. They have an insatiable passion for books': *Les naturels savent généralement tous lire, excepté ceux d'un certain âge. Ils ont une passion déréglé [sic] pour les livres* (doc.366[6]). Further, Comte blames Pompallier for launching his mission without first studying the natives to see what would appeal to them:

⁷³ An eight-page catechism, *Ko Nga Tahī Pono Nui o te Hahi Katorika Romana* [The first Great Truth of the Roman Catholic Church] (1839, see doc.59[20]) was followed by *Ako Marama o te Hahi Katorika Romana ko te pou me te unga o te pono*, a Catholic catechism and prayers (1842); and *Notes grammaticales sur la langue Maorie ou néo-zélandaise* (1849).

⁷⁴ *Monseigneur ne parle pas un maori pur, il n'a pas été assez longtemps dans les tribus; il a même des choses inexactes dans les principes* : 'Monseigneur does not speak Maori well. He has not spent enough time living with the tribes. He has even made mistakes in the basic rules of the language.'

⁷⁵ I write "Māori" without a macron in a direct quotation from, or translation of, the *LRO* but with a macron when the word is part of my own thesis. Macrons were not consistently used to indicate vowel length in written Māori until the establishment of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori [The Māori Language Commission] in 1987 (Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography, 2012).

M(onsei)g(neu)r, sans chercher à connaître les naturels, sans pénétrer dans leur coeur et leur caractère pour sonder leur côté foible, s'est laissé emporter par un zèle sans réflexion (doc.366[25]).

Comte, contesting figures he has read that Māori conversions totalled about 20,000, maintains the figure is no higher than 6,000 (doc.366[20]). Attributing this low figure to Pompallier's refusal to satisfy the Māori demand for books, Comte says Pompallier is the only person who can neither see nor understand the situation:

Il ne faut l'attribuer ni au petit nombre de prêtres ni au défaut de leurs travaux et les dispositions de la part des naturels, mais au manque de livres et de livres tels qu'il les faudrait aux Nouveaux-Zélandais. Tous les pères s'accordent parfaitement là-dessus et ils gémissent tous profondément. M(onsei)g(neu)r seul ne le voit pas, ne le comprend pas (doc.366[21], reverse emphasis).

Referring to Maori switching allegiance from Catholic to Protestant to get better access to books, Comte writes:

I was deeply grieved to learn that all those I had baptised, except a few old people, have turned Protestant. About 30 of them came from Otago and Port Olive to get books from the Protestant missionaries in Wellington:

J'ai la douleur d'apprendre que tous ceux que j'avais baptisé, excepté quelques vieux, se sont fait protestants. Ils viennent par trentaine de Port-Olive et d'Otago chercher des livres à Wellington chez les missionnaires protestants (doc.435[6]).

The Marists' views were endorsed much later by Sinclair (1991), who viewed the spread of literacy amongst Māori as one of the important causes of their conversion. "They found learning to read and write their own language enormously exciting, and all they could read in it was the Bible and other religious works" (p.45). The combined impact of the missionaries' work moved Binney (2014) to recognise "the foundations for a revolution in literacy that would influence many aspects of Māori life" (p.193). Thus, literacy and religious conversion are linked, and Binney suggests that by the 1840s many Biblical metaphors and narratives had "become part of the mental and cultural world of Māori and were woven into community symbolism and rituals" (p.196). A close example is Servant's account of chief Papahurihia, also known as Atua Wera, describing the "heretics" sliding down the branch of a tree into hell, which in Servant's description (doc.52[12]) bears a strong likeness to the French missionaries'

use of the poster, the 'True Vine',⁷⁶ to teach Māori about "the one true Church",⁷⁷ God's judgment, and the cutting away of dead branches so that heretics perched on them would fall into hell. Binney (1966) identifies links between Papahurihia's tree, the French missionaries' 'True Vine', and the Māori legends of the pohutukawa at Te Reinga, whence spirits of the dead left for the after-life, and of Tawhaki climbing into the heavens (pp.326-327).

Links between literacy and conversion give rise to the question of whether or not nuns could have been useful as teachers in the Catholic mission in 1840. Responses to this question depend on the view held of social, economic, political and power factors in play at the time. Although Essertel (2015) believes the absence of nuns hampered the New Zealand mission as they would have been able to teach Māori children and administer medicine, thus relieving Pompallier and the missionaries (p.179), the French missionaries themselves were by no means certain of this. Forest at first thought: 'Some devout women like our good nuns [in France] could do a lot of good in the main settlements especially amongst the Europeans who will soon be the only masters of New Zealand': *Quelques personnes du sexe bien dévouées, telles que nos bonnes religieuses, feroient dans les principaux endroits le plus grand bien, surtout chez les Européens qui bientôt seront les seuls maîtres de la Nouvelle Zélande* (doc.174[9]).

However, less than two years later, Forest wrote to Épalle:

On no account send nuns here. The time has not yet come when they could do good without facing great, not to say huge, difficulties, both from our enemies the Protestant missionaries, and from an English government, which is suspicious of everything French:

Ne point envoyer ici de religieuses. Le moment n'est pas encore venu où elles puissent faire le bien sans de grandes et très grandes difficultés, soit de la part de nos adversaires, les missionnaires, soit de la part d'un gouvernement anglais qui est ombrageux (doc.314[3]).

Commonsense would indicate that unresolved problems, including allocation of funding, the physical, emotional and spiritual safety of the missionaries, and clarity about who was ultimately responsible for their welfare, would militate against sending nuns to New Zealand in the 1840s. When the Sisters of Mercy arrived with Pompallier in 1850 after his break with the Marists, although their work was

⁷⁶ ACDA MA/90.

⁷⁷ *Il n'y a qu'une vraie église* (doc.80[11]).

successful, the nuns suffered poverty and, perhaps inevitably in the anti-Catholic climate of the time, rumours of scandal associated with Pompallier, found, on later investigation, to be “quite unbelievable” (Simmons, 1984, p.189).

The fact that the CMS was also reluctant to send single women to New Zealand in the early days of the mission is another tacit comment on the social context of the time. Robert Glen (1992) observes that it was not until the 1870s that “a modest trickle of single women” was accepted for the CMS New Zealand mission (p.36). On the other hand, women could undertake missionary work under the protection of a husband. Cathy Ross (2006) records the work of four married women, Charlotte Brown, Elizabeth Colenso, Catherine Hadfield and Anne Wilson, who worked in New Zealand as missionaries from 1829, and the CMS *Register of Missionaries* includes a further seven who worked in New Zealand between 1829-1847.

The Treaty of Waitangi

In the complex context of unacknowledged, or unascertainable, political motivations, undefined legal terms,⁷⁸ and the use of “equivalent” translations that ignored the cultural understandings of Māori,⁷⁹ the importance of eyewitness accounts of the Treaty of Waitangi meetings of 5 and 6 February, 1840, becomes evident. However, such accounts, by Hobson (1840), Felton Mathew (1840), Servant (1840), Pompallier (1840, 1850),⁸⁰ and Colenso (1890/2004), must be treated with some caution as, although the partisan viewpoints of the writers are known, it is uncertain how much of the proceedings they actually understood.

Hobson understood no Māori, relying on translations by Henry Williams, and few Māori are likely to have fully followed the legalese of the English version of the Treaty. Nevertheless, in a letter to Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, Hobson (1840, 5 February) professes to have explained the Treaty to the chiefs “in the fullest manner”. Orange (2011) comments dryly: “It is difficult to see how he could honestly claim this” (p.52).

⁷⁸E.g. “sovereignty”, “cession”, “pre-emption” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, pp.xxii, 1, 422, respectively).

⁷⁹ Particularly “tino rangatiratanga” and “kawanatanga” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, [e.g.] p.7).

⁸⁰ Pompallier (1850) suggests that Protestant missionaries spread rumours amongst Māori that he would not dare appear at the meetings the new Governor was about to hold (pp.134-135).

Mathew's lively account (6 February, 1840) of the Treaty meeting the previous day is also limited by his inability to understand Māori. Although he highlights both Hobson's emphasis on the value of the Treaty for the protection of the natives, and Māori stipulations "for the preservation of their liberty and perfect independence" (p.39), he fails to identify any of the contradictions implied.

Servant and Pompallier also wrote about what occurred at the Treaty meetings (docs 52[14-17] and 59[13-15])⁸¹ but, at the time, they had been in New Zealand for barely two years, having arrived knowing no Māori or English. Nevertheless, even if they could not follow either the Māori or English versions of the Treaty in their entirety, they understood the intent of the negotiations. Pompallier, telling Colin, on 14 May, 1840, about Hobson's arrival, is careful in his choice of lexis: *un lieutenant gouverneur, vassal du grand gouverneur anglais de Sydney*: 'a lieutenant governor, a vassal of the important English governor in Sydney' (doc.59[13]). Other translations of [French] *vassal* could have been 'underling', 'retainer', 'liegeman' or 'servant' (*ReversoContext*, 2017), of which only 'servant' has been in general use in English since the late 19th century (*Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, 2018). 'Underling' might well describe the relationship between Hobson and Gipps in terms of political power structures and express some of the scepticism, if not hostility, with which Hobson's arrival was regarded, particularly by Māori. Mānuka Henare (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014), for example, believes rangatira regarded Hobson as a "hired hand" who would help sail the ship, rather than as the ship's owner (p.429). However, a certain tension in Pompallier's writing, between the image of neutrality he wishes to present and his strong feelings of opposition to the treaty, shows through as the letter continues, particularly through lexis like 'pretext', *prétexte*; 'act of possession', *prise de possession* (doc.59[13]); 'questionable', *très douteux*; and 'puzzling', *un mystère* [14]. Moreover, some ambivalence is evident in Pompallier's distrust of British motives and his gratification at being shown respect by Hobson, relief that he can still exercise his ministry, and gratitude that the mission ship will be exempt from anchorage taxes. Accordingly, I have chosen 'vassal' as a straightforward translation that respects Pompallier's efforts to remain neutral, and the consequent ambiguity of his language, and does not show him as deriding Hobson, an impression he was at pains to avoid giving.

I have translated Pompallier's statement about Hobson's processes for getting signatures to the Treaty, *par lequel ils lui seroient soumis comme sujets et protégés de même: ce qui n'est rien autre qu'une entreprise évidente de prise de possession de la Nouvelle Zélande par l'Angleterre* (doc.59[13])

⁸¹ See Appendix, doc.59[13].

as: 'through which it was said they would be subject to her and protected as subjects, which is nothing other than an obvious attempt by England to take possession of New Zealand', bringing out the underlying meaning of the French conditional to indicate the writer does not vouch for the truth of what he is reporting; and using the play on 'subject' created in English to emphasise the duality of the proposed relationship between Māori and the Crown. Resisting the temptation to make Pompallier's hostility explicit by translating *une entreprise évidente* as 'an obvious ploy', I have chosen the more neutral 'attempt', despite Tymoczko's criticisms (2007) of translators adopting non-partisan stances (p.320).

Pompallier's letter of 14 May, 1840, is the only one in the *LRO* where he is openly critical of the Treaty:

Now they are asking me whether it is a good idea to cede their independence or not. They are the masters of that. Again, it is a matter of what they themselves want. In any case, it was quite clear to me that the request for signatures was only a pretext, the decision to take possession had already been made:

Maintenant ils m'interrogent s'il est bien de céder ou de ne pas céder leur indépendance, ils en sont les maîtres, c'est encore ici une affaire de leur volonté. D'ailleurs, j'étois bien assuré que la demande des signatures n'étoit qu'un prétexte, la prise de possession étoit résolue (doc.59[13]).

It is possible that the subtle emphasis given by the unusual placement of a negative clause before the affirmative in Pompallier's statement that he and his men were in New Zealand to work for 'the salvation of both those who would not sign and those who would': *[J]'étois ici en ce pays avec les miens pour travailler au salut et de ceux qui ne signeroient pas et de ceux qui signeroient* (doc.59[13]), carries a hidden message about his views. I have therefore followed the ST word order to try to convey this message, even though it produces an unnatural style in the TT.

Pompallier's sensitivity to the anti-French attitude of the British is revealed in his request to Colin to address his mail to Bishop Polding in Sydney, who could forward it to New Zealand to disguise its French origin, as 'English politicians may be suspicious of my relationship with France': *La politique anglaise a de l'ombrage peut-être pour mes rapports avec la France* (doc.59[3]). Turner's view that, despite his declared wish for neutrality, Pompallier's position was complex and his vision "undercut and distorted by the requirements of maintaining missionaries in the field" (p.105), captures, if somewhat negatively, the difficulty of Pompallier's position. Opposing views of Pompallier held by Robert Fitzroy

(1847, March), Governor of New Zealand 1843-1845, and his successor, Sir George Grey (1846, 2 June), who believed that “accusations against [the French missionaries] originated in prejudice and were wholly unfounded” are evidence that Pompallier’s position in New Zealand was challenging.

Distinguishing 171 years later between what Pompallier said in public and what can be deduced about his private thoughts on the matter, Orange (2011) finds: “Suspensions of Pompallier were partially correct” (p.62). Her surprising use of “suspensions” implies an acceptance of the newly arrived official colonisers’ view that Pompallier, and other Europeans, had no right to express any misgivings about the proposed Treaty.

To maintain the possibility of deliberate ambiguity in the ST, I have translated Servant’s *en leur faisant entendre* (doc.52[15]) as the Governor ‘informing them’ [that the Treaty was for the sake of law and order], to leave open the question of whether the truth about the purpose of the Treaty was being fully communicated to Māori. A possible choice, ‘giving them to understand’, with its implication that Māori were misled, seems too strong for this particular context as, like Pompallier, Servant would have been trying to appear politically neutral. Also, ‘making it clear to them’, imposes a single, partisan, meaning thus removing the delicate ambiguity of the ST. As the time lapse between the writing of the ST and its being read mean we cannot be sure of Servant’s precise intention, my neutral choice raises, but leaves open, the question of possible deception by the British colonisers.

Sometimes, however, it has not been possible to retain ST ambiguity. For example, Servant’s statement, referring to Hobson and the British authorities: [*I*]/*s nous font sentir combien l’influence qu’ont l’évêque et les missionnaires sur les naturels peut leur être utile* (doc.55[9]), is ambiguous as the French preposition *sur* can mean either “over” or “on”, which imply different degrees of power and control, but the English language forces the translator to make a choice. I have used the surrounding context of the whole sentence, and have made an assumption about Servant’s viewpoint, in choosing the less powerful ‘on’ to minimise any sense that the French missionaries were exerting political influence on Māori. ‘They make us aware how useful the influence the bishop and his missionaries have on the natives can be to them’. Servant’s choice of the indicative verb form *peut*, instead of the conditional *pourrait*, which would have implied he was distancing himself from the view expressed, seems at first sight to indicate he is looking at the matter from Hobson’s point of view and believes that Hobson was referring to the British missionaries only. However, Pompallier was then the only bishop in New Zealand as Bishop Selwyn did not arrive until 1842 (King, 2003, p.147). Therefore, despite Servant’s reiteration of Pompallier’s words *nous travaillons en dehors de la politique*, ‘we work outside

politics', it appears that Hobson expected the French Catholic missionaries to support British colonisation of New Zealand. The awkwardness of Servant's language no doubt reflects the tension between these expectations of co-operation and the French missionaries' resistance.

Pompallier, on the other hand, shows full awareness of the potential power of his influence: 'Our position has been extremely critical in this country for several weeks. The natives kept coming to ask me what they should do, whether to sign or not to sign'— *Notre position a été fort critique en ce pays durant quelques semaines. Les naturels venoient me demander ce qu'ils devoient faire, ou signer ou ne pas signer* (doc.59[13]).

In translating the words ascribed to an 'old [Māori] man', *un vieillard* (doc.52[15]), who angrily told Europeans at the Treaty meeting that Māori did not want a foreign authority, adding, according to Servant, *nous en avons peur*, I have used: 'We fear it', rather than 'we are frightened of it' (see Girard, 2015, p.55) as the more formal language better befits the significance of the situation and the rank of the chief. Johnson Henare (2014), affirming both the context and cultural backgrounds of the Treaty participants, explains that to understand the kawenata [agreement] signed at Waitangi in 1840 it is necessary to understand "the tribal landscape, the world view at the time of contact" (p.11[43-44]). Salmond (2014) extends this thought: "[I]n trying to understand the debates around Te Tiriti, a detailed grasp of historical change within a wider context is required" (p.85). Thus, enabled by a Derrida-based understanding of the importance of context in determining meaning, I have translated *des chefs conciliateurs* (doc.52[16]) as 'some chiefs, trying to get agreement on these conflicts of interest', rather than as 'some conciliatory chiefs' (Girard, 2015, p.55), a literal, and unidiomatic, translation that fails to communicate the significant underlying meaning that conflicts of interest were the issue.

Possibly drafted in 1840 from notes made at the Treaty meetings (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.465), Colenso's account (1890/2004), although not published until 50 years after the Treaty, is valuable for its detailed summaries of speeches made by rangatira, providing Anglophone readers with rare, if mediated, access to the voices of Māori in 1840. Also useful is his evidence that neither "the Native speeches" nor "His Excellency's remarks" were being fully translated so that Māori and the British, particularly Hobson, could understand one another (p.20).

Pompallier likewise implies in his letter of 14 May, 1840, to Colin, that the translation and discussion of the significance of the Treaty for Māori left much to be desired: '[F]ew have really understood what they have done by signing it' [*P]eu ont bien compris ce qu'ils ont fait en signant* (doc.59[13]). Hobson,

lamenting Pompallier's "mischievous influence" when declining to accept the requests of "two tribes of the Roman Catholic communion" who asked for their names to be removed from the Treaty (Hobson, 1840, 7 February), unwittingly confirms that Māori had not understood that the British regarded their consent as irrevocable (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.526). The Waitangi Tribunal further finds that as "Hobson dismissed their objections so peremptorily, it is impossible to know quite what these Hokianga rangatira meant when they were recorded as wishing to reject the Queen" (p.526).

Māori contributors to *Ngāpuhi Speaks*, an independent report on Māori evidence presented at the initial hearing of the Ngāpuhi Nui Tonu claim (Wai 1040), which Māori hoped "would truly reflect the evidence given by the Ngāpuhi speakers" (Network Waitangi Whangarei, 2012, p.v), provide Pākehā with a rare opportunity to hear Māori voices about what their tūpuna had intended and understood in signing the Treaty (pp.148-161).

Somewhat surprisingly, Pompallier's request to Governor Hobson at the Treaty discussions, "that 'free toleration' would be allowed 'in matters of faith'" (Orange, 2011, p.58), has not been fully understood by all historians, from Colenso⁸² to Moon and Peter Biggs (2004, p.209). Yet experience of the divisions and lack of leadership within the Catholic Church in France resulting from the establishment of the Civil Constitution in 1790 (Kerr, 2000, pp.18-27), and "a campaign for the total dechristianisation of France" (p.28), may have made Pompallier and the Marists nervous of government control of religion in New Zealand. Moreover, the position of the French Catholic missionaries in New Zealand was more complex and much less secure than that of British missionaries. In Pompallier's mind, the possibility that British acquisition of New Zealand could lead to the French Catholic missionaries' expulsion was real, at least initially. Cécille (1838, 13 April) had earlier told the French Minister for the Navy he thought Pompallier would have been driven out from Hokianga already had it not been known that the French warship *l'Héroïne* was about to arrive.

Pompallier knew Catholic priests had been expelled from Tahiti in 1836 and from Hawaii in 1827, 1831 and 1837 (Dunmore, 2000, pp.26-27). He would, presumably,⁸³ have also known that Northern rangatira had petitioned King William IV for protection in 1831 when they were alarmed by the arrival of

⁸² Colenso (1890/2004), says he persuaded Henry Williams "to insert 'me te ritenga Maori hoki' ('and also the Maori custom, or usage') as a correlative to that 'of Rome'" (p.32). Orange (2011) explains: "The English missionaries hoped that the Roman Catholic faith would suffer by association with ritenga" (p.58).

⁸³ This assumption is based on Pompallier's friendship with Irish Catholic timber merchant, Thomas Poynton, who had been living in the Hokianga since 1828 (Sweetman, 2017), spoke French and Māori, and gave Pompallier and his missionaries hospitality and protection when they arrived in New Zealand (Simmons, 1984, pp.30-35).

a French survey ship, *La Favorite*, in 1830. Similarly, he would have known that Britain had recognised Māori as an independent people in response to a Declaration of Independence by the United Tribes of New Zealand, intended partly “to warn off the French” (Belich, 1996, p.181). An entry in *The New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette* (1840, 1 October, p.2) shows how British settlers’ fears about land purchases after the Treaty of Waitangi combined with fears about the French Government’s designs on New Zealand:

There are many French people in this country who have acquired and are acquiring property to this very hour, and who have the secret assurance of the French Crown, that their claims to it shall be sustained.

Although this is probably a reference to Charles de Thierry, whom Pompallier describes as ‘a Frenchman who is like a king in New Zealand’, *un français qui est comme roi dans la Nouvelle Zélande* (doc.4[13]) and to whom he had been given a letter of introduction by the French Director of Colonies, the *LRO* contains no reference to his meeting Pompallier. Nonetheless, Pompallier writes in his first letter from New Zealand that politicians are suspicious of him and believe he is a secret agent of the French government: *La politique de son côté prenoit de l’ombrage; elle croyait voir un agent secret du gouvernement français en ma personne* (doc.24[3], 14 May, 1838). This opinion, corroborated by Cécille (1838, 13 October), is voiced by Hobson (1840, 7 February), who, learning that writer F.E. Maning, later Judge of the Native Land Court (*Ministry for Culture and Heritage*, 2017), had advised Māori to resist signing the Treaty, fulminated: “The influence against me was easily traceable to the Foreign Bishop of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and a number of escaped convicts and other low ruffians”. Auguste Bérard, French captain of the *Rhin*, wrote (1846, 16 April) from Akaroa that Pompallier’s French nationality alone was sometimes enough to make the British authorities distrust him: *[J]e crois que son titre de Français fait naître quelquefois de la méfiance chez les autorités*.

Clearly written after he had spoken to Pompallier, Lavaud’s account (1843/1986) also provides interesting detail, including the view that the chiefs did not wish to entertain talk of obedience and thought Hobson would be a great chief, but just for the Europeans, not for them (p.16).⁸⁴ Lavaud

⁸⁴ *Les chefs ne voulaient pas entendre parler d’obéissance ; ils supposaient que M. le capitaine Hobson serait un grand chef de plus pour les Européens, mais non pas pour eux.*

reported, carefully, that Pompallier said it was important for the success of his work that people believed 'he was completely indifferent'⁸⁵ to politics (p.14).

Low (2011) cites Lavaud's report (1843/1986) as providing "the best insight" into what Pompallier said to the chiefs, arguing that his use of the word "obey" would have alerted Māori to the possibility of becoming "subordinate" to the British (p.121). Low (1990) draws attention to the Māori view of the Treaty as a taonga (treasure) and as forming "a 'sacred covenant' between two races" (p.198), a view he later notes (2011) Pompallier evidently failed to recognise (pp.126-127).

Māori interviewees on the Māori TV programme *Lost in translation* (Hanui Royal & Bruce Morrison, 2009), retracing the signing of the Treaty in locations around New Zealand, make frequent mention of Pompallier, confirm that Māori did not fully understand the significance of the Treaty, and state that [Protestant] missionaries were "expected to sign up local chiefs as well as spread the word of God".⁸⁶ Henry Williams, (1840, 23 October,) in a letter to the CMS, provides no opposition to these views: "[T]he sovereignty of these islands has been ceded to Her Majesty by the Chiefs in these months through the aid of the missionaries of the CMS against much opposition from Europeans generally and from the Papist Bishop in particular".

Akaroa settlement

The context of British-French rivalry crystallises in the 1840 settlement of Akaroa.⁸⁷ The uncertain position of Lavaud, instructed by the president of the French Foreign Affairs Council to act as the representative of the French king, Louis-Philippe, in the South Island of New Zealand, and armed with a treaty to negotiate with the natives,⁸⁸ but arriving to find the British had already annexed the South Island "by right of discovery" (Sinclair, 1991, p.72), is reflected in the dispirited tone of the Marists' letters from Akaroa. Although the extent to which the priests understood links between their mission and their government's plans to colonise New Zealand is yet to be explored, it is clear they did not

⁸⁵ [Il] était d'une parfaite indifférence.

⁸⁶ Royal & Morrison (2009, Series 2, Episode 5).

⁸⁷ Tremewan (2010) shows that, after taking Akaroa, the French intended to settle all of the South Island, Stewart Island, and the Chatham Islands (p.73).

⁸⁸ *M^r le Présid^t du Conseil Ministre des affaires étrangères vous a tracé dans ses instructions les devoirs que vous aurez à remplir en votre qualité de commissaire du Roi (...) alors que des traités de cession de territoire (Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies, 1840, 14 January).*

generally appreciate Lavaud's diplomacy in handling the politically difficult situation in Akaroa, evident in his letter to the *Ministre de la Marine et des Colonies* (1840, 14 January):

The truth is, *Monsieur le Ministre*, I have set out on a road that is so dark and so tortuous that I can only grope my way along it. It is a loss for the State, a loss for the Company [the Nanto-Bordelaise company responsible for the Akaroa colonisation project], and a difficult situation for me.

En vérité, Monsieur le Ministre, je suis engagé dans un chemin si tortueux et si sombre que je n'y marche qu'en tâtonnant. C'est une perte pour l'État, une perte pour la compagnie, une situation pénible pour moi.

The seriousness of Lavaud's position is clear in Hobson's instructions (1840, 22 July) to Captain Owen Stanley, who was, as if in wartime, charged with "inviolable secrecy" on a voyage to Akaroa "to defeat the movements of any foreign ship of war" that may be engaged in establishing a colony in New Zealand. Stanley was instructed to see such activity as an "act of decided hostile invasion".

Strong links between the Catholic missionaries and the French Government are implied (doc.74) in Pezant's references to a letter he drafted to Marshall Soult, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs, complaining about what Pezant saw as Lavaud's negligence in failing to claim Akaroa as a French colony. The letter has not been found (Snijders, 2012, n.47, p.268). Colin may well have decided not to forward it as on 22 November 1839 he had himself made a detailed report to Soult on the Western Oceania mission (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.100). Further, Soult had been replaced as minister by Adolphe Thiers, which Pezant would not have known (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.185[6]).

Against this broad background of rivalry, disappointment and suspicion, Comte's first letter from Akaroa raises the question of how to interpret his use of the everyday word *heureux*, 'happy'. He writes, *je suis heureux. Je fais peu de bien ou point; je suis un serviteur inutile*: 'I am [happy]. I do little or no good. I am a useless servant' (doc.70[4]). In this context, the usual translations of *heureux* as 'happy', 'fortunate', or 'prosperous' are clearly inappropriate. Comte's paradoxical declaration becomes meaningful, however, if *heureux* is interpreted in a religious sense, thus giving: 'I am at peace [because I am doing God's will]', implying a stoic acceptance of hardship (see Appendix, doc.70[4]).

Nevertheless, I have translated it as "happy" so that the TT reader has the opportunity to recognise the ambiguity in the ST, and have provided a footnote to explain the difficulty of translating this deceptively simple word.

Less bombastic than Pompallier's apparent anxieties about his religious beliefs (see Appendix, doc.59[22]), somewhat sardonically summarized by Fr Maîtrepierre (doc.60[26]), and possibly more worrying for Colin, is Comte's ambiguous closing sentence: *Priez pour moi, mon révérend père; ô que nous avons besoin de prière pour ne pas succomber dans la carrière*, 'Pray for me, Reverend Father. O, how much we need prayer so that we do not fall into the pit'. *La carrière*, the 'pit' or 'quarry', could be interpreted as a metaphor for 'Hell'. It could however mean 'the fray' or 'battlefield', thus implying the Marists might lose their battle for the souls of Māori. Neither is it clear whether Comte intends the 1st person plural pronoun to refer only to himself, or whether he is including the other Marists on the New Zealand mission. I have interpreted the sentence as referring to the missionaries in general as I think the message is intended to be part of other messages, both overt and coded, letting Colin know that the priests and the mission are in serious difficulty. *Différance* of time and space makes it impossible to be sure now what the author's intentions were.

Summary

I have analysed the broad context of 1840 New Zealand to show how knowledge of this historical context supports understanding and translation of the *LRO*. I have given examples of ways in which contextual knowledge has guided the translation of specific references, including ambiguities, in the Marists' letters. The issue of how much historical background the translator should provide for the TA is discussed. My view is that a compromise should be found between withholding necessary information and providing the TA with an unmanageable information overload. I believe a great deal of information can be succinctly provided in a translator's introduction. Other strategies include footnotes, which can provide valuable information in a concise form without interrupting the flow of the TT, and in-text glosses, which are of more limited use as they must be brief and well placed so they do not intrude on the TT, interrupt its flow, or cause confusion for the TA between the voices of the ST author and the translator, which is particularly important in the translation of primary historical documents.

Interestingly, several 1840 issues that have been identified by New Zealand historians as of great importance do not feature particularly in the *LRO*, illustrating some of the differences between these accounts and those of the British in New Zealand, and hence the historical importance of the French missionaries' letters. In some cases, the *LRO* corroborate the views of the British missionaries, particularly in regards to the hunger of Māori for reading materials. Particularly interesting are the letters of Pompallier and the priests relating to the Treaty of Waitangi, the degree to which Māori

understood the implications of signing the Treaty, and the failed attempt of the French to colonise Akaroa and appropriate the South Island.

The *LRO* need to be considered in conjunction with a variety of other primary historical documents relating to the same period. Consideration should be given to voices that are unheard in the *LRO*, including those of Māori, Colin, Roman cardinals responsible for the mission, women in the New Zealand context, and the families who received the priests' letters.

I have explained who the Marists were, and what they stood for. Their use of language in relation to the Virgin Mary indicates the importance of this idealised form of womanhood in the various contexts of the priests' religious life. I have illustrated how Pompallier's refusal to take vows as a Marist acted as a wedge between the bishop and his missionaries, some of whom struggled to demonstrate the willing obedience he believed was demanded by his ecclesiastical rank.

I have discussed the attitudes of the Marists to Māori, and identified theological and other texts, missionary role models, and the writings of and meetings with French explorers who were likely to have influenced the priests' cultural attitudes.

In Chapter 6, I analyse the ST to examine ways in which specific semantic contexts define meaning.

Chapter 6: Translation in specific lexical contexts

In this chapter, I look in particular at issues related to the translation of specific examples of ST lexis in contexts that reflect changes in meaning over time. I also consider the translation of idiom, metaphor, connotative language and the interpretation of coded language in the *LRO*, as well as translation techniques for revealing character. Cultural misunderstandings caused by the priests' celibacy are discussed.

Context, meaning and “(un)decidability”

My translation procedures in relation to conveying the meanings of words in specific contexts (see pp.81-95) are based on notions of context, (un)decidability, ambiguity, and authorial intent, insofar as this can be known, with the aim of providing a responsive, nuanced translation that is appropriate for the *skopos* of my work (see pp. 2, 9, 17). In general, I have not commented on translation procedures that are to a large extent dictated by syntactic differences between French and English. Such shifts have been analysed by linguists including, notably, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (1958/1995) and Sándor Hervey and Ian Higgins (2002) and can be assumed to be a normal feature of good translation practice.

Despite the views of translation practitioners about the difficulty of relating theory to practice (see pp.42, 78, 124) and while it is true that Derrida's prolixities and paradoxes make it impossible to apply his findings to a ST as if they were a set of rules or equations, compliance with which could be easily assessed, I have found Derrida's views not only enlighten and enrich the translation process but have a consequent effect on the product. The particular advantages of using Derridean processes are that they open the translator to the simultaneous and contradictory possibilities of multiple choices, no clear choice being able to be made, and the need to make a decision. As a result, the most appropriate translation decision (Derrida, 1999/2004, p.426) is that ambiguities in the ST, particularly when the ST is a primary historical document, remain ambiguous in the TT. Thus the specific lexical context both enables and forces a decision.

Changes in meaning over time

The questions of equivalence and *différance* raise the need for the translator to identify changes in meaning over time (see pp.13), 142. Examples of specific shifts in meaning that affect my translation of the 1840 letters include *cléricale* (e.g. doc.59[23]), which in 1835 meant [*a*]ppartenant au clerc, à l'

ecclésiastique: ‘pertaining to a clerk, in the ecclesiastical sense’. *Clerc*, however, had multiple meanings in 1835, among which were a tonsured man of the Church, and someone who worked in the office of a notary or lawyer (*ARTFL*, 1835). I have translated *cléricale* as ‘priestly’ because although both meanings of ‘clerical’ are still extant, a change from 1840 to 21st century secular society means that the more common meaning now is “pertaining to a clerk or penman” (*OED*, 2018), so that the religious meaning has to be specifically indicated.

Similarly, the meaning of *expédient* has shifted from its 1835 (*ARTFL*) meanings of *à propos*, *nécessaire*: ‘appropriate’, ‘necessary’; to *utile*, *opportune*: ‘useful’, ‘timely’ (1897, *Trésor de la langue française*); to ‘a quick fix’ or ‘stop gap measure’ (*ReversoContext*, 2017). I have translated it as ‘timely’, rather than ‘appropriate’ or ‘necessary’, as this word catches Tripe’s rather pompous, self-justifying tone and carries the additional implied meaning that the reasons for his concern have been evident for some time, thus signalling to Colin that Tripe’s letter is intended to be seen as a judicious warning about Pompallier’s behaviour (doc.78[5]).⁸⁹ These choices recognise Derrida’s (1968/1982a) *différance* (p.19), or changes in meaning over time and changes because of the particular, and infinitely variable, contexts of semantic use.

Idiom

In translating ST idioms and metaphors, I have tried to find equivalent expressions that would be familiar to the TA yet, as far as possible, do not break with their ST context. Although Nida (1964/2004) suggests a gloss translation⁹⁰ of idioms to “permit the reader to identify [with] the source-language context, and to understand as much as he can of the customs, manner of thought, and means of expression” (p.156), he also suggests translating idioms “more or less literally”, so that even if they are not appropriate in the TT, they show the TA the patterns of thought followed in the source culture (p.162). This latter argument has been influential in translation studies, particularly for Venuti (2004), who has supported Nida’s literal, or formal, approach as being truer to the ST than “pragmatic equivalence”, which “communicates the foreign text according to values so familiar in the receiving language and culture as to conceal the very fact of translation” (p.148).

⁻⁸⁹ *d’autres choses desquelles je crois expédient de vous instruire.*

⁹⁰ As an example of a gloss translation, Nida renders “greet one another with a holy kiss”, (Romans: 16:16 in *The New Testament in Modern English*, 1960), as “give one another a hearty handshake all around” (1964/2004, p.157).

While I do not fully agree with Venuti's views on the need to foreignize the TT, I have tried to ensure the translation does not break inappropriately from the ST context. Thus when translating a ST phrase with a TT idiom I have checked the etymology of the translating word or phrase in the *OED* (2018) to ensure it could have been used in 1840. Examples include:

Table 1: Translation of idioms

<i>LRO</i>	ST	Translation	1st used in English	Translation procedure
52[7]	" se mettant peu en peine de leurs bonnes ou mauvaises dispositions"	without bothering too much about whether or not they were well prepared	1796	Free modulation so that the TT corresponds to the ST situation (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1995, p.37).
74[3]	"les navires se les arrachent "	They [potatoes] are snapped up by the ships.	1550	Personification retained; perspective (voice) changed (Pym, 2016, p.220).
78[3]	"ils ont fait quelques apparitions au nombre de 8 à 10 individus et toujours les mêmes"	they have made a few appearances, to the tune of 8 or 10 individuals, and always the same people,	1716	Adaptation: Text structure copied but literal language of ST becomes metaphorical, and less formal, in the TT (Vinay

				and Darbelnet, p.41).
83[4]	“une santé passablement forte ”	pretty good health	1577	Modulation (Vinay and Darbelnet, p.41), with ST negative connotations becoming more positive in the TT to reflect context of Pompallier writing to reassure his mother.

This matching and balancing of ST and TT idioms reflects Gouanvic's (2005) view that: “The difficulty of a translation resides precisely in the interplay between resemblance and difference, a source work being neither exactly the same nor entirely different in translation” (p.163).

Metaphor

While some familiar metaphors in the *LRO* could be translated literally, such as Biblical metaphors relating to the shepherd and his flock,⁹¹ or the priests' recurrent metaphor about the Church as the 'trunk', *tronc*, or tree of life,⁹² used to explain apostolic succession to Māori, other ST metaphors would sound disconcertingly strange to Anglophones and need to be transformed (Derrida, 1982/1985b, p.122) to be meaningful to 21st century readers. Thus, in translating metaphor and idiom, I have used Derrida's (1972/2002) idea of such translation as “a regulated transformation of one language by

⁹¹ E.g. docs 59[23], 68[2], 71[1].

⁹² E.g. docs 58[6], 80[11].

another" (p.20). For example, a literal translation of *la croix est notre unique drapeau, et le sang de notre Sauveur l'unique poids de notre balance pour les âmes* would give: 'The cross is our only flag and the blood of our Saviour our only balance weight for souls' (doc.59[16]). To make this more intelligible English, I have translated it as: 'The cross is our only banner and the blood of our Saviour the only weight in our balance for the salvation of souls'. However, I have retained a literal translation of *le bras de Dieu n'est pas raccourci* (doc.73[4]): 'God's arm is not foreshortened', despite the potential difficulties this could cause a 21st century Anglophone audience, as an equivalent phrase is found in Isaiah 59:1 "The Lord's hand is not so short that it cannot save". I have provided the TA with this reference in a footnote (see n.290, p.255).

In 1840, Baty and Épalle used a Māori proverb, *les pommes de terre ne parviennent pas à maturité en un seul jour* (doc.77[5]), to show that Māori, even when converted to Catholicism, did not immediately reject their "superstitions". I have translated this literally, as 'potatoes don't mature in a day', in keeping with its agricultural ST context rather than replacing it with the parallel, but contextually inappropriate, English saying: "Rome wasn't built in a day".

In my opinion, Derrida's (1972/1982b) insights that the "iterability", or repeatability of the written word (p.315), "carries with it a force of breaking with its context" (p.317) and that the meaning of a word is determined by its specific context (1998, p.79), support responsive translation practices that capture the underlying meanings of ST lexis and imagery.

Translatable connotations

Bearing in mind Derrida's (1968/1982a) concept of "the trace" (p.13), I have based my translations of the phrase *auguste mère*, for example, on contextual meanings rather than using the apparently equivalent, but unlikely, phrase 'august mother'.⁹³ The phrase *auguste reine*: 'august queen', although a more likely collocation, is used only once in the New Zealand LRO (doc.35[2]) and only four other times in the letters written from elsewhere in Oceania.

In my selection for translation, the priests' use of *auguste mère* and *auguste Marie* in relation to the Virgin Mary carries something of the meanings provided in *ARTFL* (1835): 'great, imposing,

⁹³ Duffy, personal communication (7 December, 2018), confirms that the phrase "august mother" in relation to the Blessed Virgin is historically very rare in Catholic prayer."

respectable, worthy of veneration',⁹⁴ with *respectable* meaning 'deserving respect',⁹⁵ and *respect* meaning 'veneration', 'deference'⁹⁶. *ReversoContext* (2017) translates *auguste* as 'august', 'distinguished', 'hallowed'; and *Linguee* (2017) provides 'august' or, less commonly, 'sublime', 'lofty'. Thus the 1835 associations of 'worthy of' or 'deserving' have been lost, as have the explicit ideas of 'respect' and 'veneration'. These ideas are, nonetheless, sustained to some extent in the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary* (NZOED, 2005), which adds a new element by defining 'august' as "*inspiring reverence and admiration; venerable, impressive*" (my emphasis). The *OED* (2018) also gives 'magnificent', 'solemnly grand', 'stately' and 'majestic' as synonyms.

Clearly, the connotations of *auguste*/'august' have changed over the centuries. If *auguste mère* was translated literally as 'august mother', the 21st century reader would be likely to interpret the phrase as having connotations of nobility and majesty, with associations of remoteness and power as represented, for example, in the formal ceremonial or religious practices of Roman Emperors.

Because of these shifts in meaning, and the complexities of conveying underlying associations, I have based my translation of *auguste* on the specific context of each of its five occurrences in my translation, using a variety of translation procedures and sometimes going beyond available dictionary definitions to reflect the particular devotion of the Marists to Mary in her various roles within the Church. Fawcett (1997) illustrates ways in which dictionaries can be "misleading in what would seem to be very clear-cut cases of equivalence" (p.28; see also p.43). This statement could be clarified by the observation that dictionaries do not usually convey associations embodied in Derrida's notion of the "trace".

Table 2: Translation of *auguste mère*

Doc.	Context	Translation	Procedure and reason for choice
59[15]	<i>Prions toujours le Seigneur avec</i>	Let us always pray fervently to the Lord and	Substitution by choosing "closest natural equivalent"

⁹⁴ *Grand, imposant, respectable, digne de vénération.*

⁹⁵ *Qui mérite du respect*".

⁹⁶ *La vénération, la déférence.*

	<i>ferveur, ainsi que son auguste mère, afin que son saint règne s'établisse et s'affermisse en ces grandes îles.</i>	His glorious Mother that His holy kingdom may be established and grow strong in these great islands.	to the source-language message" (Nida, 1964/2004, p.163). High tone and positive connotations associated with establishment of Kingdom of Heaven.
63[1]	<i>Que de secours efficaces nous viennent ici de cette sainte colline et de l'auguste mère et des tendres enfants qu'elle a recueillis auprès d'elle !</i>	May effective help reach us here from that holy hill and from our noble and revered Mother and the loving children she has gathered around her.	Explication and amplification (Fawcett, 1997, pp.45-47) with two adjectives needed to communicate the attitude implied in the ST. 'August mother' is too cold to be associated with 'loving children', but 'revered' suggests loving respect, and 'noble' suggests high status.
76[2]	<i>[N]ous nous jetâmes à genoux et par les mains de la plus tendre des mères, l'auguste Marie, nous nous offrîmes tout faibles que nous sommes au bon et divin pasteur (...)</i>	[W]e fell on our knees, and through the hands of the most loving of mothers, Mary our heavenly Queen , offered ourselves, weak as we are, to the merciful divine Shepherd.	A paraphrase using "concretization" (Fawcett, 1997, p.29) to convey underlying idea of text. Kneeling is associated with deference to power, so have used the title 'Queen' to reflect this and added 'heavenly' to avoid confusion with political

			power. Possessive pronoun 'our' added to emphasize close relationship between Mary and the missionaries.
84[1]	<i>Je suis très-content de mon sort et avec la grâce de Dieu et l'intercession de notre auguste mère j'espère l'être jusqu'à mon dernier jour.</i>	I am very happy with my lot, and with the grace of God, and the intercession of our gracious Mother , I hope to remain so until my dying day.	Synonym conveys the tone of the ST and allows the play of associated levels of meaning (Derrida, 1998, p.144). 'Gracious' echoes the "grace of God" and suggests hoped for mercy, associated with 'dying day'.
86[3]	<i>le beau jour de l'Assomption de notre auguste mère</i>	on the beautiful day of the Assumption of our exalted Mother ...	Modulation using metaphor to illustrate the ST situation (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958/1995, pp.36-37). 'Exalted' conveys the tone of <i>auguste</i> and fits the context. Its connotations of being raised high illustrate, metaphorically, the implied meaning of "Assumption".

A further example of context-based translation is my translation of *heureux*, 'happy', as (for example): 'blessed', *heureux jour* (doc.54[6]); 'useful', *heureux contrepoids* (56[2]); they did not have much luck', *n'ayant pas été fort heureux* (59[7]); 'fortunate', *Que vous êtes heureux* (63[1]); 'safe', *heureuse arrivée* (doc.76[1]).

Thus my context-based procedures contradict the traditional view of formal equivalence, as recommended by Nida (1964/2004), with particular terms in the ST always translated by the same

corresponding term in the TT (p.161). In addition, the more fluid practices I have used give the translation precision, flexibility and greater cohesion.

Interpretation of coded language

I analyse samples of ST language to show the importance of being able to read the text not just for its surface meaning, but also for the inferential, sometimes coded, meaning that lies below the surface and is closely linked to the relationships of the participants (writer, addressee, and those mentioned in the letters); the purposes, both overt and covert, of the writing; and the context in which the writer is operating. Spivak (1993/2004) describes this process as working “within a three-tiered notion of language (as rhetoric, logic, silence)” and as one that “takes a different kind of effort from taking translation to be a matter of synonym, syntax and local colour” (p.371).

Accordingly, in the context of Catholic missionaries, Petit’s observation to Colin that the priests were ‘reproached several times for endless praying’, *plusieurs fois on nous avait reproché de prier sans cesse* (doc.56[4]), serves to warn Colin that the missionaries’ spiritual lives were being threatened and his repeated injunctions to the Marists to ‘be men of prayer’: *Soyez hommes de prières* (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.4[5]; 48[6]), were being undermined. While it is not possible, without direct intervention in and additions to the ST, for the translation to show the irony in Petit’s statement, and the deep conflict it indicates, the context should alert the attentive reader to the unspoken sub-text. (See also pp.37-38.)

It is sometimes difficult to be sure of the underlying meaning as written lexis, syntax, and punctuation do not necessarily convey intent, or tone, such as irony. Thus, the reader wonders whether the Marists’ frequent references to Pompallier as “*Monseigneur*” and “*Sa Grandeur*” are coded messages, letting Colin know the bishop was standing firmly on his dignity and perhaps over-exerting his episcopal authority. The constant repetition of the bishop’s title can appear ironic, if not snide, as in sentences like: *Monseigneur, à qui la bonté de coeur cache beaucoup d’inconvénients, pensera peut-être autrement*, ‘*Monseigneur*, whose kind-heartedness prevents him from seeing many drawbacks, will perhaps think otherwise’ (doc.74[4]). Supporting my interpretation of many uses of these titles as ironic is Colin’s reported view that he was tired of hearing Pompallier continually referred to as “*Sa Grandeur*”, which he found inappropriate for a missionary Bishop who should live in poverty and a spirit of simplicity, as the Apostles did.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *Il fut aussi fatigué de ce que la lettre d’un des compagnons de m(onsieur) Pompallier [sic] parlait à tout moment de sa grandeur, du palais épiscopal, de la résidence épiscopale, de l’honneur qu’il avait eu d’accompagner sa*

Monseigneur, a French title for bishops, could have been translated by the English equivalent, 'His Lordship'. *Sa Grandeur*, however, is also a French title for bishops, but as the English equivalent 'His Grace' is used only for archbishops, this translation would have been misleading. Using the English title "Monsignor" would be inappropriate as it is used to designate priests who have a higher rank than ordinary priests but are not bishops (Wiltgen, 2010, p.xxii). I have retained the use of *Monseigneur* to emphasize the Frenchness of the ST but have translated *Sa Grandeur* as 'His Lordship', the English title for bishops, to acknowledge Pompallier's status and at the same time to indicate his hierarchical relationship with his priests. I note that even the all-pervasive but more humble title, *père*, 'Father', designating the priest in the role of spiritual father, carries with it implications of masculine authority and power in both French and English.

The question of whether to translate the text literally or to provide the sub-text arises, for instance, in Pezant's letter of 30 January, 1841, telling Fr Pierre Colin that Pompallier asked Lavaud to provide the missionaries with two rations a day, so that they have *des ressources fixes* (doc.86[4]). The stilted English of a literal translation, 'fixed resources', is not as meaningful as provision of the multi-level, if verbose, subtext would be: 'The missionaries ['We'] are now assured of food but, until now, they ['we'] have not had enough to eat because Pompallier did not give them ['us'] enough money to live on and Lavaud has not given them ['us'] adequate support'. By translating the phrase as 'so they now have regular meals' I have signalled the subtext and avoided the calque (Munday, 2012, p.87) of a literal, obscure, translation.

Pezant describing efforts to find food, writes:

On ne trouve que peu de pommes de terre et encore se vendent-elles à un prix très-haut, parce que les navires se les arrachent; les porcs sont libres, mais errants dans les bois, et m(onsieu)r Comte avec le f(rère) Florentin a fait en vain une excursion pour en prendre (doc.74[3]).

I considered several possible translations of *[Ils ont] fait en vain une excursion pour en prendre*, including 'made a vain sortie', 'a vain attempt' and 'a fruitless expedition', but decided that a 'vain sortie', though conveying the idea of going out somewhere in a targeted but failed effort, was too stilted

grandeur, grands mots qui conviennent peu à un évêque de la Nouvelle Zélande, à un missionnaire évêque qui doit loger sub paupere tecto (....) à l'esprit de simplicité et d'apostolicité (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.64[3]. Reverse emphasis).

when alternatives were available. 'A vain attempt' carried the idea of a quick try, without necessarily involving much time or sustained effort. My choice, 'a fruitless expedition' gives the idea of a long, arduous trek that, in spite of hope, produced no results. As in Pezant's reference to the priests building their own house from wood and rushes (doc.74[3]), the missing element in the story appears to be the help probably received from the unnamed Māori catechist who travelled with them from the Hokianga (doc.80[2]), and from Etaka, the young French-speaking Chatham Islands Māori who was aboard the *Aube*.⁹⁸

Coded messages about celibacy

Many letters record problems of priests and brothers being alone for long periods of time on isolated stations, which was contrary to Marist practice and seen as posing a danger to the missionaries' spiritual and moral welfare. Séon, for example, says the greatest hardship he experiences is being alone,⁹⁹ and needing the company of another priest so they could encourage and advise each other.¹⁰⁰

On 4 September, 1843, Forest informed Colin that all the priests were alone in their stations and, although they were all zealous and met their obligations, the situation could be dire, especially for the young priests who needed to work alongside more experienced ones.¹⁰¹ The coded message appears to be that the priests are remaining true to their vows, but that Pompallier is risking the mission by leaving them isolated and thus vulnerable to neglect of their spiritual duties and sexual temptation. Several letters, for example, recount difficulties for priests and brothers when men and women slept together in a large whare.¹⁰² A further implied message in Forest's letter is that Pompallier has

⁹⁸ Pezant to Colin (1840, 30 January). See also pp.106, 244 below.

⁹⁹ Frances Porter (1992) suggests that the loneliness of his isolated Wairoa station caused the derangement of CMS missionary William Dudley (p.142).

¹⁰⁰ *La plus grande privation que j'éprouve c'est d'être seul (...) [L]'essentiel est un prêtre, un compagnon avec le quel on s'encourage, on se consulte* (doc.253[3]).

¹⁰¹ *Maintenant dans la Nouvelle Zélande tous les prêtres sont seuls à seul, c'est à dire un à un dans les stations (...) Cet isolement peut devenir bien funeste aux pauvres prêtres, surtout aux jeunes, qui ont besoin d'acquérir de l'expérience auprès des enciens [sic]. Cependant jusqu'ici il n'y a rien eu, grâce à Dieu, qui ait pu nous affliger. Tous les prêtres sont très zélés et remplissent, je crois, bien leur devoirs* (doc.281[5]).

¹⁰² For example, Forest reports being obliged to 'sleep pell-mell with everyone'. He describes girls rolling up close to the priests in their sleep, saying he is sure they often do not mean any harm, 'but they are women, and that is enough for the devil to offer temptation' – *on est obligé de coucher pêle mêle avec tous ces gens là: les femmes, les filles souvent en se tournant pendant la nuit finissent par se mettre tout à fait auprès et quelque fois joignant les p(ères) ou fr(ères). Je veux bien croire que souvent elles n'ont aucune mauvaise intention, mais ce sont des femmes et cela suffit pour que le diable trouve matière à la tentation* (doc.281[6]).

deliberately ignored Colin's repeated injunction that a priest should never be left alone in a station (e.g. Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.68[8]; 221[2]).

A year later, Petit-Jean made veiled reference to accidents that could happen with priests living on their own and that could ruin the mission.¹⁰³ Only one "accident" concerning priests is recorded in a report of 3 March, 1853, from Fr Jean-Louis Rocher to Colin, informing him about a defecting priest who, left by Pompallier in sole charge of the mission in Tauranga, had begged him for over a year not to leave him alone or he would be lost. The language of the priest's despair, although apparently controlled, shows his internal suffering and the intensity of his anger towards Pompallier: 'Well, it's done, and I'll go to Hell, and the bishop will be right there beside me, and I'll gnaw at his skull like Ugolin in Dante's *Inferno*'.¹⁰⁴

Revelation of character

In translating negative views of Pompallier portrayed in several of the priests' letters,¹⁰⁵ and negative comments Pompallier made about his priests and Brothers,¹⁰⁶ I have borne in mind that as the writers have chosen to emphasize certain qualities to the exclusion of others, the resulting portrayal is not necessarily balanced or even fair (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, 1980/2003, p.163). Furthermore, in "mediating ideas, views and preferences" (Koskinen, 2000, p.108), care is needed to ensure the translator does not choose synonyms that unduly influence TT readers' opinions.

Servant's letter criticising Pompallier and his management of the mission can be shown to be as revelatory of his own character as of Pompallier's (doc.55). I have translated the sentence that opens the accusations against Pompallier: *Il convient de ne pas recevoir à la lettre les mirabilia de conversion qu'auront pu vous annoncer les lettres précédentes* by retaining the Latin *mirabilia* as I think the meaning is clear in English and the lofty tone of the Latin in this context conveys Servant's sarcastic scepticism. On the other hand, I have slightly softened the translation of *à la lettre*, 'literally', by adding

¹⁰³ [J]e tremble par cette conviction que certains accidents possibles, s'ils se réalisoient, tendroient à ruiner notre mission (doc.356[3]).

¹⁰⁴ [L]e malheureux est venu au point de maudire son sacerdoce, après l'avoir souillé par 15 mois d'une vie de voluptés sacrilèges (....) Eh bien, s'en est fait, j'irai dans l'enfer, et l'évêque sera à mes côtés et je lui rongerai le crâne comme Hugolin dans l'enfer de Dante (doc.1228[8]).

¹⁰⁵ E.g. docs 55, 56, 78[3-6], 84[1-2], 85[2].

¹⁰⁶ E.g. docs 59[18-23], 69[2-4], 71[3-5].

'too', which creates a natural English idiom and indicates Servant's awareness of the seriousness of the step he is taking, and his nervousness, both in view of Colin's possible reaction to insubordination towards the bishop,¹⁰⁷ and Pompallier's anger if, or when, he finds out he has been betrayed by his priests. It is possible to translate the clause *qu'auroient pu vous annoncer* either as '[the figures for conversions] that may have been announced' or 'heralded', or even 'trumpeted', but I have chosen 'heralded' as best fitting the context of Servant's controlled anger at Pompallier's inflated figures for conversions of Māori to Catholicism. Translating *il y a loin des premières dispositions des naturels à une véritable conversion* as 'there is a big difference between the initial attitudes of the natives and a true conversion' would give idiomatic English, but I interpret the sentence as meaning that the initial reactions of Māori could in time lead to a true conversion, rather than seeing 'initial reactions' and 'true conversion' as oppositions that cancel each other out (see Appendix, doc.55[2].)

Pompallier's dominant personality, and his belief in the rightness of his own views, is revealed, possibly unconsciously, in his rebuke of Colin for deciding not to send more missionaries: *ne pas nous envoyer son renfort et des secours que le ciel seul avec moi en particulier voyoit être si nécessaires* (doc.59[25]). Although I have tried to avoid translator bias, after considering possible alternatives, e.g: 'not to send us His reinforcements and the help that Heaven alone, **and/but** I in particular, saw (...)'; or: 'that **Heaven and I alone** saw', I have chosen the latter as, despite the unusual collocation that highlights Pompallier's tendency to self-aggrandisement, it is less stilted than the first option and more immediately comprehensible to the TT reader.

In some cases, I have had to make choices about how to depict Pompallier. For example, after narrowly escaping shipwreck trying to find the entrance to the Otago harbour, he describes calling his priests together to pray: *J'appelle à moi* (doc.80[23]). It would be possible to translate *j'appelle* as: 'I called to me/called together/gathered together', or 'summoned'. Although context-based impressions of Pompallier might make 'summoned' appear the most appropriate word, I have chosen 'called together' to keep closer to the neutral tone of the ST, while changing the French vivid present to the English past simple narrative tense.

A similar choice of loaded synonyms has to be made when Pompallier upbraids Colin for ignoring his *notes*, a word occurring four times in 11 lines, supplemented by one use of *memorandum*. I have

¹⁰⁷ Although Colin's response to Servant's letter is to ask the Marists to write to him frequently, with trust, and in confidence: *Ecrivez-moi souvent avec confiance, en confidence*, (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.218[13]), he first uncompromisingly enjoins them to obey their Bishop: *Obéissez à votre évêque* (218[8]).

captured his tone of rising irritation by using 'requests' twice, followed by 'memoranda'/'memos' once each, and then 'instructions', as the neutral English word 'notes' does not adequately convey Pompallier's frustration and growing imperiousness (doc.65[13]).

In other cases, it is not so much translator choice that reveals Pompallier's character as his own choice of lexis and syntax, as in his use of: the 1st person singular possessive pronoun to refer to, for example, 'my mission', *ma mission* (64[1]); 'my work', *mes travaux* (80[6]); the imperative form often used in letters to Colin, as in: 'choose' and 'send', *choisissez* and *envoyez* (64[5], [6]); and a one sentence ST paragraph to convey a threat:

Envoyez-moi régulièrement les allocations de la Propagation de la foi; autrement, si par défaut de les toucher ainsi, j'étois obligé de vendre ou le navire ou quelques terres de mes établissements, ceci feroit le plus mauvais effet en cette mission:

Send me the *Propagation de la foi* allocations at regular intervals. Otherwise, if I was compelled to sell either the ship or some of the land my stations are on because regular funding had not been received, it would have a very bad effect on this mission (doc.65[3]).

Sometimes an ST writer's choice of word order is an unconscious revelation of character. For example: *Arrivés à Akaroa, nous fûmes invités, m(onseig)(neu)r et moi, à prendre logement sur l'Aube* (doc.79[3]) could be translated as: 'When we arrived in Akaroa, *monseigneur* and I were invited to stay on board the *Aube*', using natural English word order. However, following the ST word order, 'When we arrived in Akaroa, we were invited, *monseigneur* and I, to stay on board the *Aube*', enables the TT to indicate the air of often aggrieved self-importance permeating Tripe's letters.

I have tried not to add to the ST to clarify its meaning so that ambiguity, or "undecidability" (Derrida, 1998, p.81) in the ST remains ambiguous in the TT. Derrida (1988a) argues the need "to analyze the play or relative indetermination" (p.144) that opens up the space for different interpretations. This awareness of ambiguity, the "strange cleavage" in meaning underlined by Derrida's *différance* and "the untameable energy of difference" (Lewis, 1985/2004, p.272), heightens translator, and reader, sensitivity to the overlay implied by different cultural and historical understandings, and imprecisions and contradictions within the ST itself. In relation to this ambiguity, I see the selection of synonyms that show the drama of the narrative, and the choice of word order, for example, to reveal a writer's character, as part of the translator's work that requires a delicate balance between the neutral transfer

of meaning and the lively interpretation of tone, underlying meanings, and unconscious authorial self-revelation.

Summary

My decisions in relation to the translation of words in specific contexts have been informed by an understanding of the importance of context and the need to make decisions on how to translate “undecidabilities” (Derrida, 1972/1982b, p.79) and ambiguities in the ST.

I have focused on the translation of specific words used in the ST in contexts that reflect changes in meaning over time; ST idiom, metaphor, and connotative language; the interpretation of coded language; and translation techniques for revealing character.

Some of the priests’ carefully couched, scrupulously polite and respectful language is analysed to show how the missionaries let Colin know about their discontent with Pompallier and cast serious aspersions on his character and prayerfulness, thus fanning the flames of the already present distrust between these two leaders. Coded references to the priests’ faithfulness to their vows of celibacy are analysed and interpreted.

I have found that Derrida’s views both enlighten and enrich the translation process and have a consequent effect on the product. I have analysed the meaning and translation of specific examples of ST lexis and syntax to show how a Derridean approach to language and translation helps ensure that the translator is responsive to the language and implied meaning of the ST and that the resultant TT is nuanced and appropriate in its interpretation of the ST.

In Chapter 7 I will show how a hermeneutic approach to the ST supports analysis of some of the forces underlying and shaping the social and political worlds of participants in 1840 New Zealand society.

Chapter 7: A hermeneutic approach

I have discussed (pp. 15, 35, 45-47) the impact of ethical issues on interpretation of primary historical documents such as the *LRO*. In this section I discuss the Marists' ways of interpreting their new social and cultural environment and consider how interpretative tools such as Bourdieu's ideas about the impact of power on personal relationships can be used to illustrate church and postcolonial hierarchies.

1840 Marists and interpretation

Pompallier and the Marist missionaries were certainly aware of the link between translation and interpretation, and associated ethical issues. Comte (doc.435[14]) alludes to their mistrust of Bible translations provided by Protestant missionaries and their misgivings about allowing Māori to develop their own interpretations of the Bible. He explains that the Catholic missionaries considered reading of the Scriptures was dangerous for Protestants because they were allowed private interpretation, whereas reading the Bible would always be profitable for Catholics because they did not interpret it themselves but followed the Church's interpretation.

Maintenant que la lecture de l'écriture soit funeste aux protestants, c'est évident, à cause de leur principe d'interprétation privée. Plus ils liront la bible, plus il se diviseront et se mettront dans la confusion, mais il n'en est pas de même de catholique. La lecture de la bible lui sera toujours profitable, parce qu'il ne l'interprète pas et qu'il suit les interprétation [sic] de l'église.

Just as the Anglophone 21st century reader seeks to understand what the *LRO* reveal, both explicitly and implicitly, about the French missionaries' cultural attitudes, beliefs, relationships and ways of operating, the Marists were clearly searching for ways of interpreting, and learning to live in, the new world they encountered in New Zealand. Johnston (2003), describing the power of language to express and shape consciousness and thus to have an impact on missionaries' sense of identity and understanding of their own culture, claims that language learning "could threaten the previously impermeable boundaries between the missionary self and the heathen other" (p.130). Ballantyne (2014) prefers the term "entanglement" to describe cross-cultural encounters and their ongoing impact, rather than predicating a simple dichotomy between missionary and native, Crown and Pākehā, and Māori and Pākehā (pp.17-18). Serabian (2005) argues on similar lines (e.g. p.iii).

The language of the *LRO* provides interesting examples of this cross-fertilisation of ideas, illustrating the writers' social and historical contexts (Porter & Robinson, 2011, p.23) and their progress in coming to terms with their new environment, particularly with Māori culture and religious beliefs. The changing cultural understandings of Pompallier and the Marists are reflected in their varying, but growing, abilities to enter into and express something of the essential spirit of te reo Māori (e.g. doc.366[29]).¹⁰⁸

This language learning was not without its tensions, however. Comte, noting that Māori mocked Pompallier's early attempt at written Māori, calling it 'New Zealand *oui-oui* language', complains that Pompallier's Maori language is confused and he does not understand Māori thinking and culture. Comte believes the natives 'are at least two hundred years away from being able to understand the metaphysical truths that *monseigneur* deals with as if he were talking to Europeans and was writing for them':

[L]es naurels [sic] ont-ils défini le style: langage nouveau-zélandais oui-oui, c'est-à-dire français. Il règne dans tout l'ouvrage une grande confusion. Les naturels sont en retard de deux cents ans au moins pour pouvoir pour pouvoir [sic] saisir les vérités métaphysiques que m(onsei)g(neu)r traite comme s'il parlait à des Européens et écrivait pour eux (doc.366[29]).

Derrida (1997b), in describing deconstruction as "the tension between memory, fidelity, the preservation of something that has been given to us, and, at the same time, heterogeneity, something absolutely new, and a break" (p.6), provides a means of understanding tensions such as those described above in the French missionaries' experiences of New Zealand. Formed by the teachings of the Catholic Church and French culture and history, the missionaries, confronted with the realities of different languages, cultures and religions in early colonial New Zealand, were forced to reframe, or translate, their image of themselves and their role in their new environment. Having to beg Protestant missionaries for food is just one indication of their change in status (doc.127[8]). For Pompallier, being equated with Satan was another (doc.52[8]), as was having to become a money manager and a businessman (doc.34[7]). For all the French missionaries, seeing themselves as the target of the 'heretics' antipathy was not only difficult, but a shock (e.g. doc.31[5-6]).

¹⁰⁸ See also pp.106-107.

The 21st century reader, possibly more used to changes in role and less concerned about the religious beliefs of others, might not fully appreciate the psychological difficulties besetting the early missionaries. Writing specifically about the *LRO*, Greiler (2009) warns:

An anachronistic reading of the events does not do justice to them [the ST writers] and does not help us. Before any study we would have to learn the language of the past (...) not only French, but even more, their world of symbols, culture and beliefs. Our study is a translation: the letters of the first missionaries from French to my language; the events of the time to our experience today (p.21).

The social world

Schaffer's (2016) strategy of elucidating concepts by grounding, or identifying their actual use in words and situations, localising them in time and place, but exposing the multiplicity of meanings, purposes, and intended and unintended effects each speech act can have, supports sociological and language analysis of the *LRO*. His "interpretivist", language-based approach to analysis of a social world (p.2) and his view that "[o]ne context that is especially salient to the use of words as instruments of power is institutional setting" (p.77) are pertinent to a Bourdieusian analysis of the *LRO*, particularly in relation to power relations within the Catholic Church. Like Greiler, Schaffer stresses the danger of anachronistic interpretations of the thought processes and actions of people in another age (p.xi), emphasizing the need to learn to inhabit their lifeworld to understand their point of view and the power structures lying behind it (p.21).

Schaffer's belief that "social reality cannot be understood apart from the language people use to operate in it" (p.6) confirms my belief that some exegesis of the language of the ST is necessary to support the understanding of TT readers. For example, Pezant's reference to *un traitement*, 'a stipend', for missionaries¹⁰⁹ (doc.74[4]), would puzzle most 21st century New Zealand readers, who may not know that an Ordinance to promote the building of Churches and Chapels and to provide for the Maintenance of Ministers of Religion was passed in 1842 but disallowed 5 April, 1843 (*Ordinances of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, 1841-53*, II, 7).

¹⁰⁹ Also alluded to by Colin (Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, doc.301[7]); Poupinel (Bourtot (Ed.), 1843, Vol. 1, doc.18, 7 July and doc.19, 23-26 July); and Pompallier, who asks Épalle to see if the government could apply British colonial laws to support the Marist missionaries (1841, 13 November).

Power

Relationships of political power and control, although not the primary focus of the *LRO*, feature in the French missionaries' letters, sometimes overtly and sometimes by implication, in terms of: Europeans' relationships with Māori, where the distribution of power was not always one-sided; relationships between the British and the French in New Zealand; hierarchies within the Catholic Church; and personal power struggles within the Catholic mission, reflected in the written language of Pompallier and the Marist priests as they struggle with the "symbolic power"¹¹⁰ (Bourdieu, 1982/1991, p.37) underlying their relationships.

Bourdieu's concept of "field" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.97) provides a useful tool for analysing intra- and inter-relationships of identifiable groups in 1840 New Zealand, particularly when these relationships are defined in terms of "capital" or "power" (p.114). Grenfell (2011) observes that for Bourdieu "words are never 'value-neutral', never used in isolation, but arise in contexts which need to be seen as dynamic social spaces where issues of power are always at stake" (p.2). My translation aims to bring out the context and dynamics of the conflicting, multi-faceted power relationships underlying the *LRO*. Examples include Pompallier's constant references to the other French missionaries as his *sujets*, 'subjects';¹¹¹ Māori as subjects of the British governor;¹¹² and Māori as subjects of their chief.¹¹³

In translating Pompallier's views on authority, both religious and civil, which he saw as coming directly from God, I show how seriously he took the matter. One translation technique has been to personify "Authority" (doc.59[22]) so that the term is understood as referring both to the right and the ability to rule, and to personified institutions of authority, embodied in the (Catholic) Church and the State. Thus, I have translated: [*Il nous faut donc rattacher les esprits et les cœurs au principe de leur vie qui est*

¹¹⁰ Grenfell (2011) explains that language is a source of power and "ultimately, *symbolic violence*. Nothing is as it seems in language once we view it through the lens of the *linguistic market* (....) Caution is recommended for anyone who takes words at face value, as representations of fact" (p.62).

¹¹¹ Doc.59[5], [8], [10], [18], [22], [23], [24], [25], [26], [28], [34] is just one letter that illustrates this point. Some paragraphs (e.g. [18], [23], [24], [26], [28], [34]) contain multiple references to *sujets*.

¹¹² E.g. doc.59[13].

¹¹³ E.g. doc.80[8].

Dieu en lui-même et dans l'autorité as: 'We must therefore re-attach hearts and minds to the principle of their life, which is God in Himself and as manifested in Authority'.

Power relationships are evident in the conventional letter endings through which the priests expressed submission to their superior. Servant's adoption of the role of the 'very humble, very obedient and faithful servant of his Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ', *très révérend supérieur et cher père en J(ésus) C(hrist), votre très humble, très obéissant et fidèle serviteur*, is a typical example (doc.52[22]). Thus, relationships of submission and domination are accepted and embodied in the Marists' language, including Pompallier's, as was the convention of the time. George Snell's recommendation (1649) that "a subscription" should express "all fulness of thanks, of dutie, of honor, of service" (p.106) is still being followed two centuries later. Susan Fitzmaurice (2015), describing "subscription formulae" of 18th century English aristocratic letters, notes that one or more of the following adjectives was most commonly used: "*obliged, obedient, faithful, humble*", followed by "the expression of commitment of service to the addressee through the conventional term *servant*" (p.168). The conventionality of the Marists' letter endings does not, however, diminish the power relationships implied in their language. I have translated the ST letter endings literally, rather than transposing them into conventional 21st century letter endings, as these would not reflect the tacit relationships expressed in the ST (see p.18).

Although the priests expressed willing submission to the absent and idealised Colin, the struggles of several to achieve the obedience Pompallier demanded met with outbursts of episcopal rage, which some found added to their difficulties in achieving religious humility and obedience. Servant's first letter to Colin written without Pompallier's knowledge (doc.55), and supported by Baty, Petit,¹¹⁴ and Épalle, is an expression of defiance, resentment, hurt, and barely suppressed anger. Both Servant (doc.55[6]) and Tripe (doc.78[5-6]) recount emotional distress arising from Pompallier's outbursts of temper, with Tripe, purporting to be writing about himself, coming close to accusing the bishop of serious sin (i.e. explosive anger) that should cause him to leave the mission.¹¹⁵ Forest, sent by Colin to report on the state of the mission in New Zealand, wrote on 22 May, 1842: *Monseigneur a eu des prises terribles avec plusieurs confrères*: 'Monseigneur has had terrible set-tos with several fellow priests'

¹¹⁴ See also doc.56.

¹¹⁵ [S]i pareilles scènes se renouvellaient et que je péchasse surtout grièvement par emportement je n'attendrais pas qu'on m'obligeât à quitter la mission, je la quitterais de moi-même parce que je n'y suis venu que pour me sauver et non pour me perdre (doc.78[5]).

(doc.166[12]). Colin warned Pompallier about his bitter, contemptuous language, *termes aussi amers que méprisants*, concerning his missionaries (Lessard, 2009, Vol.2, doc.18[4]). Forest pointedly juxtaposes the extreme poverty and misery in which the priests were living against the daily costs of maintaining Pompallier's boat (doc.166[7]).¹¹⁶

Some of Pompallier's difficulties in exercising his power arose from what Simmons (1978) anachronistically called his inability to create "a team to work with him" (p.39). In fact, Pompallier would not have understood the meaning of "team" in the 19th century religious hierarchical context where democratic leadership was not a consideration. Nor apparently did he consult his priests or seek the advice of some who had a better grasp of financial affairs than he did (e.g. see Petit-Jean's letters, docs.159[6-9], 184[2-9], 192[2-8]).

In the 19th century religious context in which the French missionaries operated, willing submission to a superior was not only a virtue but a requirement. Thus, being childlike, as opposed to childish, was something to be aspired to and implied the virtues of obedience, humility, simplicity and docility. The missionaries applied this concept to sailors who approached the sacraments in an appropriate state of mind;¹¹⁷ to Māori who showed interest in being converted to Catholicism, or whom the missionaries wished to convert, or who had already converted to Catholicism;¹¹⁸ to members of the Catholic Church;¹¹⁹ and, above all, to themselves, both as 'children of Mary', 'children' of the Catholic Church;¹²⁰ and 'children' in relation to their superior, Colin, whom they saw in the role of a parent to whom they owed willing obedience.¹²¹ The French missionaries' references to metaphorical childlikeness are much more frequently directed towards their own relationships within the Church¹²² than towards

¹¹⁶ *Nos pauvres pères ont beaucoup souffert et j'en connois qui sont allés comme les sauvages demander quelques morceaux de biscuit à des navires étrangers qui passaient. C'est un état bien triste tandis que l'évêque avec son navire fait à peu près pour cent francs de dépenses chaque jour.*

¹¹⁷ Docs.16[5], 24[1].

¹¹⁸ Docs 31[19], 33[2], 45[3], 48[4], 51[6], 52[9], 59[27], 68[2], 83[2].

¹¹⁹ Docs 59[22, 29], 83[10].

¹²⁰ Docs 63[1]; 66[2], where Baty uses the phrase *enfant de Marie*, 'child of Mary', in relation to himself, three times in 17 lines); 70[2]; 71[4]; 76[2].

¹²¹ Docs 30[2];31[21]; 39[12]; 59[21, 22, 25]; 64[4]; 84[1].

¹²² 11 references in selection 1 (Girard, Vol.1, pp.70-321); and 20 in selection 2 (pp.322-512). See Ch.8 for further explanation of these two selections.

Māori.¹²³ All of these references imply concepts of control and voluntary submission, or religious obedience, a concept particularly difficult for 21st century non-religious readers to understand or accept, and one that caused increasing difficulty in the relationship between Pompallier and his missionaries.

The secular TT reader is likely to see that the blind, willing, obedience Pompallier demanded, and to which the missionaries had committed themselves, would not be easy for strong, articulate young Frenchmen whose independence and initiative can be deduced from their ability to travel around New Zealand, mostly on foot, through trackless bush, albeit with Māori help, and to develop good relationships with Māori tribes so that they could live with and amongst them, even while still learning the language. The fact that several were able to act independently, so that Petit-Jean, in Pompallier's absence, "took himself off to Sydney" to try to raise a loan for the mission (Simmons, 1984, p.66; see doc.168); and Épalle, also in Pompallier's absence, left for France to give Colin full details about the state of the mission (doc.167[1]), is evidence of their ability to form, and act on, their own judgements about how to run the mission. Many gave Colin, or Forest, their unsolicited opinions on better ways of organising the mission project (including Servant, doc.55; Petit, docs.56, 57; Tripe, docs 88, 333; Yvert (a French layman attached to the mission and responsible for use of the printing press), doc.152, 170; Perret (a French layman and architect attached to the mission), doc.163; Petit-Jean, doc.192; Comte, doc.374[5], [7-9]. Forest, sent by Colin as a "Visitor" to report on the state of the mission, also provided him with many accounts of progress.¹²⁴

Against this background of almost clandestine reporting and advice to Colin, the bishop's wish not to be challenged by missionaries who were, in some respects at least, more able than himself (doc.59[23])¹²⁵ can be seen as a tacit admission of poor relationships with his priests, but also as indicating that Pompallier at times felt beleaguered by them, in what could be seen as a reversal of the power relationship. Some priests, including Garin, were critical of those whom they saw as engaged in such a power struggle. Garin (doc.209) wrote a strong defence of Pompallier, who believed 'his priests wanted to take over the reins of governance', *ses prêtres veulent prendre en main les rênes du*

¹²³ 6 references in selection 1; 5 in selection 2.

¹²⁴ e.g. docs 166, 174, 205, 215, 222, 247, 254, 313, 318, 325, 434.

¹²⁵ [L]e pasteur préfère quelqu'un de ses collaborateurs moindre en moyens, mais plus béni de Dieu par son union cléricale: 'the pastor prefers a man who works with him to be less able, but more blessed by God through his priestly union'.

gouvernement [45]. In Garin's opinion, these priests were not treating Pompallier with due respect and were a poor example to new missionaries arriving in New Zealand: *en agissant ainsi on diminue considérablement le respect qui lui est dû, qu'on décourage les nouveaux venus* [46]. Furthermore, Garin believed Colin should know that some priests did not always behave appropriately towards Pompallier: *la conduite de quelques membres à son égard n'a pas été juste dans les points dont je parle* [48].

A combination of factors, including tapu,¹²⁶ land sales, and the respect and obedience Pompallier demanded from his priests, culminated in an unfortunate scene at Ōpōtiki, recorded by Chouvet (doc.379[4]). Not permitted by Māori to build on land Pompallier had bought earlier with tobacco, Chouvet had come to understand that making land tapu¹²⁷ so it could not be built on enabled Māori to reclaim their land.¹²⁸ This insight did not help him withstand Pompallier's wrath at his failure to build where instructed, thus provoking a rare recorded occasion when a priest argued openly with the Bishop (doc.379[4]). This struggle, partly over land sales, partly over tapu, but, for the Bishop and the priest, mainly about a power relationship in a religious context, ended with Chouvet, unable to tolerate or resolve ongoing conflict with his Bishop, informing Colin he had not renewed his vows as a Marist (doc.379[11]). He returned to France in 1846 ("Catholic Missionaries in New Zealand", 2017).

Postcolonialism

Postcolonialism, defined by Douglas Robinson (2014) as "a way of looking at intercultural power, the psychosocial transformations brought about by the intertwined dynamics of dominance and submission, geographical and linguistic displacement" (p.16) also provides a useful basis for analysis and interpretation of aspects of the language used in the *LRO*. Robinson, although offering three definitions of postcolonialism (pp.13-14) sees the sole function of postcolonial analysis as explaining: "the control of one culture by another" (p.16). His definition, "cultures after the *beginning* of colonialism", appears the most apposite in relation to the 1840 New Zealand *LRO*, although the

¹²⁶ Mutu has advised that publishers now do not generally italicise words in te reo Māori or place them in quotation marks (personal communication, 9 February, 2018). I have, however, used quotation marks when I am discussing a Māori concept (e.g. pp.126, 130).

¹²⁷ A statement by Ōpōtiki chiefs, written in Māori, and dated 1840, 27 March, records this tapu.

¹²⁸ [C]e prix n'étoit que du tabac, et que le tabac, une fois fumé, il ne leur resteroit plus rien, tandis que la terre te resteroit: 'The payment was only some tobacco, and once that was smoked nothing would be left for them, but you would still have the land'(doc.379[4]).

process of colonising New Zealand cannot be viewed as having a simple “beginning”. While Sinclair (1991) considers that the British colonisation programme began with the Treaty of Waitangi (p.71), Belich (1996) believes “the acquisition of sovereignty in 1840 merely nationalised a pre-existing, evil and private empire” (p.187) and suggests that “[e]stablishing superiority over peoples such as the Māori was one of the ways in which Europeans defined themselves” (p.186). Young (2003) adds that colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves (...) and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (p.2). I examine the French Marists’ use of lexis (see Ch.8) to see to what extent it indicates their cultural values.

Although Jennings (2010) describes the Marists as “[c]ompared to the rest of the New Zealand population, (...) neither colonisers nor colonised” (p.356), this view is not quite accurate. The French missionaries frequently declared their stance as outside politics.¹²⁹ Yet they, and Colin, were in touch with French Government ministers, officials, and the French royal family, with explicit references made to the missionaries’ work and the proposed French colonisation of New Zealand.¹³⁰ Pompallier relished the tribute to his status, political as well as personal, signalled by the 9 cannon gun salute the French warship, *l’Héroïne*, accorded him in the Bay of Islands in 1838 (doc.24[1]), seemingly unaware of how this overt statement of military support could undo some of the appearance of political neutrality he was striving for (see Jennings, 2014, p.115). While, on the whole, the French Catholic missionaries explicitly and publicly separated themselves from the political colonisation of New Zealand, they were unambiguous about their aim of baptising Maori in the Catholic faith¹³¹ as without this, according to Catholic doctrine of the time (Fr Gerald Hall, 2009, p.201), they could not enter Heaven. This aim, however, can be seen as “cultural invasion” (Walker, 2004, p.85) and a form of “cultural imperialism” (Young, 2016, p.22).

Early attempts at the spiritual colonisation of Māori are reflected in the practice of giving baptised Māori converts French names, for example, the chief renamed ‘François’ (doc.52[5]), and using these converts to help other Māori to see how ‘laughable’ their superstitious beliefs were:

¹²⁹ For example, docs 52[17], 53[5], 313[6], 350[3].

¹³⁰ For example, docs 4[13], 73[6], 74[2], 227[8]. See also Lessard, 2007, Vol.1, for Colin’s letters to Maréchal Soult: docs 100, 106, 119, 123, 129.

¹³¹ E.g. docs.52[4], 58[7], 59[34], 81[3].

Mais François ne se contente pas d'attaquer l'hérésie. Il en vint encore aux prises avec le système superstitieux des Maoris. Ce qui étoit pour tout autre une tâche difficile à remplir, mais il fit ressortir avec tant d'hilarité et de naïveté les contradictions de ce système que tout le monde trouvoit le sujet d'en rire (doc.52[6]).¹³²

Undoubtedly the Marists saw Māori as needing to be rescued from ignorance and superstition. Baty, for example, begs Colin to 'remember our new converts and all those who are still in darkness':

Veuillez aussi ne pas oublier nos néophytes et tous ceux qui sont encore dans les ténèbres

(doc.84[4]). Marist Fr Mikaele Paunga (2009), writing from "the viewpoint of those who have been and are still at the receiving end of colonisation" (p.158), states that a firm belief in his own superiority gave "the white man (...) the justification beyond doubt to do whatever he thought necessary to advance civilisation without a guilty conscience. The Church was happy to underpin this endeavour" (p.165).

Although not colonised by the British in the sense Māori were, their Frenchness and their Catholicism made the French missionaries outsiders, diminished by their lack of capital and power in a Māori and British colonial society. However, this marginalisation had the advantage of enabling the Marists "to observe two alterities where British accounts focused almost entirely on Māori" and to provide an "outsider's perspective", different from that of most other observers in the colony (Jennings, 2010, p.356).

Épalle's request to Colin to send priests who were '*gentlemen*' (doc.82[1]), significantly the first English word used by the French missionaries in the *LRO*, may be an indication that they felt, or were made to feel, socially inferior in New Zealand. On the other hand, Frenchmen with very good manners could be seen by the British as untrustworthy, as evidenced in a certain distrust of Lavaud, whose diplomatic management of the politically difficult situation in Akaroa was reported as being "almost too civil (...) to be sincere" (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 1840, 5 December).

Summary

I have shown the importance the Marist missionaries ascribed to translation and interpretation of the Bible and to the difference between their attitudes to interpretation and those of the British Protestant missionaries. The early Marists also had to learn ways of interpreting, and learning to live in, their new

¹³² See Appendix, doc.52[6].

environment in colonial New Zealand, which included having to reframe their images of themselves as a result of their changed status. The language of the *LRO* reflects the priests' gradual progress, including their ability to understand, appreciate, and express something of the spirit of te reo Māori.

Bourdieuian concepts of power have proved helpful in analysing the social world in which Pompallier and the Marists operated in New Zealand, and are particularly relevant to analysis of the ecclesiastical relationships reflected in the language used in the *LRO*. While it is possible that Pompallier may have placed excessive reliance on his authority and entitlement to expect willing obedience of his priests, conversely, the reported desire of some of the priests to challenge his authority may have at times resulted in reversals of the usual bishop-priest power relationship.

It is possible that some of the challenging attitudes shown by some of the priests may have been due to their *habitus* as children of the 1789 French Revolution, but also may have stemmed from their ability to see better ways of organizing the mission than Pompallier could and from his reluctance to listen to their views.

It is not completely clear, from the *LRO*, to what extent the Catholic missionaries realised the part the French government evidently believed they would play in paving the way for eventual French colonisation of New Zealand. Although the Marists, in accordance with Catholic belief of the time, viewed their mission as being to baptise Māori so that they could enter Heaven, in the light of postcolonial analysis their work could be interpreted as culturally invasive attempts to overcome and replace Māori beliefs and spirituality with Catholic beliefs and practices. The *LRO* reveal that, unlike Māori, Pompallier and the Marists were not colonised in New Zealand but were politically and socially marginalised.

In Chapter 8 I undertake close analysis of lexis used in the *LRO* in relation to Māori culture and spirituality.

Chapter 8: Translation, culture and context

In this chapter I analyse the cultural lexis used in two substantial selections from the *LRO* and discuss the significance of my findings based on this close reading. I also examine how the Marists used lexis referring to Māori spirituality and the extent to which any merging of Catholic and Māori beliefs is evident in the priests' 1840 letters to Colin.

I accept Venuti's (2013) now well established principle that language and culture are inextricably entwined (p.58). Accordingly, the translator needs to be responsive to the varieties of language used by ST writers to reflect the variety of cultural situations they are trying to convey. This stance helps overcome any danger of implying a "unified cultural field" (Simon, 2005, p.130) and promotes flexibility in translation techniques. Simon asserts cultural meaning is located "in the process of negotiation which is part of its continual reactivation" (p.130). Her argument is apposite to my analysis of the Marists' use of lexis referring to Māori culture and spirituality, the colonial context, and Catholic beliefs. Simon's emphasis on the translator "engaging with the values of the text" (p.133) to understand it and ensure the transfer of meaning supports my aim of providing contextual information essential for understanding both the ST and the TT.

In considering the *LRO* it is difficult to separate "cultural" from "social" encounters, as all encounters, except those of the French missionaries with one another, involved meetings between representatives of at least two of the three cultures involved, French, Māori and British, and the language used by all participants reflects their cultural practices, values, and history. Pym (2006), although questioning the use of overlapping terms like "social and cultural approaches", distinguishes between their usages, but notes that "the one piece of information can be contextualized in more than one way" (p.14).

An example of one such cross-cultural social encounter is Servant's light-hearted account of how he and a Māori catechist, François, arriving at Ahipara, were met by the chief's wife and an old woman who "touched noses" with them [greeted them with a hongī]. The meeting, with differences in values evident in Servant's reference to "Maori superstitions" and his lack of understanding of the spiritual significance of, or even the word for, hongī,¹³³ was nevertheless relaxed enough on both sides "to

¹³³ Petit-Jean is the first priest to use the word "hongī" in the *LRO* (doc.107[8], 9 August 1841).

cause much merriment” (doc.52[6]).¹³⁴ Ironically, much of the humour and interest of this story for 21st century readers is due to the ST having broken from its context (Derrida, 1972/1982b, p.317), so the fact that the story seemed funny to the ST participants is what makes it amusing now. In translating it, I have tried to convey the ST tone and implied cultural attitudes so that the text is accessible to TT readers operating in different contexts and cultures.

Simon's (2005) question: “How is the translator to mediate between two historical moments which do not frame the representation of race in the same ways?” (p.32) is pertinent to the challenges of translating lexis used by the French missionaries in relation to Māori so that the apparently unconscious racism reflected in some of the Marists' 19th century language is not confused with overtly racist connotations the same language would carry in 21st century New Zealand. A technique to avoid such confusion would be to sanitise all references to Māori to make them more acceptable to 21st century sensibilities. However, this anachronistic imposition on the ST would in effect be denying the racism inherent in some of the text and unhelpful to contemporary readers interested in the New Zealand early colonial context.

Simon, critical of the practice of interpreting and adapting the ST so that it will meet TA sensibilities, shows that “[w]hat is principally neglected in such translations is the full import *of context*, both intellectual and rhetorical” (p.102). Venuti (2013), clear that the “source message is always interpreted and reinvented, especially in cultural forms open to interpretation” (p.13), claims that because the ST and TT operate within two different contexts, the translator, in interpreting the ST, alters it materially (p.246). These strongly argued views, based on conscious and unconscious adaptations, overlook, or perhaps take for granted, the possibility that, as well as changes from ST to TT, there are also continuities (Davis, 2001, p.16; Kruger, 2004, p.60). Continuities between the 19th and 21st century contexts of the *LRO* include the ongoing development of racial and cultural relationships in New Zealand, ongoing settlements under the Treaty of Waitangi for “Treaty breaches acknowledged by the Crown” (Harris & Williams, 2014, p.467) and the still partially unresolved interpretation of the Treaty (pp.470-471).

¹³⁴ *Lorsque nous arrivâmes (...) restoit la femme du grand chef qui nous reçut, et une vieille femme de la même famille vint à l'improviste faire toquer son nez contre le mien. Ce qui prêta beaucoup à rire à mes compagnons de voyages.*

Discussing recontextualization, Venuti (2013) argues that an understanding of the ST that is available to native speakers, “or natives of the source culture”, can be communicated through translation only when the “domestic remainder released by the translation includes an inscription of the cultural context in which the source text first emerged” (p.16). Venuti’s explanations of the term “remainder” as “effects that exceed a semantic correspondence according to dictionary definitions” (p.2), and as “the creation of a new context” (p.4) are close to Derrida’s (1968/1982a) notion of “the trace” (p.13),¹³⁵ which, in relation to translation, refers to ST ideas, associations and historical meanings not captured in the translating word. I provide some of this contextual information through translation techniques used (e.g. pp.53,142) and in footnotes to the translation (see Appendix, doc.52, n.189).

My consideration of the missionaries’ use of French to convey the cultural ideas gained through contact with Māori includes discussion of the difficulties of translating the “remainder”, or cultural context, from Māori to French, and thence into English (see pp.105-106). In addition, words whose full meanings and associated concepts were almost impossible for the early French missionaries to capture completely, given their strong religious beliefs, *habitus*, and varying levels of fluency in te reo Māori, include tapu, atua, and tohunga (see pp.109-113).

I examine some reports of the priests’ encounters with Māori women to show the importance of the *LRO* as primary historical texts about life in 1840 New Zealand. Some of the techniques used in my translation of these reports are highlighted.

My detailed analyses of changes in the Marists’ use of lexis indicate that their interpretations of their new cultural environment became both more realistic and more sympathetic to Māori over time.

Analysis of cultural lexis used in the *LRO*

Jennings (2013) establishes links between the language used in the *LRO* and the gradually changing cultural viewpoints of Pompallier and the French Marists from 24 December, 1836, when they left Le Havre, until 1845. Stating that “the Marists expected to find ferocious Māori cannibals and change them into Christian noble savages”, Jennings argues that both of these preconceived views were substantially altered by the Marists’ actual experience of Māori (p.123). The missionaries’ references to Māori as “children” (e.g. doc.147[8]) are used to support his argument that the Marists saw Māori as the noble savage (pp.124-125). However, while the particular sentence Jennings cites does refer to the

¹³⁵ See Ch.6.

'childishness of a half-civilised people': *l'enfantillage d'un peuple à moitié civilisé*, far from showing Māori as the noble savage, the writer, Pezant, goes on in the same sentence to say that Māori talk about eating human flesh with an indifference that is a good indicator of their former barbarity; they were 'still eating each other five or six years ago; and almost everyone today has taken part in these ghastly feasts'¹³⁶ (doc.147[8]). Pezant implies, in this instance, not that Māori were living in an idealised, childlike state, but that they were just beginning to emerge from a state of callous cruelty and had attained a precariously rudimentary stage of civilisation.

My methodology for analysing the French missionaries' use of cultural language has been to identify words to describe Māori in a body of text similar in length to my selection for translation, but from the period immediately preceding it (selection 1, from 16/1/1837 to 3/3/1840),¹³⁷ and to compare my findings with those based on my selection for translation (selection 2, from 5/3/1840 to 30/1/1841).¹³⁸ I have found that the Catholic missionaries' use of language changes over time, and that the differences in language use show changes in their attitudes to Māori and to Māori culture and spirituality.

All the cultural words identified are found in both selections, except for "barbare". Although the two selections are closely matched in terms of length,¹³⁹ the word counts would not be equal as Girard's footnotes vary from 1 line (e.g. Vol.1, p.296), to three quarters of a page (e.g. Vol.1, p.433).

¹³⁶ *Ces peuples ne sont pas des sauvages aujourd'hui; ce sont les cultivateurs de nos campagnes avec l'enfantillage d'un peuple à moitié civilisé; ils vous parlent cependant de manger de la chair humaine avec une indifférence qui annonce bien leur barbarie d'autrefois. Il y a cinq ou six ans qu'ils se mangeaient encore; presque tous aujourd'hui ils ont pris part à ces horribles festins.*

¹³⁷ Selection 1 is from Vol.1, pp.70-321, excluding docs 23, 28, 38, 42 and 43, as these were written by Marists outside New Zealand.

¹³⁸ Selection 2 is from Vol.1, pp.322-512, excluding docs 60, 61, 62 and 75, also written by Marists outside New Zealand.

¹³⁹ Selection 1 is 164.5 pages and selection 2 is 165 pages.

The following table presents my findings:

Table 3: Comparison of lexis describing Māori in two selections of text

Word	Selection 1 (16/1/1837-3/3/1840) Frequency	Selection 2 (5/3/1840 -30/1/1841) Frequency
<i>anthrophages</i> or <i>anthropophagie</i>	1	1
<i>cannibal(e)s</i> (noun and adj.)	2	1
<i>sauvages</i> (noun only)	41	26
<i>naturels</i> (noun only)	102	184
<i>insulaire</i> s (noun only)	33	9
<i>nouveaux-zélandois</i> (noun and adj.); <i>zélandais</i> (noun and adj.)	25	40
<i>indigène</i> (noun)	7	3
<i>barbare</i> (adj only)	0	1
<i>enfants</i>	6	5
<i>Maori</i> (noun and adj.)	1	14

These data are indicative of changes in the Marists' attitudes to Māori: the most commonly used word, *naturels*, shows a clear increase over the two selections of text, accompanied by a drop in the use of *sauvages* as the Marists came to realise that this word, although still sometimes used, had offensive connotations (see doc.99[26]). A marked increase in lexis that recognized Māori as a people (*nouveaux-zélandois*, *zélandais*, and *Māori*) is accompanied by a drop in neutral terms (*indigènes*, *insulaire*s). Other occurrences of negative language (*anthrophages* or *anthropophagie*, *cannibal(e)s*,

barbares, enfants) are too few, or have too little change in frequency, to enable valid analysis. I have kept to exactly the same translation of all the words in this table so that in the future a similar type of analysis could be done on the TT. The different contexts in which these words are used in the ST help illustrate changing nuances in their meaning.

Discussion of findings

<i>Anthrophages and cannibales</i>

If Pompallier and the Marists were initially preoccupied by a view that Māori might be ferocious cannibals (Jennings, 2013, p.123), their use of lexis in the early letters does not reflect this. In my first selection, I found no use of *anthropophages*, one use of *antropophagie* [*sic*] by Servant (doc.31[19]), and two uses of *canibals* [*sic*], both by Pompallier. Pompallier's first usage describes the natives of Mangareva [Gambier Islands], who 'only a short time ago were cannibals', *ces peuples qui naguère étoient canibals* (doc.21[3], 2 October, 1837). Pompallier apparently wanted to show the immediate difference Christianity had wrought. The second usage, in his first letter to Colin from New Zealand, describes 'the New Zealanders, a warlike people who are still cannibals': *les Nouveaux Zélandois, peuple guerrier et encore canibal* (doc.24[13]), no doubt to emphasise the significant work ahead of him. Servant, in his first letter from New Zealand, relates [*d*]es *témoins oculaires*, 'eye-witness accounts' of cannibalism, reporting that 'at their terrible meals these inhuman men were eating raw flesh that was still twitching', *dans leurs repas affreux ces hommes inhumains mangioient la chair crue et encore palpitante* (doc.31[19]). The reader wonders who provided these accounts as it is unlikely that Servant, Pompallier, and Brother Michel, who was then with them, would have been able, by September, 1838, to understand eye-witness accounts in either te reo Māori or English, although it is possible the stories could have been acted out. It is also possible, if unlikely, that Poynton (see n.83, p.75) could have given eye-witness accounts of cannibal feasts.

In the 2nd selection, I found one use of *anthropophagie* (Tripe, doc.79[10]) and one of *cannibales*, Pompallier's reference to Te Rauparaha's tribes (doc.83[6]). The context for these references suggests that both missionaries were using the words for effect. Pompallier, who had never been to the South Island before, possibly wanted to make Colin aware of the dangers being faced but failed to mention that the chief in question was absent from the area; and Tripe, who, after less than two months in

Akaroa¹⁴⁰ did not speak Māori, was not responsible for the Māori mission there, and would have met very few Māori, if any, wanted to impress the relation to whom he was writing. Tripe's use of *anthropophagie* is an indication of his alienation from the Akaroa environment, particularly as he asserts that Māori were still cannibals,¹⁴¹ whereas in the entire collection of New Zealand letters, apart from in Servant's first letter, the word *anthropophagie* is used only twice more, and in the context of Māori having given up cannibalism. Petit-Jean praises divine grace that enables a Māori 'to testify that he was once a cannibal, someone who ate human flesh', *prouver ce qu'il étoit naguères, un cannibal, un anthropophage* (doc.107[7]); and Moreau, writing from Tauranga in 1850, states: 'There are no more cannibals here': *Il n'y a plus ici d'anthropophages* (doc.947[1]).

Jennings (2010) notes similarly that in the 1840s "[n]o fewer than seven New Zealand-based Marist fathers mentioned cannibalism" (p.354) and finds these references are generally to "emphasise the perceived changes that Christianity had brought" (p.355). I have found the use of *canibals/cannibals/cannibalisme/anthrophagie/anthrophage* in letters written from New Zealand between March 1841 and November 1854 is in the context of:

- explaining Māori cannibalism: 'If they are cannibals, it is revenge that drives them to it': *s'ils sont canibals [sic], c'est la vengeance qui les porte à cela* (doc.99[98]);
- claiming an individual chief had given it up because of his recent conversion to Catholicism (doc.112[7]);
- stating that cannibalism was extremely rare (doc.249[4]); or
- reporting it was no longer practised (docs 107[7], 118[6], 158[9], 635[23], 947[1]).

An additional eight¹⁴² references to Māori cannibalism from 7 March 1841-28 November 1854 both avoid the word and show a dry humour sometimes tempered by an element of horror. Examples include missionaries:

- quoting Māori as saying they do not eat foreigners very often as their flesh is too salty: *ils ne mangent pas trop les étrangers, car, disent-ils, leur chair est trop salée* (doc.99[44]);

¹⁴⁰ Girard, 2010, Vol.10, p.91.

¹⁴¹ *Il faut espérer qu'ils dépouilleront ce caractère de férocité et d'anthropophagie qu'ils conservent encore aujourd'hui* (doc.79[10]), a statement corroborated by CMS missionary Richard Taylor, who states that "in 1844 the last known act of cannibalism took place [in New Zealand]" (1855/1974, p.10).

¹⁴² This includes a reference to doc.147[8]. (See p.112.)

- explaining that: 'Although these people eat men, they do not seem frightening or cruel. It is something they do as casually as someone eating a chicken they have killed': *Quoique ces gens mangent les hommes, ils n'ont pas un air effrayant, ni cruel, c'est une chose qu'il fait avec autant de sang froid qu'un homme qui mange une poule après l'avoir tué* ([sic] doc.99[72]);
- commenting on chief Moka: 'his stomach has served as a tomb for many of his enemies': *son ventre a servi de tombeau à quantité de ses ennemis* (doc.112[10]); or
- contrasting reception of the Eucharist with cannibalism: 'to feed the bread of the angels to these former man-eaters', *à nourrir du pain des anges ces ci-devant mangeurs d'hommes* (doc.954[14]).

Fr Reignier, in March 1843, has no hesitation in blaming Protestant Māori for reported cannibalism:

Cette horrible scèn [sic] dont les kanacks protestants étaient les auteurs a jeté un grand discrédit sur la secte (doc.249[3]). Nevertheless, the role of "the Faith", by implication Catholicism, in changing 'these notorious man-eaters' is asserted: *Ces fameux mangeurs d'hommes sont aujourd'hui les plus doux des humains, c'est le fruit de la foi chez ce peuple* (doc.947[3]).

However, as late as 1851, the tone of Bernard's letter from Akaroa suggests an attitude that had prompted the Papal encyclicals of 1537 and 1839, condemning racism (see p.41). *Vous voyez donc que les sauvages, des mangeurs d'hommes même, ne sont pas tout à fait incapables de sentiments, quand une fois la foi de J(ésus) C(hrist) a pénétré dans leurs cœurs* : 'So you see that savages, even man-eaters, are not quite incapable of natural feelings once the faith of Jesus Christ has entered their hearts' (doc.982[9]). The implication is that once Maori have been converted to Christianity they just qualify as human.

In a different New Zealand context, in 1850, Pezant describes another form of human sacrifice, or whakapono, which he says now means 'faith' (doc.954[23]),¹⁴³ relating how, in order to win a battle, the heart of a slain enemy was attached to the top of a palisade by a priest, *un prêtre*, as an offering to his god, *son dieu*, who was believed to eat it. Pezant's domestication of tohunga to *prêtre* could, at first sight, appear to show he accepts the tohunga as an equal, except that his next sentence, with its

¹⁴³ "Ils avaient aussi une espèce de sacrifice humaine [sic], qu'ils appellent whakapono, mot qui aujourd'hui veut dire foi."

references to ‘so many evil gods’, *tant de dieux malfaisants*; ‘continual fears’, *des craintes fréquentes*; and ‘countless superstitions’, *superstitions innombrables* associated with Māori spiritual beliefs, immediately asserts his context of Catholic beliefs (doc.954[23], [24]).

Sauvages

A drop in the usage of *sauvages* by just over a third, from 41 occurrences in my 1st selection to 26 in the 2nd, suggests developing a first-hand knowledge of Māori made the French missionaries realise the use of the term was offensive. Although Jennings (2013) claims that Garin, in preferring the term “natives” to “savages”, wanted to emphasise “successful conversions from heathen savage to pious Christian” (pp.123-124), this is a misinterpretation of Garin’s clear statement: *Je dis naturels et non sauvages parce qu’ici le terme est moins odieux* (doc.99[26]). Had Garin wanted to emphasise the effects of conversion on Māori he could easily have done so, but here he preferred to emphasise the Marists’ own change of attitude. The priests’ evident understanding of the significance of lexical choices makes it difficult to accept John Crockett’s defence (1896/2000) of Benedictine missionary Fr Vaggioli’s use of the terms “savages” and “natives” as “an anachronistic, paternalistic expression of a moral missionary imperative, conveying no inherent sense of racial superiority” (p.xvi). Similarly, some casuistry may underlie Essertel’s claim (2015) that the use of *sauvages* by the early French missionaries is not insulting or condescending as converting *les sauvages* was seen in terms of the theological virtue of charity and meant offering them eternal salvation (p.18, n.1).

I see changes in the French missionaries’ use of *sauvages* as a good indicator of changes in their cultural attitudes over time. Early attitudes are indicated in Pompallier’s first use of the word in paragraph 1 of his first letter from New Zealand, describing the assumptions of sailors from the French warship, *l’Héroïne*: ‘These poor sailors were expecting to find only savages in New Zealand, but they found J(esus) C(hrist)!’ *Ces pauvres marins ne pensoient trouver à la Nouvelle Zélande que des sauvages, et ils ont trouvé J(ésus) C(hrist)* (doc.24[1]. However, Pompallier does not mean the sailors found Christ in the ‘savages’. He is referring to their personal reconciliation with the Catholic Church.

Shifts in the definition of *sauvages* in different editions of the French Academy’s dictionary from 1694 to 1835 (Jennings, 2013, p.116) show a slight softening of attitude over time, with the 1762-1835 editions adding “almost” to earlier definitions, thus describing *sauvages* as: “usually living in forests,

almost without religion, without law or fixed habitation, and as animals rather than men”.¹⁴⁴ This altered attitude may be implicit in the French missionaries’ use of the word. It is impossible for the translator to be sure, although usages such as Pompallier’s proprietorial *mes chers sauvages*, ‘my dear savages’ (docs 47[2]) could be interpreted as indicators of softened, if patriarchal, attitudes.

Michael Green (1997), in a useful discussion about cultural identity and savagery, shows how understandings of “savage” have changed over time. Although Green does not make the point, it is clear to readers following his argument that these different understandings underlie ongoing changes in meaning yet, like Derrida’s “trace”, cannot be conveyed in simple synonyms or translations.

Analysing how members of a culture define themselves in relation to others, Green explains “savagery” as representing “the zero point of humanised and cultured existence” (p.33). Noting that people who did not meet expected cultural norms of behaviour were linked to the devil in the Middle Ages (p.36), Green argues that the concepts of the Noble Savage and the devil “mark the upper and lower boundaries of culturally acceptable behaviour” (p.39). This has some relevance to the Marists’ interpretation of the Māori culture, although links with the devil and hell are more evident in language they used about Protestant missionaries than in their language about Māori (e.g. docs 59[24], 93[12]). Pompallier, moreover, was not above referring to members of the Marist Congregation in terms that imply links to Satan, as when he complains about Colin’s attitude, which he can ‘only describe as not coming from God’: *un esprit que je n’ose pas qualifier autrement que celui qui n’est pas de Dieu* (doc.116[5]). Fr Rougeyron, providing an insight into changes in the missionaries’ thinking as their Romantic preconceptions dropped away, writes:

Let us attend to our presumptuous philosophers. The savage, they say, has simple tastes.

Give him an axe to cut his wood, a boat, a fishing net, and he will be happy. What ignorance of the human heart. The savage is like other men:

Poursuivons nos impudents philosophes: Le sauvage, disent-ils, a des goûts simples; donnez-lui une hache pour couper son bois, une barque, un filet pour pêcher, il sera heureux. Quelle ignorance du cœur humain! Le sauvage est comme les autres hommes (doc.781[7]).

¹⁴⁴ “de certains peuples qui vivent ordinairement dans les bois, *presque* sans religion, sans loi, sans habitation fixe, et plutôt en bêtes qu’en hommes” (2013, p.116 [Jennings’ italics]).

Had the Marists realised how “savage” would be interpreted in later decades, however, they would almost certainly have refrained from using it at all. The most far-reaching impact of its use in New Zealand derives from Chief Justice Sir James Prendergast who, in the 1877 *Wi Parata v The Bishop of Wellington* case,¹⁴⁵ declared the Treaty of Waitangi to be a “simple nullity”, asserting that title to New Zealand was acquired by the Crown “by discovery and priority of occupation, as a territory inhabited only by savages”. The Prendergast decision “stood as good law” from 1877 until 1986 (David Williams, 2011, p.226). This understanding of “savage”, which had an impact on New Zealand legislation until 1975, is an example of how protentive or future meanings, in this case strongly racist, can overlay our understanding of historical meanings that were generally based on different associations, assumptions and expectations.

Naturels, insulaires, Nouveaux-Zélandais, indigènes

As the use of *sauvages* dropped in my two selections of text for comparison, the use of *naturels* increased, reflecting the changed context as the French missionaries began to work more with Māori and their respect for them grew. The reduction in the use of *insulaires* and *indigènes* is also likely to reflect the Marists’ growing understanding of Māori as they adapted to their new context.

However, Isabel Ollivier’s observation (1990) that each of the four officers¹⁴⁶ mentioned on d’Urville’s 1827 voyage to New Zealand “has his particular vocabulary” in relation to words used to designate Māori (pp.46-47) would need to be treated with care if applied to the French missionaries’ letters. I compare below the use of *sauvages* and *naturels* in the letters of four missionaries, chosen because they wrote the most letters in my selection for translation.

Table 4: Four missionaries’ use of ‘sauvages’ and ‘naturels’: (docs 52-86)

Missionary	<i>Sauvages</i>	<i>Naturels</i>	Total	No of letters	Average length of letters
Baty	0	9	9	3	3pp.
Petit	3	7	10	3	4pp.

¹⁴⁵ (1877) 3 NZ Jur (NS) SC 72.

¹⁴⁶ d’Urville, Gaimard, Quoy, and Lesson (Ollivier, 1990, p.43).

Pompallier	16	45	51	9	11pp.
Servant	3	81	84	3	7pp.

Evidently, the difference between the frequency of use of *sauvages* and *naturels* by the four missionaries is most marked in Servant's writing. Although probably due to Servant's engagement with and respect for Māori, these differences could also be explained by the difference between Servant's and Pompallier's roles in the mission, and Servant's arrival in New Zealand 17 months before Petit and Baty (Girard, 2010, Vol.10, p.38). Neither does the relatively high frequency of *naturels* in Pompallier's letters necessarily indicate anything about his attitude to Māori. The greater frequency and length of his letters are clearly factors. In addition, Pompallier may have wanted to draw attention to an apparent change in Maori so that the *Propagation de la foi* would send more funding. It is relevant to note that Petit not only used *naturels* 10 times in doc.51, which is outside my selection for translation, but that it is the only word used to describe Māori in this letter, thus indicating that any selection of text for analysis brings with it the possibility of a-typical data and misleading findings.

Although Pompallier's writing is more restricted in its use of cultural synonyms than is Servant's, his use of *Nouveaux-Zélandois* (doc.24[5], 14 May, 1838) is the first in the *LRO*. The term was adopted by Servant in September, 1838, and then taken up by Frs Comte, Épalle, Petit, Petit-Jean, Pezant, and Viard in 1840. Significantly, this new usage recognises Māori as people belonging to a specific country, in contrast to the lack of specificity implied by the umbrella term *naturels*.

Barbare

Tripe's use of *barbare* is an outlier in my two selections for comparison, occurring only once (*j'étais sur une terre barbare*, doc.79[5]). While the French adjective *barbare* means both *cruel*, *inhumain*, 'cruel, inhuman'; and *ignorant*, *qui manque de civilisation*, 'ignorant, uncivilised' (*ARTFL*, 1835), the two English words, 'barbaric' and 'barbarous', are often interchangeable, with overlapping, blurred definitions, the associations and connotations of each word discernible in the other, suggesting Derrida's "trace" (see *NZOED*, 2005; *OED*, 2018). I have translated Tripe's single use of *barbare* as 'barbarous', meaning 'uncivilised', as the context makes it clear that Tripe wishes to emphasise his distance from civilised France and highlight the incongruity of an orchestra and choir of French officers performing in such an uncultured country.

Although used only six times in the 333 letters from New Zealand (1838-54), *barbare* occurs a surprising 86 times in the 1040 non-New Zealand letters written over the same period. Similarly, *barbarie*, not found in the *LRO* before 1841, is used only three times in letters written from New Zealand (docs 118[10], 147[9], and 323[5]) but 33 times in the non-New Zealand letters. The dual meanings of *barbare* as 'cruel' and 'uncivilized' are evident in the non-Zealand letters. For example, Fr Roudaire writes about the Samoans: *un peuple naguère ignorant et barbare*, 'a people who a short time ago were ignorant and barbarous' (doc.586[9]); and Fr Mathieu about the Wallisians: *les habitudes barbares qu'ils avoient autrefois à la guerre*, 'the barbaric customs they used to follow in war' (doc.642[6]).

The harsher experiences of the Marists in the Solomons and New Caledonia, in particular, where French missionaries were killed, or their lives threatened, and where cannibalism was still practised,¹⁴⁷ account for the high relative frequency of *barbare* and *barbarie* in letters from Oceania written outside New Zealand, as the lack of violence in the French missionaries' dealings with Māori is reflected in the more accepting and affirming language generally used in the letters from New Zealand.

Les enfants

The French missionaries' linking of savagery with childishness is possibly based on the concept of the Noble Savage,¹⁴⁸ as Jennings suggests (2013, p.125). However, it may be a strategy for taming the savage, making him less fearful, more recognisable, but no less at variance with the Catholic religious framework. Pompallier, for instance, says 'the savages are big children' and immediately identifies flaws in their morals and conceptual understanding, seen as barriers to Maori becoming ordained Catholic priests at least for the next 20 years.¹⁴⁹

The Marists' references to Māori as children, although undoubtedly paternalistic (Mānuka Henare, 2003, p.20; Claire Laux, 2010, p.100), are almost all ostensibly positive. Slightly different is Servant's

¹⁴⁷ Chanel, a Marist missionary in Futuna, was killed in 1841; Bishop Épalle was killed in the Solomons (Santa Isabel island) in 1845 (doc.457[11]) and Frs Jacquet, Paget and Br Hyacinthe were killed and eaten on San Cristobal island (Solomons) in 1847 (doc.674[6]); Kanak made several attacks on the New Caledonian mission (see docs 651[7], [8]; 652[3]; 674[11]; Br Blaise Marmonton was killed in New Caledonia in 1847 (doc.652[9]).

¹⁴⁸ According to the concept of the noble savage, "humans in a state of nature lived purer, happier lives than those corrupted by civilisation" (Jennings, 2013, p.119).

¹⁴⁹ [L]es sauvages sont de grands enfants dont le jugement est assez bon pour bien des points mais dont le moral est foible, dont la conception est lente par défaut d'exercice sur tout ce qui est purement spirituel. La mémoire n'est pas fort heureuse quand la conception est difficile; il ne m'est pas possible ici de faire comme les apôtres des prêtres parmi eux, pas même peut-être dans 20 ans d'ici (doc.59[27]).

1838 description: ‘These people are like those from the tropical islands in their sweetness and simplicity, but they do not have their lightness and childlike cheerfulness. Instead, they are serious and appear strong and masculine’ (doc.31[19]).¹⁵⁰ In this unusual juxtaposition of ideas, based on the assumption that “childlike cheerfulness” is a more desirable attribute for grown men than appearing serious, strong and masculine, Servant, although he clearly would prefer to infantilise Māori, perhaps to reinforce his superior position as coloniser of their souls, has, almost in spite of himself, described them as independent adults.

Māori

The *OED* (2018) gives the first use of “Maori” in written English as on 17 August, 1828, in Henry Williams’ *Early Journals* (1961, p.141). Lawrence Rogers, editor of the *Journals*, notes that missionaries and others normally used “native” or “New Zealander” (n.31[n.p.]).

“Maori” is used only once in my first selection of text, by Viard, valiantly trying in 1840 to explain to a deputation from a Whirinaki tribe that Pompallier could not give them a priest because they did not have one who knew te reo Maori yet, *qui connut encore le maoris* [sic] (doc.45[2]). In my selection for translation ‘Maori’ was also used in 1840 by Servant, who immediately turned the word, invariable in te reo Māori, into an inflected French adjective to comment on: *les cérémonies maoriennes* (doc.52[4]), *[les] superstitions maoriennes* (52[6]), and *l’éloquence maorienne* of chiefs debating at the Treaty discussions on 5 February, 1840 (52[15]). Again using French as a morphological model, he adds the “s” marker to form the plural of ‘Māori’, as he writes about Nakahi, ‘a god in the new system of Maori superstition’, *un dieu dans le nouveau système de superstition des Maoris* (doc.52[12]). These coinages could be seen as a form of linguistic imperialism but can also be seen as Servant engaging with te reo Maori and enjoying the play between languages.

Not all the French missionaries who were in New Zealand by January 1841, the last date of my selection for translation, used the term ‘Maori’ but, in addition to Viard and Servant, others who used it were Petit-Jean (doc.53[2]); Comte (54[3]); Pezant (73[3], [4]; and Baty (77[3], [6]). These priests all, with the possible exception of Viard, became fluent speakers of Māori. Their willingness to use the word ‘Maori’ relatively early in their mission may indicate their willingness to engage with the language

¹⁵⁰ *Ces peuples partagent la douceur, la simplicité des insulaires du tropique, mais au lieu d’une légèreté et d’une jovialité enfantine qu’on remarque parmi ces derniers, ils ont de la gravité et paroissent vigoureux et mâles.*

and thereby become more closely involved in Māori culture. Some contextual analysis throws light, however, on possible reasons why some priests were slower to use the term. Although Pompallier did not use it in letters included in the *LRO* until November, 1843 (doc.280[2]), his absence from New Zealand may have some bearing on this, as he left Akaroa for Wallis in November 1841, and did not return until August 1842 (Girard, 2010, Vol.10, pp.93, 96). Others who did not use the term were Tripe, who, never happy in New Zealand,¹⁵¹ returned to France on 5 November, 1843 (p.98), and Épalle, who, anxious about Pompallier's relationship with the Marists and the survival of the mission, left New Zealand for France on 23 May, 1842 (p.95).

Any attempt to assess cultural attitudes must consider a much wider context than the use of one word, and more than one source of text. Pompallier's cultural understanding is evidenced in his *Instructions* (1841a), in which he not only uses the word 'Maori' but attempts to write in te reo Māori. For the time, Pompallier shows a high level of cultural understanding and tolerance (see Kerry Girdwood-Morgan's translation (1841/1985). However, his (1841/1985) tolerance of Māori bringing guns to church (n.p.) may be an indication that he had not grasped the impact of the musket wars in the 1820s, which "killed more New Zealanders than World War One – perhaps about 20,000" (Belich, 1996, p.157). Henry Williams' ban on missionary involvement in the arms trade when he arrived in New Zealand in 1823, and his emphasis on the role of missionaries as peacemakers (Allan Davidson, 2004, p.11), helps explain why Protestant missionaries did not allow guns in church.

Although Pompallier's skills in written Māori have been criticised,¹⁵² it is clear he tried to reproduce Māori sounds as accurately as he could. For example, his use of the term, and transcription of 'Te Waipounamu', as *Téwaïpounamou* (doc.80[1]), using the French "e acute", diaeresis over the "i", and the differentiated monophthong "o" and diphthong "ou", indicates how the Māori name for the South Island should be pronounced. More intriguing is Pezant's advice that 'Te Rauparaha' was pronounced *Torobolo* in French (doc.86[3]).

An interesting example of the French missionaries beginning to empathise with the cultural identity of Māori is in an early letter from Petit-Jean, dated 18 March, 1840 (doc.53[8]). Wanting to send a

¹⁵¹ Colin is likely to have been particularly distressed by Tripe's letters from Akaroa, as he had specifically asked Pompallier to keep Tripe in the Bay of Islands where, because of his delicate health and relatively advanced age, the climate would be more suitable and the ministry easier for him (Lessard, 2007, Vol. 1, doc.185[2]).

¹⁵² E.g. Petit-Jean (doc.192[31]). Girdwood-Morgan cites Pompallier's use of te reo Māori but does not translate it, noting only that his written Māori is not good (1841/1985, n.p.).

message to his family to tell them how much he misses them, he writes in French, but in the style of an unknown Māori who had written to him: 'Go, my letter, go joyfully to those I love – then – great is my love for you': *Vas, ma lettre, vas heureusement auprès de celui que j'aime —puis — grand est mon amour pour toi*. My translation (Appendix, doc.53[8]) preserves the idiosyncratic tone and punctuation of the original as these reflect the foreignizing strategies Petit-Jean has used to convey the tone of te reo Māori through the medium of the French language. However, his attempt to convey the emotional force of the Māori language through the medium of French exemplifies the difficulty of conveying the cultural associations of one language through the medium of another (see Venuti, 2013, p.16).

A year later, on 7 March, 1841 (doc.87[13]), Petit-Jean is so moved by the grief of Māori mourners at a tangi that, although he had been trying to persuade them not to cut themselves with shells so their blood ran, but simply to weep, 'as the foreigners do', he suddenly sees the situation from the point of view of the mourners. He not only sees himself and other Europeans through Māori eyes as 'foreigners' but makes a valiant attempt to re-capture the oral Māori he had heard: 'Aoue! te tangi te eroimata kahore heoiano mo te aroha e ngari te toto', which he translates as: *Hélas les cris les larmes pas assez pour le amour [sic] mais du sang*: 'Alas! Calling out and weeping are not enough when you love someone. You need blood'. Petit-Jean's empathy with Māori is then revealed: *Cette parole a été féconde en réflexions au fond de mon coeur. C'est là que je l'écrivis et non sur le papier*. 'These words have made me think to the depths of my heart. That is where I have written them, not on paper'.

Although Petit-Jean's use of te reo Māori may be faulty (Mutu, personal communication, 9 February, 2018), he had been in New Zealand for only 15 months when he recorded these words from memory.

Épalle also writes to his family in a style influenced by te reo Māori:

[J]e fais aujourd'hui le voeu que fesoit un nouveau-zélandais éloigné de sa chère patrie et tiens le même langage: souffle vent, souffle et porte en un instant mes respects et mon amour à mon bon et tendre père (doc.72[1]).

Today, I am making the same heartfelt wish a New Zealander made, a man who was far from his beloved country, and I am using the same language: 'Blow wind, blow, and in a single moment carry my love and respect to my dear, loving father'.

The New Zealander is likely to have been Etaka, the only survivor of three Māori captured from the Chatham Islands by Cécille and taken back to France in revenge for the loss of the crew of the French whaling ship, the *Jean Bart*, in 1838 (Carolyn Cambridge & Peter Tremewan, 1998, pp.110-111).

Arguably the best example of the Marist missionaries' relationship with te reo Māori is Comte's letter, written in 1845, about a child who was close to death, and whom he wanted to baptise but could not get permission from her parents. Comte suddenly realises the reason he is making no progress is that, although speaking to them in Māori, he was using the language in the same way he would speak French. He begins to relive the experience as he writes, seemingly unaware he is switching codes: *[L]'ariki faisait des supplications dans le plus grand tapu. On ne voulait pas certainement le laisser baptiser. Alors j'argumente à tort et à travers à la manière maori*: 'The chief was intoning very sacred prayers. They certainly did not want to let the child be baptised. Then I began to present my arguments every which way, in the Maori style' (doc.435[13]). Not prepared to abandon the child's soul, Comte takes advantage of his insight into the Māori mind: *Le langage a un pouvoir et un effet indicible sur le Maori. Lorsque ce langage est son langage propre* : 'Language has a power and an indescribable impact on Maori. When the language is his own'. This passage includes the most deeply respectful reference to tapu in the New Zealand LRO. (See also Appendix, doc.77[6], n.301).

Māori spirituality

The impact of time, or deferral of meaning on retentive and protentive understanding of Māori spirituality before European contact, during the missionary and colonisation period, and later, in the 20th and early 21st centuries, is a consideration in translating and evaluating the LRO. Noting that for Māori, tapu, mana and atua "refer to accounts of how reality works", Salmond (1989) observes the meaning of these key words was not static: "The great irony of the cross-cultural history of these concepts is that the preconditions for European insight also proved to be the preconditions for their transformation, for no sooner did Europeans begin to grasp their significance than these ideas began to shift and change" (p.63).

Voyagers and missionaries arriving from 1814 on were, as they developed an understanding of te reo Maori, in a position to record Māori beliefs, but their understanding was impeded by their mindsets, always already formed by their *habitus*. Early descriptions of Māori cultural and religious practices generally devalue them as superstition. John Liddiard Nicholas (1817) refers to "many (...) superstitious observances" (Vol.1, p.272); Richard Taylor (1855/1974), showing more understanding, defines tapu as "making any person, place or thing sacred" (p.55), linking it to power and the will of the chief (p.63), and to remote ancestors and gods, disparaged, however, as "no more than deceased chiefs" (p.64). Colenso (1865/2001) sees tapu as "irregular, capricious and burdensome" (p.44).

Nicholas (1817) provides an early example of dispute about the significance of tapu, describing how a “rungateeda” [rangatira] spoke openly against a “taboo”, telling other Māori it “ought not ever again to be feared or regarded” (Vol.2, p.180). William Williams (1867/1989) similarly records a Māori chief, Ngataru, telling Rev. Robert Maunsell that tapu was “all horihori, unmeaning nonsense” (pp.262-263). Moments of internal dissent like these exemplify Salmond’s (1997) finding that: “Slowly and unevenly, Te Ao Tawhito (the ancient world) was shifting on its foundations” (p.517).

Salmond’s observation (1989) that it took a long time before Maori and Pākehā could talk to each other “with enough subtlety to discuss such matters as *tapu* and the way the universe works” (p.63) is relevant to the Marists’ difficulties in understanding Māori spirituality and serves as a measure of their progress. The French missionaries, clearly operating from outside the Māori culture, would have found difficulty in understanding “‘ontological words’ such as *tapu*, *mana* and *atua*” (p.56). Nevertheless, Pezant’s report that Pompallier engaged with tohunga Tawhaki in a lengthy discussion about the Māori gods, the origin of the world, and the genealogy of the first humans (doc.865[13]) shows Pompallier’s ability to engage in some depth with Māori about their religious beliefs. Salmond (1989) has identified this level of knowledge as essential for any real understanding of key Māori concepts (p.57).

Acknowledging there are no close equivalents for “tapu” within her world of thought, Salmond (1989, p.57) explains it as referring to “active relationships between gods and people and the practices which govern these” (p.73), and as a concept that must be considered together with “mana” and “atua”, as these words are mutually defining (p.70). Furthermore: “Tapu, or cosmic power, was the source of all creation” (1997, p.401) and involved “ancestral presence” (2012, pp.115, 116, 120, 121, 135). The importance of “tapu”, “mana” and “atua” in the Māori conceptual framework and spiritual world raises Derridean questions about “the problems of translatability when particular referential relations are construed differently in different communities of speakers, or when different aspects of human experience are being named” (Salmond, 1989, p.55).

Because the effect, or implementation, of tapu was observable, even if the metaphysical beliefs underlying it were not, the word occurs frequently in the New Zealand *LRO* from 1841 on, often with the variant spelling “tapou”. In 1840, it is used by only two writers, Pompallier (doc.58[6]) and Baty (a total of 17 times, including three uses of “tapouées”, in doc.77[6] and [7]). Mindful of Salmond’s caveat (1989) that a description of behaviour related to tapu does not necessarily give a good account of the meaning of the word (p.68), I analyse the French missionaries’ use of “tapu” and “atua” to gain an

indication of the degree to which they understood the Māori world, and the extent to which their understanding developed as time went on. The word “mana” does not occur in the *LRO*.

My analysis shows that although the Marists understood the basic application of these concepts, they did not fully accept, and at times feared, aspects of Māori spirituality and religious beliefs.

Tapu/tapou/tabou

The spellings “tapu” and “tapou” are used frequently and without obvious distinction in the *LRO*, but the French *tabou*, although not recorded in *ARTFL* until 1873, is also found five times in the New Zealand *LRO* between 1843 and 1845.¹⁵³

The first use of “tapu” in my selection for translation shows Pompallier appropriating the word in 1840 for use in a Catholic context, to explain the Pope’s role as the successor of St Peter and the ‘great sacred governor [in the service] of Jesus Christ’ (kawana tapu nui o Hehu Kerito, doc.58[6]). Other French missionaries make similar appropriations: Garin, in 1841, reports Pompallier’s promise to send two priests (tangata tapou) to a tribe (doc.99[48]),¹⁵⁴ and Chouvet, in 1844, refers to the Bible as “pukapuka tapu”, ‘sacred book’ (doc.323[4]).

The most frequent uses of “tapu” in the New Zealand *LRO* are translated by the French missionaries as “sacred”, or this meaning is shown to be understood. Many of the references in this sense are to death and Māori burial procedures.¹⁵⁵ Even when Māori, for example chief Pierre Te Whareponga in 1850, were buried according to Catholic rites and in a Catholic chapel, tapu practices were followed (doc.865[30]). The French missionaries use “tapu” sensitively in this context but, although prepared to cooperate with Māori rituals, never show any doubt about the authenticity of their Christian beliefs in comparison with those of Māori. Petit-Jean, for example, describing in 1841 his struggle to persuade a chief to allow him to baptise his dying child, writes: ‘this child had been declared sacred by a great New Zealand chief, and this was a huge obstacle to overcome’: *cette enfant avait été déclarée tapu par un grand chef de la Nouvelle-Zélande et cette circonstance étoit un grand obstacle à vaincre* (doc.107[9]). The religious divide is recognised by both the chief and Petit-Jean, who laments Māori clinging

¹⁵³ Docs 247[26] (twice), 299[14] (*ils (...) tabouent*), 412[5] (twice).

¹⁵⁴ Garin concedes this usage may have been confusing for the chief concerned but observes that he was happy with the promise: *Je te donnerai 2 tangata tapou (2 hommes sacrés). M(onsei)g(neu)r veut dire 2 religieux; mais lui, soit qu’il ne comprenne pas ce sens, soit qu’il le comprenne, il est content.*

¹⁵⁵ For example, see docs 77[6], 87[11], 93[2], 107[5], 303[20].

stubbornly to their opinion that Heaven is only for foreigners, while they will live under the ground after they die, together with their ancestors.¹⁵⁶

The Marists were not always consistent, however, in showing understanding of Māori religious beliefs. Garin, in 1841, understands Māori priests are sacred because they are seen as descendants of Maui;¹⁵⁷ but Pezant, in 1850, is forthright in calling a Maori priest's prayers 'magician's tricks', *jonglerie* (doc.954[20]), and claims that Māori, watching a tapu priest say long prayers and sprinkle water, did not understand a word of what was going on ([22]). A fear that tapu could be connected with Satan was sometimes evident in the Marists' writing and may indicate encounters with "tohunga of the sorcerer class" (Harry Dansey, 1992, p.106). Thus, Baty writes in 1840: *Il paraît certain que le démon a contribué à le faire redouter*: 'It seems certain the devil has played a part in making people afraid of [tapu]', (doc.77[6]). Some Māori accepted the connection missionaries made between Satan and their gods. In 1841, Servant writes about Māori who want the priests to go to a burial place: 'to say some prayers to drive off their old gods, whom they call Satan', *faire quelques prières pour en chasser leurs anciens dieux qu'ils appellent Satan* (doc.95[4]).

Occasionally, the Marists provide itemised lists of objects made tapu, tapu parts of the body, and the impact of tapu on daily life.¹⁵⁸ The point is to show how all-pervasive tapu restrictions can be, and the almost humorous tone adopted is to indicate the missionaries were not intimidated. Several of the Marists describe the effect of tapu in forbidding Māori to enter certain areas, generally to illustrate how they showed Māori these places were harmless and tapu could be broken without ill effects.¹⁵⁹ The Waitangi Tribunal's view (2014), however, is that over time Māori became increasingly tolerant of European breaches of tapu, while still enforcing the law within their own communities, and that this modified enforcement was pragmatic to avoid giving offence and to maintain relationships that were valued for other reasons (p.254).

¹⁵⁶ *Les Maori sont fortement entêtés dans l'opinion que le ciel n'est destiné que pour les étrangers, et que pour eux ils ont pour demeure après leur mort l'intérieur de la terre, tous ensemble avec leurs pères* (doc.107[9]).

¹⁵⁷ *[C]es prêtres sont sacrés en ce qu'ils sont regardés comme descendants de leur grand chef, Mawi* (doc.99[68]).

¹⁵⁸ For example, docs 77[7], 99[68].

¹⁵⁹ For example, docs 160[2], 247[26].

In 1841, Petit-Jean explained how his compliance with Māori reluctance to enter a tapu area helped win their hearts: *leur coeur (...) devenoit de plus en plus incliné vers moi* (doc.87[11]). A little surprising then is his decision in 1842 to set up house at Wangaroa about 10 metres away from a previous burial site because it seemed the most convenient place. Alarmed to be told that his fire, food and cooking pots were tapu and the young Māori who had prepared his food was threatened with death, he called on his New Zealand-style oratorical skills: [*Je haranguai à la façon des Nouveaux-Zélandais*, and placed a different tapu on the pots to prevent Māori from making off with them: *Je mis sur mes marmites un autre tapu que le leur, défendant de les emporter* (doc.160[2]). The sub-text is that the original tapu was both illusionary and ineffectual as Petit-Jean shared the disputed food with all the Māori who had come to harangue him and, far from dying, all enjoyed the meal.

There is, however, no humour in Petit-Jean's account of the Māori and Christian worlds coming into intense conflict when he saw tapu preventing him from baptising a dying child and saving its soul. Then, the old Māori priestess involved takes on, for him, the 'true likeness of Satan clutching his prey in his claws': *véritable image de Satan qui tient sa proie serrée dans ses griffes*. He describes how he wrestled with 'Satan' and was finally permitted to baptise the child before it died. Wishing to show that Satan himself was frightened of his priestly status, Petit-Jean records that he entered into a 'holy anger', *une sainte colère*, and denounced Satan in a way that was 'almost like Māori themselves when they imprecate their gods': *j'étois comme un homme qui prononceroit des anathèmes contre Satan et à peu près comme les Maori eux même quand ils maudissent leurs dieux*. Reporting that the strategy worked and he was allowed to baptise the child, though not to touch him, Petit-Jean appears satisfied 'Satan was driven out of his stronghold', *Satan fut chassé de son fort* (doc.160[3]).

Forest also refused to be intimidated by tapu. On arriving at Maketu, after walking from Tauranga, he and Reignier asked to stay in the house previously used by Borjon. On being told the house was now "tabou" because two men had been roasted on the premises and their murderer was now living there, the priests, claiming not be afraid of the tapu or the murderer, found the house and the murderer made them welcome. Forest reported they slept peacefully all night, *nous pûmes (...) dormir bien tranquillement pendant toute la nuit* (doc.247[26]).

Reignier later expresses open disapproval of the power of the tohunga and Māori religious beliefs, complaining many of the Māori chiefs have an 'almost sovereign power', *un pouvoir presque souverain*, over their people, who make themselves 'slaves to a thousand superstitious customs', [*]/s se rendent esclaves de mille usages superstitieux*, and become afraid to eat in their houses or cultivate

their land, lest ‘their malicious gods should cause them to die’, *leurs dieux méchants les feroient mourir* (doc.299[14]).

Atua

The use of “atua” (god) is rare in the New Zealand LRO, occurring only twice. In 1841, a Māori woman, baptismal name “Monique”, uses ‘atua’ to denote the Christian God: ‘Ka nui te kupu ote atua ki rota [sic] i a hau’, which Petit-Jean translates as: *Je suis toute pleine au dedans me moi-même de la parole de Dieu*, ‘I am filled with God’s word’ (doc.107[8]). Because the woman has been baptised, Petit-Jean takes it for granted she is referring to the Christian God, but as she was speaking to family members who opposed her conversion, this is not necessarily so (Mutu, personal communication, 9 February, 2018). The 2014 Waitangi Tribunal report refers to “the open nature of the Māori religious system, and its inherent capacity to add new deities and beliefs in response to changing circumstances” (p.249), and notes that several witnesses pointed out that the missionary use of ‘atua’ for ‘god’, ‘tapu’ for ‘holiness’, and ‘karakia’ for ‘prayer’, led Māori to understand the new religion on their own terms (p.254).

The second use of ‘atua’, by Pezant in 1850, appears to belittle Māori understanding of divinity: *Le premier navire et les premiers Européens qu’ils virent étaient des atua*, ‘the first ship and the first Europeans they saw were gods’ (doc.954[19], reverse emphasis).

‘Atua’ is also often used negatively by CMS and WMS missionaries who, Sarah Dingle (2009) notes, prefer to “call such ideas ‘superstitious’” (p.73). Colenso (1865/2001) refers, for example, to lizards who “ever reminded them [Māori] of a malignant demon or *atua*” (p.43) and declares: “[Māori] know not of any Being who could properly be called God” (p.47).

Tohunga

Although many of the French missionaries became fluent in te reo Māori and would presumably have known the word “tohunga”, they preferred to use *prêtre*, ‘priest’. This usage is puzzling as it appears to grant tohunga a status equal to their own, an improbable if not impossible proposition for the time, given Catholic belief in apostolic succession but may have been a means of domesticating, and thus taming and demystifying, the sometimes frightening behaviour of tohunga, as, for example, in Petit-Jean’s description (p.111) of the “Satan-like” behaviour of a Māori priestess.

The equation of “tohunga” with ‘priest’ may, however, be an indication that the Marists recognised the two main aspects of Māori religion later identified by Simmons (1984): The first respected as “the positive, living religion of the people which entered into every aspect of Maori life and whose priesthood was drawn from the hereditary chiefly lines” (p.10) and the second as “a lower aspect of Maori religion which was concerned with the propitiation of a multitude of spirits bent on harming the unwary. The role of the priest here was different; he was the expert in charms, witchcraft and propitiatory rites” (p.11). Richard Taylor (1855/1974) also appears to see no problem in the equivalence of tohunga and priest, recording that when he wanted to read a burial service over Christians who had lost their lives in a landslide that had overwhelmed Te Heuheu and nearly sixty of his tribe, “viewing me as a tohunga (or priest,) they did not dare to offer any opposition” (p.63).

The only usages of ‘tohunga’ in the New Zealand LRO are in Pezant’s (1850) *Mémoire pour servir à l’histoire de la station catholique de Rangiaowhia*, ‘Memoir to contribute to the history of the Rangiaowhia station’, (doc.865), where he uses the word four times in three contexts that indicate he understands its meaning in a Māori context, but rejects it in terms of Catholic beliefs:

(1) Correlating ‘tohunga’ with *l’oracle de tous les infidèles*, ‘the pagans’ oracle’ (doc.865[13]), and with the words: *sorcière*, *étrange* and *effrayant*, ‘witch’, ‘strange’, and ‘frightening’ ([32]), he reveals his rejection of the tohunga’s religious role;

(2) Relating the engagement of tohunga Tawhaki and Pompallier in a long, animated conversation about the Māori gods, the origin of the New Zealanders and New Zealand, the origin of the world, and the genealogy of the first men,¹⁶⁰ Pezant ensures the reader understands that Catholic beliefs prevailed by showing Tawhaki as humbly recognising the shortfalls in his knowledge: *il reconnut avec douceur l’imperfection de sa science* (doc.865[13]);

(3) Describing a woman tohunga, and (4) her voice, Pezant’s attitude is one of fear. Referring to the whistling sound tohunga make when speaking in an inspired way, he says he has ‘never before seen it done in such a strange, frightening way’: *elle prenait le son que prennent ces tohunga quand ils parlent d’inspiration; mais jamais je ne l’avais vu prendre si étrange et si effrayant* (doc. 865[32]).

¹⁶⁰ Tawhaki (c’était le nom du vieux tohunga) lia conversation avec m(onsei)g(neu)r sur les dieux maoris, sur l’origine des Nouveaux-Zélandais et de la N(ouve)lle-Zélande, sur l’origine du monde, sur la généalogie des premiers hommes, etc. La conversation dura assez long-temps et fut vive (doc.865[13]).

Translation of *d'inspiration* poses the challenge of conveying two meanings simultaneously: the state of being inspired; and ventriloquism, which *tohunga* achieved by breathing in to give the voice “a whistling, supulchral [*sic*] tone (...) supposed to be the natural tone of voice of the dead” (Percy Smith, 1899, p.267). My addition of ‘whistling’ to ‘sound’ clarifies the double meaning.

Whenua

Pompallier and the Marists make frequent references to land as *la terre*, never using “whenua” in the New Zealand *LRO*, although its usage in the Treaty of Waitangi shows it was current in 1840. Although some Marists were clearly sensitive to the issue of Māori being unfairly deprived of their lands,¹⁶¹ the absence of the term from their writing, when Pompallier and several priests, particularly Baty, Comte, Petit-Jean, Pezant, and Servant, were able to use Māori lexis unselfconsciously, may be an indication they did not grasp the “close, spiritual relationship” of Māori with the land, and the concept of land as “the sacred trust and asset of people as a whole” (D. Sinclair, 1992, pp.64, 65).

Tripe’s complete misunderstanding of the relationship between Māori and the land, revealed in his supercilious comment: ‘The natives place little value on their land’: *Les naturels apprécient peu le terrain* (doc.79[7]), compared with Māori understandings of the spiritual, ancestral, relationship between *whenua* and *mana* revealed in the 2014 Waitangi Tribunal report, for example, exemplifies Derrida’s (1968/1982a) *différance*, manifested here in a cross-cultural, and historical, “weave of differences” (p.12).

Thus, analysis of the lexis used by the Marists when writing about aspects of Māori spirituality indicates that although they were aware of outward signs of the observance of *tapu*, their attitude was generally to show, good-humouredly, that *tapu* was not to be feared and was even perhaps a little ridiculous. Although Petit-Jean shows palpable fear when confronting a Māori priestess whom he believes to be possessed by Satan as he wrestles for the soul of an unbaptised child, I have not found other evidence in the *LRO* that Pompallier or the Marists understood the ontological meanings of *tapu*, or that the term cannot be understood in isolation from “mana” and “atua” (Salmond, 1989, p.70). The fact that “atua” is used only twice in the New Zealand *LRO*, and “mana” does not occur at all, is evidence that the Marists

¹⁶¹ See Appendix (docs 52[15] and 59[15]).

did not understand, or did not accept, Māori spirituality or belief systems. However, it must be noted that, given the times, it would have been surprising if they had done so.

Merging of Māori and Catholic beliefs and practices

It is difficult to be sure to what extent the first French Catholic missionaries would have agreed with the view of Binney (2014) that “‘conversion’ was rarely a case of Māori abandoning their long-held beliefs. The old meshed and intertwined with the new (....) Christianity became indigenised” (p.201). Philip Turner (1986) also believes trade in religious ideas was a two-way process, in which “Māori frequently took the initiative in inviting missionaries, and employed them and their ideas, practices and goods to meet the needs of their own society” (p.iv). Arguing that the “oppositional” function of the Catholic Church in relation to “British over-lordship” made it attractive to Māori, Turner claims: “Rather than a Christian splinter group, it was as an anti-Christian movement that Catholicism made its impact on the Māori” (p.iv). This counter-intuitive finding is borne out by Pompallier’s rueful comments to Colin: ‘Everywhere I went, people said I was the Antichrist. They kept calling me this without really understanding the import of the name. Several chiefs addressed me in this fashion thinking it was the correct thing to say.’¹⁶² Protestant missionaries’ views, such as: “There is good work going on all over the island notwithstanding the work of the Pope and the Devil” (Henry Williams, 1840, 23 July), help explain such misunderstandings.

Further misunderstandings and blurring of margins are revealed in translating Pompallier’s various statements about the numbers of Māori converted to Catholicism. The difficulty lies in the two words used to describe converting: *tourner* and *convertir*. Although in English “to turn” has been used from c.1200 to mean “to induce or persuade to adopt a (different) religious faith” (OED, 2018), this meaning is not given in ARTFL (1835). The closest meaning given for the sense in which Pompallier appears to use *tourner* is *incliner vers, en parlant de choses morales*: ‘to incline towards, when speaking of moral matters’.

Accordingly, when Pompallier writes on 14 May, 1840, about the approximately 40 tribes who have just turned towards the Catholic faith¹⁶³ after he has made a two month voyage to the south (doc.58[3]),

¹⁶² *Partout où j’ai passé, on dit que je suis l’antéchrist, on m’appeloit de ce nom sans en connoître bien la signification; plusieurs chefs me nommoient ainsi en me parlant et croyoient de bien dire* (doc.58[4]).

¹⁶³ *Une quarantaine de tribus viennent de tourner en plus à la foi catholique.*

and estimates the total number 'as more than 15,000',¹⁶⁴ then in another letter written the same day claims that 'about 150 tribes'¹⁶⁵ and 25,000-27,000 souls have turned towards the Catholic faith', *il y a environ 150 tribus et 25,000 à 27000 âmes tournées à la foi catholique* (doc.59[27]) and increases these figures two months later, 22 July, 1840, to *25,000 ou 30 milles catéchumènes*, plus around another *400 néophytes* (doc.64[7]), having claimed in the previous letter, 23 May, 1840, that 'most of the North Island of New Zealand has turned towards the Catholic faith': *La grande majeure partie de l'île du Nord de la Nouvelle Zélande a tourné à la foi catholique* (doc.63[7]), it is important to note that Pompallier's strength was not in numerical calculations (Simmons, 1984, p.40), but also to consider what he meant by *tourner*.

Pompallier's own definition of *tourner*: 'This is what to turn to the Catholic Church means here: it is to recognise that it is the true, the preferred, the first appointed [by God], the mother, the trunk formed by Jesus Christ Himself (...)',¹⁶⁶ does not help as it is not credible that Pompallier could have brought Māori, or anyone, to this point with the speed he describes. Even his rider: 'But for all that, *to turn* is not to have received baptism, but it is to be preparing for it, or aspiring to it': *Mais tourner n'est pas pour cela avoir reçu le baptême, mais c'est s'y préparer ou y aspirer*, stretches the point (doc.58[6]).

Although translating *tourner* by 'to turn' does not clarify confusion about what Pompallier meant by the word, translating *à* as 'towards', rather than 'to' helps remove suggestions of instantaneous conversion. Pompallier perhaps clarifies his use of *tourner* when he gives the number of baptised as 'only about 200': *Il n'y a environ que deux cents baptisés* (doc.59[34]), thus implying a difference in meaning. However, his reference two months later to *environ 400 néophytes*, 'about 400 neophytes' (doc.64[7]) leaves the reader unsure whether he did baptise another 200 Māori in two months. Thus, although the meanings of *catéchumènes* and *néophytes* [*sic*] are as distinct in French as their translations, 'catechumens' and 'neophytes' are in English (OED, 2018) with *catéchumène* meaning a person taking instruction to prepare for baptism, and *néophyte* a newly baptised person (ARTFL, 1835), the reader cannot fully rely on Pompallier's use of these terms.

¹⁶⁴ *j'estime le nombre à plus de quinze mille* (doc.58[3]).

¹⁶⁵ Pompallier's (1841b) draft notes for his November 1841 report to Propaganda Fide list 164 tribes who have converted to Catholicism.

¹⁶⁶ *Voici ce qu'on entend ici par tourner à l'église catholique: c'est reconnoître par raison qu'elle est la vraie, la préférable, l'ancienne, la mère, le tronc que J(ésus) C(hrist) lui-même a formée (...)* (doc.58[6]).

In terms of translation practice, while “catechumen” and “neophyte” are designated by the *OED* as in “Frequency Band 4” and thus “recognizable to English speakers”, they have an archaic ring that could be alienating to 21st century readers. Although *néophytes* can be translated succinctly as ‘newly baptised’, or ‘newly converted’, *catéchumènes* translated as ‘[natives] taking instruction to prepare for baptism’ verges on the verbose and raises the unanswerable question of whether Pompallier would have chosen *sauvages*, *naturels* or “Maori” (see Ch.8). A possible solution would be to translate *catéchumènes* as ‘catechumens’, but *néophytes* as ‘newly baptised’. However, as *néophytes* would have been familiar to the 19th century *LRO* readership, this decision, as well as being inconsistent, would represent a translation loss. I have therefore used ‘catechumens’ and ‘neophytes’ in my translation, with a footnote after the first usage to explain the terms.

The Marist missionaries also had trouble accepting Pompallier’s terminology in relation to conversions. Baty and Épalle feel bound to explain: ‘[W]e make a distinction between two types of conversion, one of which is to be on the side of the Catholic religion, when someone has turned towards the bishop, and the other which consists of becoming Catholic in terms of one’s soul, and rejecting all pagan practices’ (doc.77[5]).¹⁶⁷ It is difficult to ignore the sardonic tone of the comment earlier in the same letter about the ‘mass conversions’, *des conversions en foule* achieved by Pompallier (77[3]). The observant reader will remember these unclear definitions, or exaggerated figures, were presaged in doc.55[2], so Colin would have understood how to interpret Pompallier’s figures.

The ambiguities of *tourner* and ‘conversion’ may throw light on the question of chief Atua Wera’s possible conversion to Catholicism in 1842, referred to by Turner (1986), who cites as his source a “report of more than dubious accuracy”, dated 9 August, 1842, (n.50, p.70).¹⁶⁸ This “report” was in fact a note written by Numa Garin, Fr Garin’s brother, and appears to be part of a summary of a non-extant letter from Fr Garin. Numa Garin wrote: *Il [Garin] opère beaucoup de conversions, entr’autres celle du grand chef Atua Vera [sic] qui abjure ses erreurs en presence de 300 naturels et rougit d’avoir invoqué le Dieu Maori*: ‘He [Garin] brought about many conversions, including that of the great chief Atua Wera, who renounced his errors before 300 natives and was ashamed to have invoked the Maori

¹⁶⁷ [L]’on distingue deux conversions, l’une qui est de prendre parti pour la religion catholique, alors on est tourné à l’évêque, et l’autre qui consiste à devenir catholique d’âme en rejetant tout rite payen.

¹⁶⁸ Turner’s reference of this source to APM 669/11 appears to be erroneous (Schianchi, personal communication, 15 March, 2018).

god'.¹⁶⁹ The Marists hold two other secondary documents referring to Atua Wera's conversion: a note dated 1843, 6 January; and an undated note in *Mission de la Nouvelle Zélande. Notes particulières sur le père Garin* (APM 737/1087). However, these notes are virtually identical and are in the same handwriting. It seems most likely that Numa Garin misinterpreted the term "conversion" as meaning a full conversion marked by baptism since the LRO's sole mention of Atua Wera is by Servant, who specifically says: [the chief] *n'est pas encore instruit sur les mystères de notre s(ain)te religion*, 'has not yet been instructed in the mysteries of our holy religion' (doc.52[12]). One would expect the missionaries to have written more about such a significant conversion, had it in fact occurred.¹⁷⁰ It has not been possible to verify Papahurihia's baptism into the Catholic Church as a fire in 1932 destroyed church documentation for the North, including baptismal records.¹⁷¹

Nor was confusion about the precise meaning of "conversion" and how to describe Māori interest in Christianity confined to Pompallier and his missionaries. Binney (1969) outlines a debate between Owens and Harrison Wright concerning "a definition of the term 'conversion'" in relation to Māori conversions to Christianity before 1840. The debate, which included discussion of "conversion in the full theological sense and 'conversion' in the sense of a general turning towards Christian ideas" (pp.157-165), raises the same issues as those highlighted by Pompallier's figures on "conversion". The 2014 Waitangi Tribunal report observes: "[T]here is no record of what conversion really meant to most Māori. Such records as there are were written by missionaries and so [were] clouded by their perspectives" (p.252).

Girard notes that Atua Wera's religious movement merged elements of missionary teachings with the traditional Māori religion (doc.52, n.14, p.330). One element of Catholic belief the Marists were careful about introducing was that of transubstantiation. Fr William Ullathorne, later Archbishop Ullathorne (1891/1941), after calling at the Bay of Islands in 1840 records that the Marists told him that "the difficulty of handling the cognate doctrine of eating Christ's flesh and blood, without confounding things in their [Maori] minds," compelled them to keep the doctrine "secret" until they judged prospective

¹⁶⁹ *Notes sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de l'abbé Garin missionnaire dans la Nouvelle-Zélande et sur son apostolat dans ce pays jusqu'en 1885* (1842, 9 August).

¹⁷⁰ I am grateful to Schianchi for his help in investigating this issue (personal communication, 15-17 March, 2018).

¹⁷¹ Information provided by Scollay, archivist, Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives (personal communication, 6 November, 2017).

converts could accept it (p.172). Doc.299[16] shows, almost certainly unintentionally, how the ideas of cannibalism and transubstantiation could become conflated.¹⁷²

In 1840, it was too early for the French missionaries to be able to see to what extent, or whether, Māori spirituality was being influenced by Catholic beliefs, or if the reverse was happening. Turner (1986) believes strong Catholic communities dating their allegiance from the 1840s, particularly in the north, “are testimony to an enduring Catholic influence” (p.iii). Fr. Michael O’Meeghan (1992), however, states: “It is well-nigh impossible, and certainly a little presumptuous, for a European to attempt to assess the impact these French missionaries made on the Māori” (p.42). Nevertheless, a Māori interviewee on Radio New Zealand (Justine Murray, 2017), talking about the influence of Pompallier and the Marists, concluded: “I roto i te wairua tapu, te Maoritanga”: (‘The traditions, protocols and culture of Maori were imbued with the Holy Spirit’).¹⁷³

Māori views on the Marists’ celibacy

In the context of early colonial New Zealand, Māori chiefs, confronted for the first time with the missionaries’ celibacy, were puzzled and, misunderstanding the situation, sometimes offered their own women. Cultural differences are sharply evident:

[T]hey (...) ask us all sorts of questions about this and sometimes the questions are so crude you have to remember how ignorant they are so you do not let yourself become angry. In the places Comte went to, they told him he could choose a woman...I have been in a more distant place [Ōpōtiki] and no-one has said anything like that to me’.

[I/]s (...) nous font à ce sujet des questions de toutes les formes et par fois si grossières qu’il faut se rappeler leur ignorance pour ne pas se laisser aller à l’indignation. Dans les lieux où parvint le père Comte, on lui offrit à choisir parmi les femmes...J’ai été plus loin que lui; on n’a pas été cependant jusques là auprès de moi (Reignier, doc.263[4]).

¹⁷² *Quel spectacle attendrissant de voir quelques-unes de ces lèvres qui se sont souillées en dévorant la chair humaine être purifiées par l’attouchement du sang de l’agneau sans tache!* ‘What a moving sight to see some of these lips that have been defiled by eating human flesh become purified by contact with the blood of the spotless Lamb’.

¹⁷³ Translation by Arapera Ngaha.

Pompallier, frequently asked by Māori why he had no wife and children, would reply that if he did, his heart would be shared, 'and perhaps there would only be a little bit for you'.¹⁷⁴ Māori acceptance of this argument is indicated in Rozet's account of an overheard conversation between chief Tangaroa and an unnamed chief:

Woman is man's greatest possession. The Protestant missionaries have come here with their wives. So their greatest happiness is down here on earth, not in heaven. They can't love God like a real minister of God should because their wives have a share of their hearts. When they talk to us about religion, their talk is false, their books are tainted. The Catholic priests have come without wives, so their supreme happiness isn't down here, their hearts aren't shared. They really love us, they really love their God, their religion is good, their lips are pure, their talk is true¹⁷⁵ (doc.112[5]).

This passage is one of the few in the *LRO* in which the Māori voice, even if necessarily an echo of the reporting French voice, is presented as a direct account rather than the indirect reporting used in the situations described above. I use contracted verb forms in my translation to indicate the informal, private nature of the overheard conversation.

The missionaries' celibacy, in their eyes a strength that enabled them to focus completely on their mission without the encumbrances of wife and children, nevertheless exposed them to the possibility of sexual temptation that had to be continually guarded against and may lie behind some of the harsher judgments of women. A few priests, Reignier, Tripe and Lampila, for example, write about Māori women in a negative tone (*LRO*, docs 316[8], 333[11], 992[1] respectively).¹⁷⁶ No priest appears to see

¹⁷⁴ *Si j'avais une femme et des enfans, mon coeur serait partagé, il n'y en aurait peut-être qu'une petite portion pour toi* (doc.99[28]).

¹⁷⁵ *Ils pensoient l'un et l'autre n'être pas entendu, ils parloient de religion et voilà ce que Tangaroa disoit : La femme, c'est le bien suprême de l'homme. Les missionnaires protestants sont venus ici avec leurs femmes. Leur suprême bonheur est donc ici bas et non dans le ciel. Ils ne peuvent pas aimer Dieu comme un vrai ministre de Dieu le doit puisque leur femme partage leur coeur. Quand il nous parle de religion, leur parler est faux, leur livres colorés [sic]. Les prêtres catholiques sont venus sans femme, leur suprême bonheur n'est donc pas ici bas, leur coeur n'est pas partagé. Ils nous aiment vraiment, ils aiment vraiment leur Dieu, leur religion est bonne, leurs lèvres sont pures, leur parlers vrais* [sic].

¹⁷⁶ Salmond suggests that some of the "extremely unpleasant" descriptions of Māori women by Surville and some of his officers were "the result of their own physical wretchedness, perhaps, as well as their prejudices" (1991, p.356). This contextual explanation could also apply to some of the French Catholic missionaries.

them as a temptation to break his sacerdotal vows.¹⁷⁷ Some write that they are, or have become, impervious to the “semi-nudity” of Māori (*LRO*, 238[1]), docs 326[1, 2]).

Māori women in the LRO

It is not surprising that the *LRO*, letters of Catholic priests, mostly written to other priests, make little reference to women, apart from frequent references to the Virgin Mary. Māori women’s voices are rarely heard, and the voices of European women never heard, although affectionate letters to family members give a shadowy idea of the women who received them.

Nevertheless, Pompallier, preaching to Māori, recognises that his audience is composed of ‘men, women and children, whom the priests cherish as brothers and sisters (...) and spiritual sons and daughters’: *des hommes, des femmes et des enfants, qu’ils chérissent comme des frères et des soeurs (...) et comme des fils et des filles spirituels* (doc.80[16]).

Strangely, little mention is made in the *LRO* of one of the most significant women in relation to the mission, Peata, chief Rewa’s niece, whom Pompallier baptised as a young adult in 1840, giving her the name ‘Beata’ [Blessed]. Her baptism is not mentioned in the *LRO* but is referred to in a letter from Pompallier to Épalle (1841, 13 November). Garin mentions her, though not by name, to praise her exemplary piety (doc.99[97]) and later makes the only direct reference to her in the *LRO*, praising her energy and dedication (*C’est une des plus zélées qu’on puisse voir*) and her respect for the priest (‘E ariki, ô prêtre’, doc.186[11]).

Sr (Sister) Catherine Jones (2009) notes that Peata worked alongside Pompallier and the Marists, acting as one of their first interpreters of Māori culture, mediating on their behalf, and travelling throughout the country as catechist and teacher (pp.134-135). Munro (2011) finds “[t]he wind fairly

¹⁷⁷ Confessional letters written to Colin 1836-54 by priests and brothers and published in the *LRO* would indicate that priests, and brothers to a lesser extent, kept rigorously to their vows. Exceptions are two priests in Auckland who were not Marists, and who left the priesthood in 1852 (*LRO*, docs 1207[11]; 1228[8]). One brother admitted to having a strong, but unfulfilled, penchant for young children (*LRO*, docs 123[3]; 183[8]; 317[4, 5]; 357[2, 3, 4]). This problem was monitored by senior priests who, at his own request, moved him to a station where he could be supervised (*LRO*, doc.281[6]), although the arrangement broke down for a short time, probably due to some insensitive management (*LRO*, doc.357[3 and 4]). Doc.357 was written in 1844, but no further letters from this brother are published in the *LRO*, although he remained in New Zealand in Marist communities until his death in 1893. Another brother was twice mentioned as causing concern because of his behaviour with children (*LRO*, docs 266[3] and 281[6]). This brother returned to France the following year and then left the Society (Clisby, 2002, p.9). One brother was summarily dismissed by Pompallier for an inappropriate friendship with a married woman (*LRO*, doc.71[5]). Although Marists still debate the justice of Pompallier’s action (Clisby, 2002, p.27, 28; Ronzon, 1997, pp.16-22; Snijders, 2012, p.266, n.42, p.39), the dismissal can be interpreted as the bishop’s desire to ensure his missionaries were beyond reproach, as it significantly reduced his workforce. A few letters record temptations against chastity in thought (*LRO*, docs 11[8]; 239[8]; 131[1]; 235[12, 13]; 384[2, 6]). Doc. 239[3] contains a reference to one of the brothers alleged to have borrowed a book entitled *Amour conjugal* (Married Love).

blows through the gaps in [the] bare scaffold of narrative” about Peata’s life and work (p.166), although she describes her as playing “a role of some significance” in the important political and social context of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840 (p.173), and the sack of Kororareka in 1845 (pp.179-181). Munro notes: “Women were pivotal figures in many significant events in early contact history records” (p.175). This view, although well supported by Munro’s contextualised reading of letters, reports, and memoirs (pp.292-293), could not be substantiated simply from a reading of the *LRO*.

The priests’ silence about Peata, however, is not unlike their silence about Māori who helped them in Akaroa and thus is probably based on race or culture, and on what the priests thought their ST readership would be interested in, rather than on gender.

Nevertheless, the letters provide some valuable historical evidence about the lives of Māori women, their relationships to their husbands, their role in the family, and difficulties they faced. Information in the *LRO* about the plight of some Māori girls sent as prostitutes to serve the crews of visiting ships corroborates that of French explorers, notably d’Urville (e.g. 1846/1955, p.18).

Overtly gendered references in the *LRO*, although relatively infrequent, not only provide some evidence of the French missionaries’ attitudes to Māori women, generally one of concern for their welfare, but, more importantly, provide primary historical documentation about the plight of Māori girls taken at a young age to be servants to the ‘Whites’, or sent to whaling and merchant ships to prostitute themselves for money or clothing. Forest, Épalle, Garin, Petit and Petit-Jean, in a joint letter to Colin, relate these practices to the very rapid drop in Māori population they report was evident by 1842 (doc.167[6]).¹⁷⁸ Likewise, Forest links the exploitation of Māori girls to increased disease and sterility.¹⁷⁹ Petit recounts that some men, who ‘give their daughters as slaves to Satan’, that is, use them to get clothes or tobacco, will not allow their daughters to marry so that they can keep control of

¹⁷⁸ *cause de diminution très-rapide dans la population nouveau-zélandaise*. Estimates of Māori population figures for 1840 vary from 70,000 to 200,000 (see Belich, 1996, p.178; Binney, 2014, p.200; Pool, 1977, pp.234-235). Although no figures are available for 1842 as the first census was not undertaken until 1871, Historical Population Estimates Tables, 2017 (*Stats NZ*) estimate a Māori population of 56,049 in 1858. This figure would support the priests’ view that a decline in the Māori population was observable by 1842.

¹⁷⁹ *[L]es maladies secrètes et autres des Européens les ont gagnées et en emportent beaucoup. (...) Enfin la stérilité de leurs femmes à cause de leur mauvaise vie avec les Européens* (doc.174[8]).

the resource. Petit attributes these ills to poverty.¹⁸⁰ The language used in relation to these women, seen as “victims” in 21st century parlance, is reflective and compassionate.

Séon’s letter of 28 April, 1843, gives interesting glimpses into the lives of Māori women and the emotional trauma at times experienced within family relationships. In 1842, in one part of Séon’s station alone, 11 Māori women are reported as having committed suicide, most because of jealousy.¹⁸¹ A man is reported as having murdered his wife for a trivial reason; infanticide is not unusual;¹⁸² licentiousness and theft are common.¹⁸³ A year later, Séon’s choice of lexis appears to show approval of ‘a certain number of women who show character’, one of whom, finding her husband with a slave woman, beat him with a big stick and tied the ‘abused slave’ to a tree for two days.¹⁸⁴ Another dragged her husband out by the hair and threatened to strangle herself.¹⁸⁵ The latter accounts suggest that the generally expected relationship of male dominance over the female did not always prevail.

In 1844, Chouvet’s successful intervention with a Māori about to put his wife to death for adultery¹⁸⁶ provides another indication of the role of women within marriage and the power relationship between men and women. However, Chouvet’s use of language may indicate a somewhat conflicted attitude. Having saved the woman, Chouvet humiliates her publicly, telling her she has behaved like a dog or a pig,¹⁸⁷ which could indicate his contempt for the woman’s behaviour, or could be a sign that he judged it prudent to show the husband some sympathy.

¹⁸⁰ *Et quand on leur reproche de livrer leurs filles ou leurs esclaves à Satan, leur réponses [sic] sont toujours les mêmes: je n’avois pas d’habits, je n’avois pas de tabac. Plusieurs n’empêchent leurs filles de se marier que pour se réserver cette resource (...)* [L]a plupart des péchés qui se commettent par nos naturels sont une suite de leur misère (doc.310[4]).

¹⁸¹ [J] y a un an onze femmes qui se sont suicidées, la plus part par jalousie (doc.253[12]). Colenso (1865/2001) also observes it was common for women to commit suicide when a husband, child or brother died (pp.35, 43).

¹⁸² Richard Taylor (1855/1974) affirms: “Infanticide was formerly very common. It was generally perpetrated by the mother, and frequently from grief for the loss of her husband, or in revenge for his ill-treatment of her” (p.165).

¹⁸³ *Son voisin a (...) assassiné une de ses femmes à la suite d’une querelle assez légère. Je crois aussi que l’infanticide n’est pas rare. (...) Le libertinage est très-grand dans certains pa; le vol bien répandu* (doc.253[12]).

¹⁸⁴ *Il est un certain nombre de femmes qui montrent du caractère (...) Une d’entr’elles, surprenant son mari en faute avec son esclave, lui brisa sur le corps un gros bâton, elle attacha l’esclave abusée à un arbre pendant deux jours* (doc.303[10]).

¹⁸⁵ *Une autre femme, surprenant son mari en faute le traîna dehors par les cheveux et menaça de s’étrangler* (doc.303[11]).

¹⁸⁶ Richard Taylor (1855/1974) writes that a woman became tapu to her “master” and was “liable to be put to death if found unfaithful” (p.59).

¹⁸⁷ [S]ache (...) que ton action est une action de chien et de porc (doc.323[6]).

Summary

My analysis of the cultural lexis used in two long selections of text from the *LRO* raises challenges of how to interpret lexis used in the first half of the 19th century to represent race and cultural values in ways that are not coloured by 21st century understandings. I have noted Venuti's view that the ST and the TT operate in very different contexts. I have argued that sanitising the 19th century lexis is not a real option as it would be to ignore the context of its use. I believe that what is important is to show how the Marists' use of lexis to refer to Māori and Māori culture changed over time. These changes are partly, but not wholly, evident in changes in lexis and are also evident in the changing semantic contexts in which the language is used.

I have noted that the French missionaries were unable to capture the complete meanings of Māori words they encountered and used to varying extents, including tapu, atua and tohunga. I have demonstrated that meaning that cannot be captured in a single translating word can, to some extent at least, be conveyed through translation techniques including explanatory footnotes.

My detailed analyses of the cultural lexis used by Pompallier and the Marists have shown that their understandings of their new cultural environment became more realistic and at the same time more sympathetic to Māori, and to Māori spirituality, over time. I have shown differences in the frequency and type of cultural lexis used by individual Marists, including Pompallier, but note that differences in role, language learning ability, and length of time in New Zealand can be factors in these differences, as can factors as simple as which selection of text is made.

Retentive and protentive differences in meaning over time are discussed and illustrated through tracking the usage of some commonly used ST words including *sauvages*, *naturels*, *Nouveaux-Zélandais*, and *indigènes*. The concept of deferral of meaning is also a consideration in the translation of Māori lexis, including tapu, mana and atua, whose meaning Salmond has noted was not static. I have shown that the Marists' use of these words shows that they did not fully accept and, at times, feared aspects of Māori religious beliefs and practices.

In my opinion, it is difficult to tell from reading the *LRO* to what extent any merging of Māori and Catholic beliefs took place. The Marists interpreted any discussions with Māori about religious beliefs from the standpoint of the Catholic Church. However, evidence given at Waitangi Tribunal (2014)

hearings suggests that Māori adapted new religious beliefs on their own terms, which the priests were possibly unable to interpret.

I have made some comparisons between the use of lexis with negative connotations, such as *barbare*, in New Zealand and in Marist missions in the rest of Western Oceania 1836-54. I have found that the occurrence of such words in the New Zealand letters is markedly less frequent than in the non-New Zealand letters, particularly those written from New Caledonia and the Solomons, where some of the French missionaries suffered violence or were killed.

One of the most interesting translation decisions has been the apparently simple one of whether to translate *tourner à* as 'turn to' or 'turn towards'. I have shown that clarity on this point could help in the interpretation of Pompallier's disputed figures on the number of Māori conversions he claimed to be responsible for. I have further shown that ambiguity in the meanings of "convert" in the 19th century context is one that has perplexed historians writing about the work of Protestant missionaries in New Zealand at the same time as Pompallier.

Māori views on the priests' celibacy provide interesting insights into the way celibacy was explained to Māori and the puzzlement of Māori men at this cultural and religious difference with the Marist missionaries.

I have examined some of the few reports of the priests' encounters with Māori women included in the ST to show their importance as primary historical documents about the lives of Māori women in the 1840 context. I have noted some of the translation techniques I have used. Explanations are offered for the Catholic missionaries' silence about the work of chief Rewa's niece, Peata, who, according to Munro's research, was a constant support to them, acting as a catechist and teacher.

In the next chapter I present my conclusions about the significance and value of my research and my translation of the *LRO* in contributing to New Zealanders' knowledge and understanding of their history.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

My aim in presenting this thesis on, and translation of, a selection from Girard's (2009) *Lettres reçues d'Océanie* (LRO) has been three-fold. Firstly, I have aimed to provide a documentary translation (Nord, 1997, p.126) of the letters written from New Zealand in 1840 and early 1841 by Bishop Pompallier and the French Marist missionaries working under him, published for the first time in their original, unabridged form. My translation contributes to knowledge about New Zealand's cultural, political, religious and language environment in 1840. I have undertaken a close reading of the ST to interpret and analyse changes in the language the Marists used about Māori, Māori culture, and Māori spiritual beliefs. Finally, I have evaluated the extent to which Bourdieu's analytical tools of *habitus*, capital, field, and symbolic power, and Derrida's ideas on language and translation, have been useful in analysing the ST and guiding translation procedures.

My translation is enriched by findings from my research into archival primary documents related to events that took place prior to and in 1840 New Zealand and into the people who participated in these events. To support my translation, I have ensured the transmission of essential background information, which would have been generally understood by, or accessible to, the ST audience, but which is unlikely to be known, or understood, by the TA. Thus, I have provided footnotes to the translation, and an analysis that, in preparing the translation for publication, will be adapted to form a translator's introduction. While respecting the tone and content of the ST, I have tried to make the language of the translation accessible to 21st century readers, so that the ST is able to live on (Derrida, 1979, p.103) for readers in a different age, different culture, and with different beliefs and values. The translation thus provides readers with new knowledge about New Zealand's colonial history and cultural relationships from a French point of view that has not been previously available to Anglophones.

An interesting challenge in developing the translation has been how to manage ethical questions related to loyalty to the ST writers, whose privacy is in a sense invaded by publication of their letters for a readership completely different from their intended one, and for a purpose quite different from the original purpose. When the translation is prepared for publication, the strategies of using a documentary translation with exegetic footnotes, a glossary of unfamiliar religious terms, and a translator's introduction, should help 21st century readers to understand, even if they do not share, the values, beliefs and emotional forces that underlie the ST.

My interpretative, analytical reading of the ST identifies changes in language that reflect changes in the cultural attitudes and understandings of the French missionaries from the time of their arrival in New Zealand on 10 January, 1838, to 30 January, 1841, the end of my selection of letters for translation. I further analyse the ST language to see what it reveals about relationships between the Marists in New Zealand, Colin, their superior in France, and Bishop Pompallier, and to identify and interpret coded or implied messages in their letters.

In addition, my close reading of the ST has revealed new material about the lexis used in the New Zealand letters. My analysis of cultural language used in two selections from the *LRO* (16 January, 1837–3 March, 1840; and 5 March, 1840–30 January, 1841, excluding letters by priests who were not based in New Zealand), has produced data indicative of positive changes in the Marists' attitudes to Māori and a growing understanding of some Māori spiritual beliefs, but no indication that these were accepted at the deep level indicated by Salmond (e.g. 1989, p.63), particularly in relation to tapu and atua. Neither is there any indication that the priests were prepared to compromise their Catholic beliefs in any way. My analysis shows that in 1840 the priests varied in their appreciation of Māori values and beliefs, with some, particularly Comte, Petit-Jean, and Servant, showing not only a willingness to engage with Māori, but an ability to see the world from the Māori point of view, to the point of being able to adopt what they saw as the style of spoken, or oratorical, Māori. What is significant is not the level of the French priests' grammatical or syntactic accuracy, but their desire to enter into the spirit of te reo Māori, *le vrai génie de la langue* (doc.366[29]). The same must be said of Pompallier, whose skills in speaking and writing in te reo Māori were not perfect, but who appears to have won an enduring place in the hearts of Northland Māori in particular.

Particularly interesting has been my finding that the lexis used by the early Marists in New Zealand about their relationships with Māori appears markedly different from that used by other Marist missionaries working at the same time with native peoples in different parts of Oceania. While the language of the Catholic missionaries in New Zealand generally indicates trust in and growing respect for Māori, my lexical analysis indicates more negative attitudes in New Caledonia and the Solomons, for example, where the Marist missionaries' lives were threatened, and sometimes taken, by indigenous people avenging breaches of cultural practice (the Solomons and Futuna) or fighting against usurping colonialism (New Caledonia).

However, the data I have collected should be interpreted with care, particularly as I have based my analysis on a relatively small sample of texts. Many reasons can account for variations between individual priests, such as absence from New Zealand, being assigned to administrative duties rather than to work with the tribes, length of time in New Zealand, and lack of aptitude for learning languages. Further, I show that any selection of text for analysis carries with it the possibility of atypical, even erroneous, results.

Bourdieu's analytical tools of *habitus*, "capital" and "field" have provided support for my explanations of how historical events and attitudes helped form the attitudes of Māori, British and French participants in 1840 New Zealand society towards one another, particularly in the areas of politics and religion. Moreover, Bourdieusian concepts have been helpful in my analysis of power relationships as revealed in the language of the *LRO*.

I have used the views of Derrida, particularly in relation to his terms *différance* (1968/1982a, pp1-27); the "trace" (1968/1982a, p.13); and the relationship between text and context (1979, p.84) to support my analysis of the language used in the *LRO*. I have found that making a distinction between Derrida's broad understanding of context, which opens up meaning like a book that overruns its margins and extends language limitlessly, and his narrower understanding of context that determines the meaning of a word in its specific context, although the contexts themselves are infinite, has opened up possibilities for the interpretation and translation of works from other centuries or cultures. While Derrida's views on language do not provide strict guidelines or rules for translation, they have enhanced the translation process by highlighting the importance of broad context in determining and extending the play of meaning, and by, at the same time, making the translator more responsive to each specific semantic context so that the translation, in meeting both the demands of the ST and the needs of the TA, is a fluid, living, transmission of meaning. Using a Derridean approach to translation has meant that I have been able to preserve ambiguities in the ST, thus allowing for the "play of signification" (Derrida, 1967/1978, p.280), rather than attempting to close down meaning with a strict focus on lexical equivalents.

To my knowledge, although many language and translation theorists discuss Derridean theories about language, only Venuti (2013) and Derrida himself (1999/2004) have used these theories in analysing specific texts of sustained length. On the other hand, several translation theorists, including Bassnett (1998), Pym (1995b), and Tymoczko (2007) use Bourdieusian theories, particularly to analyse power relationships.

The significance of my research-based translation is that it helps fill a gap in knowledge about the early colonial period of New Zealand history. Venuti (2013) noted how few translations about specific cultural situations, contextualized through extensive archival research, had been provided in the previous decade (p.6). To my knowledge, there has been no change in this since 2013. I have shown the paucity of information currently available about the work of Pompallier and the Marists in New Zealand and the extent to which the French mission has been ignored by New Zealand general and Church historians. Such information as has been available has been mostly hagiographical, written by Catholic apologists. In addition, texts used as the basis for translation by Catholic writers have been taken from the *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, a 19th century French Catholic organisation to support missionary work. I demonstrate that, as the *Annales* were heavily edited to show the missionaries in a favourable light, they must be seen as an unreliable ST.

Although I have at times extended my analysis beyond my initial selection of text to the 1854 date where Girard's selection ends, a full analysis of cultural lexis used in the *LRO* would help to verify the extent to which contact with Māori led to shifts in the Marists' cultural attitudes; identify the extent to which the Catholic missionaries understood Māori spiritual beliefs; and facilitate analysis of the extent to which Māori accepted and adhered to Catholic beliefs.

One of the losses resulting from my selection of letters to translate has been letters written by the Marist Brothers who were working with Pompallier and the Marist priests during 1840. Their letters, as included in Girard's *LRO*, 1836-1854, add another dimension to the 21st century reader's understanding of the missionaries as the Brothers comment on their work to support the priests, and their physical work in building mission stations, farming and gardening to provide essential food. Some of the letters, less guarded than those of the priests, are poignant descriptions of the hardships of the Brothers' lives and their disappointment at not being more actively involved in the work of the mission.

The reader of the *LRO* quickly becomes curious about the reactions of the absent Marist Superior-General, Colin, to the writings of Pompallier and the Marist missionaries about the progress and problems of the New Zealand mission. For information about Colin's point of view, and his efforts to address the growing difficulties of the Catholic mission in New Zealand, I have used his edited letters to Pompallier, the Marist missionaries, and to some of the Cardinals who bore overall responsibility for the mission.

Although it is difficult to find texts that give the authentic voice of Māori in 1840, I have used the writings of contemporary Māori scholars and the records and findings of the Waitangi Tribunal (2014), where Māori recount the views their tūpuna have passed down to them about the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Nevertheless, the 21st century New Zealand reader of the *LRO* is struck by the absence of Māori voices in the ST. Although the opinions of Māori and their actions can often be discerned from the priests' narratives, they are not often directly recorded. It would be valuable for a translator and researcher who has a deep understanding of Māori history, tikanga, and te reo Māori to analyse the *LRO* to identify cultural knowledge, and knowledge about Māori men and women, mentioned in the *LRO*, but now lost, or not generally known, at least to Pākehā New Zealanders.

Laracy noted in 2010 that the *LRO* present new information about New Zealand history that would need to be taken into account in future. However, until a full translation is available, the *LRO* will remain inaccessible to many scholars and members of the reading public. Lineham (2011) makes this clear when he explains in a postscript to his paper on the fractured relationships of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in early colonial New Zealand, published in *The French place in the Bay of Islands*, that some of his "tentative arguments" (p.73) about the work of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in early colonial New Zealand could have been clarified had a translation of the *LRO* been available.

A full translation of the *LRO* is still not available, but is needed to address the gap in our knowledge of this period of national history. I would like to see a project team develop a documentary translation of at least the New Zealand letters, so that the TT is accompanied by relevant research that fleshes out the cultural, religious, and political contexts of the ST. In time, the project could be extended to include translations of the Marists' letters written from other countries in our Pacific neighbourhood, notably Australia, Fiji, New Caledonia, Samoa, the Solomons and Tonga, whose stories are as fascinating as our own.

In the interim, I present my translation as an original contribution to knowledge, a "productive writing called forth by the original text" (Derrida, 1982/1985b, p.153). The importance of such historical accounts is epitomised in the traditional Māori saying: I ngā wā o mua: 'Keeping the past before you', a paradoxical motif showing that while going forward into the future we should face the past.

Appendix

The French Marist New Zealand mission

From treaty to crisis

Letters from Oceania

Lettres reçues d'Océanie

5 March 1840 –30 January 1841 (docs 52-86)

Doc. 52: 5 March 1840, Servant to Jean-Claude Colin

Bay of Islands, Nouvelle Zélande

Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ,

[322] [1] The letter you honoured me by writing on the 21st of May 1839 has reached me and has brought me great pleasure. I cannot tell you how grateful I am for your holy advice and your kind, fatherly love and concern for me. In return, I hope God will look upon you in His infinite goodness. This is the heartfelt wish of one who is truly grateful to you.

[2] Today I have the honour of writing to you from the Bay of Islands where I have been staying for a few weeks and where I will be staying for some time yet as *monseigneur* our bishop has required me to be here to help him give instructions in the natives' language.

[3] As you advise me to take all opportunities to write, and to go into detail, I consider it my duty to respond to your wishes.

[4] Since my last letter, dated the 12th of October 1839, and sent from Hokianga, I have made frequent journeys into tribal lands. My first visit was to the Whirinaki tribe where there are about 300 souls. This tribal land, located in a beautiful valley, affords a pleasant view of mountains covered with high forests and rich native and European crops, whose usefulness the natives are beginning to appreciate. A little freshwater stream winds along the length of the valley, providing water. The valley is mainly inhabited at three different places, each a quarter of a league¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ from the other.

[323] The natives of this tribe which, before we arrived in New Zealand, had the reputation of being one of the cruellest and most quarrelsome, have been the first to receive the teachings of our holy religion and, in spite of the heretics' threats to eradicate it, have persevered and built a small chapel until they can build a larger one later. When I was last staying with them they, or at least a certain number of them, were very diligent about taking instruction, but a spirit of hostility and lack of unity prevalent in the three main villages meant they would not come together for instruction. I had to take their touchiness into consideration and go around the three villages in turn. Sometimes some of the

¹⁸⁸ I have retained the term "league" to avoid the anachronism of "kilometres". A league is generally considered to be equivalent to 4 kilometres (<http://www.wordreference.com/fren/lieu>)

¹⁸⁹ See pp.2-3, 11, where I explain that I am providing a "documentary translation" based on the theories of Nord (1997) and Schäffner (2002) and thus use pragmatic translation strategies, including footnotes, to convey knowledge that is implicit in the ST.

young people made me spend a great part of the night talking about religion, setting out the reasons for their doubts and overwhelming me with questions. At the same time, I received a visit from one of the heretics' converts, who accosted me, letting me know he had been wanting to meet me for a long time to urge me to become a Protestant. He challenged me to a public discussion, but the result was unfortunate for him. As I had alerted the natives to the lies the heretics have been spreading around this area with so many warning signs that it was easy for them to recognise them, each indication that a lie was about to be told gave rise to bursts of laughter from the audience, and our opponent, covered with embarrassment, showed signs of distress and did not want to let the scene I had begun play out to its end. Then the great Whirinaki chief asked what the difference was between the Catholic and Protestant religions. He wanted to know the origin of the two religions as shown in the genealogical tree¹⁹⁰ and the explanations given forced my opponent to admit I was right.

I had yet another battle to deal with – superstition. Some of the natives and, in particular, a Whirinaki chief, did not want to let me provide a church burial for one of their people whom I had baptised when he was in danger of death. The reason they gave was that, as the deceased had not had time to convert to the Catholic faith, his body did not belong to me. I argued that, on the contrary, the body and soul of the deceased man belonged to me because the deceased had agreed to be baptised. But in spite of my insistence, I could not get them to agree to what I was asking and the funeral was carried out with *cérémonies maoriennes*. However, the superstitious chief promised me if I came to visit them more often I would be free to bury people the way I wanted to. But alas! Distance and the number of tribes mean we cannot visit the same tribe very often. As a result, instruction of the natives does not progress very quickly. The Whirinaki inhabitants who seem the best disposed are waiting [324] until they have received more instruction before they are baptised. I did not stay with them for very long.

The chief of another tribe, Tei Hutai, came to get me to instruct his tribe. I went to a place I had not been to before where I discovered the horizon was very closed in and I could only glimpse a little bit of sky. But I had a peaceful stay deep in the bush. Throughout the day I kept suffering unwelcome visits

¹⁹⁰ Duffy (2009) provides a detailed explanation of the meaning of the “genealogical tree”, or the “Tree of Life”, and its use by the Marists to show the Catholic Church as the “original Church, the trunk Church” and “the new Churches [as] the severed branches” (p.152).

from a kind of little mosquito the natives call *namu* and during the night wairua¹⁹¹ with long legs disturbed my rest. As the natives of this tribe were working some distance away, I did not have many people to instruct. There was a general meeting on the holy day of Sunday only and I think about a hundred people were there. Then I was very pleased to hear an old man, who had been attacked by the native heretics for his religion (as this tribe lives amidst heresy supporters) had defended himself against his attackers with the courage of a lion. As the natives of this tribe are often harassed by the heretics, they enlisted me in developing, in considerable detail, some arguments in support of our holy Church. Several of them also asked me hundreds of questions about the spiritual nature of the soul, death, and eternal life. One of them told me about a dream he had had during the night. He thought he had seen the place where the damned go. Horror-struck at this sight, he made the sign of the cross and began to pray: "O my God, I am a bad man. Cast a little light into my spirit. Have pity on me." Before I left this tribe, I baptised two adults and one of the great chief's children. Just as I was on the point of leaving, I heard that the heretical ministers had offered to meet me to discuss religion with me in front of a large meeting of natives. But their whole plan was just talk. At the same time, the news spread that the heretics were ravaging one of our tribes based at the mouth of the Hokianga river.

This tribe had not yet been fortunate enough to receive the benefits of instruction. As a result, *père* Baty and I went there as soon as possible to see the natives of this said tribe. We explained the reason for our visit and asked to speak to the great chief, but our request was refused. Then, realising that a general meeting of the natives of this tribe would produce a much better effect especially since a great number of them wanted this, we wrote to the great chief to request the meeting and to persuade him to at least tolerate freedom of belief amongst his people, citing for his benefit the example of civilised nations that leave people free in relation to religion and giving him some appropriate reasons for embracing this way of thinking. But unfortunately, the chief consulted an intolerant minister and replied [325] to us saying that he not only refused to allow a general meeting of his tribe but did not even want us on his land. So we had to withdraw. By then it was night and, under cover of darkness, I cleared up the doubts held by some of the natives who remained committed to us and who, fearful of incurring the anger of the chief or being driven off their land or maltreated, did not dare resist the tyrant of their consciences but did not want to become heretics. We left and spent the night on the other bank of the

¹⁹¹ Although the most common meaning of "wairua" is "life" or "spirit" (<http://www.learningmedia.co.nz/ngata>), it can also mean "insect" (Herbert Williams, 1975, p.477).

Hokianga river. However, we hope this unenlightened tribe will later recognise the heretics' deceit and will come back into the fold of the true Church.

The next day dear *père* Baty went back to our station and I set off for a tribe living along the coast, half a day's walk from the Hokianga river. Going up the north coast of this part of New Zealand I went over the mountains of glistening sand about two leagues wide that follow the shoreline and came to a peak from which I could see, in a very narrow valley, a tribe of about 110 natives we had not visited before. The local chief welcomed me very warmly. He called all his people to come and greet me and touch my hand as a sign of friendship. In the course of our conversations together, he told me the population of Wairoa used to be very big but had been wiped out by war. He pointed out four mountains at the top of which were fortifications. Many natives had their throats cut in the battles their ancestors used to wage there in in the past.

During my short stay with these kindly natives I had the consolation of seeing a good number of them come together for prayer and instruction and, at the end of my stay, the great chief presented me with one of his children to baptise and told me if I wanted to baptise him he would never abandon the Catholic faith. He also offered to have a chapel built for his tribe.

After I left this tribe, I met up with dear *père* Baty, whose patience with troublesome natives was building up rewards in Heaven, and we were soon overcome with joy to see about twenty natives from [326] the Whirinaki tribe come back. They had gone to the Bay of Islands to ask *monseigneur* our bishop, in the name of the whole tribe, for a priest to instruct them and were coming back with dear *père* Comte, triumphant at having succeeded in getting a priest, something they had been wanting for a long time.

[5] Meanwhile, on the 11th of January I received the order to make a longer journey than the ones I had made before and set off for Ahipara on the north-west coast, about 30 leagues from our base station. On my way up the North Cape coastline, I was accompanied by a chief who was one of the first whom *monseigneur* had baptised. He was given the name "François". This chief is remarkable for his simple, innocent nature and his cheerful, though warlike, temperament. The first tribe we met was the Tairutu, based at the mouth of the Hokianga river, near the huge dunes along the coast. There are about 60 natives in this tribe. When I arrived, I said evening prayers and gave instruction, and then the natives kept me discussing religious matters for a great part of the night. They talked to me,

amongst other things, about their ancestors who had been in the darkness of error and asked me if they could pray for them. My reply in the affirmative made them very happy.

The next day, we set off along the coast. On the way, we came across boulders that took about an hour to climb over, and reached a place called Whangape, where there are three or four Catholic tribes. We spent the night with a tribe the natives call Pawera. There my arrival was announced not only with welcoming cries and exclamations of joy, but also with a few rifle shots.

The next day I set off, after prayers and instruction, and met a native sent by a chief to invite me to visit his tribe who wanted to become Catholic. After exchanging ritual greetings, we went down into a valley where a meeting was taking place of the natives from several tribes who had come for what the natives call a hakari, that is to say, an exchange of their foodstuffs and fish. The chief had me sit down on a thick clump of brushwood that had been covered with woollen blankets to protect me from [327] the sun, and from there I answered all the questions they could put to me. During the course of this, a chief from the Motu Tapu tribe appeared and asked me to visit his tribe. My suggestion to all the natives that we go to see the aforementioned tribe was accepted with pleasure. We set off and arrived at nightfall.

Motu Tapu is a huge enclosure surrounded by trees planted in earlier times to serve the natives as fortifications and that is where their dwellings are grouped. Half of this tribe follows the heretics and the other half, comprising the main chiefs and about 60 people, wanted to hear me talk about the reasons why they should embrace the Catholic faith. I spoke for more than an hour, after which I signalled to François, my travelling companion, to take over the talking, which he does with enthusiasm and passion. He emphasized the unity of the church established by Jesus Christ and, when he needed a text, turned to me, then made a creditable refutation of the ridiculous objections the heretics enjoy spreading through the tribes. Here, for example, is how he refuted the accusation of idolatry, a sin of which the heretics never stop accusing the Catholic Church: Chief Hinematiaro,¹⁹² (one of the New Zealanders' ancestors) had two daughters whom death took from him, so, wanting to have an everlasting memory of his two daughters, whom he loved dearly, he made two statues in human form. In the same way, in the Catholic Church we have crucifixes, which we do not believe are gods. They

¹⁹² Girard, citing the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, explains that Hinematiaro (deceased 1823), a Ngāti Porou woman of high standing, was an acknowledged leader of Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti but her influence spread much wider. She had four daughters, two of whom died in early childhood (n.12, p.327).

The Maori 3rd person pronoun, ia, does not distinguish gender, so Servant must have mistakenly thought Hinematiaro was a male chief.

simply remind us of Jesus Christ, whom we love very much. We have medals, paintings and other objects that for us represent saints whom we hold dear. In former times, when chiefs died on the battlefield, our ancestors used to place images at the top of the palisades to remind the children of their fathers who had died in battle. Well, it is the same in the Catholic Church. The religious objects we venerate are not divinities for us, they are just objects that represent a precious memory. This cut and dried argument convinced everyone who heard it.

[6] But François did not rest at attacking heresy. He turned again to grappling [328] with the superstitious beliefs of Māori. For anyone else, this would have been a difficult task to carry out successfully, but he exposed the contradictions of the Maori belief system so disingenuously and with so much hilarity that everyone thought it was funny. When François had finished talking, the chiefs deliberated amongst themselves and made the decision to embrace the Catholic religion. And so the Motu Tapu natives living in the same tribe found themselves divided in religion; the Catholics were saying their prayers in one place and the supporters of heresy were also praying, in their own area. When everything was finished, we set off again and came to the Herekino river, which we had to take great care getting across.

François, who was carrying me on his shoulders and lugging me through the water as best he could, said to me, "True missionary, pray for me," because he was afraid of falling in the river. But, fortunately, we reached the other side and, after half a day's walk, arrived at Ahipara. Ahipara is a green plain extending almost across the width of New Zealand at this point. I think the population is over a thousand souls. The natives were away when we arrived, but the great chief's wife was there and welcomed us, and an old woman from the same family came spontaneously to touch her nose against mine. This caused my travelling companions much merriment and, alluding to *superstitions maoriennes*, they teased her saying, "You'll die because you touched your nose against a priest's."

[7] The great chief soon arrived. He greeted me warmly. He immediately gave orders to bring flax cloth for me to sit on and for pigs to be killed. We got into a long conversation about the deplorable hue and cry of the heretics, who have many adherents at Ahipara. The natives were peaceful for the week I stayed with them. The heretics did not come to harass them and urge them to become Protestants. The day I arrived, the great chief asked me if he would be allowed to visit a brother whom the heretical ministers wanted to baptise, saying he was happy to make this visit or not, depending on what I decided. My response was that he could make the visit provided he did not take part in the

heretics' prayers. So he went off and when he came back he reported that amongst a great number of natives the heretical ministers were offering to baptise were some chiefs who had been threatened with not being admitted to baptism. The heretics had interrogated them about religious matters but the chiefs had not answered their questions satisfactorily. The chiefs then let it be understood that if they were not baptised, they would go to the bishop.¹⁹³ Alarmed by this response, [329] the Protestant ministers hastened to baptise these headstrong men without bothering too much about whether or not they were well prepared.

[8] A few days later, the heretics' fury became publicly evident, no doubt because of the progress the Catholic religion was making at Ahipara. One of the Protestant ministers and some of his proselytes have had the temerity to profane the name of our esteemed bishop, linking it with filthy animals. In the past, an insult like that made to a chief would have triggered a war that would wipe the tribe out. So it inflamed the natives, making them extremely angry. Several chiefs told me they had a kind of satisfaction in hearing the heretics had spoken insultingly, because, they said, that showed them the heretics were supporting the wrong cause. Moreover, insults like this are quite common in the mouths of the heretics. They have even just produced a printed paper that speaks only with charity about the natives, but ends by charitably depicting our Bishop as Satan sending out his envoys.

[9] I have said the reason why the heretics at Ahipara are so angry could be the progress our religion has made there. In fact, in addition to the hundred natives who declared themselves for the Catholic Church during a visit *monseigneur* made to Ahipara last year, a hundred others joined them during this last visit I made there, and who knows how many children our holy Church would count in this area if there were enough priests to set up a station here? In addition to the two hundred Catholics, there are another 200 who are waiting for a legitimate minister to take up residence there so they can embrace the Catholic faith. A chapel has already been built in raupo, an aquatic plant the natives use to build their houses, and can hold nearly 200 people. That is where I give the natives instruction, every morning and evening. Often I develop, or have François develop, proofs that support the teachings of the Catholic Church and I also explain the chronological tree to them. These poor natives, realising how much they need the benefit of instruction, never stopped talking to me about their desire to have a priest living in their midst.

¹⁹³ Servant means Bishop Pompallier. Bishop Selwyn did not arrive in New Zealand until 1842.

[10] When the time came for me to go, they all hastened to give me their hand and we parted affectionately. The great chief wanted to accompany me for nearly half an hour. He kept on stopping and making me come back and sit down. The only thing he talked about was the need for a priest, [330] which must be put to *monseigneur*, and when he left the last thing he said to me was that he needed a priest for his tribe.

[11] Having taken our leave of the great chief from Ahipara, we started walking towards Motu Tapu, where the chief offered to send a native to our station to get some medals and some little printed sheets to instruct his tribe. From there, we went on to another tribe of 40 people, called Maraewae, where the natives wanted to keep me for a day to give them instruction. From Maraewae, I went to Pawera. By that time, night was falling and the natives were beginning their prayers. Delighted to know what they were doing, I made a sign to my travelling companions to stop and not make any noise. We sat down and listened in silence. How moved I was, reflecting that these once cruel savages were taking pleasure in saying their prayers and singing the Lord's praises. These goodhearted natives, like the ones at Maraewae, wanted to keep me for a day to hear the word of God and made me promise to visit them later.

From there, I passed through Wairoa, but the natives were not there. Then we came to a little tribe of 20 people, called Matamata, on the bank of the Hokianga river. The chief of this area was emphatically not a Catholic, but he gave his people full freedom in religious matters. After evening prayers and instruction, I continued on my way and, after struggling in a marsh for more than an hour, found a small boat and returned to our mission house. However, I did not stay there long. The Tairutu chief came to urge me to go and say holy Mass for his tribe on Sunday. I set off and baptised one adult and two children there, then came back to our station.

[12] At this time, there was a great deal of talk about a chief who lived near the Bay of Islands and who had come to Hokianga, where he had a strong influence over a number of tribes and was regarded almost as a prophet.¹⁹⁴ He is favourably disposed towards the Catholic Church, which he

¹⁹⁴ Girard (n.14, p.330) notes: "This 'prophet' was no doubt Papahurihia, also known as Te Atua Wera. His religious movement, first noted in the Bay of Islands in July 1833, and later in the Hokianga, was a combination of elements of the missionaries' teaching and traditional Māori religion. In this religious system, heaven and hell are retained, but in a changed form that excludes missionaries from heaven. The god Nakahi, derived from the serpent in the book of Genesis, has characteristics in common with the Māori *ngarara*, a lizard-spirit. The cult was influential in Hone Heke's rebellion in the early 1840s (cf. *Oxford History NZ*, pp.38-39)." See also thesis pp.48, 117-118.

acknowledges as the true Church, although he has not yet been instructed in the mysteries of our [331]holy religion. However, he does not fail to lash out against the heretics and he depicts them like this: He shows one tree growing upright and another bending right down to the foot of the upright tree. This tree is called the tree of judgment. Right on the tips of the bent tree are the heretics, who even though they are praying and reading their Bible, are on the way to Satan's fire. They are going along, all triumphant, while the cries of the men in Hell echo all around. Then Nakahi, (who is a god in the *Maoris'* new superstitious system), Nakahi goes under the bent tree and stirs up the eternal flames. Then he climbs the upright tree, the top of which touches heaven. The heretics scramble to climb the tree too, but when they think they have reached Heaven, Heaven shrinks away from them and they fall back into the abyss.

[13] After a few days' rest at our Hokianga station, I set off for the Bay of Islands. On the way, I baptised a European child, and went to see the Waihou tribe where the natives persuaded me to stay the night. Most of these natives did not seem to me to be very enthusiastic yet about receiving instruction. From there, I went to a place called Waimate, where the heretics have a station.¹⁹⁵ Right beside the entry to this station is a small Catholic tribe. The chief of this tribe begged me to stay for two days to give them instruction. I agreed to his request. Then I continued on my way and reached the Bay of Islands, where I had the consolation of receiving his Lordship's apostolic blessing and the pleasure of welcoming dear *pères* Petit and Viard, whom I had not seen since they arrived.

[14] Meanwhile, on the 3rd of February,¹⁹⁶ there appeared in the Bay of Islands a Governor for New Zealand. He came straight from England. On the 5th of the same month, the Governor called a general meeting of whites and natives. *Monseigneur*, already apprised of the Governor's goodwill, acceded to His Excellency's wishes and was present at the gathering. I had the honour of [332] accompanying his Lordship, and looked forward to hearing what the natives were going to say about the political change certain to take place for New Zealand.

⁹ Épalle, in a confidential letter to Colin, (doc.127[8], 19 January 1842), tells him about the extreme poverty of the Catholic mission, recounting how he and three others had to undertake a two-day walk from Hokianga without any food. Épalle was forced to send Henry Garnett, later to be ordained a priest, to Waimate to beg for bread.

¹⁹⁶ Girard comments: "It should be noted that Fr Servant had just returned on 3rd February, which gives rise to this date. In fact, Captain William Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands on 29 January, 1840. The next day, after announcing he was Governor-General under the authority of the New South Wales government, he ordered two proclamations to be read, one of which called together the assembly of 5 February, about which Servant is writing here" (n.16, p.331).

[15] The Governor made a proposal to the native chiefs that they recognise his authority, informing them that this would be for the sake of law and order and for their own good, and pointing out that they would continue to be chiefs in their tribes and masters of their possessions. With that, many chiefs spoke, one after the other, making a full display of their *éloquence maorienne*. Most of the orators did not want the Governor to extend his authority over the natives, but to have power over Europeans only. Others did not even want the Governor to stay in New Zealand. Among the latter a wrathful old man stood out. He said over and over again, "No, no. No Governor at all. Go away, Governor, go away. Go back to your own country. We do not want a foreign authority. We fear it." Another, (this one a heretical chief), said that the foreigners had come to take possession of their lands, to debase their names by reducing them to servitude, to steal from them and deceive them. He said they had given Maori a bible, but Maori would willingly give it back because the foreigners were robbing them of everything else. Many complained about the huge tracts of land the heretic ministers had acquired.

[16] Finally, at the end of the meeting, some chiefs, trying to get agreement on these conflicts of interest, spoke at length in favour of recognising the Governor's authority. Soon success was achieved in getting a document signed by which the chiefs committed to recognising English authority. I have been told that during the meeting that took place at Hokianga, a chief said to the Governor: "The queen of England wants to reign in New Zealand, but if a chief from here goes to England, will he have the right to become king?"

[17] We are leaving politics alone as it has nothing at all to do with us. Let us concern ourselves with the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The good of souls - that must be the whole purpose of our sacred vows. May we work to bring about the salvation of the natives quickly and effectively and may this not be jeopardised by the large numbers of foreigners.

[18] I cannot finish, *très révérend supérieur*, without just mentioning the pressing need there is here for large numbers of evangelical workers! How many thousands of natives are crying out for priests! The Ahipara tribe I have just visited still cannot have a single one of our priests. Kaipara, which is 30 leagues from Hokianga on the north-west coast of this part of New Zealand, has been waiting for priests for perhaps 18 months. Waikato, where some of our Hokianga natives have
[333] relatives, would be a very suitable place for a Catholic station. I make no mention of a great

number of distant tribes who are waiting for the Catholic ministry. *Monseigneur* has just set sail in a small schooner so he can accede to some of their pressing requests.

[19] As well as our pressing need for priests and brothers, the mission, especially in New Zealand, involves heavy costs. The large numbers of ships and foreigners mean that food is expensive. The natives, who live in poverty, ask for things rather than giving anything themselves. It is often hard not to have gifts for the natives to encourage them and gain their friendship and to maintain some sort of parity with the heretics who have plenty of everything. Sea travel is extremely expensive.

[20] As for the missionaries, they have plenty of opportunities to experience hardship, especially when they are living with the natives and when they are travelling. Although their food is plain, they have much better appetites than people accustomed to delicious fare. Nothing is easier for them than to find somewhere to stay the night – in the bush, in the fields, or on the sand, they can easily find themselves a bed when, in warm weather, one would like to be free from unwelcome visits from the enemies of rest that abound in the natives' huts. But these hardships enable one to stay in good health.

[21] Please be so kind, *très révérend supérieur*, as to remember the missionaries and the natives before the Lord. Please also be kind enough to recommend them to the prayers of pious souls.

[22] Please accept my most respectful good wishes in the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary,

Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ,

Your very humble, very obedient and faithful servant,

Servant

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 53: 18 March 1840, Petit-Jean to Paillason, his brother-in-law

Nouvelle-Zélande, Wangaroa [sic]

[334] In the safe-keeping of Mary, conceived without sin.

My dear Brother,

[1] May the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all my family and friends. I wrote to you from Sydney in November, no doubt you will have received the letter. There were several under the same cover, one of them for cousin Noyé, and also one for our Carmelite. Since these letters, the Society of Mary should have received others from my fellow-priests¹⁹⁷ giving news of our joyous arrival in New Zealand. These last letters were taken by French whaling ships going back to France, quite a journey. But by then I had already moved from the Bay of Islands and so did not have that opportunity to write to you. Some tribal chiefs, when they heard a group of missionaries had arrived in New Zealand, came in haste to ask *monseigneur* for some of them and were quite determined they would not go back without priests. So our kindhearted bishop was forced, so to speak, to satisfy these worthy people straightaway. We hardly had a moment to console one another about parting again and enjoy one another's company; we had to think about a new separation. Such, my dear brother and friend, is the way of life for a priest or brother in this world. To be everywhere yet not to belong anywhere, never to be attached to anything or anyone, or to any place, and to be ready to leave everything at the first indication of the superiors' will. One has to be constantly ready to leave for another place, where the Lord has prepared other friends, other brothers. This certainly goes against human nature, but if the flesh is sad, the spirit rejoices, the heart expands and we become more like the apostles because of it.

¹⁹⁷ I have translated *confrère(s)* as: (1) 'fellow-priests' when the letter is addressed to someone who is not a priest, or to indicate some distance between the writer and the priest referred to (e.g. docs 59[20], where Pompallier is referring to Servant, and 71[2] where he is referring to the Picpus Fathers; (2) 'brother-priest' when a priest is writing, or referring, to another priest; (3) 'fellow missionaries' or 'fellow students' if the term includes both priests and Brothers (e.g. doc.59[8]); (4) fellow-Brothers if referring to Marist Brothers (e.g. doc.86[2]); (5) 'fellow students' if referring to seminarians (e.g.doc.73[6]. To leave this portmanteau noun in French (e.g. Girard, 2015, p.54) would be to lose the opportunity to interpret its meaning by analysing the differentiated contexts in which it is used.

[2] Of the four of us newcomers to New Zealand,¹⁹⁸ one has stayed with *monseigneur*, another has been sent to the tropical islands, Wallis and Futuna, and the third was allocated to the Hokianga station. Lastly, the fourth set off with another Father for a new mission in

[335] a place called Wangaroa, after a stream that supplies it with water. I was the fourth one. The Lord has deigned to assign me this portion of his vineyard. Thanks be to God. The place where we are living at Wangaroa is about twenty leagues from the Bay of Islands, and a little further north. Fortunately, the Father whose companion I am has already gained some familiarity with the Maori language. Without this, what would I have been able to do at first, by myself with these native people. Now, thank God, I am also beginning to understand the language of my new fellow-citizens, or rather, my new brothers in Jesus Christ. I am even able to stammer a few words about the mysteries of our holy religion and the spirit of God completes what I am not capable of doing, speaking to them in the depths of their hearts in a clearer, more eloquent way. This language is quite different from our European languages. Its systems are very simple. It does not have many words, and a great number of them are formed in a straightforward way. I think three months' study with some Maori books and a translation, together with practice in making conversation, is enough to be able to speak, with even a degree of fluency. Pronunciation is no problem, especially for the French. But I must admit it is almost impossible to apply yourself in a sustained way to anything here. We have got too much to do. Looking after material things often takes a great deal of time. You only have to look at our Bishop, in particular, with so few priests for such a vast vicariate, carrying out all the duties of bishop, parish priest, businessman, interpreter, and even school teacher sometimes, all at the same time. He has commanded the respect of even the English because of his kindness and the way he conducts himself. When you consider the progress the Catholic faith has made in New Zealand, you very quickly have to acknowledge how skilful he is.

[3] My dear friend, forgive me, I am not going to give you a detailed account of the local area this time. I am really only writing to you to tell you I have arrived, and in accordance with the New Zealanders' language, my letter, and my words that are but a letter, are words of love. Of course,

[336] there would be some very strange things to relate about the customs of these people; the way they greet each other, or rather touch nose against nose (I have several times allowed myself to be

¹⁹⁸ Petit-Jean arrived in the Bay of Islands with Frs Comte, Joseph-André Chevron and Viard, and Brother (Br) Attale (Jean-Baptiste Grimaud) on 9 December, 1839. They were the 4th group to leave France. (Girard, 2010, vol.10, p.38). Petit-Jean refers to four new arrivals when there were in fact five. This may be because Br Attale, as a Brother, would have been considered of lower status than the priests.

touched like this by a chief. I did not think I should stop him from doing it); their way of making long emphatic speeches walking up and down, striking themselves and gesticulating repeatedly; about their meals, their weeping, and love songs used between people who love each other but have not seen each other for some time. Let us keep these things for another time. I will have studied them better. A large part of N(ew) Z(ealand) land is covered with fern, which is burnt off in the areas wanted for cultivation. The current season is autumn for us. The only fruit available in this season is peaches. They have been imported, I think. They taste good and there are plenty of them. They are starting to become scarcer now. How I wish I could send you one with my letter. It would be a strange thing for the season in France, but you would receive it only a little late and in a season close to the one when you eat peaches in France. N(ew) Z(ealand) is rich in timber for building. Someone was talking to me recently about a tree whose size hardly seemed credible to me. According to what I was told, this tree is between 13 and 14 feet in diameter. It continues to stand, defying all the saws in the world.

[4] What made me decide not to delay writing to you any longer is that a French whaling ship is in port, ready to set sail for France. Provided my letter arrives at the Bay of Islands in time, all will be well. All you need to know about me today is that I am well, and I am happy, that hardly a day passes, no day passes, without me thinking of you and all the family. However, that happens to me when you are asleep, because here, as I am almost at the antipodes, or even just on the other side of the equator, I am awake at the time you are asleep. I think of you, of all my family, all my friends, especially to recommend them to God. If I decided to separate myself from what was dearest to me in the world to come and save a people who were strangers to me in the flesh, with what ardour would I not desire the salvation of you all. Yes, God is my witness, as St Paul says, God is my witness that I remember you all continually in my prayers¹⁹⁹ and I say to Him from the bottom of my **[337]** heart, "God, protect my dear family, protect all those I love with the same love You showed Your mother and Your disciple, John. On earth, I have separated from them. I have lost them because of my love for You. Deign one day to bring them back to me in Heaven, where I will never lose them again." Far away from you as I am, death will take several of my family and friends away from me one after another and I will only hear about it a long time later. But I hope they will take

¹⁹⁹Cf. "God, whom I serve with my spirit in preaching the gospel of his Son, is my witness that I continually mention you in my prayers, asking always that by some means I may at long last be enabled to visit you, if it is God's will" (Rm 1:9-10). All footnoted Biblical references are to *The New Jerusalem Bible: Standard Edition* (1989).

comfort in knowing that I think of them before God, whether they are alive or dead, in sickness or in health. If my prayers are worth anything, I promise to offer them frequently for my family and friends, especially in the holy sacrifice of Mass. If they are held for a time in the fires of Purgatory, I will drain the divine chalice with them first in my prayers, and I will not be praying alone, for our Lord will be with me. Also, I truly hope, I am certain, that I will not be forgotten and that through prayer I will receive help in life and in death. And Heaven will also shower more blessings on my apostolic works. How often it happens that I am taking a short walk along the bay, which at high tide almost laps the steps of our house, thinking about how unstable human life is, reflecting for example on all the changes that have occurred in our two houses in just a few years. I take particular pleasure in thinking you are not one of those ambitious people who want to grow richer, endlessly and beyond measure. I know you long for rest, the rest of perfect virtue. You are much more concerned about passing on your heritage of the Catholic faith and devotion intact to your children, just as you received it from your elders, than you are about great riches.

[5] In my letter from Sydney, I spoke to you about the Methodist missionaries living in the Bay of Islands. If I used this term, I take it back. There are Methodists, I think, in Hokianga. In the Bay of Islands and elsewhere, there are missionaries generally just called "English missionaries". Undoubtedly, they were sent here much earlier for two purposes, to win these people over to the beliefs of the English, then later to subject them to their authority. In a word, to make them as English as possible. Now the government of that nation has clearly taken control in the name of Queen Victoria and very soon it seems New Zealand will be in every respect an English colony.

[338] Blessed be God, priests make no distinction between nations. They want to save everyone. This state of affairs will hasten the setting up of any of our stations and will make them safer, especially for women. The authorities, the Governor in particular, are very well disposed towards *monseigneur*, and the Governor has received a visit from him.²⁰⁰ People are saying the site for the capital has not been chosen yet.

[6] *Monseigneur* desperately needs priests and brothers. This is one of the missions that also needs the most money because the people in these areas do not have clothes or blankets, etc, and

²⁰⁰ The ST syntax indicates that Hobson visited Pompallier, but as I have not found other evidence of this, and Felton Mathew (1840/1940) states that Pompallier visited Hobson on 30 January, 1840 (p.27), I think Petit-Jean has either misplaced the relative pronoun in the sentence or written *qui* instead of *et*. I have therefore made slight corrections so that the TT makes better sense and is possibly more historically accurate.

gifts are the main way of drawing them in. Later, we will teach them to manage without gifts by learning to obtain these things for themselves.

[7] I do not have much paper left. I will just mention a few names here that are very dear to me: your father, your sister, cousin Noyé, cousin Besson and *monsieur* and *madame* Court.

[8] What can I say to Antoinette and Eleanor except that I love them and that from a long way away, I am doing exactly what I would have done for them if I were close by, and doing it even better, that is, praying for them. As for Angèle, the only one of the sisters who is old enough to understand, have her say a little prayer for her uncle at Fourvières one day when you go there. The names of the parish priest of Mornant and his curates must find a place in my letter as they have a place in my memory, and also that of *monsieur* Berloty. I would like to end my letter in the way a Maori who was writing to me did: "Go, my letter, go joyfully to those I love – then – great is my love for you."

[9] I am signing off here. But first, a big hug for you and Antoinette.

J(ean) Bap(tiste) Petit-Jean

Marist priest, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 54: 21 April 1840, Comte to his parents²⁰¹

Hokianga

[339] J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

My very dear parents,

[1] May the peace of Jesus Christ be with you always.

[2] You think of me often and often speak of me. Sometimes perhaps you are anxious about my life. What is he doing, you ask yourselves, amongst heathens? Perhaps he is languishing in poverty, amidst all sorts of hardships. If only we could see what he needs and help him, but the other end of the earth is too far away from us. This is how love reasons, always anxious about the loved one. But, my dear parents, you would be quite wrong to be concerned about me. What could I lack in this land in which I am living? Is not God everywhere? Does He not know our needs? Is He not powerful enough to shield us from both the evil of men and the fury of Hell? Everything that happens to us is by His leave, for His greater glory, and for us to make use of. How consoling this thought is!

When I left France, I set off quite convinced that trials and tribulations, hardships, poverty, and suffering would be my lot. I rejoiced in this thought, saying to myself, "The road you are about to take is the surest to lead you to Heaven. It is the road taken by Jesus Christ Himself, and after Him by the apostles, the martyrs, and all the saints." But the opposite has happened. God inundates us with His consolations in the midst of our dear savages. They love us, we love them, and this mutual love makes up for everything.

[3] I wrote you a few words on the 8th of January from the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, to [340] tell you I had arrived and was with Bishop Pompallier.²⁰² I also told you I was going to leave immediately for Hokianga. Here is an account of my short journey.

Hokianga is approximately 15 leagues from the Bay of Islands. On the 9th of January, after *monseigneur* had given me his blessing, I set off with about 15 natives to guide me and carry my baggage. As soon as we had crossed the Bay and were on land again, the natives stopped to prepare

²⁰¹ An annotation, writer not indicated, says the letter can be sent to the editor of the *Annales* if this is deemed appropriate.

²⁰² Girard notes this letter has not been preserved in the Marist Fathers' Archives (n.2, p.340).

their lunch. They made a hole in the ground. They filled this with dry wood. On top of the wood they placed several stones. When the stones were very hot they covered them with green foliage, and in this they placed potatoes and fish. They covered everything with earth. Half an hour later, everything was cooked. The natives call this way of cooking food *kapa maori*.²⁰³ Then we started walking again. It was very hot and the track was so narrow we could only go single file. We often came across little streams or, rather, abundant springs running through very tall, thick fern. My companions stopped from time to time to have a rest and smoke their pipes. They told me to stop and sit down but my clothes were so soaked with sweat I did not think it appropriate to do as they said. Around three o'clock in the afternoon, we came to a river called the Waimate. Not long before there had been a great deal of rain and the river bed was very wide. A native put me on his shoulders and carried me over the river. As the water came up to his armpits, I got a little wet, but the sun soon dried me. Towards 6 in the evening we reached *Wai maté*. It is a magnificent place. Several Protestant missionaries have settled there. They have beautiful gardens, parks full of cattle and sheep, and extensive, well cultivated fields. I spent the night with a Catholic tribe, very close to the Protestant missionaries' houses. As soon as these poor natives saw me they began to shout, "*Heremai, heremai, e Ariki*."²⁰⁴ Come, priest, come." I gave my hand to all of them, saying "*Tenarakokoé*,"²⁰⁵ which is more or less the same as our "Good afternoon". They sat me down on the ground beside the chief on a mat they had made of green fern. The *kapa maori* was cooked. I was served the best potatoes in a little basket. All the natives were sitting around me to weigh me up. I was hungry, but I am not yet an apostle. To my shame, I admit I was loath to eat [341] the potatoes they so willingly gave me. When I had finished my open-air supper, the chief said prayers. Then they lit a big fire and smoked their pipes.

[4] About 9 o'clock in the evening, I said, "*E moe ana ahau*, I am sleepy". I wrapped myself up in my cloak. While I was asleep, a chief came and covered me with his blanket and someone took care to put it back over me when it fell off during the night. So much kindness reminded me of what a Holy Father said about Jesus Christ, "When the Saviour of mankind," he said, "was sleeping with His disciples, He got up during the night to cover them Himself." How many times, my dear parents, have

²⁰³ Girard (n.3, p.340) notes that *kapa* should be read as *kopa*, but the writer heard it as *kapa*, which means a variety of potato. In the Rarawa dialect, *kopa* means 'an oven dug into the ground'. It is clear the writer is talking here about an oven, not a potato. (Information provided to Girard by Tremewan, 24 April, 2008).

²⁰⁴ Girard notes this should read *haere mai*, meaning 'welcome, come here' (n.4, p.340).

²⁰⁵ Girard glosses this as the Māori words, *tēnā ra ko koe*, a form of greeting (n.5, p.340).

you too broken your sleep to see if your children were sleeping peacefully? Heaven grant that your children show you as much love in your old age as you showed them when they were young.

Next morning, we set off again. It took us almost the whole day to walk over the heretical missionaries' lands, they were so extensive. About midday we entered a big forest. It took 4 hours to get through it. The track was impassable. Enormous tree roots and old weather-beaten trunks barred our path the whole time. In a number of places, we were in mud up to our knees. As I did not want to sleep in the forest, I went to the front of the group with two natives. We finally reached the priests of the Society of Mary about 7 in the evening. O, how sweet it is to belong to a Society! I was welcomed, not as a stranger or a friend, but as a brother, a son of the family. Just the thought that I belong to the Society of Mary fills me with joy and happiness. Let us love this good mother on earth and we will be assured of seeing her eternally, in Heaven with her divine Son. O, if God had given the pagans of Oceania as many graces as He has given the faithful of Europe, I think the love they would show Jesus and Mary would be much greater than the love Europeans have for the Son of God and His holy mother. Here is a little example. One day, two women came to our little chapel. It was almost nightfall. One of them said to me, "*Ko Ho hane Papita*,²⁰⁶ Jean-Baptiste, this woman with me has come to see *Hehu Kerito*, Jesus Christ. Bring a light." I showed her a crucifix. "There," I told her, "Jesus Christ died to save all [342] men." "That's not the one," she replied. "I've already seen him. It's the one who's with his mother that I want to see." Then I showed her the holy Virgin holding the infant Jesus in her arms. You should have seen how she admired it. "That woman's the mother and this is the son," she kept saying. "There's his feet, there's his hands, there's his head, and there's his hat." Then she said again, "This is the mother, this is the son. That's the holy Virgin, this one is Jesus Christ." She had a little child in her arms. The other woman said the *Ave Maria* [Hail Mary], and I silently offered both the child and the mother to Mary and Jesus, begging the Queen of Angels to write their names in Heaven. Then they wanted to pray. After that, one of the priests gave them a little instruction. He asked one of the women, "Tell me, where will the men go who steal, indulge in debauchery and impurity, and do evil?" "They'll go to Heaven," she answered. "No," rejoined the Father, "they will go into darkness, into the fires of Hell, if they die without being reconciled to God. And the good people, where will they go when they die?" This time she did not make a mistake. "To Heaven," she replied, and was overcome with joy to have given the right answer.

²⁰⁶ Girard notes that Comte writes *Ho hone* for Hoane, which is sometimes spelt "Hoani" or "Hone" (n.7, p.341).

[5] The New Zealanders have a real taste for prayer. They are not satisfied with praying morning and evening. You often hear them reciting prayers throughout the day. You see little children, three or four years old, who know their prayers very well. I strongly advise my sisters to bring up their children in the fear of the Lord. However, their success in doing that will depend on how much they themselves fear God and set their children a good example. If they are solicitous about inspiring them with great trust in Mary from an early age, and with a great love for this tender mother, if they offer them from time to time to the Queen of Angels, the Holy Virgin will take them under her protection, and he whom Mary protects will die in the love of the Lord.

[6] My dear parents, I have not forgotten you. I pray for you especially at the holy altar, where God gives me so many consolations. I say holy Mass for you very often, and for my relatives who have died. Soon we will all meet up again, never more to be separated. Until that blessed day comes, let us fight bravely. I have seen many people from all nations, many of them rich, many poor. But the only happy people I have seen are the just and virtuous.

[7] I commend me to your prayers, and to those of all my family and friends. I am, in Jesus and Mary,

Your ever-devoted son

J(ean)-B(aptiste) Comte

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 55: 26 April 1840, Servant to Jean-Claude Colin

Bay of Islands

[343] Letter to be opened only by the Very Reverend Superior General of the Society of Mary.

Very Reverend Superior and dear Father in Jesus Christ,

[1] This letter is to give you some information I believe you need to have. I have consulted dear *pères* Baty, Petit and Épalle before entrusting the following details to your good judgment:

[2] **No.1:** It would be advisable not to take too literally the *mirabilia* about conversions that may have been heralded in earlier letters. There is a long way to go from the initial attitudes of the natives to a true conversion. It is helpful to think of these islanders as being like those uncouth, carnal people who followed Jesus Christ for self-interest in this life. Apart from a small number in each of our stations who give some real hope, the others show a frightening greed. How many only want what they call prayer as a way of getting clothes and other things! How many have threatened us that they will give up praying if we do not give them such and such a thing they are asking for. To this greed is added a dark ingratitude towards priests. Some will not give us the food we have paid for in advance. Others want to make us pay sometimes double the price for the wretched potatoes we have eaten with their tribes when we have been staying with them to instruct them. Others sometimes ask us to pay twice over for the very thing we have just bought. Others want to set the price in advance for boat trips to take us to perform spiritual services for them. Unless we are careful, we are taken in by the lies and deceit of the natives who are skilled at getting what they want and for whom the end justifies any means. The great difficulty in communicating with far-scattered tribes is a huge obstacle to giving the natives instruction and means that bringing about changes in them is a slow process.

[344] [3] **No.2: Temporal affairs of the mission.** *Monseigneur* is not skilled in the management of temporal matters but still wants to do everything himself. This is what has been going on: A little while ago he wanted to buy a longboat we could very well have done without. The agreed price was 30 pounds sterling, then the boat owner wanted to make it 40 pounds sterling, that is 1000 francs, and *monseigneur* took the boat, which, by the way, was not in very good shape. The opportunity also arose to buy an organ, worth about £300²⁰⁷ but 1000 francs was paid. *Monseigneur*

²⁰⁷ It is likely that Servant meant to write 30 pounds in view of the figures he has just provided.

wanted to go by sea to visit some of the New Zealand bays, and spoke to an Englishman about hiring a small brig. The Englishman asked him for 1250 pounds and he accepted this price without even trying to bargain it down.

[4] It would seem, to maintain episcopal dignity, that it would be more appropriate for a bishop not to become involved in the details of making purchases. It is distressing for us to hear foreigners say that *monseigneur* is easily taken in and does not understand business matters. It would also be appropriate, in the interests of the mission, for the mission administrator to have sole responsibility for tasks to be carried out and for *monseigneur* to stay in the background. It would be even more desirable if articles donated for the natives were not left to the discretion of the Bay of Islands' station, but were kept in a separate building, like sacred objects that should be allocated on the basis of the number of people in each station and according to the needs of the station.

[5] **No.3: Distribution of gifts.** Gifts distributed wisely to the natives are essential at the start of a mission amidst savages. It is through gifts that we gain their friendship and trust, but it does not seem right that the bishop is the only one to bestow these favours, and that a mere priest, although he has no rank, must almost always say no and be called hard-hearted in the natives' language. Also, the bishop, who begins a mission, should take care to see that his priests are respected so they have as much influence as they can over the chiefs and other natives, because priests who are not very highly regarded by the natives will find it hard to succeed.

As soon as *monseigneur* left the Hokianga station for the Bay of Islands, *père* Baty and I had endless trouble with the natives, who continually threatened to give up everything we had taught them. The most important chiefs do not have much respect for us now. It does not give us any pleasure to see [345] the natives from our station receive gifts when they go to see *monseigneur* in the Bay of Islands. It would seem preferable for the priests, who have been given the task of studying the natives and getting to know them, to allocate generous gifts carefully and with good judgment.

[6] **No.4: Conduct towards the missionaries.** At the beginning of a mission to savages, priests undergo many hardships, and experience many difficulties and problems. Sometimes they even need to attend to duties that are humiliating in the eyes of nature, but beautiful in the light of faith. When a catechist falls ill, or has to be away from the station, you cannot imagine how consoling and

encouraging charity and the closest relationships are in these different circumstances²⁰⁸. But alas! That has not always been the case for me. No doubt this must be attributed to my sins, and especially my pride. *Monseigneur's* company has often been a source of grief and bitterness for me. I do not know what monstrous faults there are in me that need to be rooted out with such a vengeance. Furthermore, I've hardly noticed whether or not these bitter corrections have been made with the aim of making me a better person but I believe they were the kind that wound and break your heart. It will be enough to give the following examples so you are able to judge: On the island of Vavao, *monseigneur* thought he saw signs we were alienated from him in spirit and addressed us in a blistering tirade, going so far as to accuse us of wanting to form a separate group, wanting to separate ourselves from him, and even threatening us with excommunication. His enraged voice could well have been heard by our crew, but fortunately they did not understand French. If *monseigneur* had been willing to take each one of us aside and probe our intentions, he would have seen we were more devoted to him than he thought. In New Zealand, I have heard him, I do not know how many times, let fly the most humiliating words in fits of rage; sometimes I have shared punishments with *frère* Michel. All sorts of threats have thundered down upon me, admonitions that revealed my guilt were sometimes made in the Brother's presence. I remember also one time when *monseigneur* brought a sailor into our house who had no faith or religion and whose integrity was very much open to question, and I had to endure very painful humiliations. This sailor, who of course wanted to cut a fine figure in *monseigneur's* eyes so he could further his own base interests, found ways of getting him to go into the storeroom to see something that was not in its correct place, and every time that happened I was summoned to [346] receive a strong reprimand in shameful language in front of the sailor. *Frère* Michel had accused the sailor of moving things that had been in their proper place. The sort of behaviour I have just mentioned is just one example among several of the same kind. Here at the Bay of Islands, *père* Petit, because he asked one of the native chiefs to give back some things he had been lent, was deeply humiliated by *monseigneur* in front of the chief. Another little example: as soon as *père* Baty came to Hokianga, I was ordered to give him all the information I could about the state of the Hokianga mission so the dear Father would be able to manage it. As I portrayed this mission in the way I have indicated in para.1 above, which was not in accordance with the way *monseigneur* saw it at that time, *monseigneur* forbade *père* Baty to pay any attention to information I gave him because I was not united in spirit with my bishop. This prohibition,

²⁰⁸ In order for this sentence to make sense in the context in which it was written, I believe the words "before God" should be understood after "relationships" (see thesis p.47).

and memories of the past that had weighed heavily on me, made me decide after consulting with *père* Baty to write to *monseigneur* telling him I was urgently asking him to withdraw some heinous misjudgements he had made of me in the past. I begged him at the same time to grant my request in writing and added that if he did not wish to give me this sign of trust, I would regard his refusal as evidence he no longer desired my services in the mission, and as a signal for me to go back to the Society of Mary in France. *Monseigneur* refused to reply to my request and the reason he gave was that it was not appropriate for a priest to lay down terms and conditions for a bishop. But he sent *père* Épalle to Hokianga and he, together with *père* Baty, persuaded me to change my resolve. When I had the opportunity to see *monseigneur*, he told me the delegated authority he gave me implied the trust I was asking for but that I had been on the brink of becoming a bad apostle. It was not so much this reasoning that persuaded me as the thought of the good of the mission. Nevertheless, this matter was, fortunately, over, and since then my life has been very pleasant.

[7] **No.5: Conduct towards the Brothers.** In this country, it is not possible for missionaries to manage stations without Brothers, and it is the same for the other islands. However, it is only right that they be treated like Brothers, that corrections are made purely and simply as a spiritual benefit for the good of their souls and are, consequently, wise and prudent, I mean in proportion to the nature and [347] number of the faults committed, and are made within the family and not in front of strangers or natives. Outbursts of anger and unusual humiliations, besides being in no way edifying and charitable, only serve to harden the heart and cause discouragement. What I told you in a letter dated the 12th of October²⁰⁹ about the conduct of *frère* Michel should no longer be a cause of concern. This Brother is doing better.

[8] **No.6: Correspondence.** Sending letters to France was difficult until the second group of priests arrived. *Monseigneur* wanted to check the letters and would not allow any detail about the mission to be sent unless he had personally scrutinised it, but *père* Baty and I, knowing what the other Fathers intend to do, have asked for permission to write to you freely and to receive your letters without them being unsealed. The reason for this request is that *père* Baty believed *monseigneur* knew what was in one of his letters that had been addressed to you and sealed. His reason for thinking this was

²⁰⁹ Girard notes that the Marist Fathers' Archives do not hold a letter from Servant dated 12 October, 1839, and that no previous letter from Servant contains any critical comments about Br Michel or any other Brother (n.1, p.347). Thus, the reader can only guess whether Pompallier destroyed the letter instead of sending it, or it was lost in transit, or if Colin himself destroyed it. It is unlikely Servant was mistaken about having written a letter containing serious allegations about the Brother, who was later dismissed from the mission (docs 71[5]; 72[3], [4]).

that *monseigneur* had reminded him about some matters he could only have known about through the aforementioned letter. *Monseigneur*, however, declared this was not true. As far as I am concerned, I complained about a letter written by you that I received unsealed. As a result of our complaint we are allowed to seal letters that reveal our inner thoughts to you and are about the individual missionary, and even details about the mission that would help you understand each man's personal position. As for news about the mission, we are required to have this checked by the Vicar Apostolic. I have heard from the missionaries of the second group to arrive that the priests in Wallis and Futuna had debated amongst themselves whether it would be permissible for them to send their letters directly to you, without having them go through New Zealand and so I thought I should tell them about the decision reported above in a letter I had the opportunity of sending them recently.

[9] **No.7: State of the mission in relation to politics.** The Governor and the English authorities, influenced by their political views perhaps, show respect for *monseigneur* and tell us they [348] look favourably on the Catholic mission and even give us to understand they will protect and encourage it. They make us aware how useful the influence the bishop and his missionaries have over the natives can be to them, but we work outside politics, as our duty requires, and we hope the Protestant missionaries who connive with their government will do themselves damage in the eyes of the New Zealanders and thus serve the interests of the true Church. The natives are already beginning to protest, especially about the first appearance of the English soldiers who have landed, and it is likely that they will turn to us when they have reason for complaint. But the foreigners, whose numbers are growing apace in New Zealand, and a fair number of whom are a bad lot, grieve us by the bad example they set the natives.

[10] **No.8: Prudence in making promises to the islanders.** Promises made to the natives and not kept are damaging to a mission. So not to give the natives clothes they were promised at a certain time means, when that time has passed, that we are looked upon as scoundrels and treated accordingly. Thus, the Fathers in the tropical islands, who said publicly that *monseigneur* would come back after six months, as this was the promise *monseigneur* had made them, have been seen in a bad light, particularly in Wallis as *monseigneur* did not go there.

So too, the schooner the Fathers in the second group had bought in the Gambier²¹⁰ islands, and which was supposed to come back to the islands of Wallis and Futuna a little later, but which has not done

²¹⁰ Girard refers the reader back to doc.32[1] n.2, which explains that Baty and other members of the 2nd group, after being held up in Valparaiso from 12 December 1838 to 27 January 1839, continued their journey on the

so, has probably caused ill feeling amongst these same islanders. A broken promise like this is all it would take to deal a mission a death blow.

[11] **No.9: Consideration of the mission in general.** New Zealand, which comprises three large islands, not counting the little islands all around, could offer a vast field to an apostolic vicariate, in addition to the number of white people, which is growing every day and which could shortly add up to a population of considerable size, a certain number of whom will be Catholics. The fact is, the natives, who are scattered throughout these vast islands, are extremely numerous. In addition, it is easy to absorb a great number of priests and brothers here but maintaining and housing missionaries uses up enormous amounts of money. Yet, having said this, I do not see how the missions in the tropics could fail to have been suffering for a long time from the shortage of funds and missionaries, and from the long absences of the Vicar Apostolic because, for the good of this mission, it seems that [349] *monseigneur* should visit each station and stay there for several months. He should also apply himself to writing instructions to be printed in the natives' language, and to so many other tasks that would take up all his time. Yet all this would be extremely harmful to the missions in the tropics. In the same way that *monseigneur's* long absences would be harmful to the New Zealand mission, they must be equally harmful to the missions in the tropics.

[12] As for everything else, the fact remains: we are already into the third year²¹¹ since the mission began, and it is fair to say that, over all that time, the missionaries and the money have been absorbed by New Zealand alone. The Fathers on Futuna and Wallis²¹² have only been helped twice in their great poverty, that is, by the visit the Fathers of the second group made them, and for which they

schooner, the *Queen of Peace*, for which they paid a half-share with the Picpus Fathers from Eastern Oceania (n.3, p.348). Pompallier's permission could not be sought, and perhaps because of this, he was never happy about the purchase.

Snijders (2012) gives the price of the schooner as 22,000 francs but notes that Pompallier told Colin (doc.33[5] his share was 10,000 francs (p.166). He later informed Colin he had sold the ship for 15,000 francs and asked him to send 7,500 francs to the Picpus Fathers as their half share (doc.59[32]). Simmons (1984, p.41) gives figures in pounds sterling, leaving the reader to make the calculation that £1518 was spent on a half share of the boat and expenses on the voyage from Bordeaux to Auckland. Thus it is not possible to be sure what proportion of this amount was for the Marists' share of the boat.

²¹¹ Pompallier, Servant and Br Michel arrived in New Zealand on 10 January, 1838 (Girard, 2010, vol.10, p.37).

²¹² Pompallier, en route to New Zealand, left Fr Pierre Bataillon and Br Josef-Xavier (Luzy) in Wallis on 1 November, 1837 (doc.22[4]). On 8 November, 1837, Fr Peter Chanel and Br Marie-Nizier (Delorme) were left at Futuna (doc.22[5]).

were roundly criticised, and by the arrival of *père* Chevron, who was sent to them.²¹³ But has that been enough? I would really like to believe it has not been possible to help the missions in the tropics but the Fathers in the islands have nonetheless been isolated and their sufferings have nonetheless been real. Moreover, I do not see how there could be a proportional distribution of mission goods since, even in New Zealand, the Bay of Islands station absorbs most of the funds.²¹⁴ Thus it would appear expedient, and desirable, that a new apostolic vicariate be established for the tropical islands. In the tropical islands, there is more solid good to be done than in New Zealand. The natives are greatly upset by the moral corruption of the foreigners who come here. It is much easier to do good amongst the islanders in the tropics than amongst those here because, as we can only visit the people here rarely and they do not come to the mission stations very often, it is only with difficulty and over a long period that they can be instructed and trained in morality based on the Gospels, whereas the tropical islanders, as they are under the watchful eyes of the missionaries and can be easily followed up, offer good hope of true conversions. Besides, the tropical islanders are hospitable and not as avaricious for temporal goods as in the islands where white people have introduced a spirit of commercial self-interest.

[350] [13] If the Holy See is willing to nominate a vicar apostolic and send him to the tropical islands, an administrative centre could be set up in Tahiti. From there, it would be easy to bring the missionaries help and to communicate with Europe. A small ship for the use of this mission would be very important. But in that case, it would perhaps be useful to warn [possibly both the Holy See and the *Propagation de la foi* (Propagation of the Faith)] that it is important to hasten the departure of a second vicar apostolic because the Methodists are spreading everywhere and making it difficult and dangerous to get entry into the islands. It would also be useful to put it to the vicar apostolic that it is not good to take on more work than he can do, to leave a priest alone on an island, or to inform his inferiors that they are not capable of succeeding before they know the language. As well as not everyone liking this way of speaking, he may later have reason to eat his words.

[14] In conclusion, *très révérend supérieur et*, I beg you, if you judge it appropriate, to write to *monseigneur* supporting my request to be sent to the tropics.

[15] My most sincere good wishes to the dear Society of Mary.

²¹³ Fr Josef-André Chevron and Br Attale (Jean-Baptiste Grimaud) left New Zealand for Wallis on 17 December, 1839 and arrived there on 9 May, 1840, after a perilous sea voyage (doc.51, n.4, p.317).

²¹⁴ Girard suggests that Servant showed this letter to his fellow-priest, Maxime Petit, who, in a letter (doc.56[5]) written to Colin the next day corrects Servant's statement about the Bay of Island expenses (n.4, p.349).

I am, and always will be, in the spirit of perfect obedience,

Your very humble and unworthy servant,

Servant

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 56: 27 April 1840, Petit to Jean-Claude Colin

Kororareka

To be read by Reverend Father Superior-General of the Society of Mary and no one else.

[351] [*In Petit's handwriting*]: I have broken the seal.

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

My Very Reverend Father Superior,

[1] Ever since we called in at the islands of Wallis and Futuna, it has been clear to me that we needed to write to you in the way *père* Servant has today, but, as have done several of our brother-priests, although we agreed it was important to acquaint you with what has been happening, we decided to wait, held back by fear of distressing you, perhaps unnecessarily. Some particular circumstances induced me to write to you in this vein last September, but the men I sent to take my letter to the ship could not get out to it because the sea was too rough. A change for the better made me hope things would improve and persuaded me to burn my letter. When I saw our funds disappearing at a frightening rate, I intended to say something about this to you in my last letter, but as the only brother-priest²¹⁵ who was with me did not agree, I contented myself with talking to you about some expenses that had been incurred, but did not add that these could be reduced without damaging the mission.²¹⁶

However, the main reason that held me back was that, as these funds are at *Monseigneur's* disposal, it would have been difficult for you to resolve the problem. Now that I have learnt of your plan to create a new apostolic vicariate,²¹⁷ I have thought of a suggestion that seems to me to address concerns without arousing ill-feeling. This would be to persuade the *Propagation de la foi* to allocate funds to the Society of Mary, not to the Vicars apostolic, and to send an administrator either to Sydney or somewhere else, who would be responsible only to yourself and would distribute funds and goods in

²¹⁵ Girard notes Épalle was with Petit in the Bay of Islands (n.1, p.351).

²¹⁶ Girard believes that Petit may be referring to a letter that has not been preserved in the Marist Archives (n.2, p.351).

²¹⁷ It is not clear how Petit heard of this idea, as there is no previous mention of it in the *LRO*. In doc.34[15] Pompallier tells Colin that he needs one or two priests, "strong in learning and virtue", whom he could use as pro-vicars or prefects apostolic. Pompallier could have discussed this suggestion with his priests, but the idea is quite different from that of another vicariate.

accordance with your wishes and the needs of the various missions. As well as saving money, this would be a way of preserving unity amongst the various missions, which would be like branches drawing sap from the same trunk. It also seems to me it would be desirable for the administrator to be Superior of the Marist missionaries at the same time and for everyone to have permission to write to him freely, as if to yourself, without being required to hand over their letters to be checked by the Vic(ars) ap(ostolic). Sydney seems to me to be clearly the best place for him

[352] to reside. Ships come in there every day, from all parts of the world. Most importantly, communications with London are very frequent. Often boats come in from and leave for the islands too, and from time to time for Valparaiso and France. It looks as if the disadvantages that might arise from having a priest in Sydney have been exaggerated by someone talking to you. Far from seeing it as a burden to have French priests in Sydney, the church authorities would be delighted to have some. Our priests have been told they are welcome when they pass through this town, because they are (according to the church authorities) more dedicated to converting the savages.

This leads me to suspect the disadvantages seen in having a priest based in Sydney only arose out of fear that *monseigneur* Polding might ask you for priests to bring the faith to his savages, who up to now have been almost completely neglected. Besides, one or two priests with responsibility for finances would not have to look for something to do in the ministry because one of them would almost always be travelling to find out for himself what the spiritual and temporal needs of the missions and the missionaries were. The only disadvantage I can see is that provisions are very expensive there and, consequently, two priests and a Brother would be a cost to the *Propagation de la foi* if they had no other employment that could help them to survive. Perhaps it would be possible for them to set up base just outside Sydney to bring their expenses down. Perhaps also it would be possible to make do with an establishment of this kind in the Bay of Islands, where probably communications with England will become more frequent, seeing the Government has chosen this place to set itself up in. The administrator would have the advantage of seeing this part of the mission closer up and being able to make himself useful through exercise of the ministry. A small schooner for the administrator's use, whether for New Zealand or for voyages he would have to make to the islands, would be indispensable so that visits could be made regularly and at very little cost. It would be easy to find a captain who would take responsibility for the management of the ship and paying his crew, provided he was given the right to load the ship as an independent operator. As for Tahiti, as well as being a very long way from New Zealand, it is a port that is rarely frequented, except by ships coming in to get more

provisions, and they usually do not come back, which is a great disadvantage because you [353] have to wait there, sometimes for a long time, until another ship turns up. Over the past ten months we have been here, we have only seen three or four ships that had come through or were going to Tahiti. I think many of the important Polynesian archipelagos spend whole years without having any communication with Tahiti.

[2] Another consideration makes me want funds to be allocated to the Society of Mary, at least with regard to New Zealand. For the good of the mission, we must buy a few small pieces of land to build stations that are safe from the whims of chiefs and the machinations of the heretics. If the status quo continues, the Society, because it is not involved in the purchases, could subsequently find itself excluded from establishments such as colleges, seminaries, or anything else it had played a role in setting up, and where it could have done a great deal of good; whereas, if things were done in the name of the Society, a Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) would think twice before dismissing us, which would provide a useful balance. Perhaps this arrangement would also make it easier to understand that it is not correct that the Superior General of the Society *only has to worry about the perfection of his subjects*²¹⁸ without worrying about whether they are taking possession of islands in the name of Mary or any other saint.

[3] Père Servant, for fear of distressing you too much, has not told you that a certain person here is very much on the alert against *l'esprit de corps*, and has exploded in several very strong outbursts on this point, threatening to choose his subjects from elsewhere. From time to time we are reproached for having called in at the islands of Wallis and Futuna, where we had reason to believe our brother-priests had either been massacred or were being persecuted (according to what we had been told in Tahiti). This visit is being linked with our brother-priests staying a little long in Sydney, a stay that this person thought was deliberate, and which then led him to say he did not understand what instructions we were given when we left France, but if anyone did anything like this a third time, he would write to Rome to complain about it and get matters set straight.

[4] Another omission of père Servant's was that he did not tell you about the troubles between *monseigneur* and the priests in Valparaíso where, as in Tahiti, they did not pay him all the respect he thought was due to his dignity. Every now and again he talks to us about the shortcomings of this

²¹⁸ Girard notes (n.3, p.353) that Pompallier expressed this opinion before he left France and references this to docs.4[4]; 10[6-7]).

mission where, according to him, the levels of hierarchy do not seem to be clear. This reason alone would be enough for him to dissuade you from sending missionaries around Cape Horn in future. Our [354] dealings with these priests brought nothing other than edification, and it pains us to see the cold, or rather the distant way, in which he treats them. I tell you this only to urge you, through your good relationship with their Paris mission, to erase the bad impressions that may have resulted from this state of affairs. I am not sure whether these priests would have been happy with the sale of the schooner they went to so much trouble to procure, and the money for which will not reach them in the islands until long after the sale, and which will perhaps not be the correct amount. I think they will have good reason to complain, because if they authorized the sale, it was on condition, I believe, that another ship be bought with the proceeds.

[5] Lastly, a man who was second-in-command of a French ship, and who had left his ship in Sydney because of arguments with his captain, came to the Bay of Islands with a recommendation from some-one who had only known him for a day and who could well have needed a recommendation himself. This man was welcomed with open arms and every confidence shown in him, to the point of sending him to Sydney to buy a schooner for the mission. He was entrusted with promissory notes payable in Sydney. I cannot say for sure that he took advantage of the situation, but it is certain that no one was less suitable than him to buy a schooner for us, because, since he needed to have this schooner at his disposal for loading cargo,²¹⁹ it was in his interests to buy as big a boat as possible, even if it would only last 5 or 6 years, even though it was in our interests to have something solid for the same price. We would have to assume too much selflessness in a man who only came here to try his luck, to hope that he would set aside his own interests to that extent.

We heard the news from him, the day before he left, that he had been given this task and his berth had been booked on a ship, and in the evening we were called together, *père* Servant, *père* Viard and I, so this purchase could be put to us as a suggestion. To consult like that is to want to make people believe all procedures are being followed, and not see that it is really only a method for following his own whims. [*Note added in the margin*: We have heard that this captain has come back from Sydney without having bought a ship, so we will be left with paying for his return voyage, which will be up to 5

²¹⁹ *Chargements*, 'loading cargo' has been incorrectly transcribed from the original manuscript (APM 1670/24771) as *changements*, 'modifications'. I have therefore used the manuscript for my translation of this word. I am grateful to Agar for her suggestion that a transcription error could have been made.

or 6 hundred francs, provided however we do not have to pay for his time, which we do not know, seeing we knew nothing about the arrangements entered into here, if there were any.] Furthermore, this is not the only time that has happened on quite important matters. With regard to the first occasion, I also respectfully observe that it seems to me there is no point in giving my opinion on a matter that has already been decided.

[355] On another occasion it was a question of lending 3750 francs. I was asked about it in front of the man who was borrowing and the one who was lending, which made it difficult for me to speak freely. I did give my opinion, however, saying that, without casting any doubts on *monsieur* D's good faith, I was afraid that instead of making money, he might lose it, and that as he had no means elsewhere, it would be impossible to pay us back the money, which did not belong to us. I was over-ruled. Fortunately, he made money on his business and paid us back two-thirds of the loan. I am refraining from saying any more to you about loans, payments made in advance to people who have no conscience and are skilled in the art of using fine words to flatter, and commitments entered into the moment they are suggested by cunning, avaricious people who are sure they will get what they ask for. However, I will say that I am not sure whether one expression used in *père* Servant's letter was quite correct. That was when he said *most* of the funds are absorbed by the Bay of Islands station, seeing that several things bought in the Bay of Islands must serve the whole mission, like the big 1000 franc boat he mentioned to you.

[6] I will also note that most of the reproaches that have been the subject of our letters come from an excess of zeal, if one can speak like this, of a charity that is misunderstood, whether it be in relation to the natives or the Europeans. *Monseigneur's* kind heart leads him to undertake opportunities for all sorts of good deeds and prevents him from considering whether it would be better to confine himself to the main reason he was sent into these lands. As a result, he pays a great deal of attention to the outside world and barely even notices that we divide our time a little more than he does between our duty to our neighbour and our duty to ourselves.

When we first arrived, *père* Épalle and I carried out our required spiritual exercises at times when we hoped we were not noticed. It was not that we were forbidden to perform them, but that we were reproached several times for endless praying, which was far from the case! As for Mass, at that time it was usual to have only one, which meant we only celebrated Mass every third day. Several times it happened that we could only celebrate Mass once a week and on Sundays and that was because we had to start our tasks earlier and consequently with a zeal many people thought was, at the very least,

inappropriate. We now have more freedom on this matter. One of the main reasons for needless [356] expenses here comes from the belief that authority must be surrounded with a sort of show that makes it respected. I do not think the Apostles would have recognised this way of working, and it seems to me that a noble simplicity (except in matters to do with worship) would be just as effective in attracting this respect.

[7] I felt, *mon révérend père supérieur*, I should add these details to *père* Servant's letter. I know they will wound you but I also hope they will enable you to begin to set right things that we regard as wrong.

[8] I have not spoken to you about what is going well. It is not that there is not a great deal to say about his immense fervour for the salvation of souls, his perseverance with the work, his unwavering patience with the natives, which has been something I have often admired. My silence about this is simply because my only aim was to let you know about matters I had to assume you do not know about.

[9] I believe I can assure you that in giving you these details I have carried out a duty. I have not exaggerated anything or put forward matters I was not sure about.

[10] One of the reasons that has made us delay writing to you like this has been fear that our letters would be unsealed.²²⁰ It remains to me now to write you a few words in a letter that will serve to enclose this one and that may be unsealed in Lyons by someone other than yourself.

Petit, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

²²⁰ Girard observes that Petit had no fear this letter would be unsealed as Pompallier had been away since 2 March, 1840, and would not return until early May (n.5, p.356).

Doc. 57: 27 April 1840, Petit to Jean-Claude Colin

Kororareka

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

[357] My Very Reverend Father Superior,

[1] An opportunity has arisen for a direct sailing to England. I am taking advantage of it to give you some details about the mission. *Monseigneur* has not yet returned from his voyage. When he left, he told us he would only be away for three or four weeks, but here we are, nearly two months have gone by and he has not come back and he could postpone his return for several more weeks. This delay seems to me to augur well for his journey as if he did not find a great deal of good to do, he would not prolong a journey that is costing the mission 1250 francs a month. We have heard from a young man with dropsy, whom he sent to us for treatment, that Pompallier stayed in his tribal area (Tauranga) for three weeks; from there he went overland to Waikato, then came back to Tauranga to board the schooner again to go on to visit several other tribes. If the rest of his journey is like this first visit, it will give him great consolation, as it seems, according to this young man's report, that he has found the Tauranga and Waikato natives very well disposed to embracing the faith. We have recently been assured by the Europeans in Kororareka that many of the heretics' natives have abandoned them to receive Catholic instruction. Although I cannot be certain this is true, it would not be very surprising as the heretical missionaries are not generally liked, either by the natives who know they have exchanged their land for a book, which is, in truth, invaluable, but which they do not

[358] understand any more than do the people who distribute it and explain it to them, or by the Europeans who are grieved to see people abusing the simplicity of poor *children* to strip them of their profit and gain sole control of their trade.

[2] A few weeks ago, one of the heretical missionaries' natives was guilty of the murder of a European man, a shepherd who worked for the leader of these same missionaries. On investigation, he was found guilty. He is now in prison just beside our backyard. After getting permission from the English magistrate to speak to him, *père* Servant and I went to see him. When we asked him if he had received instruction from the missionaries, he groaned, replying, "Yes, and that's where my trouble started. When I was with my tribe, I was good, but when I left it for them, I became bad." Although I am far from admiring a doctrine based on lies and disseminated through lies and calumny, I am quite sure he was not told it was a good thing to commit murder. This poor young man, barely 20 years old,

seems to be well disposed and we would have baptised him already if his sentence had not been delayed for some time, which will enable us to give him more instruction. A Protestant missionary came to the prison to talk to him, but the young man turned away and would not answer him. The gaoler gave us this information.

[3] *Père* Baty came to the Bay of Islands last week, thinking he would find *monseigneur* there to talk to him about several matters related to the Hokianga station. He has not given us any particular details about this mission where people very much want to see *monseigneur*. *Père* Servant left for Wangaroa this morning to see our brother-priests and the station, which he had not seen before. This mission holds good promise. The natives there are on the whole more intelligent than those at Kororareka.

[4] We continue to receive requests for priests from all sides. A Protestant, whose wife is a Catholic, and who is himself well disposed towards Catholics, has, in the absence of *monseigneur*, offered us some land on the river Thames,²²¹ where he owns a lot of land, to establish a Catholic mission station there.

[359] [5] We are expecting another reinforcement of missionaries, but as yet have only vague hopes based on what our brother-priests told us on their arrival, that you were thinking of sending another group without delay.

[6] Time is running out. They are going to close the bag of letters and send it to the ship. Please remember me in your prayers, and in the prayers of all our dear brother-priests, whom I embrace and greet in the sacred hearts of Jesus and His divine mother and ours.

[7] Please accept my most respectful good wishes. I have the honour to be,

My Very Reverend Father Superior,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

Maxime Petit, miss(ionary) apost(olic)

²²¹ Girard explains that on the maps of the time, the name River Thames designated not only the bay now known as the Firth of Thames, but also the whole of the Hauraki Gulf. Thus, the land offered to the mission was somewhere in the nearby area (n.4, p.358).

Doc. 58: 14 May 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin (1)

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Mission of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*, Bay of Islands

To Reverend Father Colin, Superior General of the Society of Mary in Lyons, France.

My Reverend and very dear Father,²²²

Pax Christi [the peace of Christ]

[1] My battles here in the Lord's name never end. I have no rest. I have many letters to answer but have not yet been able to attend to them. I will try to answer them soon, God willing. I cannot forget the people who write to me and who take an interest in this mission.

[360] May the Lord shower them with the abundant graces that I ask for on their behalf. Kneeling before Him, I remember always the many souls I have known in France and elsewhere on my travels. May God bless them also.

[2] Today, *mon révérend père*, and every day, my position as regards writing is almost like that of a warrior who withdraws briefly from the battle lines to hastily sketch out a few words and thereby ensure the good of his troops, and then quickly gets back into the action.

[3] I have just returned from a voyage of over two months to the south of New Zealand,²²³ about a hundred leagues from the Bay of Islands, where I reside most of the time. I put down anchor in many places. By this means, I have been able to travel around to new tribes whose chiefs had for many months been asking me to visit. These tribes live on the east coast and in the interior, a day or two's walk away. I took a catechist with me and *père* Viard, who is beginning to say prayers with the natives quite well in the New Zealand language; he is already writing in this language. He just needs a little more practice in using it, something he will soon gain. In addition, about forty tribes have just turned towards the Catholic faith as a result of my travels around the east coast. I have not been able

²²² I have retained the French syntax of such greetings, rather than using a more conventional English salutation: 'Very dear Reverend Father', or simply 'Dear Reverend Father', as these translations do not capture the emotional warmth of the ST.

²²³ Girard indicates that the voyage began on 2 March, 1840, and that Pompallier means south of the Bay of Islands, not the South Island (n.1, p.360).

to write down all the names of these good natives. I have over three thousand of them on my list, but I estimate the number to be more than fifteen thousand. Also, I only stayed with the 17 main tribes. The others are sub-tribes of these, with kinship links. They are located in the areas of Hauraki, Tauranga, Matamata, Waikato, Maketu, Rotorua, Matata, Wakatane [*sic*], Ohiwa, and Opotiki. Each of these territories has several tribes, but they are large in some areas. The longest I have been able [361] to stay in each one has been two or three days, or even up to six, to teach them the fundamental truths, as far as possible, but first of all to rebut the many lies and calumnies the heretics have been spreading about myself and the holy Catholic Church, our mother.

[4] Everywhere I went, people said I was the Antichrist. They kept calling me this without really understanding what the name meant. Several chiefs addressed me in this fashion when they talked to me, thinking it was the correct thing to say. Then they go on to say that I came to New Zealand to steal the land, to kill the inhabitants, and to use warships from my native land to take over the country, and that when I have captured the New Zealanders' women, I will have their husbands' throats cut, I will throw them into the fire, etc, etc. People also make up all sorts of stories in the hope of making others look at me with fear and distrust, of stopping tribes from turning towards the true faith if they have not yet turned, or of making them abandon it when they have embraced it.

As soon as I have visited the tribes to strengthen their faith or convince them of the truth, European Protestant missionaries of various sects with their swarms of native adherents, taking advantage of my absence, descend on my neophytes and catechumens²²⁴ with their thousand and one errors and falsehoods. These attacks on the natives' souls succeed less in troubling their peace and confidence than in making them impatient to talk to me again and to have the truths explained by one of my men. Then, when they have understood our talks and seen errors, lies and malice for what they are, they become stronger in the ways of the holy Church as a result. Thanks to the Lord and the protection of Mary, calumnies have so far had dire effects only on those who created them. The Europeans and the natives are contemptuous of them and there are few who trust them. It is a very special grace from on high that the work of Jesus Christ on this island has been so successful amidst the kind of difficulties that could not only paralyse it completely, but countless times even expose the lives of the legitimate ministers of the Church to risk.

²²⁴ See p.135 for discussion of my translation of these terms.

[5] At present most of the tribes, the greater part of New Zealand, has heard the voice of the Church and turned towards its holy and infallible teaching. The following are the names of the areas where the tribes have converted like this, besides those I have listed above: *Tokerau* (Bay of Islands, north east coast of the first part of the North Island); *Paroa pe*²²⁵ (the place where Marion, the French [362] frigate captain, was massacred about sixty years ago); *Wangaroa*, (about thirty leagues north-east of *Tokerau*, where the entire crew of a big English ship was massacred 15 or 16 years ago);²²⁶ *Mongonui*, (still further north on the same coast); opposite, on the west coast, *Kaipara*, *Wangape*; opposite *Tokerau* to the west, *Hokianga* (where the first work of the mission began); about thirty-five leagues from there going down towards the south-west, *Kaipara*. These are the main territories of the mission.

[6] It is hard to know the number of people who have turned towards the Catholic faith. It could be up to approximately 25 to 27,000 souls. This is what to turn to the Catholic Church means here: It is to recognise through reason that it is the true, the preferred Church, the first appointed by God, the mother, the trunk formed by Jesus Christ himself (and usually it is also to understand that it is the one true Church, and that outside its fold, you cannot claim God as your father). In addition it is to know that the successor of St Peter is the Holy Father, the Pope, known here under the appellation of *Kawana tapu nui o Hehu Kerito*, (that is to say “*Great sacred governor of Jesus Christ*”, the one and only supreme king of the Church), and that the bishops are the other successors of the Apostles, united with the king and the visible governor who will rule over the Church in His holy name until the end of time, when He will come again on earth to judge all people, and to render unto each according to his works. To *turn*, is to acknowledge the unity of God, the trinity of the Persons, the creation of the universe, of man, his Fall, the redemption, the virginity and the divine maternity of the most holy Virgin, mother of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. It is to have an idea of the chronological tree of the [363] Church, to recite morning and evening the *Pater noster* (*a to matou matua*) [the Lord’s prayer]; the *Ave Maria* (*tena paiupa ki a koe e Maria*) [Hail Mary]; the *Credo* (*e waka pono ano ahau*); and it is to sing the hymn about God, His perfections and beneficence. But, for all that, to *turn* is not to have been baptised, but it is to be preparing for it, or aspiring to it. Finally, to turn is to know that one must love

²²⁵ Girard glosses this as Parua Bay (n.5, p.362).

²²⁶ Girard notes that at Whangaroa, in November or December 1809, cannibals slaughtered 70 sailors and passengers from the English ship, the *Boyd*, captained by John Thompson. Only four passengers escaped (n.6, p.362).

God above all else, and one's neighbour as oneself, not to kill, or steal, or tell lies, or be impure, and it is to keep holy the Sabbath day.

[7] During the course of the journey I have just made, I had the consolation of baptising a little boy and a little girl who were ill. Their illness made me hasten their baptism. I have promised these people to send them some of my missionaries to instruct them and prepare them thoroughly to receive holy Baptism. They are now waiting for them the way the parched earth awaits the dew from on high. It is impossible to convey the grief, the suffering I experience because I cannot satisfy them all quickly. That is my greatest cross in this mission. I bear that with more difficulty than all the work that is overwhelming me. It is hard to give an idea of the goodwill of these people but, to give you a little understanding, suffice it to say that after two or three days spent in a tribe for the first time, everyone who can speak, that is to say, from the infants in their mothers' arms to the old men, all have learnt and recite together the *Pater*, the *Ave* and the *Credo* and sing the hymn about God as with one voice, and in a manner so touching it is impossible to hold back tears and the heart is flooded with consolation. But great as these consolations are, even greater and more bitter is the pulling at my heartstrings when I must tear myself from the midst of these people to carry the good news elsewhere, to stop heresy from ravaging those in other tribes. The tribes I have just visited have given me welcomes such as have never been given to any other European in this country, and it would be impossible to show more signs of respect, affection and warmth than these people have shown.

[8] O ancient nations of the Church, who have been for so many centuries heirs to the faith of the Apostles and the martyrs, pray for the success of our work, which is the same work that God has blessed in your countries for so many past generations. Pray for the new flocks who hasten into the fold of the good Shepherd, who avidly seek something of the divine pastures with which your souls have been so abundantly provided in France and elsewhere. Alas! How far are the New Zealanders from being sated as you are! And yet, they are besieged on all sides by the enemies of the Church.

[364] Right from the cradle of their spiritual infancy, the goblet of heresy is presented to them, and if they, still young in the Faith, sup in spite of themselves from this goblet of perdition, they soon clearly see its turpitude and reject it with repugnance. But how many resources and enticements are used to deceive them! Already pamphlets are being circulated from every direction in their forests to bring them a chimera of Christianity and hatred of the only Church given authority by God and the only one capable of bringing Him into men's hearts. I have only seven priests with me for these great islands of

New Zealand, which are more than 300 leagues long. A Roman Catholic priest is, for these people, something they long for, as one longs for food in a time of famine. I cannot keep my men around me. I do not have time to give them full knowledge of the local language; people are coming to snatch them away from me before they have a sufficient grasp of it. My savages assure me they will hone their skills in this regard. Blessed be their good will and the zeal of my missionaries. After sometimes three or four months, the missionaries are capable of giving them instruction on the truths of salvation. But, be that as it may, the burgeoning faith of these people is in danger. They need a priest in each reasonably sized tribe to be a strong voice against the calumnies of error and to immediately dispel its deadly impact on souls.

[9] O you many pious, enlightened, and zealous clergy of France and the Catholic nations of Europe, how many souls would cherish you in these countries and how they would bless you in eternity if you took up your apostolate amongst them. If only each diocese would provide a priest, what a flourishing part of the Church western Oceania would become. O dear Society of Mary, become rich in apostles, deploy all your phalanxes here! Our glorious and powerful Mother will only have, and can only have, victories to offer her divine Son. O Lord, *mitte operarios in vineam tuam!*²²⁷]

[10] *Mon révérend père*, send me priests in great number, and an even greater number of Brothers, and soon Sisters as well. I need 50 priests for New Zealand; 20 for the archipelagos of Fiji and the Friendly Islands, and 20 more for neighbouring archipelagos; money to buy a ship and 3 good printing presses.

[11] I have received, I think, most of your letters, and all the funds mentioned have reached [365] me. *Père* Baty and *père* Comte are at Hokianga with *frère* Florentin. *Père* Épalle, who is doing very well, *père* Petitjean, and *frère* Hélie²²⁸ are at Wangaroa. *Père* Viard is leaving for Tauranga; *père* Petit is leaving for Kaipara, with *frère* Michel; I am living at the Bay of Islands, and *père* Servant helps me make little brochures to circulate amongst the natives and helps me to preach to the people; *frère* Augustin is here. *Pères* Chanel, Bataillon, and Chevron are in Wallis and Futuna with *frères* Marie-Nizier, Joseph and Atale. All those in New Zealand are in good health and are working zealously in the Lord's vineyard; with the funds I have received with the last two groups you sent me, a supply centre has been set up in the Bay of Islands, which has cost me about 10,000 francs; a station has been

²²⁷ Cf. "Ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers to his harvest" (Mt 9:37).

²²⁸ Élie-Régis.

renovated at Hokianga, and three others built at Wangaroa, Tauranga and Kaipara. I have been able to send a priest and a brother to the Wallis and Futuna missions; and, for my part, I have undertaken sea voyages that have brought many souls to Jesus Christ.²²⁹ Now I am taking steps to procure myself a boat and am impatiently awaiting the many additional priests and brothers of whom you have given me hope in your last letters, and I am counting on additional money in order to cope with so many charges. Let us go forward with courage and confidence in Jesus and Mary. I am in their holy hands, *mon très cher père*,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

+ J(ean)-B(aptis)te François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

²²⁹ Girard (n.11, p.365) refers to docs 51[1], 52[18], and 57[1].

Doc. 59: 14 May 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin (2)

Bay of Islands

Jesus Mary Joseph

[366] To be read only by Reverend Father Colin, Superior General of the Society of Mary.

My Reverend and dear Father,

Pax Christi

[1] I am sending you this second letter privately. I do not want it to be made public in any way. You can discuss it with two or three members of your council and of the Marist Congregation. Also, there will be some passages you would do well to explain and emphasise to the council of the *Propagation de la foi*. It will be easy for you identify these passages.

[2] **No.1:** I think I have received all the letters you have sent me, but they have not reached me in date order. All the letters and the money you sent via Valparaiso have taken a very long time to reach me. The route from France via London, England, and from Sydney, New Holland, is the fastest and the most reliable. You can enclose your letters in a cover addressed to His Lordship, Bishop Polding, in Sydney. He will be pleased to forward them on to me in the Bay of Islands. Opportunities for that are frequent, almost weekly. From your end, it would perhaps be even better to ask *monsieur* Heptonstall, who lives in London and is in correspondence with Bishop Polding, or better still the treasurer of the *Propagation de la foi* in London, to assist you with your correspondence. You will find both their addresses in the note enclosed with this letter. If you do sometimes send your letters and [367] any items directly to Bishop Polding in Sydney, please use the following address, in English:

Right Rev(erend) D(octo)r Polding
R(oman) C(atholic) Bishop and Apostolic Vicar
of New Holland and of Van Diemen's land
at Sydney
New South Wales.

[3] I am giving you all these details so that, if possible, no one will know a Frenchman is writing these letters. English politicians may be suspicious of my relationship with France. I have more than one reason to think this but will say no more about it.

[4] It was only a few days ago that I received the first letters you sent me from France after I left Le Havre. With these letters, I received 50 Spanish doubloons, which is half of the 8000 francs and the same amount you sent me shortly after my departure from Le Havre. The other half of this sum reached me a year ago.²³⁰ Connections between South America and our islands are extremely rare. Imagine how inconvenient it is to send letters and money from France via Valparaiso to reach us in these regions. So stop using the address for this route that I gave you when I left France.

[5] It would be of more benefit and more reliable to send us your goods on the state ships and French whaling ships that leave from the ports of Le Havre, Nantes, or from the East to go directly, or almost directly, to the Bay of Islands. The whaling ships use these routes frequently and the passage is very reliable if you put my own address in French on the letters. This route would also be very good for sending subjects to the mission.

[6] Please, *mon révérend père*, number your letters inside the cover sheet so that I can see immediately if there are any that could be delayed and can tell when they have all finally reached me. Kindly make the same request to the *Propagation de la foi*, as they do not seem to have taken this precaution with their letters either.

[7] But, really, the safest way for all our correspondence from you is with the departing missionaries you are sending me. It would be good to combine the departures so that they occur every six months. I hope there will always be some priests and some Brothers (even if it were only two priests and two brothers) leaving for the mission every six months. That way, letters from your end will be sure to arrive. As for us here, we will do our best to find routes to you. I praise God that

[368] so far our letters from Oceania have succeeded in getting to Europe. I see from the letters I receive that they have indeed reached their destination. However, I think that this time many of the earlier letters I have sent you will not arrive in date order because I have entrusted them to whaling ships that were completing their fishing, which was nearly over, before returning to France, but they did have not much luck and have spent up to ten months finishing it off, and when I was thinking they were

²³⁰ Pompallier appears to be making the point that the money sent via Valparaiso shortly after he left Le Havre (on 24 December, 1836) did not reach him for nearly three years (see doc.33[5], 14 August, 1839). Colin's letter of 21 September 1839 to Pompallier (Lessard, Vol.1, doc.89[2]), says 8,700 fr were sent to Valparaiso in 1837; 52,240.80 fr were sent with Frs Baty, Petit and Epalle in September 1838, [arrived Bay of Islands 14 June, 1839]; and 41,738.60 with Frs Petit [Petit-Jean], Viard, Comte and Chevron via London in May 1839 [arrived Bay of Islands 9 or 10 Dec. 1839]. See Girard (2010, Vol.10, p.38) for dates of arrival. Snijders (2012) notes that when Colin wrote on 29 September 1839, nobody in Lyons knew if any of this money had reached Pompallier (p.214), although it was then 2 years and 9 months since he had left France.

already in some French port, some of them have come back to anchor in the Bay of Islands to replenish their supplies and finally set off for France. But several dispatches of letters have been sent after those ones, by post from Sydney to Paris or London, and they will reach you before others sent with an earlier date and entrusted to the same ship, (the *Pallas*), which is also going to take these letters we are writing to you now.

[8] No.2: As for sending subjects, do not let finding ships be a problem. When there are none in French ports going to our part of the world, the Bay of Islands or Sydney, you will invariably find some in English ports, especially London and Liverpool. You do not have to worry either about the choice of ship. Provided it has three masts, it will do. Just take the first one you find about to leave, making sure it will be going directly, or almost directly, to the Bay of Islands or Sydney. But advise the priests who are leaving to be sure when they arrive in Sydney to take advantage of the first opportunity to go to the Bay of Islands, and nowhere else in the mission. I am almost always here. If I am away, there will always be one or two priests acting in my place to welcome them, keep them busy, and give them all the powers²³¹ they need. The missionaries in the third group, which arrived in the Bay of Islands in December 1839, stayed too long in Sydney when they could very well have got here sooner. Missionaries must avoid putting into port when they are travelling over. Arrival ceremonies, simply relaxing for pleasure, sightseeing, or even spiritual work for souls, at the exhortation even of a Bishop, must not hold them back in any way. Bishop Polding is so kind and is so pleased to welcome my colleagues that he is quite likely to make them give in to staying too long with his Lordship. He would be happy to set them to work for some time with his flock, if the opportunity presented itself. *Père* Petitjean, the leader of the last group, allowed himself to fall into that trap. He was responsible for a **[369]** stay of about 6 or 7 weeks in Sydney, for himself and his fellow missionaries. From the time they disembarked in Sydney until their arrival in the Bay of Islands, three or four ships arrived here from Sydney, with no sign of a single missionary. I was beginning to become very worried about them because I knew they were in Sydney. They had written to me from there when they disembarked. These delays partly arose because in Sydney they put themselves entirely in the hands of the Bishop who, as he wanted to keep them for a while, was not very diligent in his efforts to find ships leaving Sydney for the Bay of Islands. It is fine for our missionaries to stay with Sydney clergy who welcome them kindly, but they should take care to look for opportunities themselves to hasten their departure

²³¹ Pompallier is referring to spiritual powers such saying Mass and administering the sacraments.

and should remember the words of Jesus Christ *ne salutaveritis in via*.²³² One must go immediately to where God is calling. I have a very pleasant, helpful correspondent in Sydney. He is French, married, and well established in Sydney. He is a young, educated businessman, very well mannered, and very knowledgeable about business. His name is *monsieur* Joubert and he lives in Macquarie Place, in the town. Our priests should take care to visit him and entrust him with their task of finding one of the first ships leaving there for the Bay of Islands. If they need to make some purchase, it would be a pleasure for him to do it for them or to tell them how to go about it.

[9] Something very important, and constantly becoming more and more important as the English population in New Zealand grows: make sure all the priests you send me apply themselves zealously to learning English.

[10] **No.3:** I need, *mon révérend père*, not only regular dispatches of subjects for the mission, but also, and even more regularly, dispatches of money, whether this be funding allocated by the *Propagation de la foi*, or funding donated by charitable souls. Sending it through the banks of *Angleterre* and Sydney seems to me the quickest and most reliable way. The priests in the last group deposited their money in an English bank, the one managed by *monsieur* Wright,²³³ whose address is in the notes included with this letter. Then they drew promissory notes from the Bank of Australia in [370] Sydney, where I have left funds to gain interest for the mission, drawing on them as I have need. This way of conveying funds and using them has two advantages: 1. the money is not lost in the event of shipwreck, if the passengers survive, or even if, alas, they perish; 2. the bank in Sydney pays ten percent a year for the funds it holds and from which one can draw the whole, or a part, when one wishes. So, *mon révérend père*, as soon as allocations from the *Propagation de la foi* are handed over to you for our mission, keep the amount you think is appropriate to buy chattels needed for the priests and brothers you are thinking of sending, then come to an agreement with the gentlemen on the council of the *Propagation de la foi* to send me, care of the Bank of Australia in Sydney, via *monsieur*

²³² Cf. "Salute no one on the road" (Lk 10:4).

²³³ Just over a year after giving Colin this advice, Pompallier heard from Colin that Wright's bank, which held most of his funding allocation for the mission, had failed (doc.100[4]). This failure had a serious impact on Pompallier's finances as he was forced to borrow money (see, for example, doc.116[6]). Pompallier survived by what Simmons (1984) ironically refers to as "an entirely new system of triple entry book-keeping" and his ability to inspire confidence in "otherwise hard-headed businessmen" (p.67).

Wright in London, the surplus funding not needed by the missionaries who are leaving. Then write to me, keeping a copy of the letter, telling me about funds you have transmitted in this way.

[11] **No.4:** Tell the gentlemen on the council of the *Propagation de la foi* that I have received all the letters they have sent me, I think, and funding up to the last group of missionaries in December 1839. The Mass requested for the deceased of the very dear *Association de la propagation de la foi* was said last year and will be said every year in accordance with their praiseworthy, pious wishes. I began quite a long letter to this respected council more than two months ago, and I will send it soon. It will throw much light on this mission and will interest the whole *Association*. It is a small work containing detailed information about this country and its peoples, details that will arouse their curiosity but are, at the same time, edifying.

[12] **No.5:** Something of more major importance. As the letters we write from this mission are published in French by printers for the *Association de la propagation de la foi* so they can be sent out world-wide, they are sometimes lifted from the *Annales*, translated into English in the Sydney newspapers and then published in New Zealand. I myself have, with my own eyes, read in newspapers here in the Bay of Islands two long letters I had written you myself a year earlier, and which I now have in my bedroom, faithfully translated into English. People see them in the Sydney Catholic newspaper, the *Australasian Chronicle*. So it is very important to be careful about publication of letters in the *Annales*. But, rest assured, I have taken care up to now that the letters we send to Europe are [371] scrutinized for their content and style by myself or one of the mission priests. However, it can happen that something slips by us. I have been very relieved to learn that you are taking care at your end. But you cannot always tell from the style what would be harmful if it were known in our regions. That is why I ensure care is taken over it. News or passages from letters should generally not be printed if they give information about plans we have, mission stations that I intend to establish here, or plans for building work to be undertaken that I let you know about. You should cross out or change expressions that sometimes escape us and are too acerbic against heresy and its ministers. Words like these usually do not change the heretic's ways but annoy him and provoke him to persecute us even more. However, the truth must be spoken, their cunning tricks revealed, and their malice and their lies recognised.

[13] **No.5:**²³⁴ An important event took place here last January: an English warship came into the Bay of Islands bearing a lieutenant-governor, a vassal of the English Governor-in-Chief in Sydney. His name is Captain Hobson. He was sent by the Queen of England to protect British subjects, of whom there are already a great many in New Zealand. One does not meet a tribe of natives where there are not one, two, or three Europeans from Ireland, Scotland, or England. In the main bays, their numbers are already equivalent to the population of small towns. The Governor, or rather the lieutenant-governor, has gone around the main tribes himself, or sent his agents, to ask the natives to sign a treaty he has proposed to them in the name of the Queen of England, and through which it was said they would be subject to her and protected as subjects, which is nothing other than an obvious attempt by England to take possession of New Zealand. The natives have been divided in opinion on this point. Some have signed the Treaty, others have refused, but few have really understood what they have done by signing it. They have been won over by gifts and through their own ignorance. Our position in this country has been extremely critical for several weeks. The natives kept coming to ask me what they should do, whether to sign or not to sign. In this regard, I would enlighten the chiefs on what the treaty meant for them and then leave them to themselves, maintaining my position as neutral and outside politics, telling them I was here in this country with my men to work for the salvation of **[372]** both those who would not sign and those who would. When people were offering to buy land from them, and they were asking me whether they should sell or not, I would tell them that was a matter of what they themselves wanted. Now they are asking me whether it is a good idea to cede their independence or not. They are the masters of that. Again, it is a matter of what they themselves want. In any case, it was quite clear to me that the request for signatures was only a pretext, the decision to take possession had already been made.

[14] Accordingly, even before the natives, or at least the chiefs of each tribe, had been invited to sign the treaty presented by the Governor, the English flag had been erected in the Bay of Islands and cannons fired as a sign of taking possession. Many people here think, and are saying, that the success of this act of possession by the Governor in the name of the Queen of England is very questionable, that there is something puzzling about all of this, that France and America will certainly not agree to allow New Zealand to stop being a neutral, independent country. The fact is the American and French frigates that have come to anchor in the Bay of Islands since the act of taking possession

²³⁴ Pompallier has misnumbered, repeating no.5.

have not in any way recognised what the Governor has done. Now we do not know whether the new circumstances in this country will be the cause of a war between the great European powers. What happens will be the Lord's will, and nothing more. No one will take Heaven away from those who desire to delight in it. Let politicians concern themselves with politics. Let me, in these western parts of Oceania, concern myself with salvation. God be praised, the new English authorities seem to me to be fair-minded. *Monsieur* the lieutenant-governor and the captains and officers of English ships have shown me respect and particular attention. The former has publicly informed the natives that I can still exercise my ministry throughout New Zealand. He has assured me that he will protect the Catholic religion in the same way as the English Protestant sects. Much more, he soon gave an order that the boat proposed for mission use would not have to pay for anchorage when in port and for bringing in provisions and goods for the mission. His goodwill seemed to me to be both cordial and genuine and I responded to it with sincere, courteous expressions of gratitude and respect.

[15] God, who draws the good of His Church from all circumstances when he has special plans for the salvation of a people, has up to now made this taking of possession work to the detriment of the Protestant missions in the natives' minds. Now, they are saying everywhere:

[373] the English missionaries really needed to batter our ears with their endless stories about how the bishop would take possession of our country. But it was them! It was their Queen who did it, not him. Let us always pray fervently to the Lord and His glorious Mother that His holy kingdom may be established and grow strong in these great islands of New Zealand. This taking of possession also has the advantage for us that the Europeans here, who before were living in a kind of anarchy, are now no longer in that state and the mission is going forward with more protection than before. It is also true to say that, even before England officially took possession of this country, New Zealand had, to a large extent, already been taken possession of in a hidden, but nonetheless real, way by the great number of Englishmen who had bought huge tracts of land from the natives in every part of the country and who were living there as people independent of the tribal chiefs but subject to the sovereign of their own country. Many years ago, New Zealand was, for the natives, only a state or rather, an assembly of little states, each independent of the other, and yet this assembly of little states was still completely broken up, completely divided by a European population which, although also divided in every part of the country, created, in a sense, a state united with the English nation. So it would have been almost in vain for the tribal chiefs to try to resist the English lieutenant-governor's proposals. It would have been to add one more hardship to their position, that of incurring the indifference and disapproval of a nation,

instead of now receiving protection and preference from it. It should be noted that in general the Protestant missionaries have cooperated fully with this taking of possession and that it promised, in advance, victory for their cause. But so far, that has not been the case. It should in addition be noted that, during their so-called apostolate, they have made sure to buy more immense tracts of land, and the best land, than have the Europeans who also came to settle here. One can truthfully say their mission stations are more the work of land speculation than the works of religion. In a word, they have brought here *the kingdom of earth for themselves*, and not *the kingdom of Heaven for the people*. There you see the fruits of heresy. That all seems evident to everyone now, both to Europeans and natives. People are generally contemptuous of them. They are dogged by biting criticism in the Protestants' own newspapers and when people are talking together. In most places the natives hate them. No-one can endure their intolerant behaviour and the lies they have told to damage the Catholic mission and its ministers.

[374] [16] Yet, in all conflict arising from politics, land speculation or business, all missionaries must clearly show they are what they must always be, Catholic men embracing, in a spirit of charity, all the peoples of the earth and weighing all nations in the same balance, without paying attention to their flags or customs. The cross is our only banner and the blood of our Saviour the only weight in our balance for the salvation of souls. We need prudent men, with very good judgement and a truly Catholic heart, to work successfully in our Oceania missions. They also need to be profoundly selfless.²³⁵

[17] **No.6.** Allow me to speak to you, *mon très cher père*, with a degree of freedom, in the interests of the Church and of Jesus Christ, who is all things to us, and indeed for the honour of our Society itself. You can be quite sure that I, for my part, have nothing but respect for the advice and counsel about salvation that you in your fatherly affection give me in your letters.

[18] Always remember that in our mission countries we need subjects well trained in knowledge, priestly virtues, and outward behaviour. A courteous manner appropriate for men of religion and especially priests is more necessary for them here than in France. The English are more demanding about this than we are in France. Let us make sure that subjects, both priests and brothers, are well accustomed to being orderly, and to being clean in their personal care and in their dwelling

²³⁵ This translation of *désintéressement* reflects the *Constitutions of the Society of Mary, 1872/1992*, "let them above all be [...] completely emptied of all self-concern" ([50], p.37)).

places. A man who conducts himself like this is someone who in these regions immediately gains respect and consideration and, if in addition, his actions are well judged and he shows cordial, masculine civility towards his neighbour, people immediately show a high degree of confidence in him and they like him, all very useful attributes for winning souls for Jesus Christ, our good Master.

[19] However, most of the Brothers who have been sent here to us are sadly lacking in all these respects. They also have poor knowledge and skills in the various trades they can undertake. Their work is greatly inferior to that of local Englishmen. *Frère* Augustin and *frère* Marie-Nizier are doing well. They are energetic and hardworking, and the latter, particularly, is polite and clean.

[20] Several of the Fathers, *pères* Servant, Petit and Baty, are lacking in the manners appropriate for priests. *Père* Servant is doing quite well in languages. He is always ready to say quite worthwhile things to the English faithful and the New Zealanders. I used him to help me make summaries of Catholic doctrine and copies of hymns²³⁶ for our dear catechumens and neophytes. He has shown a little development, this dear fellow-priest, but his semi-deafness and poor manners prevent me from bringing him out at the beginning of missions. Soon, I hope, I will send him off to do some work in the tribal areas.

[375] [21] *Père* Petit has a great heart, but not much ability in languages. However, he is beginning to make himself understood in English and the New Zealand language. As he had more time in the religious life than the others and has a grasp of some trade skills, I have entrusted the mission supply centre to him and responsibility for seeing the religious Rule of the Society is observed in the mission. But he seems to me so lacking in both respects that I am considering sending him into the Kaipara tribes to work there for the salvation of the natives. That is what he has been desiring, too ardently, for a long time. *Père* Épalle will come to replace him in the Bay of Islands, where we need a fitting presence, cleanliness, orderliness of conduct, and the ability to inspire a little respect from the pulpit, and especially through civility towards the important people who live here. *Père* Épalle will therefore be given responsibility in the Bay of Islands for the establishment of the mission and the supply centre, and for the Rule for all the priests and Brothers. As for me, alas, held to a standard of perfection, but not worth the least of your novices, I have no particular mission to manage, I belong to all of them. I go to each one, I travel afar to convert the tribes to the faith, and then I send in our

²³⁶ This may have been Pompallier's (1839) eight-page manuscript, *Ko nga tahi pono nui o te Hahi Katorika Romana*. [The first great truth of the Catholic Church].

missionaries. Rest assured, my dear Father, about your children. Up till now I have had the consolation of going ahead of them everywhere and being the first to spend several days in the places where they are now living. Everywhere, when they arrive they find people who know the main points of Catholic religion and have little books from which they read their morning and evening prayers and sing the great hymn about God. We have now translated the litanies of the Blessed Virgin into the New Zealand language, which is just as suitable for plain chant as Latin is. The people sing it in tones that have often brought tears to my eyes.

[22] To come back to letting you know about your children, I seem to have noticed in several of them when they get here to me indications that they want to have a Superior for the Rule, an idea espoused particularly by those who stayed in the Picpus Fathers' mission, or elsewhere. They have said things to me that let me know I was regarded as a member outside the Congregation. I have been hurt by this, but only before our Lord, because I pretended not pay attention to what they were saying to me. However, I have been a little surprised that it came from newcomers whom I had not known in the past in the Congregation. I did not know how to defend myself in this matter. I feel deep within me that my love for Our Lord and His divine mother is perhaps only in my imagination, and that I am not only unworthy of the cross, the heavy cross of the episcopate, but of the priesthood and of [376] religion itself.

In view of these thoughts, before long I had to place the Rule of the Congregation in the hands of one of my brother-priests, giving him the responsibility of seeing it was observed. I leave it to the good Lord and Mary to judge whether I have been a member of the Congregation and whether I am still one. None of these difficulties worries me at all. Added together, they might have amounted to the kind of problem that would diminish that intimate union of heart and affection that should link a priest to the bishop, his leader, but none of my brother-priests could see that the decision I took was motivated by the opinions of which I had become aware. I professed other reasons for my decision, no less real, but more appropriate, related to the weight of my mission work. At the moment, they are generally well united, and well attached and devoted to their Bishop. All these difficulties, combined with those the enemies of God and the Church cause me here in a country where all Hell seems to rise up against such a poor servant of Jesus Christ as I am, so far from the Holy See, the light, the pillar and support of the children of the Church, all these difficulties, I repeat, far from constricting my soul, have become,

through the grace of God, a source of consolations that I have only ever really known here, so far away.

I am as happy in my mission work in New Zealand and in all the dangers I encounter here as if I were almost in Heaven. I do not know, and I cannot understand, a pleasure greater than that of suffering for Jesus Christ and the cause of His holy Church. My soul is joyous because all my plans and efforts for this mission and for the Congregation over time have not been motivated by ambition, but to please God and for the good of souls. But whatever it may be now, and whatever it may become, I will always cherish the Society of Mary for the salvation of which I accepted this mission in the first place, where I have experienced more happiness in the Lord than ever before in my life. We are no longer in the time when souls remained subject to the authorities that the Lord appointed for them.²³⁷ Religious and state Protestantism is the principal evil of our unfortunate times. Lured by the wanton attraction of freedom, people rush to their damnation, both in the present life and the life to come. We need antidotes for spiritual ills just as we do for bodily ills. We must therefore re-attach hearts and minds to the principle of their life, which is God in Himself and as manifested in Authority. People are resisting power. We must attach ourselves to it and bring people with us. Nations, private individuals, and corporations are inclined to separate themselves completely from obedience to the authority of the Church or just to follow it according to their own whim. Let us enjoy erring by an excess that takes the opposite direction, if I can put it like this. In my opinion, in the contest of the interests of the authority

[377] of the Holy See and the episcopate, and the religious Societies, we must not weigh them against each other. We have to sacrifice those of the latter for those of the former. These are life-giving sacrifices that draw from on high blessings of prosperity and salvation. With these thoughts in mind, *mon révérend père*, for foreign missions, I prefer the Rule of the Order of St Francis of Assisi to that of the dear Society of Jesus. St Francis of Assisi wants the subjects in his Order who want to devote themselves to foreign missions to be so truly free to follow their attraction to God that even the Superior General cannot stop them, and in apostolic works the priests and Brothers are almost completely in the hands of the episcopate, either of their Order, or of another, although they are exempt from the authority of bishops who are not members of an Order. Do not think, dear Father, that I am talking like this because I happen to be in the episcopate. It is because I am considering the matter in principal and in relation to the times in which we are living. I see here that God does not bestow great blessings

²³⁷ "Everyone is to obey the governing authorities, because there is no such authority except from God and so whatsoever authorities exist have been appointed by God" (Rm 13:1).

on the work of some people who have ideas contrary to this and who have brought with them the Rules of the Picpus Fathers, the neighbouring Congregation of this mission. To each body, its own soul, to each tree, its own fruit. Fruit trees are all good, but one is not designed to bear the fruit of the other. Once in the hands of the Holy Father, the governor of the Church, let us do what he prefers and in the way he wants to meet the needs of present circumstances. For the greatest good of the whole flock of Jesus Christ, wherein lies also the greatest good of the Society itself, that is to say the very special blessings of the invisible, the supreme and good Shepherd.

I hope I am giving you pleasure this long evening when I am writing to you telling you my thoughts. Be they what God wants to be carried out or be they not matters little to me. It is for Him that I am writing them and for Him that I find them in my soul. I can only gain and have nothing to lose. I only beg this good Master that not only the good of our Society may prevail, but His greater good, because there are religious bodies, as there is a body and a soul, or what is known as a *legal entity*. God often holds many spiritual blessings in store for souls but sometimes, alas, instead of acquiring the greatest blessings, they only obtain from His goodness those of an inferior order.

[378] [23] *Père* Servant and *père* Baty may have been the two who gave some indication they had misgivings about my position with regards to the Congregation but I think they have come round quite well now. However, it would be detrimental to the mission and to our cordial union in Our Lord for subjects to have attitudes like this because, even though they may be strong subjects and successful in their personal work, which God does not usually grant in this state, their Vicar apostolic cannot treat them as men he can personally trust, and consequently does not give them great responsibilities, which they could (if they had a different attitude) fruitfully carry out for the good of the flock. And so, the pastor prefers a man who works with him to be less able, but more blessed by God through his priestly union. May the religious life, which is intrinsically inferior to the priesthood, but an excellent way to work towards perfection with this sublime assistance, make the priests more priest-like if possible and consequently more respectful, more devoted, more united with the bishops, the first pastors in God's church, in submission and love, than are the worthy secular priests in the dioceses.

At the moment, I am aiming to establish an apostolic prefect for New Zealand, whom I will choose from amongst the priests in charge of the five stations that have been set up here. In order to do that, I am waiting until I really know the subjects by their works, their skills, and their attitudes as priests. I am also waiting for many reinforcements, *mon révérend père*, so that once this prefect is established, I can

spend my time and energy on the mission and on setting up another apostolic prefecture in some of the archipelagos in the tropical zone. Up to now, I myself have been fulfilling the functions of the apostolic prefect of New Zealand.

[24] I have sent *père* Chevron and *frère* Atale to *père* Chanel so that he can use them in Wallis and Futuna as he judges best on the ground. I have been expecting to see *père* Bataillon and *frère* Marie-Nizier here in the Bay of Islands as I asked for them some time ago, but the ship has not come back yet. You must have received some news from these dear brother-priests in their long [379] letters and mine. These two missions, I have reason to think, are growing, and the missionaries are doing well under the protection of Mary, our loving Mother. You tell me in your dear, precious letters, *mon révérend père*, that you are anxious about your children in Wallis and Futuna, but that you neither approve nor disapprove of this division I have made of my brother-priests at several points of my jurisdiction. Alas! Attribute my show of strength only to the active intolerance of the heretics who, when they get to an area before we do, banish us from the areas they occupy. Also attribute the reason for it, my dear Father, not to my faith in the success of the Society of Mary in France, which was still in its cradle when we left the country, since this cannot be an object of faith, but to my great trust that God would bless the Society, and that it would send me many subjects whom I have been waiting for here since six or seven months after we arrived on this battlefield. As I had asked you for priests in letters I had written more than three months earlier from Valparaíso I was confident I would see them here with us in the timeframe I have just mentioned. But alas! The good Lord has allowed seventeen months to pass by here, so far away, without a sign of life from Europe, deprived of money, and amidst all sorts of harassments and attacks from Hell. Alas, *mon cher père*, only God knows everything we have endured. Would that it were His will for me to have wings to fly to Lyons and paralyse all fraternal advice you have been given to delay and to exercise too much prudence, even by our bishops of Lyons and Belley, according to what I have learnt. Please do not be offended by my manner of speaking, *mon révérend*. I do not wish to reproach you. I wish to talk to you with an open heart and to tell you what I believe to be the desire of the Holy Spirit for the good of the mission and the glory and salvation of our Congregation. Recognise, in my unworthiness for my pastoral responsibilities, the ministry of the Holy Father himself; in my requests, his requests; in my observations on my flock, his observations; in my voice, not his oracles of truth, but advice that it is difficult to gainsay because I am in the places, or near the places, where Jesus Christ has sent me and for which, simply because I have [380] been legitimately sent here, He has given me special graces that no other bishops, let alone

respectable elderly men in the priesthood, can have for this mission, just as they receive graces much superior to my own for their dioceses or their parishes.

If I had been in Lyons, *mon très cher père*, when you received my letters from Valparaiso, I would have immediately advised you to grant me, without delay, allocations for the dispatch of new subjects whom I would have sent off to follow the others, to find them living or dead, and to begin, were it necessary, a mission at a different point from the one where the first men might have had the great honour of failing or of being sacrificed. People were saying to you, "Wait for news of the first men". But, from so far away, letters take a long time to arrive; they can get lost on the way and besides, in isolated areas, communications are very infrequent. Then what will the first men do if their work is growing and they cannot manage it, or if they do not have resources when they are surrounded by harassment and persecution? So it is paramount that subjects depart as soon as possible after requests by the Vicar apostolic. Besides, as these places are distant, many months go by between requests, the departure of new subjects, and their arrival in the mission.

[25] Again, someone might say to you: if the first men perished in a shipwreck, we need to wait for news. It is enough to have sacrificed these men. We have to find a way of ensuring we do not sacrifice any more. To all that, I would have replied: The Holy Father has given the vineyard, it is Jesus Christ who has given it, but it is rare that this Master who is so kind calls all the workers in the vineyard to Heaven so early, or that He allows the sea to swallow them all, rather than bringing them to the places where He is sending them. Besides, dare I say it, if in some impossible way, He allowed all the first men to be drowned and the second group to suffer the same fate,²³⁸ the Society would be fortunate. It only exists to offer God victims and the elect in Heaven. The more sacrifices of subjects the Society makes, the more God will enrich it with new children. Ah! Can we lose by dying for Jesus Christ and His dear friends? Is that not the happiest of fates? How precious is death suffered in the battles of the Lord! When will He find us worthy of it? *Mihi mori lucrum!*²³⁹ Ah! May no child of Mary

²³⁸ Pompallier's apparent dismissal of the likelihood of missionaries drowning was not soundly based. In the New Zealand mission alone, Fr Borjon and Br Déodat drowned when the *Speculator* was lost at sea between Auckland and Wellington in 1842 (docs 205[4], 260[1-2]); Pezant was reported to have almost drowned (doc.260[4]); Petit-Jean reports nearly drowning when his canoe capsized and he, unable to swim, was wearing heavy boots and a soutane (doc.442[7]); Br Élie-Régis reports that, between Hokianga and Kororareka, his rowing boat was blown out to sea (doc.520[4]); and that he had been in danger of drowning when sailing from Fiji to New Zealand (doc.520[5]). Added to the dangers of sea travel were those of falling into boiling mud pools, or pits of boiling water, around Rotorua (Élie-Régis in Clisby, 1996, doc.63, p.190).

²³⁹ Cf. "Life to me, of course, is Christ, but then death would be a positive gain" (Ph 1:21).

ever fear death, nor the foreign missions, where it so often seems to strike you and bring you the [381] beautiful crown of the apostolate! Let our shared motto be that of the heart of Jesus, that which brought about our redemption: *Ego pono animam meam pro ovibus meis*.²⁴⁰ I am sure, *mon révérend père*, that your heart has suffered greatly because you have not received news from us earlier from our places of trial, but it has suffered even more from being restrained by over-solicitous advice not to send us His reinforcements and the help that Heaven and I alone saw to be so necessary.

[26] I can tell you, my dear Father, the mission is still feeling the effects of the first delay of subjects to New Zealand. This delay has been followed by another inevitable drawback, which is not being able to employ in the sacred ministry for four or five months after they arrive, subjects who needed to learn languages before they left. As a result, for two years I have been almost singlehandedly developing the work of the mission in this island, which is so vast. *Père Servant* helped me as best he could, keeping house at the station where the natives, borne along with goodwill, also came to receive instruction from him. Now, thanks to Our Lord, all our priests are beginning to work on the expanse of land, 140 leagues long and 30 leagues wide, which I have succeeded in travelling over up to now, that is say from Mangonui in the north to Opotiki in the south and from the east coast to the west.

To give some small idea of my position, this is what it has been like: When I arrived in New Zealand I discovered hundreds of ministers from other religions in every part of the island I started working in. At the beginning, we could not speak a word. They had been fluent in the New Zealanders' language for a long time. They had excellent printing presses, at least two in the North Island. I found myself quite closely surrounded by 5 or 6 of their numerous stations. Their books, their pamphlets, were circulating everywhere. They were burning with a new zeal to travel to the tribes all around to preach to their few faithful flocks and to warn against me even those who remained idolatrous and had not wanted before to follow their teaching, their thousand and one calumnies and lies against the Church. They were [382] constantly trying to incite the people against the Bishop in particular and to have our throats cut. The non-Catholic politics of England was suspicious of a mute Bishop and a priest, neither of whom could speak a word of the local language. The English Catholics themselves kept advising me to leave and to resign this mission to the English Catholic bishop of Sydney. It was hard to convince them they were wrong, because although I had good arguments I had difficulty expressing them in English. They

²⁴⁰ Cf. "Just as the Father knows me and I know the Father, and I lay down my life for my sheep" (1 Jn 10:15).

could understand my English, but little of my reasoning, when I showed them I could delegate authority in the places under my jurisdiction but could not have superiors here; I would always be responsible for whatever I did; and only the Pope had the power to extend the jurisdiction of a neighbouring Vicar apostolic over the territory of a fellow Vicar apostolic.

Every day, our ears would ring with the clangour of persecution, and distressing false rumours fit to make us disgusted with the country, or to make us leave it, or die of grief. They were also making the tribes who wanted to listen to my teaching afraid they would have to endure a war of extermination waged by others more numerous and stronger than they were, to the point where the chiefs of those tribes were, in their fear, asking me for up to 400 warriors from my country to defend them in case they suffered an attack. During all that time, 3 or 4 months, whilst throwing ourselves into the arms of Our Lord under the protection of Mary, we were working intensely to learn English and the New Zealanders' language and when I barely had enough of the latter to make myself understood, I began the attack, or rather parried the blows, by travelling around local and distant tribes to convert them to the Catholic faith, to nourish them with the hope of soon receiving other legitimate priests who would teach them together in great numbers, and finally to dissipate their fears of war from other tribes because of their faith. Thus, when they saw that many of them had turned to the Catholic Church, this fact alone was enough to begin to silence all these rumours of so-called wars was [*sic*]. But what could I do? Resources exhausted, surrounded by the malevolence of some Europeans and the disgust of others, and the extreme poverty of the natives, alas! God knows the rest! So, what am I doing by recounting all these things? What is my point? You will see, *mon révérend père*, whether my conclusions are just, and whether I will now make you have more compassion for our mission and all our missionaries.

[27] There are now, in the mission areas identified above, about 150 tribes and [383] 25,000-27,000 souls who have turned towards the Catholic faith. There are some to whom I have been promising a priest since I left them about 20 months ago. The little instruction I gave them has whetted their appetite for the Holy Word. The hopes I made them envision are fading, leaving them with a kind of bitterness towards me because I did not satisfy their wishes. I have only seven priests for all that work, and I make the eighth. The tribes are separated, a long way from one another, and are harassed by heresy. Several natives, although not many so far, have already given in because of my delays, and because it would be better to have English missionaries than none at all. The savages are not quite like those peoples educated in the sciences and the arts whom the Apostles evangelised.

They soon created priests and even bishops to follow in their footsteps because knowledge of salvation found minds with sufficient capacity. But the savages are big children whose judgement is quite good for many things but whose morality is weak, whose understanding is slow because of lack of familiarity with everything that is purely spiritual. Memory does not work very well when understanding is difficult. It is not possible here for me to make priests from amongst them the way the Apostles did, perhaps not even in 20 years from now. In this vast mission, we have a categorical need of a large body of clergy taken from the old Catholic countries.

[28] Do not be afraid, *mon révérend père*, that the unity of this mission could suffer from the admission of priests other than those of the Society. The Rule for our interior perfection is one thing. The pastoral ministry for the salvation of my flock is something else. In this relationship, there is always unity between the Bishop and whoever is working within the boundaries of his jurisdiction. Seek out for me, *mon révérend père*, or have someone seek out for me, all the subjects, priests or devout laity who will, with goodwill, have a vocation for the apostolate or for participating in it, and then send them all to me. I would need two or three English priests, and then all the Marist priests I asked you for in my first letter. If you cannot manage to make up all this group at once, please do it at least within two years. Try to appoint a strongminded priest of Mary as administrator for this mission in France, experienced and as holy as Deacon Poupinel, with whom I can reason as I can with yourself. We need experienced priests for the initial work in the missions. Forgive me, *mon révérend père*, for speaking so freely, and [384] also forgive a few lines in an earlier letter that may have caused you pain,²⁴¹ although my only aim was to make you share the feelings of my heart, martyred by the thought that my flock was prey to heresy at every moment, and without priests or any help to save them from danger or repel heresy's efforts and ward off its blows. How many times did I ask, therefore, groaning bitterly before the Lord, "What are they doing in France? What has become of the Society of Mary? Is it still in existence? How is it that I do not receive reinforcements, or subjects, or any sign of life? If these delays continue, our successors will only find our bones here and they will have to pick up an aborted mission, which at the moment is giving such great hope." Alas, forgive me, *mon révérend père*, I was almost resentful of you and the whole Society.

[29] Now take a good look at what we need: To reap the harvest the way it should be reaped, I would need to be able to place a priest and a Brother on a station almost every week. The following

²⁴¹ Girard (n.10, p.384) offers three possibilities for the rather bitter criticisms Pompallier may be referring to. These are: docs 29[2], 30[2], 37[3, 6].

skills are required for the Brothers: joinery, carpentry, and architecture; secondly, weavers, a cloth-maker, tailors, some farmers, and some shoemakers as well; but plenty of joiners and carpenters, likewise school teachers. The trade aspect of this mission is suffering greatly. We do not even have enough Brothers to look after the priests in the stations. I am very upset with *révérend père* Champagnat because in the last group there was only one brother for four priests. I will only forgive him for that if, in the next group, he sends me at least two for each priest. O dear Fathers of the Society of Mary, have mercy on me and on my flock, who are almost as well known to you as they are to me. Gather together from afar, with me here in New Zealand, many children of the Catholic Church, mother of us all, and new servants of Mary.

[30] With what impatience I am awaiting the group that *monsieur* Poupinel wrote to tell me [385] should have set out last October. For two months, I have been expecting them every day here in the Bay, but they have not arrived yet.

[31] Please make our need for funding very clear to the *Propagation de la foi*. Here, we receive no resources from the Europeans, who are mostly Protestant, and no resources from the natives, who are poor and half naked. I have to provide everything. If there is a further delay of two or three months, I, with my men, will be, as we are already beginning to be, subject to expropriation of property. That is to say, we would be obliged to sell some mission station land. Here are some figures that could help you judge the needs of this expensive and very difficult mission: for each priest is needed, and it is almost the same for the Brothers, except for the first item, 1: chattels when he leaves France, 1800 francs; 2: passage on a ship, 1700 francs; 3: accommodation in the mission, that is to say, for the house on a station, up to a total of 3000 francs, a third of which, assuming another priest and a Brother, is 1000 francs; 4: food and maintenance, 1000 francs. All this is the minimum, which makes for the first year of each priest, starting from his departure from France, 5,900 francs.²⁴² Then for the other years, when the chattels have been organised, and there is no voyage to make from Europe or station to build, the cost should not be more than 1000 francs. Here, everything is very expensive, at least double or triple the prices in France. Now let us add to that, for the use of the whole mission, the expenses of sea travel on a boat we will assume belongs to the mission, we would need 15,000-

²⁴² Girard notes (n.12, p.385) all the figures except the 1st (1800 francs) appear to have been altered and it is not possible to read what Pompallier had first written. The total of 5,900 francs could have been the total for the original figures. The correct total for the figures given, 5,500 francs, is provided in the summary of this letter (doc.60[45]), which, as it was written in Lyons by Fr Maîtreperre, is not included in my translation.

18,000 francs a year, and I mean only for sailing within the New Zealand mission, travelling to the islands and visiting all the stations that are going to be set up. The ship will be in constant use.

[32] When the second group of priests was sent, *père* Baty, on his way through Gambier, bought a half share in a ship for *monseigneur* Rouhouse and myself. He transacted the business with *monsieur* Maigret, provicar for the Picpus Fathers. They bought a schooner, which, when it came into the waters of my mission, could not be used, either because if it was not steered properly it [386] was likely to capsize at sea, as almost happened twice on the crossing made by *père* Baty's group, or because I had to throw the captain and crew off the ship as they were frequently drunk, thereby finding myself without a captain.²⁴³ So, I have sold it for 15,000 francs, which is what it cost. As I have no opportunities here to send this sum to *monseigneur* Rouhouse, I am asking you, *mon révérend père*, to send 7,500 francs on to the *révérend père supérieur général* of the Picpus Congregation in Paris, for the eastern Oceania mission. Please take this sum in advance out of the funds allocated for our mission.

[33] To have a boat wholly dedicated to this one mission, we would need to be talking here about 20,000-22,000 francs. I am most anxiously awaiting the funding for this, because without it we cannot develop our strength and our watchfulness and be in communication. The funds you have sent me up till now have been absorbed in the building of the first stations, for which I have had to provide everything: money for the land, house and chapel. That has crushed me. One ship cannot be used for two missions in Oceania.

[34] The natives have built themselves little chapels made of reeds in their tribal areas, but for the central stations we need something better, which will cost at least 5,000 francs. We can count perhaps about thirty native chapels. There are only about two hundred baptised, but we would only need to be able to spend a month with each tribe to find a good number of catechumens ready to receive baptism. While the mission has gained ground, it has been thinly spread. I am almost the only one who can assert this opinion to you without proof. It would probably take too²⁴⁴ long to prove it to you but you will be able to prove it yourself²⁴⁵ from everything I have just written over the last two

²⁴³ Snijders (2012, p.191) does not accept Pompallier's reasoning and argues that "selling this handy little ship" was Pompallier's first capital blunder". See also Wiltgen (2010, pp.212-214).

²⁴⁴ Girard notes (n.16, p.386) the evident omission of "*trop*" from the ST.

²⁴⁵ Girard notes (n.17, p.386) that something like "le faire vous-même" should be added to the ST.

nights. New Zealand is an island you have to conquer all at the same time, or at least very quickly, or else not touch it. If new subjects do not come, heresy may end up reaping the country and it will be lost. All our exhausting work would be as effective as a sword cutting through water. I pray this not be God's will should not enough subjects come... O Jesus, O loving and kind pastor, have mercy on [387] my poor souls who are so dearly Your own. O Mary, *o Domina potentissima, mitte operarios in vineam tuam*.²⁴⁶ *Adieu, mon révérend et très cher père,*

Your most humble

and very obedient servant,

+ J(ean)-B(aptis)te François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

[35] [*in the margin and across the page*] P.S. As when I began this long letter I did not know I would be able to write all the things I have told you, you can use this letter, not with the reservations I expressed at the beginning, but you can, at your discretion, promulgate the passages that could interest those associated with the *Propagation de la foi* and the Society of Mary. But keep silent about everything related to politics and pertaining to the vigilance of the Church. How sorry I am not to have been able to write this time to dear *monsieur* Cholleton, and to His Lordship, *monseigneur* the Archbishop, and so many other dear souls. I have certainly not forgotten them. I am expecting *monsieur* Perret. My very, very best regards to all those who know me and ask for news about me. I am asking *monsieur* Vignot and his friends for a beautiful organ for my church in the Bay of Islands or somewhere else. *Benedictio Dei in omnes* [God's blessing on everyone] and on all the Fathers and Sisters who often say nothing to me, and the Brothers and other Sisters, etc, etc, etc.

+ J(ean)-B(aptis)te F(ranç)ois

²⁴⁶ Girard (n.18, p.387) glosses this as an adaptation of: "Ask the Lord of the harvest to send labourers to do his harvesting" (Lk 10:2).

Doc. 63: 23 May 1840, Pompallier to Pierre Colin

Bay of Islands,

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Mission of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*.

[412] My Reverend Father,

pax Christi

[1] I have just this moment heard that a ship is about to leave here directly for London. It is an excellent opportunity to quickly send some sign of life. Time is very short, but I will take advantage of it just the same, even if it is only to tell you I have been wanting to write to you for well over 15 months but have not even been able to find all the time needed for my mission administration letters. Once again, I urge you to pray for us, for this new flock, and particularly for me, as I have such fearsome responsibilities and such a weighty account to render unto the Lord, the Good Shepherd, for the countless souls he has entrusted me with here. If your devoted charity did not already assure me that such urging is not required and that you are praying and having many prayers said in the noviciate, in essence for everything I am suggesting to you, these appeals would never end.

[413] How fortunate you are, *mon révérend père*, to pray peacefully on retreat²⁴⁷ and to see the dear novices whom the Lord sends you to increase the ranks of the Society of our good Mother and powerful Queen growing under your very eyes in all the virtues and in knowledge of the saints. You perform all your religious exercises without hindrance. You are there, right beside Fourvières, as if under Mary's wings. May effective help reach us here from that holy hill and from our noble and revered Mother and the loving children she has gathered around her. It is from the religious communities, from the noviciates, that the Lord awaits the prayers of the just, which are worth so much in His eyes, to obtain victory for us over the enemies of eternal salvation. How fortunate I would think myself if only I had eight days to spend like you and your novices in solitude, alone with God. But alas! That will never be granted to me. Happy time in the noviciate and happy days of retreat, what do you mean to me now? If God were one day to permit me to make a journey to Europe, how much pleasure would I have in visiting the first noviciate, the first cradle of the children of Mary! But I must lift my eyes unto Heaven, where our crowns await. That is where we must meet again. This whole life is only a

²⁴⁷ Pompallier is referring to a religious retreat, during which participants withdraw from their usual activities for a few days and spend their time in silence and prayer.

noviciate, whether it be long or short, for entering the sublime profession of the immortal community of the saints in Heaven. By this reckoning, we are all novices, even bishops. Pray, therefore, that my noviciate may profit me greatly so that the salvation of a great number of my whole flock is achieved.

[2] I wrote to you on 15 August, 1839, that is to say, to all your house, to the novices and directors of the Marist priests' noviciate in Lyons. Has my letter reached you? It was dated the 20th of August, not the 15th as I have just said. I realise that from the notes I am looking at now. As someone here has printed a copy of the said letter on the printing press, I am looking back over what I have written there, which, for want of a word accidentally left out as I was writing, could look like an error. It is the expression in the first few lines of the third page: *Mary, Queen, mother of Jesus Christ and all his people*. After the word *Queen* should be added *of Heaven*, which has been omitted amidst the thousand and one distractions I am importuned with as people come from every direction to talk to me when I am writing, as they do when I am not writing, although the most holy Virgin is worthy of our great respect and a very special love, and although it has been said of Jesus Christ in relation to her [414] and St Joseph: *erat subditus illis*,²⁴⁸ it would still be wrong to say that *Mary is the Queen of Jesus Christ*, as her authority in relation to Him as a man was that of a mother, not of a sovereign. Jesus Christ is the King of Kings, the King of angels and of men, even of His divine Mother. I am sure your faith and piety were not scandalised by the expression that needed the word I have now added to make it complete, but you readily understood a word had been left out inadvertently.

[3] I will not give you very much news today, as many letters have been sent to you. They contain many details about our missions in Oceania.

[4] My reason for writing to you today is first of all to thank you for the episcopal rings you sent me. They came at just the right time as the one I received at my consecration in Rome broke nearly two years ago and another I had brought from France also broke a few days after I had received yours. I would not have had any left except the one *monseigneur* the bishop of the Canary Islands gave me as a gift when I was in port at Santa Cruz. This ring is extremely precious, not only because of the noble hand that gave it to me, but also because of its magnificence. I only use it on very solemn occasions but I now wear every day one of those you have been kind enough to give me. It is a token of your dear memory and a customary symbol of the holy union that binds the bishop closely to the

²⁴⁸ "He went down with them then and came to Nazareth and lived under their authority" (Lk 2:51).

flock and the flock to the bishop, a symbol of this wholly spiritual marriage that makes the bishop like the spouse of the church that is entrusted to him. Your gift is very dear to me, *mon révérend père*!

[5] Another purpose of my letter is to tell you about the letters we have sent to the Society and other people in Europe. They have almost all gone on ships sailing from the Bay of Islands to various French ports. The last ones were taken by the whaling ship, the *Pallas*, on its way to le Havre-de-Grace. They were entrusted to the captain himself. I forget his name, but he is an American by nationality or at least by birth. Please be so kind as to tell *le révérend père général*, your brother, about this.

[415] [6] When I have regular correspondence about administrative matters, I am careful to number our letters so correspondents will easily be able to tell which ones are late and in the same way will also be able to see if they have all arrived. The two letters from me addressed to *le révérend père général* should be numbered 20 and 21, but because I was in a hurry as the departing ship was pulling up anchor, I did not have time to look carefully at my notes to see exactly which numbers I should put on them. As a result, they have no number, but you will be able to tell by their dates (both dated Bay of Islands, 14 May, 1840). All these letters contain a great deal of news about the mission.

[7] The greater part of the North Island of New Zealand has turned towards the Catholic faith. Everywhere where, with God's help, I have been able to penetrate, the people have shown no hesitation in preferring the ministry of the trunk²⁴⁹ Church to a conglomeration of erroneous new doctrines. The area I have visited, and where I have sent some of our brother-priests to continue and complete the work begun, is about 130 leagues long and 30 to 40 leagues across. Five separate stations have been established, and abundant fruits of salvation have been gathered. But what an immense void there is to fill, how many tribes are waiting for me to fulfil the promises I have made them to send them priests and catechists from the Society of Mary. Alas! How my heart will grieve until I can satisfy them. *Domine Jesu, mitte operarios in vineam tuam!*²⁵⁰ All kinds of enemies of salvation surround the tribes and spew forth a stream of lies, calumnies and errors against me and the Church itself. Ah! Dear Society of Mary, and you, priests of the Lord, who are so numerous in France and in the neighbouring countries, come here to gather in souls by the thousands! How many virtuous neophytes there are and what immense numbers of catechumens who have some knowledge of the

²⁴⁹ See p.68; docs.58[6]; 80[11].

²⁵⁰ Cf. "Ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers to his harvest" (Mt 9:38).

true faith but cannot progress any further, because there are no priests to teach them! O all you faithful of the Church, pray very hard for us! I am most keenly awaiting the priests whose planned departure in October 1839 I had the joy of reading about in a letter from *monsieur* Popinel [*sic*] dated sometime in June or May last year.

[416] Remember me in Jesus and Mary to all your dear novices, to *monsieur* Girard, your respected fellow Marist, all our very dear brother-priests of the Society who are with you or elsewhere, our dear brothers and sisters of the Third Order, and to our cloistered Sisters, of whom I never hear any news, while so many other communities and souls from whom I request news in a P.S. at the end of my letters tell me something about their zeal for my flock when they remember me before the Lord. I am very sorry that my overwhelming, but consoling, work prevents me from replying promptly to the many dear souls who have written to me. I hope I will soon discharge my debt, or at least the greater part of it. I am very grateful to *monsieur* Foret, and to *monsieur* Popinel, for their interesting letters. Greetings in Our Lord to *monsieur* Cholleton, *monsieur* Cattet from St Paul, *monsieur* Marion from Fourvières, *monsieur* Neirat, parish priest of St Francis, *monsieur* Gury, S.J., *monsieur* the parish priest of St Irénée, good *père* Rouchon from Val-Benoîte, *monsieur* Teraillon, *père* Champagnat, and *père* Séon, dear *monsieur* Déclas, etc, etc, etc. May the blessing of the good Shepherd be upon you all, may His love grow every day in our hearts, may the protection of Mary be always over you, over your work, and over the souls entrusted to us.

+ François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

Doc. 64: 22 July 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin

Bay of Islands

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

(No. 22) Mission of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*, Bay of Islands

[417] To: Reverend Father Colin, Superior General of the Society of Mary.

My Very Reverend and very dear Father

Pax Xⁱ [Christi]

[1] On the 11th of this month, I had the great consolation of welcoming *pères* Pesant [*sic*] and Tripe, with the two *frères* Hamon and Claude Marie, who arrived on the French corvette, the *Aube*, under *capitaine* Lavaud. They are all in very good health and good spirits. *Monsieur le capitaine* and all his military staff were very gracious and kind to me. For my part, in like spirit, I will willingly fit in with the plans disclosed to me as they will develop my mission in exactly the areas I have for several months been wanting to send missionaries into. But let us pray, let us pray constantly. Heresy's power comes from the use it makes of political resources and wealth.

[2] I have received all the letters and money you have sent me.

[3] I am very distressed that a number of letters we have written to you have not reached you, according to what I understand from the letters you write me. Is it possible you have held back from sending me missionaries and catechists because you have not received our letters? O God! What damage that does to this mission! It would be better not to have begun than to stop at this point with such a small number for so many islands, and such big islands. Heresy would not have had the zeal it [418] now has! It has been astonishingly active and has been spreading out for over a year. Now every single island under my jurisdiction has at least one of its error-ridden, bigoted ministers. Ah! Whether you receive our news or not, and letters could be intercepted (because we write to you often), send large numbers of apostolic workers, great quantities of help, because up to this point we have been like standard bearers spurring the enemy to battle, and serving him as a rallying flag to go ahead of us and conquer in our place. Two good printing presses with characters, perfect presses! Not having these is causing me very great difficulty. Address everything to me at the Bay of Islands.

[4] All your children here, priests and Brothers, are well, and I think those in Wallis and Futuna are also doing well. You must have received long, detailed letters about these two interesting missions. I will not repeat the news to you today. I have not heard any news for ten months, since I sent a priest, *monsieur* Chevron, and a catechist, *frère* Atale [*sic*], there. The ship that took them from here, that is from the Bay of Islands, is expected back any day now. It called in at Tahiti after dropping off in the aforementioned islands the two missionaries I sent there as reinforcements. I think those two missions have started to develop now, under the protection of our powerful Mother, the most holy Virgin, and with the help of God and His consoling promise, *ecce ego vobiscum sum, omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem sæculi*.²⁵¹ Do not worry any more, *mon très cher père*, about the first subjects to whom I entrusted these two important points of this vast mission of Western Oceania. There are now six of them on those two very islands, 3 priests and 3 brothers.

[5] Always send us more Brothers than priests. Make sure all the subjects you choose, priests and Brothers, are masculine in character, strong, steadfast and virtuous. They do not need to be extremely healthy. In my earlier letters I asked you for priests, without mentioning the need for at least as many brothers. I asked you, I say, for groups of priests, fifty-strong, and today I repeat the same requests with increased urgency, or else we risk seeing most of the islands of our mission ravaged by heresy. Large amounts of money, as well, and exchanged for English currency, or even deposited in banks in London, Sydney and the Bay of Islands.

[6] But, something that I would say is almost as important: I beseech you, in the name of Our Lord's greatest sufferings, send me, as soon as possible, two printing presses, with the characters, [419] and with the moulds for making them. In a word, since there is no trade help in these regions, everything needed to print perfectly, so that these presses can function the moment they reach us here.

[7] At the moment in New Zealand there are 25,000 to 30,000 catechumens preparing for baptism, and about 400 neophytes. Baptisms are not keeping up with the New Zealanders' conversions to the Faith, as the tribes are too scattered, there are not enough of us, and each group of people can only too rarely be given instruction. Up until now, the main aim has been to safeguard them against heresy, which is relentlessly pursuing the loss of their souls.

²⁵¹ "And look, I am with you always; yes, to the end of time" (Mt 28:20).

I must close. I have resolved to write to you, even if it is only 3 lines, every time the opportunity arises. I am, in union with Jesus and Mary, *très révérend et très cher père*, your most affectionate and most devoted,

+ J(ean) B(aptis)te François, Bishop of *Maronée*, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

[8] P.S. I am sending you news through my missionaries' letters, as I do not have time to give you the details myself. + F(rançois)

Doc. 65: 30 July 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin or Poupinel

Bay of Islands

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

To Reverend Father Superior General of the Society of Mary, Lyons, France, or to
Reverend Father Poupinel.

My Very Reverend Father,

[420] [1] A ship is shortly going to set sail for Valparaiso, where there are reliable opportunities for sending mail to France. I am writing you these few quick lines:

[2] I am on the point of buying a 120-tonne schooner, the only one for sale in the Bay of Islands. It will cost me 25,000 francs, meaning that all the funds *messieurs* Pezant and Tripe have just brought me will be used in this purchase. Then I will need close to 1250 francs per month to pay the captain and the sailors and cover their food and expenses. Please inform the gentlemen on the Council of the *Propagation de la foi* as soon as possible about this enormous expense, without which this mission cannot manage, and about the great need of funding it will place me in.

[3] Send me the allocations from the *Propagation de la foi* at regular intervals. Otherwise, if I was compelled to sell either the ship or some of the land my stations are on because regular funding had not been received, it would have a very bad effect on this mission.

[4] A very important point: until further notice, before funds are sent they should always be changed into currency in Paris, that is to say, into English gold coins. This reduces costs and this currency can be used more easily in the areas where we have been up to now. It is even likely that soon only English currency will be in circulation.

[5] 3 or 4 bells weighing 120 pounds would be very useful for us for the mission's main chapels.

[6] But two printing presses with characters, and good presses! We must have all the large letters we need to develop basic reading materials for schools. Copper moulds would be even better for these.

[7] My grateful thanks to *monsieur* Poupinel for the energy and care he devotes to our mission. I am greatly edified by his letters and my neophytes share my expressions of gratitude and join in my prayers to the Lord for him and the benefactors of this mission. I am going to write to these gentlemen and to the Society, which is sending some church ornaments. From here in New Zealand, I send *monsieur* Poupinel, and those who ask me for it, my blessing in the Lord's name.

+J(ean) B(aptis)te François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

[8] P.S. (1) How grateful our catechumens and neophytes would be if the charitable faithful in Lyons and elsewhere continued to send us clothes for them.

+ F(rançois).

[421] [9] P.P.S. (2) Something I have just learnt, and which warranted being in the 1st line of my letter, is that one of our Brothers at *Notre Dame* of the Hermitage was employed in the French navy and, I am told, is capable of captaining a ship. That is the man we need here to captain the mission ship. If he took on an important position like this, his services would be worth at least as much to the mission as those of a Vicar apostolic. This is puzzling to you but not to me. I am asking for him, this subject, for all the reasons of charity that ignite the hearts of the *révérend père supérieur général* and the Society of Mary. And if this subject could teach other Brothers sailing skills for us, that would be wonderful. The Marist Brothers really would win glory in the eyes of God and the whole Church because we would have a boat that was completely religious and completely apostolic. *Fiat! Fiat!* [Let it be done! Let it be done!] +J(ean) B(aptis)te François.

[10] P.P.P.S. Our missionary priests were provided with far too many books when they left France. It is an expense for the missions, and of no use, because we do not have much time for reading here. But what is worse is that they are not bringing books that are essential for them, even when several of them had them on their bookshelves in France. Thus, several have left behind their commentaries on Holy Scripture, books that are extremely useful, in fact essential, for working with peoples who are being ravaged by heresy, which we must frequently combat.

[11] I would like to have at least two copies of Menochius's²⁵² commentaries for every three priests. In addition to this very important work, others that are essential, and essential for each priest, are:

- 1 a small missal with the prefaces marked in plain chant.
- 2 The complete *Breviary*, or the *Breviary* in a single volume.
- 3 A copy of Holy Scripture.
- 4 A novum [New Testament], and a complete *Imitation of Christ*.
- 5 A little book of meditations for every day of the year, e.g. Médaille, in two small volumes.
- 6 A copy of the College of Propaganda's theological statements.
- 7 A *Roman Gradual*²⁵³ and liturgy for Vespers.

[422] 8 a *Roman Ritual*

- 9 an *Ordo Perpetuus*, or book of Divine Office
- 10 Cobbett's *English Grammar for Speakers of French*.²⁵⁴
- 11 A French-English/English-French dictionary in one volume.

[12] For every three priests:

- 1 Two copies of Rodriguez or *Christian Perfection*
- 2 Two ecclesiastical histories, requested from Propaganda in Rome. The title is:
Historia ecclesiastica, variis colloquiis digesta auctore fr(atre) Ignatio Hyacintho Amat de Graveson.
- 3 Two copies of Canon law: *Devoti institutionum canonica*, (from

²⁵² Girard explains that Giovanni Stefano Menochio (1575-165) was an Italian Jesuit theologian who wrote two extensive commentaries on the Holy Scriptures (doc.38, n.28, p.270).

²⁵³ The *Roman Gradual* (Latin: *Graduale Romanum*) is an official liturgical book of the Roman Rite of the Catholic Church containing chants, including the Gradual proper, for use in Mass (Duffy, personal communication, 8 October, 2017).

²⁵⁴ Girard cites William Cobbett, *Master of English Grammar, or a Complete Grammar of the English Language* (n.3, p.422).

Propaganda).

[13] This is what I see as important for the moment in terms of books. But other requests will be sent to you later as experience makes our needs clear. But, to this end, it is essential that you, for your part, extract these requests from our letters and set up an administration book in which to write them as memoranda. We see that, without this precaution, my earlier memos have been partly forgotten because once I have given them, I have not repeated them in subsequent letters. Then attention has been paid to the latest letters only, which could be letting you know about other needs without repeating the ones I had outlined much earlier, assuming, in fact, that they were well known and well in hand. Because previous instructions have been neglected, our Marist Brothers have not come here in large enough numbers. Some-one thought that, as my latest letters received just before the missionaries left did not mention the need for Brothers, it was not necessary to send me any, except one to look after the four priests who were leaving. Alas! What damage this shortage of Brothers, whom I had asked for in my earlier letters, has done to the work of the mission! — We really need 100 little bells each weighing 5 or 6 pounds for the chapels of our tribes. + François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic).

Doc. 66: 4 August 1840, Baty to Claude Girard

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Nouvelle-Zélande, Mission of St Joseph of Hokianga,

[423] Reverend and dear Father,

[1] What a pleasure it was for me to receive the wonderful letter you so kindly did me the honour of writing in May 1839. *Père* Comte delivered it to me in January 1840. I am very grateful you asked to be remembered to me in your letter to *père* Épalle in February, I think it was, 1840. As the letter I had the honour of writing you from here has not reached you, I am beginning to talk with you again, a little late, it is true. This letter will not be as detailed as the first one. I could only tell you things you have probably already learnt from the various letters that have been sent to France.

[2] I will start by telling you how affectionately I remember all the kindnesses you have always shown me. I have not forgotten you, dear Father, and although I am an unworthy child of Mary, I especially cherish those who are more deserving than I of this sweet name. I remember you before Jesus and Mary and pray that they will shower their most abundant blessings on you. You, a child of Mary, can see your loving mother's family growing and, as a result, your heart is filled with the most intense joy. We, in these distant countries, hear through the grapevine that the Society of Mary is growing! Truly, my heart rejoices, but it is not completely satisfied because, in my case, living out of the way on the banks of the Hokianga river, I do not have the privilege of seeing the new workers who come from France. I only have a very sketchy knowledge of things. So, I would like, and I ask you in all humility and for the love of Mary to grant my desire, every time a group leaves I would like to hear about the external state of the Society and the names of the new priests who are part of it. If I do not deserve for you to do me this favour, please be so kind as to ask some Fathers to do it for me so that [424] this news will encourage me to become an increasingly worthy child of Mary, a missionary in accordance with God's will, and to devote myself entirely to the glory of Jesus and Mary.

[3] You do not forget your brothers who have crossed the seas, *révérend père*. Your devotion carries you to the very midst of the peoples of Oceania to bid them come out of the profound darkness that hides from them the true light, to shake off the yoke of the devil and bend under that of their Creator, their most loving Father, and Mary, their mother. If Jesus does not want you to cross the seas, He does really want you to think about those who have crossed them, and to pray for them, and for

those who have been entrusted to them. Raise your arms, then, that we may be victorious.²⁵⁵ How plentiful is the harvest, but how few the workers!²⁵⁶ If the missionary's heart rejoices when he sees he is leading some souls in the paths of righteousness, how sad it becomes when he sees all who escape him. He says to himself, unhappy man that I am, if a saint were here he would be able to gather in those whom I am allowing to be lost, and his heart is flooded with grief.

[4] Yes, dear Father, something has been gained in Hokianga, but there is still much more to be gained. Perhaps the next generation will be less difficult to bring into the fold than the generation that has been so deeply immersed in all false doctrines since childhood, that has grown old in crime and been enslaved in the kingdom of the devil. But what am I saying, the next generation, I do not know what will become of it, with great number of Europeans and ships and the expansion of trade, all things that do not lead to sanctity. Please note that I am talking to you about Hokianga. It seems that in other areas the natives are of better character and have much less to do with Europeans, except in a very few ports.

But I can hear you telling me, become holy and you will achieve what you want. That is true. I must begin then, since I have not started yet, and God will look down with mercy on hearts that have never clearly known the truth. What a pity it is that these peoples live in scattered locations and we cannot get them together to instruct them well. How virtuous they would be! How open they are! How innocent! How affectionate they are now and they are only half instructed! They have changed for the worse in many ways because of their contact with Europeans. O, you who are training

[425] missionaries, tell them that if they are holy and allow their zeal to grow, an abundant harvest awaits them!

Please be so kind as to recommend me to the prayers of your devout novices and of all the Fathers you see, and to whom I send my most affectionate regards, particularly to *très révérend père général* and to *révérend père directeur*, etc. Please also, *mon révérend et cher père*, remember me before Jesus and Mary, accept my fondest respect and believe that I am

Your very humble

and affectionate servant,

²⁵⁵ Cf. "As long as Moses kept his arms raised, Israel had the advantage" (Ex 17:11).

²⁵⁶ Cf. "The harvest is rich but the labourers are few" (Mt 9:37).

Baty

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

)

Doc. 67: 4 August 1840, Servant to his family

Hokianga

My dearest family,

[425] [1] May the peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. I have received all the letters you have sent me. They have given me real pleasure. I thank God over and over again for the precious memories you keep fresh for me each day, your wishes for me to grow in holiness, for the repose of my soul in eternal happiness. I see all your wishes for me as expressions of your great [426] charity. The gift you send me brings me great joy. It is the sign of the love you have always had for me. O, my dear family! In return for all your loving care I promise faithfully to think of you more and more often before God. How could I in a spirit of gratitude fail to obtain through my prayers the grace that you will all have the happiness of going to Heaven one day! Ah! Yes, let us all think about one day seeing each other in Heaven, all meeting together in the kingdom of glory. Here below we are in a place of trial, separation and suffering, but all that is the means of gaining eternal life. Ah! Let us rejoice, my dear family, as we think about the crown God has promised those who have served Him faithfully. Your devoted son loves you very dearly, always. O! If you knew how often he commends you to our divine Saviour. Love him always in God, this son whom you never forget. Remember what I said to you before I left, that my absence would be more useful to you than my presence because God always blesses families who sacrifice their children for His glory and the salvation of souls.

[2] My dear family, here I am still in this New Zealand. I am always in good health here. Except that lately my feet have become rather sore walking across this part of New Zealand, but they are nearly better. The dwelling I am building in Hokianga with another priest and a Brother is a peaceful and happy place. I will lose no time in making forays into the midst of the natives to work with them, giving them instruction. There are already about 120 baptised people in this mission alone, without mentioning other natives who have been baptised in four other missions that have been established in this island. There is no danger in living with the natives. These poor natives do not have very appetizing food to give me, but I am adapting well enough to their diet. A little native who has been baptised and given the name of Nicholas, and who is very much attached to me, takes a great deal of interest in my health, and often remarks to me that one must eat to live. I will have a great deal of pleasure in passing on little details like this that you might enjoy, but it is already very late at night and

my letter must go at dawn tomorrow. So I will leave these details until I have other opportunities to write to you.

[3] But before I finish, I want to say a word to each of you.

[4] My dearest father, I am very pleased you are in good health. I hope you stay healthy like this for a long time. What are you doing at the moment? You no longer have your son, but you often think of him. I am sure, I have no doubt you are thinking a great deal about the salvation of your soul.

[427] [5] And as for you, my good mother, you probably have aches and pains to put up with. You bear your cross following the example of our divine Master. Your well-beloved son is very happy. He loves you very much in God. Make sure you pray twice as hard for him.

[6] Dear Françoise! How glad I am you are staying with our dear father and our dear mother. I am sure you are very solicitous about helping them. Always do everything you can to bring them comfort in their spiritual and temporal needs. I will always be grateful to you for that. Do not forget to pray for me every day.

[7] Dear Jeanette! I am very grateful to you for the love you bear me. You can be quite sure you are loved in return. I have already asked God that you may become holy in the state of matrimony, live with your husband in great love, and draw the blessings of Heaven on yourself and on him.

[8] *Monsieur Séon*! You have now become my brother! I am extremely happy about that. The kind letter you sent me shows you are deeply attached to our holy religion. I truly hope your wife will secure your happiness in this world and in the next.

[9] I must go! My dear family, let us love God above all else. I end this letter by giving you my blessing.

[10] May the peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Servant

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 68: 6 August 1840, Épalle to Claude Girard

Bay of Islands

To Rev(erend) F(athe)r Girard

My Reverend and very dear Father,

[427] [1] I am ashamed of my poor response to your very great kindness in writing me a letter to go with every group that has set out since I left the centre of Mary's dear family. But I would die of [428] grief if you thought this delay occurred because I did not feel the utmost affection for our family. I expect you will never fall short in that respect and I have the right to expect it. I impose this on you as a strict obligation. I am your first son, do not forget that. Enough about my faithlessness! The Holy Virgin has forgiven me for everything I have done. O, most kind Mother!

[2] Besides, if I have not written to you, the real reason is that I did not want to unless I could do so at length. I have thought the better of that. Little and often is better, as here it is impossible to write letters that are both long and frequent. If I could only send you my heart, my whole heart, you really would need two weeks to read it. However, in four or five days I am going to pick up my pen because I cannot resist the need any longer. The children of Oceania love to talk about their kind Father too. Be sure to tell the good *père général* that although I may have grieved him by not writing to him, long letters will soon make up for my delay. Please also give my respects to all our *révérends pères directeurs*, Terraillon and Champagnat, etc. Many messages from me to all the novices whom I can call my successors, may they all be for Oceania, and may they come in their hundreds. O, what a great field! O, what a great vineyard. People are entering it from every direction, except through the rightful doorway. When will we see this great host of legitimate shepherds come from the mountain tops to chase away those plagues of illegitimate ministers who poison these pastures?

[3] Do not think, *mon très cher père*, that a missionary can see everything that error and lies do without developing a desire, which those who are not witnesses to what is happening cannot yearn for with the same passion, to see true preachers arrive, I say it again, in their hundreds, yes, in their hundreds, nothing less.

[4] Forgive me for this rough note. I have been disturbed at least 20 times while I have been writing it. I am currently in the Bay of Islands where His Lordship, *monseigneur* Pompallier, has called me to manage this station where we are overburdened with the weight of all we have to do. I pray

every day that he will send this station a Brother, who would tell you himself how much we need Brothers. I think *monsieur* Dubreuil has left for Oceania. I will not include a message for him.

[5] In the most beautiful place in the hearts of Jesus and Mary,

Your very, very, very devoted

Épalle, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic).

Doc. 69: 6 August 1840, Pompallier to Pierre Colin

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Mission of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*, Bay of Islands

To Reverend Father Colin (senior), Director of the Society of Mary Novitiate.

My Reverend and very dear Father

Pax X'

[429] [1] I only have time to write you a few quick lines. But even if I could only write you three, I would do it all the same. How many times have I remembered you affectionately before the Lord! I can only talk to Him about you, but I have limited time to talk to you about Him and His works in these lands, which are so far away. Even my correspondence about administration and essential matters is in arrears. Alas! How overwhelming, but how consoling, the work is here! I do not know which outweighs the other, the Cross, or the consolations. You must have received plenty of news about this mission. This comforts me when I think about my silence. I am also sure you pray a great deal for us all and for our work, and have a great many prayers said. Yes, let us become ever increasingly servants of Jesus and Mary and, without writing to each other often, we will understand each other well and tell each other many things that could not be contained in long letters. Pray for me, and have many prayers said for me, lest the burden of rank and responsibility before Our Lord and His holy Church, our mother, overwhelm me.

[2] I am writing to you today so that you and *révérend père général*, your brother, to whom I have written a great deal, and whom I know to be very busy, can be of the same mind. Advise the [430] missionaries and catechists, when they are boarding ships for the mission, not to raise matters of religious controversy at the passengers' table, and not to sustain or add fuel to the sorts of conversations that usually inflame the pride of those present without bringing any benefit to the Faith. The dinner table is not the place to talk about holy matters. It is a place to be gracious, courteous, and well mannered. Observing the rules of good manners makes a much better impression than entering into debates. I know *révérend père* Tripe has written a letter to someone in the Society. I think, if I remember correctly, it was to *révérend père* Teraillon. He said in it that state ships are harmful to the religious spirit.

[3] Yes, it is true that the spirit of worldliness is at least as bad at sea as on land. But take any ship you like, it will not be any better than the state ships. With experience and *savoir-faire* one can do a great deal of good everywhere. Of course, for this to happen, the priests and catechists need what foreign missions require, virtues not just beginning to be acquired, but virtues that are strong and solid, showing good judgment and an enduring union with God. Missionaries also need to frequently recommend to God souls with whom they find themselves, so that if they cannot obtain supernatural rewards from this, or their conversion to God, they can quite easily win natural gains, that is to say, respect, affection, and honest behaviour, if they know the right way to go about it. I very much want us to always take advantage of state ships for all departures to the mission. It is a great favour, a huge saving for the mission, and it also gives us an immediate status in the local area, that sometimes we would not have been able to attain even after several years.

[4] A fault to be avoided henceforth on the state ships is one that has just been committed because of lack of experience. Our catechist Brothers had been placed with the priests at the military staff table where the young men are quite cultivated and often come from France's most distinguished families. They are very well educated. Our Brothers, although their religious state raises them high in God's eyes, are not of the same rank and breeding in civilian life. They can sometimes even provoke criticism from the young men, who are already somewhat predisposed to be critical about all religious matters. It would be much better for our Brothers not to be at table with the priests and the military staff, but to be at the next table where the ship service staff sit. It is one thing to have religious merit in the eyes of God and the Church, but quite another to have it in society and amongst distinguished [431] people. Besides, for us, humility is more precious than all the esteem of this world. There, *mon bien cher père*, that is what I am entrusting to you, to have remedied in future. My greetings in our Lord and His most holy mother, to *révérends pères* Girard, Déclat, Jalon, Champagnat, Teraillon, etc, etc, etc. How many there are whose memory is very dear to me, both within and outside the Society. How mortified I am not to be able to reply to many, finding myself, like a soldier in the battlefield, unable to pick up a pen with which to write. May God shower abundant blessings on you and on them. May our love for Jesus Christ and for His dear souls grow ever more and more in our hearts. May His divine service, the work for His sheep, and His love consume all our strength, our hearts and our being! May the Cross be our consolation and our life. May it be a victorious weapon in our hands. And one day,

when we fall with exhaustion in the battles of the Lord, may it support our dying bodies and receive our last sigh. *Impendam et superimpendar*,²⁵⁷ etc, etc, etc.

[5] How many times have I been comforted to hear that *monsieur* Terrailon has at last left his parish to enter fully into the dear Society, which from the beginning counted him amongst its first members. Give him our sincere congratulations. How overjoyed and happy Oceania would be to have him too!

[6] I have also heard that *monsieur* Cholleton, dear, respected *monsieur* Cholleton, had not only always had his heart in the Society of Mary, but even wanted to join the ranks of its militia and share in our work, now he has seen it making such good advances. What a pleasure it is for me to receive news like that!

[7] I have finally heard that the administration of the Lyons diocese has just undergone a change, authorized by the Holy See, so that *monseigneur* Archbishop de Pins, having attained a great age and even greater distinction, and so worthy of the gratitude, respect and affection of the whole diocese of Lyons, has been replaced by *monseigneur* Archbishop de Bonald, whom I only have the honour of knowing through his very distinguished reputation. I am sure His Lordship will have the same fatherly feelings for us and for all the Society of Mary as *monseigneur* Archbishop de Pins had [432] and that this dear Society will continue to flourish under the protection of this illustrious archbishop. I beg *monsieur le supérieur général*, or you, *mon bien cher père*, to offer my humble respects to *monseigneur* Archbishop de Bonald. Pray for us in the name of Jesus and Mary.

Your affectionate and devoted,

+ François, Bishop, Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

²⁵⁷ Cf. "I am more than glad to spend what I have and to be spent for the sake of your souls" (2 Co 12:15).

Doc. 70: 20 August 1840, Comte to Jean-Claude Colin

Akaroa

Akaroa Harbour, Banks Peninsula, Te-Wai-pounamou [*sic*] Island

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

My Very Reverend Father,

[432] [1] I have been recalled from Hokianga to join the mission in the South Island, which the natives call Te Wai-pounamou [*sic*]. *Père* Pezant and I boarded the *Aube*²⁵⁸ in the Bay of Islands on the 30th of July. We came into Akaroa harbour on the 15th day of the month of August, the Feast of the Assumption. This is now the second time I have celebrated this beautiful feast day on the water. The next evening, we heard two cannon shots in the entrance to the port. It was the *Comte de Paris*. Its [433] foremast had been damaged by lightning twice on the same night. Two colonists died before the passengers disembarked. Politically speaking, matters seem very confused. England has declared sovereignty over the whole of New Zealand. Some English individuals are claiming to have bought land before the French did.²⁵⁹ I do not know how matters will turn out. There are only about thirty [434] natives here in Akaroa. It is said there are 200 natives in a nearby bay and to the north of Akaroa. That is the total number of people²⁶⁰ living on Banks Peninsula. They all say Methodist prayers.

²⁵⁸ Lavaud, captain of the *Aube*, had been appointed as commissioner of King Louis-Philippe of France to oversee the planned establishment of the French colony of Akaroa. The *Aube* left Brest on 19 February, 1840 (Lavaud, 1843/1986, p.11). Consequently, Lavaud did not learn the British had claimed sovereignty over all New Zealand on 21 May 1840 until he met with Pompallier at the Bay of Islands on 11 July (Tremewan, 2010, p.100). Without knowing what had been agreed between the French and British governments, Lavaud decided his only course of action was to proceed as prudently as possible “[J]’agirai avec une grande prudence [...] ignorant à ce qui sera gratté entre les deux gouvernements si éloignés” (1840, 15 April).

²⁵⁹ Tremewan (2010) provides details of these purchases, including: Jean Langlois, then captain of the French whaler, *Cachalot*, claiming to have bought the whole of Banks Peninsula on 2 August 1838, from the Māori of Port Cooper for 1000 francs (£40), making a down-payment of clothing worth 150 francs (p.26); on 4 October, 1836; Patrick Byrne appearing to have bought 20,000 acres at Port Levy from chief Pokene, but “this purchase was not followed up”; and on 21 October, 1837, Captain Clayton buying the whole peninsula from chief Tuauau, although these purchases had weaknesses in terms of Māori consent to the sales (p.33); in October 1839, Captain Francis Leathart selling Banks Peninsula to Cooper, Holt and Rhodes in Sydney for £325; and in November 1839, Georg Hempleman giving chief Tuhawaiki a cutter, the *Mary Ann*, as payment for part of the peninsula (p.54).

²⁶⁰ Lavaud (1843/1986) also estimates up to 200 *habitants* were living in Akaroa and Port Cooper [Lyttelton] (p.24). It is interesting that, in spite of the apparent inclusiveness of the term *habitants* the focus of both Comte and Lavaud was on the Māori population only. Tremewan (2010) notes that Edmund Halswell and Edward

[2] We will establish ourselves amongst the French colonists. *Père* Pezant will be responsible for them. I will go into the bay I have already mentioned, where the natives are more numerous. I do not know if I will be able to go overland. You have to cross quite high mountains.²⁶¹ They are coroneted with snow, and the natives do not like walking barefoot on the sugar, which is the word they use for both snow and white sugar. Also, these natives are said to be really evil and still partial to human flesh. None of that means anything. Nothing will happen to us unless God permits it. Mary is our Mother. She will take care of her children. The natives I have seen here seem very good people, and they have assured me that the Maori at Port Cooper²⁶² [now Lyttelton] are certainly not bad people. There is some difference between the language of this area and that spoken in the North Island. The natives have told me that some years ago large numbers of them used to live in Banks Peninsula, but they were massacred by a chief called Terauparaha.²⁶³ He is still alive and eats nothing but human flesh. He resides in the north of this island. He is bound to come this year to make war, the natives say. I tell them not to be afraid. We have 22 cannons to welcome him.

[3] I cannot vouch for all the details I have just recounted. I have no time to go further into this.

[4] Pray for me, *mon révérend père*. O how much we need prayer so we do not fall into the pit. I am always mindful of Mary. The thought that she is my Mother and that I am a member of her

Shortland, in 1841 and 1844 respectively, indicate that about 300 Māori were living on Banks Peninsula (pp.320-329). He gives the total European population for the peninsula, just prior to the arrival of the French colonists, as "in the region of 85" (p.123). Unpublished documentation, compiled by Tremewan and based on data reported by Robinson, the Akaroa British magistrate, the writings of Dumont d'Urville, whaling records (Marine Archives in Paris, Rouen and Nantes), American whaling ship logs and records kept by Lavaud, shows that 49 ships were in Akaroa harbour during the period 1 January 1840-31 December, 1840. Their crews, which ranged from about 35 men on whaling ships to around 300 on French Navy ships would have increased the transient on-shore population although the men were accommodated on board their own vessels (Tremewan, personal communication, 23 September, 2016, 9 and 10 April, 2018).

²⁶¹ I have translated *montagnes* as 'mountains' in the Akaroa letters (docs 70[2]; 73[3] (*montagneux*); 79[8]) to reflect the way the French priests saw the local scenery, although these "mountains" have historically been known as "hills" in New Zealand English (Little Akaloa School, 1886, 2 July).

²⁶² Girard notes that Comte also seems to be thinking of Port Lévy (Koukourarata), situated near Port Cooper and inhabited by many Māori (n.6, p.434).

²⁶³ Girard explains (n.7, p.434) that Comte means Te Rauparaha, chief of the Ngati Toa tribe, who, with allied tribes, fought against the tribes of the Waikato to control the fertile land north of Kawhia (west coast of the North Island). Around 1827 and in the following years, Te Rauparaha and his warriors attacked several places in the South Island. In 1830, he and around a hundred of his warriors were taken by Captain John Stewart on the brig *Elizabeth* to the Akaroa area, where Te Rauparaha took revenge on an enemy tribe. He came back there in 1831 and seized the village of Onawe. Within a few years, Te Rauparaha and his allies had conquered the south-west of the North Island and almost all of the northern part of the South Island (Girard cites the *Dictionary of NZ Biography*, vol.1, pp.504-507; *Oxford History NZ*, pp.42, 45).

Cécille, in a letter to the French Minister for the Navy, noted that Te Rauparaha was known as "the Napoleon of New Zealand" (23 September, 1838, in Cambridge and Tremewan, 1998, pp.14-15). For other primary references to Te Rauparaha see also docs 78[3] and 79[10]; "Extract from the Diary of M. Montravel" (d'Urville, 1842-46/1955, pp.56-57); and Lavaud's *Rapport général* (1843/1986, pp.24-26).

[435] fills me with consolation and joy. I enjoy perfect health. I am happy.²⁶⁴ I do very little or no good. I am a useless servant, but I have confidence in my Mother, and she will lead me to Heaven.

[5] I ask you for your blessing and am, with the deepest respect,

My Reverend Father,

Your very humble and very

obedient servant,

Comte

[6] I have written to you from Hokianga. Amongst the books I have asked you for, I would be grateful if you would send at least the history of the Church and Menochius to the Bay of Islands for me and with my name on them. O, you know we need that.

²⁶⁴ Based on *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française. Sixième Édition*, the usual meaning of *heureux* in 1840 was "happy", "fortunate" or "prosperous", all of which seem inappropriate translations in this context. I suggest that a better translation here would be "I am at peace" [because I am doing God's will], based on contextual knowledge about the spiritual life Comte might have been expected to be leading as a Marist priest. However, I have left it as "happy" so that the TT reader can make up his or her own mind about the best translation in the context.

Doc. 71: 30 August 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin

No. 23 (2nd)²⁶⁵

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Mission of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*, Bay of Islands.

To R(ev)erend F(athe)r Colin, Superior General of the Society of Mary, Lyons, France.

My Very Reverend and very dear Father,

Pax Xⁱ

[435] [1] Today I am sending you many letters: several will enrich the *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* and will be a source of great edification. I do not need to ask you to publish *père* [436] Chevron's letter²⁶⁶ to one of his relatives, in which he provides almost a diary of his voyage from the Bay of Islands to the tropical islands. It will be one of the most interesting letters to appear in the *Annales* so far, no doubt about that. It will show some of the trials of our mission, which often we do not have time to describe, and how powerfully we are protected by God and Mary. I have just managed to find time to read that letter, the one from *père* Bataillon, and some from *père* Chanel. They both ask you for several things for their missions and have my approval for this. In any case, the very fact that I am forwarding their letters about the enormous flock that has been entrusted to me, and that they submit them to me before sending them on, is evidence of my approval. However, please take care to send everything to the supply centre, which is in the Bay of Islands now, as you know. That is to ensure the pastoral administration of the mission is unified, as unity is the soul of success. Here, I reserve the right to distribute the items sent to us through the charity of the faithful²⁶⁷ according to the needs of each mission. I only approve specific requests people make on the basis that the allocation is for the benefit of one station or another, depending on what I, who am here on the spot, deem most appropriate. *Père* Bataillon is asking you for a small printing press; I endorse his request, adding the

²⁶⁵ Pompallier's numbering is not completely systematic. Doc.64 was numbered 22; doc 65 was not numbered, but presumably should have been numbered 23. Therefore doc.71 could have been numbered 24, but this number has been given to doc. 80, written 26 November, 1840.

²⁶⁶ LRO, doc 62. Not included in this translation as the letter was written from Futuna.

²⁶⁷ Cf. LRO, doc 34[3] where Pompallier explains why it is important that he make the decisions about how resources are distributed and [13] complains that the 2nd group of missionaries had visited their fellow missionaries in Wallis and Futuna and distributed gifts there without his permission.

words: *and a perfect press*,²⁶⁸ because in this matter, we are quite outdone by the missionaries, or rather, the henchmen of heresy. It is a pleasure to see how beautiful their printings, and their thousands of brochures, are. Their production leaves nothing to be desired. I am ashamed here to distribute my little catechisms of only 8 sheets of paper.²⁶⁹ When our neophytes compare these catechisms, or rather, when the natives of the other missionaries compare their brochures with ours, our neophytes are ashamed. Alas! On many occasions the comparison has made a bad impression on our natives and neophytes. How desirable it is, therefore, that we have good printing presses. We need three, i.e., two for New Zealand and one for the tropics.

[2] I have learnt that some people in Lyons thought the clothes the faithful donated for our [437] neophyte natives were childish. No doubt that is why, with the last two despatches of missionaries, there were hardly any clothes for the natives. However, I observe that “clothes to send our natives” is underlined in the notes I sent the Congregation. The missionaries in the 2nd dispatch brought us quite a good quantity of clothes, but they still told me they had left behind at St Étienne a great number of garments that had been given to them for the mission and that, as they could not take everything, the clothes were left in storage at St Étienne for the next dispatch of our missionaries. It is annoying that alms donated in the form of clothing have not reached us. Have people forgotten that Our Lord, on the last Day, will admit to Heaven those who, in clothing the least of His children on earth, have clothed Him?²⁷⁰ The greatest graces, both for those who give and those who receive, are attached to this type of almsgiving to savages. I can say from experience that a good number of them, who were riper for the Faith and Christian virtues, have not been able to resist the beneficial effect of grace after seeing the charity the Church has for its neighbour, in the form of our neophytes, whom they see clothed by the Bishop and his missionaries. These savages, who were so hard to convert, now follow the lessons of the Faith with the docility of lambs. Yes, amongst all the ways of succeeding in the missions to the savages, none is more efficacious than corporal acts of kindness towards them.

²⁶⁸ Pompallier had used the same words in *LRO*, doc.34[5], requesting two more presses for New Zealand and angrily reiterating that he had already made several requests for the same thing.

²⁶⁹ Girard notes (n.2, p.436) that according to Herbert W. Williams (*A bibliography of printed Māori to 1900*, p.22) the full title was “Ko nga tahi Pono Nui o te Hahi Katorika Romana”. He explains that this “little catechism” consisted of instructions in the Catholic faith, the Apostles’ Creed, the Our Father, a short devotional prayer, a hymn, and the alphabet, syllables, and numerals, so that it was also a way of teaching reading. It was probably dated 1839.

²⁷⁰ Cf. “I was a stranger and you made me welcome, lacking clothes and you clothed me” (Mt 25:36-37).

In addition, through this means, we teach them Christian modesty. Then, in gratitude, they in return give in value that is at least equal to what has been given to them. They take a delightful pleasure in also bringing you their gifts in the form of all sorts of provisions, which is a great saving for the mission and, even better, they genuinely love you and thus are much more willing to submit to the teaching of religion. I have heard the Picpus missionaries in the Gambier Islands have so inspired the charity of the faithful in France, through their fellow-priests in Paris, that they have been able to clothe all their natives. But what I will earnestly emphasise again here is that people take care not to embroider pious things, like crosses, hearts, or religious symbols, on the clothes they send so they do not give the European Protestants an excuse to mock our neophytes. What is more, they should stop bestrewn [438] devotional objects everywhere over worldly things. Apart from that, we will welcome everything with the deepest gratitude, old clothes, new clothes, shabby clothes, pieces of material, canvas, old blankets, in a word, everything that can be used for clothing, everything one might consider of little value in France. Everything is good for our dear people, provided it is not in too bad condition.

[3] Do not wait any longer for letters from me asking you to send me subjects for the mission. You will never be able to provide me with enough to meet the most urgent needs here. Send all you can, a hundred at a time, if you have them, and make sure there are always at least as many brothers as priests. When you are choosing trades, there should be more carpenters, builders and weavers than other trades, then some tailors, etc, etc, etc, and one or two doctors and one or two architects are badly needed. We are suffering greatly in the mission from the shortage of Brothers, and Brothers who are well skilled and well trained for the missions. When the missions started, temporal and industrial matters had, for the savages, an unimaginable impact on their salvation. All subjects for the mission, should, until further notice, travel directly to the Bay of Islands, without stopping or working anywhere else.

[4] Send me, *mon très cher père*, subjects who have very strong vocations and are well trained in their conduct, that is to say, who are well brought up. In these regions we are surrounded by Europeans who are more troublesome than people are in France. There are not too many here who do well in this respect except *père Viard*, and he wins the respect, affection and trust of everyone,²⁷¹ and of all the natives. He has all the qualities of an excellent priest. He is doing very well. I am very pleased with him. God blesses his work in a wonderful way. May the religious life increase, or at least preserve,

²⁷¹ An example of unconscious racism, with "the natives" excluded from "everyone".

the virtues, spirit, and all the good qualities of a priest. A priest who is well trained in his character, his conduct, in modesty, discreet in his speech, discriminating in his generosity, considerate and at ease in his behaviour, always ready to advise his neighbour, who tells him about his difficulties, his problems, his troubles, how much good does a priest like this do in the missions! Instead of complacent personalities, sharp, serious, or uncommunicative, sad, awkward, or ungracious men, too greatly enslaved by a piety that constrains the spirit, making them self-conscious, hostile to the company of men of the world, or at least to the proprieties that the good manners of proper upbringing frequently require of us. All these personalities will, I repeat, achieve little success in the missions. Men who are too sensitive, over-imaginative, too quick, amidst the thousands of opportunities that arise, to be upset [439] by peoples' faults and vices, can sometimes see everything negatively, or at least as really black, when, with more patience and perseverance, success would be quite close.²⁷² Alas! One must stand closely united with God to follow the spirit and to see what He requires of it, with His grace, so as not to complain in one's heart that matters are not going as quickly as one would like and that, in some souls, the fruits of the faith are sometimes not commensurate with the trouble one has taken over them.

Yes, *mon très cher père*, would that all the subjects you send us were fully dead to themselves, that they were victims truly sacrificed to God. Mediocre virtues would have trouble standing firm amidst the myriad opportunities for vice or sins of the flesh that are encountered in the missions, in the difficulties, the crosses, the distractions of overwhelming work, in all sorts of mortifications of the will, that God Himself, without the superiors getting involved, sends with unfailing frequency. There are no pathways like the missions that demand a more universal and more selfless obedience, and a love for one's neighbour that is more patient, more generous, more zealous, more mortified, to be all things to all men,²⁷³ in spite of all the differences of personality, all the faults, the habits, the customs of so many people from so many nations.

Alas, my greatly respected and *très cher père*, amidst all the consolations of this mission and all the good news you receive from it, there are crosses, very heavy crosses, and dangers of many kinds. I have the consolation of enduring them for the holy cause of Jesus Christ, our good Master. All those

²⁷² Cf doc.33[10] where Pompallier also warns Colin that priests without good social skills will not do well in missionary work.

²⁷³ Cf. "I accommodated myself to people in all kinds of different situations, so that by all possible means I might bring some to salvation" (1 Co. 9:22-23).

crosses and all the dangers St Paul speaks of are encountered here in Oceania. But alas! The hardest danger to bear is that caused *a falsis fratribus*²⁷⁴ [by false brothers]. As you feel the crosses that I bear in the mission just as keenly as I do, today you will suffer for the first time a very bitter cross I have borne in New Zealand this year.

This is what happened: May the peace and gentleness of the Lord lighten your burden: the so-called *frère* Hamon, surname Dupéron, a young, active man, with plenty of ability in his trade as a baker, [440] disembarked here in the Bay of Islands with his heart full of resentment against the two priests with whom he had travelled from France on the corvette, the *Aube*, and especially against *père* Pezant, The first thing he asked me for when he arrived was some clothes from amongst his chattels so that he could look for a position in the new colony here. That grieved me greatly. I wanted to know the whole story and I realized that, although *père* Pezant might have been somewhat imprudent on the ship in the penances he had imposed on him for his failings, and in his manner of governing the priests and brothers on the voyage, the subject was nevertheless very weak in the virtues required in the religious life. He seemed to me extremely complacent, headstrong, full of self-love, and to have had an extremely doubtful vocation right from when he first entered the religious life. If I can find the letter he wrote me, I will send it to you, enclosed in this.

However, so as not to do anything too hasty in the matter of this unfortunate young man, although he deserved to be driven out forthwith, I tried to reason with him. He listened to my views quite well and then I got him to agree to stay with me for a month, so that he could look at everything in a mature way and not leave the mission and the Marist Congregation on some sudden impulse. He agreed to this and I set him to doing the cooking for the Bay of Islands station, where I am living. He did his work well, and was devoted to me in particular, but that was all. I was distressed to see he was not performing his religious duties. He had only yielded to my advice in the beginning out of respect and not really to change his attitude towards the Congregation.

After staying in the house for a month, he came to me to ask the same thing he had asked at the beginning. He was completely open with me in a letter he wrote me and in a long, private conversation I had with him. Seeing that in a certain sense he was not failing his vocation, as he had never had a true one, I gave him permission to leave, and to go and look for some work in the area. I exhorted him

²⁷⁴ Cf. "Continually travelling, I have been in danger from rivers, in danger from brigands, in danger from my own people and in danger from the gentiles, in danger in the towns and in danger in the open country, in danger at sea and in danger from people masquerading as brothers" (2 Co 11:26).

to at least take heed of his own salvation, I blessed a crucifix and some rosary beads for him that he promised he would keep forever, and he obtained a position as a cook for a caterer in Kororareka, a Protestant, but Dupéron promised me faithfully he would carry out the duties essential for salvation. That is one child less in the Society of Mary. Alas! May he become and remain an active member of the Holy Church, our Mother. I have been greatly distressed by all this.

Poor *père* Pezant was too inexperienced to manage the Brothers on the voyage. Our missionaries [441] need to have a great deal of sympathetic understanding and fatherly affection for our dear Brothers, who are, through the straits of humility and manual labour, often kept busy doing nothing else but look after the Fathers. I entreat *père* Champagnat to choose good subjects for me amongst the Brothers. I must be sent the élite of what is available, not the young group, (i.e.) the group who are unaccomplished and still novices in acquiring virtue and skills. I say the same thing about the priests. Why do I no longer see any senior members of the Society coming? The ones who come have barely finished their noviciate in the Society. Allow me, *mon très cher père*, to speak to you frankly like this, with an open heart, as I would like to be spoken to myself in a similar situation to benefit the work of the mission, which can well be considered as benefiting the Congregation itself.

I believe it would be very advantageous to have a missionary from here whom I would send you to devote himself exclusively to the mission, in your administration, to help you choose all the subjects you send me, and to correspond with us here, without however, taking anything away from your concern for us, your care, and especially your dear, helpful letters. I would also ask you, on my own behalf, for one of our senior brother-priests who is very experienced in the religious life to direct all the missionaries and catechists in their spiritual lives. That would be his main, and almost exclusive, responsibility in the mission. He would have a fair amount to do and in addition, if, as I hope, we receive many more subjects as time goes on, we would need at least two or three spiritual directors as visitors or provincials to maintain, right across the little legion of Mary in Oceania, the surest way of promoting success and victory in our work and our battles. As for me, poor Vicar apostolic, although I have left everything in the world to win savages for Jesus Christ and for His holy Church, I will never be able to forget my colleagues and brother-priests of the Society, their perfection, and their holy state, viewed as I view them now and as, in accordance with the Faith, they should be viewed, that is to say, in relation to the subjects and their work, I can only have the greatest desire for these two precious objects: to maintain them in good condition and see them increase.

But alas, *très cher père*, it is impossible from so far away to give you an idea of the work that is overwhelming me, as I am still the only one who has enough English and New Zealand language to be able to preach, hear confessions, and attend to all the many relationships the mission continually demands in its dealings with so many people, so many civil authorities, so many groups of every kind.

[442] However, to tell the truth, I have been greatly helped by our brother-priests who, with the exception, of course, of the latest arrivals, have reasonably good New Zealand language, but not enough English. But the longer we go on, the more the progress the mission makes, and directing the subjects in their interior and spiritual life is becoming morally unsustainable for me. I can only promise you to insist that the Rule is followed by being vigilant about external observances and through great devotion to the dear Society of Mary. For the moment, I am continuing as before, as there are not very many subjects and, I have entrusted, in addition to myself, a priest with particular responsibility for seeing the Rule is observed. That is *père* Épalle. But alas! On the whole, none of the subjects has enough knowledge or experience in terms of the religious state. The earliest appointed ones who came with me in the first group had not gone through their noviciate, and then those who came after had, for the most part, not finished theirs. However, *mon révérend père*, I am pleased to see the religious spirit is being maintained in the mission. But believe me, this is not a place where one can easily undertake training in a religious noviciate. All the preparation really needs to have been done before the missionaries come so they can launch fully fledged into the apostolate.

[5] But, *très cher père*, I have not yet told you everything about the cross I have had to bear this year. I feel it even more keenly because of the loss of Dupéron. Alas! *Frère* Michel, a young man, too susceptible, too affectionate, and too feminine in his nature, stumbled into particular friendships here that meant he was under a cloud of suspicion, even outside the house, then into stealing several objects from the mission, and into hypocritical behaviour. For more than two years he has been my cross because I could see clearly that the subject was failing. I caught him several times giving little tokens of affection to some neighbours and, in particular, to a young married woman. After having reprimanded him and lectured him sternly, severely punished him over and over again, finally threatening him with expulsion if he fell again, I kept my word on his first relapse, which involved accepting a little jar of scented hair oil from a foreigner, sending it secretly with a letter to the [443] family he was fond of, that is to say, a small child and its mother, then bargaining for a shawl so he could buy it and send it, probably to the same person. Finally, he had hidden some neckerchiefs, items of cheap jewellery, fabrics, etc, etc, amongst his things, a sort of collection of small items all

ready for a wedding and had carried on with this conduct while deceiving the poor Fathers to whom he confessed, because he was approaching the sacraments in constant violation of his vows and even of basic morality. I drove him out without compunction as it was the third time he had fallen in such a miserable way. He has gone to ply his trade as a tailor five or six leagues away from the station, and thus has gone to mix with a number of the many Europeans who are arriving every day to colonise this country. The mission has not suffered in any way because of this expulsion. God's work never suffers because workers who become unworthy of it are eradicated. May the Lord have mercy on him. That is all I desire.²⁷⁵ I hope *père* Champagnat will try hard to procure us a tailor to replace him and repair, by his edifying conduct, the slight rupture in the Brothers' community.

[6] I believe I have told you in an earlier letter that I have bought a ship here for the mission, which has cost me about 28,000 francs, including repairs. I really need large, regular allocations from the *Propagation de la foi* to cover so many expenses. However, a boat belonging exclusively to the mission is something I must have. Without a boat, it is impossible to conquer heresy, which is being astonishingly active in expanding into all the islands under my jurisdiction. I wrote to you earlier about ordering a boat from a *monsieur* Le Normand from Le Havre de Grâce in France.²⁷⁶ If you have done that, you can now arrange for it to be sold in the port. No doubt you will get back what it cost you and you will send the money to me or, better still, if the boat is solid and well made, use it for a dispatch of missionaries and things for the mission in the Bay of Islands, where, after I have had a look at it, I will keep it if it is worth more than the one I have, and I will sell the latter. Or, if my boat is worth more than [444] the one you send me, I will sell yours and keep mine. Buying ships, using them, and selling them off when you no longer need them is a way of really saving money in shipping.

²⁷⁵ See *LRO*, doc.272[2] for an account by Fr Bernard of the grief and sense of dislocation suffered by Br Michel after his dismissal and for Pompallier's softened attitude that enabled him to permit the ex-Brother to live with Fr Bernard as his servant to see 'if it was God's will for him to come back into the Society': *pour examiner de plus près si c'est la volonté de Dieu qu'il rentre dans la Société*.

²⁷⁶ Pompallier wrote to Colin on 7 December, 1839, asking him to buy a ship for him and suggesting a M. Lateste be appointed captain (*LRO*, doc.44[2-3]). On 7 January, 1840, he wrote again suggesting a M. Pelletier could be captain and help with the purchase of the ship if the arrangement with M. Lateste did not go ahead for any reason (doc.46[1]). On 14 May, 1840 (doc.59[32]), Pompallier wrote again to Colin telling him the 2nd group of missionaries had arrived in the Bay of Islands on a schooner they had bought half-shares with the Picpus Fathers, but that he had now sold this and intended to buy another boat. No further mention was made of his request that Colin purchase a boat in France. Colin must have been relieved that he had decided not to action Pompallier's request. Snijders (2012), however, describes the difficulties the prospective shipbuilders suffered because of Pompallier's ill-thought out requests and Colin's subsequent lack of definitive action (pp.272-273).

[7] I am sending you a copy of the spiritual Rule (the one belonging to good *père* Bret, who is now in Heaven)²⁷⁷ that I drew up for the mission, in principal and provisionally, until the Congregation determined something in relation to this. I do not remember if I have sent it to you before. However that may be, as you have not acknowledged receipt of it in your letters, I am sending it to you now. You will see where we are here in relation to the Rule and what you consider should be done in the future, based on the information I am giving you.

[8] *Adieu, mon très révérend et très cher père.* Say many prayers and have many said for us and our work. A great number of subjects, a great deal of help, and Oceania will soon belong to Our Lord and to Mary, Queen of the Church. I have no time to read my letter over, the ship is about to leave and is waiting for it. It has just been scribbled and started and stopped a hundred times. Greetings in Jesus and Mary to all the Fathers and Brothers, and to the Sisters, who have never given us a sign of life or of remembering us at all. I do not have enough time or paper to mention anyone by name.

Your very humble and very obedient servant

+ J(ean) B(aptis)te François, Bishop of Maronée and Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

[9] P.S. Before I had even received the letter you sent me to tell me about the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide's views on buying land in the mission, I had purchased some to provide for the stations that have been established, without thinking that could have met with the slightest difficulty from the Holy See, because the Church has always provided temporal necessities for the clergy. In other letters, and particularly in the one I will write to His Eminence the Cardinal Prefect, I will list everything the mission owns. You will be informed about everything.

+ J(ean) B(aptis)te F(rançois)

[10] [*In the margin and up the page*] P.P.S. Be sure to send me *monsieur* Perret, the architect. How much work there is here! I am sending you a note to direct the purchase of characters for the printing press.

+ F(rançois)

[11] P.P.P.S. I am sending you a note about the printing press characters to buy for us. Please find it enclosed. Also a small account to arrange insurance in France for the boat I have just bought.

+ F(rançois)

²⁷⁷ Fr Bret sailed in the first group with Pompallier but died at sea on 20 March, 1837, two days after they left Santa Cruz (LRO, doc.15[2], Pompallier to Colin, from Valparaiso, 17 July 1837).

Doc. 72: 31 August 1840, Épalle to Jean-Claude Colin

Kororareka, Bay of Islands, *Nouvelle-Zélande*

N^o 1. *Nota* [NB]: But I did write you a few lines enclosed in a letter to my parents, via Valparaiso.

Very Reverend and very dear Father,

To be read by Reverend Father General only.

[445] [1] I do not want to engage in defending such a long silence on my part, because I realise there can be no tasks, no matter how numerous, that could serve me as an excuse. I am quite surprised myself that I have resisted an ever-present need for such a long time. Therefore, today I am making the same heartfelt wish a New Zealander made, a man who was far from his beloved country, and I am using the same language: 'Blow wind, blow, and in a single moment carry my love and respect to my dear, loving father'.²⁷⁸

[2] However, *mon révérend père*, it is hard for me to have to limit myself today to telling you things that will grieve your soul, but it is essential that you know that the great enemy of salvation is carrying out his work here as elsewhere, but his efforts and rage are greater than they are elsewhere because it is extremely painful for him to see such a long reign pass into the hands of his powerful conqueror, our divine Saviour and master, Jesus Christ, whose kingdom knows no bounds *a solis ortu usque ad occasum*²⁷⁹ and to whom belongs the circumference of the earth and all that earth contains, *meus est orbis terræ et omnis plenitudo ejus*.²⁸⁰

[3] Brother Michel is no longer a member of Mary's little family. He was cast out a month or [446] more ago, and had been deserving this for a long time, but circumstances and a glimmer of hope that the methods used would correct him persuaded His Lordship, *monseigneur* Pompallier, to delay doing something so painful. But being addicted to stealing is like being addicted to wine. It is hard to break the habit, especially when the stealing is done to satisfy the strongest passion, that of love. This

²⁷⁸ These words may have been said by Etaka, whose intelligence and ability to learn French quickly are attested by Cécille (1838, 26 October). He was brought back to New Zealand on the *Aube* and is likely to have met Épalle when the ship called at the Bay of Islands in 1840. He was kept in Akaroa under Lavaud's surveillance. Etaka was baptised by Comte and died in Akaroa on 18 February, 1842 (Register of baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials 1840-1844, Akaroa).

²⁷⁹ Cf. "From the rising of the sun to its setting, praised be the name of Yahweh" (Ps 113:3).

²⁸⁰ Cf. "If I am hungry I shall not tell you, since the world and all it holds is mine" (Ps 50:12).

unfortunate man loved a family to distraction, one could say. It was to give gifts to this family that he was stealing things from the mission and also to deck himself out in a manner that was hardly appropriate for a little Brother of Mary, to say no more. As soon as there were two stations in New Zealand, *monseigneur* lost no time in removing him from the object of his affections, but after a year, or almost a year, of separation, his feelings were as strong as ever, and the obligations of morality and religion were being no better observed. Could the Holy Virgin endure conduct like this in her family? This good Mother knows what lies behind the vile and only too well-founded suspicions that have been voiced publicly about this unfortunate man in relation to moral behaviour. What is quite certain is that his particular affection was for the wife of this dear family.²⁸¹

[4] When I saw this man, who had long ago come into the fold of religion, go out the door, I was holding back tears. The unfortunate fellow remained hard of heart, *cum in profundum veneris contemnit*.²⁸² How terrible are these words *indurabo cor ejus*.²⁸³ This is the will of Jesus and Mary. Praised be God.

[5] But that is still not all. We must count another desertion. Brother Amon is no longer in our ranks. This is his story, in brief: On the voyage to Oceania on the *Aube*, this young man was caught and perhaps punished for some infringement by the priest who was responsible for the [447] implementation of the Rule drawn up for the voyage. He used that as an opportunity to break from the group and from then on regarded himself as independent. When we arrived in New Zealand he declared that he wanted to leave the mission. *Monseigneur* used every prudent means he could to bring this poor unfortunate man back to his duty, and it was only with difficulty that His Lordship managed to persuade him to take a month to think things over. When this time was up, the young man claimed he was not leaving because of what had happened on the ship, but in fact because he did not have a vocation for the religious life. I entered the religious life, he said, because my parents wanted

²⁸¹ Épalle gives more detail about the alleged relationship than does Pompallier in his letter written a day earlier (30 August, 1840). Snijders (2012, pp.266-267, n.44) uses his wider knowledge of the circumstances of Br Michel's dismissal to identify that Épalle's veiled language in fact refers to Mrs Poynton. This clarification is found also in Ronzon (2005, p.20), who cites the research of Fr E. Clisby (in private communication to Ronzon, 19 June, 1995). Further, Ronzon cites a letter from Fr François to Fr Poupinel (17 January, 1859) saying he had only been mildly surprised that poor Br Michel had left the Order. Ronzon interprets this as perhaps alluding to a certain independence of temperament, little suited to the submission required by Mgr Pompallier, thus implying that a clash of personalities was the underlying reason for Br Michel's dismissal (p.22).

²⁸² Cf. "When wickedness comes, indignity comes too, and, with contempt, dishonour" (Pr 18:3).

²⁸³ Cf. "Think of the wonders I have given you power to perform, once you are back in Europe! You are to perform them before Pharaoh, but I myself shall make him obstinate, and he will not let the people go" (Ex 4:21).

me to marry a woman but I wanted to marry someone else whom I loved although she was not as wealthy. The only reason I came here was to get away from my parents. Throughout the nearly two months he lived in the mission, he conducted himself honourably. At the moment, he is a cook in an *autel*²⁸⁴ near here. *Sit nomen Dominum benedictum.*²⁸⁵ Ex-Brother Michel is probably at Hokianga. We know he spent several days with his beloved family while the father was away. May it please Mary not to abandon him completely.

[6] However, let me say, *mon révérend père*, these departures have not caused rumours here where people hardly know anything about the Brothers' obligations. *Messis quidem multa operarii autem pauci, rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*²⁸⁶ and prevent His enemy from snatching any others from the small number left to Him. One has to experience the needs of the mission to feel how distressing such losses are. May Mary ensure that those who remain are worthy, inasmuch as a useless servant can be worthy.

[7] You see, *mon révérend père*, how necessary it is to choose vocations carefully. We need a great many Brothers, but Brothers who have been carefully selected, and are resourceful men, [448] capable men. When we are surrounded by so much work, how can we use a Brother who cannot do anything? The time has not yet come when we could use him for teaching. We have to begin by bringing the savages in with something on a more human level. We have to improve their circumstances in a temporal way before we move on to the spiritual. One would have quite an erroneous idea of things if one were to believe they become spiritual beings as soon as they have been told about the existence of one God, the superiority of the soul *over the body*, and the state of the soul after this life. In a word, you have to form a strong connection with the savage before working for his conversion, and you form this connection through corporal acts of charity. Besides, in relation such acts, he is in very great need. He is stark naked. He has none of the things that come from manufacturing. The kings and chiefs are delighted to have in their tribes, in their islands, a European

²⁸⁴ Épalle clearly means 'hotel'. The unintended pun arises from his French pronunciation of English "hotel", including an unaspirated initial "h".

²⁸⁵ Cf. "Blessed be the name of Yahweh henceforth and forever" (Ps 113:2).

²⁸⁶ "The harvest is rich but the labourers are few, so ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers to his harvest" (Mt 9:37).

who understands these arts and who makes something for them, be it only a box to hold a shirt he has been given.

[8] Ah, *mon révérend père*, when will it be God's will that people in France understand the needs of this mission, the enormous amount of money it needs to do good, the vast extent of the harvest, the perfect readiness, *parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangerit eis*.²⁸⁷ What can I say? May it please God there be no-one to break it for them! For hunger would be greatly preferable to eating bread that is not the true Bread of Life, the flock would not be led into poisoned pastures. But these swarms of sects, as divided amongst themselves as was their first father from the true Church, but in complete agreement about telling lies about the Church of Jesus Christ, are extending over the whole of Oceania with astonishing determination since Catholic teaching has come to disturb them in their temporal affairs.

[9] We have all seen with the greatest heartache how few clothes the last two groups have brought, and the hopes of our poor catechumens and neophytes have been really dashed. I do not think the clothes we left at St Étienne on our departure have been sent on. For that, someone should write to *Mademoiselle* Antonine Vocanson who, together with other pious women, should have been adding to the considerable amount of clothing that was already there. I spoke to you about this work [449] when I was leaving, and you urged me to encourage it, but as I do not see any results, I am afraid for some reason it has been allowed to hang fire, which is why I do not like to write to them. Except that I am finally replying to *Mademoiselle* Vocanson about a request I perhaps cannot yet talk to you about. I am addressing this letter to our brother-priests in Valbenoîte who will just need to enclose it for the helpers at St Étienne. Please be so kind as to pass it on to them.

[10] I hope that a letter written after this one will arrive first, because this one is going on a whaling ship. The next letter will be that of a son to his father, and will come with several others which, I am still hoping, will not have the virtue of being brief.

[11] All the family in Oceania are well and *pères* Petit and Tripe, who are currently in the Bay of Islands, join me in asking for your blessing and for you to make an offering to our good Mother on our behalf. After reading this letter, I ask you for the same grace for all the members of the Society who are

²⁸⁷ "Little children ask for bread, no one gives them any" (Lm 4:4).

in Oceania but do not know I have made such a successful request to you today. I am tempted to weep because I cannot talk to you for longer.

Your whatever you will in Jesus and Mary

Épalle, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 73: 4 September 1840, Pezant to Jean-Claude Colin

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

**Akaroa Harbour, Banck [*sic*] Peninsula, South Island (or Tewai-Poounamou)
[*sic*] of *la Nouvelle-Zélande***

Father Superior and Very Reverend Father in Our Lord,

[1] Today I am at last finishing the letter I began at sea in May and in which I gave you a [450] few details about our crossing from Gorée²⁸⁸ to the point where we then were. After rounding the Cape of Good Hope with a fair wind on the 12th and 13th of May, we reached the south coast of Bourbon Island after a few days. We had about twelve days of either a head wind or calm in these waters where, in the most beautiful weather in the world, we celebrated the Feast of the Ascension. Never had the ocean seemed to me as beautiful, as majestic, as magnificent, or of such a lovely azure as it did during those calm spells. But towards the end of May the wind blew up strongly and pushed us quickly along. We could not say Holy Mass on the Sunday in the octave of the Ascension. The day before Pentecost, with the wind blowing twice as hard, we suffered a violent storm that stopped suddenly in the night but did not allow us to say Holy Mass on this great Feast Day (because of the terrible swell and rolling that follows gales), only to start again at noon the same day, more violent than ever. It was at its height on the Monday evening and the sailors were saying it was the worst weather you could ever see. Fortunately, it drove us along our course. Then, and for several more days, we saw liquid mountains rising up, beating down on the ship one after the other and threatening to engulf it. However, we did not notice that we were going up and down on the waves, as you do on small boats. Indeed, there is no danger on big ships like ours and it did not occur to anyone to be afraid. The storm went on, although less violently, for nearly all of June. These were normal conditions for us until we reached the south-east coast of Hobart Town, the English town on the coast of Van Diemen's land, or Tasmania, as we did not dare risk Bass Strait, where there are many islands and rocks. From the Cape of Good Hope to the entrance to Bass Strait, to the south of New Holland, we always kept to approximately 40 degrees S. latitude. On the 9th of June, Pentecost Tuesday, we passed the islands

²⁸⁸ An island off the coast of Senegal.

of St Paul and Amsterdam but did not see them because of the storm, although we had very much wanted to. We were not able to celebrate the feasts of the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, or the Sacred [451] Heart, but only the Sunday after that, and even then with a great deal of difficulty. On Sunday, the 28th of June, after Mass, after we had rounded Hobart Town point, *monsieur le commandant* gave the order to steer towards the north-east for the Bay of Islands, where, after twelve days of happy but slow sailing, we arrived on Saturday the 11th of July at eight o'clock in the morning, eight days short of five months since we left Brest and three and a half months since we left Gorée. It is hard to express the joy we felt when, on the morning of the 9th of July, for the first time since the 25th of March, we saw land, especially when it was New Zealand. It was one of the best days of my life. The weather was magnificent, even though it was winter. We gathered together to recite the *Salve Regina* [Hail, holy Queen] and other prayers. We were especially happy to be able to meet our bishop shortly after we arrived. The pilot who brought us into the Bay informed us that *monseigneur* Pompallier had been living for over a year at Kororareka, a village in the Bay of Islands, where the English colony now is.

[2] As soon as we came ashore, we went to *monseigneur's* house. He gave us his blessing and welcomed us with kindness and joy. He asked us for news of *monsieur le supérieur* and all the priests in the Society, our Holy Father the Pope, and *monseigneur* the Archbishop of Lyons. We immediately gave him your letters and all the other letters we had for him and for the *pères*. The next day he had the *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving for our successful voyage.

[3] After a few days, *monseigneur* sent me here with *père* Comte, whom he recalled from Hokianga, and entrusted us with the care of this whole island and the new French colony of Akaroa. We left the Bay of Islands on the 30th of July but, after quite a difficult voyage, did not arrive here until the evening of the Feast of the Assumption.²⁸⁹ We have found only about 30 natives here. There are a few more in the neighbouring bays, but relatively few in this peninsula, considering how extensive it is. It is the same all over the island where even the shortest trips are extremely long and difficult, as the [452] land has not been cleared but is covered with bush and tall ferns, with no tracks. Apart from that, it is almost the same as the North Island. The land is also fertile, though mountainous, and the temperature here is pleasant, though there are terrible squalls from time to time, but only in winter. The natives have already been indoctrinated by the Protestants, who have sent their neophyte missionaries

²⁸⁹ i.e. 15 August.

here. They do not want to pray with us. Apart from that, they are kind, gentle and pleasant. *Monsieur* Comte speaks New Zealand or *Maori* (the national name of the Zealanders, in their language). I am going to study it as well as English. Our colonists, 60 in number, are quite well disposed and we are hoping to make good Christians of them, with God's help. They are very happy to have some priests.

[4] *Monseigneur*, because of his great kindness, is universally loved and respected by natives and whites alike. There are already a certain number of baptised Zealanders or Maoris [*sic*]. A much greater number would be prepared to turn to the Catholic faith, if we could see them and give them constant, careful instruction. But the small number of priests, the savages' transient way of life, their regular contact with Europeans, being scattered over a vast area, the Protestants' lies, influence, and worst of all, their gifts, have presented and continue to present great obstacles to the dissemination of the true faith. However, God's arm is not foreshortened²⁹⁰ and with God's blessing, if we exercise prudence and zealousness, and lead a holy life, it seems there is good to be done. When I am more familiar with the mission I will talk to you at greater length.

[5] I must withdraw two pieces of advice I offered earlier: (1) We do not need to bring Spanish currency. *Monseigneur* told us only English currency was needed. It would be good to buy it in Paris. If we bought gold, particularly pounds sterling or sovereigns, we could put the whole sum into trunks and belts, without anyone on board knowing anything about it. I will add that when I tallied up at the Bay of Islands all the money we had received and our expenses as precisely as I could, I found we did not have the shortfall of 172 francs that had given us so much trouble in Brest, at least, when I counted in the 230 francs we left in Paris.

[6] (2) I had advised that it was good that the Brothers were at the same table as the priests: *monseigneur* has been of a different opinion, based on the wise reflection of someone with a watchful eye on the clergy.²⁹¹ It is better for them to eat with the stewards' hands, or at a table by themselves, if you could get permission for this from the Minister through the mediation of the queen. I am only talking about state ships. I am not familiar with the others. If it was possible to get the same thing for [453] the priests, that would prevent unpleasant religious discussions. It would be good to avoid these discussions at least at table, and even elsewhere, unless they are undertaken with respect for religion

²⁹⁰ See Isaiah 59: "The Lord's hand is not so short that it cannot save".

²⁹¹ Girard notes (n.4, p.452) Pompallier's decision was a source of humiliation for the Brothers. Forest noted in his letter of 26/3/43 to Colin, from the Bay of Islands, that the treatment of the Brothers was not good and that Pompallier would not let them eat with the priests, as he said the Brothers were the priests' servants (doc.247[46]).

and to provide information about religion at the earliest opportunity. I am stopping, because of the many difficulties we are facing about where we can stay now. I will make it up to you and my other superiors at the earliest opportunity. *Monsieur le directeur, monsieur Terrailon, monsieur Girard* and all our other *pères*, please accept my most sincere respects. Very fond memories to all my fellow students in the seminary.

[7] I am, and always will be,

Very Reverend Father in Our Lord

Your very humble and very obedient servant and son

J(ean) Pezant

priest and miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 74: 17 September, 1840, Pezant to Jean-Claude Colin

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Akaroa Harbour, Bancks [*sic*] Peninsula, Tewai-Poounamou [*sic*] Island,
(*Nouvelle-Zélande*).

Father Superior and Very Reverend Father in Our Lord,

[453] [1] It is only about ten days since I since I wrote you a letter to go on the *Gustave*, a whaling ship from Le Havre, but I have a reliable opportunity and there is unlikely to be another for a while because the whaling season is coming to an end here. So I am taking advantage of this to give you a few details about our present situation. Incidentally, if you found passages for your missionaries [454] on ships whose captains were of a like mind with *monsieur* Déclos, captain of the *Gustave*, or *monsieur* Lelièvre, captain of the *Eva*, another whaling ship from Le Havre, which is going to leave within a few days, you could be assured they would be suitable in every respect, and even that it would be difficult to find better.

[2] Please forgive me if I do not write a long letter because of the tasks, and in particular the many difficulties, that our fledgling colony entails. I ask our *pères*, to whom I am really looking forward to writing, especially *le père directeur* and *père* Girard, to please forgive me for the same reason. I would not even have taken advantage of the *Eva* leaving, despite its being a very reliable opportunity, because of the important things there are to do here for the mission when it is just beginning, if I had not, after conferring with *père* Comte, deemed it even more important to write these letters. I am sending you a letter for *monsieur le Maréchal* Soult, who very kindly urged us to write to him from New Zealand. We know how strongly opposed he is to England and how much he supports the colonisation of this country. He talked to us, *monsieur* Tripe and me, with the simple, dignified kindness that is the hallmark of sincerity. We were moved by the enthusiasm he showed even for the dissemination of the Catholic faith. Everyone we saw in Paris attached to the Government showed us so much kindness that I hope they will have no objection to this letter and it will serve to help us in the situation the colony is now in. I have therefore taken advantage of *Maréchal* Soult's kindness in expressing the wish that we write to tell him about this country, as I believe this will be important for the glory of God and will support the establishment of the mission. Moreover, I believed it was important to write in the way I

have. The matter was delicate, and I weighed up every word so as not to undermine anyone but still to achieve the intended goal. If, however, you consider that it could have an undesired effect in France, in [455] view of the way matters stand when the letter arrives, please do not send it, but just consign it to the fire.²⁹²

[3] We have had a few little problems here and could have them again from time to time for various reasons. *Monseigneur*, relying on resources that we have not found, gave us almost nothing to live on. One can only get a few potatoes and even then they are extremely expensive because they are snapped up by the ships. Pigs are free, but they roam wild in the bush and *monsieur* Comte and *frère* Florentin made a fruitless expedition to try to catch one. *Monsieur* Comte has been reduced to borrowing money, with which he bought some potatoes, although they were very dear. But *quid hoc inter tantos?*²⁹³ To cut a long story short, we have been forced to accept rations like other people and our situation has been quite precarious over this last month. *Monsieur le commandant* of the *Aube* has been quite mean-spirited towards us since we arrived here.²⁹⁴ He would not even lift a finger to have a little chapel made for us where we could say Mass and give the settlers some instruction. As a result, the spiritual lives of these poor people are suffering greatly. However, they seemed quite well disposed. They are thinking of building a wooden chapel, but when will that be? In five or six months? *Utinam!* [If only that were true!] While we are waiting, we will teach the settlers' children the catechism and even some school lessons in our grass hut, which we built ourselves, because we had to build it if we wanted to be under cover.²⁹⁵ The rain and, above all, the wind get through. If you add to that the opposition we are encountering to the good work to be done amongst the settlers and the Maori (the Zealanders) who have turned Protestant and who witness the example set by the Europeans, you will see we are beginning to become missionaries. Unfortunately, the opposition is coming from those who should be supporting us. Again, despite the mean-spirited way we have been treated since we

²⁹² Snijders (2012, n.47, p.268) notes the letter has not been found.

²⁹³ Cf. "Here is a small boy with five barley loaves and two fish; but what is that among so many" (Jn 6:9).

²⁹⁴ Girard explains (n.3, p.455) that Lavaud, as a Freemason, did not look favourably on Catholic missionaries and that, despite his good relationship with Bishop Pompallier, he was more interested in political prestige than in religion.

²⁹⁵ Tremewan (2010, p.146) notes the "grass hut" was made up of a number of posts supporting walls made from bamboo (or toetoe) and a roof of rushes (wiwi). The hut had no windows and only a low door the Marists had to crawl through. The similarity to a Māori whare may be due to unacknowledged assistance from Etaka and the unnamed North Island Māori convert who accompanied the Marists to Akaroa (*LRO*, doc.80[2]).

[456] arrived in Akaroa, being tossed a few pieces of bread (in a rough, graceless way), people believed we were dependent on the man who was treating us like that. That belief emanated from everything *monsieur le commandant* said and did. Then *père* Comte, having found some potatoes and salted meat to buy on a ship, thanked *monsieur le commandant* for his two rations but declined to accept them and was obliged to have a conversation with him to make it clear to him that he was independent of all human authority here. Certainly, if the government knew all this, the *commandant* would be severely reprimanded, because I can say, in fact I even must say, the minister showed he was well disposed towards us when we were in Paris. How expansive he was, how attentively and generously he behaved towards us, and above all with impeccable courtesy, which truly impressed us, *père* Tripe and me. We also know that the instructions the Minister gave his representative recommended very strongly that he treat us with respect, help us, protect us and smooth our way. But since this man has started to neglect, or rather to fail in, the business of setting up a colony, which is the reason he was sent here, he has greatly changed. He was kind enough to us while we were on the two voyages. It is only here that he has behaved differently. Here, everyone is against him and the general opinion is that he will be reprimanded. It is certain, according to what people are all saying here, that if France loses this peninsula, it will be the fault of her representative. But we are putting a great deal of hope in the letters *monsieur* Langlois²⁹⁶ has sent. Here, there are only two opinions on this matter: on the one hand, that of *monsieur le commandant* and, on the other, that of everyone else.

[4] Bearing in mind everything I have just told you, this is the conclusion your priests have come to: first, if the English government offers a stipend, just thank them politely (we have talked about this); and the same if the French government offers one for this peninsula. In spite of the government's helpfulness and genuine goodwill, its representatives here could on other occasions think we were dependent on them because of this, and greatly obstruct the good we can do. *Monseigneur*, whose kind-heartedness prevents him from seeing many drawbacks, will perhaps think otherwise. However, if he consults his priests, they will, probably at least, be in complete agreement that we should not accept [457] a stipend. We will have land to live on, and food will not be expensive if the colony is established. It is very important for the existence and progress of the missions that this colony be established. *Monseigneur* has advised us to support it by every possible lawful means. That is why, seeing it

²⁹⁶ Jean Langlois, captain of the French whaler, *Cachalot*, claimed to have "bought" Banks Peninsula on 2 August 1838, from the Māori of Port Cooper for 1000 francs (£40), making a down-payment of clothing and 150 francs (Tremewan, 2010, p.26).

compromised by the negligence of just one man, I thought we should profit from the kind offer and powerful influence of *monsieur le Maréchal* Soult to try to help acquire the colony.

[5] *Monsieur le supérieur*, we were told at the Bay of Islands that it was a pity the missionaries leaving from Lyons were not given books of Holy Scripture, commentaries on the Bible, books of religious argument, and a few beautiful religious objects. It would even be good to have books of religious argument for the voyage over here, e.g. the *Bible vengée*. And so, I am going to ask you, *salva obedientia* [subject to obedience], for my *Menochius*²⁹⁷ in 12 volumes (octavo), and an embroidered tulle alb²⁹⁸ that also belonged to me. It would be useful to obtain for those who are leaving, as well as *Mes doutes*, a golden publication, all the books listed there in the table, and also *l'Histoire de la Réforme*, by Cobbett, in English. You would need to have that sent from London. It is better to buy everything needed in France as it is much less expensive than in the ports of these regions.

[6] To come back to the question of equatorial baptisms: on state ships, in particular, they should not be allowed at all but missionaries should firmly state that they do not want to be baptised. *Monsieur Comte* asks for your prayers. He is unable to write to you as he has so much to do. We ask all our superiors and my brother-priests to accept our kind regards and our affectionate memories. We have a great need of prayers, as does the mission.

[7] I am in Our Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant and son,

J(ean) Pezant

Priest and miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

[8] [*In the margin and across the letter*] Please seal the letter to *Maréchal* Soult, if you think it is appropriate to send it.

²⁹⁷ Girard (doc.38, n.28) glosses Giovanni Stefano Menochio (1575-1655) as an Italian Jesuit theologian.

²⁹⁸ A long, white liturgical vestment worn by a priest when saying Mass.

Doc. 76: 1 November 1840,²⁹⁹ Petit to Jean-Claude Colin

Nouvelle-Zélande, Bay of Islands, Kororareka

[1] *Monseigneur* Pompallier's letters, which you should have received, will have told you about our safe arrival at the long-awaited end of our voyage. On the 13th of June, according to our calendar, but the 14th according to the New Zealand calendar,³⁰⁰ the ship bringing us dropped anchor [459] in the Bay of Islands. That was where the conditions *Monseigneur* Pompallier had had the foresight to inform us about at Tahiti indicated we should disembark, to avoid the bar that makes the mouth of the Hokianga River extremely dangerous.

[2] The sight of this land, which we had been seeking for nine months through waves and storms, and which, under the auspices of the Queen of Heaven, we were coming to conquer for the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, stirred us to the depths of our souls. We recited the canticle of thanksgiving and the *Salve Regina*. Our eyes filled with tears of joy. As soon as we could set foot on land, we fell on our knees and through the hands of the most loving of mothers, Mary our Queen, offered ourselves, weak as we are, to God, our Good Shepherd to be the instrument of His great mercy towards these poor people, for so long plunged into the darkness of death and to whom we were happy beyond words to bring the light and the blessing of the Gospel. We had hardly risen to our feet when good *frère* Michel flew into our arms. He had been in the Bay of Islands for four weeks, where he had been attending to some matters and had fallen ill with jaundice. A Protestant family, who lacked only the faith of Peter, had generously provided for his needs. May this heart-warming charity earn for them the grace of knowing the true religion. We believed he was cured and was looking for an opportunity to come back to *monseigneur*, the Bishop, who was 20 or 25 leagues from the Bay of Islands. A native immediately went to give *monseigneur* the news that his new fellow-workers had arrived. Four days later we were in his arms, and he was giving us his blessing. You can imagine what we were saying. Our tears spoke volumes. We were blessing the Society of Mary, congratulating ourselves for being, on

²⁹⁹ Girard gives several reasons for thinking this letter was probably started at the end of June, 1839, rather than 1 November, 1840 (p.459). However, this date seems problematic, as at the end of June 1839 Petit could not have expected Colin to have received mail from Pompallier telling him about his [Petit's] arrival on 14 June, 1839, as referenced in the opening lines of the letter.

³⁰⁰ Girard explains the discrepancy in these two dates is because the missionaries had not allowed for the loss of a day in crossing the international date line (n.1, p.459).

a number of scores, unworthy as we are, children of she whose immense charity towards men and whose power at the hand of God are proclaimed by Heaven and earth. We spent several days together in thanksgiving, after which *père* Baty and one of our catechists left us to join *père* Servant again at Hokianga. That is the place Heaven has chosen for their apostolic work at the present time.

[3] As for *père* Épalle and myself, we have been posted to the Bay of Islands, to the place commonly known as Kororareka. *Monseigneur* stayed with us for quite a long time.

Doc. 77: 10 November 1840, Baty and Épalle to Chanut

Nouvelle-Zélande, Bay of Islands

May Jesus, Mary and Joseph live in our hearts

Reverend Father and dear brother-priest,

[461] [1] I have read your letter to *pères* Épalle, Petit and myself with much pleasure. It has assured us that you are still thinking about your brother-priests overseas. *Père* Petit is not here at the moment but he has not forgotten you. *Père* Épalle and I have spoken with him about you. You are now in a situation where you see people from many places in France.³⁰¹ I am sure your devotion will enable you to take opportunities there to make the work of the *Propagation de la foi* known. My heart rejoiced when I heard you were fortunate enough to be bringing sinners back to the pathway to salvation and restoring them as children of Jesus and Mary. Please do us the kindness of writing from time to time. Include details even if they do not seem to you to be worthy of attention. Everything gives pleasure from a brother-priest who, through religion and the Society of Mary, is united with other members of the Society by bonds stronger even than those of friendship.

[2] As I am sure that a few words about the Christianity of New Zealand will give you pleasure, I want to try to tell you a little about this. Please excuse me for being brief, as I am very busy.

[3] You know that Anglican and Methodist ministers of religion were in New Zealand many years before *monseigneur* Pompallier arrived. As they have enormous resources and do not set high standards for the qualities of character required for the ministry, they have infested this country, as they have all the important islands of Oceania. They are in all the most beautiful places in this country and [462] especially in those that are the most advantageous for their commercial transactions. The Anglicans devote themselves wholeheartedly to this field of work and cite it as the success of their missions. The Methodists are more rigid, not particularly dedicated to commerce, but bitter ministers and ferocious liars about the Catholic religion. They have both spewed forth everything they could come up with in their rage and spite against *monseigneur* Pompallier, the Catholic religion, and the

³⁰¹ Girard explains (n.1, p.461) that from 1838-43 Fr Chanut was Marist superior at Verdélais, a place of pilgrimage.

French nation. Now they have modified their language a little but have only changed the order of battle without throwing down their arms. Day after day, time is starting to expose their calumnies, which the New Zealanders, even if they have a good deal of understanding unfortunately do not know enough to challenge. They allow themselves to be too impressed by what people brazenly tell them, with no respect for the truth. Moreover, these heretics have everything that is very seductive to the natives. They have all the large machines that are particularly enticing to the New Zealander. They have more experience in this country, they have printing presses, they know the language well,³⁰² they give out large numbers of books, and the natives are great lovers of reading. But against them, they have sterility of the soul, they are deprived of God's grace to teach the Gospels, and also, in spite of the number of years they have been here, they have raised more horses, cattle, and sheep, and amassed more money, than they have won New Zealanders to their religion. They are hated by all the Catholic natives. There are not even very many of their own people who have any sincere affection for them. Their own compatriots and adherents of their religion hold even more of a grudge against them than do the natives. It is quite common for the natives to tell us that if the bishop had come before the broken branches,³⁰³ the Protestants would not have had a single person on their side. "Broken branch" is the name the heretics are known by, a name they do not like but, nevertheless, dare not ignore. They claim to have done well in separating themselves from an evil religion.

This is how the New Zealanders refer to Catholicism and Protestantism: Are you epikopo? (bishop) or *oui oui*? (French). Are you *manga watia*? (broken branch) or *Pakeha maori*? (English). According to them, the Irish and English Catholics are the *oui oui*. These so-called "missionaries" are being unbelievably frustrated. We have come to disrupt their success in the missions, the natives are reproaching them for their possession of immense tracts of land, for the advantage they gained in the [463] past from their books, a method they have had to change since the arrival of *monseigneur* Pompallier; reproaching them for not being the *tino kai wakaako*³⁰⁴ (the true teachers of doctrine), as

³⁰² Colenso (1865/2001) is interesting on this point: "Several Europeans now speak the New Zealand language: few, however, correctly; still fewer idiomatically; and scarcely any in such a way as to be wholly grateful [*sic*] (*reka*) to a native's ear. The reason is, their ideas, language, and gesture, if any, are altogether foreign. They have never thought, or cared to think, in *Maori*; hence, while many of them are ready to speak of the meagreness of the New Zealand tongue, the leanness is entirely on their own side" (p.54). My translation provides evidence of several of the Marists thinking, and expressing their thoughts, in Māori. See also doc.435[13], where Comte writes: « Alors j'argumente à tort et à travers à la manière maori ».

³⁰³ Garin explains this image in *LRO*, doc.99[29].

³⁰⁴ Girard (n.4, p.463) glosses as *kaiwhakaako* [teacher].

they have wives, which the natives do not like. Nevertheless, do not think they are on the brink of ruin. The devil is giving them enough resources to keep going still. It is unfortunate for us that we must sadly say with our Divine Master, *messis quidem multa operarii autem pauci*.³⁰⁵ *Monseigneur* has converted people in droves on his travels, but the enemy of the father of our family waits until *monseigneur* has left before he goes to sow his evil seed. He makes³⁰⁶ so much effort that he tries to sow this seed despite the complaints of the people he is targeting, and despite their insults, which he brings on himself.

[4] We need a great many priests. We should have a priest for each tribe. If that was possible, the result would indeed be blessed! The tribes are very far apart from one another and, besides, some of them are jealous of their independence, which means the missionary, who is required to serve many tribes, cannot see them often, no longer has the same authority, nor is he treated so affectionately, *rogate ergo dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*.³⁰⁷ If we had many priests, in spite of all the difficulties that you can well imagine the ministry must experience in a country flooded with the filth of sailors of all nationalities, and heretics with their diabolical language that has made people acquire a commercial frame of mind, we could do a great deal of good with the natives. The small number of priests causes a slow progress that would not otherwise be the case.

[5] Obstacles from the indigenous people are not overwhelmingly great. There are two more serious impediments, which are their corrupt customs and their attachment to their old religion, but as we go about the tribes we put an end to one of these easily enough and free them from the mistaken ideas of the other. As far as this latter difficulty goes, however, we have to proceed carefully. The old men and women do not relinquish their beliefs easily. However, as many have set an example, we can have good hope for everyone. With the young men and women, there is no difficulty. To reconcile what I am telling you with what I have said above, I must tell you that we make a distinction between two [464] types of conversion, one of which is to be on the side of the Catholic religion, when someone has turned towards the bishop, and the other which consists of becoming Catholic in terms of one's soul and rejecting all pagan practices and practising religion as it should be practised.

³⁰⁵ "The harvest is rich, but the labourers are few" (Mt 9:37).

³⁰⁶ My translation is based on the original manuscript which shows that Girard's *il faut* is a mistranscription of *il fait* (APM 1670/24770). I am grateful to Agar for this suggestion.

³⁰⁷ "So ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers to his harvest" (Mt 9:37).

I do not need to tell you that when they turn to religion, the catechumens do not reject their superstitions immediately. We lead them to it little by little and, as they themselves say: "Potatoes don't mature in a day". During the fifteen months I have been living at Hokianga, 93 people have been baptised there. About three quarters of them were adults. Five or six people refused baptism at the moment of death. At present the mission in this area seems to be progressing in a more satisfactory way. *Monseigneur's* departure brought some little gloom to this station, because in spite of anything we can say, the natives cannot understand how, once a person has settled in their midst, they could have any reason to leave them.

[6] I must say another word to you about tapu,³⁰⁸ which has played, and still continues to play, a big role in certain areas. We do not know the true origin of this. It is the chiefs who oppose it.³⁰⁹ There are several levels of tapu. It has become so deeply embedded in the minds of the New Zealanders that even those who have turned away from its irrationality cannot help being afraid even when a European breaks a major tapu. It seems certain that the devil has helped to make tapu feared as I have talked to those who have received the most instruction, people who do not take tapu seriously, and they have assured me they have seen people who were breaking tapu die. (I myself believe it has its origin in the great respect the New Zealanders have for their dead. According to them, a dead person is a god, although they recognise that evil people are separated from those who are

³⁰⁸ The Marists had a variety of reactions to tapu. Sometimes their understanding and good humour were put to the test when their religious beliefs were directly threatened by Māori beliefs. However, Garin (*LRO* doc.99[68] (12 June and 17 July, 1841) reveals something of Pompallier's understanding of Māori in describing how he spent a night with a tohunga in his house, talking with him until 2 am, when the lamp ran out of oil. Pompallier tried to persuade a man to re-light it but did not insist when he realised the man was afraid to do so, as he believed it would break a tapu and he would die. Garin reports that Pompallier realised he should be careful how he dealt with people whose way of thinking had become part of them over time.

A pragmatic attitude is shown by Petit-Jean, for example, who ruefully describes how Māori would often ask to borrow a pick or spade to dig a grave, but as these instruments were then tapu, could not be used again. The missionaries could not afford this expense, so Māori, to preserve the use of their tools, would dig out the grave with bits of wood and pull the earth out with their hands (*LRO*, doc.107[5] (9 August 1841).

The Marists may have felt some gratitude for the protection tapu could offer when, just before the Northern Wars [1845-1846] began, Hone Heke declared that the area of Kororāraka where the Catholic mission stood was tapu. "Heke did not want anyone to touch the house of Marion" (*LRO*, Vol.3, doc.350[9]), wrote Séon on 5 December, 1844, explaining that "Marion" was a name Māori used for the French. D'Urville, writing in 1840/1955, believed the Māori use of "Marion" to describe the French was a reflection of the "regrettable rivalry" between British Protestant and French Catholic missionaries and stated that the Protestants, "by dint of unscrupulous calumny (...) try to excite the natives to hostility toward all French people by cleverly exploiting the memory of the revenge taken by Marion's ship for the massacre of that unhappy navigator and his men" (p.77, Wright, Transl.). The murder of Marion du Fresne and 27 of his crew in the Bay of Islands in 1772 may have been partly caused by du Fresne's lack of knowledge of the complex laws of tapu (Dunmore, 1997, p.83).

³⁰⁹ Girard notes (n.7, p.464) that Baty wrote *opposent*, 'they oppose it', although one would have expected *l'imposent*, 'they impose it'.

good. The greatest tapu are on cemeteries, the bones of the dead, and houses that have been declared tapu. I have been assured that because they took food hanging in houses declared tapu, people have died on the spot.)

This is what happened to me in relation to tapu. One day when I was going into a tribe with several battle-hardened young men, we came to a small area of bush and they said to me: "This place is tapu. Do you dare go in there and eat anything growing in this bush?" I said I would go in, thinking my action should not upset anyone. When they saw I had made up my mind, some of them said to me:

[465] "Don't go in there." Others were saying: "Go on". I told them to pull the boat up onto the shore. I broke off some branches of wood, made the sign of the Cross, and ate some leaves, telling them that prayer overcame everything (i.e. cancelled tapu). I told them the leaves were bitter. They started to laugh and gain confidence. They wanted to eat some in accordance with the customary practice when their priests lift a tapu. But I soon learnt you have to be careful because a war³¹⁰ was declared against one of my companions, the one who had first told me to violate the tapu, but no-one said anything to me because I was not a *tangata maori* (a native of the country). But before this war, which ended amicably, had broken out, this same companion had encouraged me to examine an important tapu. I had nothing to fear in this because the chief whose tapu this was was present and in agreement, but it happened that his whole tribe, frightened because an important tapu had been violated, came to find me to have the food blessed. I blessed each piece of it, took a bite, and told them that when they prayed to the one true God, they should no longer be afraid of breaking tapu.³¹¹

[7] An infinite number of things are subject to tapu: food, land, boats, even people, who then cannot use the part of the body that has been made tapu. If it is the back, the person cannot carry any burden; if it is the hands, he cannot work the earth, but must lie down and wrest potatoes or kumara out of the earth with his beautiful teeth, which is rather ridiculous. If it is a chief, man or woman, there is a servant to put the food in his mouth, likewise a pipe. Everything, or nearly everything, belonging to a dead person, especially if he is a chief, becomes tapu.

³¹⁰ Colenso (1865/2001) explains that a taua [war party] would be "quickly made up of the nearest relatives and neighbours to the offender" (p.45).

³¹¹ Snijders (2012), discussing the extent to which the breaking of a food tapu may have contributed to the killing of Fr Peter Chanel on Futuna, on 28 April, 1841, notes (p.375) that "Polynesian catechumens often broke food taboos as a symbol of their conversion", citing LRO, doc.77[6] as a New Zealand-based example.

[8] The life of a New Zealand missionary is not very arduous and the consolations we experience inspire us to sing the praises of the Lord in a foreign land.³¹² Please do not forget us, and me in particular, in your holy sacrifices of the Mass and before her, close to whose statue in the Verdelaïs chapel is my name, together with the names of my brother-priests.

[9] I have the honour to be, in union with the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary,

Reverend and dear Father,

Your very humble

and devoted servant

Baty

ap(ostolic) miss(ionary)

[466] [10] My very dear fellow-priest,

I only just have time to send you the briefest greeting, even though I have so many things to tell you, but we are already late in taking our letters to the ship, which is about to leave. Until another time, dear brother-priest, who knew how to make the few days I spent with you so pleasant for me. Very often when I think of you, I have a deep conviction that your thoughts are crossing with mine. The prayer of the just man has great value in the eyes of God. This thought gives me great joy and fills my soul with gratitude to you. Continue, very dear brother in Mary, continue to pray to the Virgin of Verdelaïs for the missionary to New Zealand, and if both Son and mother deign to hear these prayers, there is nothing else left to wish for.

[11] My fond regards to *révérend père* Balmet

Épalle

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

³¹² Cf. "How could we sing a song of Yahweh on alien soil?" (Ps 137:4).

Doc. 78: 23 November 1840, Tripe to Jean-Claude Colin

Akaroa

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

My Very Reverend Father Superior,

[467] [1] My letter here enclosed,³¹³ addressed to one of my fellow-priests, who is also a relative, will enable you to see how I am faring at Akaroa, in a temporal sense, and you will find in it at the same time some little details I provide about the current situation here. *Monseigneur* had sent *pères* Comte and Pezant on the *Aube* to establish this new mission. He has today seen fit to withdraw *père* Pezant, whom he intends to send into the North Island tribes as he has more aptitude than I for learning the natives' language, and to leave myself here as his replacement. I came here with *monseigneur* on the mission schooner. *Monsieur* Pezant has taken my place and is accompanying *monseigneur* on his visits to the various North Island stations.³¹⁴ The schooner left Akaroa 18 days ago³¹⁵. *Père* Comte is at present inland on the peninsula to become acquainted with the natives. I am expecting him in a few days. *Frère* Florentin is with me.

[2] Another letter from me, addressed to you, is now in the hands of an English [468] commodore. I think it will reach you after this one as the ship is sailing towards Hobbart-Town [sic], but the ship that will take this letter is going straight to Europe. *Monsieur le commandant* Lavaud, who is writing to the French Ministry, has promised to enclose my letter with his. As this offers better security, I am going to open my heart to you about matters that are personal to me and regarding the opinion I have formed about the operation of the mission since I arrived in New Zealand.

³¹³ Girard explains in his notes introducing this letter (p.466) that Tripe wrote Colin two letters that went by different ships, and that one is an abbreviated form of the other. Girard has used the fuller version, "Text A", as the basis for doc.78, marking the variants in footnotes. In general, I have not noted these variants as they make little difference to the meaning of Text A. An exception is Girard's note (g), p.474 (doc.78[10]), where the Text B variant is needed to clarify a Text A reference. (See n.319 below).

³¹⁴ Girard notes Tripe was apparently unaware of Pompallier's plan to go further south to the Otago tribes (n.1, p.467).

³¹⁵ Girard notes 18 days is only an approximation. Pezant says (doc.86[4]) he left Akaroa for Otago with Pompallier on 14 November, 1840 (n.2, p.467).

[3] At the request of *commandant* Lavaud when he arrived in the Bay of Islands, *monseigneur* appointed *père* Comte to accompany him to Akaroa and to act as an interpreter in dealings with the natives. *Monsieur* Pezant was under the direction of *père* Comte. The latter has been extremely useful in throwing light on certain very confused questions that were raised between the French purchasers of the peninsula and the natives who sold it.³¹⁶ All is not yet decided, because the natives, whether through bad faith or ignorance, have sold the same land several times to the Europeans. But that is almost the limit of a missionary's usefulness. The French colony, which comprises about 60 colonists and the French crews, who are now our parishioners, gives little thought to religion, to the point that when *monseigneur* himself was saying Sunday Mass on land, no-one came to it, or perhaps you would see 2 or 3 people, not counting *monsieur le commandant* and another notable bedecked in mayoral garb,³¹⁷ but one can divine well enough why these two came, as after *monseigneur* had departed, they gave themselves a dispensation from hearing Mass. *Monsieur* Pezant had been given an instruction to visit all the settlers every Saturday to let them know what time Mass was and to encourage them to come. Yesterday, Sunday, I had 3 or four people attending, just like the previous Sunday. As for the [469] natives, the future offers the same scant hope: not interested in the Catholic faith, and compromised by the emissaries sent by the Protestant missionaries, they have made a few appearances, to the tune of 8 or 10 individuals, and always the same people, and afterwards have withdrawn inland on the peninsula. Besides, although it may be available, it is certain that the mission will never really be able to thrive here. The peninsula, along with the whole South Island, is practically empty as a result of the wars of extermination that took place here earlier.³¹⁸ Everyone agrees the natives are very cunning and are only trying to extort a few things from the Europeans. *Monseigneur*, however, is not of this opinion. Nevertheless, a wooden chapel is going to be built, paid for by the mission. The cost of this will be up to 1,000-1,200 francs. We have put the case to *monseigneur* that, given the uncertainty about whether the colony will be declared French or English (as the question remains unresolved between the two governments), he should have agreed to have a temporary

³¹⁶ See n.254, doc.70.

³¹⁷ Girard notes this was Pierre-Joseph Sainte-Croix de Belligny (1810-1877), Mayor of Akaroa and official representative of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company (n.4, p.468). Tremewan (2010) clarifies that Belligny was the "begrudgingly acknowledged" Mayor of Akaroa for the French community, within the French colonial administration (p.156).

³¹⁸ See n.254, doc.70.

chapel built at very little cost. If the colony remains with France, the state would probably build a chapel at its expense, but if the colony passes under English domination, the government of that country would be certain to send missionaries or a Catholic priest. These arguments have not been appreciated and tomorrow wood will be brought in for the chapel. The cost of felling and squaring the timber is already up to 800 francs. There are many other expenses incurred in the mission which, in my opinion, could be less, or the money could be spent more usefully; that is what the workers attached to the house in the Bay of Islands say, as well as the officers of the *Aube*. At this juncture, a whaleboat that cost 500 or 600 francs a few months ago, and was left here for our use, has lost almost all its sheathing. There is almost nothing left except the framework and I doubt whether the *Aube* carpenters will be able to repair it, although the promise has been made.

[4] I do not yet have experience in the missions, but it seems to me that if my brother-priests were sent into places where the people are clustered together, they would be able to work with less difficulty and more success, and I do not believe there are not places like this in the vast area entrusted to the care of our mission, although it would need hundreds of priests to bring enlightenment even in [470] the North Island, which is much more populated than the South Island. However, in this, I am only expressing my own point of view, if I am not mistaken. But what I know for absolutely certain is that *monsieur* Pezant and I were extremely disappointed when, on arriving in the Bay of Islands, we learned that instead of established bases of Christianity, there were only a very few neophytes who, from what I understand, have only been baptised, and that all the rest have only very superficial ideas about religion or do not even have the good will to engage with it.

[5] There are other matters about which I think it is timely to inform you because your position entitles you to know everything: The mission priests, at least some of them, are treated with scant consideration and respect. When they arrived in Akaroa, *pères* Comte and Pezant were set on land and obliged to build a hut for themselves and to endure many privations. Their position was so difficult that the staff of the *Aube* let their anger show and spoke quite loudly so that their leader could hear. It is not my place to judge the rights and wrongs in the differences that arose between *père* Comte and *monsieur le commandant*, but *monsieur* Comte has assured me he has no reason to reproach himself in this matter. However, *monseigneur* blamed him for everything, certainly not in public, to tell the truth, but he even reproached him for his lack of success in his ministry to the colonists.

After *monseigneur* had been staying on board the *Aube* for about a month and a half, my fellow-priests again sought an opportunity to have a private talk with him. He would come ashore nearly every day

with *monsieur le commandant*, sometimes going to see them in their hut, but acting as if pressed for time. No doubt *père Comte* will write to you at greater length on the matters that pertain to him.

Speaking for myself, I have experienced what I mentioned above, that is to say, I have been treated with little consideration. In the Bay of Islands, I was subjected to trials that were an offence against charity, as for example, being forced to pack my trunk with linen all soiled with mud and forced to leave one of my trunks under the kitchen oil jars with the result that, twice, some-one spilled copious amounts of oil over it. He told me sharply it was unfortunate if the linen was dirty, although it was not my fault, and as for the trunk, it had to stay there because there was no room for it anywhere else.

[471] This way of testing subjects reduces them to silence, but it can also exasperate them because they expect to find charity in their directors, not irrational behaviour. Three times *monseigneur* has reprimanded me, but two of these were with such an intensity and a flow of words so harsh you would have thought he was addressing a fool or a great criminal.

The first time, I had asked a sailor on the schooner, just as we were leaving the Bay of Islands, to tie a medal of the Holy Virgin to the top of the mast. It is true that *monseigneur* had just placed a picture of the Holy Virgin in the captain's cabin, but as I had not anticipated that, and I had been carrying this medal around in my pocket for several days, I still allowed myself to use it for the purpose I had planned. I was reprimanded for having done this without permission and for competing with my bishop. The second reprimand came because I had not greeted *monseigneur* when I was on the bridge of the *Aube* and he was coming up there. It was a morning when I was coming back from the *Comte de Paris*, where I had spent the night because of bad weather. I was burdened with my overcoat and other things that were awkward to carry. I was chatting for a moment with an officer and thought *monseigneur* had not noticed me. I had been intending to go and divest myself of the things I was carrying so that I could then report to him. The reason for the 3rd reprimand was that we, *monsieur Comte* and I, had discussed certain expenses where, in our opinion, the money could have been spent more usefully. These occurred here and were the costs of the chapel and, more seriously, the state of our fellow-priests in the tropics, whom I knew had already been without help for quite a long period of time. In this matter, *père Comte* and I have been accused of conspiring against our Bishop. He told us that, to the powers he would leave us, he would add the faculty of returning to France whenever it seemed appropriate to us and, to me in particular, that if it came to the knowledge of my Bishop that I had been discussing these matters again, all powers would be withdrawn from me and I would go back

to the status of layman. I could hardly bring myself to believe *monseigneur* was so oversensitive and had so little respect for a priest, because a priest, though he be neither bishop nor superior, at least embodies the qualities of the priesthood. Also, in a discussion when he was exhorting me amongst other things to have affection for him, my superior, I replied that I could not have any, that I could practise charity to the point where, if I saw him in any danger, I would risk my life to save him, but as [472] for affection, it was hardly up to me to have any. After that, I was treated a little more gently. I also told him that when I was being reprimanded I was very responsive in matters in which I considered I was at fault, but everything I did not deserve only served to irritate me, and if I had maintained almost complete silence while he was reprimanding me, it was because I had been afraid that if I did speak, I would say more than I wanted to. Also, if scenes like this recurred, and I committed grievous sin in an outburst of rage, I would not wait for anyone to compel me to leave the mission, I would leave it of my own accord because I only came here to save my soul, not to lose it. I would not have gone into all these personal details if everything that has happened had only been a question of simple tests of obedience or humility but I found I was being threatened with being sent back to France or being reduced to lay status. I believed I must take the matter seriously and inform you about it fully, as my superior, especially as *monseigneur* will no doubt write to you on my account.

[6] *Monseigneur* has reproached me with two things in these moments of rage. Firstly, with having tried to make changes, and then with being self-satisfied. On the first count, I admit having several times pointed out what appeared to me a better way in certain matters, but I have always done it discreetly and being almost certain I was right. At the age of 43, and after having been a priest for about 17 years, I must have some little experience. When I observed that he did not want my advice, I resolved to keep my opinions firmly to myself, to the point where I saw more than one mistake made, without saying a word. As for the second, I accept that I have spoken too boldly to *père Épalle*, and have admonished him sometimes even in the presence of *monseigneur*, but it was because *père Épalle* used to tease me a great deal in particular, and had told me from the time I arrived that he liked to see a jovial temperament in a brother-priest, with the result that I behaved more like a brother-priest with him than a novice. I was on my guard when I saw the liberties I took, or my outspokenness, were displeasing, and there was more than one thing to find fault with in the house at the Bay of Islands. On the matter of my failing to greet *monseigneur*, I have been taken to task for, in general, not [473] having had respect for my Bishop. I have begged *monseigneur* to point out to me the occasions, apart from that one, when he has found me at fault. No reply has been made. It is true that having

spent my youth amongst people who used the handspike and the sword, since I was going to gird myself with these before I took the soutane, I do not have the adaptable personality some of my brother-priests have, but I would be careful not to fail anyone, no matter whom, and if I ever did, I would hasten to apologise. Also, I am very sensitive to undeserved reprimands, especially if they are made by someone other than a layman, to the point that twice I have been ill after I have been treated in the ways I have mentioned above. Besides, flattery and effusions that smack of servility are anathema to me, particularly in relation to individuals whose way of behaving is one of which I do not entirely approve. As a result, one can misunderstand my intentions and attribute to pride what is, in me, only the effect of my personality.

[7] In spite of these complaints, a little too long, that I am making to you, *monsieur le supérieur*, my intentions have not changed at all in respect of the mission. I have no interest other than that of seeing it prosper, and if I ever experience any regret, it would be not being able to make myself useful here in the way I would like to, whether because of the difficulty I am encountering in learning languages or because I find myself placed in posts where my ministry appears to be practically non-existent because of a lack of subjects. However, regarding languages, I must not despair. I can read and understand a book well enough in English, but I do not understand in the same way when someone is talking to me and I find it very hard to think of the words when I want to speak myself. This morning an English constable who does not know a word of French suggested giving me lessons in English if I would teach him French in return. I accepted the suggestion very willingly and I hope to make greater strides when I find I really need to speak English. Also, a young boy who speaks only English is coming to our class.

[8] Please remember me urgently in your prayers and those of your fervent community. I offer [474] my very humble respects to *messieurs les directeurs* and all my brother-priests.

[9] I have the honour to be, with the deepest respect,

Very Reverend Father Superior,

Your very humble and very obedient servant and son

Tripe

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

[10] P.S. If one day you hear I have died, please inform *monsieur le supérieur* of the major seminary of Fréjus, and *monsieur* Deluy, the parish priest of Cuers (Vars). These priests would have more than a hundred Masses said for me.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ Girard uses Text B to explain that Tripe was a member of a group, led by these two priests, who prayed for a 'good death': *la bonne mort*. When Tripe died they would have several hundred Masses said for him, and he, for his part, would fulfil the obligations required by his associate status in the group (n.g.p.474).

Doc. 79: 23 November 1840, copy³²⁰ of a letter from Tripe to a relative

Akaroa, port of Banks Peninsula

My very dear friend,

[1] Towards the end of September, 1840, I had the honour of accompanying *monseigneur*, the Vicar apostolic, on his pastoral visit around the North Island. His Lordship had certainly not [475] intended to leave me *en route*, but somehow circumstances made him change his mind. So here I am for the time being, parish priest of Akaroa, with about sixty French colonists for parishioners and the crews of two French ships. A little later on I will tell you all about Akaroa, after I have talked to you for a moment on my own account.

[2] One could say I was not intended to be a missionary, because while my fellow-priests acquire many virtues through their work and the troubles that beset them, providence seems to be bent on taking very good care of me. You will be the judge of that.

[3] When we arrived in Akaroa, we were invited, *monseigneur* and I, to stay on board the *Aube*. One of the officers was kind enough to give me his cabin and his bed, while he slept in a shared room. You are familiar enough with the urbane good manners of our naval officers to have a very clear idea of the thoughtfulness that was constantly showered on me for the month and a half I spent at anchor, waiting until damage to the mission schooner was repaired.³²¹ *Monsieur le commandant* was delighted with the generous conduct of his staff towards us, and he himself lavished attention on me throughout my whole stay on board his ship.

³²⁰ Girard explains (p.474) that this letter is known only through two copies made for *père* Detours and is presumably the letter Tripe asked Colin to forward for him (doc.78[1]). Tripe is writing to another priest who is also a relation.

³²¹ This was no doubt the copper sheathing of the bottom of the *Sancta Maria*, for which Lavaud supplied the skilled labour (Tremewan, 2010, p.152). Simmons (1984) believes this work to protect the ship was unnecessary and that Pompallier was “taken for a ride” by ship chandlers and crew (p.52). However, Dunmore (1997) explains that copper sheathing was needed to protect a ship’s wooden hull against the “fearsome sea worm, the *teredo navalis*, which in warmer seas could reduce a ship’s wooden hull to a honeycombed shell” (p.90). Tripe (doc.78[3]) mentions a whaling boat that lost almost all its sheathing in a few months. Pompallier (1850) reports the work on the *Sancta Maria* took only one month (p.151), not the six weeks recorded by Tripe.

[4] The feast of All Saints has been solemnly celebrated for the very first time on these distant shores. *Monseigneur* celebrated a Pontifical High Mass³²² on land, in an area decorated with a great many flags provided by the *Aube*.

[5] A place had been set aside for the musicians and throughout the whole Mass there was just instrumental music and sacred songs, some of which were sung by the staff in naval dress. I had the honour of being the conductor of this noble troupe of enthusiasts. As you can imagine, I forgot, under these circumstances, that I was in a barbarian land, about five thousand leagues from the country of my birth.

[6] My position, it is true, has been a little less pleasant since I disembarked. The *Aube* continues to provide me with food, but my accommodation on the island is not a patch on the humblest of your presbyteries. You could verify this for yourself if the whim ever took you to visit me in my hut. I would not have an armchair, chair, or bench to offer you; but on the other hand, I have a bed, very easy to make, as it is a simple mat spread out near the hearth which, from the middle of the room, where it is situated, sends out its fumes and smoke into every possible nook and cranny. My cabin is built from little pieces of wood fastened at intervals and decorated with a bamboo trellis, with a roof made from local rushes. The whole thing is so well put together that one is sheltered from the rain when it is not raining, and from the wind when it is not blowing. To avoid, it seems, the inconvenience [476] of doors and windows, the practice here is to have only a single opening that one crawls through on hands and knees. No matter what my hut is like, I am certain no native is lodged as comfortably as I am. Let us move on to the mission that is entrusted to me.

[7] Akaroa Bay is a port on Banks Peninsula, in the South Island, about 43° latitude. It is thus the exact antipode of Toulon, which is 43° north latitude, although the longitude is different. Consequently, from whatever point of the globe anyone writes to us, they could not do so from further away. The peninsula has been bought by some Europeans, French and English, for very modest sums. The natives place little value on their land. Towards the end of the bay there are two colonies of the two nations, each protected by ships belonging to their respective governments. The settlers, as well as the Catholic crews, are now my parishioners.

[8] Although the temperature here is milder than in Provence, it is subject to such frequent changes, and the transition from cold to hot is so abrupt, that it exposes foreigners to many illnesses.

³²² A solemn Mass celebrated by a bishop.

Even when you are enjoying summer weather, a furious southerly wind suddenly gets up, accompanied by hail and rain, that makes one feel the harsh cold of winter and leaves the top of the mountains white with snow. A day later, summer comes back again, lasts a few days, and then it starts all over again. That has been the predominant weather for the approximately three months³²³ I have been in this region.

[9] The land is very fertile and well suited to cultivation. In its natural state, it produces only a type of very thick fern and trees of varying circumference that are unknown in France. It is extremely hard to travel around, be it through fern or forest³²⁴ and a hunter who thinks he will get back to his ship or his house quite quickly often finds he is forced to camp under a tree or to spend the night in the open. But as if to make up for this, he sometimes brings back thirty or so pigeons, which will not have made him run much, as the sound of a gunshot hardly frightens them at all. The birds here are very numerous. Their calls and twitterings provide a continual concert that lacks only the voice of the nightingale. I call this song the birds' morning prayer.

[10] The South Island natives, less civilised than those of the North, are also less numerous as a consequence of the disastrous wars they have waged. It is to be hoped they will renounce this ferocious and cannibalistic temperament, which they still have today, as soon as they begin to heed the voice of the Gospel.

[11] A word, to finish, about the emotions that the sight of the first ship that came into the bay [477] aroused in the natives. Having no idea of a big ship, or what it was, and not being able to understand how such a heavy mass could move and come towards them, they thought it was a devil, and fled into the forest as fast as their legs would carry them. One of them, braver than the others, after spending a few days in the bush watching the unmoving devil, crept forward little by little to the shore, taking great care to stay hidden behind the trees. Soon he saw something that detached itself from the ship (it was a small boat). He let it come in, observed, and realised the beings had arms and legs like

³²³ Tripe arrived in the Bay of Islands on 11 July, 1840 (*LRO*, doc.64[1]) and in Akaroa on 1 October, 1840 (*LRO*, Vol.10, p.91), so at the time of writing had been in New Zealand for four months, and in Akaroa for nearly two months. It is not clear whether he means 'in this country' or 'in this locality' (*dans ce pays*).

³²⁴ I have translated *forêts* as 'forests' here to retain the alliteration of the ST although, as the *OED* (2018) gives 1836 for the first New Zealand usage of "bush" for "forest", I have translated it elsewhere as "bush". See for example doc.86[3].

himself. Immediately he ran to warn his brothers, tried to make them overcome their terror and they all, very cautiously, approached these unknown mortals.³²⁵

[12] I am, etc,

Trippe [*sic*], miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

³²⁵ This story is very similar to Lavaud's (1986) account of the story told him by the aged chief "Towawoo" [Towawao] (pp.99-100). Towawao told Lavaud he was alive when Captain Cook visited New Zealand and had heard about his visit to Akaroa Harbour. However, it is unlikely that his memories related to Cook, as Cook sailed past Banks Peninsula in 1770 without landing (<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c25/cook-james>).

Doc. 80: 26 November 1840, Pompallier to Jean-Claude Colin

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Mission of the Assumption of Holy Mary, *Nouvelle-Zélande*,

Port of Otago, Tewaipounamu [*sic*] Island

My Very Reverend Father,

pax Christi.

[477] [1] Since my letter of the 30th of August 1840 (no. 23), Our Lord has led me to extend the work of the mission into the large South Island of New Zealand, an island called *Tewaipounamu* by the New Zealanders (pronounced *téwaïpounamou* in French). There are not many natives compared with the North Island, *Te ika na mawi*. The natives here number about 5 or 6 thousand. They generally live towards the north of the island near Cook Strait, on Banks Peninsula, in the port of Otago and on nearby coastland, and last of all, in the south, on several little islands in Foveaux Strait, and on the banks of Foveaux Strait, either on this island or the other one further south, which the English call [478] *Steward Island* [Stewart].

[2] I have appointed *le révérend père* Comte to this mission, to which I had temporarily appointed *père* Pezant, who has arrived quite recently from France. The French corvette, the *Aube*, conveyed them *gratis* from the Bay of Islands, where I was then staying. I asked *le commandant*, *monsieur* Lavaud, if he would take them, and he kindly offered to help me in any way he could. I sent *frère* Florentin with them and one of my recent zealous New Zealand neophytes³²⁶ to work with them in their apostolate. The corvette dropped this little group off on Banks Peninsula, where it stopped, and where about 60 French colonists have currently settled. *Une maison de Nazareth*³²⁷ was erected there for our men, and I have just ordered a little church to be built for the interim. This should now be nearly

³²⁶ It is interesting that Pompallier does not mention the name of this Māori convert, either here, or in [7] of this letter. Simmons (1984) notes: "It is easy to forget the part the Maoris played in their own conversion, for the letters and accounts of the missionaries, written for French consumption, naturally make mention of those who were known back home. In addition, the colonialism of nineteenth century attitudes tended always to make Europeans more important than natives. Yet the story of the New Zealand Church in its earliest days is primarily a Māori story, not a European one (...). It is our loss that so few of the names of the Maori catechists to whom we owe so much have been preserved" (pp.36-37).

³²⁷ A makeshift shelter.

finished. The voyage of the *Aube* from the Bay of Islands to the port of Akaroa (Wangaroa, as the natives call it) took from around the 27th of July until the 15th of August.

[3] Banks Peninsula is midpoint on the Tewaipounamu coastline, and the port of Akaroa, which is on the peninsula, is very safe for ships. There are about 300 natives on the peninsula. One of the missionaries at this station, *monsieur* Pezant, is caring specifically for the French colonists, who are almost all Catholic. So there we are! Another mission station set up! It is very important for reasons it would take too long to explain here.

[4] When the *Aube* left the Bay of Islands, I was delayed by important business, especially by the acquisition of a mission schooner, something I have had so much need for in my work. Finally, thanks be to God and the *Propagation de la foi*, I have owned one since early August. This schooner is about 135 tonnes. It was called the *Atlas*, but I have blessed it and given it the name *Sancta Maria*. The civil authorities have been kind enough to exempt it from all taxes as its sole use is for my spiritual works. It flies a religious flag that I have had specially made. It has a white background, with a blue Cross in the middle. In the arms of the cross is a radiant sun, in gold, and over this is a rainbow of 12 stars. Under the cross is Mary's monogram and, last of all, right at the bottom is the crescent of [479] the moon. (*Apparuit in cælo mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim.*)³²⁸ This schooner cost me 25,000 francs to buy and about 10,000 for repairs, which has caused me serious financial embarrassment, but a ship is absolutely necessary for this mission. However, attention needs to be paid not so much to the purchase of the boat as to its maintenance, the wages of the captain and the crew, 9 men in total, and to providing the food needed by all those people. One has to operate very economically to keep these expenses under 1,200 francs per month and 15,000 per annum. I am counting more than ever on Divine Providence and the generosity of the *Propagation de la foi*.

[5] I left the Bay of Islands on the *Sancta Maria* on the 20th of September this year. I took *révérend père* Tripe with me. My more experienced missionaries were all engaged in teaching the natives, and while he was voyaging with me he could continue to apply himself to studying languages, for which, because he is a little too old, he does not have much aptitude. After ten days we arrived at Akaroa, where I found the settlers had a little bit of shelter, the missionaries were in a hastily erected

³²⁸ "Now a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman, robed with the sun, standing on the moon, and on her head a crown of twelve stars" (Rv 12:1).

thatched hut, and the *Aube* was at anchor. The object of this voyage was not only to establish this new station but also to take our holy faith to the tribes of Otago, whence I am writing to you, and to the areas up to 25 miles along the east coast, to have my schooner caulked and sheathed with a copper bottom through the kind offices of *monsieur le commandant* Lavaud, and then to go to the port north of Banks Peninsula, from there to *Cloudy Bay*, thence to *Port Nicholson*, *Turanga*, *Maketu*, *Tauranga*, the river Thames, and finally back to the Bay of Islands so that I can leave from there again a month or two later to go and visit the missions in the tropical islands, which I am so longing to see again. You must have received extensive news about these missions and the voyage *père* Chevron has just made with *frère* Attale and so I will not talk to you about that.

[6] I was not expecting to write to you from where I am at present, because the [480] chances of encountering a ship leaving for Valparaiso are very rare here. But Divine Providence has brought us in here at the same time as another American schooner that is leaving for South America today and going directly to Valparaiso, where there are frequent opportunities for mail to go to France. So I am taking advantage of the schooner leaving so quickly. The natives do not give us a moment's rest. The mission has just taken hold here, amazingly fast, as has happened in many other places where I have been working, through the infinite mercy of our Divine Master. There are very interesting details to give you about this but I think *père* Comte, whom I took with me to Akaroa to help me, will very soon have time to write to you about them. I did not think I would be able to write you even a two-page letter today.

[7] On the shores of Otago Bay, I found about 300 natives and 50 Europeans, of whom 14 or 15 are French or Irish Catholics. This is the tenth day we have been at anchor on the *Sancta Maria*. On Wednesday, the day after we arrived, I visited the tribes, there are four, each several miles apart. I began with the tribe of the most important chief, whose name is Tairoa.³²⁹ I was accompanied by *père* Comte in a little boat from my schooner as well as four sailors to row it. Also with me was the New Zealand neophyte whom I mentioned at the beginning of this letter. People soon recognised who we were. I do not know how it happened, but these islanders had known I was arriving in Otago before the schooner even came into the harbour. Tairoa welcomed me thinking I was a great sacred chief from

³²⁹ Girard explains Pompallier no doubt meant Taiaroa, chief of the Ngai Tahu tribe, originally from the Lake Waihora (Ellesmere) region, near Banks Peninsula. Taiaroa was baptised in the Methodist Church on 3 April, 1859 (n.5, p.480).

the mother Church about whom people were talking all over New Zealand. Some of his family and his people were gathered together in orderly fashion on the grass near his house. I greeted him the way New Zealanders greet strangers today, which is touching each other's hand and saying to each other: *Tena ra ko koe* (May you prosper). Ah! *mon très cher père*, how hard it would be to express [481] everything the heart feels in these circumstances. How ineffable are the consolations that God pours into the heart when, after perilous journeys at sea, one approaches these savages, all tattooed, half clad, when one can shake their hand for the first time and wish them a prosperity about which they have no idea at all, but which, when it comes from the lips of God's ministers, includes not only happiness in this life, but total salvation, Heaven, eternal happiness. How fast the heart does beat as we beg our Lord to grant this wish!

[8] After touching the chief's hand in this way, I immediately introduced *père Comte*, whom I described as also a sacred chief from the mother Church and explained that I was bringing him so that he could teach all the peoples on the chief's island the great truths of the true God. They also touched hands in greeting. We chatted for a few moments, all of us remaining standing. We talked about my journey, my ship, the port of Otago, the chief's lands and possessions, how many subjects he had. But as he was addressing all these topics and talking to me about political affairs, I stopped him at the first opportunity and asked him to please sit down, because I had important things to say to them. I, however, wanted to remain standing, so my voice could be heard by the whole gathering. Chief Tairoa, who, more than his people, had at first appeared dumbfounded at my approach, to the point of shaking like a leaf and scarcely being able to utter his greeting of *Tena ra ko koe*, had recovered himself well. (NB. I still do not know what caused the trembling he experienced when I arrived. It made no difference that I shook his hand a very friendly, warm-hearted way, and told him not to be afraid. He still kept on trembling and could not hold his jaws still with his hand to stop his teeth from clacking together. However, he assured me he was not afraid and apologised as best he could for the state he seemed to be in. He was dressed almost in European style. I was wearing my black travelling soutane. I had only put on my pectoral cross, my ring, my purple sash and my hat with episcopal tassels. *Père Comte* was also wearing a soutane. I still have not been able to guess what emotion he was feeling.)

[9] I will now continue with the sequence of events, which I will go over briefly and very quickly. Tairoa sat down and said to me eagerly: "*Yes, talk, talk a great deal, teach us all the important things you have to say to us.*" These words encouraged me to go further than I had thought [482] I would for a first visit. I held forth for a good half-hour and fulfilled to the letter the word 'teach',

which the great chief had used when he asked me to speak. From then on, with the help of God's grace, the following conclusions were established as proven for them: *There is only one true God, eternal and infinitely good, a completely spiritual being, creator of Heaven, earth and sea, of everything therein and of all men. He is the source of all goodness for the body and the soul. He shows goodness to those who are good, and metes out justice to the wicked. Therefore, we must love Him and do His will.*

[10] *Two eternal lives follow this life: eternal life in the house of God, in Heaven, for the good people, and eternal life in Hell for the wicked who lived bad lives until the moment of their death, and who did not want to become good during their life here below.*

[11] *There is only one true Church, where you can have God for your father, and be saved. This Church is called the Roman Catholic Church. It is the mother Church founded by God, and not by men. This Church is the trunk whose branches have extended over the whole world and have been thus throughout all the ages, as God promised He would be with His great chiefs always until the end of time. As this world must come to an end one day.*

[12] *These great chiefs are called episcopos, bishops of the Church of God. They are united together by one of them who is called ko te papa, that is to say. the father (the Supreme) successor of a governor called (ko Petera) Peter, whom God appointed right from the beginning of His Church, so that Peter and his lawful successors would govern it entirely in His name until the end of the world. The bishops are the lawful possessors of the great sacred book (Holy Scripture) and the true meaning of this book, of everything that God has said, and all the means of salvation (sacraments) for men. As God has commanded His bishops to teach all nations, they teach the great sacred book on their own with His true Jesus, without being able to make a mistake, as God is helping them every day in this aim of teaching all nations and all men over the whole world. The bishops teach, not just by themselves, but through the priests, who are also chiefs in God's Church, to help them work for the salvation of men.*

[13] "There are several other churches on earth, and quite near them in New Zealand, but these churches have left the Mother Church, and she laments their separation. They are not in the bosom of the Church because they are not willing to believe everything she teaches, nor to do everything that God commands through the Church. Like branches that have been cut down, they are no longer part of the living tree. They do not last long and are limited in their scope. They come to an

end, one after the other, because God is not with them and because, as they no longer have the mother Church for their mother, they no longer have Him for their father. God's great sacred book and the authority to teach are, for them, things stolen from the Church but not given to them by the Church [483] or by God. Many of their members make it their profession to teach nations and tribes, but their teaching, because it is not supported by God, has some true things and some false things, according to whether they understand well or misunderstand the great book entrusted to the bishops of the mother Church. What is true in their teaching is from the mother Church; what is false comes only from themselves."

[14] "The true ministers of God in the mother Church proceed very differently. None of them steals the great book or just assumes the authority to teach. Each of them receives his powers legitimately. God chose them, made them priests, and sent the first ones to instruct all nations. He gave them the full powers they needed for their ministry of salvation, by virtue of which they were able, through themselves and through their successors, *to choose, train, and send forth* those whom God, deep within their hearts, calls to sacred works, and that will continue all days even unto the end of the world. And it is in this way that holy authority is always passed on in the Mother Church, from hand to hand, never stolen. What would all the members of a tribe of New Zealanders say, if one of them, an ordinary person, happened to say to all the others, I am suited to govern the tribe, the chief is not the true chief, / am the chief. I do not need his authority to lead you, I take my powers and my mission from the God of Heaven and earth but, at the same time, offered no proof of this wondrous news of his authority? That is exactly what those men who preach without the authority of the mother Church do.

[15] This comparison always makes such an impression on the New Zealanders that they cannot help laughing scornfully and showing their anger at it.

[16] "Finally, we must identify those who call themselves ministers of God by the devoted love they show God and their neighbour. Roman Catholics ministers leave everything for God and for the good of peoples. When they do this, they abandon their countries, their friends and their families, to exercise the ministry of salvation. They expose themselves to all dangers without any other motive than that of saving souls. Their bodies and their hearts are completely dedicated to no longer loving anyone but God and their neighbour in matters related to salvation. They have neither wives nor children so that their hearts are not shared between them and God, between their families and their flocks, and consequently they can work with more freedom and greatness of soul for the salvation of men, women and children, whom they cherish as brothers and sisters in the eyes of the true God, who

is the father of all men, and as spiritual sons and daughters to whom they give sacred life and everlasting Heaven through their hallowed ministry.”

[484] [17] There ended my explanations to these people, who listened to me very attentively. Chief Tairoa immediately asked me to stay for at least a short time with his tribe and was upset when he learned when I was leaving Otago in the schooner. I told him that my intention this time had been to see them, to talk to them and to understand the desires of their heart; that as they wanted me to stay a long time amongst them, I would try to spend twelve or so days there, then the missionary Father of the mother Church, *père* Comte, would come in two or three months and would not leave them until they were sufficiently enlightened about the great truths of the true God. This pleased the whole assembly but did not completely satisfy them. The chief and the male leaders made repeated requests for the priest to live amongst them to enlighten all the Otago tribes. However, consideration of the general good of the mission prevented me from granting their wishes but made me determined to do what I had promised them. None the less, I made another offer to the chief, that if he was willing, I would gladly take one of his sons with me on the ship,³³⁰ and would entrust him to the missionary Father at Akaroa to have him instructed quickly, and then after two or three months he would come back to Otago with the priest. This proposal was gladly accepted. After that, their countenances took on a less savage look, and peace, friendliness and joy seemed to prevail in their expressions. I distributed some little catechisms in the New Zealand language that they were asking me for. Some of them were calling out, laughing: “It’s the first time we’ve been visited by European ministers of the great God.” In fact, no white minister had ever come to see them or any other Otago tribe. I had not heard there was any Protestant minister in this whole great island except a married Wesleyan or Methodist living about 10 miles north-east of Otago on the coast, but he had arrived quite recently and had not yet come here.

[18] However, we have met several natives, so-called Protestants, who cannot read or write, who have heard white missionaries from various sects, or who have learnt the main things about their doctrine from their neophytes and, as they know by heart the daily prayer they recite, have taught these things themselves to many of the Otago natives. Already the tribes of this bay abstain reasonably well from manual work on the holy day of Sunday. Alas! When I think, before the Lord, of the wonderful harvests of this mission, of heresy’s zealous activity, of the great number of agents, or

³³⁰ Pompallier says in his *Notice historique* (1850, p.158) that he took three young people back to Akaroa with him, though he was pressed to take more.

[485] so-called missionaries it sends, and with whom it travels almost everywhere in advance of us, and when, on the other hand, I mentally cast my eyes over the many Catholic clergy in the old established Christian countries of the Church, up to over thirty thousand priests for a single nation, and over the vast number of seminaries and colleges where ardent youths are raised in the principles of the true Faith, I cannot explain the dearth of fellow workers that I am experiencing. I have only twelve priests and seven catechists over whom the people in my flock argue every day, as soon as they know their language a little. Ah! For such a vast mission, so ripe for the picking, 500 knowledgeable, prudent priests, full of priestly virtues, and at least as many pious, zealous catechists would be needed. That is what would be needed immediately, and just as a beginning, to stop Satan's agents from going ahead of us, in other words, so that we do not find the gate of the sheep-pen closed, or at least do not meet lack of faith in the true religion and heresy there and have to fight both at the same time. O dear Society of Mary, *rogate nobiscum Dominum et Dominam missis ut mettantur operarii in vineam eorum!*³³¹

[19] I did not think, *mon révérend père*, I would have time to give you so many details and to express some of the feelings I experience every day, but since I still have a few moments because head winds are preventing the ship from leaving, I will take advantage of them to continue my account for you.

[20] After my suggestion that I take one of Tairoa's sons with me on the *Sancta Maria* was accepted, we talked a little further, sitting on the grass near his dwelling, which is on a small hill constantly battered by the waves in the bay. Then he invited me to come inside his house, made of branches and tree bark and with long grasses from the marshes and riverbanks, types of reeds that grow here and which the natives use to roof and seal their houses. The houses are constructed naturally, sloping on two sides, and with a single room, or a single ground floor. This is what they look



like: There are no windows; a single door, two and a half to three feet high and one foot [486] across, is the only entry point and the only way of letting daylight in. These houses vary in length and breadth. Some of the chiefs' houses can hold 20 people sitting on the ground or on mats, others 30, and some up to 70 or 80. The branch and bark walls are three to four feet high, but from the ground to the centre of the roof could be six to seven feet. In the middle, on the ground, is the fireplace where

³³¹ Cf. "So ask the Lord of the harvest to send out labourers to his harvest" (Mt 9:37).

during the evening they light a great fire that illuminates all the people gathered there. It is also lit during the day when it is cold, but they never cook anything there. This fire is only to give heat or light. The smoke goes out over the top of the door as it comes down from high up inside the house where it settles like a fog, which does not inconvenience those who know, like the natives, to lie back a little when they sit, their heads supported on their arms. In this position, the smoke does not come into their faces much and does not make the eyes tired. But if you want to sit upright, your head is in thick clouds of smoke. You have to shut your eyes or put up with very painful stinging. But these thoughts are a digression in relation to chief Tairoa's house, which I went into on a fine day when there was no need to light a fire. Five or six other chiefs were welcomed with me. *Père Comte* was included with them and we were fairly squashed as the house could barely hold ten people comfortably. Tairoa had spread out a mat expressly to place me on his right, ahead of all his other chiefs. I said something complimentary about his house and his friends. Then, he opened a box or a sort of trunk which held some clothes and a good many big pictures of Bonaparte's battles, and the Algiers campaign. There was a picture of Louis Philippe³³² and the great general. He was keeping all this conscientiously and carefully. He was pleased to show them to me and to tell me what he understood about them and who had sold them to him or given them in exchange for provisions of potatoes or pork, which he has taken on to ships lying at anchor. I very quickly realised that it was the captains of French whalers who had given him them to him as gifts or in exchange. We chatted about these pictures for quite a long time, then I left for the schooner, thanking God for this visit. In the houses of almost all the chiefs of the Otago tribes I found a number of big French pictures, representing things that brought glory to the country, even some saints. It was with joyful surprise that I saw in almost all the chiefs' houses, and in Tairoa's house, the image [487] of the most holy Virgin, crowned and holding the infant Jesus in her arms. These chiefs have nothing more urgent to do than to show you their collection of pictures, which interest their minds and are like talking books for those who cannot read other books as they do not know how to read or write. Moreover, these pictures adorn their houses, where they do not have a fire, and restore their spirits with great memories. A few days later I visited a lower-ranked chief from the same tribe as Tairoa. His house had walls covered with pictures. Unusually, this chief had two rooms in his house: a kitchen and a European-style bedroom. As soon as I arrived at his house, he hastened, like the others, to greet me, then to bring me into his bedroom to show me his pictures. As it was nightfall, he brought me a lamp

³³² King of France from 1830-1848.

that he owned, so that I had some light. I looked through his whole collection quite quickly. It was like a little art gallery, at least in relation to the variety of the pictures. There were a number of battles, portraits, saints (both men and women), and several pictures of the Blessed Virgin interspersed amongst all the others. But what caused me great distress was to come across two fine etchings depicting immoral acts and everything that is most offensive to modesty. I turned immediately to this chief, who was accompanied by four or five people from his house, and pointed out, with some feeling, that he had two very evil pictures that had no other purpose than to arouse those who looked at them to live like animals (this is an expression that is found almost word for word in their language). I told him also that the true God would be angry if, after turning towards the Catholic faith, he wanted to keep hellish embers of bestial vice in his house. I ordered him quite imperiously to pull them down before my eyes, without further delay. Immediately he told two of his men who were with him to destroy them completely, and all three hastened to tear them into shreds, saying: *"It's quite true, yes, it's evil, it's bestial, how ignorant and stupid we are here!"* But, in spite of their efforts, they could not manage to prise them down from the plank wall. Then I suggested using a knife to scrape them off, and it all disappeared in a flash. This docility of a savage chief who had yielded to the Catholic faith only two days before went a good way towards assuaging the great sadness I felt when I thought that in Europe there are corrupt hearts that seem to take pleasure in corrupting the morals of others and adding their own corruption to that of the savages, before we ministers of God have even been able to speak to [488] these people about the lily of purity. O! The deep guile of sinners on earth. How many souls have they caused to be lost and what will be their responsibility before the God of holiness, who assured us it would be better to tie a millstone around the neck of a man who scandalises the least of his children and throw him into the depths of the sea.³³³

[21] I am going back to the beginning of the missions in this bay. I have already left out several things, thinking I did not have time to say everything, but I can do it. I have not told you about our quite providential voyage from Akaroa to Otago. As I had been told at Akaroa that it sometimes took three weeks to travel to Otago by sea because of variable winds and storms, although with a favourable breeze one could get there in 24 hours, and as a loss of three weeks would upset my plan for the progress of the mission too much at this time, I resolved to set sail when we left the Akaroa harbour, for

³³³ Cf. "He said to his disciples, 'Causes of falling are sure to come, but alas for the one through whom they occur! It would be better for him to be thrown into the sea with a millstone round the neck than to be the downfall of a single one of these little ones'" (Lk 17:1-2).

either the north or south coast, depending which way the wind was favourable, that is to say, for Otago if the wind was blowing in that direction, or for a port to the north of Banks Peninsula, if the wind should happen to blow from the south.

With this resolve we left Akaroa on Saturday, the 14th of November. We had hardly left the harbour when we had to tack almost to the mouth of the bay. There was almost no wind until then, but even so, although the boat was not set for Otago, the wind was far from favourable for that direction. However, we had only just entered the open sea with the thought of going north of Banks Peninsula when the wind immediately changed, blowing up strong from the north coast. Very quickly, the captain, to whom I had voiced my thoughts, trimmed the sails, the ship's direction was set to Otago, and we sailed quickly away from the coast. The next day, at two in the afternoon, we were not very far away from the entrance to the port, which is narrow and quite difficult for captains who have not been there before to make out. There are long reefs hidden under the water. They are about twenty miles from Otago, to the north, and extend, according to the local people, for about three leagues. As we had on board three Europeans who were employed to sail the schooner, and who had lived on the coast near there and in Otago itself, the captain was counting on them to give an indication so he could pick out the entrance [489] to Otago Harbour, which the contours of a mountain chain battered by sea waves make hard to distinguish.

But alas! These men made a mistake. They mistook one mountain for another that was supposed to be the sign for the entry to the harbour. This error, which placed the port about twelve miles further north, meant the captain was given wrong information and set on a more dangerous direction because, in bringing the schooner in quite close to the coastline to discern the entry to the port and cast anchor there, we positioned ourselves right over the reefs I mentioned before. We were all on the bridge, pleased to be arriving and congratulating ourselves on our fast voyage, when suddenly we heard an unexpected shudder from the ship, a noise as if we were on rocks covered with 6 to 7 feet of water. We immediately called out, "Where are we? We're hitting the reef." The captain quickly turned the rudder to head the schooner out to full sea. God, who was watching over us, had commanded the rock not to hurt us and the wind to be so strong that, in the blink of an eye, we were snatched from over the reef, and found ourselves further out to sea. We soon saw the mistake that had been made in relation to the port entry, which our people realised must be 12 or 15 miles further south. I hastened to say silent

prayers of thanks to God and to Mary for her protection from the imminent danger from which we had just been delivered.

From then on we always sailed with a very favourable wind, but with more care, and the captain made up his mind not to rely on anyone but himself to find the entrance to Otago. However, night fell before he had been able to make it out. It was not pitch black, but rain and fog added to the difficulties of picking out the entrance. We went about three miles past it to the south without seeing it. The three men who were supposed to be pointing it out were keeping their eyes peeled for this entrance, asserting that if they could see it, there was no danger in going in and dropping anchor in the port that night, even. The captain, extremely embarrassed, came to ask my opinion and disclosed his fears. I told him I did not feel capable of resolving this maritime question, and that he had to do what was in his opinion best for the safety of all, for which he alone was responsible. However, I added that if I was in his place, I would be inclined, as he was, to wait until daylight to undertake this entry into the port, although, if we were going to spend the night on the high, open seas we could be surprised by storms, [490] which are frequent in these areas, and which could delay our mooring by a week, or even more. In relation to finding the harbour entry, the guides and some of the other sailors came up to us and said there was not the slightest danger in going into the port. They thought they could see it and hear waves breaking on the shore. They were sure of it. They showed the captain, pointing to it. But alas! These poor guides were quite mistaken again. They were taking a bay that had no depth of contour and whose curves, quite close to the sea, were hidden by fog, as I say, they were taking this bay for the entrance to Otago, which we had left almost three miles behind us. The captain, extremely worried, came back to me and said he was having great difficulty in deciding whether to bring the schooner at night into the place they were pointing out to him. I said to him, in a decisive tone of voice, yes, let us spend the night on the open sea, that is what seems to me the most prudent thing to do. God's will be done! After that, no more shilly-shallying. The direction of the schooner was set for the open sea, where we spent the whole night cruising with a fairly strong wind.

[22] The next day, we found we were not very far from land. We came in closer, with a favourable breeze. We were looking out for the mouth of the port that some thought they had seen the night before, and we all recognised, even the guides, two mountains that were at the northern and southern ends of what seemed to be the Otago entrance, but this was only a little bay with a sandy shore that did not go very far inland, and the real entrance to Otago was three or four miles further north along the coast. Alas! This second error could have been at least as dangerous as the first would

have been on the reef the day before. If we had headed, at night, towards the so-called entrance to Otago harbour, we would have come in a few moments into the half-moon of this little bay and, as we had a strong wind to drive us in there, it would have been impossible for us to get out of the bay when we realised the mistake and we would have been shipwrecked, no doubt about it. Imagine how much I was congratulating myself, with the captain, for not having listened to those who were urging us last night, with the best of intentions, of course, to take the route to shipwreck instead of to port.

[23] Finally, with the breeze continuing to blow in a favourable direction, we saw the much sought-after entrance. We were very close to it. It was not more than a mile away and we rejoiced that in a few minutes we were going to drop anchor in the port. But God still wanted to put us to the test. The wind dropped, the sea became calm, and we could see the schooner going towards the rocks on [491] the southern coast of the entrance that we kept on missing. However, we were not alarmed, the danger was not great because the currents that were dragging us, although strong, were not enough to prevent us from towing the schooner with the two small boats that were lowered into the sea with crew aboard. By dint of using their oars, they were able to turn the ship around a little towards the open sea, enough to make use of the currents moving down to the south. Once we were out of danger, we waited almost all day until a breeze blew up to bring us out of a calm that left us at the mercy of the currents and near the coastline. Our desires were more than satisfied in the sense that instead of a favourable breeze, which we had been hoping for, we quickly moved from one extreme to the other. A very strong wind blew up and we had a storm instead of the calm to bring us quickly to the open sea and out of the dire closeness of the coastline in conditions like these. That was in the evening, and we spent the whole night, I know not where, amidst the waves. Resting in the hands of the Lord, the best of fathers, we went to bed, *monsieur* Comte, *monsieur* Pezant, and I. (*Monsieur* Pezant is with us, I will explain why later.) We slept all the same and the next morning we were more than twenty-five miles from the entrance that we had been only a mile from the day before. The storm stopped quickly in the morning, and we fell into a calm again. At last, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the favourable breeze came. We sped full sail towards the entrance the captain had seen clearly the day before, and in less than three hours we were at the mouth of the river flowing into this wide bay. Then I called together the missionary Fathers who were accompanying me, and we recited the customary prayers I have prescribed for the first time we reach a mission area. These consist of reciting the litanies of the most holy Virgin, the

Miserere,³³⁴ and the *Veni creator* [Come Holy Ghost, creator, come] to banish evil spirits from the area and bless it in the name of the most holy Trinity, ending with the *Sub tuum [praesidium]*³³⁵ to give the people, and the work of the ministry about to open for them, a good start under the protection of Mary, the mother of mercy and of all the treasures of grace, including the Faith. We were soon at anchor. We [492] had barely moored, it was about 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening and broad daylight, when 4 or 5 young New Zealanders came alongside our ship in a good whaling boat because the strongly churned up water would have prevented them from coming in ordinary canoes. As soon as they were on the bridge, they came to touch hands with us, their expressions very open and friendly. They looked us up and down and, quite astonished, took the measure of three strangers dressed in soutanes, which they had never seen before. I asked the one who looked the sharpest and seemed to be the leader of his little group of companions: "What tribe do you belong to?" He replied immediately, pointing towards the place where his tribe was. "Do you know who I am?" I then asked. "Yes," he said. "Perhaps you are the *episcopo* (the bishop). The great chief of the tribes on the Baubi [Banks] peninsula told us about your visit and advised us, if you came, to welcome you in peace." We were surprised, the two *pères* and I, at the speed which with news is communicated between the natives. I had not been sure whether, if I was able to achieve our desires in this matter, I would show a little fear that, once my wishes were known, people would make it hard for me to put them into practice.

[24] Alas. I have to finish there. The ship is on the point of leaving. I am very sorry about that because there are still very interesting things to write about. But I hope I will be able to tell you about them another time. Send me, *mon révérend père*, a great many subjects, a great deal of help, and also two printing presses, two excellent presses, which I have asked you for in my earlier letters. I do not need to ask the whole Society for prayers. I am sure it says a great many for us. The work here, the workers, our good Master, our gracious Mother, our rewards in Heaven, are our number one priority. Within the union of warmest charity, my Very Reverend and very dear Father,

Your very humble

And very obedient servant,

+ Jean Baptiste François Pompallier, Bishop of Maronée

³³⁴ "Have mercy on me, O God, in your faithful love, in your great tenderness wipe away my offences" (Ps 51:1).

³³⁵ 'Under your protection'.

And Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

[25] P.S. As we have learnt here from a very reliable source that there is a great deal of trouble in Europe, I have addressed some letters directly to the person to whom I was writing. There is a letter to my mother, dated the 16th or 17th of this month. It contains some general news. I am [493] letting you know about it so that you can warn my mother in a little note that she should be careful not to copy it, unless to the Congregation or the *Propagation de la foi*.

+ F(rançois)

Doc. 81: 8 December 1840, Viard to Condamin

Nouvelle-Zélande, Tauranga

[Girard notes (p.493) that doc.81 is a copy of Viard's letter to Condamin.]

My very dear brother-priest,

[493] [1] One year ago today I greeted New Zealand for the first time. After staying three months at the Bay, I accompanied our holy Bishop on his long, successful voyage to the southern islands. We visited a great number of tribes. His Lordship was welcomed enthusiastically by the natives everywhere. You would not have been able to hold back your tears on seeing these good islanders rush into the water up to their waists to reach our rowing boat more quickly and drag it where they wanted on the beach, to the acclaim of the crowd, who were delirious with joy. The moment we set foot on shore, the enthusiasm redoubled. Rifle shots were fired to celebrate the prelate's arrival, so long and so impatiently awaited. On each island, people were clamouring for priests. In Tauranga the requests were so intense and so urgent that *monseigneur* promised to leave me in the midst of these worthy people.

[2] Six months have already gone by since I took up this post, without a brother-priest, and a hundred leagues from the Bay of Islands. I have five tribes to serve: Matamata, Motuihoa, Matakama, Maunga-tapu, which means sacred mountain, and Tuméotai.³³⁶ This last could be seen as the centre **[494]** of the mission. It is where I usually reside and is also the place where my ministry has received the most abundant blessings.

[3] How many times have I groaned before the Lord, realising I am the only one to break the bread of life for so many peoples hungry for its nourishment! How many souls would be saved, how many children would not die without baptism, if a host of priests was flying to New Zealand. The difficulties and afflictions of our apostolate are, however, not as great as many imagine. The climate where I live is truly blessed by Heaven. Ferocious beasts and poisonous insects are quite unknown here; there is no biting cold or excessive heat; if it rains from time to time, calm, settled weather quickly reappears; the land is fertile, and although it does not produce a variety of crops, it not only provides for the needs of the natives, but still gives them something to use in bartering with the Europeans who

³³⁶ Girard notes that Motuhoa should be read as Motuihoa; Matakama as Matakana; Tuméotai as Otumoetai (n.1, p.493).

frequent these seas. Of course, the zeal of the man of God does not need to be encouraged by the gratitude of his neophytes. However, he is sure to find this unsought-after reward in New Zealand. Our Christians readily become fond of all those who do them good. When we talk to them about so many holy souls who are concerned for their happiness, they are all dumbfounded, and call out in admiration: "O! That is excellent! That is excellent! Kapai! Kapai!" [sic]. We often show them on the map the various European countries that the prayers and alms that maintain our missions come from, and then they join their voices with ours to ask Heaven to shower every grace and blessing on their charitable benefactors.

[4] To these warm-hearted qualities, the New Zealander adds a blessed openness of spirit and a great desire to learn. Furthermore, he is quite industrious and is clearly very talented at carving. The main occupation of the men is cultivating the land and building wakamaori, a type of long, narrow boat, in which they do not fear to brave waves and storms. The women, when they have finished their domestic tasks, spend their time plaiting very handsome cloaks. More commonly, adults clothe themselves in an unadorned woollen blanket. Seeing them from a long way off, running in droves to prayer, decked out in this long blanket with which they sometimes cover their heads, you would take [495] them for Carthusian monks on their way to matins.

[5] Since I arrived in Tauranga, I have baptised nearly two hundred children, a great number of whom have already flown to Heaven. I have also conferred the same sacrament on many adults, including the main chief of the island. I like to believe he owes his conversion to the prayers of his little daughter. This child was the first I have regenerated in the waters of baptism. I gave her the sweet name of Mary, two months before she died. Her parents' grief was extreme, for they loved her greatly. In accordance with the Zealanders' custom, they withdrew far from where they lived, near the place where they had lain the body of their dear child, and there they wept without ceasing. Several times I went to bring them words of solace, but nothing could stem the flow of their tears. Undoubtedly, while her mother and father were grieving over the loss of their only daughter, this little angel, this innocent Mary, was praying for them in Heaven. Her prayer was granted. Her father, worn out with grief, fell dangerously ill and his life was despaired of when I was called to his side to instruct him in the holy laws of the Gospel. Through an unhopd-for grace, his strength returned to him with that ineffable calm that fills a heart penetrated at last by the gentle light of faith. He has recovered perfectly and asked me to baptise him, firmly resolved to serve until death the God who already has his little Mary. Always the

first to prayers, and the most devoted friend to me. He very much enjoys being in my house. If I am away, he looks after it. Two weeks after he was baptised, I conferred the same sacrament on his wife. Many adults are beseeching me to give them this grace as well, but I am delaying doing this so they have a better realisation of its value.

[6] Recommend our mission to the devotion of all the souls who have the glory of God at heart. I have especially great faith in the prayers of little children. Have them pray for the little children of New Zealand. Tell them that Oceanians of their age are not as privileged as they are and that, for the most part, they have no priests to teach them to love Jesus and Mary.

Goodbye, my dear friend, etc,

P(hilippe) J(oseph) Viard, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Doc. 82: 12 December 1840, Épalle to Jean-Claude Colin

Kororareka

My Very Reverend and very dear Father,

[496] [1] Without the opportunity provided by the *holy* bishop of Sydney [Bishop Polding] who is leaving the Bay of Islands today for Europe, I would certainly not be writing to you. I am too overwhelmed by work in the absence of *monseigneur* Pompallier, who has been travelling for three months. It would be a great comfort for me, however, to be able to pour out to you, *mon cher père*, my fears about our dire needs, our dire need of subjects, priests and brothers, and our dire need of money. Without these two resources, God's work can only fail to thrive, and in the country we are in, to let it fail to thrive would almost be to destroy it completely. The temperament of the New Zealand native is such that we should have captured them all in one fell swoop as the New Zealander does not embrace a religion that is new to him without having thought about it a great deal, but neither does he abandon it any more easily and without being quite convinced he made a mistake in his choice. To reach that point, he has to receive instruction. *Quomodo autem audient sine predicante*.³³⁷ (Someone is telling me the ship is leaving.) But we do not only have savages, *mon révérend père*. You know what New Zealand has become and if it is true that the Protestant church is a danger, as the ministers themselves say, if it is true that our separated brothers are disposed to come back to their mother to [497] make henceforward just one flock under the leadership of a single shepherd,³³⁸ shall we do nothing to hasten this happy moment? For the latter, our separated brothers, we need quite well-educated priests with excellent manners, in a word, *gentlemen*. Nobility of family is something the English hold in very high esteem. A discerning gentleman can do anything with them. The Brothers need the same qualities, in accordance with their estate. I do not have time to explain my grounds for saying this.

³³⁷ "And how will they hear of him unless there is a preacher for them" (Rm 10:14).

³³⁸ Cf. "And there are other sheep I have that are not of this fold, and I must lead these too. They too will listen to my voice, and there will be only one flock, one shepherd" (Jn 10:16).

[2] Ex-brother Duperron, who was hunting on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, was resting his crossed arms on the barrel of his rifle when the rifle went off. The bullet went through his left arm and right hand. He lost so much blood that 28 hours later, he died, reconciled with the Lord, I hope. How important it is to choose Brothers well. Let me tell you in confidence, *mon révérend père*, I had trouble persuading this young man to go to confession, but I must say also that he died expressing great contrition and fortified with the last sacraments.

[3] I am sending you the copy of *rév(éren)d père* Chanel's will and power of attorney. We are expecting the arrival of new fellow-workers any moment now. The money they bring, if it arrives today, will get me out of great financial difficulty. I have nothing, absolutely nothing, and *monseigneur's* arrival is hardly likely to make us any better off.

[4] *Monseigneur* from Sydney is accompanied by his Vicar general and his secretary.³³⁹ They [498] will be passing through Lyons. I would like our Society to have the joy of welcoming them during their stay in Lyons. I have seen this holy bishop almost continually occupied for two weeks worrying about the repulsive sores of our neophytes and catechumens. If only someone would come with some knowledge of medicine!

[5] The time has come for the ship to leave. Pray for me, *mon père*. Everyone is well.

Épalle, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Bay of Islands, 12 December, 1840.

³³⁹ Girard notes (n.7, p.497) that on 16 November, 1840, Bishop John Bede Polding, then vicar apostolic of Australia, left Sydney for Europe, calling at New Zealand en route. He was accompanied by two Benedictine priests, William Bernard Ullathorne and Henry Gregory.

Doc. 83: 2 January 1841, Pompallier to his mother, Françoise Solichon

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Nouvelle-Zélande, Cook Strait, Port Nicholson

To my dearest Mother, Madame F(ranç)oise Solichon, widow Pompallier, Vourles, near Lyons, France.

Dearest Mother,

[499] [1] Over the three years³⁴⁰ I will soon have been in New Zealand I have written you several letters and it gives me pleasure to think you have received them. However, when I think how far it is from these regions to France and how unreliable the means of communication are, I am afraid my letters may be going astray *en route*: a fear that grows when people who write to me do not acknowledge having received my letters. You are more fortunate than I am, dear Mother, as are the family and friends who write to me. You have reliable opportunities to write to me, provided by the departures of the Society of Mary missionaries who are coming to join me in the battlefield of the Lord in these lands. Moreover, you have plenty of time to write, to pray in peace in your home and in the house of God. But as for me, the time for both these things is far too short.

[2] I am always battling with the faithless and heretics and am almost continuously travelling by sea or amidst tribes of islanders and savages. Divine providence has so far always led me first into the tribes to persuade them to embrace our holy Faith, and God has overwhelmed me with consolations amidst my perils and travails. He is pleased to use the weakest instruments to procure

[500] the salvation of peoples. His powerful grace and His divine assistance have enabled me to travel almost everywhere over the two main islands of New Zealand, one of which is called

*te ika*³⁴¹ (the water of the gold stone). More than forty thousand savages have become meek on hearing my voice, or rather, God's voice, which He has charged me with making heard by the many tribes of Oceania. O! How I love these dear savages who have embraced the Faith of the Church, our holy Mother. Many have become her children through holy Baptism, and consequently are

³⁴⁰ Bishop Pompallier, Fr Servant and Br Michel Colombon arrived in Hokianga on 10 January, 1838.

³⁴¹ Girard explains that Pompallier must have left this long space to write in the Māori names of the two islands later (n.1, p.500).

also children of God Himself, who only recognises as His children those who are genuinely children of His legitimate and only spouse, the Roman Catholic Church! What zeal these tribes have for making all their actions, all their thoughts, and all their feelings conform to the lessons of the Faith. I forget all the dangers I face and all my troubles when I think of them before the Lord. But alas! The idea that they are risking their salvation because of the heretics who are harassing them pierces my soul with grief.

[3] Always support, dear Mother, and all of my dear family, who cherish our father and the Church, our Mother, always support my work through fervent prayer, Holy Communion, and a truly Christian life. By doing that, you will gain a large share of the great rewards of the apostolate. I have 12 priests and 7 brothers with me in the work of the mission; 9 priests are working in New Zealand and 3 are in the missions in the tropical islands. But how small this number is for such a big harvest to be gathered in! May the Lord send many workers into His field! May Mary, our patron and our Mother, ensure that we triumph over the enemies of salvation and of the holy Church.

[4] I do not say anything to you, dear Mother, about my health, yet that is what is of great interest to a mother as good as you are. But everything I am telling you in this letter implies pretty good health. I cannot make you understand here all the wonders that God works to support the true faith for the tribes and to support the missionaries who have the joy of being called by Him to carry this precious gift to the people, sacrificing what they hold most dear in the world and at the risk of their own lives. From how many perils *ess[]ents [sic]*, dear Mother, has the hand of God rescued me in a surprising way! How evident has been the protection of the most holy Virgin over the poorest of her children. How many times has death been right before my eyes, and at the very moment when I had the inexpressible consolation and the greatest confidence that I was going to receive the crown from the hands of our Lord in Heaven, lo and behold, it has pleased God to leave me still in the battlefields [501] on earth! May His holy will be done! I ask nothing of Him other than to live in His holy grace and to grow always in His love, for Him and for His souls.

[5] I have not had a day's illness since I left France. My health is better at present than it has ever been. The frequent sea voyages do not trouble me and I have the good fortune not to suffer from what people call sea-sickness. I have become a sailor. God, through the *Association de la Propagation de la foi*, has given me a ship on which I sail to all the places in my mission. It is a brig-schooner, which is big enough for the purpose of my work in so many islands in these seas. You could even, if necessary, sail right around the world in a little ship like this. I have named it the *Sancta Maria*. The image of the most Holy Virgin is hung inside the main cabin. I have solemnly blessed the ship and

have it fly a special flag for the mission. The background of this flag is white; in the middle is a blue Cross with a radiant sun, the colour of fire; over the Cross are twelve stars arranged to form a coronet. Below the Cross is depicted Mary's monogram. Right at the bottom is a crescent moon. It is a great pleasure for me to travel on this boat. But this indispensable tool for a mission that encompasses so many islands is extremely expensive. There are always eight or nine seamen on board to sail it, a captain, an officer, and 7 ordinary sailors. I put my trust in Divine Providence. The *Propagation de la foi* helps me a great deal. And the souls to be saved are well worth all the expense one can incur here on earth. Since they have cost our Lord the great price of His divine blood, let us value our souls and our salvation more than all riches, more than the whole world, more than our own life, this life that is so short, and so wretched, and has only been given to us so we can acquire the riches of Heaven. O! When will we see each other in the assembly of the elect! In the true family of the Lord!

[6] I am writing to you today from Port Nicholson, but that is not where my residence is. I have come here to spend 12 or so days working for the salvation of many tribes of infidels who had never before seen a Catholic priest. Quite close to here, there lives an infamous chief of warlike, cannibal tribes, who is feared everywhere and who has been a veritable Attila, the scourge of God for the tribe. Especially for *Te wai pounamu* island. He has almost completely ravaged and annihilated them. Since I arrived here 9 days ago two of the most important chiefs have turned towards the Catholic faith and their tribes will do the same. All the others are well enough disposed. As soon as I have more priests [502] with me I will send some of them, and I am sure the tribes will all become Catholics. Attila is away at the moment. I do not think I will meet him this time, but I certainly hope I will see him on my next visit and, when all his tribes embrace the true faith, grace, which is so powerful over new nations, will easily be able to conquer this warrior too, as it has already conquered so many others in New Zealand.

[7] I have met a great number of Europeans at Port Nicholson, most of whom are Protestant, but there are also about 80 Catholics. The Europeans are nearly all English or Irish and have established themselves there to start a colony. I have been very warmly welcomed by them all. The Catholics were eager to come to Confession and to receive our Lord on the Holy Day of Christmas and the Feast of the Circumcision. I confirmed about ten people, conducted four or five marriages and six or so Baptisms. All these good faithful were pressing me to stay with them. But the Lord wishes me to go and look for other flocks who are not yet in His fold. I am going to leave here very comforted that I came to work at Port Nicholson, even if for such a short time.

[8] We have to use four languages here every day: Latin, to talk to God; French for the people in my group (on board my schooner where I have with me a new priest, recently arrived from France, a catechist, a captain and some French sailors); New Zealand language to teach the savage tribes; and English for the European Catholics, who are nearly all English. God has given me the grace of being able to learn foreign languages quickly so that I can engage in the holy ministry of saving souls. Blessed be His Holy Name.

[9] You see, dear Mother, through all the news I am giving you in this letter, how great has been the protection that the Lord, in His mercy, deigns to give me for the sublime calling in which He has been pleased to place me. Never grieve to think of me being so far away from you. Remember that your son is where God wants him to be and he is busy with the affairs of His heavenly and infinitely good Father. Remember that I am very happy in the midst of my overwhelming work, all kinds of tribulation, and many perils that the paternal hand of God removes from my path, because He knows I am not exposing myself to these to tempt Him, but to fulfil the duties of my vocation for the salvation of the peoples for whom He has made me responsible, and for the glory of His Holy Name. Yes, be comforted, dearest Mother, be comforted about my staying in these so distant regions. Let us always live in the friendship of God who is the centre of our hearts and we will always find ourselves in the most benign company, and as family. Every day I think of you and my dear family. I pray He [503] may comfort you and bless you in the pathways where His providence places you. It is my custom to offer Him every day of my life and all the strength and means I have to unite with Him in the sacrifice of His Divine Son for the salvation of souls, each of your souls, dear family, and especially yours, dearest Mother. How precious they are to me to gain for Heaven. O beautiful Heaven! The dwelling place of God and His saints, just the thought of you dispels all sadness. You transform the bitterness and grief of this short life into sweetness and consolation.

[10] Now we are in a new year that began yesterday, dearest Mother, and tomorrow a ship leaves here for Sydney where a regular system is in place for sending mail to Europe. I am taking advantage of these favourable circumstances to send you this letter and to wish you a happy new year, or better still, long, happy years in the Lord, for you, for my dear step-father, your husband, for my brothers and sisters, my uncles and aunts, and all my relatives. Hallowed be God's holy name amongst us. May the Kingdom of His grace and His love be in our hearts. May we do His most holy and loving will in a spirit of perfection every moment of our lives. His will is that of the best of fathers, who is pleased to give to excess everything needed for His children's lives and salvation. I wish you all the

gifts of this good Master and the special protection of Mary, the Mother of Jesus Christ and of all His worthy people, the true children of the Church.

[11] Send me your news often, dear Mother and dear family. Although I cannot write to everyone because of my great work, I never fail to remember you before the good Lord. I am writing to you, dear Mother, as the head of the whole family so that you can be so kind as to pass on to the rest of the family my fond memories and deep affection for each and every one. I have received, I am sure, all the letters you and several of my family have sent me, that is to say, letters from Laurent, Toni, Auguste, Phany, from Toni's wife, and from our step-sister Françoise's husband. All of them contain Christian sentiments, and kind thoughts and consideration for me, for which I am very grateful. I do not know if I will be able to find the time to reply to them, although they can all look on this letter as a reply. In order to write to you, dear Mother, I have had to write late at night, as I never have any time to myself during the day. I am always very interested in news from you and the family and very pleased to hear from you. My kind regards to my stepfather, to *monsieur le curé* Querbes, and to *mesdemoiselles* Comte. Tell her I have not forgotten her or her pious sisters, whom I believe are in Heaven, and *monsieur* and *madame* Magand, *mademoiselle* Rave, *monsieur l'abbé* Favre, and his good family.

[492] Make sure to give my aunt and uncle from St Héand, and also my cousins, my news and my best wishes, and the same to all my relations from Lyons, to Laurent, and to his family and friends.

Your loving son,

J(ean) B(aptis)te F(ran)çois, Bishop of Maronée and Vic(ar) ap(ostolic) of Western Oceania.

Doc. 84: 25 January 1841, Baty to Jean-Claude Colin

Bay of Islands

May Jesus, Mary and Joseph live in our hearts

My Very Reverend and very dear Father,

[504] [1] Blessed be the Almighty in all His works! May Jesus, our divine Master, be known, adored and loved together with His Holy Mother and ours. What trials of all kinds has this wretched mission had to endure! We have been urgently awaiting new brother-priests for quite a long time and expecting them from day to day, but today your letter of the 22nd of April arrived. You have had no news after so many letters have been written! I wrote one in June 1839 and several in August of the same year, and I have not been the only one to write but it seems they have not been sent on a fast route, though that I do not know. As I think they will all arrive, nevertheless, I do not want to repeat [505] what I have had the honour of telling you. Also, as I have not been given responsibility for anything in the mission, I do not think I should tell you anything except what pertains to me in particular.

Monseigneur is quite unhappy with me at the moment, but I am hoping that when he comes back from his travels everything will settle down, because, to speak to you as a child to his father, I must tell you I may have given him cause in this, but I did not foresee what the effect of my actions would be. This disagreement, which I still do not fully understand, comes in part, I believe, from the opposition I had put up right from the beginning to *monseigneur's* rules relating to letters to you, rules that perhaps I had not understood well enough, or that have been changed; and subsequently, from my relationship with him, because I talked to him too much about the difficulties of the mission and its lack of success in Hokianga, something I did almost deliberately, without foreseeing the negative effect it would have, because I knew *monseigneur* was exaggerating a little when he talked about the success of the mission.

In the end, I was recalled from Hokianga and have been at the Bay of Islands for more than three months awaiting His Lordship's return and his orders. I must acknowledge my faults and my lack of aptitude, certainly, but he has reprimanded me for something that is not my fault and concerning which I beseech you, *mon père*, to please believe me, in spite of what you may have heard to the contrary, that I am in no way repelled by the work of the mission, and especially by the work amongst the

natives, as when I came here I was not expecting to have to work for Europeans. I am very happy with my lot and, with the grace of God and the intercession of our gracious mother, I hope to remain so until my dying day. That is what I most wanted to tell you amongst the thousand things that it would be desirable for you to be informed about. Since I am sure that this letter will go, I want to tell you again that I am afraid that not all my letters have been sent.³⁴² I only know for sure that one has been stopped. It was addressed to *père* Girard. It contained quite a large number of little details, but I was told there were things in it that could have been discouraging. As I was relying on *père* Girard's discretion, I had deemed otherwise. In that matter, I blame my lack of judgement, but in spite of what may be irritating in a human sense, I have nothing on my conscience.

[2] I am perhaps too brief, but I am leaving on quite a long journey, and as the ship that is [506] going to Sydney will probably have left before I return, I would prefer to be brief rather than not write at all. O, dear Father, would I wound your heart again if I told you we are besieged by persistent requests and sometimes outbursts of rage because we cannot respond to the impatient wishes of the New Zealanders! How many people are dying without baptism in places far away from priests! Unfortunate land, where there are so few workers and where one worker can do so little because of the difficulty of the terrain, because of the natives' way of life, and often because of the seasonal bad weather with its trying gales.

[3] Please be so kind as to give my very humble respects and my brotherly affection to all your children and in particular to *monsieur* your brother. I hope they will pray for me and for us all.

[4] Please remember me most urgently in all your holy sacrifices of the Mass and in all your prayers. Also, please be so kind as to remember our neophytes and all those who are still in darkness. May Jesus, Mary and Joseph be with you and with us all.

[5] Please accept the very humble expressions of respect and devotion from one who has the honour of being,

My Very Reverend and dear Father

Your very unworthy

³⁴² Girard notes (n.2, p.504) that before the date of this letter, only one letter, dated 26 August 1838, from Baty to Colin, was found in the Marist Archives, although there were three others to other priests (*LRO*, docs 32, 66, 77).

servant and child

Baty

miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 25 January, 1841.

Doc. 85: 26 January 1841, Épalle to Jean-Claude Colin

Bay of Islands, Kororareka, *Nouvelle-Zélande*

Very Reverend and very dear Father

[507] [1] No, there is no doubt, none at all. The mission is suffering from what you do not hear any news about. It is suffering terribly from it, and more, a hundred times more, a thousand times more than you think. It is suffering from it so much that it is withering away because of it, in the sense that those who have been waiting for such a long time to be welcomed into the Church are falling, finally, to those who give them instruction, no matter where it comes from, because the time has come when the New Zealander cannot wait any longer for instruction. He must receive it. Some, giving up hope of receiving what has been promised them, i.e. priests, are turning to the other missionaries.

Let me tell you, *mon très révérend père*, that you have nothing to lose by sending hosts of workers into Oceania, even if you do not receive any news about them. Stretching from one pole to the other, this field is huge. Everything is ripe, everything is white.³⁴³ No matter how great our number, there is work for all. If we are persecuted in one place, we will hear the order of the Divine Master, there is reason to flee this place. Besides, the days of persecution that force French missionaries to flee are over! You can be assured, *mon révérend père*, that I am passing *monseigneur's* wishes on to you. Send both subjects and money, because this mission is shockingly expensive. Indeed, to satisfy yourself about this, you only have to look at the map and the state of these people.

[2] *Mon Dieu!* I was appalled by your letter of the 22nd of April, 1840. No subjects at all! No money at all! How many times did we say the 1840 Octave of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception would not go by without bringing us something, or the 25th of January, the Feast of the Apostle to the Nations. I dread the moment when *monseigneur* comes back and sees this letter.³⁴⁴ He wrote to me quite recently from Port Nicholson (as he is not yet back from the travels I spoke to you about in my

³⁴³ "Look at the fields; already they are white, ready for harvest!" (Jn 4:35).

³⁴⁴ Pompallier's reaction to Colin's letter is forcibly expressed in *LRO*, doc.91.

letters of October and November).³⁴⁵ By dint of being frugal, I have ten shillings, 8 pence, and 1 quartillo left from the ten pounds sterling I borrowed the other day and soon I will be obliged to pay [508] back at least two shillings. When *monseigneur* comes we will really rejoice if we can pay all our debts. We are not in France any more. Everything here is expensive, but our bellies do not care about that, at least as far as quantity goes. That indispensable boat is what has reduced us to this state. *Monseigneur* says he is counting on finding new fellow workers when he arrives back. What promises will he have made to these impatient people.

[3] I am alone in the Bay of Islands today and you would have been scandalised at the way I have been obliged to treat poor natives who have come very long distances to ask me to copy out at least some prayers for them since we could not go to give them instruction. Overwhelmed by their entreaties, which were deaf to reason, I was angry with them and shut myself up indoors to write things that were even more urgent. They came to the window and stayed there for part of the day, still asking for the same thing. I ended up sending them off with two figs of tobacco.

[4] *Monsieur le supérieur*, I am being overcome, not by sleep, but by weariness. My hand keeps opening in spite of myself. It is three in the morning and I have used every minute to write to the Vicar general, and the Colonial Secretary from Sydney, and this scribble, which I do not have time to re-read. The ship is leaving in a few moments.

[5] I hope the novena we are making to our good Mother will have an effect, and that God's will be done. Pray for me, please, and for all your children here. Everyone is well. I have fairly recent news of everyone.

Épalle, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

³⁴⁵ Girard notes (n.2, p.507) these letters must have been lost as the Marist Archives do not hold any 1840 letters from Épalle to Colin. However, he evidently meant any letters written in October or November, 1840. (Cf. Épalle's letter to Colin, 12 December, 1840. *LRO*, doc.82). Although the priests clearly believed Pompallier sometimes did not send their letters to Colin (see *LRO*, doc.92, in which Épalle tells Colin he is surreptitiously slipping a little note in with other mail: *pour vous glisser furtivement ce petit billet*), Pompallier could not have declined to send Épalle's letters of October and November 1840 as he was absent from the Bay of Islands from 20 September, 1840 (*LRO*, Vol.1, doc.80[5]; Vol.10, p.91), until 19 March, 1841 (*LRO*, Vol.7, doc.954[3]); Vol.10, p.92).

Doc. 86: 30 January, 1841, Pezant to Pierre Colin

J(esus) M(ary) J(oseph)

Akaroa Bay

Reverend and very dear Father in Our Lord,

[509] [1] Please do not attribute my delay in writing to negligence or indifference, but rather to different circumstances that it would take too long to list, and to the lack of time that has resulted from them. I have only been able to write twice to Father Superior and to my family, to allay their anxiety about our crossing. I am taking advantage of the departure of a whaling ship from Le Havre, the *Oriental*, which is leaving for France, to give you some sign of life as I have been wanting to do for a long time.

[2] I prayed to the Lord at the beginning of this year to pour His abundant blessings on you, and on Father Superior, and on all our Fathers and fellow-Brothers.

[3] In case *monsieur le supérieur* has not received our letters, I will say first of all that we arrived safely in the Bay of Islands on the 11th of July and met *monseigneur* there with *pères* Servant and Épalle. *Monseigneur* has kept *monsieur* Tripe with him and has sent me to the colony of Akaroa, on Banks Peninsula, with *père* Comte, whom he recalled from Hokianga. We left the Bay of Islands with *frère* Florentin on the 30th of July, 1840, on the *Aube*, and after quite a difficult 17-day crossing, on the wonderful day of the Assumption of our exalted Mother, we came into Akaroa Harbour. The *Comte de Paris* arrived the next day, badly damaged by lightning that struck it near Hobart Town, twice on the same night. We have had plenty to endure in the Akaroa mission. We have had to build our own house out of wood and grass,³⁴⁶ and have had no trouble hearing the wind blow. We have even sometimes seen hunger at close quarters. Still, that is how missionaries are made. The colonists showed us some goodwill when they disembarked, but that was the end of it. Except that *monsieur* Comte has conducted a marriage and I have performed a solemn baptism, the first in Tawai-Pounamou [*sic*]. In fact, we are the first Catholic missionaries to set foot on this South Island. I have been busy taking school and teaching the catechism to the colonists' children, and I have given a little boy First Communion. *Monsieur* Comte has baptised some children at home for particular reasons.

³⁴⁶ See doc.74, n.103.

That is almost the sum total of our ministry in Akaroa and there is very little hope for the future, unless a great many colonists come. As for the local natives, there are only about thirty left in this bay and [510] about a hundred at Port Cooper, near the isthmus. The fearful Tarauparaha [*sic*], (pronounced Torobolo in French), a warrior from the north of Tawai-Pounamou, one of the greatest man-eaters in New Zealand, has wiped out the inhabitants of the peninsula. Those who are left are infatuated with Williams' prayer³⁴⁷ (leader of the Protestant Anglican missionaries) and there is no hope of making serious conversions amongst them unless France colonises this area. There are only about fifty French colonists and some English people settled here so, as a result, the shepherds are almost without a flock. The whole island of Tawai Pounamou is, proportionately, just as sparsely populated as the peninsula. Apart from a few scattered points where the population, corrupted by European vices, declines noticeably each year, all the rest is uninhabited. However, apart from the gales, the local area is very pleasant. Akaroa is covered with magnificent bush. Vegetation is vigorous here, and water both abundant and excellent. Gales are less frequent here, at least in summer, than in many other New Zealand ports, even in the North Island. That is what we realized at Port Nicholson, in Cook Strait.

[4] *Monseigneur*, who has purchased an American brig-schooner with the money we brought him, came here at the beginning of October to have it sheathed in copper. He stayed here for about six weeks and obtained two daily rations for the missionaries from *monsieur le commandant* of the *Aube*, so they now have regular meals. I forgot to tell you that *monsieur le capitaine* of the *Comte de Paris* has helped us a great deal. But, in spite of *monseigneur's* presence and his exhortations, the colonists have remained in almost unshakeable apathy. *Monseigneur*, before he left Akaroa, deemed it appropriate to bring me back with him to Kororareka to learn the languages that manual occupations [511] have not allowed me to study here, and in my place he left *monsieur* Tripe, whom he had brought with him, judging that he could do better here than I had done. We left Akaroa on the 14th of November, on board the *Sancta Maria*, (that is the name of *monseigneur's* boat) and we arrived four days later in Port Otago, (or Oxley), fifty leagues south of the peninsula. We found a good number of natives there. We stayed there for more than three weeks to give them instruction and teach them Catholic prayers. They showed, for their part, a great deal of enthusiasm and *monseigneur* was very satisfied with the attitudes of this tribe as well as the tribe of Moue-Raki [Moeraki], which is only 10 leagues away, and where *monseigneur* took me with him in a boat controlled by the principal chief of

³⁴⁷ Girard explains (n.4, p.510) "Williams' prayer" as the Anglican religion. He adds that references to William Williams, Henry's younger brother, and also an Anglican minister, can be found in LRO, docs 114 and 118.

Otago, Tairoa [Taiaroa], with several other boats forming a kind of small squadron. Moue-Raki is a delightful place, (always excepting the terrible New Zealand gales), and reminded me of the banks of the Saône. The natives, relatives of the Otago people, welcomed *monseigneur* warmly, revealing very disarming personalities. The same with the English, about forty in number, who have settled there in the *fisheries* (whale-fishing areas). Then we came back to Akaroa, after hesitating about whether we should go direct south close to Stewart Island, to Bench Island, or Roa-Puke [Ruapuke], where people said there were many natives. However, knowing that in these difficult seas the port was not safe, *monseigneur* was afraid of risk to the boat and reluctantly abandoned this visit. From Akaroa we set off for Port Nicholson, the most populated of the English colonies of New Zealand. We arrived there on Christmas Eve, and spent two weeks there. Throughout this time, *monseigneur* was almost always busy, baptising, hearing confessions, preaching. The 150 Port Nicholson Catholics are a different breed from the Akaroa Catholics. The Protestants welcomed *monseigneur* warmly and showed him every respect. Several came to Holy Mass. We then came back here to transport the food supplies purchased by two officers from the *Aube*. We will leave in a few days for the Bay of [512] Islands and on the way there we will call at Maia³⁴⁸ (East Cape) and at Tauranga, where *père* Viard is performing wonders. I was extremely happy to see him and his neophytes.

Serious rumours about war between France and England are circulating here. In this uncertainty, for fear of being hemmed in here, the corvette, the *Aube*, will leave to find definite news somewhere. Thus, we do not know what will become of the Akaroa colony. I must tell you what I have been forgetting to say, that is, we had a safe crossing from France. We had a month of storms, but we left them to endure heavy rolling. The dangers of the sea are nothing;³⁴⁹ but the inconveniences are great. However, we did run one danger on board the schooner on the way to Otago. Blown by quite a strong wind, we touched the reef. Luckily, the impact was not very forceful. *Monseigneur* is in good health as are all our brother-priests. *Monseigneur* is expecting to find some missionaries in the Bay of Islands.

³⁴⁸ Girard glosses as Mahia (n.10, p.512).

³⁴⁹ Although Pezant makes light here of the dangers of sea travel, they were nonetheless real. Fr Borjon and Br Déodat drowned when the *Spectator*, on which they were sailing from Auckland to Wellington, was lost, presumed to have sunk (*LRO*, doc.260[1-3]); Pezant was reported to have nearly drowned when his canoe capsized (doc.260[4]); Br Élie-Régis records three occasions on which he nearly drowned (doc.520[3-5]; Élie-Régis also records Br Euloge falling into a pool of boiling water in Rotorua (Clisby (Transl.), 1996, doc.63, p.190).

I will end by asking for your prayers. Please believe I have not forgotten either you or the Society. I have not made my solemn vows yet, but I want to ask to make them soon, and I am more resolved than ever not to see Europe again, unless obedience calls me back there. I am truly happy, because I am convinced the good Lord wants me here. Please be so kind as to give my deepest respects to *monsieur le supérieur*, and to all our *révérends pères*. I have the honour of being forever, my Very Reverend and dear Father in Our Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant

and son in Our Lord,

Jean Pezant

priest, miss(ionary) ap(ostolic)

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