

**A MISSION TOO FAR ...
PACIFIC COMMITMENT
Bonus Chapter 15 [MTF-XV]**

1843 Douarre and Épalle

Converging interests

As Guillaume Douarre had moved straight from pastoral work in the Diocese of Clermont-Ferrand into the novitiate of la Favorite when he joined the Society, we can assume that at that stage he knew very little of the problems that had beset the missions in Oceania; nor would gossiping about Bishop Pompallier have been encouraged in the novitiate! He will have heard of things only after his profession when he was named assistant Bishop of the new Apostolic Vicariate of Central Oceania. Colin knew Pompallier too well not to foresee all sorts of problems if it was left to Pompallier to split up the Vicariate of Western Oceania and install Bataillon or if Pompallier had a chance to interfere. Through the appointment and consecration of Douarre in France Pompallier could be bypassed, provided Douarre could find a way to go Wallis without passing through New Zealand. How explicit this was discussed we shall never know but there is no indication that Douarre at any moment considered the quicker, safer and cheaper route via London - Sydney in which case he could not avoid calling in at the Bay of Islands. Probably this was the reason why after his consecration he went instantly to Paris.

During the decades of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars France had left the world wide open for Britain to expand its presence and influence. The Pacific Ocean that, after the discoveries in the sixteenth century, had been a Spanish Lake had rapidly turned into an Anglo-American one. Shipping lanes turned around Sydney and Honolulu and American interests already planned to open up the isthmus of Panama. Hundreds of British and American whale hunters and sandal-wood traders were active everywhere and Sydney merchants were exploring the commercial possibilities of the South Pacific.

British influence was not only political and commercial. British and American missionaries had settled on many islands. Naval officers on the ships of Cook and Bligh were usually members of the Church of England. Their stories and reports excited interest in Britain for the conversion of the Pacific peoples. By 1750, the Evangelical revival in Britain had affected London and the southern seaports. Officers and ranks had been touched by the effects of the great revival preachers, George Whitefield and John Wesley. Captain William Bligh became an associate of the Calvinistic Evangelicals. The London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) was formed and in 1796 they sent their own ship *Duff* with the first missionaries to the South Seas.¹

A quarter of a century later missionaries of various Protestant churches, the L.M.S., Methodists and Anglicans could be found on many Polynesian islands of both the eastern and the central South-Pacific. In fact, it was rumours of Protestant expansion that

¹ John Garrett, *To Live among the Stars* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1985), 4.

alerted Rome to the presence of people in need of evangelisation, or rather, of being protected from heresy.²

Even after the *Restauration* (1815) of the Bourbon dynasty France showed little interest in the distant and little known ocean. In 1830 there were at the most a dozen French whale hunters in the Pacific.³ During the early 1830s French attention and naval resources were turned towards the conquest of Algeria. The first thing that attracted interest in France was the presence of French missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus) first in Hawaii in the 1820's and later in the Eastern Pacific.⁴ As from 1836 a second missionary Order, the Marists, came on stage. The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* gave lively accounts of missionary exploits and were widely read.⁵

Friction between Protestant missions, very much a part of the British expansion, and Catholic missionaries looking towards their home country for similar support, awakened ancient British-French rivalry. The French government that came to power in 1839 under Maréchal Soult as President of the Council and Admiral Duperré as Minister of the Navy and the Colonies was a fervent promoter of colonial expansion. In 1839 a French consulate was opened in Sydney.⁶ By bad luck the first project, to take possession of the South Island of New Zealand, failed when Captain Hobson raised the Union Jack in Akaroa just before Captain Lavaud arrived there on the *Aube* on 15 August 1840.⁷

Initially Navy captains of both nations went repeatedly beyond their official instructions and politicians in Paris and London found it sometimes difficult to rein in their own men in the Pacific. In 1841 and 1842 the French took control of the Marquesas Islands and concluded a treaty with Queen Pomare of Tahiti that brought the islands in the South-Eastern Pacific under French influence. Sydney observers were alarmed but could say little after Britain itself had in fact taken possession of New Zealand through the Treaty of Waitangi (1840).

By the 1840s the European commercial and religious frontier had moved progressively westward across the Pacific and had reached the boundaries of the Melanesian island chain - a region of the Pacific almost completely unknown to Europeans at the time. In that chain the large island of New Caledonia would have drawn more attention as it lay close to New South Wales and to New Zealand but in spite of it having been discovered by Captain Cook, the British had shown little interest. Australia and New Zealand offered ample scope for British ambitions.

Another factor was that people with experience of contact with Polynesia were reluctant to become involved in Melanesia that was proving far more difficult to penetrate.⁸ Some of the first attempts at commercial contacts, notably the sandalwood

² Ralph M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania 1825 to 1850* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), 1-7.

³ Léonce Jore, *L'Océan Pacifique au temps de la Restauration et de la Monarchie de Juillet (1815-1848)* (Paris: Éditions Besson et Chantemerle, 1959), volume 1, 175, 185.

⁴ Wiltgen, *Founding*, 4-5.

⁵ Published in Lyon from 1822 onwards by the *Oeuvre pour la propagation de la foi* the periodical published letters from missionaries and news of missionary activity.

⁶ Jore, *L'Océan* 1, 192.

⁷ Jan Snijders, *A Mission Too Far ... Pacific Commitment* [MTF] (Adelaide: Australasian Theological Forum, 2012), 267.

⁸ K.R. Howe, *Where the Waves Fall* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 281.

trade⁹ and missionary contact with Melanesians ended in a bloodbath and were soon abandoned.¹⁰ The term ‘Melanesia’ that was coming into currency in those years carried from the onset connotations of peoples that were physically and culturally inferior. John Williams called them ‘Polynesian negroes’ and wrote of their ‘dark, Satanic savagery’. Carteret spoke of ‘woolly headed... dispiretly dareing warlike people’, ‘wild, fierce and savage’. Cook had noticed the multiplicity of languages, the lack of powerful chiefs and the constant warfare. Dillon found ‘more permanent attachment to barbarous feelings and habits than hitherto found in any part of the South Sea’. At the same time, the ship-bound sailors noted that unlike the women in Polynesia those in Melanesia were more ‘chaste’.¹¹ The bad reputation of the Melanesians would have influenced people in Australia but may not yet have reached France around 1840.¹² In any case, France looked with interest at Melanesia.

Politicians in Paris had noticed the relative ease with which the Marquesas had been brought under French control once the Sacred Hearts missionaries (Picpus) had created an atmosphere in which the local people considered the French to be their friends. Building on the goodwill created by missionaries, treaties could seemingly be concluded easily with local chieftains. This was evidently a much better approach than a military intervention! Even François Guizot, not known for sympathetic views on Church or religion, argued in Parliament that France should do for French Catholic missionaries what England did for Protestant English ones.¹³ When in 1843 Admiral Bruat was appointed Governor in Oceania, his instructions read: ‘You know the Catholic missionaries have obtained great authority among the populations. Work with them on whatever measures will make them recognise our authority and preserve the successes they have obtained in those islands.’¹⁴

These were the prevailing attitudes Bishop Douarre found in Paris when he came looking for transport on Government ships. It was a godsend both ways. The request of Douarre presented the French Government with a team of French missionaries under a young and enterprising leader, on their way to the Western Pacific. Bishop Douarre met with politicians and officials ready to listen to his request for transport of his large team.

Douarre in action

After handing the newly professed his Bull of appointment to Bishop of Amata, Colin left it to Guillaume Douarre himself to arrange for his Episcopal Consecration¹⁵ and his departure for Oceania. Douarre asked Cardinal de Bonald to perform the consecration. The ceremony took place in the Cathedral of Saint John in Lyon on 18 October 1842,

⁹ Cf. Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood* (Melbourne: 1971).

¹⁰ John Williams of the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) was killed on Erromanga (Vanuatu) in 1839, Garrett, *To Live among the Stars*, 164-67.

¹¹ Howe, *Where the Waves*, 281-7.

¹² There is no trace of it in Marist documents of the time.

¹³ Foreign Secretary from 1840 to 1848, Jore, *L'Océan*, 1, 232-3.

¹⁴ Jore, *L'Océan*, 1, 292. Reiner Jaspers, *Die Missionarische Erschliessung Ozeaniens* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1972), 242. Jaspers thinks wrongly that Douarre did not know about the Government plans.

¹⁵ Jean Coste, *A Founder Speaks* [FS], translated by Anthony Ward, S.M. (Rome: Marist Fathers, 1975), Doc 89, 12.

with Bishop Devie of Belley and Douarre's friend, Bishop Miolan of Amiens as assistants. A few days later the events were given full coverage in *l'Ami de la religion*, the Catholic newspaper most read in France by the clergy and loyal Catholics.¹⁶

In July, the same paper had already given full coverage to the martyrdom of Peter Chanel.¹⁷ In September 1841 the paper had announced the departure of three Marist missionaries, Jean-Simon Bernard, Delphin Moreau and Auguste Chouvet on a French naval vessel from Toulon.¹⁸ All the publicity went against Father Colin's feelings. Two years later he recalled:

'When I see so many bishops in the Society, so much fuss of us in France, and departures for Oceania causing such a commotion, I cannot tell you how distressed I am. I say: "Sydney! I shall send them to Sydney to be consecrated." What will the bishops themselves think when they see so many bishops of ours about the place? Surely they will say: "They must have a great many subjects!"'¹⁹

Colin had promised Poupinel he would be back in Lyon around the tenth of October²⁰ but when the day of the consecration approached he stayed longer in Belley and retired to the Capuchin friary where he often went for a few days of recollection. He just could not face the prospect of being the centre of attention in Lyon as would unavoidably happen.²¹

Naturally, Douarre had noticed Colin's absence but he took no offence. They had become close friends. The evening after the consecration Douarre wrote him a warm-hearted letter: 'Your little bishop wants to write to you, just a short letter, because he still has to talk to the good God.'²² Not a word on Colin's absence. He understood Colin's feelings even if he did not share them.

Within days Douarre was off to Paris where he paid several visits to the Nuncio and soon became friendly with the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Denis-Auguste Affre. Affre must have been impressed. He made sure the new Bishop could meet with important Government people and he used his influence to get him the help he needed. Douarre went to see François Guizot who, overcoming initial reluctance, promised financial support.²³

In Paris Douarre had an audience with the King and was told in strict confidence of the Government's intention to take possession of islands in the Pacific. The plans had to remain strictly secret. The British Government should not be alerted. When Douarre met with Bishop Rouchouze who was getting his own ship ready for Eastern Oceania the

¹⁶ *L'ami de la religion*, 22 October 1842. MTF XIV, 8. MTF with Roman numerals refers to bonus chapters to MTF made accessible since 2012 in www.mariststudies.org

¹⁷ *L'ami de la religion*, 7 July 1842.

¹⁸ *L'ami de la religion*, 17 September 1842. MTF XIV, 18.

¹⁹ FS, Doc 90, 3; 57, 2.

²⁰ Gaston Lessard (ed), «Colin sup» [CS], (Rome, Marist Fathers, 2007-11), volume 2, Doc 13, 8. Jean Coste (ed) *A Founder Acts* [FA], translated by William J. Stuart and Anthony Ward, S.M. (Rome: Marist Fathers, 1983), Doc 230, 4-12.

²¹ MTF XIV, 10.

²² Douarre to Colin, 18 October 1842, APM, 1466/20880.

²³ Douarre to Colin, 30 November 1842, APM, 1466/20880.

two discussed in depth the *pros and cons* of such close links with the Government. They saw the dangers but came to the conclusion that for the time being the advantages tipped the scales.²⁴

Douarre moved in and out of Paris, stayed with his friend the Bishop of Amiens and went to Le Havre where he met with several ship owners to sound them out on the project of what later became the *Société Française de l'Océanie*.²⁵ It is not clear who had first launched the idea of a commercial venture with a religious mission, but Colin mentioned it in his extensive report to Fransoni of 23 June 1842²⁶ and we can be sure he had discussed it with Douarre.

Douarre presided at the Vespers of the illustrious archconfraternity of *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires* and spoke to the members. He attended happenings where other bishops were present, such as the *Cercle Catholique* and the *Institut Catholique*.²⁷ In December he was in Paris again for a major speech at the secular *Académie des sciences* where he proposed close cooperation between missionaries and scholars on natural sciences and indigenous cultures in the many islands still practically unknown. As a result a commission of scholars was asked to draft a manual for the missionaries on how to gather the data that the scientists were anxious to get.²⁸

In letters from both Poupinel and Colin himself Douarre seems to have gathered that the Marist leadership in Lyon were uneasy with his high profile and his moving about.²⁹ On 21 December he assures Colin that he does things only for the sake of the mission and that there is no other way to get the support he needs. He assures Colin there is no sightseeing but just hard work to get the things they may need in their new mission and to pack them for shipping. It was foreseen half of them would leave from Brest and their luggage had to be dispatched from Paris, the other half was to leave from Toulon. In the same letter Douarre told Colin that he had met with Bishop Charles Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy, who told him that his attempts to obtain British Government allocations for the missionaries in New Zealand had come to nothing. There was no chance the Catholic missionaries would get allocations unless they became British citizens.³⁰

On 21 December Douarre could write to Poupinel that everything was settled for departure in the first days of February. He asked that the three young brothers from Auvergne get a chance to visit their families and collect the tools they had at home and wanted to take with them. The 29 December 1842, just before leaving Paris, Roudaire who had accompanied Douarre on his travels, sent instructions to Poupinel on how to label the boxes and parcels for Brest. They returned to Lyon via Clermont-Ferrand.

²⁴ Douarre to Poupinel (?), 30 November 1842, from Amiens, APM 1466/20880.

²⁵ Patrick O'Reilly, 'La Société de l'Océanie' in *Revue d'Histoire des Missions*, June, 1930. Léonce Jore, *L'Océan*, 2, 356.

²⁶ Colin had mentioned such a project in his report to Cardinal Fransoni of 23 May 1842 where the idea is added as a sort of afterthought, which could mean it was not Colin's own. J. Jeantin, *Le Très Révérend Père Colin* (Lyon: Vitte, 1896) volume 3, 47.

²⁷ *L'ami de la religion*, 3 November, 5 November, 24 November.

²⁸ *L'ami de la religion*, 13 December.

²⁹ The letters have not been found. Douarre to Poupinel, 12 December 1842. Douarre to Colin 21 December 1842. APM 1466/20880.

³⁰ Colin must have mentioned the point when Forbin-Janson approached him in 1838 about Verdelaïs as a possible site for a project of his. Cf. CS 2, Doc 40,4. Through working in North America he was fluent in English and had recently visited London to plead with the British Government on behalf of the French speaking Canadians under British rule (FA, Doc 229. Google).

Group eight ³¹

While Bishop Douarre was in Paris Father Colin had been busy getting a missionary team together for the new Vicariate of Central Oceania. Part of the team had come in with Douarre himself, others were added to it. Who were they?

The first man from Auvergne with whom Father Colin had kept up a correspondence, was a seminarian from the Diocese of Clermont-Ferrand, **Gilbert Roudaire** born in 1813 in Pontaumur, Puy-de-Dôme. Ordained a priest for the diocese he came to see Father Colin in May or June 1841. Impressed by his interest in the foreign missions Colin said to him: 'Find me from your diocese four or five priests; choose a Bishop from among yourselves and see if your own Bishop approves. For my part I shall present him to the Pope and if the Holy Father accepts, off you go!'³² Roudaire went home and succeeded in finding two volunteers, Guillaume Douarre and Pierre Rougeyron. The Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand was pleased with the zeal of his priests.³³ He encouraged them and in August 1841 Roudaire entered the novitiate. He was professed 27 September 1842.

In a personal letter to Bishop Bataillon Father Colin describes Roudaire as a talented and practical man, sometimes a bit difficult to handle and inclined to spend money lightheartedly.³⁴

Guillaume Douarre was born 16 December 1810 in a very poor farming family in La Forie, diocese of Clermont-Ferrand. It was his boyhood dream to become a missionary and he worked his way through secondary school at five km distance, in Ambert. There was no money to study in the seminary of Clermont but Orléans was short of priests and accepted students for free. Douarre went through the seminary of Orléans which meant he would be ordained for that diocese. Somehow, after ordination, in 1834, Douarre returned to his own diocese and he was appointed to his home village where he worked first as a curate and later as the parish priest.

Through Roudaire and through a letter of Peter Chanel published in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* Douarre got to know the Marists. On 11 March 1842, just as the martyrdom of Peter Chanel became known in France, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Mary with the intention of going to the missions of Oceania. Three of his parishioners came with him as brother candidates.

Douarre must have made a very good impression and when this was supported by people Colin consulted, he proposed him in Rome to become the Coadjutor of Bataillon whose first task it would be to consecrate his own Ordinary.³⁵ Rome accepted the proposal and Colin carried the Bull of Douarre's appointment but handed it him only after his profession on 8 September. When presenting him to Bataillon Colin called him 'an active and zealous man whose heart is in the right place. He is tactful and of good judgment.'³⁶

³¹ For much of this material I am indebted to Alois Greiler, *Biographical Notes on Marist Priests and Brothers during the Generalate of Father Colin*, unpublished research file, 2009.

³² CS 1, Doc 268, 6 & Doc 274. MTF, 322.

³³ CS 1, Doc 374,

³⁴ CS 2, Doc 58, 3.

³⁵ MTF XII, 15. FA, Doc 228, 8; Doc 230. CS 1, Doc 374

³⁶ CS 2, Doc 58, 2.

The promotion of Douarre raised a few eyebrows in the Society. A young man of only thirty-two, unknown to most Marists, who had done only a few months of novitiate, without previous experience of community life! Colin explained in a closed meeting with the professed Marists why he had acted the way he did. They were pleased he took them into his confidence and resistance melted away.³⁷

Roudaire, still a novice at the time, and not present at Colin's talk, openly complained about the way things had gone. Because of his role so far he thought he would be the bishop himself. Moreover, he said, he wanted his appointment to Oceania on paper before committing himself to the Society. Colin called Roudaire in for a dressing down. His behaviour was, the Superior said, not acceptable and a sufficient reason not to call him for profession and not send him to the mission at all. Roudaire humbly recognised his fault and convinced Colin of the sincerity of his apology.³⁸

Pierre Rougeyron was born on 1 April 1817 in Cébazat, Puy-de-Dôme. He had finished his studies at Clermont but was still a deacon when he entered the novitiate on 17 February 1841. He was ordained a priest in May 1842 and made his profession in the hands of Father Colin on 11 March 1843.

With the Auvergne clerics came four Brothers. The oldest one was **Blaise Marmoiton**,³⁹ born in a peasant family of Issac-la-Tourette in 1812, the year the village church was re-consecrated for worship, twenty years after having been confiscated and desecrated by the Revolution. His father died young and Blaise had to take over the farm. From reading the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* he developed a desire to devote his life to missionary work. Just when his parish priest Guillaume Douarre opted for the missions Blaise's brother returned from military service which allowed Blaise to follow what he saw as his vocation in life.

When Blaise let it be known he was leaving for the missions with the parish priest two other men from the village decided to go with them. They were Blaise's friend, the builder **Jean Taragnat**, born in 1816, and **Jean Raynaud**, born in 1820 whom Colin describes as 'very skilful and intelligent'. Douarre recruited a fourth man in Ambur, Puy-de-Dôme, **Annet Pérol**, born in 1814. After novitiate in La Favorite all four of them made their profession with Pierre Rougeyron.

The new mission of Central Oceania attracted idealistic priests from several other dioceses in France as well. The oldest of them was **Philippe Calinon**, born in 1806 and ordained for his diocese of Saint-Claude (Jura) in 1833. For eight years he was involved in parish ministry until, from reading the *Annals*, he felt a desire to join the foreign missions. He applied to the Jesuits on condition he would be sent to the missions, which they refused to agree to beforehand. In March 1841 the Marist novitiate accepted him in spite of his insistence on a missionary assignment. During the novitiate he came to see that his insistence was not right. Only when he was prepared to let his superiors decide on his future he made his profession, in March 1843. He was a commanding figure and Father Colin appreciated his qualities. Recommending him to Bataillon he calls him a man of proven judgment and self-restraint, prudent and deeply religious. No wonder he

³⁷ FA, Doc 228.

³⁸ FA, Doc 225.

³⁹ Cf Anon, 'Blaise Marmoiton' in Georges Maurey, *Physionomies maristes*, ms. APM.

not only assigned him to the foreign missions but made him immediately provincial of Central Oceania.⁴⁰

From Amiens came **Charles Mathieu**, born in 1809. He was ordained for his diocese and served as the Bishop's secretary when he applied to join the Marists in Oceania. He seems to have done part of his novitiate in Puylata and was professed on 11 March 1843, together with Calinon and Rougeyron

Six years younger was **Jean-Baptiste Bréhéret**, born in 1815 in Chapelle-Aubry, in the Diocese of Angers. He had lost his parents as a child and was brought up by an elder brother. He studied at the minor and major seminaries of his diocese and joined the Marist novitiate of Belley in September 1840. He continued his studies while a novice and made his vows as an *aspirans probatus* in September 1841. He was ordained a priest in July 1842. He made his profession on 27 September of the same year and was appointed to Oceania.

From Moulins came **Jean-Victor Favier**, born in 1816. When he had finished studies at the seminaries of his diocese he was too young for ordination and he came to the minor seminary of Belley as a teacher. He entered the Marist novitiate in August 1841, was ordained a priest in March and professed with Bréhéret.

Also born in 1816 was **Isidore Grézel**, from the Diocese of Besançon. He had done seminary studies but was not yet ordained when Colin employed him as a teacher in Belley. He entered the novitiate in September 1841 continuing to work as a teacher. Colin had his doubts about him and he was not professed. Grézel applied for Oceania as an '*aspirans probatus*'. Colin accepted him and on 11 March he made the vow of obedience for four years.⁴¹ Colin recommends him to Bataillon as a practical man who could run a printery and might eventually turn out suitable for ordination.

On the way

On or around New Year's day 1843 Bishop Douarre and Guillaume Roudaire returned to Puylata after spending two months in Paris to arrange transport to Oceania. There they found, apart from the regular staff (about twelve men), Jean-Baptiste Bréhéret and Jean-Victor Favier, both professed on 27 September 1842. Also in Puylata was Charles Mathieu doing his novitiate. At some time, Philippe Calinon and Pierre Rougeyron also moved into Puylata to prepare for profession. On 2 January in walked Jean-Baptiste Épalle, straight from New Zealand.⁴² Colin must have been taken up full time by interviews and spiritual direction in what had become a busy place indeed. No wonder Colin wrote: 'my head is splitting'⁴³ but, apart from this rare remark to his friend Dussurgey, his successor in Belley, it did not stop him from writing letters that breathe a relaxed state of mind practising what he exhorts Roulleau to be: 'You will be an excellent missionary if you keep up a holy joyfulness'.⁴⁴ Departure had first been foreseen in early February but was delayed for two months.

⁴⁰ FA, Doc 269, 4. CS 2, Doc 58, 4.

⁴¹ Claude Mayet, *Mémoires*, ms. APM, volume 5, 162m. He was ordained after a few years by Bishop Bataillon and joined the Society in 1859.

⁴² MTF XIV, 15.

⁴³ *J'ai la tête cassée*, CS 2, Doc 60, 3.

⁴⁴ CS 2, Doc 61.

In the novitiate at La Favorite under Cholleton as superior and Claude Favier as novice master we find part of the time Pierre Rougeyron and Charles Matthieu as well as the four Brothers, Blaise, Annet, Jean Raynaud and Jean Taragnat.

On 11 March Calinon, Rougeyron and Matthieu did their profession together with the four Brothers. The same day Grézel made the vow of obedience for four years. Two days later most of them left for Toulon. Bishop Douarre had already gone ahead.

The boxes and personal luggage were loaded on the steam freighter that was to accompany the warships. Sunday 23 April Calinon embarked on the *Phaéton* with the Fathers Bréhéret, Favier and the Brothers Annet Pérol and Jean Reynaud. Douarre was there to see them off and they sailed on Monday 24 April 1843.

Douarre spent nearly two months in Toulon and used his time well. He soon became a highly popular preacher for the soldiers, the sailors and the officers of what was a major naval base. Many wanted to confess to him and the parish priests of Toulon all tried to get him for Sunday Masses where he drew large crowds.⁴⁵ Ladies in town were sewing blouses for the women in Oceania and asking to be godmothers to the converts in the Pacific.

The Association for the Propagation of the Faith had made a special grant for the new Vicariate of 120,000 Francs⁴⁶ and before leaving Paris Douarre had received a donation of twenty-thousand Francs from Archbishop Affre.⁴⁷ In Toulon he found he could put part of the money into deposit with a government agency and withdraw it in Valparaiso at a profit of 3 or 4 % for the duration of the voyage. Part of the money for the new mission was deposited, part was handed to Father Calinon on the *Phaéton*, the rest Bishop Douarre carried himself.

The Bishop had a fine cabin to himself alongside the Captain's. The three priests Charles Mathieu, Gilbert Roudaire and Pierre Rougeyron, with the Brothers Blaise Marmoiton and Jean Taragnat and the seminarian Isidore Grézel were assigned a fine cabin for six persons but in Toulon they discovered that six Picpus missionaries were joining them on the *Uranie*. They shared the same cabin which meant crowded conditions all the same.

From the Picpus men they learned that the missionaries destined for the Marquesas had been promised a living allowance from the French government of two thousand Francs a year. In Tahiti, they were told, even the Protestant missionaries received generous allocations to compensate them for the loss of British subsidies and to keep them from agitating against the French presence. They sailed Thursday 4 May 1843. As Roudaire told it:

‘On the 4th of May, we went aboard the beautiful frigate, the *Uranie*, which His Lordship of Amata had blessed the previous day in the presence of the officers. I believe that nearly three thousand people were covering the quays at the time of our embarking. They wanted to see once more this young

⁴⁵ Grézel to Maître pierre, 27 April 1843. APM, 1405/20053

⁴⁶ According to Colin's letter to Rome, CS 2, Doc 79. 13, the Propagation of the Faith made a special allocation of 120.000 Francs. According to the records of Procure, *Emplois des sommes allouées* (APM, 512.01) Bishop Douarre received eighty thousand Francs for the new Vicariate of Central Oceania. Colin may have included the money from other sources.

⁴⁷ Douarre to Colin, 21 December 1843. APM, 1466/ 20880.

bishop they had overwhelmed with so many honours and so much affection during his stay in Toulon. The prelate arrives, accompanied by the entire clergy of the city; and at the moment when he set foot in the boat, the whole pious crowd fell on its knees, receiving with tears the blessing of the missionary Bishop. We too let our tears flow, and it was not without feeling our hearts oppressed by sorrow that we saluted for the last time the noble city of Toulon, the numerous friends we had there, and our beautiful France that we were leaving to spread the Gospel of the Lord.’⁴⁸

The following year, in November 1844, laypeople in Toulon offered the Society the property of La Seyne in Toulon and the Bishop invited Father Colin to consider a foundation in the town. It was the beginning of the Marist presence in Toulon.⁴⁹

Writing to Bishop Bataillon

While the house of Puylata filled up with missionaries getting ready to leave, Father Colin opened a new chapter in his attempts to come to a working relationship with the Vicars Apostolic in Oceania. At one stage he had dreamt of creating a distance between the Vicars Apostolic and the Society of Mary by having non-Marist Bishops appointed.⁵⁰ The dream had come to nothing. Waking up to the realities of the situation he had ended up proposing two Marist Bishops for the new Vicariate of Central Oceania. Moreover, Cardinal Fransoni had brushed it aside.⁵¹

On 20 February Father Colin wrote to Pierre Bataillon, the newly appointed Bishop of Central Oceania. Because of the isolation of Wallis, Bataillon would for a long time not have been aware of what had happened between France and Oceania but, as Colin knew, Bishop Pompallier had passed a considerable time on Wallis in 1842 and Bataillon would therefore have heard the Bishop’s side of the distressing story. Now, by spelling out the mutual arrangements and expectations Colin hoped to put their future cooperation on a sound basis but, as one would expect, his letter often reads like a summing up of everything that had gone wrong between Bishop Pompallier and the Society of Mary.⁵²

True to himself Colin opens graciously: ‘The man who so far looked upon you as his son in Jesus and Mary and whom you called yourself your father, will address you from now on as *Monseigneur* out of respect for the Episcopal dignity with which you will be invested.’ [2]⁵³ Colin has to inform the new Bishop (thirty-three years of age) of the many aspects of his administrative role and at the same time warn him of the pitfalls of his new function. He wants Bataillon to see his letter as a token of his care and affection.

⁴⁸ Roudaire to Cholleton, 1 December 1843. LRO 2, Doc 292, 2. Where possible we follow the English translations in the anthology, Charles Girard (ed), *Letters from the Marist Missionaries in Oceania*, (Adelaide: ATF Press, 2015), 212.

⁴⁹ FA, Doc 273,1.

⁵⁰ As he had written in the draft letter to Pompallier of 14 September 1842 (CS 2, Doc 4, 30), that had never been sent.

⁵¹ CS 2, Doc 27, 7.

⁵² A few days later Colin wrote his last letter to Pompallier with which he in fact broke off further relations, cf MTF XIV, 16-7; CS 2, 54.

⁵³ CS 2, Doc 49. Numbers in brackets refer to numbering in documents referred to.

Colin starts with reminding Bataillon of his Relations with the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda) and its Prefect, Cardinal Fransoni. There has to be an annual report for which Colin forwards the instructions that the Cardinal has given him. He encloses the Decree of 16 September 1842. [3]⁵⁴

Next comes the annual report to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon, the only regular and reliable source of financial support. Reports should reach the Directors in March when they begin working on the annual allocations. Colin stresses not only that the reports should be sent in time but, of course thinking of Pompallier's reports, that they should be modest, without exaggerations, full of detailed information and truthful! [4]

Occasional letters to Bishops in France are very useful, like letters from the Vicar Apostolic as well as from missionaries to their home dioceses. Their goodwill is important when volunteers present themselves or other help is needed. [5] Remember that the Society of Mary is your mother and the nursery of your clergy. Do not sadden her on her course. [6] As to the Superior General, he will be the one you will deal with most. He is, with yourself, responsible for your mission and according to the Decree of 16 September your correspondence will pass through him. 'Although a simple priest he is your father in Christ and your most important support'. Undoubtedly recalling his correspondence with Pompallier, Colin begs: 'Do not address him on an imperious tone, complaining or reproaching. Give him room to let you openly say what he thinks.' [8]

Colin adds some good advice on how to run the mission. In accordance with the Decree of 16 September there will be one or several Provincials appointed by the Superior General, the good of your mission depends on harmonious collaboration and respect for each other's own responsibility. [9] Choose an able and dedicated procurator. The success of your mission depends on it. Have a council to assist and support you. Inform them of everything and let them speak their mind freely. Listen to them before expressing your own views, it will avoid grumbling behind your back and foster a good spirit among your men. [11] Be kind and accessible to your priests, do not have special friends and avoid bitterness and reproaches. As laid down in the Decree of September, do not put anyone by himself. [12] Take special care of the Brothers. They are religious, not servants. Be more of a father than a superior to them and they will be open with you. 'As you go around visiting your priests and your brothers make sure you get to know them well so that you accompany them on their way to God.' [13]⁵⁵

From the depth of his sad experience of five years dealing with Pompallier, Colin lists four things a missionary Bishop should beware of. Firstly, he should not rush things to show results. Wild claims of thousands of converts in the past proved to be unfounded and Colin has understood, from Bataillon's own letters, from Peter Chanel and from talking with Épalle that the conversion of Wallis was a slow and painful process, slow but solid. He praises Bataillon for his wise approach and urges him to stay that course. [14]

It had been clear to everyone privy to Pompallier's correspondence that Pompallier had wanted to do too much, too quickly. As Maîtrepierre had said and Colin had written to Pompallier: do not to try to do more than the means at hand allow.

⁵⁴ Cf MTF, XII, 21.

⁵⁵ «à voir comment ils vont à Dieu.» A casual but striking description of how Colin sees leadership in the Church!

Overextending one's forces and means does nobody any good. Providence does not want you to do more than is possible with the means it puts in your hands. [15]

One thing that had become crystal clear in New Zealand, and this is the only place where Colin mentions it expressly, is that making debts is a sure way to disaster. Undertake nothing more than you can afford with the money in hand. The missionaries must have enough to live on and where possible from local means. Perhaps the time has come for a procure in Sydney? [16]

Avoid complaints and bitterness with the Society. Loneliness, deprivations, the seemingly endless time it takes to get letters to and from Europe, all these things may weaken one's trust in God and make one feel depressed. And that in turn may lead to frustrated, even unjust reproaches when writing. Be always calm and grateful. State your case simply, modestly and correctly and everybody will rush to your aid.

Up to this point the letter must have been dictated, the handwriting is of an unknown secretary. At the end Colin writes in his own hand a message of friendship and spiritual encouragement:

'Never lose the taste and the habit of prayer. To lose the taste and the habit of prayer is death. It is the worst that can happen to an apostle. (...) Monseigneur, I beg you. Never forget, if you do not live a life of prayer, if you are not in the habit of being united with God through prayer, your ministry will be sterile. (...) I am sure, Monseigneur, you will receive these feeble recommendations as a sign of my tender attachment for you and of my desire to see you become a true apostle of Jesus Christ...' [18]

A letter to the departing missionaries

Around the same days Colin wrote a letter to the departing missionaries as he had done at earlier departures.⁵⁶ Of this letter only the first page has been found. It is very similar to the earlier ones we have so we can surmise, and he says so himself, that the rest of the letter was of the same character. He expresses his admiration for the holy courage with which they break their bonds with family and beloved ones and his jealousy that he cannot follow them, being unworthy of the same grace of the apostolate. This letter too shows the importance of what he himself called holy joyfulness:

'(...) With the help of the grace and mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, with the peace in your hearts that has always befallen those who devote themselves unreservedly to his service, with the mighty protection of Mary that is assured to her children imbued with her spirit, you will always experience the joy of Saint Paul - *superabundo gaudio*⁵⁷ - everywhere in your worries, in your work, in dangers and in the battles you shall face for the name of Jesus Christ...'⁵⁸

⁵⁶ To the first group, 13 October 1836, CS 1, Doc 4, MTF, 49-52. To the second group, 2 September 1838, CS 1, Doc 48, MTF 129-33. to the third group, 18 May 1839, CS 1, Doc 68. MTF, 162. Nothing has survived of letters to the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh group. On Colin and holy gait, cf MTF, 384.

⁵⁷ 2 Cor 7, 4.

⁵⁸ CS 2, Doc 50.

Épalle in action

While around the turn of the year 1842 - 1843 the house of Puylata filled up and Father Colin was fully occupied with getting the team ready for Central Oceania, in walked Jean-Baptiste Épalle, straight from New Zealand! His arrival (on 2 January) must have been not just a breath but a gust of fresh air from the Pacific, for the new missionaries, for the Marist administration and for the Association for the Propagation of the Faith. Épalle saw the weaknesses of the Marist administration and did not hesitate to shake up the rather circumspect ways of Father Colin and his team. He brought the sense of urgency that had been lacking. He saw that sluggish management in Lyon had been part of the problems in New Zealand. Pompallier had not been wrong all the time. But Épalle had learned to act tactfully and Colin backed him.

Épalle immediately set to doing something about the awful debt burden of the mission. He went to see the Council of the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon. When that did not lead to an immediate solution - or perhaps on their suggestion - he went to see the Central Council in Paris with a letter of recommendation of Colin, dated 23 January.⁵⁹

Épalle must have told them the whole sad story in great detail. They refer to it in terms of 'awful penury' (*l'affreuse détresse*) and call it a 'shocking scene'. The Paris Council proved able and willing to operate with fast and effective action. They encouraged their colleagues in Lyon to disregard for once the strict rules of the Association with an exceptional allocation even though the contributions for 1843 had not yet come in.⁶⁰

On 3 February 1843 the Council of Lyon granted 80,000 Francs on the condition that this allocation be used exclusively for the extinguishing of the debt and nothing else whatsoever (*aucun autre usage ou objet que ce soit*). Emboldened by their colleagues in Paris they urge that the 'venerable head of the mission' be reminded of the first principle of good management which is never to spend money you are not absolutely sure of receiving in the short term. They also expressed the hope that the mission divest itself from its costly ship, no longer necessary anyhow, they thought and wrote, now that the Polynesian islands will belong to another jurisdiction.

On 7 February Colin wrote a graceful letter to thank the Propagation of the Faith for their generous and prompt action. He thanked them for saving the mission and promised to follow their directives. He told them he already had approached the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in Rome who in turn had promised to intervene with the Vicar Apostolic in New Zealand.⁶¹

The extraordinary move of the Directors confirmed Épalle's drive and led to the question of how to get the money to New Zealand. Colin recalled his first and failed attempt to transfer money to the missions⁶² and the bankruptcy of Wright's Bank.⁶³ After that, Colin admitted, he had withdrawn to the safest thing he could think of, namely

⁵⁹ CS 2, Doc 39.

⁶⁰ CS 2, Doc 42.

⁶¹ CS 2, Doc 43.

⁶² In answer to the Bishop's request Colin, in May 1837, had entrusted 8,700 Francs to a certain Captain Brelivet who happened to be leaving for Valparaiso with the result that it took nearly two years (March 1839, for Pompallier to get even half of it, and more than another year more, May 1840, to get the rest. Cf MTF, 76, 84, 100, 111, 121, 136, 165.

⁶³ Cf MTF 288 - 90.

handing money in the form of cash to the next group of missionaries on their way to the missions.⁶⁴

For Épalle the solution was obvious. There were regular and fast connections and well-developed banking links between London and Sydney and from Sydney there were frequent ships to New Zealand and to many islands. He discussed it with Colin and proposed to go to London and arrange the transfer of the hundred thousand Francs directly from a bank in London. He also urged the immediate establishment of a Marist house in London as an indispensable and effective link in the logistics of running the missions in the Pacific. Taken aback by so much drive Colin took no chances and sent his right-hand man Benoît Lagniet along. In Paris, Épalle collapsed. The stressful months of running the mission in New Zealand in the Bishop's absence, the seven months of travelling and the immediate activity again in France took their toll. He could not continue to London and Lagniet went on by himself.⁶⁵

Lagniet caught up with the people who had helped the third, fifth and sixth band of missionaries on their way to Oceania and it did not take him long to arrange for the transfer of the money through the bank of Nicolson in London and the Union Bank of Australasia in Sydney.⁶⁶ He was encouraged by the Coadjutor Bishop (later Cardinal) Wiseman who advised the Society to found a novitiate in Ireland and a residence in London. On 12 March Lagniet wrote to Colin: 'As to a procure in London, I cannot say anything definite but you must take time to consider and rein in Épalle. I shall give you precise information on people to contact.'⁶⁷

In early March Épalle had not fully recovered but he nevertheless wrote a lengthy report of the Oceania mission for the Propagation of the Faith of both Paris and Lyon.⁶⁸ As if to mark his distance from the content he opened his letter by saying he presented this report on behalf of Bishop Pompallier and gave a relatively rosy picture of the situation. Leaving out the painful details he had given orally to the Directors of the Association he produced a text they could use for the Annals.⁶⁹ He underlined the successes of Bataillon and Brother Joseph on Wallis and the changes on Futuna where the whole population was ready to convert since the martyrdom of Peter Chanel. He describes the material and spiritual poverty of the New Zealand people as well as the problems created by the powerful Protestant missions. He mentions the high costs of food

⁶⁴ MTF, 289.

⁶⁵ Benoît Lagniet, born 1806, ordained a priest for the Archdiocese of Lyon in 1831, joined the Society in 1837 and immediately after his profession was appointed Superior of the Minor Seminary of Belley. In 1842 Colin called him to Puylata as local superior (OM 3, p. 731-2). There is no direct mention of Épalle collapsing but Graystone mentions only Lagniet in London in 1843 (Philip Graystone, *Society of Mary in England from 1850 to 2001*, private publication: 2001, p 5). Colin records expenses of 951,41 Francs for the voyage of two priests, 'Épalle to Paris and Lagniet to London' (CS 2, Doc 55, 6). This means that they left together but that Épalle stayed behind in Paris. Lagniet's report is set in the singular. A month later Colin wrote to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris that Épalle had been seriously ill and was not yet able to go to Rome where Cardinal Fransoni was anxious to meet him.

⁶⁶ Even so things got stuck in Sydney so that in January 1844 Father Baty had to go to Sydney to arrange the transfer to New Zealand. Charles Girard (ed), *Lettres reçues d'Océanie* [LRO] (Paris: Karthala, 2009) volume 3, Doc 325, 8. Bernard Bourtot (ed), *Victor Poupinel, un Père mariste au service des missionnaires de l'Océanie 1815-1884* (Rome: Marist Fathers, 2014), volume 1, Doc 19,1.

⁶⁷ CS 2, Doc 62, 7.

⁶⁸ CS 2, Doc 67, 2

⁶⁹ CS 2, Doc 59.

and building materials as well as the salaries that have to be paid because of the presence of the European settlers. Épalle draws up a rough budget just as Pompallier would have done and that, just for 1843, totals to what he calls the frightening sum of 245,200 Francs.

Going beyond what Pompallier would have written he applauds the foundation of the new Vicariate which takes away the need of the large ship that can straight away be sold. Thanks to the British presence in New Zealand there is enough local shipping. The mission can now do without a ship of its own!

Writing to New Zealand

The extraordinary allocation of 80.000 Francs from the Association for the Propagation of the faith, raised to 100.000 Francs from money at Procure, was a special challenge to Father Colin's letter writing skills. The Association had granted the allocation on the strict condition that it could be used only to pay off the mission debts in New Zealand. This had to be made clear to Pompallier and to someone else in case Pompallier was absent!

At this point Father Colin had not written to Bishop Pompallier for sixteen months! There had been several attempts but nothing was actually sent after the letter of 6 June 1841.⁷⁰ Since Cardinal Frasoni stopped him on 10 December 1842 from sending the last drafts⁷¹ Colin had found plenty of good excuses for putting it off but now it just had to be done. His letter, dated 28 February 1843,⁷² on a more conciliatory tone than his previous attempts, tells Pompallier that he has been extremely saddened by the accounts that Father Épalle had given of the hardships and the difficulties of the mission. The administration of the Propagation of the Faith has immediately taken action, he writes, and made an extraordinary grant of eighty thousand Francs. Procure can add twenty thousand Francs from available funds. The Directors of the Association have however, he adds, very specifically stipulated that this money can only be used to pay off the debts in New Zealand. The money has been transferred through London and Father Lagniet has been to London to arrange things.

To make sure the debts can be completely paid off immediately and the payment of ruinous interest rates can thereby be stopped even if the Bishop happens to be away when the money gets there, both the money and the instructions are addressed to Father Petitjean. Colin begs Pompallier to follow these instructions literally and adds a copy of the letter of the Directors to show that the mission could lose the support of the Association if the money is used for any other purpose [8-9]. He asks the Bishop to tell Petitjean immediately to carry out the instructions of the Association [9].

Colin then refers to the angry letter of 17 May 1841 that Pompallier had asked him to pass to Cardinal Frasoni.⁷³ He explains he had not done so for fear it would make a bad impression in Rome [10]. He had waited half a year and informed the Cardinal only on 18 March 1842.⁷⁴ He left out that even then he had not forwarded the letter itself but only a relatively mild summary.

⁷⁰ CS 1, Doc 271.

⁷¹ 20 October 1842, CS 2, Docs 18 & 19. Frasoni on 10 December 1842, CS 2, Doc 27. MTF XIV, 13.

⁷² CS 2, Doc 54, MTF XIV, 16.

⁷³ LRO 1, Doc 91, 43. MTF, 310-2.

⁷⁴ CS 1, Doc 330. MTF XII, 11.

In any case, he writes: 'Let us both forget about the past. Let us recommence working in peace and courage for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Let us not get discouraged. God is a good Father, he sees our good intentions' [10]. The Provincial to whom he had assigned an important role in his earlier drafts, gets no mention.

Colin informs Pompallier of the erection of the Vicariate of Central Oceania and the appointment of Bataillon as Vicar Apostolic. The new Vicar Apostolic gets immediately a coadjutor who is getting ready to leave with eleven new missionaries. He expresses the hope that these developments will significantly reduce the burdens Pompallier has had to carry alone for so long [11].

Colin enclosed the Papal Decree of 16 September 1842 and a detailed list of moneys spent for the New Zealand mission since September 1840 when the fifth band of missionaries under Antoine Séon had left. The total amount gets to 192,384.76 Francs.⁷⁵

The letter to Petitjean had to be worded in such a way that the Bishop would not feel offended if he was not absent and got it himself. The stern message of the Association had to be wrapped up carefully!⁷⁶ Colin gives Petitjean the background of the allocation and the reason why the money is transferred to him and not to the Bishop himself, namely the chance that the Bishop would be away for a lengthy period. 'In any case, Colin adds - by way of implicit monition, not to Petitjean but to the Bishop - that it is not fitting to burden the Bishop with such details'. [2]

Assuming that the Bishop may be away allows Colin to formulate the instructions of the Association in terms of strict orders addressed to Petitjean and a formal injunction not to use the money for any other purpose than completely paying off all the debts. He can then quote the governing board of the Association in suggesting that the mission ship be sold as quickly as possible and that people (meaning the Bishop) will have learned from the experience not to spend money before it is in hand, not to make large gifts, lend money without security and borrow at ruinous interest rates.

Colin reminds Petitjean (whom he knows can do nothing about it!) of the canonical rules of having a financial administrator in every diocese. His Lordship will agree of course (which Colin knows he does not) that in accordance with the letter of the Cardinal the Society of Mary shares the responsibility for the mission with the Vicar Apostolic and that it is therefore appropriate that Marists are actively involved in the running of the Vicariate. Petitjean is asked to convey to the Bishop that the Society has his interests at heart and that everything she does is a token of her respect and affection. Colin's letter is a masterpiece of diplomacy and of trust in his messenger on the spot.

Pompallier and Épalle

After his first letter with instructions, written on 7 November 1842⁷⁷ Pompallier kept up a regular flow of letters to the man he still called his vicar.⁷⁸ On 16 February

⁷⁵ CS 2, Doc 55.

⁷⁶ CS 2, Doc 51.

⁷⁷ LRO 2, Doc 219. MTF, XIV, 8

⁷⁸ No less than six letters in 1843: 16 February 1843, LRO 2, Doc 240; 27 March 1843, LRO 2, Doc 248; 30 May 1843, LRO 2, Doc 259; 9 July 1843, LRO 2, Doc 267; 5 October 1843, LRO, 2, Doc 270; 4 November 1843, LRO 2, Doc 280. There is one more letter, the last one to Épalle, from 3 May 1844, LRO 3, Doc 327.

1843 Pompallier wrote to Épalle begging to keep him informed of how he had fared with the commissions he had given him.⁷⁹ He repeats that Épalle should stay in France to promote vocations and get material support. He tells him he has just visited the Hokianga area that has become like another Gambier, as have Wallis and Futuna. Wherever he goes he is received by grateful and joyful people. He can distribute the booklet that has been printed recently and people everywhere are delighted with it.⁸⁰ New Zealand could be a Catholic country soon.

The true faith is gaining everywhere over the heresy. If only the Society would pass on the money it receives from the Propagation of the Faith for his mission. If only there were regular transfers of money to a Bank in Sydney as he has frequently asked both the Society and the Propagation of the Faith to do. But nobody takes notice of what he has repeatedly asked for. If only he had a ship to his disposal. Having had to sell the *Sancta Maria* has paralysed his ministry.

For his recent visit to the stations Pompallier writes, he had hired a schooner for £55 (1,375 Francs) per month on which the owner of the schooner still made £18 profit. He pointed out how wrong Épalle had been in telling the Propagation of the Faith that the *Sancta Maria* had cost 100 Francs a day. The schooner showed that if the mission had its own ship, it would be much cheaper to run the mission.

To his surprise, Pompallier tells Épalle, he found in Wellington an Irish Capuchin Father, Patrick O'Reilly who had, on his own initiative, come to Wellington. Pompallier was delighted with him. They got along well. The Bishop gave him faculties to do pastoral work among the Europeans in Wellington. For work among the Maoris he was useless.⁸¹ O'Reilly accompanied him on his visit to Nelson⁸² and told Pompallier about the mission seminary in Ireland that trained Irish priests for different missions. The Bishop had already written to the Rector of that seminary and he told Épalle not to look further for English speaking priests. Ireland had the answer.⁸³

On 27 March Pompallier has to tell Épalle that there is no doubt now that on their way from Auckland to Wellington Father Borjon and Brother Deodat have gone down with the *Speculator* on which they were travelling. It gives the Bishop an opening to scold his vicar. Father Borjon should never have been moved from Maketu. It was a very bad decision. That is what happens if people take initiatives themselves instead of leaving decisions to the Bishop.⁸⁴ 'In all you do, please Father, do not try to consider the general good of the mission. Just do what the Bishop tells you and God will bless your work'. [12]⁸⁵ All of this has happened, Pompallier continues, because he was forced to sell his own ship so that missionaries now must travel on some tramp. As a consequence, the mission has lost two good men and Maketu is without a priest!

⁷⁹ LRO 2, Doc 222, MTF XIV, 8.

⁸⁰ Séon finds the book too difficult for the local people. LRO 2, Doc 253, 7. Baty confirms the success that Pompallier ascribes to it. LRO 2, Doc 232, 3.

⁸¹ LRO 2, Doc 279, 6.

⁸² LRO 2, Doc 259, 11.

⁸³ LRO 3, Doc 327, 3.

⁸⁴ The decision was taken jointly by Épalle and Forest. LRO 2, Doc 205, 4.

⁸⁵ An allusion to Colin's use of 'general good' that had annoyed him so much. LRO 2, Doc 21 5, 4.

Along these lines are all the Bishop's letters to Épalle except that he is increasingly upset by the lack of response. Nearly the whole year 1843 nobody wrote to him or sent him any money. Though his letter of 28 February 1843 did not say so explicitly, Colin had in fact broken off further dealings with Bishop Pompallier.⁸⁶ Poupinel and Maîtrepierre followed suit and Épalle had not written to the Bishop after his letter from Valparaiso. Pompallier began to feel uneasy. 'There must be a devil - or several of them - posted somewhere around the world to block our communications and to intercept the money that is sent to us. Do pray Our Lady of Fourvière to chase them away.'⁸⁷

Relations with his priests have evidently not improved much: 'Why has it pleased God to bless the work of the Episcopacy in my person and why does his blessing not rest upon the work of the priests? I fear it is their critical attitude and the self-deception that has taken hold of them.'⁸⁸

Pompallier repeatedly apologises for having sent so many Promissory Notes but, he says, he had no choice. He admits they added up to £ 22,421. s 10.⁸⁹ He promises not to send any more but every letter underlines that the solution he submitted to the Propagation of the Faith and to the Society should be applied, namely to send every three months a fixed sum to Sydney from where he can easily get it.⁹⁰

A person mentioned in every letter is Father Tripe who had walked out of the desolate station of Akaroa in February and stayed in Kororareka with no other desire than to return to France. He could not get along with the Bishop who called him a deserter. In the end Garin had got Tripe to write a formal letter to Pompallier asking to be sent home.⁹¹ The Bishop finally agreed and when the *Rhin* called in the Bay of Islands on its way to Sydney he got Captain Bérard to take Tripe along. Tripe left on 5 November 1843. The expectation was that the French Consul in Sydney would help him return to France on Government expense. Pompallier gave him 400 Francs.

On 30 May Pompallier claims he has written three times to Maîtrepierre and twice to Colin. This is his fourth letter to Épalle and he enclosed a letter for Maîtrepierre. He is feeling neglected. On none of all these letters he has received an answer and he does not even know if they ever arrived or if Épalle himself has reached France safely. He would love nothing more than to have a regular and frequent exchange with his vicar! 'Please send at least the one line: I have arrived in France in good health!'⁹² He knows that some Marists in France have a low opinion of him, unfairly so, he is convinced. 'Because of the misunderstandings the souls of this mission suffer.' Father Bernard had told him there were new

⁸⁶ CS 2, Doc 54. MTF XIV, 16.

⁸⁷ LRO 2, Doc 259, 7.

⁸⁸ LRO 2, Doc 240, 3

⁸⁹ LRO 2, Doc 248, 2. At 25 Francs this amounts to 60,537.50 Francs, which is considerably more than the sum of the notes of which copies have been found (namely 43,480.28 Francs). Cf. MTF XIV, 2.

⁹⁰ In fact the situation had substantially changed since the Governor of New Zealand had moved to Auckland and the Bay of Islands was turning into a backwater visited mostly by whale hunters.

⁹¹ Forest to Colin. LRO 2, Doc 281,1. LRO 2, Doc 239, 4.

⁹² LRO 2, Doc 280,1.

missionaries being readied, but so far no sign of them, no news. The 'icy silence' that reigns is 'the cross of my crosses.'⁹³

Pompallier's last letter to Épalle, 3 May 1844, is remarkable insofar as by then he knew about the splitting of his Vicariate, the appointment of two Bishops in Oceania but not a word about it. Neither one word of appreciation for the extra large amounts of money he had received through the bold initiatives of Épalle both in Valparaiso and in France. Only the familiar moaning and a scolding for having given the Propagation in Lyon what he considers to be the wrong information about the costs of running the mission ship. No wonder Épalle was in no mood to keep up a correspondence with his former Bishop!

On 3 November 1843 Bishop Pompallier wrote what was to become his last letter to Father Colin. He told the Superior of the first books he had been able to publish in the Maori language. They were such a success that he had no doubt New Zealand could become Catholic if only the mission was adequately supported with missionaries and finance. Father Bernard had brought 18,000 Francs from France in February. Ten thousand the Bishop had received in February and the remaining eight thousand he had received only in November. The thirty thousand that Father Épalle had sent from Valparaiso had not yet arrived: by now a delay of fifteen months! The *Sancta Maria* has been sold in Valparaiso for 17,500 Francs but so far he had received only 7,000.

Pompallier informs Colin of the departure of Tripe. He is not really committed to religious life and missionary work. Please do not send men of that age and of such little commitment again.

The letter ends on a pathetic tone: 'Father Épalle will have explained it all. I repeat that I shall write no more Promissory Notes without formal authorisation. I am ready to die here, the victim of the evils that God allows to send over me: the support that the faithful contribute are held back because of false reports and judgments. I only wish for the best of my flock and the growth and success of the Society, for the Lord's blessings over the Propagation of the Faith and over Christ's Vicar on earth.'⁹⁴

The day before, 2 November 1843, Petitjean could notify Colin from Auckland where he was stationed then, that the *Nelson* had brought him a parcel of letters from France,⁹⁵ among which Colin's of 20 February 1843⁹⁶ as well as Colin's to Bishop Pompallier of 28 February 1843.⁹⁷ As the Bishop was not absent but in the Bay of Islands Petitjean forwarded everything to there.

In the meantime, Pompallier had made the change he had planned for some time. On 19 March he had explained to Forest⁹⁸ how he saw the role of the provincial in the mission. A couple of months later he moved Garin to Kaipara and appointed Forest to the Bay of Islands as provincial and procurator.⁹⁹

⁹³ LRO 2, Doc 259, 1.

⁹⁴ LRO 2, Doc 279, 10.

⁹⁵ LRO 2, Doc 277, 1.

⁹⁶ CS 2, Doc 51.

⁹⁷ CS 2, Doc 54, cf MTF XIV, 16 and above, p 15.

⁹⁸ LRO 2, Doc 245.

⁹⁹ LRO 2, Doc 247, 4.

Forest accepted his new position in good grace but wrote on 4 November to Colin that I was really impossible to be an effective provincial while procurator and while living with the Bishop in one house. Even to be the visitor Colin had in mind when sending him was impossible without a house of one's own and without financial means to travel.¹⁰⁰

Sending Épalle to Rome

While Bishop Pompallier was waiting in vain for letters from his vicar in France, Épalle himself was recovering of the illness he had contracted in Paris. In the summer of 1843 he had sufficiently regained his strength to undertake the Roman voyage planned from the beginning. On 18 June Colin wrote a letter to present him to the Cardinals Fransoni and Castracane.¹⁰¹

He recommends Épalle highly as a reliable, able and competent man who can give the Cardinal all the information he seeks on the mission in New Zealand. Father Épalle, he writes, gained the confidence of Bishop Pompallier and never had a conflict with him. He acted as pro-vicar and manager of the mission in the Bishop's absence. Colin lets the Cardinal know that Pompallier has appointed Épalle to remain in France as his procurator and representative but, he adds, Épalle himself would prefer to return to missionary work, for instance in Melanesia. He is only thirty-four years of age and eminently suitable. Colin leaves it to the Cardinal to decide on Épalle's future. [8]

By that time Colin knew¹⁰² that Bishop Pompallier had sent in his reaction to the invitation of Cardinal Fransoni, namely to present a candidate for promotion to the Episcopacy. He recommended his present pro-vicar, Philippe Viard. Colin feels obliged to tell the Cardinal that Viard is a pious and fine priest but of limited ability and not suited for a leadership position. The Sulpician Fathers under whom he did his studies would not recommend him either. [9]

Colin uses the opportunity to tell Fransoni that he has come to the conclusion that he had to abandon the idea of a mission to South Africa that he at first had been inclined to accept. However, Oceania and especially the exorbitant costs it involves does not allow him to accept. He asks the Cardinal to withdraw the request. [12]

He recalls that he has sent Father Forest to New Zealand as a visitator with letters of which he had sent copies to the Cardinal,¹⁰³ but instead of easing the tensions his action had only embittered Pompallier even more. 'Your Eminence in his wisdom will undoubtedly find an effective and appropriate way to avoid the missionaries becoming discouraged and prevent the collapse of so a promising mission'[13]. He handed the letter to Épalle.

¹⁰⁰ LRO 2, Doc 281, 25.

¹⁰¹ Dated 18 June 1843. CS 2, Doc 80, pp 194-6.

¹⁰² He probably had received Pompallier's letter of 8 November (in which it was mentioned) by the same mail as Jesse his of 6 November, see below.

¹⁰³ CS 1, Doc 301. MTF, 329-32.

An unpleasant letter

On or around 1 June 1843, while Épalle was getting ready to leave for Rome, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyon received an unpleasant letter from Bishop Pompallier. Missionary bishops were expected to submit annual reports and budgets. Even allowing for the exceptional situation of the missions in Oceania Bishop Pompallier had been very negligent in this respect. The few letters he did write were irregular, anecdotal and lacked systematic information. The Association had to get most information from the Society of Mary in Lyon that also submitted the annual budgets. After four years of this, on 16 October 1841, the Chairman of the Lyon branch, Antoine Jessé, had written a severe letter to Bishop Pompallier.¹⁰⁴

Around the same time Pompallier had himself have come to see this weakness of his administration and while for anchor in Tauranga he had composed a complete and systematic report on his mission. One copy dated 19 September 1841 was sent to Cardinal Fransoni in Rome and a nearly identical one to the Association in Lyon, dated 16 September 1841.¹⁰⁵

Pompallier had found the letter of Antoine Jessé on his return from the islands in August 1842. He answered on 6 November 1842.¹⁰⁶ Assuming that the Association had in the meantime received his Tauranga report, as they indeed had, he did not react to the reproaches of the Chairman and started with four pages on his thirteen months of visiting the mission stations in New Zealand and the islands of Polynesia.

He then gives a lengthy account of his work in New Zealand, the ship he had to sell and the one he had to buy, the debts he had to incur and the Promissory Notes he had to send to Lyon because it had come to his knowledge that thirty thousand Francs on the allocation of 1840 had been kept back in the Procure. [32] He adds that people in France distrust his administration. [25] Towards the end of the letter he bitterly complains of the enemies that the mission and he himself have in France, enemies that spread lies and slander. He feels like Saint Paul and the dangers he ran from robbers, meaning the Society of Mary. [41-42] Pompallier asks the Association to help the Marists in Lyon in arranging regular transfers of cheques for fifteen thousand Francs every three months through an agent in London. In this way money can be sent safely to New Zealand without risk and at a minimum of expense. Mr Meynis, the secretary of the Association is asked to explain this to the priests. 'You are businessmen and you understand these things. We are priests, we are concerned with spiritual matters but we just have not this sort of experience'. [44] In the end he asks the Association to appeal to Cardinal Fransoni in Rome on behalf of his mission in danger.

This is the letter the Association received early June 1843. Until then Bishop Pompallier had vented his frustrations and his indignation in what had so far remained an unpleasant but private correspondence between the Bishop and the Superior General. Now, after his long absence in Polynesia and in reaction to the severe letter of the

¹⁰⁴ The letter itself has not been found.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. LRO 2, Doc 217, 8. Lillian Keys, *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier* (Christchurch: The Pegasus Press, 1957), 172-5. MTF, 342-3. It would have been mailed from Akaroa by the same occasion as Pompallier's letter to Colin of 15 November 1841 of which we know that it reached Lyon in July 1842, cf. CS 1, Doc 386, 8.

¹⁰⁶ LRO 2, Doc 217. MTF XIV, 3-5.

Chairman, he in fact went public by putting his complaints before the Association, his main sponsors. They would have picked up rumours of friction between the Bishop and the Superior General but now they became involved and were asked to take the matter to Rome. Before doing so Jessé passed the Bishop's letter to Colin for comment.

Colin wrote a lengthy rebuttal¹⁰⁷ in which he pointed out that too much money had been spent on the mission ship and feared that the Bishop would repeat his former mistakes. He adds that the Bishop constantly underestimates the costs of keeping a ship.

Colin shows that Pompallier's complaints about losses through the bankruptcy of Wrights are unfounded. In the end the mission had not lost much at all.

He points out that sometimes Pompallier's figures are unreliable, no doubt, Colin adds kindly, through absentmindedness. In sending out thirteen men under Séon (December 1840) and six under Forest (November 1841), procure spent 115,129.07 Francs while Pompallier estimates 24,000.

He recalls the problems he had run into when sending the first sum of 8,700 Francs in 1837 which is why he since that time transferred money only by handing it to the missionaries leaving for the missions.

Colin assumed that Jessé would forward his reaction together with Pompallier's letter to Rome but Jessé sent only the Bishop's letter. The secretary Meynis returned Colin's reaction. Colin prepared another version¹⁰⁸ that he gave to Épalle with his letter of recommendation. Armed with these two letters Épalle left, 18 June 1843.

Épalle in Rome

Colin was so anxious to hear how Épalle's visit was going that he had Poupinel write already on 7 July asking for news.¹⁰⁹ Épalle answered on 13 July. He must have been briefed well because he evidently knew which people Colin had spoken with and where to find them. He had started his calls straight on arrival and he had spoken already with the Cardinals Frasoni and Castracane, with officials at both dicasteries and with Father Roothaan, the Superior General of the Jesuits.¹¹⁰

Épalle's desire to return to mission work and the explicit mention of Melanesia led immediately to an intensive discussion with Frasoni in which Épalle submitted a plan that involved two new vicariates, North Australia and Australia - Micronesia, both to be entrusted to the Society of Mary. They could be handled as one mission until another congregation was found to take over one of them.

Frasoni wrote to Colin that he would submit this plan to the coming plenary meeting of the Congregation and invited him to prepare a first group of missionaries. He accepted that Colin had been obliged to turn down the mission of South Africa and suggested that the men he had had in mind for South Africa could perhaps be made available for Melanesia. Colin should also consider submitting names for a Vicar Apostolic and at the same time for a coadjutor as had been done for Central Oceania. Épalle passed all of this to Colin.

¹⁰⁷ Dated 12 June 1843. CS 2, Doc 77.

¹⁰⁸ Dated 17 June 1843. CS 2, Doc 79.

¹⁰⁹ CS 2, Doc 87.

¹¹⁰ CS 2, Doc 92. There must have been an earlier letter that Colin had not yet received on 7 July. Cf CS 2, Doc 92, 9. It has not been found.

Épalle was struck by the high respect that the Cardinals Castracane and Fransoni had for Father Colin and the Society of Mary. Both of them were prepared to do anything they could for the Society. A few days after seeing Épalle Fransoni wrote himself ¹¹¹ and expressed his dismay [*rammarico*] at the painful allegations of Pompallier. [1] At the same time he regretted that Colin had not been able to clear the Bishop's name with the Directors of the Association without harming his good name. [2] On behalf of the Sacred Congregation he urges all parties not only to use money with frugality but also to apply a more regular administration. [6]¹¹²

The officials at Propaganda were more critical. They showed their irritation at what they felt was Father Colin's inconsistency. He profusely confessed his profound respect for the Holy See and his trust in whatever decision it would take, but at the same time they had the impression that Colin would not be satisfied until the Bishop was recalled, the one thing they were most reluctant to consider. Épalle sensed a growing prejudice [*prevention*] against the Society and the suspicion that the Society was encroaching [*envahissement*] upon the position of the Bishop. Épalle wrote to Colin he would therefore not push the Marist case further. As Father Roothaan had suggested he did not even present Colin's last letter of rebuttal. Officials at Propaganda had their minds made up.

The officials were prepared to accept the financial information that Colin gave but at the same time they could not understand how Pompallier could still give vent to such allegations. Was there not some misunderstanding, some money lost in transfer perhaps? They felt the Bishop should be given a chance to make his case before being judged. One option was to appoint a Coadjutor Bishop in charge of administration. Pompallier would then be told not to act without agreement of his council and to change his attitude towards the Society.

Épalle mentioned the possibility of getting English speaking priests for New Zealand and leaving the Maori missions to the Marists. They considered this impossible for the time being. He then proposed that the allocations from the Propagation of the Faith be divided in such a way that the Provincial Superior handled the living allowances for the missionaries and the Bishop the allocations for the Diocese. They approved of that and asked Épalle to have Colin submit this as a formal proposal. Similar things were done in other missions. He should also urge Colin to continue sending missionaries to New Zealand and submit names for the appointment of a coadjutor. Épalle passed all this to Lyon.¹¹³

Colin answered immediately. As Épalle expected he rejected the allegation that he wanted Pompallier recalled. On the contrary, he said. He feared nothing more than the Bishop's removal. It would unleash a wave of negative publicity, bad for the missions, bad for the Association for the Propagation of the Faith and bad for the Society of Mary. For the same reason he also opposed the appointment of a coadjutor in charge of

¹¹¹ CS 2, Doc 95.

¹¹² CS 2, Doc 95. Fransoni probably alludes here to Colin's letters that like Pompallier's are liberally provided with figures but that nowhere give a complete and detailed account of all moneys received and spent. Colin writes that Poupinel had all the necessary documents, (CS 2, Doc 96, 25-6). If so, one wonders why he then failed to do it. It would have cleared the air more than pages of arguments with loose figures! The *Compte Rendu* of Procure from 1836 to 1843 in the Marist archives (APM 512.01) is not complete and appears to have been composed at a later date.

¹¹³ CS 2, Doc 92.

administration. Given Pompallier's character it would lead to tensions and open quarrelling. As to separating the living allowances of the missionaries, to be administered by the Society, Colin saw serious inconveniences without spelling out what they were. He just wanted the proposal off the table.¹¹⁴

In his answers Colin wanted Épalle to express his objections to the stipulation that all correspondence between the Vicar Apostolic and Propaganda should pass through the Superior General as laid down in the papal decree of 16 September.¹¹⁵ Frasoni must have been unhappy with it as well. He readily agreed that it should be used with discretion.¹¹⁶

During subsequent visits it became clear to Épalle that another severe letter had been addressed to Pompallier and that Propaganda was not going to take further action until they saw how Pompallier reacted. Épalle concluded there was no point in submitting further rebuttals or arguments. 'They do not even read them anymore!'¹¹⁷

In the weeks that followed Épalle had taken the latest news on Oceania to Propaganda and told them of Colin's reactions. His negative advice against recalling the Bishop as well as against appointing a coadjutor for administration pleased them. They now saw their way clear. Their conclusion was to leave the status quo unchanged and appoint a coadjutor so that Pompallier could come to Rome. Pompallier could then explain his position and Propaganda could see how he took things. He could then decide to keep the coadjutor or get another one of his preference.

Épalle reported to Colin¹¹⁸ and urged him to submit a candidate who would be acceptable to the Society and if possible to Pompallier as well. The matter was on the agenda of the Sacred Congregation for 10 September and Épalle would return immediately after that. He does not hide his disappointment at the way things have gone: 'The status quo leaves us in the same painful and impossible situation we have been in for too long already!' [3]

Épalle told Colin he had been asked about possible candidates in New Zealand. They seemed particularly interested in Jean Forest. Adding his own assessments, he wrote: Petitjean would be fine if only he would come across as a pleasant and friendly person. Baty would be excellent, beloved by all, but perhaps too much part of the present unhappy state of affairs. In fact, would there not be something to be said for an outsider with a clean slate, not prejudiced or hurt by the unhappy past? [7] Colin answered straight away. He thought the new proposals were excellent. A step into the right direction without antagonising the Bishop. It will give him room to come to Europe and to Rome which can only be useful on all accounts. He should be met, Colin wrote with gentleness, friendly and, why not, a little flattery. As to presenting names for the coadjutor he did not want to submit names at the present moment. He needed more time to reflect and consult. If he were pushed, his present preference would go to Father Baty. He is beloved and respected in New Zealand, speaks best English and Maori, and must be acceptable to the Bishop who has just chosen him to be a provicar. But, he adds, do not mention his name unless they push you, and not at all if you see a reason to do so. 'We shall talk about it

¹¹⁴ CS 2, Doc 96, 10 & 17.

¹¹⁵ CS 2, Doc 5. MTF XII, 21.

¹¹⁶ CS 2, Doc 106, 3.

¹¹⁷ CS 2, Doc 99, 3.

¹¹⁸ CS 2, Doc 103.

when you get back.’ As to Épalle’s argument that there could be an advantage in finding a man from outside, with a clear slate, Colin did not find that very important.¹¹⁹

At the Congregation for Bishops and Regulars Father Épalle ran into a similar situation: Cardinal Castracane full of praise but the lower echelons frustrated. When Father Colin left Rome on 28 August 1842, Castracane had entrusted the Marist file to Giovanni Crociani who could do little but wait for developments. Colin had left his affairs in the hands of an agent, Bouisse but, without instructions of how to proceed. Back in France, Colin did nothing for several months, perhaps expecting Bouisse to take the initiative. Crociani and Bouisse knew Colin had been ill and very tired when leaving and they interpreted the long silence to mean that perhaps Colin’s health was going further down and they did nothing.

Some time in April Colin had written to his agent Bouisse asking him to submit a few matters to the Sacred Congregation. Bouisse had gone to see Crociani who took the matter to Castracane. On 6 May Crociani had written to Colin on the Cardinal’s behalf.¹²⁰ Assuming that Colin was always ready to accept the rulings of the Holy See, as he had repeatedly said, the Cardinal had given the following answers:

On the first request, could the Society be given the power to let prospective missionaries who did not wish to enter the Society be ordained under responsibility of the missions, *sub titulo missionum*?¹²¹ The Cardinal was not against it but found it premature to issue a formal Decree to that effect. Why not insert it into your Constitutions among the powers of the Superior General? It would then be approved indirectly without turning it into a matter of principle. [6]

The second request repeated what had been asked already in Colin’s formal letter to the Pope in August 1842,¹²² namely to allow in the Society the vow of stability, the vow of not seeking or accepting dignities and permission to renounce the dominium radicale of one’s goods as part of the vow of stability. The Cardinal argued this was a matter to define in the Constitutions and to be approved as such. [7]

The third request was to grant the Teaching Brothers in Oceania the same status in the Society of the priests as the Coadjutor Brothers had, even though the union of the two Congregations, while always desirable, was still an open question that could not be resolved as yet. Again Castracane was not prepared to settle a detail as long as the main issue of the Teaching Brothers was left open ended. [8]

The fourth request was to grant the Superior General all faculties needed to take decisions in the Society for its general good. The Cardinal found that this request either concerned matters of ordinary governance and it was implicitly given in the approbation of the Society. If it concerned extraordinary matters, then these should be spelled out in a special request. [9]

Crociani was obviously at a loss what to do with what he saw as Colin dilly-dallying. He regretted that Colin had not simply pressed for the approval of the

¹¹⁹ 1 September, CS 2, Doc 105

¹²⁰ CS 2, Doc 72.

¹²¹ Normally religious superiors present candidates for ordination to a bishop on title of their membership of the religious institute that guarantees their maintenance. In the 1840s seminarians presented themselves for Oceania without wanting to join the Society of Mary. Colin wanted to have them ordained on the title of the missions so he could accept them without profession and send them to Oceania. It would then be up to the mission itself that put the priest to work and assured his support.

¹²² CS 1, Doc 391, 9, 10 & 11. MTF XII, 21.

Constitutions. Why let the Constitutions he had submitted lie on the table as a sort of information instead of formally asking for approbation? Why come with new requests afterwards instead of simply entering them into the text? They could have been approved as part of the Constitutions.

When in July Épalle went to talk with the *Monsignori* of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars he found that what Crociani had written in May was also the position of a certain Buratti and of others whom Castracane had involved in file on the Marist Brothers. The only thing he could report to Colin was that they kept insisting on having the Constitutions submitted for approval. Father Rosaven at the Jesuit generalate supported that view as the only way to proceed. Épalle admitted he did not know what he could do further. Anyhow, although he had read Crociani's letter he did not feel he knew enough of the problem to have an opinion on it.¹²³

He left Rome in time to be present at the opening of the retreat in Lyon, on 18 September 1843.

¹²³ CS 2, Doc 103.