

**ANTOINE MARIE GARIN:  
A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF  
THE INTERCULTURAL  
DYNAMIC  
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY  
NEW ZEALAND**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis contributes to the literature on the French Catholic Marist mission in New Zealand by providing the first critical in-depth biography of one of the early French missionaries, Antoine Marie Garin (1810-1889). It emphasises the importance of the Marists' position as outsiders in nineteenth-century New Zealand society. As neither 'colonising' British settlers, nor 'colonised' Maori, the Marists were in a special position to view events unfolding in the mid-nineteenth century, when New Zealand was changing from a Maori-dominated to a predominantly Pakeha-dominated world. The records which the Marists kept of their experiences, including diaries, letters, memoirs and annals, have the potential to provide a significant contribution to New Zealand historiography, and remain relatively untapped.

As a biographical study, this thesis uses the framework of Garin's life story to add insight to the intercultural dynamic in nineteenth-century New Zealand. The thesis begins with an exposé of the theory used to examine the intercultural dimension in Garin's experience. Garin's life in New Zealand was a tale of cross-cultural encounter occurring within two cultural-social paradigms: the Maori-Pakeha paradigm, and the Catholic-Protestant settler paradigm. With respect to the Maori-Pakeha paradigm, it is argued that Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity provides an innovative framework within which to study early interaction between Maori and Pakeha. The concept of hybridity stresses the interdependence of coloniser and colonised, thereby recognising the existence of

agency on both sides, and avoiding the binary opposition of ‘Maori’ and ‘Pakeha’ that continues to mark contemporary New Zealand society. Another postcolonial theory, that of diaspora, is used to illuminate Garin’s experience in settler communities. It is argued that religion can be the basis for a diaspora, and that the Catholics in nineteenth-century New Zealand had a diasporic consciousness because of their creation of separate Catholic institutions, and their connections to the wider Catholic world.

Part Two of the thesis consists of the biography proper. It is framed as a cultural biography: a biography that seeks to illuminate not only the subject’s life, but also national history. Garin was a grassroots Catholic missionary, who, through talent, perseverance and a little luck, made a notable impact on New Zealand society, in particular in the area of Catholic education. However, even more important to his story was his ability to build bridges between cultures, and create communities of Maori and settler Catholics. Arguably, Garin’s greatest legacy is the diary that he kept while a missionary to Maori. This documents the everyday border crossing that was taking place between the Maori of Mangakahia and Garin himself in the hybrid society of 1840s’ New Zealand.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAL	Archives de l'Archevêché de Lyon
ACDA	Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives
ADA	Archives départementales de l'Ain (Bourg-en-Bresse)
AEB	Archives de l'Évêché de Belley (Bourg-en-Bresse)
APF	Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide (Rome)
APL	Auckland Public Library
APM	Archivi dei Padri Maristi (Rome)
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington)
CMS	Church Missionary Society
<i>DNZB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
<i>GBPP</i>	<i>Great Britain Parliamentary Papers</i>
KL	Kinder Library, St John's College (Auckland)
LMS	London Missionary Society
MAW	Marist Fathers' Archives (Wellington)
MCA	Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives (Christchurch)
NAW	National Archives (Wellington)
NM	Notes sur la mission
NPM	Nelson Provincial Museum
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
OPM	Œuvres Pontificales Missionnaires (Lyon)
SMPA	St Mary's Parish Archives (Nelson)
WAA	Wellington Archdiocesan Archives

## CHRONOLOGY OF ANTOINE GARIN'S LIFE

23 July 1810	Antoine Marie Garin is born in Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, Ain, France, the son of Joseph Marie Garin and Françoise Marguerite Auger
1825	Antoine begins his studies at the minor seminary of Belley
1831	Antoine studies theology at the major seminary at Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse
19 October 1834	Antoine is ordained Father Antoine Garin by Bishop Devie of Belley in the Brou seminary chapel
1 November 1834	Father Garin is appointed assistant priest of Salavre, north of Bourg-en-Bresse
16 December 1835	Bishop Devie transfers Garin to Chalamont
1 December 1838	Garin begins his noviciate with the Marist Society at La Capucinière in Belley
October 1839	Garin moves to the minor seminary at Meximieux, where he teaches <i>Sixième</i> and music
1 October 1840	Garin accepts a posting as a missionary
21 November 1840	Garin takes his vows as a Marist and leaves Lyon
8 December 1840	The <i>Mary Gray</i> departs Gravesend with fourteen Marist missionaries on board who are destined for New Zealand, including Garin
15 June 1841	Garin and the fifth band of Marist missionaries arrive at the Bay of Islands
July 1841	Bishop Pompallier appoints Garin as Marist provincial
July 1842	Garin also becomes procurator of the mission, and pro-vicar in Pompallier's absence
August 1842	Pompallier returns to Kororareka and relieves Garin of the responsibility of pro-vicar

14 September 1843	Garin takes up a new posting as a missionary at Mangakahia
13 July 1844	Garin's chapel and presbytery at Mangakahia, known as Hatoi, are completed
23 November 1847	Bishop Viard appoints Garin to the newly-established Fencible settlements south of Auckland
2 January 1848	Garin arrives in Howick, as first parish priest
Mid-1848	Garin is also made parish priest of Panmure and Otahuhu
Late 1848	Garin's church, Our Lady Star of the Sea, is opened in Howick
19 April 1850	The Marists leave Auckland for the Wellington Diocese
9 May 1850	Garin and Brother Claude-Marie arrive in Nelson
28 June 1857	Garin's first Nelson church is consecrated as St Mary's by Bishop Viard
7 February 1863	Garin falls seriously ill, which curtails his travelling missionary work
13 June 1867	Garin places his schools under the provincial education system after the passing of an amendment to the Nelson Education Act (1856)
7 September 1872	Garin begins a Catholic orphanage in Nelson
1875	Garin's portrait is painted by Gottfried Lindauer
1877	The passing of the national Education Act forces Garin to withdraw his schools from the government system, though he continues to run them as Catholic schools
1880	Garin's Nelson orphanage becomes the first denominational industrial school established by law in New Zealand
17 April 1881	St Mary's Church is destroyed by fire
23 September 1881	Following the passing of the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act Amendment Act, Garin's Catholic industrial school becomes a national institution
31 December 1882	The new St Mary's Church is blessed by Bishop Redwood

- 20 October 1884      Garin celebrates his Golden Jubilee of the priesthood
- 14 April 1889        Garin dies at St Mary's after a protracted illness
- 15 December 1890    Bishop Redwood blesses the mortuary chapel erected to  
Garin's memory in the Wakapuaka Cemetery, Nelson



# INTRODUCTION

*'Nous autres habitants du vieux et industrieux continent, nous sommes bien nouveaux dans une île nouvelle et au milieu de deux peuples nouveaux, j'entends les Anglais et les Nouveaux-Zélandais. On ne peut pas assez comprendre quelle difficulté il y a à savoir allier un clergé français catholique protégé du gouvernement français avec une nation protestante anglaise dans une colonie anglaise.'*<sup>1</sup>

Antoine Marie Garin was a nineteenth-century French missionary who spent nearly all of his working life in New Zealand. A member of the Society of Mary, the society that Pope Gregory XVI entrusted in 1835 with the task of evangelising Western Oceania, Garin worked for seven years with Maori in the Bay of Islands and Mangakahia, Northland, before embarking on a career as a parish priest to the settlers of Howick and Nelson. He is best known for his contribution to Catholic education while parish priest of Nelson.

This is the first critical in-depth biography of Garin. Scant attention has been paid to the early Marist missionaries in New Zealand historical publications, beyond works on the Catholic mission as a whole and a small number of Episcopal biographies. Notable exceptions are Mary Catherine Goulter's *Sons of France*, which comprises a series of biographical sketches of the early Marist missionaries, and the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, which contains an

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Girard, *Lettres reçues d'Océanie par l'administration générale des pères maristes pendant le généralat de Jean-Claude Colin: Édition critique*, 10 vols (Paris: Éditions Karthala; Rome: Société de Marie, 2009), II, doc. 209, Garin to Colin, 29 Oct.-4 Nov. 1842.

excellent, brief biography of Garin.<sup>2</sup> While the Catholic missionaries have fared better in unpublished masters and doctoral theses, earlier theses on Garin have focused principally on his role in education while parish priest of Nelson.<sup>3</sup> These are valuable for informing the history of Catholic education in New Zealand but cannot give a full picture of Garin's life. A recent corrective has been produced by H el ene Serabian in her insightful and detailed analysis of the diary that Garin kept while missionary to the Maori of Mangakahia.<sup>4</sup> As a biography, this thesis provides the opportunity to place the slices of life studied in these theses within the wider context of Garin's experiences, complementing the earlier works rather than replacing them. It is representative of the renewed interest in the Marist missions, beginning with Ernest Simmons' work during his time as the Auckland Catholic Diocesan archivist, and continued by Ralph Wiltgen, Jessie Munro, Michael O'Meeghan, Charles Girard, and Edward Clisby, among others.

Throughout his career as a missionary and parish priest, Garin produced an extensive corpus of manuscripts which forms a large part of the microfilms on the Marist Fathers that are held by the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington.<sup>5</sup> Garin was an intelligent observer of life in New Zealand and an important figure

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<sup>2</sup> Mary Catherine Goulter, *Sons of France* (Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1958); John V. Broadbent, Garin, 'Antoine Marie 1810 - 1889', in *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>> [accessed 27 April 2009].

<sup>3</sup> Frank Durning, 'Education in Nelson 1850-80 from the Standpoint of the Garin Schools' (unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University College, 1941); Elizabeth M. Gill, 'On the Life and Work of the Reverend Antoine Marie Garin' (unpublished master's thesis, University of New Zealand, 1945); Isabel Emily Street, 'The History of Education in Nelson Province, 1842-1877: Embracing the Period from the Early Beginning to the Establishment of a National System for New Zealand' (unpublished master's thesis, Canterbury University College, 1931).

<sup>4</sup> H el ene Serabian, 'Le Journal du P ere Antoine Garin, 1844-1846: une  dition critique pr esent ee avec commentaire, transcription et annotations' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), Micro-MS-0669 Marist Fathers' Archives: Papers Relating to the Catholic Mission in New Zealand.

in a number of areas, including education. A study of his writings reveals him to be a valuable lens through which to view the missionary enterprise and nineteenth-century New Zealand society.

### **Focus of the Thesis**

One of the major factors that played a part in Garin's missionary experience was the position of the French Marists in colonial New Zealand. The Marists were an anomaly in New Zealand society, an anomaly created when the British annexed the country ahead of France. The central issue of the biography is thus 'What did it mean for Garin to be a missionary and parish priest in New Zealand, where he was neither coloniser nor colonised?' It is argued that the theories of hybridity and diaspora can be used as a tool of analysis to consider this question, when informed by recent theory on the Christian missions. Answering the question of where Garin fitted in colonial New Zealand society is crucial to assessing the value of his writings. 'Garin as commentator' was a non-British, non-Maori outsider writing about the events of the time with curiosity and humanity, though with an inevitable Catholic bias that must be taken into account.

The word 'bias' leads to another argument that is crucial to the validity of this thesis. Biography has traditionally been the act of choosing an exceptional, unrepresentative person and is often unconcerned with bias. As a methodology it is considered unreflective and is criticised by historians and literary academics alike, although it does of course have its supporters. Ben Pimlott defends the idea of political and historical biography, which he ironically considers provides more scope for leading the enquirer into unexpected territory than 'conventional, PhD-

driven history'.<sup>6</sup> This thesis must constitute a defence of historical biography, and more importantly gives backing to David S. Reynolds' concept of 'cultural biography'.

This biography of Garin is written from a variety of perspectives, with a mind to the techniques and criticisms of historical biography, the potential of the theories of hybridity and diaspora to inform our views of early New Zealand society, and the recent reassessments in missionary theory of the role of the missions in the spread of empire. The following comparison by Anh Hua of quilting and academic study provides an appropriate description of the writing of a biography thesis:

Both quilting and writing require time, patience, imagination, and creativity. A woman puts together, with bits and pieces of fabric and thread, a quilt that has its own history and presents the quilter's aesthetic understanding in ways that resonate with her life. Similarly, scholars, too, make choices about theories or aspects of theories that best suit their version of a story, or represent their perspectives and understandings of the social context in which they live. Like quilting, what is excluded in theorising is as much an integral part of a story as what is included.<sup>7</sup>

## **Outline of the Thesis**

Above all other considerations of theme, this is the story of a Catholic missionary. Antoine Marie Garin was born in Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, in the rural department of Ain, France, on 23 July 1810. After nine years of seminary studies,

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<sup>6</sup> Ben Pimlott, 'Is Contemporary Biography History?' *Political Quarterly*, 70 (1999), 31-41 (p. 34).

<sup>7</sup> Anh Hua, 'Diaspora and Cultural Memory', in *Diaspora, Memory and Identity: A Search for Home*, ed. by Vijay Agnew (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 191-208 (p. 192).

Garin was ordained into the priesthood on 19 October 1834, and spent four years as curate at Salavre and Chalamont, two rural parishes in the Ain Department. Having decided to become a missionary, in 1838 he left Chalamont to take up teaching positions, notably at the minor seminary of Meximieux, which left him free to depart for the missions if the opportunity arose. It was during this period that his formal association with the Society of Mary began. On 21 November 1840 Garin took his vows as a Marist and left Lyon for New Zealand.

He commenced his missionary career at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, where he was immediately appointed to the position of provincial superior based at the Marist headquarters. Impatient to begin his real missionary work, for which he had little time at the headquarters, in September 1843 he left Kororareka for Mangakahia and four years of missionary work with Maori. Though the Mangakahia station was only mildly successful, there is evidence both in Garin's own diary and the diary of his superior that suggests he was in fact a capable missionary. Following the Northern War in 1845 and 1846 the Northland missions lost their impetus, and, with Kaipara being the newest northern station, Garin was moved away to minister to the ever-increasing numbers of settlers. He was appointed parish priest to the newly-arrived Fencibles at Howick in late 1847 before his definitive move with the other Marists south. The New Zealand Diocese had been divided into two and the Marists allocated the Diocese of Wellington, which then encompassed the lower half of the North Island and all of the South Island. In Garin's case the move was to Nelson, where he was appointed as the first parish priest in 1850. He would spend the next thirty-nine years in Nelson, establishing churches, schools and the first Catholic orphanages in the

country, and fighting for Catholic education. He was given the title of Archpriest of Nelson in 1884. On his death in 1889, thousands of people lined the streets to watch his funeral procession.<sup>8</sup>

Part One of the thesis begins with an exposé of the methodology that has been followed and a discussion of biography. It looks not only at historical and missionary biography, but also at the concept of cultural biography and thus the idea of using a subject such as Garin as a starting point to discuss the society of his day. Meanwhile, the thesis is defended against Hugh Morrison's charge that collective biography is a better vehicle for missionary biography. Individual biography can be the laboratory for testing generalisations about society, and certain things only make sense as exemplified in the life of one person. There is also room in an individual missionary biography for comparison with other missionary figures.

Chapter Two considers the potential of Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity to inform the analysis of Garin's position as a French missionary to Maori in a British colony. Michael Reilly has suggested that the current demonising of the missionaries is a reverse Orientalism, and uses hybridity to examine the ambiguity inherent in colonial relationships in New Zealand and the Cook Islands; in other words, using hybridity to analyse the colonial past in contrast to its more common use in analysing the postcolonial present. Based on an analysis of the debate surrounding Bhabha's theory, it is considered whether hybridity can be applied to Garin's case, and whether the related theories of

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<sup>8</sup> 'Funeral of the Venerable Archpriest Garin', *Catholic Times*, 26 April 1889, pp. 22-23.

diaspora and migration might be used to inform Garin's experience with the European settlers.

Chapter Three adds context to the chapter that has preceded it by providing an overview of current missionary theory. It considers some of the recent literature on the collusion between missions and empire in the nineteenth century, and looks at any differences in the approach to evangelisation between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. This is relevant to the competing situation that occurred in New Zealand and as a context for the comparisons that are made between Garin and other missionaries throughout the thesis.

Part Two consists of the biography proper, contained within a loosely chronological structure to reflect Garin's change, development and experience through time. It is presented in the form of a cultural biography. In Chapter Four, Garin's background is explained and his decision to become a missionary in the context of the political and religious climate in post-Revolution France analysed. In like fashion, Chapter Five comprises a brief study of the origins of the Marists and their part in the Lyon missionary revival. Similar studies have been incorporated in two recently-published New Zealand missionary biographies, those of Robert Maunsell and Suzanne Aubert.<sup>9</sup> By including this information, Helen Garrett and Jessie Munro provide a context for their subject's choice to become a missionary and explain for the postmodern reader the role of the missionary societies and more generally of religion in nineteenth-century Europe. These chapters are thus designed to assist the readers in placing themselves in

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<sup>9</sup> Helen Garrett, *Te Manihera: The Life and Times of the Pioneer Missionary Robert Maunsell* (Auckland: Reed, 1991); Jessie Munro, *The Story of Suzanne Aubert* (Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, 1996).

Garin's times, which is important given the lesser role of religion in today's society, and the greater understanding we now have of the harmful effects of the spread of Western civilisation in indigenous societies. As Michael King said, 'It is as foolish to castigate a Pakeha colonial in New Zealand of the 1840s for lacking the perceptions of a Gandhi or a Martin Luther King [...] as it is to blame a sixteenth-century Polynesian navigator for his ignorance of Copernicus and Galileo.' People can only be judged in terms of what they knew and felt.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it is only possible to consider the three fundamental questions of cultural biography – reflection, transcendence and impact – if there is a clear understanding of the subject's times.

The subject of Chapter Six is Garin's earliest work with Maori in Kororareka. This chapter reveals that Garin's initial experience of the mission was quite different from that of other missionaries, in that his role as provincial superior, and as procurator more briefly, left him with an understanding of the material difficulties and the psychological challenges the missionaries were confronted with before he had to face the mission field himself. However, despite his lower degree of contact with Maori, at Kororareka he began to display his ability to mediate between cultures, which would be a significant feature of his missionary work. Because of the position he held, Garin's writings are one of the major sources of New Zealand Marist history for the two years he was in Kororareka.

Chapter Seven, on Garin's focal missionary experience in Mangakahia, analyses his experience as a French missionary to Maori in the hybrid world of

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<sup>10</sup> Michael King, *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004), p. 69.



1840s' New Zealand. Hybridity theory is used as a context in which to discuss the exchange of ideas that took place between Garin and the Maori of Mangakahia, and various examples that could be representative of hybridity are provided. Hybridity theory is interesting as a progressive framework in which to discuss early interaction in New Zealand, because it avoids binary categories such as Maori and Pakeha to focus instead on a 'Third Space' – a contact zone produced by colonisation where new transcultural forms are created. It is also argued that, though the French missionaries have been dismissed as 'unsuccessful and unimportant',<sup>11</sup> they were particularly well-placed to participate in Maori life and record their observations as non-British, non-Maori outsiders. Garin's diary from this time is in particular a valuable historical document.

Chapter Eight looks at Garin's move away from missionary work. It is noted that the pattern of Garin's career anticipated changes in New Zealand society in general, as European settlers began to arrive in greater numbers, and the missionaries' focus turned away from evangelising Maori and towards providing pastoral care for the newly-arrived settlers. In fact, although the dearth of manuscript sources on Garin's work in Howick imposes limits on our understanding of his experience there, it does not appear from the evidence available that he had real opportunities for evangelising Maori in the Auckland area. Howick thus saw his transition to working with the Irish diaspora, and later to what is loosely termed the 'New Zealand Catholic diaspora'. Chapter Nine, on Garin's apostolate in Nelson, continues in this vein, as Garin overcomes any

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<sup>11</sup> Jane Thomson, 'Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris, 1838-1860', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 3 (1969), 166-74 (p. 166).

prejudice against the French missionaries on the part of the Catholic settlers by his sheer force of personality and sense of purpose, assisted by his openness to other cultures and ideas. In this chapter Garin's impact on his times is discussed, and it is argued that it was as much in forming a strong Catholic community and for his work in the community of Nelson as for fighting for the right to a Catholic education that he made a lasting contribution to New Zealand society.

## **PART ONE**

### **INTRODUCING THE STUDY AND LITERATURE**

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **Selection of the Subject**

Doubtless, the language barrier has been a significant factor contributing to the lack of attention given to the records of the early French missionaries and to the underestimation of the missionaries' influence in New Zealand. If one compares the entries for Catholic and Protestant biographies in the New Zealand National Bibliographic Database, it soon becomes clear that the early French Catholic missionaries have been somewhat overlooked, with full published biographies existing only for bishops Jean-Baptiste François Pompallier and Philippe Viard. The biographies of these two men cannot represent the story of the grassroots missionary, as the bishops' administrative roles and nineteenth-century notions of natural authority kept them at a distance from the practical, concrete realities of missionary life. On the other hand, the value of biographies of missionaries working in the field has been demonstrated with the publishing of the lives of grassroots Protestant missionaries like Richard Taylor, Robert Maunsell, Thomas Kendall, John Hobbs and William White, to name a very few, and not the best-known examples.

The question that must be addressed here is why Garin was chosen as a subject for a biography above other pioneering Catholic missionaries. A prime reason has been the accessibility of information on Garin. This includes an extensive body of manuscripts that he produced over the many years of his apostolate, comprising diaries, letters and letterbooks, annals, minute books, and

even an index book of all of the topics he wished to correspond with the newspapers on. There are few other missionary figures who produced the thousands of pages of handwritten notes that Garin did. What is more, this material is for the most part unpublished, with the exception of a few letters which appeared in Marist publications in France, and his letters to the editor which were featured in New Zealand newspapers. Another factor in choosing Garin was that the Marists themselves consider him important. This can be seen from the prominence he has in Marist books on the Oceania missions, where Garin chapters or sections compete for length with those on the bishops.<sup>1</sup> Garin was also proposed several times to Rome as a bishop or coadjutor bishop. He remains too in the memories of Nelsonians thanks to the inestimable work of the St Mary's Parish Archivist in collecting Garin records and memorabilia, the naming of a Nelson suburb after him (Garindale), the recent opening of Garin College in Nelson, and his inclusion in a Nelson dictionary of regional biography. He was described in Ian Breward's *A History of the Churches in Australasia* as 'one of the most notable Marist priests'.<sup>2</sup>

But perhaps more important than these concerns has been the obvious mettle of the man himself. Coming to Garin's writings for the first time, one would expect to read a different type of manuscript, a manuscript focused on the work of the Church from the priest's religious and Eurocentric perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> See in particular Jean Hervier, *Les Missions maristes en Océanie* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1902). Garin and Marist Visitor Jean Forest are also the only missionaries to whom a chapter is dedicated in Antoine Monfat, *Les Origines de la foi catholique dans la Nouvelle-Zélande. Les Maoris: étude historique, avec vues, portraits et cartes* (Lyon: Librairie Générale Catholique et Classique, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, ed. by Henry and Owen Chadwick, *The Oxford History of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 162; Max D. Lash, *Nelson Notables 1840-1940: A Dictionary of Regional Biography*, ed. by Dawn Smith (Nelson: Nelson Historical Society, 1992), pp. 64-65.

Instead his writings reveal an intelligent and perceptive man who showed a keen interest in the many hundreds of individuals he met, both Maori and Pakeha, who gave them names and even recorded word-for-word their conversations and opinions. Garin was a missionary above all, but not only that – he was a resourceful and astute man who turned his hand to constructing a mill, wine-making, bee-keeping, making sundials, and the myriad other tasks that confronted a missionary in New Zealand. He was loved and respected by his contemporaries regardless of their religion or ethnicity, with a few inevitable exceptions. Beyond his lasting influence on Catholic education and in Nelson in general, the value of the ethnographic information contained within his diary from Mangakahia alone makes Garin worthy of further study.

## **Biographical Research**

As noted by Helene Connor in her recent thesis on Betty Wark, one of the advantages of biographical research is that the diversity of a life discourages researchers from adopting too rigid a methodology. The discussion here of research methodology focuses on the large variety of sources that have been assembled in an attempt to understand the naturally incoherent whole that is Garin's life.<sup>3</sup>

The biographical method is essentially the creation of narrative accounts and representations of lived experiences. It is a qualitative research method

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<sup>3</sup> D. Helene Connor, "Writing Ourselves "Home": Biographical Texts: A Method for Contextualizing the Lives of Wahine Maori: Locating the Story of Betty Wark" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, 2006), p. 23.

studying what Norman Denzin terms ‘documents of life’. These may include diaries, letters, personal experience stories, personal histories, existing autobiographies and biographies, obituaries, videos, films, photographs, postcards, family trees, official records and oral histories.<sup>4</sup> Documents have been gathered for this thesis from a variety of Catholic and national archives and manuscript repositories in New Zealand, France and Italy. The prime sources of information are Garin’s own diaries, letters and other personal writings, for which the main repositories are the Archivi dei Padri Maristi in Rome, the Marist Fathers’ Archives in Wellington, St Mary’s Parish Archives in Nelson, and the Wellington Archdiocesan Archives. His extant diaries cover nearly his entire career, from 1844 to 1846 and 1849 to 1875, after which the Annals of the Catholic Station of Nelson take over the role of the diary until 1888, the year before his death. As for Garin’s letters, thanks to a numbering system that he used when corresponding with his brother, Numa Garin, it is clear that a significant number of them have been lost. Efforts by Peter Tremewan, Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey local historian Jacqueline Di Carlo and myself to trace Numa’s descendants in the hope of recovering the letters have so far been unsuccessful. It also seems clear that the family are unlikely to have the letters, given a comment in a letter by Marist archivist Antoine Monfat in 1893 that Garin’s nephew Ernest Garin had gifted the Marist Society ‘le dossier complet’ of his missionary uncle’s correspondence.<sup>5</sup> These may have been lost when the archives from the Marist house at Puylata were moved to Rome in the 1900s. Another vital manuscript

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<sup>4</sup> Connor, p. 19; Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography, Qualitative Research Methods*, 17 (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Rome, Archivi dei Padri Maristi (APM), Garin dossier, Monfat to Martin, 28 May 1893.

source is Garin's letters to his superiors in Australia and France, which are often long and detailed like the letters that he wrote to his brother. Many of these have been recently published in Charles Girard's *Lettres reçues d'Océanie*, a monumental work which reproduces the early Marist missionaries' letters from the Pacific for the years 1836 to 1854.

According to Hugh Laracy writing on the holdings of the Marist Archives, such missionary letters are a very valuable source of information on the realities of life in New Zealand and for accounts of Maori.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, letters have frequently supplied authors with material for biography, and, within the colonial context of New Zealand, the correspondence of missionaries, missionary wives and other settlers has been invaluable. Yet documents such as letters and diaries must be treated with caution. Biography critics including Paula R. Backscheider and Richard Holmes have discussed the dangers of these sources, which can give impressions of a fleeting mood and are not always reliable proof of fact. According to Holmes, '[t]he biographer has always had to construct a factual pattern out of materials that already have a fictional or reinvented element.' Letters are always slanted towards their recipients, and even private diaries have to be recognised as literary forms of self-invention rather than an 'ultimate' truth of private fact or feeling.<sup>7</sup>

This does not mean that letters and diaries should be disregarded as sources, but rather that they must be read and used with an eye for the intended

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<sup>6</sup> Hugh Laracy, 'The Archives of the Marist Fathers – An Untapped Source of Material on the History of the Pacific', *Journal of Pacific History*, 3 (1968), 165-71 (p. 167).

<sup>7</sup> Paula R. Backscheider, *Reflections on Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 74-75; Richard Holmes, 'Biography: Inventing the Truth', in *The Art of Literary Biography*, ed. by John Batchelor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 15-25 (p. 17).



reader, and balanced with other material. According to British historian John Tosh, one of the reasons why biography is often disparaged by academic historians is that too many biographers limit their studies to the private papers left behind by their subject, instead of weighing these against the papers of colleagues and acquaintances, and the public records for the period. The need for primary evidence from ‘insiders’ as well as ‘outsiders’ is an important guideline for historical research.<sup>8</sup> In Garin’s case, this has been made possible thanks to Peter Tremewan’s extensive transcribing of newspaper references to Garin, H el ene Serabian’s study of the letters and diaries of Wesleyan missionary James Buller who was Garin’s counterpart and competitor at Mangakahia, and to my work in locating the letters of Garin’s fellow missionaries and the diary of Joseph Ward, a prominent Catholic settler in Nelson. A combined effort has also been made to locate public Garin-related documents at the National Archives.

David S. Reynolds has noted a marked shift towards the historical in American biographical practice in the past twenty years. The new biographies are so much richer in contextual detail than former biographies that Reynolds claims a new genre may be said to have emerged: his notion of cultural biography. Referring to his own experience, Reynolds explains that when working on a biography of Walt Whitman he read nearly everything remotely connected to the poet and his era, including many histories of the period and primary texts by writers other than Whitman, with the aim of seeing the whole picture from

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<sup>8</sup> John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 3rd edn (New York: Longman, 1999), p. 66.

Whitman's viewpoint.<sup>9</sup> Before this thesis came to be constructed as a cultural biography, it had become clear, with the collation of Garin's 'documents of life', that it was imperative to understand the context that Garin was living and working in to explain and complement the various primary sources. James Clifford in the introduction to his biography of Maurice Leenhardt explains a similar need to portray a variety of Leenhardt's lived contexts, many of which were French and unfamiliar to his predominantly Anglo-American audience.<sup>10</sup>

Following Reynolds and Clifford, a sense of Garin's lived contexts has been gained by accessing a mixture of secondary sources, primary texts by other New Zealand missionaries and settlers, and archival material from Garin's native France and New Zealand, and also through interviews conducted in Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, Bourg-en-Bresse, Northland, and Nelson. Beyond the theories of biography, hybridity and diaspora, and the Christian missions, discussed further below, the secondary literature review included the French Revolution and its impact on religion in nineteenth-century France, the early church in New Zealand and the first missionaries, early Maori-Pakeha contact, New Zealand settler society, the Irish diaspora and the history of the Howick and Nelson settlements. The extent of the contextual reading undertaken and the current availability of portraits of Garin and of his personal documents mean that this thesis is able to provide fresh information, despite the number of earlier theses and book chapters relating to him.

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<sup>9</sup> David S. Reynolds, 'The Humanities Crisis: Biography to the Rescue', *TheHamptons.com: Words*, (1996) <[http://www.thehamptons.com/words/reynolds/humanities\\_crisis.html](http://www.thehamptons.com/words/reynolds/humanities_crisis.html)> [accessed 30 November 2007].

<sup>10</sup> James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*, 1st pbk edn (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), p. 6.

As a final comment, it is pertinent to discuss the transcription and presentation of the many manuscript sources that have been used. The transcription of Garin's letters was based on two similar approaches outlined by British record keepers R.F. Hunnisett and P.D.A. Harvey. As the letters were being prepared as material for a thesis and not for publication, a system was chosen that kept as closely to the original text as possible to give the true flavour of the documents and ensure that meanings were not imposed on the texts that were not intended by the author (a 'diplomatique' or 'chartiste' transcription). Following Harvey, spelling, punctuation, word division, and capital letters were not normalised, and the original layout was reproduced in full. Hunnisett's approach was used in the case of misspellings, which were not corrected in the text, and in the case of insertions by the author in the original text which were indicated with the terms [*Marginated*: ' ' ] or [*Interlineated*: ' ' ].<sup>11</sup> However, for the purpose of presenting the manuscript material in the form of quotations in the body of the thesis, all of the above cases have been standardised to enable easier reading of the quotations. The merits of this approach have been discussed by Daniel Ternois in his study of artists' letters.<sup>12</sup> It should also be noted that the manuscript material has been transcribed by a number of people, mainly Peter Tremewan, H el ene Serabian and myself, and, if the documents had been quoted as transcribed, there would have been a number of inconsistencies due to the different transcription conventions that each person has followed.

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<sup>11</sup> P.D.A. Harvey, *Editing Historical Records* (London: British Library, 2001); R.F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication*, Archives and the User, 4 (London: British Records Association, 1977).

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Ternois, 'Lettres d'artistes', in *Nouvelles approches de l' pistolaire: lettres d'artistes, archives et correspondances: actes du colloque internationale tenu en Sorbonne les 3 et 4 d cembre 1993*, ed. by Madeleine Ambri re and Loic Chotard, (Paris: H. Champion, 1996), p. 58, cited in Serabian, pp. 386-87.

## Missionary Records as a Historical Source

As has been discussed, biographers can be sceptical of primary documents such as personal diaries and letters. The fact that Garin's diaries and letters, which form most of the manuscript material on which this thesis is based, are also missionary records makes them even more contentious. Since anthropology developed itself as a distinct professional practice in the early twentieth century, missionaries' accounts of indigenous populations have frequently been disparaged.<sup>13</sup> Writers on the missions often discuss the difficulties inherent in their sources. Philip Turner, in his incisive thesis on the Catholic Maori missions, notes a bias in Catholic sources that is not only European but also ecclesiastical, and cannot be ignored. Helen Gardner, biographer of George Brown, describes Brown's portraits of Pacific people as 'bewilderingly diverse', attributing this to the number of different styles of texts that Brown wrote, each aimed at a different audience. Meanwhile, James Clifford states that scientific complaints against missionary ethnography regarding its amateur quality, unevenness, and strong ambivalences towards 'paganism' are 'frequently justified', though he counters this with an assertion that an ethnographically-inclined missionary is particularly well-suited to amass information on important topics such as culture change, the content of religious beliefs, and the complexities of native languages.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Patrick Harries, 'Anthropology', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 238-60 (pp. 248-49).

<sup>14</sup> Philip Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality: The Catholic Mission and the Maori 1838-1870' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1986), p. i; Helen Bethea Gardner, *Gathering for God: George Brown in Oceania* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006), pp. 15-16; James Clifford, *Person and Myth*, p. 134.

More thorough treatments of the issues surrounding missionary records can be found in the studies of literary scholars investigating missionary texts as a genre. Gareth Griffiths, a postcolonial literary scholar, has discussed the ‘complex systems of patronage and control’ that surrounded missionaries’ representations of colonised peoples, with particular reference to Africa.<sup>15</sup> African mission journals opened a window into what metropolitan readers assumed to be the ‘true’ world of the native, a world he describes as ‘gelled with the perennial taste for combining the shocking and the moral’, and as providing the audience with a justification for their interest in the journals and a sense of satisfaction in their own superiority to the cultures depicted there. In this way, Griffiths asserts, mission journals helped to disseminate the wider ideology of imperialism (p. 158).

In an extensive study of published London Missionary Society (LMS) records, Australian scholar Anna Johnston comes to a similar conclusion regarding the very filtered view of the indigenous history of missionary encounters represented in the texts. She chooses to analyse her texts for their record of the institutional role of missionary work and its role in imperial projects, rather than attempt to read them for indigenous agency, which she considers would be so dependent on the postcolonial optimism of the analyst as to be counter-productive.<sup>16</sup> The limitations that led her to this conclusion include the propagandist nature of her texts, which emphasise positive evangelical achievements and omit less edifying facts (religious doubts, diseases or personal crises slide out of the public textual record). Another limitation is the recurring

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<sup>15</sup> Gareth Griffiths, “‘Trained to Tell the Truth’: Missionaries, Converts and Narration”, in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Etherington, pp. 153-72 (p. 153).

<sup>16</sup> Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 36.

awareness of a metropolitan audience in missionary representations of indigenous peoples. She notes, for example, Christopher Herbert's argument that missionaries had to collect and circulate evidence of the Polynesian's innate depravity to justify their incursions into native societies (p. 125). Johnston further argues that missionaries represented their experiences with cultural difference in highly contradictory ways, because of the tension between the potentially progressive nature of encounters with other cultures, and the prescriptive discourse in which they were compelled to represent these encounters (p. 164). Writing about the New Zealand context, Lydia Wevers concurs with Griffiths and Johnston that travel writing followed precedents and protocols mostly to do with the transmission of geographic, ethnographic and environmental knowledge back to Europe. Missionary texts were tied to the European fashion for publishing books of adventure and enterprises, which inevitably shaped the narratives missionaries recorded.<sup>17</sup>

These arguments, while only a small sample of the criticism available, reflect the principal charges against missionary records and their usefulness as a historical source. The commentators mentioned have variously discussed their use for accounts of religious conversion, as travel writings, and for accounts of indigenous agency. By considering each of these possible uses, the potential contributions of Garin's records to historical discussions and analyses – and whether they can, in fact, contribute anything at all – become clearer.

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<sup>17</sup> Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), pp. 61-63.

One first point to be made is that missionary records could never be seen as homogeneous. Johnston describes them as ‘profoundly hybrid genres’ because of their inclusion of ethnography, linguistics and geographical surveys, as well as detailed explanations of evangelical work and native religious customs (p. 32). Beyond the inevitable divergences in style between individual missionaries, missionaries produced many different types of documents aimed at different audiences. Some recorded their experiences in small notebooks that they carried with them wherever they travelled, akin to a personal diary, then used this material to send edifying letters back to their missionary society for publication in mission journals, or letters relating their intrepid journeys in unknown lands to their families and friends, or more personal letters to their spiritual directors, and so on. Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries were asked to write their diaries up for publication once every three months, and these ‘journals’ would then provide a summarised, more edifying, and thus filtered version of events aimed at metropolitan audiences. The missionaries were also prolific letter writers, and corresponded with a wide variety of audiences to whom they would give different types of information. These audiences included family and friends, their mission society, their spiritual director, fellow missionaries, the local government, and local settlers. Thus while they could express their doubts about the religious conversion of the native populations to their spiritual director, in a letter published in a mission journal such information could jeopardise mission funds. There is perhaps a distinction to be made then between published and non-published missionary records. Niel Gunson makes this point in *Messengers of Grace*, where he notes that the unravelling of historical fact from ‘the biased

accounts of sectarian propaganda' is not such a great problem when primary documentation is considerable and available. In fact, Gunson's study is an attempt to place the missionaries in historical context by returning almost exclusively to the original sources: the letters and diaries of the missionaries.<sup>18</sup> It is suggested here, therefore, that by focusing on primary documentation in all its complexity – the underpinning of this thesis and of most biographies – some of the worst pitfalls of missionary records can be avoided.

Returning to the potential uses of missionary records, probably the least contentious of the categories outlined above would be for informing accounts of religious belief. Like the anthropologists who would later take on their mode of fieldwork, missionaries recorded this information in their diaries and letters based on their experiences of day-to-day living in indigenous communities. For those missionaries who allowed the two dispositions of missionary and ethnographer to co-exist and did not colour their descriptions with their ambivalences towards paganism,<sup>19</sup> their records prove doubly valuable. That is, while much of the anthropological focus lay with traditional religious beliefs, missionaries also had a special interest in the process of conversion to Christianity. The diary from Garin's time in Mangakahia is a good example of this. Garin was a very open-minded and faithful recorder who was not overly concerned with presenting himself in a positive light. Unlike Johnston's sample of published missionary writings, Garin's texts are not obsessed with positive evangelical achievements, but rather include much information on his concerns about the authenticity of

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<sup>18</sup> Niel Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> James Clifford, *Person and Myth*, p. 134.



Maori adoption of Christianity. When Garin recorded his religious discussions with Maori, he included, sometimes word-for-word, the arguments of Maori who disagreed with him. As John Peel points out, this is a common distinguishing feature between a missionary and an anthropologist's account of religious practice: the most distinctive religious events described in the CMS Archive that Peel studied were those which the missionaries provoked themselves, by their preaching and their responses to religious situations which they encountered. Anthropologists instead typically depended on routinely-performed rituals and local experts' reading of them for their studies, and, importantly, tended to conduct their fieldwork over shorter periods of time than most missionaries. Peel makes a further point relevant to Garin's case: while it has been argued that missionary interrogation of traditional religion was conducted according to the theoretical schedule of the missionary, it would be quite misleading to think of the missions as a 'stone cast into a placid pool of ideological consensus'.<sup>20</sup> Missionaries were part of a process of change involving all forms of religious expression in New Zealand – the Protestants had arrived twenty-four years before the first Catholic missionaries.

In his assessment of the anthropologist's use of a missionary archive, Peel notes that archives from the early years in the mission field contain a great deal of information beyond that touching on traditional religion and the missionary's encounter with it (p. 71). Another possible use of missionary records is for their value as travel texts. Though analysing travel accounts as a category separate from

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<sup>20</sup> J.D.Y. Peel, 'Problems and Opportunities in an Anthropologist's Use of a Missionary Archive', in *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, ed. by Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996), pp. 70-94 (pp. 81-84).

accounts of indigenous agency may seem artificial, it is intended to consider European depictions of a new people and place as separate from attempts to depict cultural encounter and indigenous thought.

Though most published missionary texts were couched as ethnographies rather than travel writing, in justifying the publication of a New Caledonia-based Marist missionary's journal, Marie-Louise Gondal explains that the journal is of general geographical and historical interest because the author witnessed the early colonisation of New Caledonia.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, in her study of New Zealand travel texts, Wevers describes the task of nineteenth-century travel writing as the dissemination of 'valuable and interesting Information',<sup>22</sup> asserting that, if read with the distortions and crimps of the person, travel writing is one of the few media for retrieving something of what it was like to be in Mangakahia in 1846, or in Nelson in 1880 (pp. 6-8; my examples). As regards missionary texts specifically, Peel notes that in the case of the CMS Archive relating to Yoruba, there are social topics for which the Archive is the most important source, such as slavery, but adds the proviso that such information is often patchy, cannot be read in abstraction, and should be evaluated with an understanding of the author's religious motivation and assumptions (p. 81). For present purposes, Garin too included geographical and historical information in letters to his brother in France in particular, where he tried to make his travel experiences come alive by comparing the flora and fauna and local scenery to France, and by explaining

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<sup>21</sup> Jean Gilibert, *Un voyage sans retour: De L'Aubrac à la Nouvelle-Calédonie: Journal de Jean Gilibert (1818-1891)*, ed. by Marie-Louise Gondal (Suva: CEPAC, 2007), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Colonel Julian R. Jackson, *What to Observe; or, The Traveller's Remembrancer*, 3rd edn, rev. and ed. by Dr Norton Shaw (London: Houlston & Wright, 1861), cited in Wevers, p. 3.

novel aspects of New Zealand life such as whaling. Garin also witnessed the first major conflict between Pakeha and Maori, namely the sacking of Kororareka in 1845, which he recorded in his diary. Such accounts provide valuable historical information if read critically with an eye for the intended audience of each medium. Garin's personal diary, for example, was a document intended for his eyes only and written without a particular agenda, while his letters to his brother and former seminary pupils in France contain a number of accounts in which Garin wished to relate his adventures as an intrepid missionary.

Undoubtedly the most contentious use of missionary sources is for a reading of indigenous agency, because of the Eurocentric perspective and narrow religious outlook that nineteenth-century missionaries are assumed to have had. What takes Garin's diary beyond a travel text is its attempts, however contentious they may appear, at what M.L. Pratt terms 'reciprocity'. The diary is most akin to Pratt's 'sentimental' text.<sup>23</sup> While Garin was a Catholic missionary above all, and his diary reflects his fundamental belief in the superiority of the Catholic religion over other forms of belief, like the 'sentimental' author studied by Pratt, Mungo Park, he wrote a human-centred, interactive narrative in which reciprocity was desired and equilibrium was sought through exchange. Garin reported Maori reactions to him and his Christian message as well as his reactions to them, and related the extent to which each side determined the other's actions and desires. His account shows that he obeyed Maori custom and traded with local Maori, and, as their 'European rangatira', in exchange was permitted to remain in Mangakahia and evangelise willing Maori. A refusal to buy Maori goods on Garin's part could

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<sup>23</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 80.

lead to Maori rejection of his prayers. Garin's diary thus stands as an affirmation of Maori agency and experience. It accords to an extent with Pratt's description of Park's *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, which she says 'owes much of its power to [his] combination of humanism, egalitarianism, and critical relativism anchored securely in a sense of European authenticity, power and legitimacy' (p. 84).

Ernest Simmons, in a foreword to an ethnographical work by one of Garin's Marist contemporaries, Louis Catherin Servant, makes similar observations. These include that Servant produced a text showing him to be an honest and accurate observer who had the ability to record what he saw with little European or Christian prejudice, and that the financial difficulties of the mission increased his dependence on and contact with the Maori people. Simmons concludes that *Customs and Habits of the New Zealanders* is one of the most valuable documents from early New Zealand.<sup>24</sup> Philip Turner has also described it as the most complete account of Maori life in one area that survives from this period.<sup>25</sup> And yet, *Customs and Habits* was a text of intellectual abstraction which the author wrote after some years of witnessing Maori life. His summarised views on aspects of Maori culture were constructed for a European audience (the document was written for Marist Superior Jean-Claude Colin in France). Also, Servant drew on William Yate's *An Account of New Zealand*, and fourteen percent of his text is copied directly from Yate.<sup>26</sup> In comparison, because of the diary format in which it is presented, Garin's work is more in the vein of Mungo

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<sup>24</sup> Catherin Servant, *Customs and Habits of the New Zealanders 1838-42*, trans. by J. Glasgow, ed. by D.R. Simmons (Wellington: Reed, 1973), pp. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> Philip Turner, 'Servant, Louis Catherin 1808 - 1860', in *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> [accessed 12 May 2008].

<sup>26</sup> Servant, p. 79.

Park, with its simple recounting of what Garin had witnessed, without interpretation: Garin was concerned to present the concrete personal detail of life as it was lived.

Regarding the literary device that Garin employs of recording the words of his interlocutors, Johnston critiques this practice in her published texts, citing from Rod Edmond that such a device is ‘designed to render the text authentic and allow the writer to put some unlikely-sounding speeches in the mouths of native informants’. However, Johnston also notes Christopher Herbert’s alternative interpretation, ‘that cultural meanings are to a significant degree untranslatable, expressible only in the semiological system in which they originate’.<sup>27</sup> The latter would seem to apply more to Garin’s unpublished diary where such recordings were not used for effect. Garin appears to have had a very good memory for actual words spoken, and his prowess in the Maori language is revealed by his use of a number of regional words that are quite rare in other writings of the time.<sup>28</sup> His diary, and in particular his recordings of conversations with Maori, add to the picture we have of Maori life in the 1840s during a time of significant cultural change, particularly when read with an awareness of the selectiveness of Garin’s observations because of his role as a Catholic missionary.

Despite the reservations that Griffiths might have about missionary accounts and the ‘profound limitations on personal agency’ involved in their production, they were, as he notes, among the earliest means by which colonised

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<sup>27</sup> Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 43; and Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), pp. 163-64, cited in Johnston, p. 140.

<sup>28</sup> Peter and Christine Tremewan, Personal Communication, 8 May 2008.

subjects could communicate some of their own views (p. 153). In many parts of the world missionaries were among the first Europeans to make prolonged contact with indigenous peoples. While their writings might have their limitations, they are invaluable for their recording of times of cultural change. Writing on the methodology of life histories, Gary Knowles and Ardra Cole define history as ‘a documentation of stories told and recorded about the past through the identification of significant people, places, moments, events, and movements located in time and context.’<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the fundamental question is then, do the missionaries’ records document stories about the past that identify significant moments, events and movements located in time and context? Are we to ignore writings such as Garin’s, which provide some of the only depictions of places and times scantily witnessed and recorded, or accept that this is the record that remains, and read it with a critical eye, while admiring the extra detail and life it adds to the bald facts contained in government files?

### **On Historical and Missionary Biography**

Biography is a genre that is said to lie suspended between fiction and non-fiction, with each biography itself lying at a different point along the fiction to non-fiction spectrum. Contributing to this issue is the fact that biographical sources, as described above, are considered biased and inherently unreliable, leading biographers like Richard Holmes to comment that biography is ‘complicated, provisional, and to some degree perilous’ (p. 20).

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<sup>29</sup> Ardra L. Cole and J. Gary Knowles, *Lives in Context: The Art of Life History Research* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2001), p. 20.

A biography that has the aim of contributing to an understanding of the lived contexts of the subject and to New Zealand history should make every attempt to sit as closely as possible to the non-fiction end of the biography spectrum. The following discussion of historical and missionary biography considers, among other things, the issues of objectivity and the single case in history, and is written as a defence of historical biography. It provides both justification for this thesis and an explanation of the methodology followed. It reviews principally but not exclusively books on biography theory published after 1983, the year in which the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies was opened and the New Zealand Government committed to publishing a dictionary of New Zealand biography. This choice reflects the timing of the major changes that took place in biography in response to poststructuralism and postmodernism, when biography was becoming less the domain of famous men.

### *Biography as Literature and History*

While biography began as a historical form of inquiry first and foremost, biography has been proposed as literature since the times of Boswell and Johnson. In 1962, James L. Clifford, pondering on whether biography was ‘a strange amalgam of science and art’, argued that biography should be constructed as an ‘objective science’ conforming to the guidelines of history in order to be taken seriously.<sup>30</sup> The development of postmodernist thought has since led to a more serious reconsideration as to whether biography is history or literature.

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<sup>30</sup> *Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism, 1560-1960*, ed. by James L. Clifford (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. ix.

Postmodern theorists typically challenged the core of academic disciplines, among them history, with their argument about the impossibility of objectivity. According to this line of reasoning, our observations of the past are discourse-dependent, and predetermined by the ideas in our minds which are fixed by the connotations of the language used by the society of which we are members.<sup>31</sup> In biography, this led to the advocating of interpretive over objective biography. Ira Nadel, one of the most important exponents of the idea, described the interpretive biography as a counter-tradition of biography, where perspective, dimension and a point of view controlled the material.<sup>32</sup> Nadel believed that the best biographies reinvented rather than reconstructed, in the vein of Lytton Strachey, the great proponent of biography as an art of human portraiture, and asserted that objective biography was logically and artistically impossible (pp. 8-10). In Nadel's view, therefore, all biography was fiction. Against objectivity, Nadel cited Karl Popper's theory that we do not think inductively but deductively, beginning with a hypothesis which then shapes our discovery and use of facts.<sup>33</sup>

This idea of interpretive biography has found support from many corners. Nadel's conclusion was welcomed recently by British historian Alun Munslow, who claimed that meaning was not lost even if factual accuracy were sacrificed in a biography. Biography critic Alison Booth claimed that many defenders of biography now vouch for it as literary art rather than historical fact. Practising biographers including Linda Wagner-Martin and John Batchelor have agreed with

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<sup>31</sup> Miles Fairburn, *Social History: Problems, Strategies and Methods* (Basingstoke: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 5-6.

<sup>32</sup> Ira Bruce Nadel, *Biography: Fiction, Fact and Form* (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> Karl Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), cited in Nadel, p. 10.



Nadel that the author's beliefs and experiences are inevitably reflected in the finished work, lending justification to the claim of postmodern theorist supreme Roland Barthes that biography is 'a novel that dare not speak its name'.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, many historical biographers continue to assert both the possibility of and the need for accurate fact. The question of biography as history or literature has been described as a confrontation between empirical historians, who take umbrage at the 'willy-nilly encroachment of mere invention on their territory of fact', and novelists, who counter that being limited to mere fact constrains true insight.<sup>35</sup> However, to argue that fiction and biography have in some ways traded places would be overstated. There is a radical difference between saying that our observations of the past are shaped by preconceptions, and saying that they are determined by them. While total objectivity might be impossible to achieve, that does not mean that we should not strive for it, nor that everything is entirely a matter of opinion.<sup>36</sup> This thesis aims for objectivity, despite the inevitable impact of the author's selection of evidence and choice of themes on the portrait that is painted of Garin. Gaps in the evidence and suppositions made are fully acknowledged and explained so that the biography does not become a work of fiction. It is one thing to accept the difficulty of achieving definitive factual truth where people are concerned, but quite a different

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<sup>34</sup> Alun Munslow, 'Biography and History: Criticism, Theory and Practice', in *The Philosophy of History: A Selection of Talks Given at the Philosophy of History Seminar in the Institute of Historical Research, London, 2000-2006*, ed. by Alexander Lyon Macfie (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 226-36 (p. 233); Alison Booth, *How to Make It as a Woman: Collective Biographical History from Victoria to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 75; Linda Wagner-Martin, *Telling Women's Lives: The New Biography* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), pp. 8-9; John Batchelor, 'Introduction', in *Art of Literary Biography*, ed. by Batchelor, pp. 1-12 (pp. 2-3); Carolyn G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (London: The Women's Press, 1988), p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Scott Stossel, 'Whose Life Is It?' *New York Times*, (18 March 2007) <<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/18/books/review/Stossel.t.html>> [accessed 28 May 2008].

<sup>36</sup> Fairburn, p. 6.

thing to abandon the quest altogether in a historical biography. Moreover, writing anything less than a factual biography would not be in keeping with the character of the subject studied: Garin was an upright and honest person who took great pains to base his own arguments, in letters to the editor or in public lectures, on the facts as he knew and recorded them.

### *Historical Biography*

At the first international symposium on biography in 1981, celebrated English biographer Michael Holroyd raised the most time-honoured barrier among biographers: the schism between literary and historical biographers. In a foreword to the collection of papers published from the symposium, Anthony Friedson described the schism as a ‘particularly unhappy division’ because so many of the essential techniques of biography, including the chronological base and punctilious sense of responsibility towards evidence, derived from the grandparent, history.<sup>37</sup> Until the publishing of Leon Edel’s landmark book in 1957, literary biography, or the biography of authors of literature, had not been seriously considered as a separate genre to historical biography, or the biography of historical actors. The evolution in biographical thinking in recent times can be seen from the fact that scholarship on biography is today predominantly concerned with literary biography. The question, then, is what happened to historical biography, the great stalwart of historical enterprise?

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<sup>37</sup> *New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Anthony M. Friedson (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai’i for the Biographical Research Centre, 1981), pp. xix-xx.

Historians have always written biographies of great historical figures. As early as the first century A.D., biographical writers such as Plutarch, Suetonius and Tacitus were writing on the heroes of Greece and Rome, while in medieval European times, the ‘Latin Chronicle’ was almost exclusively the reward of successful secular rulers or of saints – a form now known as hagiography.<sup>38</sup> The Victorian fashion for improving books telling the lives of the great men of the time in large, compendious volumes left a substantial record for historians but also led to a backlash in biography. In an introduction to Thomas Carlyle’s work on the hero in history, Michael Goldberg explains that, while Carlyle’s intensity was his own, in no other age had men been so often told to model their behaviour on great men as they were in the nineteenth century. Carlyle set out to posit the view that ‘every advance which humanity had made was due to special individuals supremely gifted in mind and character, whom Providence sent among them at favoured epochs.’<sup>39</sup> However, by the end of the century changing political currents (notably democracy), and intellectual forces both in science (evolutionary theory) and in history (Marxism) moved sympathy away from the ‘great man theory of history’ (p. lxxvi). Survey research techniques and quantitative methods came to be preferred by the emerging fields of sociology and anthropology over biographical studies.

History had been traditionally seen as driven by the actions of ‘great men’ rather than vast social forces. However, the nineteenth-century predilection for

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<sup>38</sup> Nigel Hamilton, *Biography: A Brief History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 21-28; Robert Gittings, *The Nature of Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1978), p. 19.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, & the Heroic in History*, notes and introduction by Michael K. Goldberg, text est. by Michael K. Goldberg, Joel J. Brattin and Mark Engel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

political and diplomatic history and the eulogising of important individuals was seriously challenged in the twentieth century. The twentieth century saw the birth of social history, or history from below, which was characterised by its concern with describing the experience of various social groups, based initially on class but later extended to integrate gender and ethnicity. The Annales and Marxist schools of history expounded the need for a theoretical explanation of the past, rejecting the traditional historical concerns of political leaders, ideas and institutions, and the notion of studying the individual. These views were of course subject to scrutiny in their own time: critics such as Fred Greenstein and Herbert Butterfield arguing, for example, that it was obvious to anyone not a social scientist that individuals were important in politics, and that human beings made history. According to Donald MacRaild and Avram Taylor, writing in the twenty-first century, the best works of history today treat the relationship between structure and agency in a sensitive manner. Such works do not deny the part that human beings play in shaping the course of events, but at the same time admit the constraints placed upon the actions of both individuals and groups by social circumstances. Of particular relevance to this thesis is Jean and John Comaroff's assertion that the recognition of human agency is especially important in the case of the colonial encounter and the civilising mission, where, they claim, historians and anthropologists have not paid sufficient heed to the voices of individuals on either side of the encounter, rather treating them as homogenised classes of coloniser and colonised.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Fred I. Greenstein, 'The Impact of Personality on Politics', *American Political Science Review*, 61 (1967), 629-41 (p. 629); H. Butterfield, 'The Role of the Individual in History', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 40 (1956), 1-17 (p. 1); Donald M. MacRaild and Avram Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (Basingstoke:

Thankfully for biographers, although most contemporary historians are critical of the ‘great man’ theory of history, this has not led to the death of either this perspective or of historical biography. It has rather led to evolutions in the genre, and a new emphasis on setting biographies in social context so that the influence of both individual and social forces is acknowledged. Biography is celebrated for its capacity to attract and hold the reader’s interest in the larger subject.<sup>41</sup> Ben Pimlott has gone so far as to say that ‘the character is just a vehicle, [...] a device by which the writer insinuates himself and gains the attention of the reader, who [...] gets engaged in the background, which is the real meat of the story.’ Pimlott’s assertion appears somewhat overstated and overlooks the fact that biography is fundamentally grounded on telling the life experience of one individual, but he clarifies his position by explaining that biography is not about character abstracted from an environment (thereby answering the criticisms of historians): biography is character-in-an-environment. For Pimlott and others, therefore, the kind of biography that is worth writing is one that illuminates a changing environment by revealing the way a particular character interacts with it (p. 39). In this thesis, Garin provides a means of seeing the period of early settlement of New Zealand by Europeans through the eyes of a non-British, non-Maori outsider. Pimlott also notes the advantage of biography in these circumstances: men who led long lives, such as Garin, provide a writer who wishes to follow a thread of continuity in changing times with a special

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Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 83; Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991-97), I, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Barbara W. Tuchman, ‘Biography as a Prism of History’, in *Telling Lives: The Biographer’s Art*, ed. by Marc Pachter (Washington, DC: New Republic Books, 1979), pp. 133-47 (p. 134).

opportunity (p. 40). Garin lived through the change from a Maori-dominated to settler-dominated New Zealand, and lived in both Maori and settler contexts as a missionary and parish priest.

Writing from the quite different perspective of Australian labour history, Mark Hearn and Harry Knowles similarly advocate the use of the experience of a life to illuminate the wider social and political context. They suggest biography as ‘appropriate to the study of social change and representing a way of reconciling the work of historians and sociologists’.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that Robert Gittings foresaw correctly when he predicted in his 1978 book a definitive shift from the study of the psychological or medical background of a subject to a full appreciation of the economic and social circumstances in which they lived. Marx may yet have a greater influence on biography than Freud. We no longer see a man or woman in isolation, divorced from his or her class and economic situation (p. 55). Related to the new focus of historical biography on telling the story of people’s struggles with the conditions that prevail in their times has been the emergence of the biography of the ordinary man and woman. This has been made possible by the development from the biography of man as religious example and a part of the prevailing Church, to man as an example of civic, secular virtues in the prevailing State, towards a portrayal of the subject as an individual man or woman, in what Gittings defines as a ‘movement towards humanism’ (pp. 39-40).

Writing as early as 1945, Sidney Hook in his famous essay, *The Hero in History*, suggested that there was no reliable correlation between historical

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<sup>42</sup> Mark Hearn and Harry Knowles, ‘Struggling for Recognition: Reading the Individual in Labour History’, *Labour History*, 87 (November 2004), 1-10 (pp. 1-5); Gittings, pp. 54-55.

significance and historical fame – an individual could influence events without achieving great popularity and recognition. This idea was taken up by Jerome Manis in his proposal for biography of what he termed ‘great little persons’. Manis saw the biography of ordinary men and women as reflecting anthropology and sociology’s turn towards large samples and cross-sectional data and as an answer to the criticisms aimed at the ‘great man’ theory of history. Manis defined his ‘great little persons’ as being those whose lives or actions had engendered important consequences, but who, for reasons of public or scholarly neglect or their own disregard for recognition and popularity, had not achieved great fame or reputation. Manis notes that the criteria for choosing lives are uncertain and seldom discussed: should historical biography deal principally with ‘great’ rulers and generals? He concludes that an unending search for new light on old eminences would add less to our knowledge than fresh studies of great little persons, and that such studies would recognise the significant link between masses and leaders.<sup>43</sup>

Manis’s argument certainly lends weight to any justification required for a biography of Garin. Garin was one of Manis’s ‘great little persons’ – an ordinary missionary, who accomplished extraordinary things through intellect and perseverance, and a little luck. A biography of Garin (as an ordinary man) has much to contribute beyond what has been recorded in the biographies of his bishops (great men) to the history of the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Given that one of the major criticisms levelled against historical biography is that it

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<sup>43</sup> Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1945), p. 108; Jerome G. Manis, ‘Great Little Persons’, *Biography*, 12 (1989), 17-28.

chooses exceptional, unrepresentative people as its subjects, biographies of ‘great little persons’ provide an interesting opportunity to study individuals who are both exceptional in talent and character, and representative because not exceptional in social status. What is more, it is important to avail oneself of the opportunity of writing the life of a great little person when it arises, since not many ordinary men leave behind substantial records.

### *Missionary Biography*

Religious biography has a history nearly as long as biography itself. Beyond the example of the four biographies which comprise the Gospels, the genre grew out of the early lists, then series of lives, of bishops in the larger Christian communities of the Roman Empire, and then from the series of abbatial lives produced by several monasteries in northern Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries. Paul the Deacon’s *Deeds of the Bishops of Metz*, written in 784, is generally regarded as the first northern European example of the genre. From time to time, biographies were also written of individual bishops outside of the series, but these were often produced for hagiographical purposes rather than as open accounts of Episcopal lives.<sup>44</sup>

Missionary biography has grown as a sub-genre of religious biography since the emergence of the modern Catholic and Protestant missionary movements. Its prevalence in the nineteenth century in particular reflects the move towards biography that eulogised, at a time when only ‘improving books’

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<sup>44</sup> Edward Peters, ‘Review [untitled]’, *Biography*, 25 (2002), 382-86 (p. 382).



were to be read. Missionaries provided edifying subjects who were representative of both the Christian faith and Western progress and civilisation. In recent decades, a new body of missionary biography has emerged that is more nuanced, analytical and contextual, in line with developments in biography as a whole. Yet, as Hugh Morrison notes, because of its tendency towards hagiography, among other things, missionary biography has often been given short shrift by historians. James Belich, for example, has cautioned against believing the missionaries' accounts of their own impact in New Zealand, suggesting that missionaries are often portrayed as the main agents of contact because they dominated the written record. Missiology and hagiography continue to be too closely related, in Belich's opinion. Peter Hempenstall, discussing his experience of writing a biography of Bishop Ernest Burgmann, provides a concrete explanation of one of the ways in which this problem can come about. Hempenstall notes that a singular body of beliefs grew up around Burgmann's record which was recited over the years by his followers: namely, that he was the first truly Australian Anglican bishop, because of his down-to-earth personality, radicalism, and understanding of the values of ordinary Australians (even though he was not technically the first Australian to be consecrated). According to Hempenstall, these elements of the 'Burgmann mythology' established his sacredness and set him apart for his admirers in a kind of beatification.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Hugh Morrison, 'Biography, Family and New Zealand Missionary Lives', in *Telling Lives: Essays in Biography and History*, ed. by Catharine Coleborne, Mark Houlahan and Hugh Morrison, (Hamilton: University of Waikato, 2006), pp. 47-68 (p. 51); James Belich, *Making Peoples* (London: Allen Lane; Auckland: Penguin, 1996), pp. 136-37; Peter J. Hempenstall, *The Meddlesome Priest: A Life of Ernest Burgmann* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1993), p. x.

In order for missionary biography to be taken seriously by its critics, Morrison advocates the use of collective biography, also known as prosopography, rather than individual biography. Morrison's is one of the very few recent discussions of specifically missionary biography in New Zealand (2006), and his arguments should therefore be analysed to see to what extent they apply to Garin's particular case. In assessing the possibilities of collective biography, Morrison first suggests that collective biography highlights both the similarities and differences in the Protestant missionary population (pp. 56-57). While this might be true, it is also possible within a single critical biography where the author compares the subject to other missionaries. Moreover, it is likely that a collective biography would be written on missionaries from the same denomination to give a common thread to the work, whereas, in the case of this thesis, members of both the CMS and the Wesleyan Missionary Society are used as comparisons with Garin in addition to other Catholic missionaries, extending the analysis of differences between individual approaches.

Morrison's claim that collective biography 'locates families as important sites of missionary enthusiasm' (p. 58) similarly does not apply to Garin's case, for the obvious reason that Catholic missionaries were not permitted to have a family. Much of Morrison's argument hinges on his assertion that the missionary family is 'an important site of historical significance and of historiographical interest' (p. 65), so that the Catholic missionary is inevitably excluded from his analysis. Morrison suggests, for example, that a collective biographical approach centred on the missionary family might help to rebalance the 'exemplary' missionary model, by grounding the missionary experience in the realities of life

and giving space for the voices of the other participants (p. 60). Once again, collective biography is not the only vehicle for doing this: with the new emphasis in biography on placing a subject firmly in his or her economic and social context, the rigorous analysis required of a good biographer leaves little room for hagiography. Primary sources on the 'realities of life' are available in the case of the Catholic missionaries in personal letters to their superior and in their diaries. Morrison's idea that collective biography indicates alternative discourses in the missionary experience over the generations is again focused on a missionary family biography approach. And yet, in the case of a missionary who lived as long a life as Garin did, this problem is mitigated to an extent even in an individual biography: Garin's attitudes towards religion and science in particular evolve over time, for example.

Collective biography provides a judicious course between the single case in history and attributing history to movements and social forces, as several lives begin to plot common ground. But perhaps the strength of individual biography is precisely in the individualising that it allows. Missionaries have been nearly universally condemned in recent historiography for their role in the process of colonisation and for their civilising mission. Garin provides an example of a missionary who was more open-minded and less Eurocentric than most. As Susan Trofimenkoff points out, biography provides a laboratory for testing certain generalisations about a given society or a given social movement.<sup>46</sup>

To conclude, Robert Skidelsky has said that nearly every contemporary biography begins with a justification for that particular biography and biography

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<sup>46</sup> Susan Trofimenkoff, 'Feminist Biography', *Atlantis*, 10 (1985), 1-7 (p. 4).

in general. Perhaps such justifications are unnecessary: biography has a great capacity to counter past and future threats to its legitimacy because of its interdisciplinary nature, and because it is based around one simple core convention – describing a human life. As Pimlott has noted, if biography is so old, and so ingrained religiously and culturally, these are *prima facie* reasons for regarding it as a substantial practice and part of our living heritage.<sup>47</sup>

### **Cultural Biography**

A study of biography theory reveals something of a problem: there are relatively few full-length biographical studies that engage also with contemporary theory. Of the theory-focused sources cited in the previous section, most comprised journal articles and collections of essays or conference papers. Only one of the recent, full-length critical works did not have a specific topic such as feminist or collective biography, that by Hamilton (2007). Set as a history of the genre, Hamilton's work could not be said to have 'engaged contemporary theory' to a great extent. In fact, Jürgen Schläeger argues, perhaps with some merit, that the reason for the contradiction between postmodernism's assault on the authority of personal experience and the significant gain in the readership and popularity of biography is biography's fundamentally reactionary, conservative nature.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Robert Skidelsky, 'Only Connect: Biography and Truth', in *The Troubled Face of Biography*, ed. by Eric Homberger and John Charmley (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 1-16 (p. 2); Pimlott, *Is Contemporary Biography History?*, p. 35.

<sup>48</sup> Jürgen Schläeger, 'Biography: Cult as Culture', in *Art of Literary Biography*, ed. by Batchelor, pp. 57-71 (pp. 62-63).

David S. Reynolds has made one of the very few recent attempts at innovation and contemporary theorising in biography, with his advocacy of cultural biography. In a preliminary essay that could be described as a call to arms, Reynolds explains that he came to respect the values of scholarly rigour and clear writing that biography entailed when writing a literary biography of Walt Whitman. He believed that, with all the recent emphasis on subjectivity in academic circles, what had been lost was a respect for the actual facts of time, place and person that were typically the concerns of the biographer, and that the theory and practice of biography could do much towards resolving the problems he perceived in the humanities. According to Reynolds, humanities scholars in various areas, under the banner of cultural studies, had been asking questions similar to those posed by biographers, such as ‘How can anecdotes from history or biography be interpreted as signs of an entire culture or value system?’. He thus advocated cultural biography, or biography that branched out into concerns beyond the individual subject, such as political history, social history and ethnic history, as a model for other scholars because of the extensive research it entailed. Reynolds added that cultural biography offered a means of bridging humanities fields that were once distant from each other, such as biography, literary criticism and history.<sup>49</sup>

In a later and more reflective article, Reynolds goes on to define his concept of cultural biography and to differentiate it from the traditional ‘life and times’ with which his earlier definition of the concept could have been confused. While most standard biographies contain some information about the subject’s

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<sup>49</sup> ‘The Humanities Crisis’.

historical milieu, cultural biography analyses this not as ‘window dressing’, or something on the fringes of personal life, but rather as a ‘dynamic entity constantly seeping into the subject’s psyche’ and shaping his or her behaviour. Cultural biography thus illuminates not only the subject’s life but also national history. Cultural biography is based on the idea that human beings have a dialogical relationship with various aspects of their historical surroundings including politics, society, literature, music, science, and religion. It is the special task of the cultural biographer to explore this relationship, paying attention to the three key concepts of reflection, transcendence and impact, in what Reynolds describes as a ‘distinctly Emersonian approach’.<sup>50</sup>

Reynolds’ method of cultural biography is largely followed in this thesis as the extent to which Garin reflected his era, the ways in which he transcended his era – why he merits a biography – and the impact he had on his era are discussed. To begin with reflection, in Emerson’s series of biographical essays *Representative Men*, he, according to Reynolds, tried to remove several from historical vacuums by revealing their proximity to the times in which they lived, or the ways in which they reflected their era.<sup>51</sup> With reference to Garin, this thesis reveals to what extent Garin’s decision to become a priest and missionary reflected the political and social climate of post-Revolution Lyon. It is suggested that a person’s motivation and thought can reflect their historical environment, which leads to a number of questions. Can a person really be described as an amalgam of social and political currents? If a person reflects their era, why do we

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<sup>50</sup> David S. Reynolds, ‘Cultural Biography: Reflection, Transcendence, and Impact’, *Biography and Source Studies*, 7 (2003), 83-99 (pp. 85-86).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

isolate someone like Garin from the rest of humanity? There needs to be something that marks a person as special and worthy of a biography. These questions are answered by what Reynolds describes as the second interest of the cultural biographer: transcendence. Reynolds notes Emerson's idea that the 'representative' human being mirrors the social environment while at the same time remaining unique, thus transcending their era.<sup>52</sup> In this thesis, the ways in which Garin was unique as a missionary and parish priest, and the reasons that he was unique, or the particular combination of personality traits, formation and cultural factors that led Garin to achieve as he was able to, are considered in some depth. The third concern of cultural biography, impact, Reynolds sees as reflecting Emerson's belief in the social repercussions of self-reliant individualism. Reynolds' notion of cultural biography thus pays heed to the idea that, despite the criticisms levelled in recent times against the great man theory of history, a man can have an impact on his times and not all history can be reduced to the effects of vast impersonal forces. Reynolds believes that a subject's impact will typically extend beyond their death.<sup>53</sup> In fact, in a discussion of how to measure an individual's significance, Hempenstall suggests that the fact that his subject, Bishop Burgmann, had been remembered over time by what he termed a 'band of disciples' across Australia was perhaps the clearest sign of Burgmann's impact (p. xi). With reference to Garin, both the more immediate impact of Garin's work on his local communities as well as his enduring legacy in Nelson is discussed.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-96.

The ‘life and times’ biography was once described by Keith Sinclair as ‘a bastard form of literature.’<sup>54</sup> Rather than seeing this as negative, Reynolds perceives this as a positive feature of cultural biography: cultural biography offers unique rewards precisely because of its relevance to more than one academic discipline.<sup>55</sup> What is more, cultural biography provides answers to some of the criticisms regarding biography more generally. Biographies set in social context acknowledge the influence of both individual and social forces. Cultural biography would seem to be Pimlott’s ‘character-in-an-environment’ taken to its logical conclusion.

## **Representational Considerations**

The biographer’s own experience and personal make-up will inevitably shape the way in which he or she represents the biography subject. Biography critics have variously debated the advantages and disadvantages of identification and detachment. In his discussion of the topic, Friedson identifies the major representational challenges of the biographer as gender, culture and social milieu (pp. xii-xvi).

There is very little discussion in the biography literature of the particular challenge for women of writing a biography of a man. Gittings considers that women biographers have been particularly adept at disentangling the ‘mixed-up masculine heroes’ of the British nineteenth-century, but brushes aside any

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<sup>54</sup> Keith Sinclair, ‘Political Biography in New Zealand’, in *Biography in New Zealand*, ed. by Jock Phillips (Wellington: Allen & Unwin and Port Nicholson Press in association with the Stout Research Centre, 1985), pp. 30-36 (p. 32).

<sup>55</sup> ‘Cultural Biography’, p. 97.



discussion of the low representation of women as biographers (pp. 89-91). Bakscheider believes that the differences between male and female biographers are much smaller than the similarities, and in some cases even insignificant (p. 141). Probably the most astute comments have come from feminist critics, such as biographer Rachel Gutiérrez, who has discussed the cross-gender issue from the perspective of men writing on women subjects. Gutiérrez suggests that a cross-gender biographer has to realise that they will ‘sail into uncharted waters’, but that insight can result from a deep study of and full commitment to the subject.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, the cultural biography approach is particularly fruitful for dealing with issues of representation, requiring as complete as possible a study of the subject’s lived contexts. In Garin’s case, these lived contexts have included his French, rural, bourgeois background and his role as a missionary, which needed to be represented to a predominantly Anglo-Saxon, secular audience.

Michael King once witheringly said that the idea that only insiders should write about members of their own sex, race and culture is the kind of auto-hagiography practised by Sir Robert Muldoon, though he did not extend his categories to include religion.<sup>57</sup> There has been a tendency in analyses of the missionaries to either idolise or outrightly condemn them. In recent times, the former has seemed more likely to occur when the work was undertaken by a fellow religious or family member, the latter when a historian was responsible. While the non-religious cannot be party to the same insider information on what

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<sup>56</sup> Rachel Gutiérrez, ‘What Is a Feminist Biography?’ in *All Sides of the Subject: Women and Biography*, ed. by Teresa Iles (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992), pp. 48-55 (p. 53).

<sup>57</sup> Michael King, ‘Political Biography: A Commentary’, in *Biography in New Zealand*, ed. by Phillips, pp. 36-39 (p. 37).

happens in a particular religious community, for a religious biographer there must be inevitable pressures to write a hagiography. An outsider has to simply provide some explanation and make sense of what he or she sees.

James Clifford speaking of his experience as biographer of Maurice Leenhardt candidly admitted that his book was a sympathetic, though not uncritical, depiction of the man.<sup>58</sup> Here, the way that Garin is represented was affected by various historical and sociological influences, such as my being female, and my non-religious, Anglo-Saxon background. I sought objectivity. However, after years of working closely with Garin, and gaining admiration for him, it was inevitable that this too would be a sympathetic, though not uncritical, depiction of the man.

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<sup>58</sup> *Person and Myth*, p. 6.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **HYBRIDITY AND DIASPORA**

Garin's story belongs to the history of nineteenth-century colonialism, empire and mass migration. The ambivalences that undo the hegemonic discourse of the West in the colonial encounter are highlighted well by the records of missionaries such as Garin. The missionaries, as both porters of the message of Christ and harbingers of Western European civilisation, were doubly convinced of their mission in the Orient – their presence was preordained not only by the country that they represented but by God himself. And yet, not all missionaries remained unaffected by their encounter with the Oriental Other. Some questioned the validity of their mission with their superiors, and there are examples of missionaries who resigned from the Church to pursue relations with local women or to live the life of a colonial settler. While Garin remained faithful to his role and missionary society, he too was affected both by his encounter with Maori and his encounter with the British settlers.

This chapter assesses the potential of the postcolonial theories of hybridity and diaspora for informing the account of Garin's experience with Maori in Kororareka and Mangakahia, and with the British settlers in Howick and Nelson. It considers the contentious nature of hybridity and diaspora as concepts in addition to their relevance to New Zealand and to Garin's particular circumstances, and concludes with a short discussion of the impact of migration. A biography of a French Marist missionary in New Zealand must also give attention to the early Marists' anomalous position in New Zealand society, where

they were neither coloniser nor colonised, and the impact that this position had on their apostolate.

## **Hybridity**

### *Defining Hybridity*

The collapse of confidence in foundational categories such as class, race and nation that occurred in the 1980s, which was accompanied by the emergence of poststructuralism and postmodernism, also saw the establishment of another ‘post-ism’ relevant to this thesis: postcolonialism. As a body of theory, postcolonialism seeks a postnational reading of the colonial encounter with its focus on the global amalgam of cultures consolidated by imperialism. From the time of Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, there has been a shift from essentialist positions to a position that recognises the complexities of the colonial encounter.<sup>1</sup> While postcolonialism uses a variety of concepts to examine the entangled relationships between coloniser and colonised, the terms ‘hybridity’ and ‘diaspora’ are particularly important for their ‘analytic versatility and theoretical resilience.’<sup>2</sup>

Hybridity, one of the most widely-used terms in postcolonial theory, commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms in the contact zone that is typically produced by colonisation. Linguistic examples of hybridity, including pidgin and creole, echo the foundational use of the term in semiotics by

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<sup>1</sup> Vincent O’Malley and John Hutton, *The Nature and Extent of Contact and Adaptation in Northland, c. 1769-1840* (Wellington, Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 2007), pp. 40-41.

<sup>2</sup> Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (St Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1998), p. 129.

linguist and cultural theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, who used it to suggest the transfiguring power of multivocal language situations and narratives.<sup>3</sup> While other cultural theorists have explored Bakhtin's idea, relating it to present-day cultural outputs in the postcolonial world such as the music and language of Asian and African-Caribbean diasporic groups, it is Homi K. Bhabha's focus on the narratives of cultural imperialism that has particular relevance to this thesis.

In his seminal book *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha uses Bakhtin's notion of the subversive force of hybridity to discuss the ambivalence in the colonial encounter, giving a new twist to the meaning of the term. Bhabha explains that, 'If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the *production* of hybridisation rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs.'<sup>4</sup> The new hybrid identity emerging from the interweaving of elements of the coloniser and colonised challenges the validity of essentialist descriptions of cultural identity. Hybridity thus alters the authority of power in the colonial context, stressing the interdependence of coloniser and colonised. The relationship is ambivalent because the colonised subject is never simply and completely opposed to the coloniser: complicity and resistance can exist within the same colonial subject.<sup>5</sup> Bhabha states that he has made the Third Space of enunciation the precondition for the articulation of cultural difference – a place where an *international* culture can be conceptualised that is not based on the exoticism of

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<sup>3</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, pp. 12-13.

the multicultural or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the articulation of culture's *hybridity* (p. 38).

Bhabha's hybridity takes many forms, including cultural, political and linguistic, and hybridity as a theory thus has relevance to a number of different disciplines. Writing from the perspective of a literary theorist, M.L. Pratt extends Bhabha's analysis to argue that the coloniser as much as the colonised is implicated in the transcultural dynamics of the colonial encounter (p. 6). Pratt sees the colonial encounter as requiring a novel form of cross-communication between speakers of different ideological and cultural languages, and suggests that this need for interaction within very asymmetrical conditions of power invariably produces a mutual creolisation of identities (p. 7).

### *Debating Hybridity*

As Angela Wanhalla notes, over the past decade historical scholarship on colonialism has been characterised by an emphasis on multiplicity and diversity. There has been a recasting of the traditional imperialist mould to include questions of indigenous agency. Colonial encounters have been re-represented as dialectal in nature, involving interactions that were contested and negotiated.<sup>6</sup> It is now taken as a given that in any encounter situation both cultures influenced each other, whether just at the pragmatic level of modifying behaviours in order to facilitate trade, or at a more profound level where ideas and thought systems

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<sup>6</sup> Angela Wanhalla, 'My Piece of Land at Taieri: Boundary Formation and Contestation at the Taieri Native Reserve, 1844-1868', *NZJH*, 41 (2007), 45-61 (p. 45).

might be absorbed into the cultural framework of the other group.<sup>7</sup> This would suggest the relevance of concepts like hybridity and transculturation to historical practice.

Hybridity's potential in the interpretation of the colonial encounter and in understanding the postcolonial present has been vociferously debated by cultural studies theorists and postcolonial critics. As Nikos Papastergiadis notes, most discussions of hybridity in the 1990s focused on its potential for inclusivity. Hybridity acknowledges that identity is constructed through the negotiation of difference, and that the presence of gaps and contradictions in the 'Third Space of enunciation', where other elements are encountering and transforming each other, is not necessarily a sign of failure.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, what may be at issue is the similarity of cultural elements rather than their differences.<sup>9</sup> Concepts such as Pratt's 'contact zone', or Bhabha's 'Third Space of enunciation', restore agency to colonised peoples for their focus on the mutuality of the encounter, or the transformation in identities that occurred for both coloniser and colonised. It is for this reason that the hybridised nature of postcolonial culture has for the most part been seen as a strength rather than a weakness: it is not a case of the oppressor obliterating the oppressed or the coloniser silencing the colonised. It is the mixing of cultures and not their separateness that is emphasised, a mixing that involved transformations for the coloniser just as it did for the colonised.

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<sup>7</sup> O'Malley and Hutton, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Nikos Papastergiadis, 'Tracing Hybridity in Theory', in *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, ed. by Pnina Werbner and Tariq Modood (London: Zed Books, 1997), pp. 257-81 (p. 258).

<sup>9</sup> Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization & Culture: Global Mélange* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), p. 80.

Leela Gandhi believes the proposal for a non-violent reading of the colonial past through emphasis on the mutual transformation of coloniser and colonised to be ‘salutary’ (p. 140), though she is concerned that hybridity should not be seen as the only ‘enlightened’ response to racial and colonial oppression (p. 136). However, she notes that oppositional colonial theory, which seeks to posit invader and local people as implacable enemies, cannot help to explain the colonised’s compulsion to turn a voyeuristic gaze upon Europe (p. 11). Bhabha’s theory of hybridity, on the other hand, acknowledges the ambivalence of the relationship between coloniser and colonised, while not ignoring the asymmetrical distribution of power that existed within such relationships. Another theorist, Robert Young, emphasises the potential of hybridity as conceived by Bhabha to reverse the structures of domination in the colonial situation. He sees ‘Bakhtin’s intentional hybrid [...] transformed by Bhabha into an active moment of challenge and resistance against a dominant colonial power [...] depriving the imperialist culture, not only of the authority that it has for so long imposed politically, [...] but even of its own claims to authenticity.’<sup>10</sup> According to Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, theories of the hybrid nature of postcolonial culture thus propose a different model for resistance in comparison to the assertions of national culture and pre-colonial traditions which played an important role in creating anti-colonial discourse, for their location of resistance in the subversive counter-discursive practices implicit in the colonial ambivalence itself.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, p. 121.



Despite its apparent potential, hybridity remains a highly contested term. Hybridity's history in biology and syncretism, as explained in Young's seminal book on the subject, has no doubt been a factor: in the nineteenth century a 'hybrid' or person of mixed race was considered an aberration, reflecting the concern at that time for racial purity. The use of the term hybridity today leads to questions about the ways in which contemporary thinking has broken absolutely with the racialised formulae of the past (p. 6). Cultural theorists such as Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall have made efforts to distinguish their use of hybridity from its dubious precedents; they assert that the term cannot be discounted on this basis unless the consequences of the association are unacceptable.<sup>12</sup> However, the term's chequered past could help to explain why it has yet to be appropriated by any particular discourse, and the quarrels on the direction in which it should progress. Young notes that by 'deconstructing such essentialist notions of race today we may rather be repeating the past than distancing ourselves from it, or providing a critique of it' (p. 27).

One of hybridity's most fervent critics is British cultural theorist John Hutnyk, who argues that hybridity is politically void and does not address the fundamental inequalities in the postcolonial world. For Hutnyk, while terms such as the fashionable 'hybridity' and 'diaspora' have in many ways broken new ground and forced reappraisals, systems of oppression have remained intact.<sup>13</sup> In noting hybridity's implication of a notion of purity, or pre-hybrid cultures, which he sees as inadequately addressed by the insistence that all cultures are hybrid in

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<sup>12</sup> Virinder S. Kalra, Raminder Kaur and John Hutnyk, *Diaspora & Hybridity* (London: Sage, 2005), p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> John Hutnyk, 'Adorno at Womad: South Asian Crossovers and the Limits of Hybridity-Talk', in *Debating Cultural Hybridity*, ed. by Werbner and Modood, pp. 106-36 (p. 119).

which case hybridity is everywhere and irreducible, Hutnyk asserts that hybridity is a 'rhetorical cul-de-sac' which trivialises Black political activity. Theorising hybridity has taken the impetus from the fight against racism of the 1970s and 1980s and has become an excuse for ignoring the sharper issues (p. 122).

But perhaps the essential task of a theory is to explain, rather than to politicise. In a more recent work, Hutnyk extends his analysis to include the settler societies, where, he believes, an examination of openness fostered by hybridity theory does little to undo exploitation and inequality, and even occludes colonialism as understood from the colonised's viewpoint.<sup>14</sup> As Leela Gandhi notes, celebrations of hybridity generally refer to the destabilising of colonised culture (p. 136). This will not, however, be the case in this thesis, which is as interested in the effects of hybridity on Garin as missionary, as it is in the effects of Garin's presence on local Maori.

Hutnyk also points out a crucial flaw with the hybridity argument: that it is a 'usefully slippery category' (p. 70) with such loose boundaries that it can be easily bowdlerised (p. 84). This is a general critique. Gayatri Spivak considers hybridity 'so macrological that it cannot account for the micrological texture of power', while Aijaz Ahmad concurs that cultural hybridity is so 'vacuous a notion' that all sense of specificity is lost in favour of an eternal and globalised present. Ahmad asks, 'Into whose culture is one to be hybridised, and on whose terms?'<sup>15</sup> In a work specifically dealing with the contrast of global and local

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<sup>14</sup> Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk, pp. 98-100.

<sup>15</sup> Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 66-111 (p. 74); Aijaz Ahmad, 'The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality', *Race & Class*, 36.3 (January-March 1995), 1-20, (p. 17).

approaches, Nicholas Thomas posits the idea that postcolonial analysis cannot be applied equally for Asian, African, American and Pacific Islander, for metropolitan, settler, indigenous and diasporic subjects. Only localised theories and historically-specific accounts can provide insight into colonising and counter-colonial representation practices.<sup>16</sup> Thomas supports the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his interest in located subjectivities, which situates colonial representations and narratives in terms of agents, locations and periods, and provides a far more differentiated vision of colonialisms (pp. 8-9). Jan Nederveen Pieterse, a great supporter of the hybridity concept, agrees that hybridity may conceal asymmetry and unevenness of power between the elements involved in the mixing if distinctions are not made between different times, patterns, types and styles of mixing (p. 53). He therefore suggests that a focus on hybridity will be more productive in studies of the local, lending considerable justification to this thesis, though he stresses the importance of considering the interplay of the global and the local (p. 47). Nederveen Pieterse also adds substantial weight to the argument for hybridity with his view that hybridity is so deeply rooted in our history that it is rather our fetish for boundaries that is problematic (p. 88). While mixing has been intrinsic to the evolution of the human race as evidenced by the spread of technologies, languages and religion in prehistory (pp. 100-01), gender, class, race, territorial, and national boundaries have remained a dominant idea, and the contemporary acknowledgement of mixture in origins and lineages indicates a

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<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell, 1994), p. ix.

fundamental change in consciousness that should not be regarded trivially (pp. 94-95).

### *Hybridity and New Zealand*

The notion of hybridity is pertinent to analysing New Zealand's colonial history. Hybridity insists on the agency of both coloniser and colonised and hence rejects conventional binarisms. Its emphasis on the new cultural forms that were produced in 'Old New Zealand' well reflects the hybrid world of cross-cultural accommodation that eventually gave way to Pakeha domination from the 1860s, but whose influence still gives New Zealand its unique identity today.

Emphasis on native agency is increasingly becoming a feature of New Zealand historical publication, in a backlash against the idea of 'fatal impact'. James Belich, for instance, sees Maori as engaging with Europe with courage and perceptiveness, exploiting a 'technologically-formidable Europe' that thought it was exploiting them; in effect, he says, Maori 'converted conversion, limited conquest and defied fatal impact'.<sup>17</sup> In a book based on a local case study of Hauraki Maori, Paul Monin documents the voluntary engagement of Hauraki Maori in encounters with Europeans, with an eye to securing material benefits and advantage over rival tribes. Monin points out that historical interpretations that liberally discuss European 'impacts' overlook the complexity of the situation, for, in reality, interaction outweighed confrontation. Moreover, the emphasis on bilateral outcomes rather than unilateral impacts and a 'dual agency' view of

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<sup>17</sup> *Making Peoples*, pp. 154, 270.

settlement history does not equate to an assertion that each party had an equally powerful role: the balance of power changed over time.<sup>18</sup> Details about the ‘fluidity’ of early contact situations, such as that in New Zealand in the early nineteenth century, need to be viewed as part of a wider history which also takes into account the losses Maori suffered in the later part of the century, which reduced them to ‘a social and political minority.’<sup>19</sup> According to Kerry Howe, in contrast to most other Pacific Islands, New Zealand (and Hawaii) experienced overwhelming settlement, and, consequently, ‘victim’ interpretations remain far more common even in postcolonial history.<sup>20</sup>

A study of the application of the hybridity concept in New Zealand’s case reveals a number of examples of use in recent times, though hybridity has not been as enthusiastically seized upon here as it has in some other postcolonial contexts. John Hutton has examined Richard White’s concept of cultural negotiation in the ‘middle ground’, which he sees as applicable to a window of Maori-European contact from the time of permanent European settlement in Northland until the 1860s.<sup>21</sup> In a postcolonial analysis of two nineteenth-century Pacific texts, Michael Reilly applies the idea of the middle ground to New Zealand in the 1840s. Reilly’s analysis of the journal of Hokianga settler John White highlights the hybrid state in which coloniser and colonised lived, in a colonial society that was neither wholly European nor Maori. The journal

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<sup>18</sup> Paul Monin, *This Is my Place: Hauraki Contested, 1769-1875* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 2-4.

<sup>19</sup> O’Malley and Hutton, p. 50.

<sup>20</sup> K.R. Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History: The ‘Knowing’ of Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000), p. 78.

<sup>21</sup> O’Malley and Hutton, pp. 50-52.

provides evidence of the cultural accommodation that took place at the time in areas such as language, literacy and knowledge, and religious beliefs, and highlights the ambivalences in White's own representation of his identity, including his desire to be represented as Maori and his conflicted longings for England.<sup>22</sup> In her study of native reserves, Wanhalla similarly links hybridity to the recent emphasis in New Zealand historiography on indigenous agency and the dialectal nature of the colonial encounter (p. 45). Wanhalla posits native reserves as Bhabha's Third Space and challenges the limiting nature of borders, boundaries and frontiers (p. 46). Meanwhile, with regard to the postcolonial present, Paul Meredith has celebrated the possibilities of hybridity for formulating a cultural politics that is no longer contested around the binary of Maori and Pakeha, but is based on inclusionary, rather than exclusionary, and multi-faceted, rather than dualistic, patterns of cultural exchange.<sup>23</sup> There are thus precedents for applying the hybridity concept to New Zealand.

### *Hybridity and Garin*

Wanhalla notes that her study of native reserves offers the opportunity to question the ways in which postcolonial theories of identity play out in a localised context, recognising the ways in which colonialism was 'made through direct contacts and local interactions' and not only at a global level.<sup>24</sup> Helen Tiffin suggests that there

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<sup>22</sup> Michael Reilly, 'Secret Writers in Foreign Lands: John White and William Wyatt Gill', *NZJH*, 34 (2000), 34-46.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Meredith, 'Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-Cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *He Pukenga Korero*, 4 (2) (1999), 12-16.

<sup>24</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art, Colonial Culture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), p. 9, cited in Wanhalla, p. 46.

has been a general change in approach in postcolonial studies. The development of a closer relationship with anthropology and history has sharpened the trend towards located and specific studies, or case-based arguments that depend on detailed historical or anthropological research into particular periods and peoples.<sup>25</sup> For this thesis, Garin's diary provides a special opportunity for delving into the details of life in a Maori community in the post-Treaty period of limited European settlement: it is an account of actual social relations, in which there was much border crossing.

The fact that the diary of Garin, a missionary who formed part of the nineteenth-century 'civilising mission', reveals signs of transculturation and hybridity is an affirmation of the usefulness of the terms: this is transculturation found where one might least expect it, in the records of a person whose purpose was to teach their own belief system to another culture. Indeed, religion itself was a possible site for hybridity. Pragmatically-minded missionaries realised that the road to conversion was more likely to be opened by the absorption of indigenous beliefs into Christian practices rather than a total abandonment of them. Syncretism, or the fusion of two distinct religions, could also mean the incorporation of Christianity into native religions. Of course, hybridity could occur both ways: some missionaries began to tolerate, and even participate in, practices which the Church would have normally deemed pagan. Others saw this hybridity as the failure for one system to fully assimilate the other.<sup>26</sup> As Anna

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<sup>25</sup> Helen Tiffin, 'Introduction', in *Post-Colonial Literatures in English: General, Theoretical, and Comparative 1970-1993*, ed. by Alan Lawson and others (New York: G.K. Hall; London: Prentice Hall International, 1997), pp. ix-xxiii (pp. xxi-xxii).

<sup>26</sup> Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization, and Hybridity* (Cambridge: Polity Press; Malden: Blackwell, 2000), p. 126.

Johnston notes, missionary activity calls into question simple hegemonic assumptions about colonial history and evangelisation, and highlights the complexity of colonial interactions (p. 31).

In arguing for the usefulness of hybridity in retelling the story of early contact, this thesis assesses to what extent Garin was a transculturator, ‘producing European knowledges infiltrated by non-European ones’.<sup>27</sup> It asks, within the bounds of the missionary to native relationship, to what extent did Maori inscribe themselves on him and he on them? Garin was the ‘European self [who] may be a knowing subject, but also an object of indigenous knowledge and appropriation’.<sup>28</sup>

## **Diaspora**

A limitation of hybridity is its place as a discourse of marginality, used primarily in analysing the transcultural forms found at the site of colonisation, or among marginalised populations in today’s postcolonial world. Thus hybridity is limited as a tool of analysis for the totality of Garin’s experiences in New Zealand, particularly since his missionary experience with Maori was followed by a significant period of ministering to European parishes. The related theory of diaspora, on the other hand, has a wider scope and some relevance to the settlers with whom Garin worked, as well as to Garin’s own experience as a Catholic missionary in a British colony.

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<sup>27</sup> Pratt, p. 135.

<sup>28</sup> Jonathan Lamb, ‘Introduction’, in *Exploration & Exchange: A South Seas Anthology 1680-1900*, ed. by Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith and Nicholas Thomas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. xiii-xxv (p. xx).



Diaspora studies as a discipline conceptualises the dispersions of populations across various geographical locations, and is emerging as a cutting-edge area of research, alongside transnationalism, globalisation and postcoloniality.<sup>29</sup> The term ‘diaspora’ is used by different ethnic groups whose common bond consists in their earlier migration to a foreign place where they have established a separate community.<sup>30</sup> It was classically used to refer to the dispersal of the Jews, and was adopted subsequently by other groups suffering dispossession, alienation and exile. However, in recent times the association with collective trauma has lessened so that today the term can be a synonym for a dispersal of people, a community living outside of the homeland, ethnic minorities, and even the act of migration itself. A number of scholars have attempted to define what constitutes a diaspora, including William Safran, James Clifford, Khachig Tölölyan and Robin Cohen, though it appears to be a term that resists precise definition because of the diversity of migration experiences.<sup>31</sup> Cohen’s definition is the most pertinent here, as the categories of diaspora he has created include imperial diasporas.

Cohen sees the diaspora as being formed either by dispersal from an original homeland, corresponding to victim diasporas, or, alternatively, as expansion from a homeland in search of work, to pursue trade, or to further colonial ambitions.<sup>32</sup> This second category refers to the ethnic groups that

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<sup>29</sup> Hua, p. 191.

<sup>30</sup> Monika Fludernik, ‘The Diasporic Imaginary: Postcolonial Reconfigurations in the Context of Multiculturalism’, in *Diaspora and Multiculturalism: Common Traditions and New Developments*, ed. by Monika Fludernik (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp. xi-xxxviii (p. xi).

<sup>31</sup> Malcolm Campbell, ‘Diasporas’, *NZJH*, 37 (2003), 125-29 (p. 125).

<sup>32</sup> Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: UCL Press, 1997), pp. 180-84.

dispersed overseas as part of a colonial project. As Monika Fludernik notes, these groups differ widely from more traditional diasporas in that they belong to the conquering nation and wield great political, military and economic power, as well as dominating the cultural realm (p. xii). Following this line of argument, Fludernik suggests that the eighteenth and nineteenth-century American settlers were a British diaspora in North America, though they soon outnumbered the native tribes and immigrants from outside England (p. xiii).

Hutnyk asserts that turning the lens of diaspora onto the study of whiteness confronts issues of racial inequality by posing the question of why it is that the movements and settlements of people of colour have attracted so much attention in the literature on diaspora, and hybridity for that matter.<sup>33</sup> The absence of this topic only furthers the normalisation and supremacy of whiteness across much of the world. The overriding assumption is that diaspora applies to non-white migrant groups residing in the West, and hybridity is usually used to discuss the cultural output of these Asian and African-Caribbean diasporic groups. Whiteness only makes an appearance in discussions of those who do not quite fit into the Anglo-Saxon version of normality, such as the Jews and the people of the Mediterranean, whom Hutnyk describes as being of ‘secondary whiteness’.<sup>34</sup> The Irish are an example of the ‘white but not quite’ who have been commonly considered a diaspora, moving from a history of oppression to now finding themselves accommodated in ‘fields of whiteness’.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk, pp. 2-3.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 106-07.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

During his time of residence in Howick, from 1848 until 1850, Garin worked with predominantly Irish settlers, whose case historically falls within the scope of the diaspora experience. However, the community of Nelson as a Wakefield settlement town had a high representation of English, and Garin's Nelson flock, apart from being small, was notable for the presence of an extended family of prosperous English Catholics who had been the driving force behind securing a priest for Nelson. As the colonial power and dominant cultural force, English settlers do not belong to the traditional victim diasporas, though Hutnyk sees the potential of the diaspora theory to apply to them, at least for a time. He notes Les Back's description of long-term European migrants in the US, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand as the 'white diasporas of the New World',<sup>36</sup> and qualifies this with the assertion that at the point that the native people were dispersed or oppressed and the white diasporas became the rightful, albeit controversial owners of the land, the white diasporas then became 'indigenised' as 'native'. The diasporic trace of white migrants was thus erased, as they effectively constituted the model exemplar of the nation state.

Hutnyk adds that, following Cohen's argument that diasporas should not be about 'myths of return' alone, but should also allow for the creation of homelands, the British Empire could be seen as a kind of diaspora where there was a dispersal of British people around the colonies, having some kind of aspiration of return, and an awareness of other dispersed British people.<sup>37</sup> Regarding the use of the diaspora concept in New Zealand studies, since 2003

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<sup>36</sup> Vron Ware and Les Back, *Out of Whiteness: Color, Politics, and Culture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), p. 128, cited in Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk, p. 107.

<sup>37</sup> Kalra, Kaur and Hutnyk, pp. 113-15.

when Kerry Howe commented that it had become unfashionable to study Pakeha in frontier contexts, a number of works have been published on New Zealand's Irish and Scottish migrants by Angela McCarthy, Brad Patterson, and Lyndon Fraser among others. Crucially, an important book covering the experience of the English settlers in addition to the Irish and Scots has been recently released by Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn. Phillips and Hearn's work highlights the experience of individual settlers as opposed to the collective approach of traditional works on the English imperial enterprise, and is a vital contribution to the study of the English, Irish and Scots immigrants as diaspora, in the vein of Fludernik and Hutnyk. Rosalind McClean, in her study of the applicability of diaspora to British settlement overseas, with specific reference to New Zealand, has also suggested that diaspora studies offers a fruitful approach to recover individual stories of migration that have become lost in collective narratives.<sup>38</sup>

A major limitation of the concept of diaspora for this thesis is its establishment of territory as the fundamental base of culture. Diaspora as conceived today does not generally refer to an immigrant grouping based on other aspects of identity, such as religion. While Steven Vertovec provides an example of a diaspora expert content to use 'diaspora' to describe religions, in particular in his work on South Asians, Cohen sees world religions such as Christianity as 'cognate' phenomena to diasporas, rather than diasporic in themselves.<sup>39</sup> However, a comparison of Cohen's criteria for what constitutes a diaspora against

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<sup>38</sup> K.R. Howe, 'Two Worlds?' *NZJH*, 37 (2003), 50-61 (p. 52); Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland 1800-1945* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008); Rosalind McClean, "'How We Prepare Them in India': British Diasporic Imaginings and Migration to New Zealand", *NZJH*, 37 (2003), 131-51.

<sup>39</sup> *Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism*, ed. by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, The International Library of Studies on Migration, 9 (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 1999), p. xxvi.

the New Zealand Catholic community of the nineteenth century suggests that the diaspora concept could in fact apply beyond territorial borders. While not using the term 'diaspora', Phillips and Hearn suggest the possibility of analysing the wider impact of immigrants in New Zealand from the United Kingdom based on religious groupings, which, they say, survived beyond the original national groupings of English, Irish and Scots, whose different customs did not survive far into the second generation. According to Phillips and Hearn, one way of looking at culture in New Zealand at the end of the nineteenth century is to segment society according to four religious/ethnic divisions: the largely southern Irish Catholics, largely English Anglicans, the low-church Protestants who had a strong Scots component mixed with northern Irish Protestants and some English Protestants, especially Methodists, and the 'culturally-mixed blokes of the frontier' comprising the itinerant workers or goldminers, timber-fellers, shepherds and so on (pp. 182-84). However, as Phillips and Hearn earlier note, the proportion of Catholic Irish settlers in New Zealand was never very high (p. 176), and the Catholic settlers were in fact a more disparate group than these four divisions allow.

As Garin's Nelson congregation demonstrates, Catholics cut across a number of national boundaries. Garin's congregation was formed by a core of prosperous English Catholics and a remainder of disparate nationalities, from Irish to Scots, French, German and Italian. Could one then look at the possibility of the New Zealand Catholics as a diaspora? As a rule diasporas cross national borders, which should imply precisely that cultural practices are not solely tied to place. Nederveen Pieterse argues that many achievements routinely claimed by nations

have to a significant extent been the work of travellers – traders, migrants, slaves, pilgrims, missionaries – and that the world of nations has been interspersed all along with the world of diasporas (p. 33).

Cohen outlines nine criteria for a diaspora, some of which must apply for the diaspora to come into existence. As noted above, Cohen's first and second criteria are mutually exclusive, and the New Zealand Catholics would fall into the second category, that of migrants who have left their homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade, or to further colonial ambitions. Cohen's third criterion – 'a collective memory and myth about the homeland' (p. 184) – and fourth – an idealisation of the supposed ancestral home' (p. 185) – would seem to apply to all migrants. According to Fludernik, these features become functional when immigrants group together and establish cultural and religious centres that 're-activate native mythology'. Garin's parish community could be said to have re-activated European Catholicism, for example, with its focus on music and ceremony. As Fludernik notes, the fifth criterion, a return movement, is not relevant to all diasporas as there are other things a community can do, such as participating in the home country's politics, which signal more interest in a return than merely a general feeling of community (p. xv). Participation in homeland politics was notably present with the New Zealand Catholics, the most obvious example being that of the Irish.

Cohen's last four criteria have relevance to the New Zealand Catholics. The sixth, a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time (pp. 185-86), is particularly apposite to a religious group, especially a minority religious group like the Catholics in New Zealand, who had a sense of

distinctiveness. The seventh, ‘a troubled relationship with the host society’, also applies to the New Zealand Catholics: nineteenth-century New Zealand was rife with sectarianism and religious divisions were the site for clashes on a number of national issues, such as the education system. Cohen’s eighth criterion, ‘a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries’ (p. 186), was also true of the New Zealand Catholics: ties were strongest with Catholics in Australia but were also maintained with Catholics in Europe and America, thanks to the constant exchange of priests and the involvement of Europe-based religious societies in providing clergy and church infrastructure. This sense of empathy and solidarity was similarly fostered by the range of Catholic publications distributed worldwide or region-wide, such as *Freeman’s Journal* based in Sydney and the *New Zealand Tablet* based in Dunedin. Lastly, Cohen’s ninth criterion, ‘the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries’ (p. 187), would also appear relevant to the New Zealand colonial situation, where opportunities abounded for migrants in comparison to their experiences in Europe.

Therefore, while to date diaspora terminology has focused on ethnic immigrant groups, the concept has relevance for religious minorities which cut across nationality. The loosely-coined term ‘New Zealand Catholic diaspora’ is accordingly used in this thesis to reflect the collective immigrant experience of the Catholics of New Zealand. This term seems more appropriate given the eclectic backgrounds of the Catholics of Nelson, and the importance of the English Catholics in the Nelson parish, though the version ‘Irish Catholic diaspora’ would better fit the current prescriptions for diaspora.

Beyond issues of definition, diaspora theory encompasses many ideas, including identification and affiliation, homeland nostalgia, and exile and displacement. As Malcolm Campbell notes in the preface to a *New Zealand Journal of History* issue on diasporas, the fluid formulation of diasporic identity is critical to understanding the dynamic processes of community establishment (and disestablishment) that occurred within recipient nations (p. 126). This is the major difference between migration and diaspora studies, according to Rosalind McClean. As a field of enquiry, diaspora is concerned with the transmission and transformation of inter-generational identities and the reasons why, or why not, these identities are realised in community forms. The ‘raising of diasporic consciousness’ at a community level mimics nation-building, because it depends on a common understanding created through channels of communication, such as letters, books and newspapers, that do not necessarily depend on face-to-face contacts, although direct contacts in families, schools, churches and clubs are important too (p. 137). Diasporas are about perception: they are built on a shared belief in commonality. While McClean focuses on the diasporic consciousness produced by dislocation from a homeland, much of her discussion resonates with the Catholic experience. She notes, for example, that a shared myth of suffering (or marginalisation) can supply the dynamic for group politicisation, enabling groups to resist those processes of nation-state building that Benedict Anderson describes as the ‘erasure’ of difference.<sup>40</sup> An obvious example of this in Garin’s case is the establishment of Catholic schools as separate from the state system

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<sup>40</sup> Cohen, p. 23, cited in McClean, p. 138.



following the Education Act of 1877. Paul Gilroy encapsulated this idea of resistance with his notion of living ‘inside, with a difference’.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the study of diaspora offers an avenue for opening up national histories, thereby challenging the centrality of the nation in historical discourse. Citing Clifford, Campbell points out that ‘the nation-state, as common territory and time, is traversed and, to varying degrees, subverted by diasporic attachments’.<sup>42</sup> Exponents of diaspora typically wish to shift focus away from the centre, or the majority, on to the margins, or the minorities. Diaspora thus provides a conduit towards the world system framework that Peter Gibbons described when calling for a decentring of ‘New Zealand’ as a subject (p. 127).

## **Migration**

It is interesting to note the extent to which Garin’s position, as a Frenchman, a Catholic, and a missionary, is not discussed in the literature on diaspora. To begin, the French are little considered in Anglo-Saxon studies of diaspora, perhaps because of their status as a colonial power sitting apart from the Jewish and Mediterranean’s ‘secondary whiteness’ but not challenging the domination of the British Empire. Catholics are not considered a diaspora per se, as explained above, and missionaries are invisible as a category of travellers, their identity obscured by their priestly robes.

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<sup>41</sup> Paul Gilroy, *There Ain’t No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), cited in James Clifford, ‘Diasporas’, *Cultural Anthropology*, 9 (1994), 302-38 (p. 308).

<sup>42</sup> ‘Diasporas’, p. 307, cited in Campbell, p. 126.

However, Garin's position as a French Catholic priest was a part of his colonial experience that cannot be ignored. The late twentieth century saw an exponential increase in migration flows which has led to a new focus in the academic world on migration, both recent and past. As noted by Rosalind McClean, the human impact of migration can only be understood in historically-specific contexts (p. 137). During Garin's time in Nelson, which were years of near constant immigration (1850 to 1889), the settlers were overwhelmingly of British origin: according to Phillips and Hearn, over ninety percent of New Zealand's Pakeha came from the United Kingdom, rendering New Zealand society highly monocultural (p. 194). Phillips and Hearn also point out that the English had an influence in New Zealand that was greater than their numbers, because of the ruling positions they held and their overall majority status. When they established their own exclusive institutions, these became the ruling institutions for the whole society (p. 161). All other groupings were thus labelled with the status of minorities.

In his seminal work on travel, James Clifford describes the set of practices and attitudes that migrants bring to the new country as a 'habitus', which he feels is crucial to discussing diaspora cultures. What, Clifford asks, is brought from a prior place, and how is it maintained and transformed by the new environment?<sup>43</sup> According to Phillips and Hearn, during the earlier part of Garin's time in Nelson, first-generation immigrants largely retained their customs. Nineteenth-century New Zealand was a place where people were continuously aware of the different

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<sup>43</sup> James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 44.

ethnic and cultural origins that made up the settler community. There were different accents, religions, eating and drinking habits, death customs and holidays among the English, Scots and Irish, just as there were for the Dalmatians, Germans, French and so on (p. 179). Garin's habitus was significantly different from that of the British migrants, however, no matter how their accents, religions, and other customs might have differed from each other in that first generation. According to Clifford, memory of habitus is a crucial element in preserving a sense of integrity,<sup>44</sup> and a study of Garin's life reveals the extent to which he maintained this habitus. Garin never became the 'representative persona of the marooned, marginalised *dépaysé* out on the littoral of colonisation', which is how Jessie Munro has described another French Catholic priest in New Zealand, Jean-Marie Grange.<sup>45</sup>

Papastergiadis outlines the often-conflicted position of the migrant in *The Turbulence of Migration*. Migrants, being separated from their original homeland and also having few ties to their place of arrival, are placed in an ambiguous social position. Their loyalty to the local political culture is questioned, and exclusion from social networks and political institutions heightens their vulnerability (pp. 63-64). However, the outsider experience of migration can also present new opportunities for self-invention. Phillips and Hearn note that the act of migration often provided a moment when the migrant shook off older habits and looked to a new world that was worth going to precisely because it was

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<sup>44</sup> *Routes: Travel and Translation*, p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> Jessie Munro, 'Jean-Marie Grange, Clerc de Saint Viateur in New Zealand', in *Pacific Journeys: Essays in Honour of John Dunmore*, ed. by Glynnis M. Cropp and others (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005), pp. 107-23 (p. 120).

different (p. 158). This resonates with Garin's experience of retaining his French and Catholic outlook while adapting to the colonial society, where he was a respected figure in the predominantly English Protestant community of Nelson. The new country provided him with the opportunity to become the leader of a small community of Catholics and a voice on Catholic issues. Constructing communities as Garin did is, moreover, a vital part of the migrant experience. Papastergiadis concludes in *The Turbulence of Migration* that the need to construct communities is a deep and universal feature of the human condition (p. 196).

One last point to note on migration is expressed in Georg Simmel's essay on the stranger, which Papastergiadis describes as 'one of the most insightful accounts of the subjectivity of migrants'. According to Papastergiadis, Simmel's 'stranger' is someone who has come from elsewhere, whose language and practices are foreign, and who has a partial sense of attachment to the new society. Also, their historical presence challenges the basis for social integration. But most importantly, the stranger has 'contrary' perceptions which offer a different perspective from which to establish critical judgments.<sup>46</sup> This is one of the fundamental points of this thesis: Garin, as neither coloniser nor colonised, had a special perspective from which to view developments in New Zealand society over a long period of time, and kept a substantial written record of his experience in New Zealand.

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<sup>46</sup> Georg Simmel, 'The Stranger', in *The Sociology of George Simmel*, ed. by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), pp. 402-08, cited in Papastergiadis, *Turbulence of Migration*, p. 65.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **MISSIONARY THEORY**

Garin's ambiguous position in New Zealand society can only be fully understood through an appreciation of the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise. In New Zealand, and in the eyes of the British Protestant settlers, the Marist missionaries found themselves under attack on what Philip Turner describes as the double charge of being 'both sinful (Catholic) and subversive (French)'. In Turner's view, Bishop Pompallier formulated a policy in response to this situation, which was to claim both cultural and political neutrality. The Catholic missionaries were to evangelise independently of a European material culture, and were to avoid involvement in political affairs.<sup>1</sup> However, as recognised by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith or 'Propaganda Fide', the overseeing body of the Catholic missions which had originally devised the neutrality policy, putting the policy into practice sometimes involved a substantial amount of adaptation depending on local circumstances.<sup>2</sup> New Zealand was to be no exception.

This chapter discusses the questions of 'political neutrality', specifically the collusion between missions and empire in the nineteenth century, and 'cultural neutrality', or the extent to which the missions intended to be a civilising force for indigenous populations, with specific reference to French missionary efforts and

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<sup>1</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. v.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Goyau, *Missions et missionnaires* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1931), pp. 100-05.

the New Zealand situation. It attempts to describe the complexity of the historical dynamics of the missionary encounter, and to avoid reducing these dynamics to the traditional good missionary or bad missionary caricature. Critical historical studies of missionaries have therefore been sought. Although the chapter focuses on the Catholic missions, there is sometimes an unavoidable reliance on general or Protestant-related works in addition to Catholic-related works. This is due partly to the need for comparison between the Protestant and Catholic approaches, but mostly to the greater number of Protestant-related critical histories available. It seems that, as far as the Pacific is concerned, historians continue to be geared into the dynamics of the Protestant rather than the Catholic story.

### **History of the Catholic Missions**

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI divided the world into two halves, gifting one to the King of Spain and the other to the King of Portugal in return for their efforts in the diffusion of Christianity. This was done because of the Pope's concerns over the possible spread of Islam following the fall of the Crusades. The Spanish and Portuguese missionary efforts in the Americas and the Philippines were supplemented by those of France in the seventeenth century, when France moved into Canada and French missionaries were sent to evangelise the native Indians. French missions soon penetrated other continents with priests sent to China, Indochina and Madagascar. This led to the founding of the Paris Foreign Missions

Society and the establishment of a number of well-known French missionary orders, including the Jesuits and the Sulpicians.<sup>3</sup>

Earlier, during the Spanish and Portuguese duopoly in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Vatican had become concerned that Catholicism risked appearing as a national religion that accompanied its faithful on their conquests. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies were generally the sites for conflict between the colonising power on the one hand, and the religious orders who frequently sought to champion the rights of the indigenous peoples on the other. Seeing a need for the missionary endeavour to be autonomous and, in particular, to not be associated with colonisation, the Vatican sought to create an autonomous missionary congregation to oversee its foreign missions.<sup>4</sup> This culminated in the establishment of Propaganda Fide in 1622. In its instructions of 1659, Propaganda laid down the foundations of the Catholic missionary approach:

Tenez-vous toujours si loin des choses politiques et des affaires de l'État, que vous évitiez de prendre l'administration des choses civiles [...] Si parfois les princes ont requis vos conseils, alors, mais seulement si vous avez été fréquemment sollicités, et après avoir allégué la prohibition que nous vous avons faite, vous donnerez des conseils qui soient loyaux, et justes [...] mais bientôt quittez le palais et la cour [...] affectez une complète ignorance des choses politiques et une complète inaptitude à l'administration civile, afin qu'avec leur propre agrément, vous sortiez le plus vite possible d'un lieu plein de périls.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Georges Goyau, *La France missionnaire dans les cinq parties du monde* (Paris: Société de l'histoire nationale; Plon, 1948), pp. 8-10.

<sup>4</sup> Goyau, *Missions et missionnaires*, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

Propaganda did not want there to be any suspicion that its missionaries were acting as foreign agents, and advised them: ‘N’allez en aucune façon semer dans ces pays des germes de faction, ou espagnole, ou française, ou turque, ou persane ; bien au contraire, autant qu’il est en votre pouvoir, supprimez radicalement toutes les disputes de ce genre.’<sup>6</sup>

Propaganda was similarly concerned that its missionaries should only seek the spiritual well-being of their followers. Christianity would accommodate their followers’ form of civilisation and customs so long as these were compatible with ‘nature’. Propaganda strongly advised the missionaries to not seek to Europeanise indigenous populations:

Gardez-vous de tout effort, et de tout conseil à ces peuples, pour leur faire changer leurs rites, leurs coutumes et leurs mœurs, pourvu qu’elles ne soient pas très ouvertement contraires à la religion et aux bonnes mœurs. En effet, quoi de plus absurde que d’introduire chez les Chinois la France, l’Espagne ou l’Italie, ou quelque autre patrie de l’Europe ? Ce n’est pas cela que vous devez introduire, c’est la foi [...] Aussi ne comparez jamais les usages de ces peuples avec les usages européens, bien au contraire, habituez-vous-y avec une grande diligence.<sup>7</sup>

Indigenous customs that contravened nature were not to be judged and immediately condemned, but rather slowly and imperceptibly eradicated. Thus from the mid-seventeenth century Catholic missions had well-defined general lines of conduct, which were a kind of code of adaptation: missionaries were to

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 96-97.



learn the customs of the indigenous peoples as well as their languages, and to use the native language for catechism.<sup>8</sup>

Despite a strong tradition of Catholic missionary enterprise during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the end of the eighteenth century saw a decisive change on two counts. Following upon the voyages of James Cook which brought the Pacific to the attention of Europe in the 1770s, Protestant missionary efforts took centre stage as the Catholic missions languished in response to the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 and the disruptions of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era.<sup>9</sup> Religious houses and seminaries were closed in most parts of Europe, and Propaganda's work was disrupted for many years. In addition, unlike the earlier work in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the missionary frontier began to run ahead of empire, a prime example being the missionaries in the Pacific who for the most part moved beyond the frontiers of European settlement.<sup>10</sup>

When the Society of Jesus was officially reconstituted in 1814 and Catholic missionary efforts began to be revived, they had a distinctly French component. In 1822 Lyon saw the foundation of a fund-gathering association known as L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, which was to spread through the Catholic world and provide the financial backing for the new missionary movement that was developing.<sup>11</sup> In the nineteenth century France proved itself

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>9</sup> John Hosie, *Challenge, the Marists in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Niel Gunson, 'Missionary Interest in British Expansion in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Religious History*, 3 (1965), 296-313 (p. 298).

<sup>11</sup> Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa: 1450-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 248.

the Catholic missionary nation par excellence, with its missionary societies, including many newly-formed societies like the Marists, taking the faith far beyond the territories France acquired as a colonising nation. According to Catholic mission historian Georges Goyau, Rome judged that French missionaries made up approximately two-thirds of the active Catholic missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

## **Missions and Empire**

### *Overview*

While during the nineteenth century missionaries were for the most part celebrated as the bearers of Christianity and European civilisation to the world, this view had given way by the middle of the twentieth century to general vilification. As Helen Gardner explains, a growing awareness of the political and cultural oppression symptomatic of many colonial regimes and the increasing secularisation of European societies led to the condemnation of the missionaries for preaching a faith that most Europeans had rejected, and which neo-Marxists believed had prepared converts for the hegemony of empire. The missionaries were judged guilty of instigating colonialism (p. 12).

Such views continue to find currency. Anna Johnston notes that historians are generally critical of the missionaries, whose actions they consider to have been ‘culturally insensitive and destructive’. Johnston herself believes that nineteenth-century missionaries were highly conscious of the nature of their

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<sup>12</sup> *La France missionnaire*, pp. 11-12.

evangelical projects, and that evangelisation sought to contribute to imperial ideology (p. 2). For Gardner, missionaries to the Pacific were always involved in questions of governance, protection and annexation, usually because of competition among the European powers for political or religious influence in the fields of mission. In the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, Evangelical missionaries viewed the annexation of a Pacific territory as a necessary evil if it curtailed the ambitions of Catholic France and the influence of undesirable European beachcombers on local converts (pp. 89-90).

Many recent missionary works, on the other hand, have attempted to step beyond a simple analogy with imperialism and to show the complexities of the relationship between missions and empire. Jean and John Comaroff describe the relations of missionaries with other Europeans on the colonial stage in Africa as ambivalent, explaining that while some found common cause and cooperated openly with administrators and settlers, others ended up locked in battle with secular forces for the destiny of the continent (p. 10). In one of the most comprehensive – though Protestant-focused – works on missionary theory in recent times, Norman Etherington states that the generalisation that missionary activity always preceded colonisation is not borne out by the record of British colonisation. While it was common for missionaries to see the growth of the British Empire as intended by Providence for the conversion of the world to Christianity, and the promoters of empire to speak of the missions as partners in the work of spreading commerce and civilisation, relations between missionaries and the political and commercial agents of empire were generally fraught. Etherington cites Keith Hancock's conceptualisation of the expansion of a series

of overlapping frontiers: the traders' frontier, the settlers' frontier, the missionaries' frontier, and the officials' frontier. According to Etherington, Hancock could see better than most that missionaries were practically forced to assume the role of moral guardians, and were seldom popular with officials and traders and generally in conflict with white settlers.<sup>13</sup> The reliance of missions on private funding helps to explain the often tense relations between missionaries and imperial officials in particular (p. 15).

The collusion between missions and empire only really emerged as an issue with respect to the post-Revolution missionary drive, when some missions ran ahead of empire and were set up independently of royal or state patronage. John Barker has put forward a powerful, alternative argument regarding the missionaries of the early nineteenth century, who, he asserts, evangelised as guests of indigenous rulers and peoples, not as colonial agents. These missionaries usually operated far from the protection of their government and had to rely upon local populations for their security and for their basic material needs. Local leaders established the political limits of missionary penetration, while the Christian converts refashioned the new religion according to local beliefs and aspirations. Once material supplies ran out, the missionaries often found themselves in the precarious position of being 'at best tolerated' by their patrons. Barker uses New Zealand as an example of a mission field where the Christian community existed on local terms,<sup>14</sup> and of a Christian movement over which

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<sup>13</sup> Norman Etherington, 'Introduction', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Etherington, pp. 1-18 (p. 2); W.K. Hancock, *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937-42), cited in Etherington, 'Introduction', in *Missions and Empire*, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> John Barker, 'Where the Missionary Frontier Ran Ahead of Empire', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Etherington, pp. 86-106 (pp. 86-88).

European missionaries exercised only limited control, because of the rapid growth of indigenous (Maori) evangelism (p. 95).

Barker also supports Etherington's argument regarding the considerable ambivalence of the relationships between missionaries and other Europeans. Missionaries appreciated naval captains' visits for the companionship and aura of security they lent to the mission; missions also depended on ships for transportation, mail and provisions. Many naval captains welcomed the missionaries' presence as a force for good governance in the islands, and traders and settlers alike sought missionaries out for advice, medical care, assistance in negotiations with chiefs and so on. And yet, the missionaries' desire that the Islanders lead 'moral and useful lives' clashed with the desire of most other Europeans to find pleasure and profit in the Islanders and their resources (p. 101). Barker concludes that in the final analysis the missionaries had very limited political clout. They were not an arm of the State and their work did not in itself establish imperial claims or interests, as can be seen from the example of the LMS in Tahiti. In Barker's view, missionaries hoped that imperial expansion was a matter of Providence and thus mostly benevolent (p. 106).

### *The French Perspective*

Traditionally, France has been credited with the title of the great aggressor in the Pacific, the French missionaries with the dubious honour of having been in cahoots with their government from the beginning. With reference to the Pacific missions, Aarne Koskinen has provided one of the strongest arguments for the collusion between French missions and empire. In Koskinen's view, France

imagined that cooperation existed between British expansionist activities and the Protestant missions when it did not, and set in action a counter move of its own aimed at cooperation between the Catholic Church and French policy. Koskinen considered that the issuing of secret instructions by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs to naval commanders to carry missionaries to their destinations in men-of-war and to support their efforts removed all doubt of the nature of the July Monarchy's intentions.<sup>15</sup> No other country was as active as France in protecting its missionaries in the islands in the 1830s and 1840s (p. 169), and when Catholic missionaries arriving by merchant vessel were refused permission to land, they soon returned under the protection of the French flag (p. 171). Koskinen believed that the French were feared as a result, and their methods estranged the islanders (p. 175). In his study focused on the French missionaries in New Zealand, Philip Turner similarly viewed the missions as the 'spearhead of French imperial expansion', basing this assertion on a government memorandum stating missionaries to be 'l'un des plus sûrs garants de notre influence civilisatrice' and the best means of achieving a 'domination pacifique' over the peoples of the South Pacific.<sup>16</sup> Niel Gunson has meanwhile noted in his study of Evangelical missionaries that, apart from the differences in moral standards, one of the prime reasons that the majority of British missionaries in Tahiti put up such a strong resistance to the French was because they linked them with Catholic missions and

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<sup>15</sup> Aarne A. Koskinen, *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedekatemia, 1953), pp. 163-64.

<sup>16</sup> Vincennes, Service Historique de la Défense, Marine BB4 1012, Océanie. Dossier commun. Protection accordée aux missionnaires français dans les divers archipels de l'Océanie, Note sur les missions de l'Océanie, cited in 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 23

state control.<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, Garin himself wrote a letter to the Nelson newspaper *Colonist* defending the French missionaries against an article stating them to be ‘instruments used by the French Government to colonise the islands of the Pacific’. The article had originally appeared in the *Californian Chronicle*, signalling the depth of international feeling on the topic.<sup>18</sup> French Catholic missions were thus perceived by non-French at the time as being linked with French imperial expansion. But did this perception reflect the reality, or was it more a product of Protestant bias?

Recent French scholarship has attempted a re-examination of the French missionaries’ role in empire. Christian Huetz de Lemps, for example, sees the limited interest shown in Bishop Henri de Solages’ proposal for an extensive prefecture apostolic in the South Pacific as evidence that in the late 1820s the French Government was not seeking to use the missionary dynamic for political ends. Huetz de Lemps thereby contradicts Koskinen’s earlier assertion that a ‘union cordiale’ existed between French colonial politics and the Catholic mission at that time, though he does not discuss the post-1830 period.<sup>19</sup> Huetz de Lemps’ conclusion is also supported by a much earlier, comprehensive book on French expansion in the Pacific by Jean-Paul Faivre. Faivre explains that the failure of de Solages’ project for cooperation between the French Government and the Catholic Church was the result of a lack of interest from the French Navy and from missionary societies to staff de Solages’ prefecture apostolic. Likewise, the work

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<sup>17</sup> ‘Missionary Interest in British Expansion’, p. 302.

<sup>18</sup> Hear Both Sides [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 16 July 1858, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Christian Heutz de Lemps, ‘Le Retour de la France dans le Pacifique sous la Restauration (1815-1830)’, in *Pacific Journeys*, ed. by Cropp and others, pp. 82-96 (pp. 94-95); Koskinen, p. 161.

of Claire Laux on missionary theocracies calls for a toning down of the generally-accepted idea that the French Catholic missionaries were agents of French colonisation in the Pacific. Laux emphasises the ambiguous relations that the Catholic missionaries had with France.<sup>20</sup> Despite Protestant fears at the time of a vast Catholic plot to dominate the world (p. 312), in Laux's view, neither France nor Britain seemed to want to be officially linked to the strange and uncontrollable Christian theocracies that were created in the Pacific as the missions spread ahead of empire. They rather preferred to provide a very distant and discreet protection to their subjects in hostile territories, by way of transport on navy ships. However, both of the great powers soon began to use their missionaries as ambassadors, the French Protestant statesman François Guizot famously declaring in 1843: 'Je ne vois pas pourquoi la France [...] ne se ferait pas la protectrice de l'influence catholique dans le monde; c'est son histoire, c'est sa tradition; elle y est naturellement appelée' (p. 314). Laux does not argue against the theory of missionary collusion with empire for all times and locations, therefore, but does suggest that it should be seriously nuanced in the case of Catholic Polynesia (p. 318). This reflects her emphasis on the missionary theocracies, where hostility towards the French political presence was characteristic of missionaries who reigned almost unchallenged in their Polynesian islands. These missionaries, whether Catholic or Protestant, had everything to lose by French Government intervention (p. 320).

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<sup>20</sup> Jean-Paul Faivre, *L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique de 1800 à 1842* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1953), pp. 290-93; Claire Laux, *Les Théocraties missionnaires en Polynésie, Tahiti, Hawaï, Cook, Tonga, Gambier, Wallis et Futuna au XIXe siècle: des cités de Dieu dans les mers du sud?* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000).



On the other hand, where missionaries were in a situation of disadvantage, French government assistance was both desirable and opportune. In such cases, according to Patrick Potiron in an essay on the post-1840 period, French strategists rediscovered the concept of protecting the Catholic missions, harking back to the secular political tradition of French Gallicanism. Missionaries could provide efficient, neutral support and unofficial information-gathering services along the great maritime routes of the nineteenth century, and so France organised the protection of the Catholic missions as a diplomatic and geopolitical tool in international relations against the other maritime powers. Moreover, according to Potiron, France did this with the approval of Rome, even though the Church thereby risked association with temporal powers.<sup>21</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the argument that Rome condoned the association of church and state is somewhat debated. In his work on the African missions, Adrian Hastings sees the Vatican as continuing to favour the old model of the domestication and subsidisation of Catholic missions by nation states through to the end of the nineteenth century (p. 433). On the other hand, Norman Etherington argues that the Catholic missions in general evidenced the strength of ultramontane ('outré-mont', or Rome-focused) forces in the Church, wanting greater independence from their home governments and increasing links with the Vatican, as reinforced by the direct control of the missions by Propaganda Fide (p. 17). In fact, one of the arguments that Garin stated was misleading in the *Californian Chronicle* article was that the French Government had no spiritual

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<sup>21</sup> Patrick Potiron, 'La Religion et le sacré dans l'Océan Pacifique', in *Religion et sacré en Océanie: actes du douzième colloque C.O.R.A.I.L.*, ed. by Frédéric Angleviel (Paris: L'Harmattan in association with l'Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie & C.O.R.A.I.L., 2000), pp. 83-104 (pp. 87-88).

power in the Catholic Church and could not choose where French missionaries were sent, while Protestant missionaries could be sent as instruments of colonisation if their home government desired.<sup>22</sup> By the early twentieth century, Pope Benedict XV would issue an influential missionary encyclical *Maximum illud*, which stressed the need to avoid identification with the imperialist intentions of one's own country.<sup>23</sup>

### *Missions and Empire in New Zealand*

While Nicholas Thomas has argued for the necessity of localised histories with regards to colonialism, Gunson has argued for the same for 'missionary imperialism', where, he says, the patterns of expansion related entirely to historical situations.<sup>24</sup> For instance, the Marist missionaries in New Zealand found themselves in a particularly precarious political position, which highlights well the ambiguity of the links between mission and empire. Having first arrived in Hokianga in 1838 when New Zealand was still independent, they were quickly faced with the challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi. The policy of neutrality adopted by Pompallier at the signing of the Treaty between Maori and the British Crown was a declaration of the ideal of a church and a God above the temporal powers, as envisaged in the guidelines laid down by Propaganda Fide nearly two hundred years earlier.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the 'Instructions pour les travaux de la

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<sup>22</sup> Hear Both Sides [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 16 July 1858, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Hastings, p. 459.

<sup>24</sup> Niel Gunson, 'The Theology of Imperialism and the Missionary History of the Pacific', *Journal of Religious History*, 5 (1969), 255-65 (p. 262).

<sup>25</sup> Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 105.

mission’, which Pompallier wrote as a relatively new bishop for the Marist missionaries in 1841, reflected Propaganda’s request for the political neutrality of its missionaries. Pompallier exhorted his missionaries to ‘bien faire entendre à qui que ce soit même aux Français que ce n’est pas au nom de quelque prince de la terre que vous êtes envoyé et que vous travaillez, mais bien au nom de l’Église Catholique’. The Catholic missionaries were to concern themselves only with the spiritual wellbeing of their followers, and leave all politics, administration and commerce to the colonial government and settlers.<sup>26</sup> However, the need for protection and financial support forced the mission to depend on the power of the state on occasion. Given the historical circumstances, arguments about whether the Marists were Gallican or ultramontane are rendered irrelevant, despite the assuredly ultramontane nature of their constitutions.

Documentation from the Marist Archives in Wellington, which provided the source material for two important New Zealand-focused works on the relationship between French mission and empire – namely Peter Tremewan’s definitive account of French Akaroa and Kevin Roach’s thesis on Marist Superior Jean-Claude Colin – contains a substantial amount of information regarding the connection of the Marists with the expansionist aims of the French Government. According to Tremewan, the Government wished to use private land purchases and trade, side by side with French missionary activity, to bring southern New Zealand within its sphere of influence.<sup>27</sup> It is clear too from letters that Colin was

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<sup>26</sup> Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives (ACDA), POM 14-3 Instructions pour les travaux de la mission, 12-13.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Tremewan, *French Akaroa: An Attempt to Colonise Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press with the assistance of the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), p. 53.

kept informed of French colonising projects for New Zealand, and that his missionaries' reports were part of the briefing for the Government as it considered its policy.<sup>28</sup> The result of Colin's correspondence with government ministers was that when the Government concluded its agreement with the Nanto-Bordelaise Company, Foreign Minister Marshal Nicolas Soult invited him to send four missionaries to New Zealand aboard Captain Charles Lavaud's corvette, the *Aube*.<sup>29</sup> Soult admitted the Government's political motives to Colin candidly, as Colin reported to Pompallier: the Government wished to back French missionary activity in Oceania because 'si l'on catholicise ces îles, on les francisera'.<sup>30</sup> Colin, on the other hand, was interested in French naval support above all to protect his missionaries, who were working in small numbers in an extremely hostile environment, which was causing him great anxiety.<sup>31</sup> He believed that the Government was inspired not merely by temporal desires but also by the desire to protect religion and the native peoples, and rejected the Protestant claim that Pompallier was in New Zealand to win the country for France, specifically telling the Bishop, 'J'espère qu'aucun n'oubliera jamais ce que nous prescrivent si positivement nos règles, de se conformer toujours aux usages et aux lois des pays où l'on se trouve, et de rendre à César ce qui appartient à César'.<sup>32</sup> This documentary record supports the earlier findings of Faivre, who noted the implications of the fact that the Marist missionaries arrived some forty years after

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<sup>28</sup> Wellington, Marist Archives (MAW), HD3, Colin to Pompallier, 6 Jan. 1840, 43-44; Colin to Soult, 22 Nov. 1839, 21-25.

<sup>29</sup> MAW, HD3, Soult to Colin, 16 Dec. 1839, 10-11.

<sup>30</sup> MAW, HD3, Colin to Pompallier, 9 Nov. 1839, 13-15.

<sup>31</sup> MAW, HD3, Colin to Father Ollivier, 30 Nov. 1839, 26-27.

<sup>32</sup> MAW, HD3, Colin to Pompallier, 9 Nov. 1839, 13-15; 6 Jan. 1840, 43-44.

the Protestant missionaries in Oceania, and were forced to head towards islands that were already occupied by their rivals. They needed the prestige and protection that the French navy could afford them, and this was where Colin's interest in maintaining communications with the French Government stemmed from; however, they thereby risked giving the appearance of being forerunners of French influence or colonisation in the Pacific (p. 404).

There are a number of accounts of the collaboration envisioned between the French navy and missionaries in New Zealand being realised. During a visit to the Bay of Islands by Captain Thomas-Médée Cécille, Pompallier was welcomed with nine cannon shots and was received onto his ship, the *Héroïne*. Pompallier then said mass on board for approximately three hundred people including Catholic and Protestant settlers and local Maori, which made a great impression on Maori and increased the status of the Bishop – and his religion – in their eyes.<sup>33</sup> French warships called at the Bay of Islands throughout the 1840s and a number of warships, including the *Aube* and the *Rhin*, were stationed at Akaroa. It was from Akaroa that Pompallier departed to recover the remains of martyred Marist missionary Pierre Chanel from Futuna, his schooner *Sancta Maria* accompanied by a French corvette. As instructed by Pompallier, his missionaries also made reference to the protection they could count on from the French navy. Garin himself recounted the story of five missionaries who were rescued from Tonkin by the French Navy, which he thought aroused considerable interest among his Maori followers; when his coat was stolen by a local Maori man, Jean-Simon Bernard threatened to write to the French authorities who would send a

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<sup>33</sup> Girard, I, doc. 24, Pompallier to Colin, 14 May 1838.

warship from Akaroa because ‘ma nation est bonne avec les personnes qui ne sont pas méchants mais elle est courageuse et forte contre les méchants’ (he noted that he would write to the Governor first, but the English were not feared by Maori so that might not have the desired result).<sup>34</sup>

While there might have been collusion between the Marists in New Zealand and the French Government as concerns protection of the missionaries, the missionaries’ political neutrality in New Zealand was a somewhat separate issue because of the fact that the colonial regime was, at least from 1840, British. The Marist missionaries could by the fact of their presence extend French influence in New Zealand, but, as Barker surmises, their work could not in itself establish imperial claims. Thus rather than being an arm of the State, and despite the religious freedom guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi, the missionaries’ position in New Zealand was tenuous. The fact that missionaries felt the need to make references to the power of French warships suggests the extent of their uneasiness. In Pompallier’s instructions to his missionaries, he specifically advised them to avoid speaking of France with non-French settlers.<sup>35</sup>

The French missionaries were thus a perfect example of Barker’s ‘guests of indigenous rulers and peoples’ (p. 86), and were far from being colonial agents. Rather, their mission had an oppositional function in New Zealand society. Because of their later arrival, minority status and French origins, the Marists were welcomed as an alternative party, providing a focus of opposition for tribes who had yet to adhere to the Protestant churches. The Marists could provide a way of

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<sup>34</sup> APM, Z 208, Bernard to Colin, 11 Aug. 1844; APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur la mission (NM), 21 Apr. 1846. All quotations from the ‘Notes sur la mission’ for the years 1844 to 1846 are taken from Serabian (2005).

<sup>35</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 11-12.

distinguishing a tribe from its Protestant neighbours and/or enemies, and even represent a rejection of the perceived hegemony of British Protestantism and British politics.<sup>36</sup> Catholicism thereby became an instrument of Maori politics, as is demonstrated by Garin's experiences.

The ambiguous position of French missionaries in New Zealand society had important implications for their apostolate. While the British Protestant missionaries could be seen as the reason for the establishment of the colony, because of their prominent role in translating and promoting the Treaty – a fact which missionaries like James Buller and Richard Taylor later enthusiastically reiterated<sup>37</sup> – French missionaries were not seen as representing the interests of the colonial government. This was a double-edged sword: the Marists' religion was not the dominant one and not a politically-sensible choice for Maori, meaning that the Catholic missionaries had to work harder to find a place for themselves in Maori society. On the other hand, the fact that they had to work harder to establish their position and status meant that they were forced to make more of an effort to follow Maori customs and respect the mana and tapu of local chiefs. Arguably, this enabled a kind of complicity between missionary and parishioner that might not have existed in a relationship that was more unequal in power terms. As Turner notes, the tendency of many Maori and Pakeha to view the neutrality of the Catholic mission as anti-government led the missionaries to identify more

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<sup>36</sup> Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 58.

<sup>37</sup> James Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand: Including a Personal Narrative, an Account of Maoridom, and of the Christianization and Colonization of the Country* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878), pp. 479-83; Richard Taylor, *The Past and Present of New Zealand: With its Prospects for the Future* (London: William Macintosh; Wanganui: Henry Ireson Jones, 1868), pp. 110-11.

closely with their Maori than with their European parishioners.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes the Catholic missionaries were paid special respect by Maori because of their neutrality. Ngapuhi chief Hone Heke reportedly suggested that the Anglican Bishop, George Selwyn, should be expelled from the country, but that Pompallier deserved special protection.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the Catholic mission headquarters was left untouched during Heke's sacking of Kororareka in 1845, and Garin was told by Ruku, one of his Maori acquaintances who had been in the ruined town: 'va à Kororareka, tu trouveras l'Évêque et les siens, nous sommes tous pour vous'.<sup>40</sup> The power relationship between the French missionaries and Maori was different to that between the Protestant missionaries and Maori, a fact that adds to the interest of the French missionaries' records. This was particularly so in the 1840s, when New Zealand remained a predominantly hybrid society in which many Europeans, including the Catholic missionaries, lived on Maori terms. Over time, however, the Marists' position would change as they found themselves becoming more aligned with the colonial government because of the need to minister to the increasing numbers of European settlers and seek funding from New Zealand sources.

Turner has argued that Catholic neutrality was less the pursuit of a noble ideal than a strategy made necessary by a particular set of circumstances.<sup>41</sup> However, it would instead seem that Pompallier's political neutrality was likely based on the noble ideals of Propaganda Fide, but was undermined by the

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<sup>38</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 107.

<sup>39</sup> NM, 9 Aug. 1844.

<sup>40</sup> NM, 10 Apr. 1845.

<sup>41</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 106.



historical context in which he found himself working and required adaptation. The contradictions in his position were very much reflected in his instructions to his missionaries in 1841: missionaries were to explain to Maori that they had been sent by the Catholic Church and not their country, and that they had no interest in temporal things, but should nevertheless speak highly of France so that they would thereby increase their own standing in (British colonial) New Zealand.<sup>42</sup>

### **A Civilising Mission?**

In stark contrast to the earlier militaristic approach of the Spanish and Portuguese conquerors, Enlightenment thought led to a more humanitarian-focused vision of colonialism in nineteenth-century Britain and France. European expansionists of the day considered themselves as the harbingers of Western civilisation to faraway peoples, and the missionaries, at the forefront of expansion in some areas such as the Pacific, have been heavily criticised in recent times for their role in the spreading of the Western cultural empire. However, such criticisms seldom take account of the differences in the evangelisation approaches of the many different denominations, nor of the importance of historical context. Etherington believes, for example, that the greatest difficulty faced by those who have tried to argue that the Christian missions were a form of cultural imperialism has been evidence that the agents of conversion were not European missionaries, but rather local catechists. He describes this as the most important late twentieth-century insight into the growth of Christianity in the British Empire (p. 7). It was in the South

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<sup>42</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 12-13.

Pacific in the nineteenth century that the phenomenon of local people carrying Christianity ahead of the imperial frontier appeared (p. 8), including in New Zealand.

### *Protestants and Catholics*

As noted, Propaganda Fide was established to oversee Catholic missions worldwide and developed a clear code of conduct for missionaries in 1659, with instructions explaining the need for both political and cultural neutrality. However, Catholic nations still attempted to play a role in the missions, and particularly in their zones of influence. When the French Government sent Captain Lavaud to annex the South Island of New Zealand for France, Lavaud received explicit instructions that the work of the French Catholic missionaries was to be encouraged. The missionaries would be able to impart notions of order and morality to Maori, and Maori acquisition of these values was considered to be in France's national interest. Moreover, by their presence, the missionaries would give their converts a love and respect for things French.<sup>43</sup> New Zealand was not an isolated example: Adrian Hastings notes that in the 1850s French colonial officials in Africa complained that the French Catholic missionaries, unlike the Protestants, did too little to civilise their charges. The officials reportedly broke the rosaries of the Holy Ghost Fathers' converts, objecting that it was not by teaching people to pray and chant canticles that the people would be civilised.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Tremewan, p. 62.

<sup>44</sup> Paule Brasseur and Paul Coulon, *Liebermann 1802-1852: une pensée et une mystique missionnaires* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), p. 867, cited in Hastings, p. 286.

France was not the only imperial power to see Christianity as a tool of civilisation. By 1836 Britain had given official approval to this ‘principle of missionary enterprise’, and a committee of the House of Commons was selected to consider the spread of civilisation among the native inhabitants of countries of British settlement. The evidence provided to the committee was released the following year, in a publication which stated that ‘true civilisation and Christianity are inseparable; the former has never been found but as a fruit of the latter.’<sup>45</sup> There is one vital difference between this and the Catholic case, however: according to Niel Gunson, Britain’s conclusions simply reflected what had long been the practice of the LMS missionaries.<sup>46</sup>

Evidence from the field suggests that missionaries did not always follow the prescriptions or indeed wishes of their governments, and that lay boards in the case of the Protestants, and Propaganda Fide in the case of the more centralised Catholic system, exercised overall control over missionary policy. Moreover, evidence from individual missions makes it clear that it is especially important to study each mission within its historical context, though divergent trends between the Catholic and Protestant efforts are still distinguishable at a broader level.

Writing on the Pacific, Gunson notes that the Evangelical missionaries lamented the passive role of the Catholic priests. Whereas the Evangelicals attempted to reform native society, the Catholic priests appeared to be only interested in their own converts and did not apply pressure to them to conform to

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<sup>45</sup> John Beecham, Dandeson Coates and William Ellis, *Christianity, the Means of Civilization: Shown in the Evidence Given Before a Committee of the House of Commons, on Aborigines* (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, L. and G. Seeley, and T. Mason, 1837), p. 171, cited in *Messengers of Grace*, p. 269.

<sup>46</sup> *Messengers of Grace*, pp. 269-71.

Western norms of behaviour. Evangelical missionaries regarded the Catholic emphasis on baptism, neglect of Bible teaching and policy of minimal interference as ‘sops to heathenism’.<sup>47</sup> The Evangelicals instead sought to establish Western methods of agriculture and industry, constructed European-style housing, and focused on reforms such as educating native children and promoting literacy.<sup>48</sup> In Gunson’s view, during the first two decades of missionary contact ‘civilisation’ was imposed rather drastically by Evangelical missionaries on the islanders. However, this approach soon gave way to more liberal attitudes. Like their Catholic counterparts, the Evangelicals began to give more importance to their religious duties despite the pressure from the advocates of civilisation in the metropole, and most were well aware of the dangers of ‘recreating the heathen in the image of themselves.’<sup>49</sup>

With regard to the African missionary experience, Hastings’ comparative analysis of the Protestant and Catholic approaches confirms many of the trends noted by Gunson for the Pacific. Interestingly, Hastings sees a trend among the Catholics of imitating the Protestant example as the nineteenth century progressed, with more conscious attempts to civilise taking shape (p. 266). However, in general the Catholic priests looked and behaved more recognisably like spiritual figures, with their cassocks and ascetic practices such as fasting, and much less like ‘an officious, moralising wing of European power’ (p. 267). Catholic leaders, following the line of Propaganda Fide, stressed that the duty of

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<sup>47</sup> *Messengers of Grace*, p. 178.

<sup>48</sup> Johnston, pp. 120-21.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

the missionary was not to impose a European mentality. One of the great missionary founders of Africa, Francis Libermann, for example, famously told the community of Dakar and Gabon in 1847, 'Faites-vous nègres avec les nègres.' Of course, such culturally-radical teaching was not always perfectly implemented, but it is important to remember that it was given.<sup>50</sup> In the case of the White Fathers, Hastings believes that their commitment to an Africanisation of their work meant that they lived a good deal closer to village life than did most other missionaries (p. 565). He suggests that the reason that Protestant missionaries 'got carried away rather easily by the "civilisation" model' was that, beyond their great enthusiasm for world evangelism, they did not have a real missionary doctrine to fall back on as the Catholics did. However, as soon as they began to develop a doctrine, they started to recognise the danger of Europeanising and moved in a distinctly Catholic direction, that was more adaptationist (p. 290).

### *The Marists and 'Cultural Neutrality' in New Zealand*

With regard to the particular historical context of New Zealand, Pompallier attempted to follow Propaganda Fide's maxims of both political and cultural neutrality in his instructions to his missionaries in 1841. He was especially insistent upon the need for cultural neutrality, echoing Propaganda's ideals nearly to the letter. Pompallier's policy did not aim at disrupting Maori chiefly authority but rather sought to incorporate the existing social structure and traditional practices within the Church. His approach was flexible and tolerant. He insisted

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<sup>50</sup> Brasseur and Coulon, p. 239, cited in Hastings, p. 296.

that his missionaries should not compel their parishioners to abandon any custom that was not directly a sin, but rather teach them that there were some practices that were neutral in God's eyes, some that were good or very good, and some that were bad or very bad. He expressly permitted the haka,<sup>51</sup> which was not acceptable to other denominations in New Zealand. He also put a great deal of emphasis on being close to one's parishioners, telling his missionaries to 'se concilier l'estime, la confiance et l'affection des peuples'. The aim of the Catholic mission in New Zealand was to save souls – Pompallier had special instructions for making sure that the sick did not die without being baptised – and was not aimed at civilising.<sup>52</sup>

Pompallier's instructions also encouraged the New Zealand missionaries to study Maori customs and traditions thoroughly. Regarding their beliefs, he advised a careful sifting rather than a total rejection, and told his missionaries not to take precipitate action against Maori beliefs, but rather to adhere to the concept of 'sage lenteur'. If Maori asked the missionaries' view on certain practices, the missionaries were to say that they needed to study Maori customs thoroughly and only when they understood them perfectly could they say what was morally good and what was bad.<sup>53</sup> The French missionaries were thus actively encouraged to understand Maori customs and practices, and to study them carefully. This is apparent in Garin's diary: he sought details on Maori traditions from his friends, acquaintances and tohunga, and recorded them throughout his four years at the

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<sup>51</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 45, 48.

<sup>52</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 1,5.

<sup>53</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 31-32.

Mangakahia mission, leaving a valuable resource for studying the evolution in traditional Maori thought in the mid-1840s.

The approach taken by the Protestants differed considerably. While Henry Williams of the CMS had swept away Samuel Marsden's 'civilisation before conversion' idea, the CMS's policy of teaching Maori 'the arts of [European] civilisation' remained and the sight of Waimate, a large model mission farm, was said to astonish travellers.<sup>54</sup> According to Andrew Porter, the dominant pattern of Protestant thought before 1860 was rooted in Enlightenment ideas of progress, though by the 1860s the missions were not achieving results and enthusiasts began to call for a reversion to the apostolic models of evangelisation, which minimised the association of Western culture with Christianity.<sup>55</sup> Pompallier, working in the Catholic missionary tradition, appeared as an enlightened man of his times in comparison with the Protestant missionaries in New Zealand in the 1840s.<sup>56</sup>

Another essential difference between the Marists' approach to evangelisation and that of the Protestant denominations in New Zealand was that the Catholic missionaries did not have a wife and family to care for, or a comfortable home to look after. This had a number of implications for the way they conducted their mission. They were freer to travel around the mission and have contact with Maori outside their immediate sphere of influence. It is clear from Garin's diary that he regularly spent the night away from his mission station in order to say prayers the following morning at a distant village or to care for sick

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<sup>54</sup> Garrett, pp. 29-41.

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Porter, 'An Overview, 1700-1914', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Etherington, pp. 40-63 (pp. 54-55).

<sup>56</sup> Gunson, *Messengers of Grace*, p. 178.

people. This was unlike the neighbouring Wesleyan missionary James Buller, who would usually return to his station. Garin had two Maori assistants – Matiu and Kaperiere – with whom he could travel, and when he stayed overnight at Maori villages, he stayed in Maori whare and slept under a blanket as Maori did. Bronwyn Elsmore notes that the Reverend Thomas Chapman accused the Catholic missionaries, or ‘young Jesuits’ as he called them, of ‘seeking to ingratiate themselves by, in every respect becoming a native, – sleeping, eating and fawning with them’.<sup>57</sup> The French missionaries lived in close contact with Maori, and shared their way of life.<sup>58</sup> Hugh Laracy in his study of the Marists in the Solomon Islands has similarly noted the rapport that the Marist missionaries created with local communities, which he attributes to the Catholic missionary practice of using local languages in dealings with indigenous peoples, the missionaries’ lifelong commitment to their task, and their restraint in interfering with native custom.<sup>59</sup>

Admittedly, while Pompallier could provide instructions to his missionaries, these were not always followed uniformly – a fact influenced also by the isolation of the Catholic priests. Some became involved in commerce in their communities, such as Garin and the Hokianga-based Louis-Maxime Petit who both constructed flour mills. Likewise, individual priests sometimes demonstrated less flexible attitudes towards aspects of Maori custom. An example

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<sup>57</sup> [n.p.], Chapman to the CMS, 19 Feb. 1842, cited in Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them that Dream: The Māori and the Old Testament* (Auckland: Reed, 2000), p. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, 3rd edn (Wellington: Education For Ministry, 2004), p. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Hugh Laracy, *Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1976), pp. 71-73.



in Garin's case is his concern over his favourite catechist, Matiu, becoming tattooed. This often resulted from the tempering of the missionaries' overly-optimistic views of Maori at the outset, in the early 1840s, with their years of experience on the Maori mission. However, Turner's assertion that Catholic tolerance was only ever a means to achieve conversions seems somewhat overstated.<sup>60</sup> Pompallier, as a relatively inexperienced bishop, chose to adhere to the centuries-old Catholic missionary policy in his vision for the Marists' New Zealand mission. It was, after all, in keeping with his own humanitarian outlook. Cultural neutrality could never be complete – some local practices, such as cannibalism, were considered to be against nature and clearly sinful – but it did give the Marists their own distinct approach to the evangelisation of Maori. In fact, Marist priest Jean-Baptiste Comte chose to leave the Society and return to France because of the success he enjoyed in assisting Otaki-based Maori with commercial development, feeling that he was in danger of losing his priestly zeal.<sup>61</sup>

According to James Belich, Catholicism's willingness to incorporate Maori tradition, in addition to its role as an oppositional choice for Maori tribes, meant that it enjoyed a burst of popularity in the 1840s.<sup>62</sup> Other differences in the approach towards evangelisation, such as the Protestants' greater reliance on native catechists and use of the written word rather than the spoken word to convey their Christian message, led to greater Protestant success in terms of

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<sup>60</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 208.

<sup>61</sup> Michael O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope: The Story of the Catholic Archdiocese of Wellington 1850-2000* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 2003), p. 45.

<sup>62</sup> *Making Peoples*, p. 219.

baptisms than the Catholic methods were able to achieve. Coupled with the fact of the Catholics arriving some twenty-four years later in New Zealand, this meant that Maori predominantly converted to Protestantism. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the Catholic approach to evangelisation and the anomalous position of the French Catholic missionaries in New Zealand society had the happy consequence that the French were well-placed to participate in Maori life and record their observations, and had a special perspective from which to view events in New Zealand society. As the only Marist in New Zealand to have such an extensive array of his writings survive, Garin can give important insights into Maori and settler society in the nineteenth century.

## **PART TWO**

### **ANTOINE MARIE GARIN: A BIOGRAPHY**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ROAD TO A PROFESSION – FRANCE, 1810-1840

Garin spent a substantial part of his life – the first thirty years – in France, where he trained as a priest before making his decision to become a missionary and leave for New Zealand. These formative years are a vital part of his story: they instilled in him a strong sense of security and belonging, providing a solid base from which he was able to carry out his missionary work.

Unfortunately, however, this part of Garin's life suffers from a dearth of primary sources in comparison to his time in New Zealand. As Colin Davis notes, one of the reasons that biography has traditionally meant stories about the lives of famous men, with an emphasis on the external, historical aspects of their lives, has been that only the powerful have abundant written sources.<sup>1</sup> Garin, as one of Jerome Manis's 'great little persons', had a role as a missionary which led him to be a prolific letter writer and diligent diarist in New Zealand. This meant that his records were retained by his missionary society and his family. The same cannot be said for the earlier part of his life, for which no personal letters or diaries have been recovered. In the absence of a diary, this chapter is informed by the 'Notes sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de l'abbé Garin', which were written some years after the fact by Garin's brother. In addition to this, births, deaths and marriage registers and official documents on the state of religion and education in Garin's home region, the Department of Ain, in the early nineteenth century have been

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. Davis, 'Clio's Lost Sheep: History and Some Problems of Biography', in *Biography in New Zealand*, ed. by Phillips, pp. 7-18 (p. 10).

consulted. These documents are combined with current theory on the political and social climate in post-Revolution France to reconstruct a picture of Garin's early life and the external influences on it.

Specifically, the chapter investigates Garin's motives for becoming a priest, first by discussing the state of religion in France in the early nineteenth century, and then by analysing Garin's family circumstances and the regional context in which he grew up. It thereby answers two of the fundamental questions of cultural biography: to what extent did Garin reflect his times, and to what extent did he transcend them? Was he, in fact, a product of his times? Such an approach has been taken in other biographies with similar evidentiary gaps. Discussing the absence of documentary evidence for her planned biography of a little-known Canadian public health nurse, Meryn Stuart also explores life choices through the analysis of internal family dynamics and external societal pressures.<sup>2</sup> While such information cannot replace primary, personal documentation, it can go some way to explaining motive, and is also a valuable tool for assisting the reader in placing themselves in the subject's times.

## **Post-Revolution France**

### *The Revolution and Religion*

Garin was born twenty-one years after the French Revolution. The Revolution had seen a division of the Catholic Church, when on 12 July 1790 the French National Assembly passed a law known as the Civil Constitution of the Clergy to create a

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<sup>2</sup> Meryn Stuart, 'Making the Choices: Writing about Marguerite Carr-Harris', in *All Sides of the Subject*, ed. by Iles, pp. 59-67 (p. 66).

new national church. The law diminished the Church's power by, among other things, making it a department of the State, requiring bishops to be elected by the same electorate as members of the National Assembly, and removing from their posts all clergy who did not have charge of parishioners. When the clergy was required by a new law to swear a solemn oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution, only seven bishops and just over half of the parish clergy did so; those who refused were considered to have resigned, and a decree of 27 May 1792 provided for the deportation of any non-juror denounced by twenty active citizens. The division between the two resultant churches, known as the Constitutional (juring) and Refractory (non-juring) churches, and then between the revolutionaries' ideals and the Church as a whole, culminated in an all-out attack on Christianity that was effectively a period of dechristianisation, beginning in 1793 and lasting until Napoleon put an end to it in 1799. During this time the constitutional priests in addition to the refractories became the object of hatred, as the Cult of Reason and then the Cult of the Supreme Being was propagated.<sup>3</sup>

Dechristianisation measures were far-reaching and all-encompassing. Across France churches were closed and Christian iconography destroyed; church bells were universally melted down for cannon. Some thirty thousand priests became *émigrés*, usually deportees. The Revolution even mounted a cultural assault on Christian time and space, in the form of the revolutionary calendar and changes in place names for any locality with 'Saint' in its name. Active persecution of the clergy ranged from massacres to forced marriages and abdication of the priesthood; it is estimated that nearly twenty thousand did resign

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<sup>3</sup> Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 36-43.

their posts – almost a general abdication of the clergy.<sup>4</sup> Two to three thousand priests were killed during the Revolution, some sunk in cages on barges in the Loire estuary, others hacked to death when the prisons were overrun in Paris during massacres on 2 and 4 September 1792. Nearly a thousand priests and nuns were sent to the guillotine during the Reign of Terror in 1793 and 1794.<sup>5</sup> The Revolution thus first divided and then dispersed the clergy, killing a number in the process. In the spring of 1794 it closed nearly every church in France. Ultimately, it marked a fundamental change in French religious practice: to be French no longer necessarily meant to be Catholic.<sup>6</sup> France was no longer the land of ‘one law, one faith, one king’.<sup>7</sup>

French Catholicism thus entered the nineteenth century in a somewhat precarious state. A generation of French people had not been brought up in the Church and were accustomed to its vilification, while the religious habits of the previous generations had been broken. Religious services and education had been halted for nearly quarter of a century. The clergy was decimated, and those who remained were often aged and disillusioned. According to Ralph Gibson, however, the experience of Catholicism in nineteenth-century France was not one of universal diminution from the time of the Revolution but was instead very different for different individuals, based on axes of differentiation including class,

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-43.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 269.

<sup>7</sup> Donal Kerr, ‘Priests, Parishioners, and Politics: Cabuchet, the Colins, and the Oath to the Civil Constitution’, *Forum Novum*, 2 (1994), 370-88 (p. 372).

gender and region (pp. 270-71). These are considered below with particular reference to Garin's background.

### *Religion and the Bourgeoisie*

With regard to the issue of social class and religion, the Garin family is an interesting case in that it was bourgeois. Most of the bourgeois of the nineteenth century lived in small towns, or 'bourgs', in the countryside. Gibson defines this class as the 'rural bourgeoisie', and asserts that the rural bourgeois were known for their indifference if not hostility to the Catholic Church, irrespective of whether their diocese was an irreligious or a fervent one (p. 196). It had been the bourgeoisie in particular that had adopted the Enlightenment ideas of rationality and scientific progress, and had stopped going to church. There were of course exceptions to the general rule: many of those families who had been on the way to becoming nobles until the Revolution intervened were sincere Catholics in the early nineteenth century. However, according to Gibson, the overwhelming tendency in the first half of the century was for the bourgeois to be sceptical about the faith, a trend which had appeared before the Revolution but had been accelerated by it (p. 197). A priest from one such bourg remarked in 1852 that the 'more distinguished element of my parish, *maire, adjoint, juge de paix, receveur d'enregistrement, percepteur, employé, notaire, huissier, and greffier*, plus a dozen rich Voltaireans, has been untouched by grace'.<sup>8</sup> Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire similarly note this trend among the rural bourgeoisie, in particular

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<sup>8</sup> Hilaire, Yves-Marie, *Une chrétienté au XIXe siècle? La vie religieuse des populations du diocèse d'Arras (1840-1914)*, 2 vols (Lille : Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1977), II, 590, cited in Gibson, p. 208.



signalling the 1840s as a period in which the ‘chapeaux noirs’, or notaries and law clerks, were anticlerical, though they also point out that strong geographical differences existed across the country.<sup>9</sup>

The turning away from religion of the bourgeoisie was particularly reflected in the class of candidate for the priesthood. Rebuilding the clergy was the Church’s most crucial task for repairing the damage of the Revolution. As Gibson notes, the new clergy turned out to be a very different one from the urban elite clergy of the eighteenth century. This new clergy typically came from the poorer classes, or at least from the better-off peasantry and the artisan class of smaller towns, and priests were thus ‘culturally deprived’, certainly not at the forefront of French intellectual life. Among them, piety and dedicated service were valued above intellectual curiosity (pp. 269-70). This would appear to suggest that Garin was not a typical candidate for the priesthood.

### *A Feminisation of Religion?*

Another axis of differentiation for religious practice that Gibson singles out is that of gender. In addition to Gibson, prominent French religious historians, including Cholvy, Hilaire and Claude Langlois, see a feminisation of religion stemming from the time of the Revolution. Cholvy and Hilaire note, for example, that women played a primary role in maintaining religious practice during the Revolution as religion moved from the public to the private sphere. Given that religious education was not taking place in the 1790s and the early 1800s, there

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<sup>9</sup> Gérard Cholvy and Yves-Marie Hilaire, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine*, 3 vols (Toulouse: Privat, 1985-88), I, 78-79.

was a return to the transmission of religion within families, where mothers and grandmothers were usually the only teachers available (p. 23). After the Church was given back its official status in 1801, following Napoleon's signing of a Concordat with Pope Pius VII, women were instrumental in restoring the faith. The men who resumed religious practice at this time were a distinct minority, and those who did restricted their practice to baptisms, weddings and funerals. By mid-century the proportion of men to women attending Easter mass varied from four to five for devout regions, to one man for every twenty women in some dechristianised urban neighbourhoods and rural areas where only three to five percent of the adult male population fulfilled their Easter duty (Chapter 9). The importance of the role of women is noted in religious works of the time; as Trappist priest P.C.J. Debreyne stated mid-century: 'La génération naissante est entre les mains de la femme, l'avenir est à elle [...]. Si la femme nous échappe, avec elle tout peut disparaître et s'abîmer dans le gouffre de l'athéisme, croyance, morale et toute notre civilisation, parce que dès lors il n'y aura plus de principes de morale, plus de frein religieux'.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond the specific practice of religion, Langlois lists a number of indices of nineteenth-century religion that point to its feminisation. With regard to ordinations, the female religious orders grew faster than male orders in the first half of the nineteenth century, as congregations began to focus on social work rather than the introspection and meditation of the monastic orders.<sup>11</sup> Langlois

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<sup>10</sup> Debreyne, *Essai de théologie morale, considérée dans ses rapports avec la physiologie et la médecine* (Paris: Vanderborght, 1844), cited in Claude Langlois, 'Féminisation du catholicisme', in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond, 4 vols (Paris: Seuil, 1991), III, 292-309 (p. 303).

<sup>11</sup> 'Féminisation du catholicisme', p. 293.

also sees a feminisation of religious art and architecture: a proliferation of feminised angels, for example, and overall the domination of the figure of Mary throughout the century. Mary was the most common devotion among the new female congregations, and the century of Mary was sealed with the proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854.<sup>12</sup>

Recently, counter arguments have emerged emphasising the male role in nineteenth-century religion. Throughout the nineteenth century, devotion to the Sacred Heart, including the construction of the Sacré-Cœur basilica in Paris, generated and sustained a conservative Catholic counter-discourse in French society and politics.<sup>13</sup> Raymond Jonas usefully questions the feminisation-of-religion thesis in his study of the cult of the Sacred Heart, which he views as the Church's attempt to create a masculine religious devotion with popular appeal. Jonas explains how, during the revolt of the Vendée, men attached Sacred Heart emblems to their lapels, and fought under its banner; the Sacred Heart was also worn by thousands of French men who volunteered to fight for the Pope as Papal Zouaves, many of whom lost their lives at the Battle of Loigny during the Franco-Prussian war (p. x).

In a thought-provoking inquiry into the religious practice of bourgeois Catholic men during the nineteenth century, Paul Seeley similarly complicates the feminisation-of-religion thesis, by asking from whence bourgeois male religious activism in the late nineteenth century derived if religion had become a largely female domain. According to Seeley, nineteenth-century bourgeois mothers

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>13</sup> Raymond Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 5.

brought religious criteria to bear on their sons' education, choice of profession and training, and choice of spouse, generating an 'entire bourgeois Catholic habitus', which constituted a system of practices within and yet opposed to the liberal bourgeois order. What is more, they did so with the approbation of their husbands. Seeley notes in particular that although bourgeois boys normally renounced the values of their initial maternal socialisation at secondary school, those with mothers who intensified their evangelisation during this period did not, and came to view aspects of their peers' masculinity and irreligion as a negative identity. A strong support base at home could thus prevent bourgeois boys from losing their faith in the anticlerical colleges.<sup>14</sup> Seeley's thesis is interesting in Garin's case because of the Garin family's bourgeois origins and his attendance at a combined college and seminary.

### *Religion in Ain and the Lyon Revival*

A further axis of differentiation identified by Gibson for religious practice is that of region. The Department of Ain had not been immune from the dechristianisation phenomenon during the revolutionary period. The college at Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, Garin's hometown, was closed in 1794 because it was run by clerics. The town itself was renamed to remove the reference to a saint, and was called Montferme. The few priests who were not constitutionals hid in the woods, and the people of Saint-Rambert kept the church bell, the bell tower, and the church's relics including 'la chasse', a chest containing the relics of Ragnebert

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<sup>14</sup> Paul Seeley, 'O Sainte Mère: Liberalism and the Socialization of Catholic Men in Nineteenth-Century France', *Journal of Modern History*, 70 (1998), 862-91 (pp. 889-91).

after whom the town is named, at their houses.<sup>15</sup> All over the department, religious services ceased, church bells were melted down, and the churches themselves pillaged and converted into temples of Reason or meeting places for the *sociétés populaires*. The abbeys of Saint-Rambert and Nantua fell into ruins. Priests fled over the mountains to Savoy, and the clergy was decimated.<sup>16</sup>

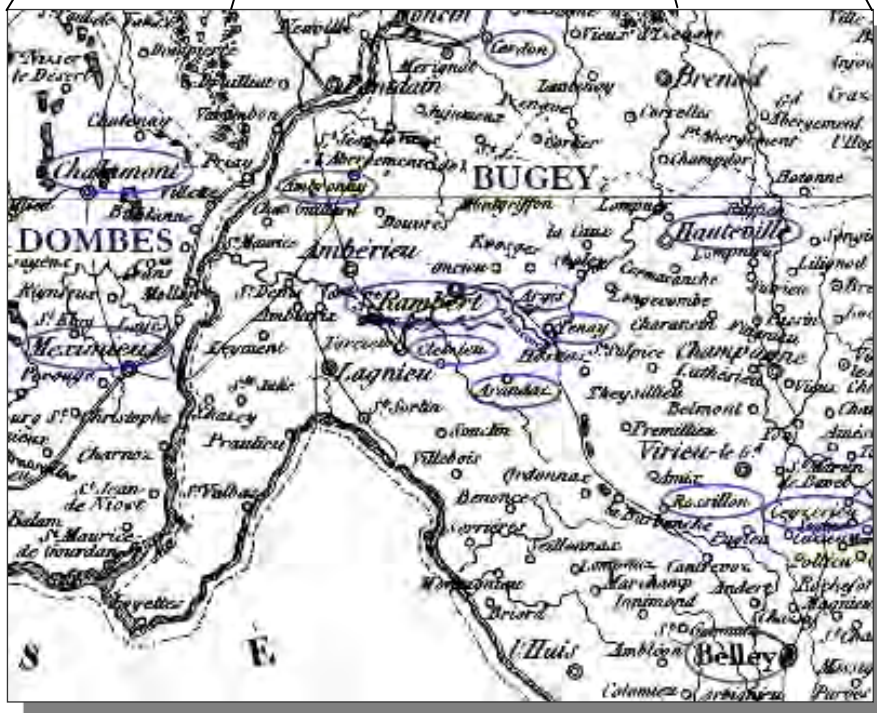
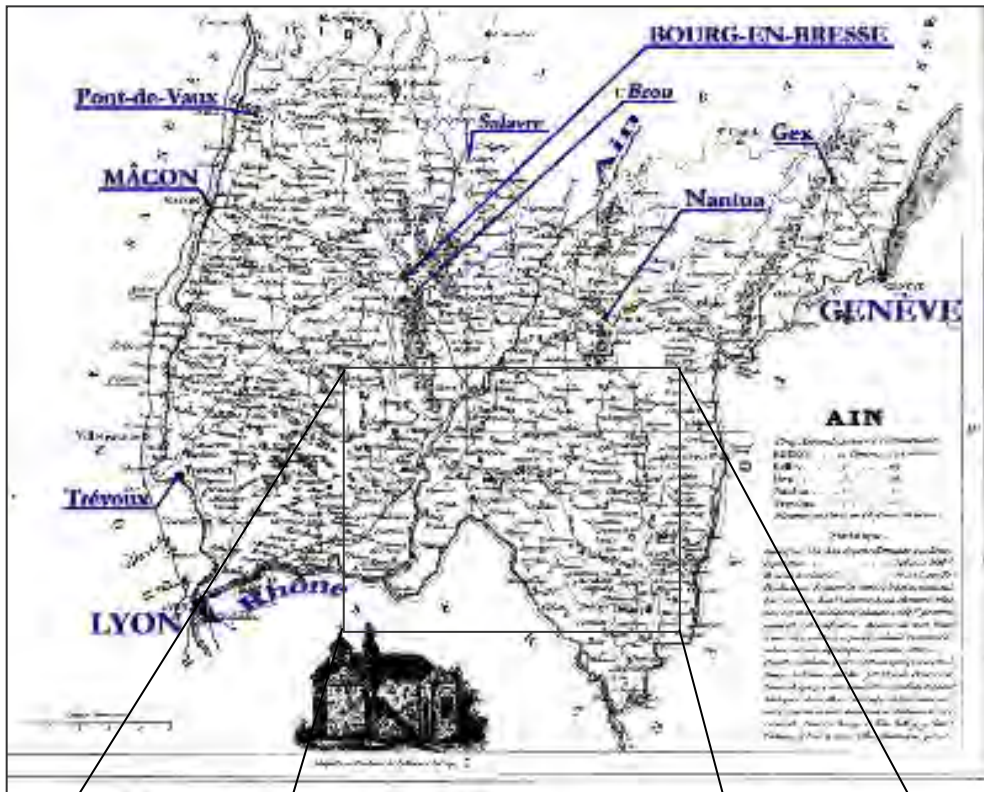
In 1804, just six years before Garin was born, Archbishop of Lyon Cardinal Joseph Fesch carried out a survey of religion in the Ain Department, which revealed that most parishes were still without priests. Claude Dupuy replied for the parish district of Saint-Rambert that a series of appointments in 1803 and 1804 had enabled six of the area's twelve parishes to be staffed. The background of those priests who had been appointed tells the story of the Revolution: Joseph Martin had returned from exile overseas to be a missionary at Arandas before his formal appointment there; Martin Gaillard had been re-appointed to Cleyzieu after his deportation during the Revolution; Anthelme Claudat, who had been appointed to Chaley, had taken refuge during the Revolution in Italy. Dupuy noted the effects of the dechristianisation period on religious practice: the countryfolk in his parish tended not to attend church, though the townsfolk generally did. Dupuy's report also confirms the feminisation-of-religion thesis for Saint-Rambert. Women still took the sacraments, but men did not, irrespective of whether they were town or country dwellers.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Jacqueline Di Carlo, Personal Communication, 10 July 2006.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Trenard and Gabrielle Trenard, *Le Diocèse de Belley*, ed. by J.R. Palanque and B. Plongeron, *Histoire des Diocèses de France*, 7 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1978), pp. 134-37.

<sup>17</sup> Archives de l'Archevêché de Lyon (AAL), États du Clergé, Paroisses du diocèse de Lyon (Ain: 1809-1823), 2.II.43 Réponses à l'enquête de février 1804 sur la situation matérielle, morale et spirituelle des paroisses, classées par cantons: Ain, Dupuy to Secretary of the Archdiocese of Lyon, 18 Aug. 1804; Dupuy to the Archdiocese, 10 Feb. 1804.



Map 1: Garin's Ain, 1810-1840

This map highlights the place names mentioned in this chapter, and is adapted from the atlas which Garin took to New Zealand (now held at Garin College, Nelson).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A.R. Frémin and C.V. Monin, *Atlas Universel de Géographie Ancienne et Moderne* (Paris: Binet, 1835).

However, as Enlightenment thought and the supremacy of reason began to be challenged by Romantic writers and Christian apologists like Félicité de Lamennais and François-René de Chateaubriand, the early nineteenth century witnessed a Catholic religious revival, led initially by Lyon.<sup>19</sup> The Department of Ain, which geographically sits alongside Lyon, shared in the religious revival of its urban neighbour, and Lyon and its surrounding departments formed the most dynamic Catholic area in France during Garin's childhood and youth. Refractory priests had remained active in Lyon throughout the revolutionary period, forming an underground network under the leadership of Father Linsolas, and in its aftermath they regrouped and organised missions to the outlying areas of the diocese to bring the faith back to the people. The reawakening of the faith in Lyon after the signing of the Concordat between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII in 1801 was thus rapid and was followed by the foundation of a wide array of religious organisations during the Restoration from 1814 to 1830.<sup>20</sup>

Through much of the nineteenth century the Catholics of Lyon were well-known for their sincere and sober piety, perhaps because of the presence of a strong Catholic bourgeoisie, which is where, according to Jacques Gadille, the spiritual renewal took root (p. 216). Bourgeois Lyonnais like Frédéric Ozanam, founder of the Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, enjoyed national and international influence. What is more, because of its location as a crossroads for travellers from Switzerland and Italy, and its long tradition of independence from

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<sup>19</sup> Cholvy and Hilaire, pp. 81-89.

<sup>20</sup> Jacques Gadille, *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. by B. Plongeron and A. Vauchez, *Histoire des Diocèses de France*, 16 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), pp. 208-09.

its ancient rival Paris, Lyon played a strategic role in the diffusion of the pro-Papal and less rigorist ultramontane theology emphasising Liguori, the devotion to the Virgin, pilgrimages and indulgences.<sup>21</sup>

One of the most notable aspects of the Lyon revival was its emphasis on mission, another aspect of ultramontanism. Lyon became the centre of the French Catholic missionary enterprise in the early nineteenth century. From 1814 the ‘home missions’, or missions to re-educate the French countryside in the faith, gathered force. A ‘missionary’ would preach as many as three sermons per day and spend hours in the confessional, in an effort to capture the hearts and minds of the irreligious. The missions were characterised by outward signs of faith, including processions through the streets, ceremonies at the churches and cemeteries, and the erection of monumental crosses to attract as great a crowd as possible.<sup>22</sup> New congregations sprang up in the Lyon Diocese to rescue the ‘lost generation’, including the Clerics of Saint Viator and the Marists. However, the missions did not rest there: the Christian message, which had been rejected by the Enlightenment philosophers and the revolutionaries, was to be promulgated to all of mankind, and hence the rebirth of the French Catholic overseas missionary enterprise. L’Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi funded overseas missions with Pauline Jaricot’s ‘sou des missions’ donation system, and popularised the missionary idea, becoming the symbol of the French renaissance of the Catholic

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<sup>21</sup> Claude Langlois, ‘Une France duelle? L’Espace religieux contemporain’, in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Le Goff and Rémond, III, 311-29 (pp. 320-22).

<sup>22</sup> Cholvy and Hilaire, pp. 54-55.



missions.<sup>23</sup> *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, where missionaries' letters and reports were published, provided inspiration for the strong Lyon vocations.

Ain itself had been an area in which there was a high number of juring priests during the Revolution, with Garin's hometown Saint-Rambert at the head with ninety-eight percent jurors.<sup>24</sup> It had also seen some of the highest abdications and forced marriages of priests during the period of dechristianisation.<sup>25</sup> However, by 1815 the region had seen a turnaround in its religious fortunes in keeping with its geographical proximity to Lyon, with some of the highest numbers of parishes staffed compared to the rest of the country. Claude Langlois attributes this paradox to the reasons for the earlier acceptance of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: it was caused by 'revendications cléricales anciennes de type 'syndical', rather than being a demonstration of the clergy and the people's common desire to reduce the influence of the Church.<sup>26</sup> More notable changes were also to take place in 1822, when the Department was formed as a separate diocese from Lyon, known as the Diocese of Belley. As with all districts located at the extremities of the diocese, Belley had not been the focus of the Lyon revival, but the new bishop, Alexandre-Raymond Devie, brought life and vigour to his fledgling diocese and was responsible for a religious renewal of the area, focused on pastoral work such as education and nursing.<sup>27</sup> A number of congregations made their bases in Belley, and one of the congregations that enjoyed Devie's support

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<sup>23</sup> Gadille, pp. 217-18.

<sup>24</sup> Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 307.

<sup>25</sup> Michel Vovelle, *Religion et révolution: la déchristianisation de l'an II* (Paris: Hachette, 1976), pp. 72, 112.

<sup>26</sup> 'Une France duelle?', pp. 312-13.

<sup>27</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 180.

was the Society of Mary. Garin therefore grew up in an area of considerable religious fervour, with a special emphasis on mission.

## **Antoine's Family**

### *The Garins: A Religious Rural Bourgeois Family?*

With this historical background as context, it is possible to consider in detail Garin's particular familial and regional circumstances, and whether he was in fact a product of his times. Antoine Marie Garin was born on 23 July 1810 to Joseph Marie Garin, notary, and Françoise Marguerite Auger (also recorded as 'Augerd'). The town that Antoine was born in, Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, is located in the Bugey district of the Department of Ain, in the southernmost part of the Jura mountains. The town was described by Archbishop of Wellington Francis Redwood as sitting in 'a little solitary valley, so small that there is hardly room for its village, its solitary road [...] tortuous'.<sup>28</sup> At the turn of the nineteenth century Saint-Rambert was the only truly industrial town in the rural Department of Ain, which was considered a backwater or 'la Sibérie du diocèse' by the priests from Lyon who served in the area when Antoine was growing up.<sup>29</sup> Saint-Rambert was the regional capital of the textiles industry, employing over three thousand workers in 1806, and had a permanent population of more than two thousand. The development of small industrial bourgs in the area, including Argis, Tenay and Rossillon, had transformed the valley of the Albarine into an industrial oasis in the

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<sup>28</sup> 'Funeral of the Venerable Archpriest Garin', *Catholic Times*, 26 April 1889, pp. 22-23.

<sup>29</sup> Trenard and Trenard, pp. 152-53.

middle of the mountains.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, during the time that Saint-Rambert was a possession of the Dukes of Savoy, from 1196 to 1601, it was established as the seat of justice for the Bugey, conferring considerable importance on the town. Although the Treaty of Lyon brought the region back into the kingdom of France, Saint-Rambert retained its seat of justice up until the Revolution.<sup>31</sup> For this reason, there were numerous judges, solicitors, lawyers and notaries in the town, with several bourgeois families, including the Garins and Augers, carrying out these functions. In fact, when asking for a new priest following the signing of the Concordat in 1801, town mayor Monsieur Brun asked that consideration be given to the fact that many educated and bourgeois people lived in the town.<sup>32</sup>



**Figure 1: Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey<sup>33</sup>**

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<sup>30</sup> Philippe Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses au pays du Curé d'Ars* (Paris: Cerf, 1986), p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Tournier, *La Ville de Saint-Rambert aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, esquisse historique* (Paris: Le Livre d'histoire, 1923; repr. 2002), p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> AAL, 2.II.81, Dossiers particuliers des paroisses Ain: Saint-Rambert 1802-1823, Brun to Administrator of the Lyon Diocese, 22 Jun. 1802.

<sup>33</sup> 'Entrée de St Rambert', in Hubert de Saint-Didier, *Itinéraire pittoresque du Bugey* (Bourg-en-Bresse : Bottier, 1837).

There is much evidence available in the departmental archives to suggest that the young Antoine belonged to a family of some standing in the area. Joseph Garin, who was forty-three years old at the time of Antoine's birth, was a master notary and an important man in Saint-Rambert. He had inherited his vocation from his father. Notaries in France were trained lawyers who performed numerous essential functions in law administration and family law in particular, including the drawing up of prenuptial agreements, notarial wills, mortgages, contracts of sale for real estate, and the administration of property in decedents' estates and organisation of companies.<sup>34</sup> It was an occupation regarded as having a key place in the social, political and economic life of the country. The traditional notary was a respectable and well-to-do man, his importance perhaps coming from the fact that he was not only a public functionary but also an independent man who held his post for life and had paid for it.<sup>35</sup>

The Garin family lived at 227 Grande Rue de Saint-Rambert in a typical bourgeois house of the area, located around a central courtyard and accessed down a long passageway which extended from La Grande Rue to Le Pavé, the two main roads of Saint-Rambert.<sup>36</sup> The Garins were not originally from the town: in the early eighteenth century the family was based at Hauteville-Lompnès, a market centre about thirty kilometres further east towards Geneva. Antoine's grandfather, Raphaël Garin, was born there on 18 April 1730. At the age of twenty-four he left Hauteville to begin a new life at Saint-Rambert, where he had to reinvent himself

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<sup>34</sup> René David and Henry P. de Vries, *The French Legal System: An Introduction to Civil Law Systems* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1958), p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Ambition and Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 43.

<sup>36</sup> Di Carlo, Personal Communication, 10 July 2006.

as a notary clerk, working for another notary. Notaries' clerks rarely became notaries because the main qualification was the possession of fifteen to twenty thousand francs at the very least to buy an *étude*.<sup>37</sup> However, by the time that Raphaël married Marie-Louise Auger on 27 June 1863, he had advanced to the position of notary public and fiscal prosecutor. By marrying an Auger he cemented his place in society, for the Augers were a bourgeois family with a long history in the area.<sup>38</sup> Joseph would follow in his father's footsteps thirty-two years later when he married Françoise Marguerite, also an Auger, on 12 April 1795.<sup>39</sup>

Antoine's mother's family was of particularly high standing in Saint-Rambert. The Auger family is recorded as being based in the town at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The men of the family were mostly craftsmen who became masters of their trades, while the women married influential men who worked in the legal professions. The family was thus a respected Saint-Rambert bourgeois family who gradually rose to the magistrature.<sup>40</sup> In 1771 Antoine's maternal grandfather, Gaspard Auger, was chatelain at Ambronay, a nearby town where Joseph and Françoise Marguerite married, known for its ancient gothic abbey.<sup>41</sup> Both Gaspard and his brother Bruno were doctors,<sup>42</sup> and the most famous family member was a distant relation, Victor Auger, who was justice of the peace in Saint-Rambert for twenty-eight years and a distinguished French botanist. In the early twentieth century Saint-

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<sup>37</sup> Zeldin, *Ambition and Love*, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> Jacqueline Di Carlo, 'Généalogie d'Antoine Marie Garin' (Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin missionnaire de 1840 à [1885], 60.

<sup>40</sup> Di Carlo, 'Généalogie d'Antoine Marie Garin'.

<sup>41</sup> Serabian, p. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Di Carlo, Personal Communication, 10 July 2006.

Rambert historian and former parish priest, Joseph Tournier, described the family as having produced ‘des hommes remarquables’.<sup>43</sup> In fact, in the *Didot-Bottin* almanach for 1841, the year that Antoine arrived in New Zealand, three of his family members are mentioned among the town dignitaries, namely his father as notary, Uncle Victor as justice of the peace, and Uncle Auger as timber merchant, while one of the Martin brothers, the Garins’ close family friends, is listed as a local doctor.<sup>44</sup>

Antoine’s family was also involved in town administration, comprised as it was of professionals on both sides. This meant political involvement in changing times. Although the information available on the Garin family during the Revolution is far from complete, it is clear that, in addition to being a notary, Raphaël Garin held a number of important positions in Saint-Rambert. On 9 June 1774 he swore fidelity and obedience to the new King of France, Louis XVI, in his role as a city councillor, while in February 1780 he was appointed by the Crown to be *syndic*, or head of administration of the town, second only to the mayor. During the Revolution he was one of the six town councillors of Saint-Rambert, and from May 1790 one of the administrators of the district of Saint-Rambert, which included Ambronay and a number of other towns.<sup>45</sup> He was president of the district in 1791 and 1792,<sup>46</sup> and a member of the *société populaire* of Saint-Rambert. Meanwhile, Gaspard Auger was a member of the *société*

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<sup>43</sup> Tournier, pp. 55, 143, 150.

<sup>44</sup> *Archives de Paris*, 2 MI 3/4 (1841), *Annuaire-Almanach du Commerce et de l’Industrie, ou Almanach des 1,500,000 adresses* (Didot-Bottin).

<sup>45</sup> Di Carlo, ‘Généalogie d’Antoine Marie Garin’.

<sup>46</sup> Bourg-en-Bresse, Archives départementales de l’Ain (ADA), Série L, 10 L Administration du district de Saint-Rambert.

*populaire* of Ambronay from 1793, the time of its foundation,<sup>47</sup> until 1794, and commissioner of the Executive Directory at Ambronay from 1795 until 1800.<sup>48</sup>

The fact that Antoine's grandfathers were on the revolutionary councils of their respective towns, and that his maternal grandfather was still on the revolutionary council of Ambronay up to 1800, well after the period of dechristianisation began, would seem to demonstrate considerable sympathies for the ideas of the Revolution among this generation of Garin's family. In addition, Joseph and Françoise Marguerite gave revolutionary names to their children. This was at a time when dechristianisation led parents to avoid the traditional saints' names and opt for the fruits and vegetables of the revolutionary calendar or Roman emperors instead, like Numa, or Antoine from Marc Antoine.<sup>49</sup>

According to Ralph Gibson, the rural bourgeoisie – like the Garins – was 'almost to a man [...] hostile, or at least indifferent, to the Catholic Church' in the early nineteenth century (p. 196). Having readily adopted the Enlightenment ideas of rationality and scientific progress in the eighteenth century, they had stopped going to church as religion was considered irrational and supernatural. At this time the study of science was a common hobby among educated bourgeois men, and from 1750 to 1850 France made fundamental contributions to scientific developments.<sup>50</sup> Both Antoine and his father had a great interest in science and progress, typical of the educated classes, which would be reflected in their

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<sup>47</sup> Philippe Boutry, 'Jacobins et sans-culottes des pays de l'Ain: Les sociétés politiques (1790-1795)', *Le Bugey*, 75 (1988), 171-206 (p. 177).

<sup>48</sup> Jérôme Croyet, Personal Communication, 6 July 2006.

<sup>49</sup> Pierre Billy, Des prénoms révolutionnaires en France, *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 322 (2006) <<http://ahrf.revues.org/document125.html>> [accessed 10 March 2009].

<sup>50</sup> Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848-1945: Taste and Corruption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 226-27.

documentation of their travels, and Antoine's inventions and use of technology such as photography and telegraphy in his mission work in New Zealand. Moreover, as noted above, it was generally unusual for bourgeois men to become priests during this period, and this was also true of the Lyon area, where Jacques Gadille notes for the first half of the nineteenth century that only three percent of clergy came from the *grande bourgeoisie* and four percent from the petty bourgeoisie (p. 220).

Given Antoine's strongly bourgeois background, it could be deduced, then, that his choice to become a priest made him atypical for his times. However, there is significant evidence to suggest that Antoine's family was religious, or, at least, returned to religion during the Restoration which saw the re-establishment of the Catholic Church as a political power, a rapid rise in ordinations to the priesthood and the opening of Catholic schools throughout France. To begin, his grandfathers appear to have been *révolutionnaires tranquilles* who were typical of the early stages of the Revolution, but unlikely to have agreed with the extreme dechristianisation measures that were taken after the *sans-culottes* wrested control from the bourgeoisie, and revolutionary politics became more radical. Raphaël in particular stands as an example of the town administrators who were forced to abandon their positions after the dechristianisation movement gathered force in 1793, after which date he was no longer part of the district council. If it were not for the Revolution, Raphaël and Gaspard's children or grandchildren could have become nobles, and, according to Gibson, many of the families who had been on the way to becoming nobles until the Revolution intervened were sincere Catholics in the early nineteenth century (p. 197). In the view of local Ain



historian and archivist Jérôme Croyet, it was not unusual for men such as Raphaël and Gaspard to have a priest in the family, as this brought social status.<sup>51</sup>

According to Philippe Boutry in his comprehensive study of the Diocese of Belley, Antoine's home diocese, vocations to the priesthood relied on a Christian upbringing. The moving force was often an uncle who was already a priest, and clerical 'dynasties' were not uncommon. Vocations were usually a matter of family rather than individual decision: 'le séminariste est soutenu, financièrement et psychologiquement, par l'approbation d'une famille, d'une parentèle'. Also, a strong Catholic home background was particularly important, such as siblings who attended seminary together.<sup>52</sup> In fact, both Antoine and his brother, Numa, were educated at the minor seminary in Belley, while Antoine's first schooling was provided by a seminarist, Monsieur Rocheray. Also, as the youngest son of a bourgeois family, and with brother Numa following in their father's footsteps, Antoine was under no pressure to go to work in the family business. Numa inherited his father's title as notary public in Saint-Rambert in 1838 and practised until 1842.<sup>53</sup> When their father Joseph died on 5 November 1846, he had become a surveyor at Nantua,<sup>54</sup> perhaps on account of the difficult conditions being imposed on notaries by Louis-Philippe's government in the early 1840s.<sup>55</sup> However, this was after Antoine's departure for the Marist mission in New Zealand.

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<sup>51</sup> Croyet, Personal Communication, 6 July 2006.

<sup>52</sup> *Prêtres et paroisses*, pp. 192-97.

<sup>53</sup> Paul Cattin and Patricia Guillot, *Répertoire numérique de la sous-série 3 E minutes notariales* (Bourg-en-Bresse: Archives départementales de l'Ain, 2000), II, 259-60.

<sup>54</sup> Di Carlo, 'Généalogie d'Antoine Marie Garin'.

<sup>55</sup> Zeldin, *Ambition and Love*, p. 52.

Antoine also had relations who had become priests and nuns. His great-aunt, Marie-Hélène Auger, was a sister at the hospital of Saint-Rambert before the Revolution, while Antoine's cousin, Joseph Debeney, became a Marist before Antoine and another cousin, Elisa Panet, was a nun – Sœur Marie de Jésus – who worked as a teacher.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Antoine appeared to have the support of his extended family for his mission work and maintained contact with them over the whole course of his apostolate, often receiving gifts from them for his mission or parish and sending them curios from New Zealand. He corresponded most frequently with brother Numa and his wife Camille de Gripière de Moncroc, of Pont-de-Vaux, and their children Ernest and Marguerite, born 1840 and 1846 respectively,<sup>57</sup> to whom he would provide accounts of Maori and settler life and samples of Maori art and artefacts. Beyond this, another relation, Madame Mas of Bourg-en-Bresse, was a faithful contributor to his missions for over forty years, sending him shirts to give to the children being baptised, ornaments for his churches, clothing, and valuables for his presbytery among other things.<sup>58</sup>

It would seem, therefore, that Antoine came from a family context that was conducive to his becoming a priest, and that the Garin family provides an example of a rural bourgeois family in Ain in the early nineteenth century that was significantly involved in the Church. This lends weight to the argument of Cholvy and Hilaire that religious practice among the bourgeoisie in the early nineteenth century was influenced by regional background (p. 79), despite

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<sup>56</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jun. 1870.

<sup>57</sup> ADA, Tables décennales, Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey; Nantua.

<sup>58</sup> Société de Marie, *Notice nécrologique sur le R.P. Antoine Garin, S.M.* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1890); APM, Z. 61 8 410, Garin to Numa Garin, 19 Aug. 1880; APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 19, 59.

Gibson's assertion that the rural bourgeois were indifferent to religion irrespective of whether they came from a fervent or irreligious diocese (p. 196).

### *The Garins and the Feminisation of Religion Thesis*

As discussed, French religious historians have noted a feminisation of religion during the early nineteenth century, when Antoine was growing up, particularly with reference to religious practice. However, an aspect of Antoine's upbringing in which his family appears to differ from the norm and which may have contributed to his vocation is that religion was not merely the domain of his mother. There is no evidence to suggest, for instance, that Joseph Garin was part of the male group that attended church only for the major life celebrations. According to family lore, on the day of Antoine's birth two hailstones the size of eggs fell down the chimney into the room where he had just been born, as though the Devil were trying to kill the baby, whereupon Joseph predicted that 'probablement [...] un jour je prêcherais contre lui'. It became a famous family story.<sup>59</sup> The family ensured that the Garin boys had a disciplined religious life, according to Antoine's references to the masses at Saint-Rambert, which he remembered with nostalgia during his time in New Zealand,<sup>60</sup> and a comment in a letter to Numa about the engrained religious habits that the boys had from being brought up to practise their religious duties.<sup>61</sup> Upon hearing of the death of his mother, Antoine also wrote to Numa that he had his mother and father to thank for

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<sup>59</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jun. 1870.

<sup>60</sup> Société de Marie, *Notice nécrologique sur le R.P. Antoine Garin*.

<sup>61</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 10 October 1883.

insisting on the boys' religious instruction, which had saved them from many dangers in their youth, and had allowed him to find himself in the position of becoming a missionary. Antoine referred in this letter to the faith and piety of his parents, and expressed the wish that his mother had gone to a better world where she could be with his father, confirming at least that he viewed his father as a pious man.<sup>62</sup> Given the closeness of the family, it seems unlikely too that Antoine could have become a priest and missionary against his father's wishes. As the eighth and ninth children of Joseph and Françoise Marguerite, and the only two to have survived (perhaps owing to the fact that their parents were first cousins),<sup>63</sup> Antoine and Numa were much-cherished sons. Antoine later wrote that in order to undertake his missionary career he had been forced to leave 'ce que j'avais de plus cher au monde'.<sup>64</sup> In fact, Joseph wrote a series of seven letters to members of the Marist administration in France in the years 1844 and 1845, expressing his concern over his son's well-being given the delay in receiving letters from him and the rumours that were circulating of his death, and asking whether the gifts that the family was sending to the Marists for him were able to be conveyed to New Zealand.<sup>65</sup>

Another sign that Joseph Garin was a pious and attentive father can be seen in the special education that he afforded his sons. Though there were reportedly three schools for boys authorised by the municipal council in Saint-

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<sup>62</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 25 Nov. 1851.

<sup>63</sup> Di Carlo, 'Généalogie d'Antoine Marie Garin'.

<sup>64</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jun. 1870.

<sup>65</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Joseph Garin to Colin, 14 Feb. 1844, 23 May 1844, 26 Apr. 1845, 22 Aug. 1845, 16 Nov. 1845; Joseph Garin to Poupinel, 26 Sep. 1844, 29 Jan. 1845.

Rambert in the 1810s and 1820s,<sup>66</sup> Joseph arranged for a young seminarist, Monsieur Rocheray, to live at the Garin family home and tutor his youngest son. Rocheray held classes for a small number of local children, teaching them the rudiments of French grammar and a little Latin. Three years later Joseph sent Antoine to Ceyzérieu, nearly forty kilometres from Saint-Rambert, to continue his schooling with a Monsieur Dufour who was educating the Count d'Arloz's son. Dufour then moved to Saint-Rambert at the invitation of the Garin family where he established a small boarding school and continued Antoine's education for a further three years, until Antoine reached the age for the minor seminary.<sup>67</sup> Joseph Garin took an interest in his sons' education and religious instruction, which reflected his own means, position in the community and piety. The Garin boys did not have to spend their summers helping with the harvest and missing school as the children of the local peasants did.<sup>68</sup> This emphasis that was given to Antoine's early formation, together with the years of seminary education that were to follow and the fact that he was an interested and capable student, would give Antoine an intellectual curiosity and capability to form an argument that served his work as a missionary and parish priest in New Zealand in no small measure, especially in religious controversies with Protestant ministers and his dealings with local authorities.

Antoine's experience at the minor seminary of Belley also reflects a strong faith inherited from his mother and father. According to Paul Seeley, while

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<sup>66</sup> AAL, 2.II.43 Dupuy to Secretary of the Archdiocese of Lyon, 18 Aug. 1804; AAL, 2.II.115 Paroisses de l'Ain, Dupuy to Vicars-General of the Diocese of Lyon, 25 Mar. 1809.

<sup>67</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de l'abbé Garin.

<sup>68</sup> AAL, 2.II.43, Dupuy to the Archdiocese, 10 Feb. 1804; Lyon, Archives départementales du Rhône, 1 T 173, Etat de l'Instruction primaire dans la Commune de St Rambert.

bourgeois boys' beliefs were frequently subjected to question during their years at college, a strong support base at home could prevent boys from losing their faith (pp. 889-891). Seeley bases his argument on the premise of a non-religious father, in keeping with the feminisation of religion thesis, which is unlikely to have been the case in the Garin family. However, his theory still holds some relevance for Antoine because of the fact that the minor seminary of Belley was a combined college and seminary. Cholvy and Hilaire note that the early nineteenth century was a time in which young people would refrain from admitting their religious beliefs for fear that they would be suspected of having sympathies for the *Ancien Régime* (p. 74). Among the bourgeoisie, or 'fils de Voltaire' as Cholvy and Hilaire term them, the dominant credo up until 1840 was the anticlericalism of Voltaire and the deism of Rousseau (p. 76). The sons of notables who attended Belley college and the aspirants to the clergy who were attending the seminary shared the same classes.<sup>69</sup> During Antoine's time there, the tumultuous events of 1830 and 1831 led to a minor revolt at the seminary as the anticlerical July Monarchy took power in France. The seminary teachers even reported that their lives were in danger.<sup>70</sup> Marist Superior Colin, who had taken over the running of the school in 1829, fought to re-establish discipline.<sup>71</sup> In the face of likely pressure from his peers, Antoine decided upon his vocation and entered the major seminary in 1831 to begin his clerical training. According to Numa, during the six years that Antoine boarded at the minor seminary of Belley, he dreamed only of becoming a

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<sup>69</sup> Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 201.

<sup>70</sup> *Origines maristes (1786-1836)*, ed. by J. Coste and G. Lessard, 4 vols (Rome: Société de Marie, 1960-67), II (1961), 202-03.

<sup>71</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 176.

priest.<sup>72</sup> That Garin attended the school throughout this period unscathed suggests also a strong faith inherited from his mother and father and their support of his decision to become a priest.

It would appear, therefore, that despite the generally anticlerical nature of the bourgeois and in particular of bourgeois men during the early nineteenth century, Antoine's immediate and extended families were exceptions to this pattern. Nor was Antoine a typical candidate for the priesthood, which tended to be populated by the lower classes in the nineteenth century. However, rather than having to rebel against an anticlerical bourgeois father, he enjoyed a solid base from which to embark on his vocation, first as priest, and then as a member of the Society of Mary.

### **Antoine's Religious Vocation**

As noted above, after the devastation of the Revolution there was a significant renaissance of Catholicism in France in the early nineteenth century. Antoine grew up near Lyon, which spearheaded this renaissance. This section considers the extent to which Antoine's regional background was conducive to him becoming a priest, a Marist, and finally a missionary.

Antoine, 'naturellement gai et facétieux, aimant toujours à plaisanter',<sup>73</sup> spent his childhood exploring Saint-Rambert with his brother, Numa – the ruins of the old chateau, the Cuchon area near the Brevon stream, the communal ovens

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<sup>72</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur l'enfance.

<sup>73</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur l'enfance.

where the *galettes* were made for the *fête bugiste*.<sup>74</sup> The boys camped overnight at the *grangeon du bois* where the old winepresses were kept and once nearly poisoned themselves with a hemlock omelette;<sup>75</sup> they went on hunting expeditions in Rivoire, where, afraid of getting into trouble, Antoine would take a gun with a hammer that could be removed in the wink of an eye, and tell any policemen or rangers who happened upon them to try and kill a bird with a gun that had no hammer.<sup>76</sup> That such a boy would opt for the solitary, meditative life of the nineteenth-century French priest suggests significant external influences, beyond the importance of coming from a religious family.

With regard to the inspiration for his vocation to become a priest, Antoine was brought up in a town with a rich religious past. A monastic centre was said to have been founded from the middle of the fifth century by Domitian on the site of the current town of Saint-Rambert.<sup>77</sup> Saint-Rambert-de-Joux, as Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey was formerly known, was also one of two abbeys of the Diocese of Lyon which are known with certitude to have existed before the ninth century. Its fame came from the veneration of Saint Rambert, the Burgundian noble who was put to death on the orders of the mayor of the palace, Ebroïn, around 680.<sup>78</sup> Two statues which come from the doorway of the old abbey and represent Saint Domitian and Saint Rambert can be found in the present-day parish church, and were there when Antoine attended Sunday mass, flanking *la chasse* which

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<sup>74</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 11 Feb. 1861.

<sup>75</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jan. 1854.

<sup>76</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jun. 1870.

<sup>77</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 17.

<sup>78</sup> Gadille, p. 42.



contained the relics of Ragnebert. These treasures were among those protected by the townsfolk during the Revolution, which had exacted considerable damage on local church property: *la chapelle des pénitents*, for example, had been destroyed. Antoine thus grew up in a town that not only had a significant religious history but also one that had been threatened in the near past, and that had been protected by the Rambertois. According to local historian Jacqueline Di Carlo, Saint-Rambert was a highly religious place during Antoine's childhood.<sup>79</sup>

The minor seminary that Antoine attended was also located in a town with a long religious history. Situated thirty-five kilometres from Saint-Rambert, Belley was the historical capital of the Bugey. It constituted its own diocese as early as the fifth century, comprised of small parts of the Bugey, Savoie and Dauphiné which did not include Saint-Rambert, until it was made part of a greater diocese of Lyon during the Revolution.<sup>80</sup> Its cathedral contained the relics of Saint Anthelme. Following the Concordat, the Diocese of Belley was re-established in 1822 to encompass the whole Department of Ain, including Saint-Rambert, under the leadership of Monseigneur Devie.

That Belley was a newly-formed diocese with a new and vigorous bishop, and that it was located near Lyon, meant that it saw a significant religious revival in the early nineteenth century. As a student of the minor seminary at Belley, Antoine felt the full effect of this. The task of renewing the clergy following the Revolution had been slow in getting under way, and recruitment was essential. One of Devie's first tasks when he took up his post as Bishop of the diocese was

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<sup>79</sup> Di Carlo, Personal Communication, 10 July 2006.

<sup>80</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 7.

to encourage vocations by resurrecting the minor seminaries. While a seminary had already been opened at Meximieux to cater for the children of the Bresse plains and the Dombes, Devie felt that a seminary was needed for the students of the Bugey and Gex. Both were mountainous areas and, because of their limited opportunities for employment and advancement, more likely places for children to want to become priests.<sup>81</sup> He succeeded in preventing the closure of the Belley College and obtaining it for the diocese in 1823 as a minor seminary, while retaining its mixed character as a college and seminary.<sup>82</sup> Antoine attended this seminary from 1825, at a moment when it was newly-established, with the precise aim of enlarging the pool of the clergy from the mountainous areas where he was brought up. In 1828, the third year that Antoine attended, Belley had around two hundred students, from primary school level to philosophy and mathematics students, and twelve teachers instructing in French, Greek, Latin, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Mathematics.<sup>83</sup> Antoine completed studies in Humanities, Rhetoric and Philosophy in his final three years there.<sup>84</sup>

While Antoine's decision to become a priest had already been made at Belley, the religious renewal likely had a part to play in maintaining him on the path towards becoming a priest during the tough years of the major seminary. Unlike the combined college and seminary that Antoine had attended at Belley, the major seminaries were attended by candidates for the priesthood only. The

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid, pp. 175-76.

<sup>82</sup> Jean Charbonnet, 'Monseigneur Alexandre Devie, évêque de Belley (1823-1852)', *Le Bugey*, 85 (1998), 121-34 (p. 124).

<sup>83</sup> *Origines maristes*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, I, 442-43.

<sup>84</sup> Georges Homassel, Personal Communication, 7 July 2006.

directors of the major seminary at Brou, such as Denis Perrodin who was in charge during Antoine's formation, were influenced by Sulpician concepts and attempted to inculcate in their charges an *esprit nouveau* that made them 'prêtres à part entière', unconcerned with the preoccupations of the world.<sup>85</sup> In the nineteenth century, this was a common model across France. Seminaries were ruled by the technique of *surveillance*, according to which every moment of a seminarist's day was regulated in the minutest detail. Seminarists were not to rush about in a disorderly manner, as a grave and regulated deportment was seen to be an essential sign of piety; the ideal was to walk slowly with one's eyes to the ground. No yelling, laughter or loud joking was permitted. Priests were not supposed to hunt, play *boules* or any other game, or enter a café or hotel unless absolutely necessary.<sup>86</sup> Having just three years in which to acquire the pastoral virtues that would enable them to lead their parishioners, at Brou regularity in prayers, church services and the spiritual life itself – the taking of communion, for example – was stringently enforced. The asceticism even extended itself to the dining table, Perrodin having said to the final year class of 1829: 'Quand on verra vos visages émaciés, on dira: 'Voilà des hommes de mortification et de travail!' et l'on sera édifié'.<sup>87</sup> Seminary life was thus not easy, and Antoine later wrote to his parents that he felt in better health after his long voyage to New Zealand than after leaving the major seminary at Brou.<sup>88</sup> The asceticism that he and other Marists

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<sup>85</sup> Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 202.

<sup>86</sup> Gibson, pp. 88-91.

<sup>87</sup> J. Maréchal, 'Les séminaires 1823-1923', *Bulletin de la Société Gorini*, 19 (1927), 5-23 (p. 11), cited in Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 204.

<sup>88</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde., Garin to his parents, 24 Jun. 1841.

learned in the French seminaries would, however, be admired by Maori that they attempted to evangelise in New Zealand. It stood as a sign that the French missionaries had gone to New Zealand purely for spiritual – and not material – reasons.

The regional religious revival led by Devie assisted in inspiring new seminarists and encouraging them to complete their formation. One of Devie's first acts as bishop was to install the major seminary at the Augustin monastery at Brou, with lodgings for himself included, in one of a series of efforts to recruit the 600 priests he needed for his diocese.<sup>89</sup> The location of the seminary at the royal monastery was inspiration in itself. Built by Margaret of Austria upon the death of her husband Philibert II in 1504, its beauty was renowned,<sup>90</sup> and Antoine himself noted the profound effect that being master of ceremonies and deacon sacristan of the sanctuary had on him. In such lovely surroundings, with all of the tracery and carvings to admire, he enjoyed all possible scope for his piety, later informing Archbishop Redwood that it was in that sanctuary that he acquired the truly priestly spirit.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Charbonnet, pp. 121-24.

<sup>90</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 77.

<sup>91</sup> 'Funeral of the Venerable Archpriest Garin', *Catholic Times*, 26 April 1889, pp. 22-23.



**Figure 2: Church of the Brou Monastery, Bourg-en-Bresse**  
**Private collection of the author.**

Devie realised the importance of having priests that were trained for a rural ministry, rather than steeped in the culture that they would receive at Saint-Irénée, the major seminary in Lyon. From beginnings of seventy-five students in 1823, thirty-five of whom had transferred from Saint-Irénée,<sup>92</sup> numbers grew to 140 seminarists by 1827. Though the subjects originally taught were limited to dogma and Christian morality, French and Scripture were introduced by 1831, Antoine's first year of attendance. Antoine thus found himself buoyed by a clerical recruitment drive, and living and studying in a seminary that his bishop took an immense personal interest in. Devie often stayed at Brou and attended the

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<sup>92</sup> Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 199.

examinations.<sup>93</sup> It was Devie who saw Antoine pass through the requisite stages of his tonsure and subdeaconate in March and July 1833 and deaconate in March 1834, and who ordained him Father Antoine Garin in the chapel at Brou on 19 October 1834, at the age of twenty-four.<sup>94</sup> Once ordained, Father Garin took much inspiration from Devie himself, in particular his Liguorism, or less rigorist moral theology, and his focus on education and practical manifestations of the faith in the style of the missions to the countryside. These would all feature to some degree in his future work in New Zealand.

Father Garin's attendance at the minor and major seminaries thus coincided with Devie's drive to secure the future clergy of his diocese, and the Bishop's emphasis on religious renewal could be felt there. Though Garin remained atypical in that sons of the bourgeoisie were relatively rare in the parish clergy, including at Brou,<sup>95</sup> he was an example of the ruralisation of the clergy, a nationwide phenomenon that was occurring despite the relative decline in the rural population.<sup>96</sup> Regarding the Lyon area, Gadille sees a ruralisation during the nineteenth century with comparatively more vocations from Ain and the Loire than from the city of Lyon (p. 220). Between 1815 and 1880, 1100 young men from Ain became priests, with a massive recruitment of a new generation taking place from 1825 to 1835, the exact timeframe during which Garin was educated at

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<sup>93</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 163.

<sup>94</sup> Bourg-en-Bresse, Archives de l'Évêché de Belley (AEB), Registre des ordinations 1823-1876.

<sup>95</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 163.

<sup>96</sup> Gibson, pp. 65-69.

the seminaries and ordained a priest.<sup>97</sup> It would appear that Garin grew up in a regional context that was entirely conducive to him becoming a priest.

As for the influences that led Garin to become a Marist, the Revolution had attacked the religious orders even more systematically than it had the parish clergy. Napoleon was originally hostile to the re-establishment of religious orders in France, but soon came to see that they could serve a useful social purpose, especially in education and nursing.<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, the growth of the male religious orders could not compete with the female ones, which Gibson attributes to the competing appeal of the diocesan clergy, and sometimes to the pressure exerted by bishops to prevent their charges joining an order when there were vacant parishes to fill (pp. 107-08). Gibson also notes that the recruitment of the male regular clergy tended to be of a somewhat higher social class than the secular clergy (p. 115).

Garin had considerable experience of the Marists. He was fifteen years old when the Marists began their evangelical mission work in the mountains of the Bugey, under Devie's patronage. Devie had seen the dossier relating to the founding of a society of Mary, a congregation devoted to the Virgin which would conduct missions to catechise the countryfolk and evangelise the irreligious. He recognised the potential of such a society to bring new fervour to his previously-neglected diocese. From 1825 the Marist missionaries circulated continually from one parish to another in Antoine's area, the rural Bugey, organising retreats, and directing the exercises of the Jubilee – a special year designated by the Pope for

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<sup>97</sup> Boutry, pp. 185-89.

<sup>98</sup> Gibson, p. 104.

the remission of sins and universal pardon. The missionaries began by preparing the children for their first communion, and at the communion mass would direct the sermon to the parents, who, once they heard that the Marists were countryfolk like themselves, would then participate in the adult mission that followed.<sup>99</sup> Garin had also had firsthand experience of the Marists from his time at Belley. Marist Superior Colin had taken over as director of the college and seminary in 1829, at Devie's request.<sup>100</sup> Garin and his brother attended the seminary before Colin handed its running over to his deputies, and their mother remembered Colin from her visits to see her sons at Belley.<sup>101</sup> It was a close-knit community and these years at the minor seminary also enabled general contact between the Garin family and the Marists. The Marists lived in rooms in the seminary building,<sup>102</sup> and some of the boys' teachers at the seminary, such as Claude-Joseph Blanc, joined the order.<sup>103</sup> The Society of Mary received approval of its constitution from Rome on 23 December 1835, and the first Marists pronounced their vows on 24 September of the following year. Garin's cousin, Joseph Debeney, who had attended the final year of minor seminary and also the major seminary with him, began his noviciate with the Society soon after the first professions, in November 1836 at Meximieux.<sup>104</sup> Garin was thus not only familiar with the Marists and their

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<sup>99</sup> Hosie, pp. 11-12.

<sup>100</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 172.

<sup>101</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Joseph Garin to Colin, 14 Feb. 1844.

<sup>102</sup> Donal Kerr, *Jean-Claude Colin, Marist: A Founder in an Era of Revolution and Restoration: The Early Years 1790-1836* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2000), p. 210.

<sup>103</sup> AEB, *Annuaire du Clergé de Belley*, 532; APM, Garin dossier, Joseph Garin to Colin, 27 Dec. 1842.

<sup>104</sup> *Origines maristes*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, IV, 260.



work from an early age, but had a family example to show him a different life from the one that he was leading as a *vicaire* or curate.

Typically, religious orders such as the Marists offered better possibilities of progress than the rural parishes. The seminarists of Brou only had the plains of Bresse or mountains of the Bugey on their horizon, and, according to Philippe Boutry, progression within their ranks was slow and difficult.<sup>105</sup> Garin's experience is testimony to this. Following his ordination he was given his first posting in November 1834 as curate to Father Girard at Salavre, a small and economically-depressed hamlet with a population base of just 800 inhabitants located on the northern border of the Department of Ain, twenty kilometres from Bourg-en-Bresse and the major seminary.<sup>106</sup> Though no primary documentation is available to attest to Garin's experiences at Salavre, Boutry notes that the *vicares* in the diocese were given all of the lesser duties, such as catechism for children and adults, preaching the Sunday sermon except on special occasions, choir practice, preparation for mass and ceremony, and taking the last sacraments to people living far from town.<sup>107</sup> Salavre appears to have been an introductory posting, with Garin and the three *vicares* who preceded him all being recorded as 'nouveaux prêtres'. He spent little over a year there.<sup>108</sup> His second posting proved similarly trying, as he was sent to another economically-depressed area, the Dombes. Chalamont, the town where Garin was based, was located in the heart of

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<sup>105</sup> *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 262.

<sup>106</sup> AEB, *Annuaire du Clergé de Belley*, 172; Paul Cattin and Henri Plagne, *Histoire des Communes de l'Ain: (1) La Bresse et le Revermont*, Grande Encyclopédie de l'Ain, 1 (Roanne: Horvath, 1984), pp. 222-24.

<sup>107</sup> *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 253.

<sup>108</sup> AEB, *Annuaire du Clergé de Belley*, 474.

the Dombes d'étangs, on the eastern border of between 500 and 800 hectares of swamps.<sup>109</sup> Chalamont was 'un trou perdu': a terrible posting, because of the mosquitoes and yellow fever that raged through the area. The people of the Dombes had an average lifespan of twenty-eight years in the early nineteenth century.<sup>110</sup> Also, parish priests in the Dombes felt that the population was always on the move because the area was so unhealthy, which made it very difficult to Christianise them.<sup>111</sup> Garin wrote to his parents regarding his voyage to New Zealand that the seasickness at the beginning had left him weakened, but no worse than he had been after the fevers that he had caught at Chalamont.<sup>112</sup>

With these two experiences of the rural parish in Ain, the vigour of the Marist enterprise would have presented quite a different future. Garin later made an interesting comment regarding his Maori catechumens in a letter to his former pupils at the Meximieux minor seminary, perhaps a reference to the unsatisfying nature of his work as *vicaire* in the rural parishes of Salavre and Chalamont: 'Pour tout dire en un mot, ils sont bien au-dessus des gens de nos campagnes. [...] [C]e peuple est plus susceptible d'instruction et de civilisation que les gens de campagne de France.'<sup>113</sup> Commentators on the nineteenth-century colonial experience have made similar observations. M.L. Pratt, for instance, notes from her analysis of travel writing that the European peasantry came to appear only somewhat less primitive than the inhabitants of the Amazon in this period, when

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<sup>109</sup> Guy Brunet, Paul Perceveaux and Louis Trenard, *Histoire des Communes de l'Ain: (3) La Dombes*, Grande Encyclopédie de l'Ain, 1 (Roanne: Horvath, 1983), p. 132.

<sup>110</sup> Croyet, Personal Communication, 6 July 2006.

<sup>111</sup> Boutry, *Prêtres et paroisses*, p. 101.

<sup>112</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde.

<sup>113</sup> Girard, I, doc. 99, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 12 Jun.-17 Jul. 1841.

differences between urban and rural lifestyles were widening (p. 35). Garin was probably referring to religious instruction in particular, as he later wrote to the parish priest of his hometown, Father Darnand:

Dans nos pays civilisés, [...] combien on a le cœur serré de voir un si grand nombre de personnes qui veulent porter le nom de chrétien et qui se traînent plutôt qu'elles ne marchent dans les sentiers de la vie chrétienne; l'indifférence dans laquelle elles sont pour tout ce qui regarde le salut de leurs âmes, cette froideur, cette insouciance qu'elles manifestent quand on leur parle des choses du ciel [...], plongent l'âme du prêtre dans l'abattement et la tristesse.<sup>114</sup>

If Garin was in fact referring to his personal experiences at Salavre and Chalamont when writing to Darnand, joining the Marists may have represented for him an alternative to such a dilemma.

Though there may have been specific inspiration for Garin wanting to join the Marists, dividing the step of becoming a Marist from that of becoming a missionary may be artificial, given the evidence. In 1879 Garin wrote to his brother, Numa, that he had left Chalamont specifically to prepare for the great voyage to Oceania, and Numa recorded that his brother had chosen to become a seminary teacher at Meximieux so that he was free to depart for the missions.<sup>115</sup> Also, according to the biographical sketch or *Notice nécrologique* that the Marists wrote after his death, Garin made the decision to join the Society of Mary for the strength and security that the Marists could provide him to become a missionary,

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<sup>114</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Darnand, 1 Feb. 1843.

<sup>115</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Numa Garin, 21 Sep. 1879; APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur l'enfance.

which he had already resolved to do.<sup>116</sup> This accords with the situation for missionaries at the time: there were no studies specifically aimed at missionaries, who used the same theology manuals as were used in the diocesan seminaries, and were not given specific instruction on the peoples and lands that they would encounter, nor, except on rare occasions, in the languages that they would have to speak.<sup>117</sup> It was vital to have the support of confreres and the institutional backing of a missionary society. After participating in the Marist retreat at Meximieux in 1837,<sup>118</sup> Garin left Chalamont in 1838 to join the Marists. He is recorded as arriving at the Marist noviciate, at La Capucinière in Belley, on 21 November and formally beginning his noviciate on 1 December.<sup>119</sup> For most of 1839 he remained in Belley and was also based at the minor seminary in some capacity according to the diocesan registers, though there is no record of what class he taught and he himself made no reference to this experience in his myriad papers.<sup>120</sup> From 6 October 1839 until November 1840 he worked at the minor seminary of Meximieux as a teacher of *Sixième* and of music, which was a Garin family passion.<sup>121</sup> There was a small group of aspiring Marists at Meximieux,<sup>122</sup> and he was able to continue his noviciate under the tutelage of Denis Maîtrepierre, who

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<sup>116</sup> Société de Marie, *Notice nécrologique sur le R.P. Antoine Garin*.

<sup>117</sup> Xavier de Montclos, 'La Vie spirituelle en France au XIXe siècle et l'élan missionnaire', in *Les Réveils missionnaires en France du Moyen-âge à nos jours: actes du colloque de Lyon 29-31 mai 1980*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 321-37 (p. 323).

<sup>118</sup> Gabriel-Claude Mayet, *Mémoires*, 11 vols (Rome, Marist Archives, [1837-54]), IV, 217.

<sup>119</sup> APM, Garin dossier; APM, Registre H, Novices 1, 10.

<sup>120</sup> AEB, Annuaire du Clergé de Belley, 105, 539; AEB, Tableau du Clergé de Belley depuis la fondation du Diocèse – 1823.

<sup>121</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Garin to Lapierre, 8 Dec. 1840; AEB, Tableau du Clergé de Belley; APM, Régistre H, Novices 1, 10.

<sup>122</sup> *Origines maristes*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, IV, 407.

was superior of the seminary and would become Marist Provincial in 1841,<sup>123</sup> and probably also with the encouragement of his Marist cousin Joseph Debeney, who was director of the seminary when Garin began teaching there, although he passed away that year.<sup>124</sup>

It is possible, then, that Garin's decision to become a missionary preceded that of becoming a Marist, or at least that the two possibilities arose simultaneously, which leads to the question of what influenced a curate in the backwoods parish of Chalamont to have such an interest in the missions. It would seem to be of some consequence that the 1830s was a time when the great French overseas missionary enterprise was revived, after the period of stagnation caused by the Revolution, and that Lyon had become the centre of the new missionary cause. The emphasis in the nineteenth century Lyon religious experience was entirely on action and mission, with the shining example being l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi: a distinctly Lyonnais organisation, with its humble yet effective method of the 'sou des missions'. The 'sou des missions' was essentially a pyramid system based on *dixièmes*, *centenaires* and *millénaires* of supporters and collectors,<sup>125</sup> where donators were required only to contribute the modest sum of a sou per week so that the missions were funded by the poorer classes as much as by the upper classes.<sup>126</sup> According to Jean-Claude Baumont, hundreds of thousands of people were affiliated, with the east of France, including Lyon and

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<sup>123</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Colin, 1 Oct. 1840; J. Coste, *Lectures on Society of Mary History* (Rome: Society of Mary, 1965), p. 209.

<sup>124</sup> AEB, Tableau du Clergé de Belley.

<sup>125</sup> James Waldersee, *A Grain of Mustard Seed* (Sydney: Chevalier Press, 1983), p. 22.

<sup>126</sup> Jean-Claude Baumont, 'La Renaissance de l'idée missionnaire en France au début du XIXe siècle', in *Les Révélés missionnaires en France du Moyen-âge à nos jours: actes du colloque de Lyon 29-31 mai 1980*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), pp. 201-22 (p. 216).

Ain, providing the most generous subscriptions in the country, revealing the strong religious fervour in the area.<sup>127</sup>

Parish priests in the years 1830 to 1835 began to contribute significantly to the success of the Œuvre, especially in the countryside where they generally took charge of the operation. They would read out the stories of the missionaries taken from the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* hoping to inspire men to the priesthood, and the Lyon region became a remarkable centre of recruitment for the missions (pp. 217-18). The *Annales* were a bi-monthly magazine containing missionaries' reports and letters, edited to keep edifying parts foremost, and divided out according to their geographical provenance: *Missions d'Europe*, *Missions du Levant*, *Missions d'Asie*, *Missions d'Afrique*, *Missions d'Amérique*, *Missions de l'Océanie*... They brought to the 'fireside missionaries at home' tales of adventure in foreign lands, and the excitement and commitment of the life of a missionary.<sup>128</sup> Having first appeared in 1822 under a different title, *Nouvelles reçues des Missions*, the *Annales* were received by practically every diocese in the country by 1830, and from the mid-1830s their diffusion increased remarkably, to over 100,000 copies an issue by 1840.<sup>129</sup> While no information is available to attest to Garin having read the *Annales* to his parishioners, he would most certainly have had access to them, and, at a time when travel was rare and television non-existent, the missionaries' adventures would have presented a very different life from that of a curate. What is more, at this time the Marists were

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<sup>127</sup> Adolphe d'Angeville, *Essai sur la statistique de la population française, considérée sous quelques-un de ses rapports typiques et moraux* (Bourg: Dufour, 1836; repr. Paris: Mouton, 1969), pp. 103-04, 338-39, cited in Baumont, p. 218.

<sup>128</sup> Munro, *Story of Suzanne Aubert*, p. 21.

<sup>129</sup> Baumont, pp. 219-21.

bringing the idea of mission close to home, directly to the Department of Ain. On 23 December 1835 Propaganda Fide assigned to the Marists the mammoth task of evangelising far-away Western Oceania, on the understanding that the Society would receive papal approbation for its congregation of priests in return. Colin farewelled his first missionaries to Oceania, led by Bishop Pompallier, in late 1836, and they left France on 24 December.<sup>130</sup> This was a year before Garin went to his first Marist retreat at Meximieux. These initial Marist missionaries soon began sending letters and journals back home, recounting the stories of their voyage and arrival in the islands; Garin would have heard of their progress at the Meximieux retreat. The first Marist letter appeared in the *Annales* in January 1838, from Pompallier in Valparaíso, Chile. In the Department of Ain in 1837, mission was all around, and Garin left Chalamont and the diocesan priesthood definitively the following year.

It therefore appears that in his decisions to become a priest, Marist, and missionary, Garin substantially reflected his times. Garin grew up in a family and regional context that was more conducive to his becoming a priest than one might have expected from a rural bourgeois family in post-Revolution France. Not only was his extended family religious, but he was the youngest son, with a brother who had already satisfied the filial duty by becoming a notary public in his father's footsteps. Garin also came from an area that was the most dynamic Catholic region in France at the time, and, though he was atypical in being a priest from the *classes dirigeantes*, in Ain he was surrounded by the idea and the tales of adventure of the missions. While family friends commented that he might

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<sup>130</sup> Girard, X, 67-68.

succumb on the voyage because of his not-overly robust constitution,<sup>131</sup> Garin's Marist superiors provided a strong support base for his choice to become a Marist and a missionary. Garin was not an example of the maxim of another missionary in Oceania, George Brown, who said that 'people fly to the Pacific to get away from civilisation', to escape the expectations of family, and find adventure.<sup>132</sup> Garin would leave France because of the pull of the mission and the strength of his vocation, influenced by his family background, his formation in the seminaries of the Diocese of Belley, and his experience of the religious renewal in the region of Lyon.

## **Leaving France**

Garin's was a dramatic departure. He offered himself up for a missionary posting in a letter to Colin on 1 October 1840, in which he explained that he had been held back because of his concerns that he might succumb to the hardships of the mission. The speed of his posting and profession could be explained by this: a year and a half later, Colin told the college at Belley the secret of how he chose men for the foreign missions. Those who were over-keen and had what he termed a certain impetuosity were not the ones he selected – he preferred those whose desire was tranquil and humble, and who had been able to take courage when they thought that God wished to make use of them.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde; APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Colin, 1 Oct. 1840.

<sup>132</sup> Gardner, p. 25.

<sup>133</sup> Craig Larkin, *A Certain Way: An Exploration of Marist Spirituality* (Rome: Centre for Marist Studies, 1995), p. 122.



Garin remained at the seminary at Meximieux until receiving his call a month later.<sup>134</sup> He left Meximieux on 20 November 1840, at midnight. The few teachers and students who were still alive when the Marists wrote Garin's *Notice nécrologique* in 1890 could remember how surprised they were when the bell was rung for an unscheduled evening service. After the 'Ave maris Stella', they looked questioningly at each other as Garin walked slowly to the pulpit wearing a crucifix around his neck, and, in the stunned silence, declared his resolution and said his goodbyes.<sup>135</sup> His departure had been kept secret as he was afraid that his mother's entreaties would prevent him from fulfilling his calling.<sup>136</sup> His brother was the only family member aware of his plans.<sup>137</sup> In Lyon the following day, appropriately the Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, he said mass at the chapel of Fourvière, where the vision of the Society of Mary had been formalised in 1816, and took his vows as a Marist at Puylata, the General House in Lyon.<sup>138</sup> A day later he left Lyon for Paris.<sup>139</sup> It was not until he boarded his ship, the *Mary Gray*, at Gravesend that he wrote a touching letter of farewell to his parents.

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<sup>134</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Colin, 1 Oct. 1840.

<sup>135</sup> Société de Marie, *Notice nécrologique sur le R.P. Antoine Garin*.

<sup>136</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Notes sur l'enfance.

<sup>137</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Colin, 1 Oct. 1840.

<sup>138</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Numa Garin, 21 Nov. 1880.

<sup>139</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **BIRTH OF A MISSIONARY SOCIETY – FRANCE, 1816-1840**

One of the greatest turning points in Garin's life was his decision to join the Society of Mary. As a missionary society that had accepted responsibility for the Vicariate of Western Oceania, the Marists offered Garin a completely new horizon of opportunities, of which he would take full advantage. They also offered him the backbone for his missionary work: a rule, a missionary ethic, and a system of Marian beliefs and practices that he carried with him throughout his forty-eight years as a missionary and parish priest in New Zealand.

This chapter relates briefly the story of the birth of the Marist Society, while analysing the extent to which its founding and its rule reflected nineteenth-century French – and Lyonnais – Catholicism, with particular emphasis on Marianism, Liguorism and mission. It therefore assesses to what extent the Society was a product of its times, in the vein of the previous chapter. This analysis also makes reference to the system of Marian beliefs and practices that the Society formulated over a number of years, which gave Garin the basis for his work in New Zealand. There follows a brief sketch of the laying of the foundations of the Marist mission in Oceania. This provides Garin a point at which to enter the history of the Catholic mission in New Zealand, as he arrived at Kororareka four and a half years after the mission was first established. The chapter concludes with a description of Garin's journey across the oceans, as provided by his famous letter-map.

## Founding of the Marists

While Jean-Claude Colin has been ascribed the title of founder of the Society of Mary, it is well-attested that the original idea came to another figure in the Marist story, Jean-Claude Courveille. According to Marist historian Jean Coste, Courveille received an inspiration in the cathedral of Le Puy on 15 August 1812 (p. 16), to the effect that Mary wished to have a congregation dedicated to her just as Jesus had the Jesuits or Society of Jesus. The members of this new congregation were to be called Marists, and they were to fight against the hell unleashed against the Church in that age of impiety and unbelief.<sup>1</sup> Courveille's idea was developed just a few years later, thanks to the encouragement of Jean Cholleton, Professor of Ethics at Saint-Irénée, the major seminary of Lyon that Courveille attended. Courveille's final two years at the seminary, from 1814, were marked by the foundation of the French missions to the countryside and the re-organisation in France of the Jesuits and the Vincentians, and this religious revival was echoed in the seminary by an outburst of new and ambitious plans. Father Bochard, Vicar General in charge of the seminaries of the Lyon Diocese, sought to channel the seminarists' inspiration into a new diocesan society which was established in 1816, called the Society of the Cross of Jesus. Another Saint-Irénée group wished to join the Jesuits. During the scholastic year 1815 to 1816, Courveille's idea began to spread and attract adherents, to the dismay of Bochard who wanted members for his own society. Among the group of aspirants were two of the men who would most influence the Marist project: Jean-Claude Colin and

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<sup>1</sup> *Origines maristes*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, II, 568-91.

Marcellin Champagnat. Meetings were held with the support of Cholleton,<sup>2</sup> and culminated in the signing of a pledge, drafted by Courveille, at the Chapel of Our Lady of Fourvière on 23 July 1816. According to Coste, this is considered to be the date of the Society's foundation (p. 33). It was also Garin's sixth birthday.

It is clear from Coste's work that the founding of a Society of Mary at this specific time reflected the broader currents of change in French Catholicism. Coste explains that while the title *Societas Mariae* did not appear in any official act of the Holy See prior to 1836, the name itself had been in circulation from the late eighteenth century. During the revolutionary period the idea of forming a society of Mary was mentioned by a number of clerics: a former Jesuit, Father de Clorivière, gave this name to a congregation he was planning in 1790; in 1792 Bernard Dariès, an exiled cleric in Spain, suggested a society of Mary to replace the Society of Jesus which was suppressed at that time. Another exile, Guillaume-Joseph Chaminade, founded a Society of Mary in 1817, which received papal approval in 1865 (p. 15), but was otherwise unrelated to Colin's Marists.

Ralph Gibson too has discussed the extent to which Mary represented the development of a new model of Catholicism in nineteenth-century France. The former *pastorale de la peur* – an attempt to impose an impossibly high level of asceticism on parishioners – was overthrown as priests came increasingly to emphasise the love between God and man (p. 272). Such an approach reflected the trials of the Church during the Revolution and the importance that a home-based, more humble faith had assumed. While the Tridentine version of Catholicism that had propagated the *pastorale de la peur* had not found Mary an

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<sup>2</sup> Coste, p. 26.

easy figure to relate to, in the nineteenth century Mary became the personification of God's love for man. A number of new religious orders were thus dedicated to her, in preference to any other patron (pp. 254-55). In addition, the fact that Courveille came from the region of Lyon and attended Saint-Irénée was of no small consequence. Arguably, no other location in France was more ready for the renewal of Marianism than Lyon. With its traditional motto, 'Lyon à Marie',<sup>3</sup> and its sanctuary to Mary, Our Lady of Fourvière, which had overlooked Lyon since 1170,<sup>4</sup> it seems entirely appropriate that a society of Mary be conceived there. The founding of a society dedicated to the Virgin thus reflected the new brand of Catholicism that began to take root in the wake of the Revolution, in particular in Lyon, where the Marist idea was formed.

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<sup>3</sup> Munro, *Story of Suzanne Aubert*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Larkin, p. 17.



**Figure 3: Notre-Dame de Fourvière, Lyon**

**Our Lady is standing atop the chapel where the Society of Mary was founded in 1816.  
Private collection of the author.**

The path to establishing the Society on a formal footing was not easy, however. Of those who signed the original pledge at Fourvière, many abandoned the project in view of the difficulty of starting the Society in a concrete way. The three key figures who remained involved were appointed to parishes at the extremities of the Diocese of Lyon after their ordination at Saint-Irénée in 1816. Courveille was appointed curate at Verrières in the western extreme of the diocese, while Champagnat was sent to La Valla in the far south, and Colin found

himself in Cerdon, a north-eastern outpost where his brother Pierre was parish priest. Courveille maintained communications with Champagnat and Colin despite the distance. He was considered the central figure in the Marist project until 1826, when scandal caused him to lose influence; despite this, he made various attempts at establishing Marist foundations, including an association of lay women at Verrières and a community of brothers at Epercieux. Colin, meanwhile, spoke to his brother of the plan to form a Society of Mary composed of many branches, including priests, religious brothers and sisters, and lay people, and so Pierre invited two women from his previous parish to join them at Cerdon, one of whom, Jeanne-Marie Chavoin, would eventually become the foundress of the Marist sisters. Champagnat, on the other hand, was the first of the founders to succeed in forming a Marist group, and his company of Marist Brothers became the fastest-growing branch of the Marist project from 1817.<sup>5</sup>

At Cerdon, Jean-Claude Colin, who was personally more inclined to meditation, reflected on the foundational concept, and wrote the beginnings of a rule for the congregation of Marists in the years 1817 to 1820, famously working at night in a closet five feet square. His proposition was simple: Mary had been present in the early Church like a mother supporting a child. As a mother, she could not bear that anyone was excluded or abandoned from the family of the faith, and hence her work was to gather all those who were on the edge of life, or the edge of the Church. Achieving this required a multi-branched organisation of priests, religious and lay people, all of whom worked together.<sup>6</sup> According to

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<sup>5</sup> Larkin, pp. 20, 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30; Coste, p. 119.

Marist scholar and Vicar General Craig Larkin, the phrase ‘ignoti et occulti’, or ‘hidden and unknown in this world’, which has become consecrated in Marist thinking, was first conceived by Colin at Cerdon (p. 56). Colin therefore envisioned a Marian-type church which worked in a way that reflected Mary’s role in the apostolic church: hidden and unknown. This new church was prepared to strip itself of its glory and its privileges, in order that God’s message be heard (p. 52). Coste describes the rule as the dream of a young priest who had yet to understand the special demands of an active congregation, seeing religious life through what he knew of the old monastic orders. This was reflected in the bodily mortifications, solemn vows and public penances that were mentioned in his rule (pp. 172-73).

It was Colin who, in 1822, took responsibility for presenting this early rule for approval to the papal authorities. The reason underlying the approach to the Vatican was that the vicars general of Lyon had expressly forbidden the Marist aspirants from forming a community in the diocese, or even leaving it. The 1822 approach did not go as planned: instead of securing recognition by the Holy See, the three original Marist aspirants were left in an ever more precarious situation as the great Diocese of Lyon was divided up, and the dossier for the proposed society was handed by the Nuncio in Paris to Monseigneur Devie, under whose jurisdiction Colin now found himself. Colin was thus to work in the new Diocese of Belley, while Champagnat and Courveille remained in Lyon.

As it transpired, the change in diocesan administrations was fortunate. The new archiepiscopal council of Lyon under Archbishop Jean-Paul Gaston de Pins acknowledged Champagnat’s success and decided to encourage it. With



Courveille's help he was able to buy land near Saint-Chamond, where he established the mother house and novitiate of the Brothers, to be known as 'The Hermitage', on a more permanent footing. Champagnat thus continued to work to develop the Brothers, while acting as a rallying point for Lyonnais priests who wished to become Marists. By 1829 he had a small group of priests living in community, including the future Bishop Pompallier. In the Diocese of Belley, Devie gave his approval for the sisters and, on 8 December 1824, Chavoin was elected their superior general, and the first nine members took the habit. The essential objective of the movement, though, remained the foundation of the branch of priests, and they had yet to obtain permission to form a community.<sup>7</sup>

During this time, Colin's thinking underwent a substantial change. Devie had asked the two Colin brothers and Etienne Déclas, one of the original signatories of the 1816 pledge who had joined the Colins at Cerdon, to work for him as diocesan missionaries in the mountains of the Bugey. While there, Jean-Claude discovered many people who had abandoned the Church or felt it had abandoned them because of the Revolution.<sup>8</sup> He worked closely with Devie on the tactics for getting parish priests to accept a mission which they often did not desire, and relied to an even greater extent on the Bishop with regard to the attitude to be adopted in the confessional.<sup>9</sup> Devie encouraged confessors to follow the principles of Saint Alphonsus Liguori, and this led Colin to abandon the ways of thinking that he had acquired at the morally-rigorous seminary in Lyon, and

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<sup>7</sup> Coste, pp. 51-65.

<sup>8</sup> Larkin, p. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Coste, p. 75.

adopt a more compassionate approach. There was, of course, plenty of scope to apply Liguori's principles of mercy in the parish missions.<sup>10</sup> From a statement that Colin made to Marist chronicler Gabriel-Claude Mayet, it is clear that he decided to adopt Liguorism for his Society. According to Mayet, Colin later acknowledged the influence of Devie on his theology and ways of approaching the confessional, and stated that the Society would profess all those opinions which gave greatest play to the mercy of God, on account of the great weakness of human nature.<sup>11</sup>

As Theodore Zeldin notes, the debate on morality had been ongoing in the French Catholic Church. The Jesuits had been the precursors of the relaxation of the Church's moral requirements from the sixteenth century, minimising the effects of original sin and adopting a more optimistic view of man, that he was not fundamentally corrupt and conformity to the commandments could save him. This was in contrast to the Jansenist position, which had arisen in the framework of the Counter Reformation. The Jansenists had revived the doctrine of the basic corruption of man, who was capable of salvation only through grace. Frequent communion was encouraged, and severe penances were expected for sins; absolution was repeatedly deferred to make sure that the penitent was fit for communion. Louis Bailly's treatise on moral and dogmatic theory, first published in 1789, had considerable influence on continuing these rigorist practices into the nineteenth century, for it was used as a standard text in nearly all French seminaries. It suggested among other things the imposition of five to ten years of

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<sup>10</sup> Chris Whelan, *The Marist Story*, 3 vols (Sidcup: Marist Fathers, 1996), III, 40.

<sup>11</sup> Mayet, I, 65.

penance for adultery, three years of penance for dancing in front of the church, and ten days of bread and water for talking in church.<sup>12</sup> The seminary that Colin, Courveille and Champagnat attended still clung to this morally-rigorous mode of thought, as did the majority of the French clergy, but change was afoot in the wider Catholic world. In 1825 Pope Leo XII issued the encyclical *Caritate Christi* for the Jubilee, which asked confessors to be gentle towards penitents, and to defer absolution only in the most exceptional circumstances. Colin would have read this encyclical, which was soon available in France, before taking the Jubilee exercises on his missions in the Bugey.<sup>13</sup>

According to Gibson, it was precisely through the adoption of the moral theology of Liguori that the rigorous morality of the eighteenth-century French Church began to be softened. Liguorism allowed confessors to treat penance in a paternal rather than an inquisitorial, judicial way. The sinner should be encouraged to pray, to make their devotions to the Blessed Virgin, and to use the sacraments, and, no matter how sinful they were, the penitent should never be left to despair (p. 261). As Philippe Boutry notes, Monseigneur Devie was the real precursor of Liguorist theory in France. His circular to his clergy in 1826, which redirected attention to the Pope's encyclical, was the first French Episcopal declaration in favour of Liguori, and his influential *Rituel de Belley* was a further attempt to impose less rigorous confessional methods on his clergy.<sup>14</sup> The *Rituel* was also the first original work of its type to appear after the Revolution, and was

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<sup>12</sup> Theodore Zeldin, 'The Conflict of Moralities: Confession, Sin and Pleasure in the Nineteenth Century', in *Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Theodore Zeldin (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), pp. 13-50 (pp. 25-26).

<sup>13</sup> Kerr, *Jean-Claude Colin, Marist*, pp. 224-25.

<sup>14</sup> *Prêtres et paroisses*, pp. 415-16.

the Belley clergy's most important source of information on canon law, which was not taught at the major seminary of Brou until 1878.<sup>15</sup> The Society of Mary's adoption of Liguorist thought therefore reflected changing attitudes towards confession in the Catholic Church. These changes were felt particularly strongly in the Diocese of Belley, where Colin was based, because of the impact of Devie. The continued influence of Liguorism on the Marists is demonstrated by Garin's own use of Liguorist theory throughout his apostolate.<sup>16</sup> Garin frequently referred to Liguori on the points of principle and doctrine that he discussed with his bishop.<sup>17</sup>

It was Devie who invited the Marist missionaries to reside at the college and seminary at Belley from 1825, appointed Colin as director of the seminary in April 1829, and then appointed him superior of the Marist group in Belley in 1830. Devie also approved the rule that Colin had redrafted by 1833, when he travelled to Rome to present it personally to the Vatican for the first time.<sup>18</sup> This rule showed the Society divided into three distinct branches of fathers, brothers and sisters, each with tertiary or lay orders.<sup>19</sup> Colin held a vision of a different church from that which had faced the Revolution: one modelled more on the early church, where there was less focus on the role of the priest. This new church would not concentrate on power and domination, but would only want to serve. Colin asked the Marists to portray the 'feminine features' of God, and to help

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<sup>15</sup> Trenard and Trenard, p. 165.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Nelson, St Mary's Parish Archives (SMPA), DNM 2/32 Letter Registers. Copies or Summaries of Letters Written by Father Garin, 1852-1875, Garin to Rocher, 29 Nov. 1854, 5 Jun. 1855.

<sup>17</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 30 Aug. 1857, 13 Nov. 1866.

<sup>18</sup> Coste, p. 75.

<sup>19</sup> Larkin, p. 30.

build a church that was not perceived in terms of power, planning, control, administration and competitiveness, but rather in terms of community, compassion, simplicity, mercy and fellowship.<sup>20</sup> According to Coste, the revised rule also reflected Colin's awareness of the practical necessities of mission life, which had been brought home to him during his years on the Bugey missions: there he had realised the impossibility of reconciling the monastic life he dreamed of with the works that the Society should undertake. The prescriptions of the new rule were thus extremely moderate (pp. 173-74).

The original idea of the Marist project – a multi-branched organisation – was never to see the light of day. The plan of a vast congregation working under one superior general was unprecedented in the Church. In fact, the Marist Brothers received papal approval to become a separate congregation in 1852, and the Marist Sisters in 1884. Colin thus returned from Rome in 1833 with the news that the Society could not be approved under any aspect,<sup>21</sup> although events were soon to take a significant turn for the better. That is, it was at Colin's return that Propaganda Fide began seeking priests to staff its planned Vicariate of Western Oceania. This was an immense vicariate which, at the time of its official founding on 10 January 1836, stretched from New Guinea in the west to Mangaia in the east, and from the Marianas and Marshall Islands in the north to New Zealand in the south.<sup>22</sup> Regarding Oceania as a continuation of the islands adjacent to Africa, Propaganda Fide approached Jean-Louis Pastre, who had been Prefect Apostolic

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 49-50.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. 31, 152.

<sup>22</sup> Ralph M. Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825 to 1850* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979), p. 118.

of Reunion in the Indian Ocean, to staff the new vicariate. Pastre, who was then based in Lyon, consulted Jean Cholleton who had become one of the vicars general of Lyon, and the latter suggested Father Pompallier, who had expressed a desire to go to the foreign missions. Pompallier consulted the central Marist Superior, Colin, regarding the proposal that had been put to him. Colin in turn advised him to accept, foreseeing the opportunity that this could present for the approbation of the Marist Society.

A plenary session of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide was held on 23 December 1835, which resulted in the Vicariate of Western Oceania being entrusted to the Society of Mary; this received papal approbation on 10 January 1836. Events moved quickly from this point. Pompallier was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania on 17 April, and Rome's administrative processes were sped up to enable one branch of the Marist project – the congregation of priests – to be approved by the papal brief *Omnium gentium* on 29 April. Pompallier was consecrated in Rome on 30 June; on 24 September Colin was elected as superior of the Marists and the first twenty Marist professions were made, with Pompallier abstaining because of his new title as bishop. On 24 December the first eight missionaries left Le Havre for Oceania.<sup>23</sup>

The manner in which the approbation of the Society of Mary was realised made the Society very much a prototype of its times. The atmosphere of mission reportedly pervaded the dioceses of Lyon and Belley, where the Marist idea was born and matured. In Boutry's opinion, the Marists provide the clearest example of a religious society with a rural background that was transformed by the call to

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<sup>23</sup> Coste, pp. 105-10.

mission. After all, the newborn Society had seen its members sent out to every corner of the vast Diocese of Lyon as priests and curates, had participated in the rural missions in the Diocese of Belley from 1825 and the running of the college of Belley from 1829, prior even to its full approval by the Church. When papal approval was granted, this was on the condition that the Society undertake the evangelisation of Western Oceania. According to Boutry, 'l'élán missionnaire du catholicisme français du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle est à l'image de ce destin exceptionnel.'<sup>24</sup> The Marist Society epitomised the changes taking place in the French Catholic Church in the early nineteenth century. Not only was it dedicated to Mary, the central devotional figure of the period, and affiliated to the less rigorist theology of Liguori, a major new development in the approach to parishioners, but it was launched officially because of its acceptance of overseas missionary work in Oceania, missionary work which would provide some of the most successful conversion outcomes in history.<sup>25</sup>

It was not until six years after the Society received papal approbation that Colin drew up the rule that forms the basis of the constitutions of the Marists today. According to Coste, in comparison to the earlier versions of Colin's rule, the 1842 rule was notably influenced by the constitutions of the much earlier Society of Jesus, which Colin had unearthed in the Casanatense Library during his 1833 visit to Rome (p. 175). The rule stipulates that the Society of Mary is a pontifical congregation with simple and perpetual vows, with a goal and spirit flowing naturally from its name: Mary. The aims of the congregation are those

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<sup>24</sup> Philippe Boutry, 'Le Mouvement vers Rome et le renouveau missionnaire', in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, ed. by Le Goff and Rémond, III, 423-52 (pp. 451-52).

<sup>25</sup> Peggy Brock, 'New Christians as Evangelists', in *Missions and Empire*, ed. by Etherington, pp. 132-52 (p. 133).

common to every active congregation since Saint Ignatius, namely education and mission, though Colin added a third to them: the defence of the Catholic faith, which was characteristic of the time of religious crisis in which he was brought up (pp. 180-81). The mode of life does not include the obligation of monastic penances, for, as in the Society of Jesus, it is a life for working apostles in which nothing should interfere with their apostolate. The apostolate of missionary preaching, works of charity, and education, should always be exercised in such a way that the Marist is unknown and hidden so that he can better attain the goal that he sets himself (p. 181). The aims and spiritual aspects of this rule were very much in evidence in Garin's apostolate in New Zealand. Garin worked both on the missions and in the education arena, and defended the Catholic faith in debates with Protestant ministers and more publicly in his letters to the editors of Nelson newspapers. The humble manner in which he went about this work – in the style of the Marists, 'ignoti et occulti' – led him to gain the general respect of the communities in which he lived and enabled him to make a non-controversial and lasting impact on them, in particular in Nelson.

The 1842 text saw a final revision by Colin between 1868 and 1870. It is interesting to note to what an extent the constitutions were a living document, which required reworking throughout Colin's life. In the same way, the overseas missions were an entirely new undertaking that had not always been part of the Marist project, and which would similarly require reflection and rethinking for a long time to come. The New Zealand mission was to be no exception.



## **Marist Beginnings in Oceania**

The Marists had been present in New Zealand for three and a half years prior to Garin's arrival in June 1841, years which had seen both exciting beginnings and difficult trials. When Pompallier left France in 1836, he received little direction from the authorities in Rome as to where to establish his mission headquarters, where his personnel should be left, or how the mission was to be overseen. Before leaving, he drew up a document designating Colin as his pro-vicar for Western Oceania, and asked Colin to be his correspondent and chargé d'affaires in France. Colin told the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Giacomo Filippo Fransoni, that he gladly accepted these offices as they would provide him with opportunities to preserve contacts between the Society's missionaries and the other members remaining in France. Colin also asked Pompallier to be the religious superior of the missionaries sent with him, as the group was so small that he did not think it necessary to have a religious superior separate from the mission superior. It would appear that Pompallier was reluctant to assume this responsibility, as he told Colin to advise him if he should give up it up and occupy himself exclusively with the mission.<sup>26</sup> Questions of the jurisdiction of Colin, the Marist Superior, and Pompallier, Vicar Apostolic and a member of the secular clergy, thus arose from the very beginning of the Oceania missions.

Having sailed to Oceania via Valparaíso in Chile, where France had its sole military base in the Pacific at the time,<sup>27</sup> Pompallier deposited Pierre-Marie

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<sup>26</sup> Rome, Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide (APF), SC Oceania vol. I, fol. 398<sup>v</sup>, Colin to Fransoni, 25 May 1837; fol. 389<sup>v</sup>, Pompallier to Fransoni, 22 Feb. 1837, cited in Wiltgen, pp. 130-31.

<sup>27</sup> Faivre, pp. 315-23.

Bataillon and Brother Joseph-Xavier (Jean-Marie) Luzy on the island of Wallis, and Pierre Chanel and Brother Marie-Nizier (Jean-Marie) Delorme on Futuna. His plans for his final destination changed numerous times, but he eventually decided on New Zealand. Before travelling to his destination, he visited Sydney to obtain the assurance of the protection of the English authorities there.<sup>28</sup> Bishop of Sydney John Bede Polding organised letters of introduction to the Catholics of New Zealand and in particular to Thomas Poynton, a noted Catholic settler who was based in Hokianga.<sup>29</sup> In a report prepared for his first pastoral visit to Rome, which was later published in part as the *Early History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*, Pompallier recorded in 1846 that he and his remaining missionaries, Catherin Servant and Brother Michel (Antoine) Colombon, arrived at Hokianga on 10 January 1838, where they were were met by Poynton, who lent a house to the Bishop. One of the rooms of the house was converted into a chapel and it was there, on 13 January, that Pompallier celebrated the first recorded mass in New Zealand.<sup>30</sup> Given the history of French exploration to New Zealand, it was probably not, of course, the first mass ever held: Léonard de Villefeix, a Dominican priest and ship's chaplain on board the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, was with Jean-François de Surville's expedition that went ashore in Doubtless Bay over a two-week period in December 1769, although no records were kept of services

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<sup>28</sup> Wiltgen, pp. 153, 158-60.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>30</sup> Jean-Baptiste François Pompallier, *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, trans. by Arthur Herman (Auckland: H. Brett, 1888), p. 35.

held.<sup>31</sup> Pompallier later designated the group's arrival date, 10 January 1838, as the founding date of the Roman Catholic Mission of New Zealand.<sup>32</sup>

It soon became clear to Pompallier that the real centre of shipping and commercial activity in New Zealand was at the Bay of Islands, and when six new missionaries, namely Claude-André Baty, Jean-Baptiste Épalle, Louis-Maxime Petit, Brother Marie-Augustin (Joseph) Drevet, Brother Florentin (Jean-Baptiste) Françon and Brother Élie-Régis (Étienne) Marin, arrived in June 1839, he began to consolidate his position in New Zealand by purchasing property at Kororareka, where he established a new mission station. Pompallier noted in a report to Rome that he then fixed his residence at Kororareka and made it the headquarters of the whole vicariate apostolic, leaving the experienced Servant with responsibility for Hokianga, assisted by Petit (p. 58).

A number of perceived Catholic miracles among Maori in the Bay of Islands, including the saving of the great Ngapuhi chief Rewa's daughter who was gravely ill, did much to gain adherents to the new religion, and Pompallier recorded that in a very short time he had over 450 Maori inscribed on his lists of catechumens (p. 59). The arrival of a further four priests and one brother in December 1839 – Joseph-André Chevron, Jean-Baptiste Comte, Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean, Philippe Viard, and Brother Attale (Jean-Baptiste) Grimaud – enabled a third station to be established by Épalle and Petit-Jean at Whangaroa in the far north, while Chevron and Brother Attale were sent to assist in Wallis and Futuna

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<sup>31</sup> John Dunmore, *The Fateful Voyage of the St. Jean Baptiste: A True Account of M. de Surville's Expedition to New Zealand & the Unknown South Seas in the Years 1769-1770* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1969), pp. 94-96; Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost: A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 1997), pp. 33-35.

<sup>32</sup> Wiltgen, p. 206.

(pp. 60-61). Missions were also begun by Viard at Tauranga and provisionally by Petit at Mangakahia in mid-1840.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, Pompallier reported that another two priests and two brothers, being Jean Pezant, Jean-André Tripe, Brother Claude-Marie (Jean-Claude) Bertrand, and Brother Amon (Claude) Duperron, arrived with Captain Charles Lavaud in July under an arrangement that Colin had made with the French Government (p. 68). Though Lavaud arrived too late to annex the southern island of New Zealand for France, the French ‘colonists’ began a fledgling settlement at Akaroa, leading to the founding of a station there which was served by Tripe and Comte, who took charge of the French and Maori parishioners respectively (p. 73). It was thus to a veritable hive of Catholic missionary activity, extending from the west to the east coast of Northland, the Bay of Plenty, and Banks Peninsula, as well as the islands of Wallis and Futuna, that Garin would arrive in mid-1841.

Such expansion had, however, come at the price of discord between Pompallier and his missionaries. Pompallier’s Marist contemporaries lauded his ability to deal with the English authorities, his respectful approach towards Maori culture, and his love for the people, which they believed had contributed significantly to the early success of the mission.<sup>34</sup> The flipside of this was the association of Catholicism with the figure of the bishop, as reflected in the Maori word used to denote the Catholics, ‘epikopo’. The first united demonstration of the missionaries’ grievances against Pompallier came in a letter of 26 April 1840 from Servant, the original New Zealand missionary priest, who had consulted the

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<sup>33</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 3, Petit to Pompallier, 16 July 1840.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Girard, I, doc. 90, Comte to Colin, 25 Apr. 1841; II, doc. 202, Garin to Colin, 3 Oct. 1842.

priests from the second sailing with a year of experience of working under Pompallier. The letter mentioned a number of difficulties, including that Pompallier, the embodiment of Catholicism in New Zealand, had reserved for himself the right to offer gifts to Maori chiefs, which diminished his men in Maori eyes. Other complaints reflected the difficulties of managing such an immense vicariate far from Europe: Pompallier was accused of having no sense of business affairs, of making exaggerated reports of prospective conversions, and, above all, of neglecting the men left on Wallis and Futuna. Finally, as was foreshadowed in the agreement made between Colin and Pompallier upon the departure of the first missionary group, there were misunderstandings about Pompallier's jurisdiction over and commitment to the Marists. Servant charged him with overstepping the boundary between his rights as bishop and the rights of his staff. For example, Pompallier insisted on reading his missionaries' incoming and outgoing letters in case something detrimental were said about the mission, and spread his men so widely across the numerous mission stations that they had little opportunity for communal religious life, which was particularly important given how new the Society was and the fact that it did not yet have a body of inspirational written material to keep its members aware of their special calling.<sup>35</sup>

The issues raised by Servant were felt generally among the missionaries, as is suggested by a comment from a Marist working in Tonga, who referred to 'le système de la Nouvelle-Zélande', whereby all assistance was centralised in the person of the bishop, while those who worked in the distant mission stations had

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<sup>35</sup> Girard, I, doc. 55, Servant to Colin, 26 Apr. 1840; Michael O'Meehan, 'The First Wave of French Marists' in *The French Place in the Bay of Islands Symposium* (Russell, 2004).

to go without.<sup>36</sup> This was the mission arena which greeted the fifth sailing of missionaries. Garin himself would face the challenges of dealing with increasingly despondent Marist priests and brothers when he was assigned the role of provincial superior within months of his arrival.

## **Journey to the Antipodes**

When Garin set out for London on 22 November 1840 he was oblivious to Servant's letter, and the problems that were beginning to arise between the Marists and Pompallier. The fifth group of missionaries that he had joined, led by Antoine Séon who had been one of the original twenty Marists to take their profession in 1836, was described by Colin as the largest group to leave from Lyon for the foreign missions in the previous 140 to 150 years. It was certainly one of the most remarkable sailings of Marists that would take place.<sup>37</sup> The group numbered fourteen in total, including three Marist priests, a diocesan priest and two candidates for the priesthood, five brothers, and, for the first time, three laymen, one of whom fell ill and never made it to New Zealand. The other two laymen, architect Louis Perret and school teacher Jean-François Yvert, would respectively design the building to house the Gaveau printing press that the fifth group took with them to New Zealand, and act as the mission's printer.<sup>38</sup>

Of this remarkable sailing, a remarkable record was kept in the form of a large letter-map which plotted the group's journey, written and designed by Garin

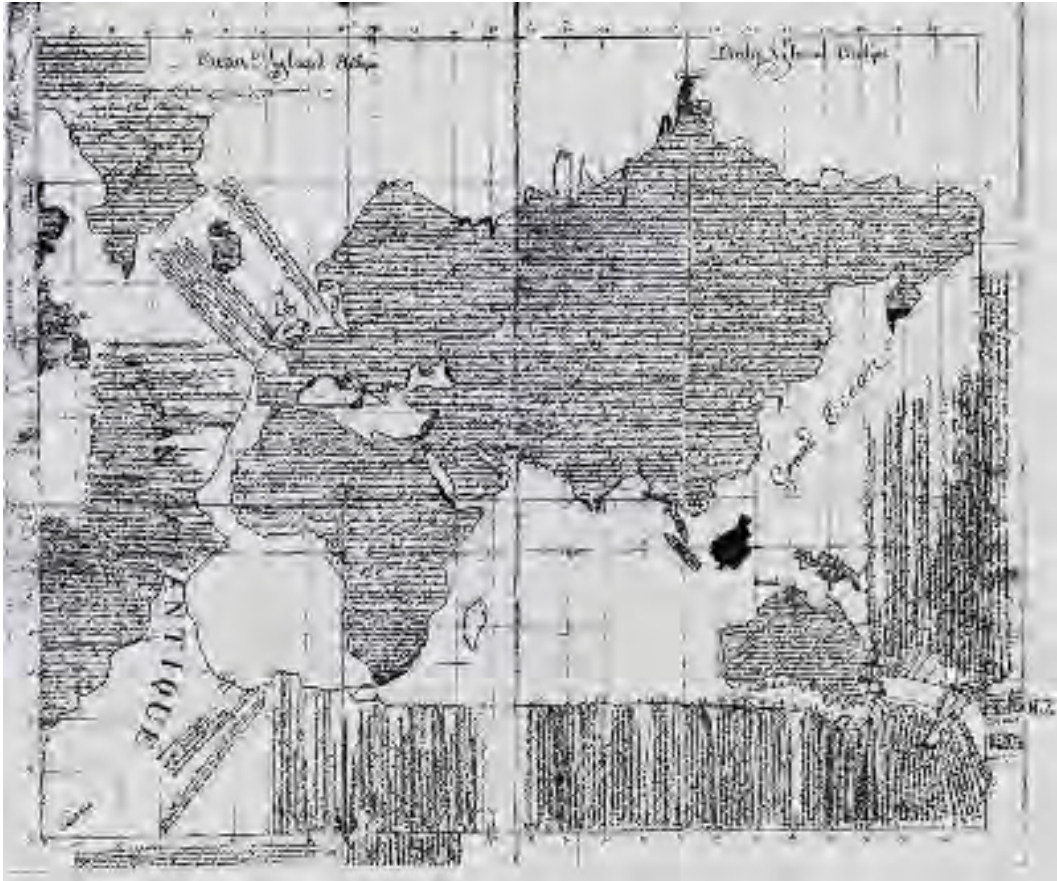
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<sup>36</sup> Girard, III, doc. 344, Calinon to Maitrepierre, 27 Jul. 1844.

<sup>37</sup> Mayet, I, 94, 105.

<sup>38</sup> Girard, X, 19.

himself. It is one of the better-known documents held at the Marist Archives in Rome. When composing his 'petit plan', Garin emulated his father, who had made similar letter-maps for his family during his travels to Germany, although Antoine added that 'puisque'il y avait chez nous la carte d'un voyage sur terre, il fallait bien que je fisse un voyage sur eau pour satisfaire pleinement les amateurs'. The document comprises an introduction, a detailed tracing of a planisphere on which he plotted the group's position in longitude and latitude every day, so that the route that the vessel took to New Zealand is clear, a travel diary entry for each day written beside the point of longitude and latitude, and a letter from New Zealand written inside the countries of the world. The document reveals both the spiritual devotion and scientific curiosity that characterised the Marists' voyage, and Garin's in particular.



**Figure 4: Garin's letter-map (1841)<sup>39</sup>**

The tenor of the voyage was set partly by the daily spiritual routine, and partly by a number of celebrations in which the Marist missionaries played an important role. Communal life may have been difficult in the mission situation in New Zealand, but the fifth missionary group took the opportunity of the long voyage to enforce the society's rule. The daily rhythm of spiritual exercises that had begun in London continued on board under Séon, commencing at five o'clock each morning with prayer, meditation and a service, then study and recreation during the day as at the seminary, spiritual reading and Matins at five o'clock in

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<sup>39</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, doc. 463.



the evening, and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament at seven o'clock. As Séon explained, 'nous avons cherché à faire un couvent de notre vaisseau'.<sup>40</sup> Garin also recorded in his letter-map that the group held monthly retreats, as well as an extra retreat before their arrival in Sydney.<sup>41</sup> This, however, was the closest that Garin and his fellow missionaries would come to following Colin's rule, which had been written with the work of the Marists in France in mind, rather than that of the overseas missionaries. Adapting the rule for the missions was one of the first tasks undertaken after the group arrived in New Zealand, upon Colin's recommendation.<sup>42</sup>

It is clear from the letter-map the extent to which key spiritual events and celebrations marked the passage. The vessel left Gravesend for the open seas on 8 December 1840, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, to the sound of the missionaries singing 'Triomphez, Reine des Cieux' on the bridge. The Marists had gone into Gravesend to buy decorations for saying mass on board, and set up a chapel adorned with home-made ornaments to celebrate Christmas. Two masses were given at midnight on Christmas Eve, with Garin saying the second, and the Te Deum was sung on the bridge; Garin noted the good feeling that pervaded the ship on Christmas Day. On 11 January 1841 they crossed the equator into the southern hemisphere, where it was the turn of the sailors and the captain to stage the celebrations. Later, upon their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope on 22 February, they began Lent and, on Ash Wednesday, celebrated mass for Catholics

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<sup>40</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Quelques détails supplémentaires, Séon to Colin, Feb. 1841; APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Garin to Colin, 2 Dec. 1840.

<sup>41</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde.

<sup>42</sup> *Autour de la règle: règlements et pratiques maristes du vivant de Jean-Claude Colin*, ed. by J. Coste and G. Lessard (Rome: Society of Mary, 1991), I, 26.

from all over the world in Cape Town. The effect of these celebrations was noted by all on board. The sailors told the missionaries that they had never experienced such a good sailing; several of them, along with the captain and his wife and passengers, asked to see the Easter chapel which Garin had been inspired to decorate with the feathers of an albatross, and which he said brought cries of admiration.<sup>43</sup> The Marists made a similarly favourable impression on their fellow passengers aboard the *Earl Durham*, which took them from Sydney to the Bay of Islands. During a six-day becalming they had the opportunity to make the acquaintance of the other passengers, many of whom were emigrating. French lessons were exchanged for English lessons, and the missionaries were praised for their choice to leave for the missions with neither a wife and family, nor the aim of making themselves rich.<sup>44</sup>

Another aspect of the Marists' voyage revealed in Garin's letter-map is the extent to which their rural background armed them for such an undertaking. Garin's special interest in science and nature made him exceptional in this respect. He took with him a school atlas from which he was able to draw his letter-map, and his scientific precision was such that he plotted their journey using the captain's recordings of the position of the ship at midday everyday. In his travel diary he included a great deal of scientific and zoological information, such as the species the ship encountered – flying fish, a snipe, seals, a whale, sharks, porpoises, and spawning fish that turned the sea red, and phenomena associated with the weather on the open seas – flash lightning and thunder, becalmings,

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<sup>43</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde; [n.p.], Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 8 Mar. 1841, cited in Monfat, pp. 226-27.

<sup>44</sup> Girard, I, doc. 99, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 12 Jun.-17 Jul. 1841.

whirlpools and waterspouts. Such scientific curiosity would resurface in the ‘Notes sur la mission’ that Garin kept while in Mangakahia, Howick and Nelson, in particular in the accounts of his travels.

On occasion the Marists demonstrated a toughness that was not expected of mere priests. The second officer told them that he was surprised that all of the group had made it to the southern hemisphere because of the fatigue they had manifested in the early parts of the trip. Yet they defied expectations and, with the exception of the layman Benjamin Dausse, all arrived in New Zealand in good health.<sup>45</sup> Garin recorded the catching of sharks, bonito, even albatrosses with a wingspan of nine feet, by hook or harpoon for their meals. In the vein of his childhood hunting expeditions, he contributed himself sometimes to their capture, for example preparing a trap alongside the *Mary Gray* in which a shark entangled itself. He was the only Marist to turn his head to watch the animal try to free itself during the daily meditation exercises, and famously asked forgiveness for causing a scandal.<sup>46</sup> On the *Earl Durham* the Marists astonished the sailors, who did not want to eat shark, by eating it at lunch and then re-ordering it at dinner.<sup>47</sup> This practicality and resourcefulness that reflected their rural provenance would be put to the test as soon as they arrived in New Zealand, for the priests and brothers would form most of the labour force that constructed the building to house the printing press they had brought with them.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Girard, X, 19-20.

<sup>46</sup> Mayet, I, 98.

<sup>47</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde; Girard, I, doc. 99, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 12 Jun.-17 Jul. 1841.

<sup>48</sup> Mayet, II, 334-52, 361-82, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 29 Nov. 1841.

The fifth group of Marists arrived in the Bay of Islands on 14 June, and on 15 June disembarked to a wonderful reception from their fellow missionaries, bishop and local Maori, cheered by Maori singing that accompanied their boat to the shore. According to Garin, Pompallier was overjoyed at the sight of so many missionaries. Pompallier said, however, and with some foresight, that he would need fourteen times fourteen missionaries every six months for six years, and still there would not be enough personnel for the work to be done.<sup>49</sup>

At a deeper level, the arrival in New Zealand of Garin – and the early Marists by extension – marked the beginnings of a new cultural encounter, as the Marists grappled with the local realities of the mission. The Marists brought a very specific cultural baggage with them when they arrived on New Zealand shores in the 1830s and 1840s. They had seen the rebirth of Catholicism in their own country, and had arguably been a part of it through their education in the seminaries of the early nineteenth century, where they had learned an asceticism that would set them apart from the greater part of New Zealand society. But more than their self-discipline, it was the specific framework of Marist beliefs inculcated during their noviciate that distinguished them. The Marists were representative of a new brand of Catholicism, which emphasised compassion, mercy, simplicity and community: their Church sought to serve, rather than to focus on power and domination. This belief system, in addition to their ‘hidden and unknown’ philosophy, would constitute a structural difference between them and not only Maori, but the balance of settler society in New Zealand, and would strongly influence their experience of mission.

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<sup>49</sup> Girard, I, doc. 99, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 12 Jun.-17 Jul. 1841.

## CHAPTER SIX

### NEGOTIATING A NEW LAND – KORORAREKA, 1841-1843

Unlike the other missionaries who arrived with him on the *Earl Durham*, Garin would spend the first two years of his apostolate at the mission headquarters at Kororareka. There he would need to use his common-sense attitude and resourcefulness to their fullest possible advantage, charged as he was with the role of provincial superior and later of procurator of the New Zealand mission. Because of the focal roles he occupied, Garin's letters from Kororareka provide important insights into this evolutionary period in the history of the New Zealand Marists.

The French missionaries found themselves in a tenuous position in the early 1840s, far from the protection of their government and often having to rely upon local Maori for their basic material needs. As their religious advisor and mission supplier, Garin was party to the spiritual trials and material tribulations of these early missionaries. Moreover, Garin's roles as provincial and procurator required him to apply both the religious authority of Marist Superior Colin as expressed in the Marist rule, and the ecclesiastical authority of Bishop Pompallier. This left him effectively caught in the middle of a rift that developed between Pompallier and Colin during the early 1840s. This chapter explores the extent to which Garin's early experience of the mission reflected both the difficulties that the Marists faced in establishing new missions and the troubles of the Marist Society, and relates the Pompallier-Colin dispute as seen from Garin's grassroots perspective. In doing so, fresh insight is added to the extensive work already

undertaken on this subject by Ralph Wiltgen, Kevin Roach, John Hosie and Jessie Munro, among others.

In addition to analysing Garin's early mission work as a reflection of the Marist experience, the chapter also answers the question of whether Garin transcended his role as a missionary. During his stay at Kororareka Garin had limited opportunity for ministering to Maori, causing him to retain an overly idealistic view of the people whom he had come to evangelise, which would be tested during his front-line missionary experience at Mangakahia. However, for a brief period in 1842 when he was left as the only missionary at Kororareka, Garin displayed an aptitude for building bridges between cultures, a precursor of the interdependence that would develop between the Maori of Mangakahia and himself as their Catholic missionary in the hybrid world of 1840s' New Zealand.

### **Provincial, 1841-1843**

#### *Garin's Authority as Provincial*

On 31 July 1841, six weeks after the arrival of the fifth group of missionaries in Kororareka, Jean-Baptiste Épalle reported to Colin that Garin had been selected to stay in Kororareka to act as provincial superior, taking over from Épalle. Pompallier had chosen between Garin and Michel Borjon, both of whom had two years of experience as seminary teachers at Meximieux and Belley respectively,<sup>1</sup> though Borjon had been the spiritual director – essentially the role of provincial superior – on Garin's voyage. However, it was Borjon who was sent to the

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<sup>1</sup> AEB, Tableau du Clergé de Belley.

Maketu mission that Garin had expected to serve. Although Garin was to do some evangelising work if time allowed, his provincial duties were to be his first priority and he was not given responsibility for a mission station, and thus his original vision of missionary work in New Zealand was relinquished in deference to his bishop's orders. He pointed this out to Colin two months later, adding that 'grâce à la facilité que le bon Dieu m'a donnée de me plier avec sérénité à la volonté de mes supérieurs, je me plais dans ma position'.<sup>2</sup> Coterminous with Garin's appointment, Pompallier named three pro-vicars in New Zealand: Philippe Viard, who was to accompany the Bishop on his travels, Claude-André Baty, who was to be based in Auckland and deal with the English authorities, and Épalle, who was to be based at Kororaraka and replace the Bishop in his absence as well as tending to the procure.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Girard, I, doc. 111, Garin to Colin, 22 Sep. 1841.

<sup>3</sup> Girard, I, doc. 104, Épalle to Colin, 31 Jul. 1841; doc. 103, Épalle to Colin, 8 Jul. 1841.



**Figure 5: Garin as a young man<sup>4</sup>**

While Épalle said of Garin's appointment as provincial, 'Tout semble s'établir sur le bon pied',<sup>5</sup> the fact that Pompallier made the appointments was indicative of the misunderstandings that were arising between the Bishop and

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<sup>4</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 1031.

<sup>5</sup> Girard, I, doc. 104, Épalle to Colin, 31 Jul. 1841.



Colin, exacerbated by the time it took for letters to travel between France and Oceania. As noted, before Pompallier's departure for New Zealand, Colin had asked him to act as the religious superior of the original group.<sup>6</sup> Confusion then appears to have arisen over who had the right to appoint a religious superior or provincial from among the Marist missionaries. Pompallier showed Garin letters in which he was given express permission to appoint a provincial by Victor Poupinel, who was Colin's secretary and the procurator for the Marist Pacific missions, but at the same time Pompallier claimed that only Colin had the right to change the provincial.<sup>7</sup> Less than two months later Garin was advised by Pompallier that only Colin had the power to both appoint and to change the provincial.<sup>8</sup> Despite this, Pompallier appears to have selected first Petit, then Épalle,<sup>9</sup> and finally Garin, without any prior consultation with the Marist Superior. From the very beginning Garin found himself caught up in the problems that were developing between his ecclesiastical and religious superiors.

Achieving harmony on the missions had been a constant source of concern for Propaganda Fide ever since its foundation in 1622. As late as 19 December 1839 a meeting of cardinals was held to discuss issues arising from the relationship of missionaries to vicars apostolic and to diocesan bishops.<sup>10</sup> As John Hosie notes, Pompallier and Colin were becoming entangled in 'a centuries-old dispute' between the ecclesiastical or mission superior on the one hand, and the

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<sup>6</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. I, fol. 398<sup>v</sup>, Colin to Fransoni, 25 May 1837; fol. 389<sup>v</sup>, Pompallier to Fransoni, 22 Feb. 1837, cited in Wiltgen, pp. 130-31.

<sup>7</sup> Girard, II, doc. 194, Garin to Poupinel, 5 Sep. 1842.

<sup>8</sup> Girard, II, doc. 209, Garin to Colin, 29 Oct.-4 Nov. 1842.

<sup>9</sup> Girard, I, doc. 59, Pompallier to Colin, 14 May 1840.

<sup>10</sup> Wiltgen, p. 247.

religious superior on the other (p. 23). What was fundamentally at issue was their respective authority over the missionaries. According to Hosie, church law, based on monarchical authority, was particularly strong in the nineteenth century, and presumed that proper authority in any dispute lay with the religious in charge (p. 24). In the mission this was Pompallier, and not Colin. Because of the complete authority that vicars apostolic were granted, Pompallier could disregard Colin's wishes over how missionaries were appointed; Colin was concerned that the Marists, who were having problems with Pompallier, could be locked into his vicariate and unable to be transferred back to France (p. 25). In Pompallier and Colin's case, the situation had been complicated further by the fact that Colin had designated Pompallier as religious superior for the Oceania missionaries. Pompallier explained to Colin at the end of 1841 that he had decided to delegate the role of religious superior to a Marist missionary because Colin was resolved to 'mettre en dehors de la congrégation ceux que le saint siège élève à l'épiscopat', and being delegated as religious superior had left Pompallier 'dans une position où le plus habile maître spirituel ne pourra jamais gouverner'.<sup>11</sup>

There was, then, considerable doubt over whether Pompallier had the authority to appoint Garin as provincial. Interestingly, Colin made a formal request to Rome on 21 June 1842 to establish in New Zealand a provincial to represent the superior general of the Society, and he took the step in late 1841 of sending Marist Visitor Jean Forest as his 'second self' to visit the Oceania missions and assess the religious life of the missionaries and how they were

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<sup>11</sup> Girard, I, doc. 116, Pompallier to Colin, 15 Nov. 1841.

observing the Marist rule.<sup>12</sup> Pompallier would eventually appoint Forest to take over the role of provincial from Garin. That in mid-1843 Forest advised Colin to appoint the provincial himself, and to give that person clear direction on the limits of Pompallier's power over the missionaries,<sup>13</sup> plainly demonstrates the confusion that reigned over the role of provincial and the administration of the mission as a whole at this time. In fact, the formal 'Règles du provincial dans les missions étrangères', which outlined the responsibilities of a provincial to the Marist Society, Marist superior, vicar apostolic, and missionaries, in addition to the terms of nomination of a provincial and the basis of his authority, were not written by Colin until 1845.<sup>14</sup> Garin's appointment as provincial was therefore a clear reflection of the troubles that were emerging between Colin and Pompallier. One can only imagine with what dismay Colin received the news 'Je vous remercie bien sincèrement, mon très reverend père, de nous avoir envoyé le révérend père Garin. Le voilà devenu notre père provincial'.<sup>15</sup> Not only had Garin been chosen by Pompallier without consulting Colin, but Garin was not a seasoned Marist, having made his profession on the day of his departure for Oceania.

### *Being Provincial*

Garin thus found himself based at the Bay of Islands at the Marists' central headquarters as provincial, with the support of a superior in Épalle, and the companionship of a number of Marist priests, brothers, novices and laymen who

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<sup>12</sup> Wiltgen, pp. 248, 259.

<sup>13</sup> Girard, II, doc. 254, Forest to Colin, 12 May 1843.

<sup>14</sup> *Autour de la règle*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, I, 74-92.

<sup>15</sup> APM, Z 208, Petit-Jean to Colin, 5 Sep. 1841.

worked at various times at the station, including Petit-Jean and Jean-François Yvert. The French mission headquarters with its beach frontage and conglomeration of brightly-painted buildings was prominent in Kororareka, as suggested by the description that Vicar General of Sydney William Ullathorne gave of the town following a December 1840 visit to Pompallier. According to Ullathorne, ‘The town at that time consisted of a native pah, a small British settlement, and the French Mission [...] [The priests’] residence was of wood, and their little wooden church, bright with green paint, stood adjoining: small as it was, it had its font, confessional and all appointments complete.’<sup>16</sup> In addition to acting as the base for the provincial, the Kororareka headquarters functioned as a mission station and parish under the care of Petit-Jean, a supply base under Épalle as pro-vicar and procurator, and a residence for Marists who were newly-arrived, between mission stations, or completing their noviciate.

According to the instructions that Pompallier gave Forest in 1843, the main tasks of the provincial were spiritual direction, visits and retreats, meaning that he was essentially Colin’s representative in Oceania.<sup>17</sup> Although it does not appear that Garin had such explicit guidance from Pompallier, given that he asked Colin in early 1842 to send him a rule that explained his responsibilities as provincial,<sup>18</sup> his central preoccupations were the same as Forest’s. Garin gave Yvert and another novice, Brother Pierre-Marie (Pierre) Pérénon, daily philosophy lessons and a weekly theology lesson, and on Sundays held a singing

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<sup>16</sup> William Bernard Ullathorne, *The Autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne: With Selections from his Letters*, 3rd edn (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Benziger Brothers, [1891]), p. 177.

<sup>17</sup> Girard, II, doc. 245, Pompallier to Forest, 19 Mar. 1843.

<sup>18</sup> Girard, II, doc. 128, Garin to Colin, 19 Jan. 1842.

class and spiritual meeting to explain the rule.<sup>19</sup> Notably, he held the first ever retreat for the New Zealand missionaries in November 1841, following what he had learned at past retreats at Belley and Meximieux. The fact that he was the first provincial to organise a retreat suggests his diligence in the role and understanding of the issues facing the missionaries: the lack of communal life afforded on the missions had been one of the grievances presented to Colin by Servant in his 1840 letter on the state of the vicariate.<sup>20</sup> In France, annual retreats were an important part of Colin's approach to his role as superior general, as he believed they allowed confrères to acquire and maintain the same Marist spirit.<sup>21</sup> Garin's retreat followed Colin's model meticulously, including the confirmation of vows, and though the brothers were also forced to work on the building for the printing press throughout the retreat, Garin endeavoured to involve them by relating their tasks to those of the holy family. Unfortunately, the demands of the mission were such that the retreat could only be attended by the priests, brothers and novices based at the Hokianga and Kororareka missions, and also had to be held in Pompallier's absence.<sup>22</sup>

While Garin's role in administration set him apart from his contemporaries by allowing him to continue living in a Marist community and to assume leadership in certain areas, his correspondence as provincial constitutes another way in which his early experience on the mission considerably reflected the difficulties that were faced by the Marists. The Marist rule that Épalle, Garin and

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<sup>19</sup> Girard, I, doc. 111, Garin to Colin, 22 Sep. 1841.

<sup>20</sup> Girard, I, doc. 55, Servant to Colin, 26 Apr. 1840.

<sup>21</sup> Coste, p. 210.

<sup>22</sup> Girard, I, doc. 122, Garin to Colin, end 1841.

five other Marists revised for the missions at a chapter held in Kororareka in July 1841 specifically stipulated that the missionaries were to write accounts of conscience to the provincial every three months, an element already present in the rule of 1836.<sup>23</sup> From an examination of these accounts, it would appear that they wrote to their provincial purely out of obedience. Baty, for instance, began a letter to Garin ‘Il est bien temps que je mette enfin la main à la plume, vous pouvez penser que j’oublie mon règlement’, and Jean Pezant also began ‘Je coupe court à tout pour commencer à lier avec vous des rapports qui sont et prescrits par la règle et en même temps bien consolants’.<sup>24</sup> Other missionaries wrote because they felt a profound need of guidance. As Jean-Baptiste Comte explained, ‘C’est avec la joie la plus vive que j’appriis votre heureuse arrivée dans ce monde antipode. A cette agréable nouvelle, j’ai senti comme une vertu secrète qui me pénétrait’. Comte admitted to Garin, ‘je me suis éloigné de notre mère, et chassé Dieu de mon cœur, [...] en y introduisant l’esprit du monde’ – perhaps on account of finding himself in Akaroa, a ‘poste stérile’ where political necessity had forced Pompallier to leave two Marist priests and a brother to care for the French colonists as well as attempt to convert local Maori.<sup>25</sup>

There is a further theme evident in the letters that Garin received as provincial, that of despondence. After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, many Marists had been discouraged from their work and had come to the conclusion that New Zealand would be better served by English-speaking Catholic

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<sup>23</sup> *Autour de la règle*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, I, 34.

<sup>24</sup> APM, Z 208, Baty to Garin, 28 Oct. 1841; Pezant to Garin, 7 Dec. 1841.

<sup>25</sup> APM, Z 208, Comte to Garin, 19 Oct. 1841.

missionaries. While they complained first and foremost of the apathy of Maori and the poverty they were having to endure, many also mentioned the difficulties of having to work under a British administration, compete with Protestant missionaries and minister to European Catholic settlers. A number of missionaries, including some of the most experienced, expressed their desire to leave New Zealand for the tropics, where there were no British settlers, and where the mission would be less costly to run.<sup>26</sup>

While Comte's concerns about living among Frenchmen were specific to the Akaroa station, a further theme in the letters that Garin received was the difficulty of labouring alone at the smaller missionary posts. In one instance, Louis Rozet, a diocesan priest and Marist novice, described being driven to despair by the number of his flock turning to the Protestant missionaries for want of Catholic books, and believed that his virtue was too weak to continue in his present position alone, describing himself as 'prêt à faire un bien triste naufrage'.<sup>27</sup> Accounts of conscience such as this led Garin to remark in a letter to Colin that the missionaries needed a Marist house to which they could come for a short period and seek refuge and spiritual guidance from the provincial.<sup>28</sup> (The project for a Marist house would be revisited a number of times over the years, until its eventual abandonment at the insistence of Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide Frasoni after the Marists had moved to Wellington.<sup>29</sup>) An account from

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<sup>26</sup> For example, APM, Z 208, Tripe to Colin, 18 Nov. 1841, 31 Mar. 1842; Petit-Jean to Girard, 4 Jan. 1842; Girard, II, doc. 138, Roulleaux-Dubignon to Colin, 2 Apr. 1842; I, doc. 90, Comte to Colin, 25 Apr. 1841; I, doc. 97, Servant to Colin, 31 May 1841.

<sup>27</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 12, Rozet to Garin, 28 Mar. 1842.

<sup>28</sup> Girard, II, doc. 128, Garin to Colin, 19 Jan. 1842.

<sup>29</sup> Lillian G. Keys, *Philip Viard, Bishop of Wellington* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1968), pp. 95-97.

Borjon in late 1841 outlined a number of problems common to the Marists, which in his case were accentuated because of his lack of a companion:

En voyant l'indifférence constante de la tribu où je réside, le nombre des autres tribus dont je suis chargé, leur éloignement, les difficultés de la langue, l'acharnement des protestants, l'avarice des peuples, les fatigues, les privations, je vous l'avoue, révérend père, je me sens porté au découragement, et il ne s'en faudrait guère pour que mes désirs ne se portassent vers les délices de la solitude et de la contemplation. Ce qui me peine le plus c'est la charge pastorale, et la nouvelle trop fréquente qu'un tel est mort sans baptême. Alors cette pensée qu'il faut répondre âme pour âme est accablante. Une autre peine, c'est la solitude, ne pouvant pas toujours consulter dans les difficultés; étant obligé de prendre conseil de moi seul étant sans expérience. [...] Vous voyez que j'ai bien besoin de l'esprit de force et de lumière; priez l'esprit saint de me le communiquer avec abondance.<sup>30</sup>

Later, Séon, who was also based at a sole-charge station, listed for Garin four problems that the Marists were encountering: unrelenting competition from the Protestant missionaries, poor choice of sites for mission stations, lack of books, and reliance on local Maori for goods and services.<sup>31</sup>

Upon his own appointment to a sole-charge mission at Mangakahia, Garin would be confronted by many of the issues that Comte, Rozet, Borjon and Séon had informed him of: solitude, intense Protestant competition, reliance on Maori for goods and services, and distance of many tribes from the main mission station. The fact that he had prior warning of these difficulties enabled him to remedy some of the issues, and to deal with others more astutely than he might otherwise

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<sup>30</sup> APM, Z 208, Borjon to Garin, 31 Dec. 1841.

<sup>31</sup> APM, Z 208, Séon to Garin, 16 Jul. 1842.



have been able to. For example, the Mangakahia mission station was moved with Pompallier's assistance to a more central location within months of Garin's arrival there. Hearing the trials of the missionaries based at stations like Akaroa, where there was a European flock to attend to in addition to missionary work, also meant that he had forewarning of the difficulties that he would encounter when forced to move to the settler parish of Howick.

Colin later described the virtues required of a provincial in his 'Règles du provincial dans les missions étrangères', as being intelligence, business sense, empathy, a knowledge of the religious life, and leadership.<sup>32</sup> Though Garin expressed relief in 1842 that Forest had arrived to take over his position as provincial, as he claimed to have never felt capable of being Colin's representative in Oceania on account of the brevity of his noviciate,<sup>33</sup> the Marist Provincial in France, Denis Maîtreperre, believed that he had been a worthy provincial, adding the following note to Garin's account of the first Marist retreat held in New Zealand:

Il veille avec zèle au maintien de la bonne conduite — avis, conseils, écrits, réprimandes, encouragements — retraite en règle de 12 retraits, 5 prêtres, 5 frères et 2 novices — fruits consolants. Il est un peu minutieux, mais il produit un bien solide, c'est le gardien de l'esprit ecclésiastique et religieux.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Autour de la règle*, ed. by Coste and Lessard, I, 79.

<sup>33</sup> Girard, II, doc. 149, Garin to Colin, 7 May 1842.

<sup>34</sup> Girard, I, doc. 122, Garin to Colin, end 1841.

Maîtrepierre's confidence in the Oceania Provincial was similarly felt by Garin's superior Épalle, who wrote that 'Garin s'acquitte avec intrépidité de sa charge et cependant avec douceur'.<sup>35</sup>

The letters of encouragement that Garin was sending by late 1842, after a year of experience in the role, do seem to suggest great empathy for his fellow missionaries and an understanding of the religious life, as well as attempts at leadership which he admitted came more easily to him in his correspondence than *de vive voix*. The following letter to Brother Florentin, who was ministering to French colonists at the Akaroa station,<sup>36</sup> typified Garin's common-sense but sympathetic approach:

Que de mérites, mon cher ami, vous pouvez gagner là où vous êtes, mérites peut-être plus grands que si vous étiez parmi les naturels, car on préférerait plutôt à avoir à souffrir de la part des sauvages que de la part des siens, et c'est précisément ce qui fait le sujet de votre mérite. Oui, vous êtes vraiment missionnaire, si vous savez profiter de votre position, car ce qui fait le mérite du missionnaire ce n'est pas être au milieu des infidèles sauvages, c'est d'avoir à souffrir beaucoup pour le nom de J.C. et je suis persuadé que vous ne souffrez pas peu surtout sous le rapport de l'intérieur. Courage donc! Ne vous laissez pas ravir la belle couronne que vous êtes venu chercher.<sup>37</sup>

Despite repeated requests to Pompallier and to his Marist superiors in France to be divested of the title, Garin remained officially as provincial until leaving for Mangakahia in 1843. Forest though assumed many of the provincial duties, including organising the annual retreat and replying to the letters of the

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<sup>35</sup> Girard, II, doc. 127, Épalle to Colin, 19 Jan. 1842.

<sup>36</sup> Girard, II, doc. 228, Garin to Colin, 30 Nov. 1842.

<sup>37</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Brother Florentin, 18 Oct. 1842.

missionaries, in February 1843.<sup>38</sup> In any case, acting as provincial had the important consequence for Garin of making him aware of both the administrative difficulties and practical trials of the missions. As noted, this left him better prepared than most for his eventual posting to a tribal mission station. It also meant that Garin's early experience of the mission reflected to a considerable extent the particular difficulties that the Marist mission was facing in New Zealand, making his correspondence from this period of special interest. This would be even more the case of the new role that he assumed in July 1842, as procurator of the Oceania missions.

### **Procurator, 1842-1843**

Garin's role as procurator signalled his complete involvement in matters of administration. Soon after Garin arrived, Pompallier left Kororareka to take the new missionaries to their postings aboard the *Sancta Maria*. Having learned of the martyrdom of Pierre Chanel, the Bishop hastened directly from Akaroa to Futuna, and so was away from the Bay of Islands for over a year, until August 1842. In his absence, the missionaries found it nearly impossible to obtain credit, and, with the fifth sailing having lost all of the funds it was taking to New Zealand upon the failure of Wright's bank in London, the mission's finances were in dire straits.

Having no means of generating income, the missionaries were dependent on the allocations that were provided by Pompallier, who was in turn dependent on the arrival of new missionaries who brought the funds provided twice-yearly

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<sup>38</sup> Girard, II, doc. 239, Garin to Colin, 15 Feb. 1843; doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

by l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi in Lyon.<sup>39</sup> But after the loss of the fifth sailing's funds, Pompallier was forced to borrow money on the security of future allocations from France, and, without the Bishop's prestige, Pro-Vicar Épalle was unable to negotiate new loans.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the Marists had a plethora of stations to be supported in Northland, Bay of Plenty and Banks Peninsula did not help matters. In Petit-Jean's words, 'La dette écrase. On négocie des billets sur France avec grande perte. On paye un intérêt à 15 pour 100 avec l'intérêt des intérêts tous les trois mois.'<sup>41</sup> The financial crisis caused demoralisation among the missionaries, and panic among those who had been left in charge in Pompallier's absence.

With the rumours of Pompallier's non-return spreading, in May 1842 Épalle borrowed three hundred and fifty pounds in Kororareka on a bill of exchange payable at Lyon, and left for Europe to put the mission's desperate plight before l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi and Colin. At Valparaíso he obtained another draft against the allocations of the Propagation de la Foi and sent twelve hundred pounds to New Zealand, which unfortunately did not arrive until November 1843.<sup>42</sup> With Épalle gone, the missionaries remaining at Kororareka were forced to take precipitate action to obtain some relief, and so in June 1842 Forest, Garin and Petit-Jean examined the best ways of reducing the mission's expenses. As a result, personnel at the Bay of Islands – where living costs were

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<sup>39</sup> Kevin J. Roach, 'Jean-Claude Colin and the Foundation of the New Zealand Catholic Mission', *NZJH*, 3 (1969), 74-83 (p. 78).

<sup>40</sup> O'Meeghan, 'The First Wave of French Marists'.

<sup>41</sup> APM, Z 208, Petit-Jean to Colin, 18 May 1842.

<sup>42</sup> E. R. Simmons, *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops* (Auckland: CPC Publishing, 1984), p. 66.

higher – was reduced from eighteen to eight, with the remainder, including Forest, sent to understaffed stations.<sup>43</sup> After the departure of Petit-Jean in July on a rescue mission to Sydney to seek funds for the ailing mission, Garin found himself left alone for a brief period at Kororaraka, until the return of Pompallier in late August. As the only resident priest, he had been charged by Petit-Jean with the role of pro-vicar, having responsibility for the whole vicariate. He had also been left in the role of procurator.<sup>44</sup>

Garin wryly commented that of the procurators Petit's had been the golden age, Epalle's the silver age, Petit-Jean's the bronze age, and his the iron age.<sup>45</sup> The role of procurator meant that Garin was responsible for ordering mission supplies and distributing them via the various heads of stations,<sup>46</sup> having Yvert to assist him with accounts.<sup>47</sup> The meticulously-composed lists of goods to buy that he sent off to France could run into several pages, and included such things as the clothing required by the priests and brothers each year, the Bibles and other religious reference works required for the library, church ornaments needed for the sacristy, and the many bottles and vials of remedies such as arnica, eau de Cologne and camphor, that were required by the priests for their visits to sick parishioners.<sup>48</sup> A year later Garin could tell Épalle that, though his task was difficult and unpleasant for the most part and Épalle had left him 'un triste cadeau' in the procure, the need to obtain supplies had led him to have greater

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<sup>43</sup> Girard, II, doc. 247, Forest to Colin, 26 Mar. 1843.

<sup>44</sup> Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> APM, OOC 202, Garin to Petit, 8 Aug. 1842.

<sup>47</sup> Girard, II, doc. 186, Garin to Colin, 9 Aug. 1842.

<sup>48</sup> Girard, II, doc. 230, Garin to Épalle, 25 Dec. 1842.

contact with local Maori, which he had enjoyed very much and which had enabled him to make some progress with the Maori language.<sup>49</sup>

The letters he wrote to Colin immediately following Petit-Jean's departure, on the other hand, suggest that he felt overwhelmed by the position in which he had been placed, with responsibility for the entire vicariate at a time when the mission was suffering from extreme poverty and there was disagreement between Colin and Pompallier over administration. As stated, Garin found himself quite caught up in the developing rift, in part because of his brief period in charge of the mission. An analysis of Garin's experiences from mid to late 1842, during which time he had to act as pro-vicar and procurator in addition to his original role as provincial, provides an interesting perspective from which to view the feud that arose between Colin and Pompallier in the early 1840s.

Much work has already been undertaken on the Pompallier-Colin feud, which has been described as 'the first major nineteenth-century mission dispute.'<sup>50</sup> The fascinating and detailed analyses by Ralph Wiltgen and Kevin Roach concentrate on the documents of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide who oversaw the mediation of the dispute, and therefore provide an account of the feud at the administrative level of dealings in Rome. John Hosie has similarly taken this focus, although his account seeks to be a corrective to Wiltgen and favours the position of Colin. In a more recent work, Jessie Munro has analysed the rift in terms of the personalities involved, at the level of the Bishop

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<sup>49</sup> Girard, II, doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>50</sup> Jessie Munro, 'Colin and Pompallier and the Founding of the Catholic Church in New Zealand' in *Marist Studies Colloquium* (Suva, 2007).

and the Marist Superior's correspondence.<sup>51</sup> The following analysis stands in contrast to these earlier works because of its focus on viewing the feud 'from below', predominantly using the letters of Garin and other Marist missionaries as source material.

### *Garin and the Pompallier-Colin Rift*

Since Servant's 1840 letter, complaints from the Marist missionaries regarding Pompallier's administration had become more frequent and more pointed, and discord had developed between Pompallier and Colin. As Michael O'Meehan explains, conflicting views on policy were at the core of the impasse: Pompallier was focused on the Church's need to compensate for its late start in Oceania, by spreading his missionaries as widely as possible, while Colin's central preoccupation was the welfare of his men.<sup>52</sup> Aside from the issues that arose from the unclear limits of Pompallier and Colin's authority, much of the disagreement stemmed from the mission's inadequate finances and resources. In a letter of mid-May 1841, Pompallier accused Colin of delays in sending both missionaries and the Propagation de la Foi's allocations, delays which were 'une vraie calamité pour cette mission, calamité si grande, qu'elle en prepare la ruine.' Less than a month later he welcomed Garin's sailing, the largest contingent of missionaries that the New Zealand mission would ever receive, which brought the printing

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<sup>51</sup> Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*; Kevin J. Roach, 'Venerable John Claude Colin and the Mission in New Zealand 1838-1848' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1963); Hosie, *Challenge*; Munro, 'Colin and Pompallier'.

<sup>52</sup> O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 27.

press that he had requested three years earlier.<sup>53</sup> However, because of the failure of Wright's bank, the new missionaries did not bring with them the funds that Pompallier required, if he were to cease borrowing at the Bank of Kororareka.

As Marist historian Antoine Monfat notes, business affairs were not among the chief concerns of religious congregations, and Pompallier and his missionaries were inexperienced when it came to purchasing land, contracting out building work, and any other kind of fiscal management (p. 202). In a report on the state of the mission prepared a month after his arrival in New Zealand, when Pompallier was still in Futuna, Forest, as Marist Visitor, told Colin that the English found the Marists 'instruits pour la religion mais [...] des véritables enfants pour l'administration temporelle.' Forest considered the dire financial situation he found in mid-1842 to be a combination of poor administration, Pompallier's use of gifts to gain converts, the cost of running the *Sancta Maria*, inopportune land purchases, and the loans that had been negotiated.<sup>54</sup>

Letters written by Garin in July and August 1842, when he was left in charge of the mission, demonstrate the practical implications of the alleged financial mismanagement that had taken place. Garin informed Colin that until Petit-Jean's departure on 2 July 'la maison avait pu présenter au public une certaine assurance commandée par la présence de quelques personnes dignes de l'inspirer'. The 'quelques personnes' that Garin was referring to were probably Petit-Jean, who had greater experience than Garin in dealing with the English authorities, and Marist Visitor Forest, whose arrival, Garin believed, had dispelled

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<sup>53</sup> Girard, I, doc. 91, Pompallier to Colin, 17 May 1841.

<sup>54</sup> APM, Z 208, Forest to Colin, c. 22 May 1842.



the rumours that the mission had been abandoned. However, in July Garin found himself alone with responsibility for the entire mission, with a few newly-borrowed pounds with which to pay the immense debts that were increasing day by day, and bills that could arrive unexpectedly from Marist missionaries all over the Pacific. He admitted to Colin that he preferred being away from the procure, and ministering to Maori. Maori were, however, threatening to abandon the Catholics in order to obtain books from the Protestant missionaries, and some were refusing to attend prayers until they had a Catholic book so that they could see for themselves where the truth lay. Meanwhile, an Anglican bishop, George Selwyn, had arrived in New Zealand, bringing with him a wealth of funding and projects for Maori schools.<sup>55</sup>

News from nearly all of the missionaries – from Tauranga, Maketu, Matamata, Opotiki, Auckland and Hokianga – and ‘l’histoire de toutes les souffrances corporelles et spirituelles’ that they were facing, prompted Garin to write again to Colin only two weeks later. Forest and Baty were in Auckland, having to fetch their water for cooking at night so they would not be seen in a state of impoverishment, as in a European town appearances were important. Baty had remained in Auckland rather than return to Kororareka for fear that the procure would not be able to pay his passage, despite the desperate need for him to finish the first Maori Catholic prayerbook, *Te Ako Marama*, which could then be distributed to the expectant Maori. The twenty-five pounds that had been given to Borjon and Rozet to travel to Port Nicholson, where there was a need of priests, had been stolen, and Borjon had found himself in an awkward position when he

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<sup>55</sup> Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842.

arrived in Auckland, with no money to support himself. The other missionaries told Garin of the difficulties they had in surviving: Garin was sending Petit a little flour, rice and tea, all of which had been bought in Kororareka on credit. While these bodily deprivations could be endured, Garin argued, the lack of resources was seriously affecting the efficacy of the mission, as the missionaries were unable to go among Maori as often as they would like for want of a little tobacco or a few blankets to give them. Catholic Maori were tormented because of their lack of books by the Protestants, who asked them, 'Où est ta religion?'. The missionaries thus spent much of their time in copying books so that the Catholics would have something to show to their tormentors.<sup>56</sup> Colin was sufficiently concerned at the contents of this letter to send a copy of it to the Propagation de la Foi in Lyon.<sup>57</sup>

Upon his return to Kororareka in August 1842, Pompallier found Garin left in charge of a mission in a state of spiritual languor, on account of its dire financial position. While Pompallier's prestige meant that the immediate financial crisis was brought to an end through the negotiation of new loans, and confidence was restored among Catholic Maori, what concerned the Bishop were the considerable changes that had occurred without his authorisation during his year-long absence. He believed that Épalle had left for France as the result of a sort of plot among his priests, and presumed Garin to be the leader of that plot. Garin had, in Pompallier's view, taken over the reins of the vicariate and imperceptibly pushed aside the Vicar Apostolic, managing all affairs in New Zealand while

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<sup>56</sup> Girard, II, doc. 186, Garin to Colin, 9 Aug. 1842.

<sup>57</sup> Lyon, Œuvres Pontificales Missionnaires (OPM), I30, I003645, Colin to L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, 1 Apr. 1843.

Colin played the role of vicar apostolic in France. Even his pro-vicars had collaborated with Garin in this matter, Pompallier asserted to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide Frasoni. He was particularly offended that it was in his own residence that the missionaries had gathered to decide that Épalle should go to France and Rome to report on the state of his mission.<sup>58</sup> What is more, Épalle, Petit-Jean and Garin had changed in his absence nearly everything in New Zealand, and even his residence.<sup>59</sup>

There was no denying that a number of unauthorised changes had taken place during the thirteen months of Pompallier's absence. The Bishop's residence at Kororareka was substantially different by August 1842. Marist architect Louis Perret, from Garin's fifth group of missionaries, had fallen ill during the voyage to New Zealand, and had not arrived in Kororareka until September 1841, after Pompallier had left on his pastoral visits. It was Perret's task to design the building to house the printing press that the fifth sailing had brought with them. He did not agree with the small structure that was proposed, and so designed a large building that combined a printery, bindery, tannery and mission store house. He even had to cut into the hill behind the mission in order to create space for it.<sup>60</sup> The building was made out of pisé by the priests and brothers of the mission,<sup>61</sup> and stands as a monument to the early Catholic mission today, known as Pompallier House. Ironically, it was entirely built while Pompallier was absent,

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<sup>58</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. II Part I, fols 432r-434v, Pompallier to Frasoni, 19 Oct. 1842, cited in Wiltgen, p. 251.

<sup>59</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. II Part I, fols 403v-405v, Pompallier to Frasoni, 30 Oct. 1842, cited in Wiltgen, p. 251.

<sup>60</sup> Fergus Clunie, 'Pompallier the Place' in *The French Place in the Bay of Islands Symposium* (Russell, 2004).

<sup>61</sup> Mayet, II, 334-52, 361-82, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 29 Nov. 1841.

and was never sanctioned by him; Perret had returned to France before Pompallier arrived in Kororaraka to view his handiwork.<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 6: Pompallier House today**  
**Private collection of the author.**

Other major developments that had occurred in Pompallier's absence included the changing of personnel at mission stations, the sending of Épalle and Petit-Jean to Europe and Australia respectively to seek financial assistance for the mission, and the arrival of Marist Visitor Forest. In particular, it would appear that Forest, having passed through Wellington before arriving at his final destination in the Bay of Islands, was involved in discussions with Épalle, Petit-Jean and

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<sup>62</sup> Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842.

Garin which led to urgent decisions being made: the sending of Borjon and Brother Déodat (Jean) Villemagne to Port Nicholson to establish a Wellington mission, the departures of Épalle and Petit-Jean, and the removal of personnel from Kororareka. As it turned out, Épalle never returned to New Zealand, and Borjon and Brother Déodat perished when the *Speculator* sunk off the East Coast,<sup>63</sup> losses that the New Zealand mission could ill afford.

It would seem, however, that Pompallier attributed more responsibility to Garin for the changes than was due, given that the most important personnel movements took place before Garin became pro-vicar and cannot be attributed to him specifically, and also that Épalle was in charge of the vicariate while Pompallier House was built. That these were not impetuous accusations against Garin, but something which Pompallier firmly believed, can be seen from several comments that Pompallier later made regarding provincial superiors. For instance, when Forest assumed the role of provincial from Garin in 1843 he requested a written description of his tasks; Pompallier took the opportunity to state that, as he was not the pro-vicar of the vicariate apostolic nor a rector at a mission station, the provincial must not undertake other work that would prevent him carrying out his core duties, and was not in charge of ministering to the faithful. He could not remove priests or brothers from their stations or send them to new ones, and could not direct the building of missions.<sup>64</sup> These would seem to be direct references to the changes that Pompallier assumed Garin had been responsible for. Three years later, when Pompallier and Colin went to Rome to seek arbitration from

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<sup>63</sup> Girard, II, doc. 230, Garin to Épalle, 25 Dec. 1842.

<sup>64</sup> Girard, II, doc. 245, Pompallier to Forest, 19 Mar. 1843.

Propaganda Fide and the Pope to settle their differences, Pompallier again mentioned the difficulties that he had experienced with provincial superiors, who, he claimed, rendered the activity of a vicar apostolic difficult, paralysed it, and at times made it impossible, though their task was in his view limited to enforcing the rule of their community.<sup>65</sup>

Given the way in which Garin had been inculcated by Pompallier for the changes in the mission, it might be expected that he would have sided with Colin and his fellow Marist missionaries in their ongoing dispute with Pompallier. And yet, Garin sent a number of letters during his two years at Kororareka defending Pompallier from the criticisms of other Marist missionaries. After only three months in New Zealand, he felt compelled to explain to Colin that the Bishop had no choice but to place some missionaries in sole-charge positions. In Garin's view, 'c'est la chance de tout perdre ou de gagner presque tout', as, for Maori, it was important not to be a member of a vulnerable minority, and some tribes had already argued that they could not become Catholic because the Protestant Maori would unite against the Catholics and vanquish them in war. Garin believed that Pompallier's strategy of visiting as many tribes as possible and promising them priests had led many to embrace Catholicism before the arrival of a missionary among them.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, despite the accusations Pompallier directed against him personally after his time as pro-vicar of the mission, Garin sought to defend him when writing to the Marist missionaries and superiors back in France, as well as to the

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<sup>65</sup> Wiltgen, p. 415.

<sup>66</sup> Girard, I, doc. 111, Garin to Colin, 22 Sep. 1841.

Propagation de la Foi. In September 1842, Garin informed Marist Procurator Victor Poupinel that the expenses that he, Épalle, and others had thought the *Sancta Maria* incurred were twice the correct figure, as Pompallier and the captain of the schooner had demonstrated to him. Garin similarly defended Pompallier to Marist Superior Colin, in such a way that it appears that Garin came to regret appending his signature to a joint letter initiated by Forest in May 1842, which criticised Pompallier's administration.<sup>67</sup> Garin told Colin that he considered that many of the priests had wronged Pompallier, and that, while he did not wish to excuse the Bishop from all of the accusations, many had been exaggerated. What is more, he did not believe that another bishop in his place would have been able to gain the confidence and esteem of a foreign, Protestant nation as Pompallier had, nor manage the mission in such a way that all of New Zealand and a number of islands were demanding priests, while in other parts of the Pacific Catholic missionaries had to persist for several years before they would be received onto an island.<sup>68</sup> Garin also defended Pompallier in two subsequent letters to Colin, noting that the poor impression of the Bishop that he had received from other missionaries during Pompallier's prolonged absence from Kororareka had been dispelled by hearing explanations from the man himself. Garin went so far as to say that it was easy for the Marist superiors in France, including Colin, to see the faults of the administration when they were not having to deal with the issues on the ground, arguing it was a marvel that the Marists had been able to remain in New Zealand as French Catholic missionaries in an English colony. Garin

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<sup>67</sup> Girard, II, doc. 167, Missionaries of New Zealand to Colin, 22 May 1842.

<sup>68</sup> Girard, II, doc. 202, Garin to Colin, 3 Oct. 1842.

believed this to be the work of Pompallier and his well-placed diplomacy. Further, since Pompallier's return, confidence in the mission had been re-established, though they were still in desperate need of further missionaries. While he did not wish to appear as Pompallier's defender, Garin believed that the Marist missionaries for their part did not take sufficient care in following their Bishop's instructions, and concerned themselves with matters of administration that ought to be left to the Bishop. By continually criticising his actions, they were diminishing the respect that was owed to him as their superior, discouraging newly-arrived missionaries, and fomenting discontent which was causing some missionaries to request their return to France.<sup>69</sup> It should be noted that the criticisms that Garin made of the missionaries' conduct had been originally sent in a circular to all mission stations, in which he had unequivocally told them 'c'est aux évêques à gouverner l'Église de Dieu, [...] [et] pour nous qui sommes leurs sujets à nous laisser gouverner'.<sup>70</sup> Garin completed his general defence of Pompallier by sending a letter directly to the Propagation de la Foi, asking them not to lend great weight to the criticisms that had been made of Pompallier's administration, criticisms which he had often found to be precipitate and uninformed.<sup>71</sup>

For their vigorous defence of Pompallier, therefore, Garin's letters add an interesting and new perspective from which to view the Pompallier-Colin dispute. The fact that Garin was in regular communication with the missionaries as their

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<sup>69</sup> Girard, II, doc. 209, Garin to Colin, 29 Oct.-4 Nov. 1842; doc. 228, Garin to Colin, 30 Nov. 1842.

<sup>70</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to all missions, 28 Oct. 1842.

<sup>71</sup> OPM, H30, H00881, Garin to L'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, 2 Dec. 1842.



provincial, and was quite heavily involved in the administration of the mission during these early years, meant that he was well-placed to make these observations. The initial outcome of Garin's involvement in the developing rift was that, while he remained in Kororareka as provincial and procurator for a further year,<sup>72</sup> he eventually achieved his aim of having his own mission station, at Mangakahia. It is interesting to note that both Garin and Forest were sent away from Kororareka to other stations, where their involvement in administration was substantially lessened, especially in the case of Garin who no longer carried the title of provincial or procurator. However, while Forest expressly told Colin that he feared that he might be forced to take a position as an ordinary missionary because of Pompallier's desire to have a firm grip on authority,<sup>73</sup> Garin had constantly sought to leave the Kororareka headquarters to begin hands-on missionary work.<sup>74</sup> This would be the only difference in Forest and Garin's careers. Both would spend the years before the Marists' exodus to the Diocese of Wellington ministering to the European Catholics of Auckland, and then provide long service at settler parishes for the remainder of their lives, Forest at Napier and Garin at Nelson. Though Forest continued as provincial until 1848, and Garin was proposed once as a coadjutor bishop by Pompallier in an 1846 memorandum and again as the Bishop of Port Nicholson by Colin in 1847, neither of these very talented men would resume a permanent administrative role in the Diocese of Wellington, and they would end their lives as parish priests.

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<sup>72</sup> Girard, II, doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>73</sup> APM, Z 208, Forest to Colin, c. 22 May 1842.

<sup>74</sup> For example, Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842; doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

The rift between Colin and Pompallier had important implications not only for Garin's career, but for the future of all Marist missionaries in New Zealand. The large sums granted to the mission by l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi in the years 1841 to 1843 were curtailed,<sup>75</sup> and in Rome Propaganda Fide allowed the Marists to suspend sending personnel to Pompallier from 1843.<sup>76</sup> No further missionaries were sent to New Zealand until 1859. All subsequent groups went to the Pacific Islands, numbering seventy-seven missionaries in total. The New Zealand mission was thus left to languish, with even the procure being moved to Sydney in 1845, where it was far from Pompallier's influence. The dual shortage of missionaries and funds became a permanent handicap to the expansion of the mission, which was further exacerbated when the Marists were forced to surrender their northern stations to Pompallier and his secular priests, and move to the Diocese of Wellington in 1850.

In this earliest part of his missionary career, therefore, Garin found himself caught up in the events that provoked the definitive split between Pompallier and the Marists. While as provincial he had been party to the grievances of the missionaries working under Pompallier, as procurator he attempted to mediate between Pompallier, Colin, and the missionaries. Because of the role of mediator which he assumed for himself, his correspondence from this period clearly reflects the practical, administrative and psychological difficulties that were being encountered on the Marist mission. The Marist missionaries found themselves halfway around the world, bound together by a hierarchical priestly order that in

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<sup>75</sup> Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality', pp. 282-85.

<sup>76</sup> Wiltgen, p. 294.

turn belonged to a large and institutionally-complex church. They had been propelled into a new land where there were not only complex indigenous societies, but also a fluid and developing colonial milieu, and yet the Marist community was highly complex too, with tensions within the hierarchy. The relationships within the Society were of great importance to the missionaries themselves. However, maintaining and managing those relationships appears to have required considerable effort.<sup>77</sup>

### **Missionary, 1842-1843**

Because of the nature of the work of a provincial and procurator, Garin's early experience on the mission tended to be focused inwardly, on Marist issues, in comparison to the experience of the other missionaries with whom he arrived in June 1841. However, the Kororareka headquarters enjoyed considerable contact with the outside world, given its multiple functions of mission, parish, school, storehouse and – from late 1842 – printery. That outside world was predominantly Maori, with the Maori population in 1840 New Zealand outnumbering that of the Europeans by approximately forty times, according to Ian Pool.<sup>78</sup> The Kororareka mission had numerous contacts with the Maori of the Bay of Islands and was principally associated with the Ngapuhi chief Rewa (or Manu), whose pa was located in the middle of the Kororareka foreshore. Rewa had succeeded Hongi Hika after his death in 1828, and was considered a powerful chief of his time. His

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<sup>77</sup> John Hutton, Personal Communication, 24 June 2009.

<sup>78</sup> D. Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population Past, Present and Projected* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991), p. 58.

brother Moka, another important chief in the Bay of Islands,<sup>79</sup> was also allied with the Catholic mission. This fact, coupled with the network of eleven outstations that the Kororareka mission counted throughout the Bay of Islands, and its proximity to the four other Marist missions in northern New Zealand, at Purakau in Hokianga Harbour, Whangaroa, Mangakahia and Auckland, allowed Garin to interact with Northland Maori during his time as provincial and procurator. This arguably helped prepare him for his years at Mangakahia.

It is interesting to analyse the nature of Garin's portraits of Maori life and culture in these first two years of living with Maori, and to what extent his impressions reflect, or transcend, his times. First, it should be noted that Garin's contact with Maori took place in two distinct phases. During his initial month on the mission, he and the fifth group of missionaries received many visits from Maori tribes desiring a priest, visits that were facilitated by Pompallier. Of this initial contact Garin kept a detailed account in the form of letters to Colin, to his former pupils at the Meximieux minor seminary, and to his parents. By August 1841 Garin had been appointed provincial, and so his letters to Colin for the following eleven months were related to this role, although when he wrote to his family and the Meximieux seminary he chose to recount the missionary work he had been involved in, a reflection of their own interest in evangelisation. Then, for a brief period when he was left in sole charge of the Kororareka station in July and August 1842, Garin undertook daily missionary visits for the first time, and following this continued to have occasional opportunities to minister to Maori and

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<sup>79</sup> Jeffrey Sissons, Wiremu Wī Hongi and Pat Hohepa, *Ngā Pūriri o Taiāmai: A Political History of Ngā Pūhi in the Inland Bay of Islands* (Auckland: Reed in association with the Polynesian Society, 2001), pp. 37-38.

Europeans, which in turn formed the subject of much of his writing to his family and acquaintances in France, and also to his Marist superiors.

In his assessment of the European vision of the South Pacific, which anticipated Edward Said's *Orientalism* by eighteen years, Bernard Smith distinguishes three stages in the European vision of native people which he describes as soft primitivism (the 'noble savage'), hard primitivism (the 'ignoble savage'), and a later stage where the 'romantic savage' was conceived. It was through the missionary enterprise that the 'noble savage' of Captain Cook's eighteenth-century accounts of Tahiti began to be transformed. Missionaries gradually introduced the concept of an 'ignoble savage' who was treacherous and deceitful in nature, but who could be transformed into a Christian citizen obedient to the laws of God and Europeans by means of Christian conversion. In France in particular, the republican virtues of the Revolution, such as self-discipline, courage and endurance, brought the ideals of hard primitivism back into favour.<sup>80</sup> According to Smith, the 'romantic savage' who appears in the art and fiction of the nineteenth century draws upon both the enthusiastic descriptions of the early explorers and the less favourable accounts of the missionaries (p. 247). Although the 'romantic savage' was still essentially a fiction, the fiction lay closer to the truth than did the 'noble savage' because it was grounded upon a longer experience of native peoples (p. 248).

Before his arrival in New Zealand, it is likely that Garin's exposure to native peoples had consisted primarily of missionary reports published in *Les*

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<sup>80</sup> Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 107-10.

*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, though he was a well-educated and intelligent man and may also have read other published accounts from explorers, adventurers and missionaries in preparation for his work. The surprise that Garin shows in his earliest accounts of Maori suggests that he had been exposed to the ideas of hard primitivism, and his own early descriptions of Maori life and culture reflect a desire to negate the picture of the ‘ignoble savage’, whom he had thought to find upon his arrival in New Zealand. Writing to the Meximieux seminary, he commented that, ‘Les naturels ne sont pas, comme on pourrait le croire, vivant dans les bois comme les animaux’. Rather, ‘le peuple est d’une intelligence et d’une reconnaissance sans pareilles’. He noted especially the astonishing memory of Maori. Pompallier had told the newly-arrived missionaries a story of a tribal visit he had undertaken, at the end of which he had distributed leaflets containing the prayers that had been said during the visit; passing by the same tribe three days later, he discovered that everyone could recite the ‘Pater’, ‘Ave’ and ‘Credo’ off by heart. Garin particularly admired the Maori talent for storytelling, noting that Maori would recount stories they had heard from start to finish, ‘en imitant la voix, le geste, les manières, les défauts, etc. des personnages dont il parle; [...] pour contrefaire et imiter il n’y a point de comparable aux Nouveaux-Zélandais.’ And, it was not merely their mental prowess that impressed Garin, but also their physical beauty: ‘Plus je vois des naturels, plus je vois aussi que ces hommes sont des plus beaux, des mieux membrés et des plus forts qu’il y ait. Les enfants sont forts, courageux, hardis. Ils sont doués d’une grande intelligence avec leur simplicité d’enfant.’ He also had much admiration for Maori arts such as weaving

and tattooing, and compared Maori very favourably with Europeans, considering them to be superior to the peasants to whom he had ministered back in France:

S'ils sont ignorants sur beaucoup de points, ils sont très intelligents sur d'autres. Ainsi ils ont trouvé le moyen de se faire des couvertures avec le phormium tenax (espèce d'herbe très forte). Ces couvertures ressemblent à des couvertures de coton de France. On dirait qu'elles en sont et l'on est tout étonné d'apprendre qu'elles sont faites avec des filons de cette plante. Ce sont surtout les chefs et les femmes qui en portent. Ils se tatouent le visage et le corps et font des dessins de tatouages dans la figure, dans les contours si symétriques qu'on dirait qu'ils ont reçu des leçons de dessin. Pour tout dire en un mot, ils sont bien au-dessus des gens de nos campagnes.<sup>81</sup>

While Garin demonstrated a genuine interest in all aspects of Maori life, the Maori predisposition to Christianity was of particular interest to him. He believed that Maori had 'beaucoup de disposition' for a number of reasons, namely the interest they demonstrated in European civilisation in general, their thirst for learning and for books, their prodigious memory, and their intelligence. When a missionary went to visit a tribe, he noted, the priest was not left alone for a minute because of the continual questions put to him about religion, and when the missionary wanted to leave they would ask him to stay so that they did not forget what he had taught them. Referring to specific experiences, he explained:

Ils ont un si grand désir de s'instruire, que les 3 premières questions qu'une femme d'un grand chef a faites à Monseigneur lorsqu'elle a su que nous étions arrivés, sont celles-ci: 'Combien sont-ils? Ont-ils une presse? Ont-ils des cloches?'. Ils désirent beaucoup des cloches, pour pouvoir se réunir tous en même

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<sup>81</sup> Girard, I, doc. 99, Garin to pupils of Meximieux, 12 Jun.-17 Jul. 1841.

temps. Lorsque Monseigneur n'est pas dans une tribu, ils s'instruisent les uns les autres, en sorte qu'un livre chez eux sert de missionnaire. [...] Un jour que les catéchumènes étaient réunis pour le catéchisme dans la chapelle et que le missionnaire se faisait un peu attendre, le plus instruit se leva et se mit à interroger naïvement les autres, et à les reprendre. Monseigneur avait écrit une lettre à quelques naturels. Trois jours après un missionnaire arrive vers ces naturels, et veut leur lire à tous réunis cette lettre; mais tandis qu'il la leur lit, il s'aperçoit que ces auditeurs le précèdent en récitant par cœur, et à haute voix cette lettre. Ils la savaient déjà toute. [...] Un grand nombre parmi eux sait lire et écrire.<sup>82</sup>

Garin's lauding of Maori abilities, culture, and predisposition towards Christianity was not particular to himself or to the Catholic missionaries, and can be seen in other missionary writings. CMS missionary Richard Taylor described the Maori as 'naturally a noble race, bodily and mentally superior to most of the Polynesians', while Wesleyan missionary James Buller considered them as having great capabilities, both physical and mental, noting many of the traits that Garin mentions: their capacity to imitate, their tenacious memory, and an intelligence 'comparing favourably to Europeans'.<sup>83</sup> As James Belich states, 'few tribal peoples were seen as brighter or whiter than the Maori,' who were congratulated for their interest in European civilisation and religion.<sup>84</sup> Garin's overly idealistic view of Maori during this early period thus considerably reflected tendencies common at the time. His portraits of Maori fit well with Bernard Smith's 'romantic savage' of the Pacific, the child of the 'noble' and 'ignoble' savage (p. 247), who displayed 'courage, great emotional depth, and a childlike warmth and

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<sup>82</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Carte du monde.

<sup>83</sup> Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855), p. 11; Buller, p. 252.

<sup>84</sup> *Making Peoples*, p. 125; James Belich, 'Myth, Race, and Identity in New Zealand', *NZJH*, 31 (1997), 9-22 (p. 11).



generosity of feeling' (p. 248), and who could benefit from European civilisation and religion.

Garin was also ready to proffer judgments of Maori in these letters, in a similar fashion to many of his fellow missionaries. This could reflect his desire to dispel the myth of the 'ignoble savage', but they likely also point to the fact that during this initial phase of arrival and settlement Garin drew mainly on the experiences of fellow Catholic missionaries rather than his own. The nature of the letter as a medium is similarly more likely to lead to this kind of reporting. Over time his thought would evolve and he would cease attempting to draw such conclusions from his experiences. His extant diary, which begins in 1844, stands in stark contrast to these earliest letters. In the diary Garin recorded his encounters with Maori on a daily basis, with the focus on what had happened in everyday life, rather than on the depiction of Maori life and culture for a foreign (French) audience. However, there are also many traces of Garin's reporting style already present in the letters, namely the minute detail representative of a genuine interest in Maori culture, and his sense of humour, as suggested in the following excerpt on how to divide a roast chicken:

Si tu n'es pas bien expert dans l'art de découper [...] je vais t'indiquer la manière de découper un poulet rôti (à la façon des Maoris) et de la distribuer en moins d'une minute à tous les convives. Lorsque donc tu voudras découper un poulet, voilà comment tu t'y prendras.

Tu saisiras le poulet avec la main droite par les 2 pattes que tu rejoindras contre le corps, puis mettras le pouce de la gauche sous l'os du ventre, puis tu tireras avec effort pour enlever le dessous du ventre que tu jetteras à ton voisin pour sa portion; venant ensuite aux cuisses, tu arracheras d'abord la droite que tu jetteras à la personne l'une des plus distinguées, puis la gauche à

son suivant. Après cela prendre le poulet des deux mains (comme l'on prend quelquefois un morceau de bois pour voir s'il a un pied de longueur) alors tes deux pouces se rencontreront sur l'épine dorsale que tu chercheras à casser en deux; tu auras pour toi la partie qui s'étend jusqu'à la queue. Maintenant regarde ceux qui ne sont pas servis; arrache la tête et le cou que tu jettes au premier venu, et divisant ce qui reste en deux parts c.-à-d. les deux ailes, fais-les passer à ceux qui restent. Que toute cette manœuvre se fasse en une minute, et tu auras découpé un poulet à la Maori.<sup>85</sup>

Following this initial period of enthusiasm for missionary work and for the people whom he had come to evangelise, Garin was forced to adopt more administrative roles and did not return to proper missionary occupations until that brief moment in early July 1842, when he was left as the only priest in Kororaraka. From then until his departure in September 1843, he had increased opportunities to minister to Maori, which allowed him both greater exposure to Maori ways and attitudes, and to the practical aspects of mission. At this time, Garin's descriptions of Maori suggest that he continued to see them through rose-tinted spectacles with regard to their predisposition to Christianity. Writing to the Meximieux minor seminary, he recounted that during his visits around Kororaraka and its environs Maori exhibited 'un désir extrême' of instruction, and he was able to obtain a large number of conversions.<sup>86</sup> While during the hard economic times of mid-1842 he may have been treated with disdain by Protestant Maori in the Bay, and the interminable 'ho mai' or 'donne-moi' at such an inopportune time could cause him to lose his patience, he noted that there remained a solid core of Maori support for Catholicism at this time, reinforced by the three chiefs in the

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<sup>85</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 23.

<sup>86</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 6.

Bay who were affiliated to the mission. As he explained, ‘il faut bien remercier la providence, car il y a encore du bon parmi un assez bon nombre de naturels.’ Garin continued to be impressed by the Maori desire to seek the truth with regard to religion – interestingly, they were looking for it ‘dans les livres’,<sup>87</sup> in Protestant style. When writing to the parish priest of Saint-Rambert, Father Darnand, in early 1843, after one and a half years on the mission, Garin continued in this vein:

Nous voyons quelquefois dans nos missions des pécheurs se retrancher eux-mêmes de la société, se retirer dans les bois, y passer plusieurs jours sans manger et occupés à la prière, pour faire pénitence de leurs fautes; nous en voyons un grand nombre faire de longs voyages, par mer ou par terre, pour venir chercher un prêtre. Ici, nous avons été importunés, sollicités, harcelés par ces pauvres malheureux, avides d’apprendre les choses de Dieu.

Garin believed that those who chose not to embrace religion did so less out of indifference than out of a desire to find the truth. In summary, he told Darnand, ‘La joie qu’on éprouve dans ces nobles fonctions dédommage bien amplement des sacrifices qu’on a faits en quittant son pays et des petites privations qu’on est obligé de temps en temps de supporter’.<sup>88</sup> However, his thought at this time was in contrast to some of his fellow Marists who had a greater experience of the Maori mission. They appear to have evolved from the utopian perception, and had come to understand that Maori Christianity differed from the European version which the missionaries were endeavouring to teach them. An example is Antoine Séon, who had also arrived in New Zealand with the fifth sailing of missionaries, but

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<sup>87</sup> Girard, II, doc. 186, Garin to Colin, 9 Aug. 1842; doc. 209, Garin to Colin, 29 Oct.-4 Nov. 1842.

<sup>88</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Garin to Darnand, 1 Feb. 1843.

had been sent immediately to a sole-charge station at Matamata. After a year of working closely with Maori, he could tell Garin that ‘la plupart de leurs pratiques religieuses sont une imitation de leurs anciennes pratiques.’<sup>89</sup> It would not be until Garin worked at a sole-charge mission station that he would begin to make such observations.

While Garin left Kororareka unprepared for the reality of the Maori approach towards Catholicism, during the two-month period that he was left alone to minister to Maori from Kororareka he demonstrated the first sign of his ability to mediate between cultures. As he explained to Épalle, after a year in New Zealand he had yet to get to know the tribes of the Bay of Islands. Unsurprisingly, they did not attend his services, preferring to remain in their kainga, and so he resolved to undertake daily visits to the tribes of the Bay to administer the sacraments and care for the sick, with the help of Henry Garnett, a young Englishman from Liverpool who was attached to the mission as a novice.<sup>90</sup> Garin recorded travelling by canoe around the Bay with two Brothers, eating potatoes, kumara and fish with Maori whom they visited, preaching in the open air ‘mieux que dans les plus beaux temples’, and sleeping in a Maori whare. The latter required some adaptation: ‘il faut être en effet un peu fatigué pour dormir, car on est étouffé par la fumée du feu et des pipes et par la chaleur produite par le concours d’un grand nombre de personnes réunies dans un local si étroit.’<sup>91</sup> The following day, Maori would insist that Garin said prayers and ate with them

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<sup>89</sup> APM, Z 208, Séon to Garin, 16 Jul. 1842.

<sup>90</sup> Girard, II, doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>91</sup> Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842.

before he left. Garin explained the importance of such overnight visits to his brother, noting that ‘les naturels se plaignent devant eux que les ministres protestants ne veulent s’arrêter ni manger avec eux ni coucher chez eux. Ils reconnaissent la supériorité des missionnaires catholiques.’<sup>92</sup> Garin was, then, beginning to demonstrate his readiness to adopt at least some Maori cultural practices. What is more, his attempts at building bridges between cultures extended beyond the practicalities of everyday life, to the domain of beliefs and thought systems, as suggested by an attempt that he made to engage with Protestants during a visit of the Bay:

Un jour je revenais de Waitangi où j’étais allé voir des naturels; en passant devant l’endroit où l’on dépose avec le boat les pères qui vont à Hokianga, je vois des naturels assis sur la petite élévation la plus rapprochée de la rivière dans cet endroit. Je les entends réciter le Pater en maori mais d’un ton qui me fait de suite comprendre que c’est pour m’insulter. Je n’en doute plus lorsque je les vois répéter à plusieurs reprises et en riant: ‘Amené, amené, amené.’ A l’instant je fais virer de bord, nous allons droit à eux. Ils sont étonnés, eux missionnaires,<sup>93</sup> qu’un prêtre catholique se détourne ainsi pour les aller voir après en avoir été insultés. Les approchant, je leur demande ce qu’ils ont voulu me dire par ces cris et cette prière; alors se mettant à rire ils me disent pour compléter l’insulte: ‘Eh bien! Est-ce tu nous apportes un livre?’. ‘Oui’, leur dis-je, et me dirigeant vers eux, je tire de ma poche un espèce de livre dans lequel je prends mes notes et dans lequel j’avais écrit du maori. ‘Tiens, le voilà mon livre.’ Alors il le prend de mes mains: ‘Est-il écrit en maori?’ me demande-t-il. ‘Sans doute, regarde.’ Il se met à lire quelques lignes. Il est tout stupéfait; il croit probablement que c’est un livre imprimé. Je lui cherche l’endroit où il est parlé de Luther; ‘écoute, tiens,’ lui dis-je, ‘voilà ce que mon livre dit.’ Ils

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<sup>92</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l’abbé Garin, 4.

<sup>93</sup> ‘Missionnaires’ is a translation of the Maori ‘mihinari’, meaning ‘Protestant’, and is used by Garin in the sense of ‘Protestant’ throughout his letters and diaries.

m'écoutent tous attentivement. Nous nous asseyons sur cette petite élévation, et la discussion s'engage.<sup>94</sup>

As Garin noted elsewhere, 'l'on s'estime heureux de pouvoir souffrir quelque affront pour le nom de Jésus Christ',<sup>95</sup> and this humility, a significant aspect of the Marist apostolate and one which Garin particularly adhered to, enabled him to reach across a cultural and religious divide to engage with local Protestant Maori. On another occasion, Garin revealed how, even at this relatively early stage, Maori and Catholic religious ceremonies were being integrated:

Lorsqu'un homme un peu distingué meurt, la population accourt de tous côtés de 2 lieues à la ronde chez les parents du mort. L'on tire des coups de fusil réciproques en signe de bon accueil. Les hommes s'avancent gaiement et se rangent en cercle autour du mort que l'on assied par terre appuyé contre des bâtons fixés dans le col, et garnis de belles nattes. Les femmes seules poussent des cris déchirants. Tout le corps du défunt est recouvert d'un grand shawl, excepté la tête. On lui met dans les narines deux tampons de laine rouge. On lui entoure la tête de plumes blanches et noires. Il est en outre placé sous une tente faite par 4 piquets plantés en terre et recouverts d'une couverture de laine. La mère du mort est couchée en travers sur les pieds du mort et poussent de longs gémissements. Le père Garin récite les prières des morts. On renvoie l'enterrement au lendemain. Le lendemain l'on prépare un dîner pour 100 personnes. Ce dîner se compose comme d'habitude de poissons et de kumara servis dans de petits paniers tressés avec des feuilles vertes en guise d'assiettes. L'on surseoit encore à l'enterrement jusqu'à ce qu'il pleuve. Alors le père Garin après avoir béni de loin le lieu de la sépulture dont on ne pouvait approcher comme étant tapu, s'éloigne avec ses compagnons.

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<sup>94</sup> Girard, II, doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>95</sup> Girard, II, doc. 186, Garin to Colin, 9 Aug. 1842.

Les naturels pensent que les âmes des morts vont voyager sous terre, et que les étoiles sont les yeux de leurs ancêtres. Celles de première grandeur sont les yeux de leurs grands chefs.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to suggesting the mediating of cultures that was taking place, these two examples highlight the changes in the nature of Garin's recording of information about Maori. No longer the newly-arrived European observing from the outside, Garin was relating his interaction with Maori in the form of a straightforward narrative, without seeking to draw conclusions from different behaviours. This arguably reflected the changes in his own thought processes, as he sought to work between cultures in the hybrid world of Old New Zealand. At this time, therefore, Garin was beginning to transcend his position as the purveyor of a European religion, becoming a transculturator: a foreshadowing of the role that he would adopt at Mangakahia.

Perhaps recognising his own talent for missionary work, Garin was insistent that he wanted to leave the procure and be assigned to a mission station. Beyond the visits he had undertaken to the tribes in the Bay of Islands, he had been taken on two longer-range journeys which had afforded him a glimpse of the practical difficulties of being a missionary. As he explained to his brother, Numa, following a trip to Whangaroa in April 1842 with Petit-Jean, 'Il n'y a pas de chemins tracés. L'on marche généralement dans des plaines recouvertes de fougères tellement entrelacées que l'on a de la peine à y pénétrer. Il n'y a point de ponts sur les rivières de sorte que l'on est obligé de les traverser au gué où à la nage.' During the journey he had crossed five rivers and nine streams and creeks,

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<sup>96</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 6-7.

and had had the experience of being hosted by an Englishman whom the two missionaries had met along the way.<sup>97</sup> Meanwhile, in March 1843 Garin travelled to Hokianga with a predominantly Maori party, including four Maori girls, daughters of Papahia of Hokianga,<sup>98</sup> who were baptised at Purakau where Garin, Forest, Petit and Brother Luc Macé held their retreat.<sup>99</sup> These visits provided Garin with the opportunity to experience missionary work on the ground, in the smaller Marist stations and at Maori kainga, where material conditions were notably different from those which he knew at Kororareka. Despite the difficulties of the travel, he told both Colin and Épalle that he longed to start true missionary work, and to spend more time with each tribe so as to instruct the children and make a real difference, rather than having to return to the procure to hear about the financial problems of the Marists.<sup>100</sup>

Upon his return to Kororareka, Pompallier was concerned to find Garin wearing the three-cornered hat of provincial, procurator and missionary.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps partly out of his own interest in re-establishing power over the vicariate, and certainly in accordance with Garin's wishes for his future, the Bishop appears to have increased Garin's opportunities for missionary work. In August 1843, Garin accompanied him to Taiamai, near present-day Ohaeawai,<sup>102</sup> and thence on towards Waimate. Pompallier organised a meeting of missionaries and Maori, and

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<sup>97</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 3-4.

<sup>98</sup> Wiritai Toi, 'Papahia, Hone Tana 1856-1859? - 1912', in *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>> [accessed 12 November 2008].

<sup>99</sup> Girard, II, doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>100</sup> Girard, II, doc. 178, Garin to Colin, 22-26 Jul. 1842; doc. 255, Garin to Épalle, 12 May 1843.

<sup>101</sup> Girard, II, doc. 228, Garin to Colin, 30 Nov. 1842.

<sup>102</sup> *The Early Journals of Henry Williams, Senior Missionary in New Zealand of the Church Missionary Society, 1826-1840*, ed. by Lawrence M. Rogers (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961), p. 31.



asked the latter to select the missionary that they needed. Garin was chosen.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, after two and a quarter years of waiting, Garin was discharged of his duties as provincial and procurator, and was given his own mission station.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 10.

<sup>104</sup> Girard, II, doc. 283, Forest to Poupinel, 4 Nov. 1843.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### FULFILMENT – KAIPARA, 1843-1847

The Kaipara Catholic mission station, based at Mangakahia on the Northern Wairoa River, was only two days' travel from Kororareka, but in relative terms it was a world apart from the bustle of the Bay. It was in this thinly-populated area of Northland that Garin lived as a missionary to Maori for over four years. While not the longest period of his work in New Zealand, Garin's experience at the Kaipara mission constitutes, along with his time in Nelson, a fundamental part of his story. It was at Mangakahia that his lifelong ambition of becoming a missionary was fulfilled, and where he kept a fascinating record of his life with Maori, a record which rivals that of his Marist colleague, Louis Catherin Servant, as being 'the most complete account of Maori life in one area that survives from this period.'<sup>1</sup>

Garin's minutely-detailed diary provides the major part of the evidence used in this chapter. Combined with comparative material from other missionaries and previous analyses of the New Zealand missions, an assessment is made of Garin's work, not in the more traditional terms of baptisms and church attendance, but rather in terms of the ways in which Garin transcended his role as a missionary. It is argued that at Mangakahia, Garin was more than a French missionary bringing the Catholic religion to Maori with an inevitably European cultural baggage: he was a transculturator, working in a world that was

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<sup>1</sup> Turner, 'Servant, Louis Catherin 1808-1860'.

predominantly Maori, but which was very gradually coming under European (British) influence. Garin's diary provides insights into the ways in which Maori-Pakeha interaction in the 1840s was a two-way street, with both Maori and European going through a process of change and adaptation. It clearly contradicts the 'fatal impact' view of colonialism, revealing how Maori of the Northern Wairoa used local European settlers and missionaries to pursue their own agendas. What is more, the diary demonstrates that, rather than 'civilising' their subjects, some missionaries instead chose to meet their potential converts in a middle ground, sharing the life of the local inhabitants and seeking to understand their thought processes rather than steadfastly imposing a European structure. This led to a blending of ideologies, religions and cultures.

This chapter uses Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity as a framework within which to study the interaction that took place between Garin and Northern Wairoa Maori. While the notion of hybridity can be used in countless ways, the chapter seeks to analyse specific categories of hybridity that are of relevance to Garin. It first investigates examples of cultural hybridity with a focus on religion and gift exchange, and then looks at political hybridity. The latter category is particularly apposite to Garin's case because of his position as a Frenchman living in a British colony. In fact, Garin was based at Mangakahia during the first Maori uprising against the British colonial authorities at Kororareka, an uprising which the French missionaries were accused of instigating.

## Establishment of the Kaipara Mission

In the very earliest period of the Catholic mission in New Zealand, when Pompallier had his headquarters in Hokianga, sons of the chiefs of Mangakahia travelled there several times soliciting a visit from the Bishop. Pompallier fulfilled their wish in October 1838. In his *Early History of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, he remembered travelling to the principal pa, Aotahi, where the paramount chief of the area, Te Tirarau Kukupa of Te Parawhau,<sup>2</sup> resided, seeing the nearby Wesleyan mission station, and staying with an Irish sawyer (pp. 52-53). The latter was James Johnson, who lived a short distance up the Wairua River from its confluence with the Mangakahia River. Johnson cohabited with a daughter of the Ngai Tahu chief Te Waiata,<sup>3</sup> who would become the patron of the Kaipara Catholic mission. In the view of Garin's missionary rival, James Buller, Johnson was 'an idle, illiterate Irishman, formerly a convict' who was nonetheless authorised by Pompallier to act as a catechist until reinforcements arrived and the Bishop could spare a priest for the area.<sup>4</sup> According to Buller's predecessor, James Wallis, two Mangakahia chiefs – Waiata and the Uriroroi chief, Wetekia<sup>5</sup> – were 'gained' by the Catholic religion as a result of the Bishop's visit;<sup>6</sup> hence Pompallier's decision to send Father Maxime Petit there to establish

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<sup>2</sup> Steven Oliver, 'Te Tirarau Kukupa ? - 1882', in *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> [accessed 21 December 2008].

<sup>3</sup> Nancy Preece Pickmere, *The Changing Times of Te Tirarau and the People of the River, the Wairoa, Kaipara* (Auckland: Bush Press of New Zealand, 2004), p. 47; Garry Hooker, *Māori, the Crown and the Northern Wairoa District: A Te Roroa Perspective (WAI 632)* (Dargaville: Waitangi Tribunal, 2000), p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Christchurch, Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives (MCA), James Buller dossier, Buller to the Secretaries, 5 Jun. 1839; Girard, I, doc. 48, Petit to Colin, 8 Jan. 1840; NM, 26 Aug. 1845.

<sup>5</sup> Pickmere, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Auckland, Kinder Library (KL), Wesleyan Letters to the Secretaries, Wallis, 24 Oct. 1838, cited in Byrne, p. 93.

a Catholic station. Petit travelled to the area in June 1840, as indicated by the Mangakahia and Kaipara baptism register begun on the twenty-eighth of that month. The first baptism entry for 'Hato Rohario', as the station was originally known, is dated 8 June.<sup>7</sup> The Mangakahia station thus followed the pattern of many of the other Catholic mission stations around New Zealand: it was established as a result of Maori interest in and request for a resident missionary.

The site of the original mission has been somewhat disputed, and Hato Rohario has often been considered as located at a place called 'Ake Ake', supposedly on Johnson's land above the confluence of the Mangakahia and Wairua rivers. However, H  l  ne Serabian's assessment that Petit lived at two different mission stations on the Wairoa River, one of which was Ake Ake and the other of which was Hato Rohario, appears more likely (p. 77). In an account of his first visit to the area, Petit described descending the river with Waiata and his tribe to a place called Ake Ake, 'environ    65 milles de l'entr  e de la rivi  re', which took three days to reach because of the need to respect the tides. At Ake Ake Waiata built him a chapel which would also serve as a mission residence, though Petit noted that he had attempted to dissuade the chief from doing so, as they would only be spending a month or two there.<sup>8</sup> This supports Serabian's theory that Ake Ake was not a place of permanent occupation, similar to that which Waiata possessed at Te Ahiturara near the Mangakahia and Wairua rivers,<sup>9</sup> but was rather a temporary abode for the winter months related to particular

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<sup>7</sup> ACDA, RA 11 Liber baptisatorum in Ecclesi   parochiali S. Rosarii necnon et S. Irenei Loci vulgi dicti Mangakahia et Kaipara, inchoatus die 28 Mensis junii, anni 1840.

<sup>8</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 3, Petit to Pompallier, 16 July 1840.

<sup>9</sup> Stephen Fordyce, Personal Communication, 10 December 2004, 15 January 2005.

cultivation or fishing (pp. 77-79). The Ake Ake mission was in fact sighted by Garin on his first journey to the Kaipara Harbour in October 1844. He mentioned seeing, 'près du pic Te Akeake et de la montagne Maungaraho', in the southern reaches of the Wairoa River, 'une maison que le père Petit avait fait bâtir pour lui lorsque Waiata et Tirarau restaient dans cette place'.<sup>10</sup> That Ake Ake was in the southern part of the Wairoa River and not at Waiata's normal place of residence is also suggested by Antoine Monfat's comment that Petit's station at Ake Ake was located 'à sept milles de la mer' (p. 174), as the Wairoa is separated from the sea by a narrow strip of land in its southern reaches before wending its way inland to the north.

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<sup>10</sup> NM, 9 Oct. 1844.



Map 2: Garin's Mangakahia, 1843-1847

This map indicates the location of the Mangakahia Catholic mission stations and outstations, in addition to other place names mentioned in this chapter. All place names are given in their

**mid-nineteenth century locations. Asterisks indicate uncertainty over the exact siting of settlements, where cartographic evidence has not been found.<sup>11</sup>**

At Ake Ake Petit was pleased to see that the tribe, in particular one of Waiata's wives and two of his daughters, showed great zeal for Catholic prayers and teaching. On the other hand, he considered there to be little prospect of the paramount chief, Tirarau, adhering to Catholicism, given that 'il parait ne connaître et n'aimer de bon cœur que celui qui est dans les pounds et tout ce qui est de ce monde', and also given his ties with George Stephenson and the Wesleyan mission.<sup>12</sup> The station was, however, sufficiently promising for Petit to make five further visits after this initial one of two months' duration, until Pompallier could appoint a permanent missionary.<sup>13</sup> From Petit's comments it would appear that the remaining visits were made to Waiata's residence at Mangakahia in the upper Wairoa River, which Petit rightly noted would have been more easily reached by missionaries from the Bay of Islands than by himself from the Hokianga station. For example, Petit spoke of the need to travel to the upper reaches of the river by waka when taking the Pakanae route to reach his mission station, and of the Irish Catholics he had to visit away from his tribe 'au

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<sup>11</sup> Adaptation of Custom Map of Northland, sourced from NZTopoOnline, New Zealand mainland only (NZTM2000), June 2009, Crown Copyright Reserved. Information sourced from Serabian, *Deuxième partie: textes*; Stephen Fordyce, Personal Communication, 10 December 2004; T. Brian Byrne, *The Unknown Kaipara: Five Aspects of its History 1250-1875* (Auckland: the author, 2002); ATL, Cartographic Collection, 832.11eke A Hand Sketch of the Upper Part of the Wy-Roa from the Mission Station to Tokotoko Mountain, the Remainder is Taken from Mr Forsyth's Sketch with the Exception of the Otemata River. G Garwood, *Barque Gipsy*, [c. 1845]; APL, Heritage Collections, 886 NZ:R D995.118 aj 1858 Kaipara Harbour, surveyed by Comr. B. Drury, and the officers of H.M.S. Pandora, 1852.

<sup>12</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 3, Petit to Pompallier, 16 July 1840.

<sup>13</sup> APM, Z 208, Petit to Colin, 20 Jan. 1844.



bas de la rivière'.<sup>14</sup> In 1841 he mentioned that 'la maison que [Waiata] a bâtie pour Monseigneur et que j'habite' was located on Johnson's land, above the confluence of the Mangakahia and Wairua rivers, though the land was subject to a claim.<sup>15</sup> Petit's visits served to reassure the Mangakahia tribes of Pompallier's goodwill towards them and of his desire to eventually send a priest among them, and led to the creation of a small community of Catholics.

From Petit's correspondence regarding the early Mangakahia mission, one recorded event stands out as revealing of the dynamic of the mission, highlighting the extent to which its establishment reflected Maori aims and, specifically, intertribal competition between Waiata, who had favoured Catholicism since Pompallier's 1838 visit, and Tirarau, who was aligned with the Wesleyan mission. In November 1841 Petit recounted his attempt to move the mission station to a more central location on Tirarau's land, in accordance with a suggestion from Pompallier. Apparently after conferring with Buller, the Wesleyan missionary, both Tirarau and Waiata told Petit to remain at Hato Rohario. A third party's claim to James Johnson's land had been disallowed by Governor William Hobson and there was thus no urgent need to move the mission, and also there was no firewood near Tirarau's pa. Though Petit paid scant attention to these objections, and went ahead and procured the materials for the new building, his plan faltered because of Waiata's threats to prohibit his tribe – Petit's Catholic community – from attending services at the new station. It would thus appear that it was partly out of rivalry that Waiata and Wetekia supported the Catholic mission and

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<sup>14</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 5, Petit to Épalle, 26 Mar. 1841; APM, Z. 208, Petit to Dupont, Aug. 1841.

<sup>15</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 5, Petit to Épalle, 7 Nov. 1841.

Catholic interests, in opposition to the alignment with the Wesleyans of Tirarau and his brother-in-law, the chief Parore Te Awha of Te Kuihi.<sup>16</sup> The episode highlights too the extent to which the Catholic mission was dependent on the patronage of the local Maori chiefs.

Garin arrived at his mission station on 14 September 1843, accompanied by Petit, who was undertaking his seventh and final visit to the area as local missionary.<sup>17</sup> Jean-Baptiste Comte, writing from Kororareka, described Garin as having left ‘pour quelques mois’, which suggests that the posting may not have been intended as a long-term solution.<sup>18</sup> After all, Petit had run the Mangakahia station from Hokianga, and, in the wake of the 1825 battle of Te Ika-a-Ranganui, the northern Kaipara was a sparsely-populated area – not necessarily an ideal place to found a new mission.<sup>19</sup> This was still the case in 1839 when the trader Gilbert Mair travelled along the Wairoa,<sup>20</sup> and both Wallis and Buller remarked on it, Wallis noting the absence of Maori settlements along the river in comparison to the flourishing mission that he had left in the Waikato,<sup>21</sup> and Buller commenting in his *Forty Years in New Zealand* that ‘For more than fifteen years this solitude was my home’ (p. 65). But this solitude was of little consequence for Garin, who had been brought up in the isolated Bugey mountains, and considered

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<sup>16</sup> Garry Hooker, ‘Parore Te Awha ? - 1887’, in *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> [accessed 14 April 2009].

<sup>17</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33 Letter Registers. A Second Volume of Correspondence Record, 1875-1888, 53; NM, 14 Sep. 1844; APM, Z 208, Petit to Colin, 20 Jan. 1844.

<sup>18</sup> Girard, II, doc. 287, Comte to Colin, 25 Nov. 1843.

<sup>19</sup> Byrne, pp. 28-34.

<sup>20</sup> Auckland Public Library (APL), Heritage Collections, NZMS 140 New Zealand, by Gilbert Mair, Esq., Wahapu, Bay of Islands, 1839, 31.

<sup>21</sup> KL, Wesleyan Letters to the Secretaries, Wallis, 4 Aug. 1837, cited in Byrne, p. 81.

himself rather fortunate to be so close to the Catholic mission headquarters at Kororareka, which he could reach in two days.

By 1844 it appears that Garin was considered as permanently posted to the area. In a report on the state of the mission for that year, 'Kaipara' is listed as the twelfth and last Catholic station to have been founded, showing that Petit's efforts were a temporary measure and had not been seen as a true establishment of a mission station.<sup>22</sup> Garin first lived with Waiata's tribe at Petit's Hato Rohario mission, which he described as located at Katiwa.<sup>23</sup> Because of Buller's success in converting Maori at Kaihu (under Parore) and Okaro, now Waikaraka Landing (under the chief Paikea Te Hekeua of Te Uri-o-Hau, Tirarau's cousin)<sup>24</sup> in the southern part of the circuit, there was little to be gained from returning to Ake Ake or its environs.<sup>25</sup> However, discussions with Tirarau regarding the relocation of the mission downriver towards the principal pa opened immediately upon Garin's arrival, as noted by an irritated Buller.<sup>26</sup> Tirarau's interest in having a Catholic mission station nearby is suggested by the fact that, for the first time, he allowed two of his children to be baptised by the Catholic missionaries, on 17 and 18 September 1843.<sup>27</sup> Despite the move, Garin's most devoted following continued to come from Waiata and Wetekia's tribes, and by February 1846 Garin was referring to Maori from the upper reaches of the Wairoa River (Mangakahia)

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<sup>22</sup> OPM, H34, H01150 Vicariat apostolique de l'Océanie occidentale, Mission de la Nouvelle-Zélande fondée le 10 janvier 1838, État de cette mission pour l'an 1844.

<sup>23</sup> ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364 A Continuation of the Journal of James Buller, Garin to Buller, 27 Nov. 1843; NM, 21 Feb. 1844, 28 Feb. 1845.

<sup>24</sup> Hooker, pp. 63-65; Serabian p. 606.

<sup>25</sup> MCA, James Buller dossier, Buller to the Secretaries, 24 Apr. 1845, 23 Dec. 1846; NM 12 May 1844.

<sup>26</sup> ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364, 15 Sep. 1843.

<sup>27</sup> ACDA, RA 11.

as ‘les catholiques’, while Buller had gained much of the area around his mission station and the lower reaches of the Wairoa River (Kaipara) for the Wesleyan Church.<sup>28</sup>

Though the rudiments of a mission infrastructure were in place when Garin arrived, and twenty-three baptisms had already been conducted by Petit,<sup>29</sup> over his four years in Mangakahia Garin was able to establish a fully-fledged station. His earliest house at Katiwa was a Maori hut with bark walls, a particularity for which the area was noted, Mair having described the local whare as ‘very different from any I ever had seen; the frames being bound with bark of the Totara tree’ (p. 31). While Garin did not complain about the level of comfort of his dwelling, his comment that a European settler on the river, a Mr Powell, probably Edmund Powell who opened the first Catholic school in Auckland,<sup>30</sup> ‘est encore plus mal logé que moi’, suggests that Buller was correct in describing Garin as being ‘very miserably situated’.<sup>31</sup> From Garin’s diary, for example, it is clear that his cooking had to be done outside,<sup>32</sup> and he wrote to his family that the house leaked, had no flooring and was apt to be invaded by the local dogs.<sup>33</sup>

In 1844, following the purchase of ten acres of land near the pa during a visit by Pompallier, Garin was able to organise the construction of the permanent station ‘Hato Irene’, or ‘Hatoi’ as it was better known. The new station, named

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<sup>28</sup> NM, 20 Feb. 1846.

<sup>29</sup> ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>30</sup> NM, 18 Apr. 1844; E. R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salis: A History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980* (Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1982), p. 32; ACDA, RD 1-1 Burial Register of St Patrick’s Cathedral Auckland, begun in 1854.

<sup>31</sup> NM, 22 May 1844; ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364, 17 Nov. 1843.

<sup>32</sup> NM, 28 Apr. 1844.

<sup>33</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l’abbé Garin, 12.

after the Lyon seminary Saint-Irénée from which many of the Marists hailed, was on the opposite side of the river from and slightly northward of Aotahi and the Wesleyan mission station, near present-day Tangiteroria. It is listed in land records as being the Hatoi block.<sup>34</sup> It was at Hatoi that Garin used his considerable practical talents to create a well-equipped station, which was somewhat in contrast with the poverty that Jane Thomson described the Catholic missionaries as living in (pp. 169-70). Garin's mission residence, which he occupied from 13 July 1844, was a substantial building forty-two feet long and fourteen feet wide, with a verandah; he doubled its size in 1845.<sup>35</sup> The house was large enough to contain a chapel and suitable quarters for the European servants whom he employed at different times to act as handyman, cook and/or gardener, namely a Mr Reynolds, who was most probably Loughlin Reynolds, a godparent at one of Garin's baptisms in July 1844, and a Frenchman, named Pierre [nfi].<sup>36</sup> Kaperiere Hoeroa and Matiu Tahunu, Garin's Maori assistants who were baptised in November 1843, shortly after his arrival in Mangakahia,<sup>37</sup> lived in a separate house on the property, and after Pierre's departure John Lynch and his wife were employed and a separate house built for them at the station.<sup>38</sup> By 1845 the mission garden covered a hectare and contained not only fruit trees and vegetables, but also around three hundred grape vines which Garin had received from Gilbert Mair in Whangarei, and enough wheat to last a year (the mission had its own modest flour

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<sup>34</sup> ACDA, CLE 114-3 Dargaville/Northern Wairoa Parish dossier, Land Claims 1868 Blk. IV Maungaru S.D., cited in Serabian, p. 79.

<sup>35</sup> NM, 28 Feb. 1845.

<sup>36</sup> NM, 1 Feb. 1844, 18 Aug. 1844; ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>37</sup> ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>38</sup> NM, 4 Apr. 1845, 7 Jun. 1845.

mill). There was a chicken coop, and ducks, turkeys and goats on the mission property, making it quite self-sufficient.<sup>39</sup> In addition, Garin had his own boat or *baleinière* with which to travel up and down the river and visit his parishioners.<sup>40</sup>

European accoutrements such as this were vital in securing the reputation of the mission among local Maori. Garin's resourcefulness also meant that he was able to obtain maximum benefits from the seventy pounds of mission funds he received each year<sup>41</sup> – despite the relative poverty of the mission station when compared to that of James Buller with his approximately three hundred acres of land<sup>42</sup> – by making such things as a corn leaf-filled mattress (much admired by Kaperiere and Matiu), an oilskin, a sundial, a small steeple for his house, a four-wheeled cart, and a wine press with which he made the first wine on the river.<sup>43</sup> While Garin had in view in 1845 to build chapels both at Hatoi and downriver among the European settlers,<sup>44</sup> he was unable to procure land for the latter,<sup>45</sup> and contented himself with building a chapel at his mission station, which was completed some time after the end of his extant Mangakahia diaries in late 1846 or 1847.<sup>46</sup> By then, though, the station had already become a focal point on the river, as was Buller's station, attracting both Maori and European visitors.

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<sup>39</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 15; NM, 4 Sep. 1844, 1 Jul. 1845.

<sup>40</sup> NM, 2 Feb. 1844, 13 Jul. 1844.

<sup>41</sup> OPM, H34, H01150.

<sup>42</sup> Byrne, p. 82.

<sup>43</sup> NM, 22 May 1844, 23 Jan. 1846; APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 18-19.

<sup>44</sup> NM, 22 Jul. 1845.

<sup>45</sup> NM, 13 Aug. 1845, 11 Jan. 1846.

<sup>46</sup> Wellington, National Archives (NAW), IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849; MAW, HD2, Kaperiere Hoeroa to Garin, 7 Aug. 1869, 106-7.



**Figure 7: Hatoi Catholic mission site, looking upriver**  
**Private collection of H el ene Serabian.**

### **The Work of a Catholic Missionary**

Garin's diary reveals much of the general process of evangelisation for the early Catholic missionaries. Travelling mainly with Kaperiere and Matiu, Garin would visit Maori on the Wairoa River, and, with larger groups of Maori to accompany him, travel to the outer parts of his mission circuit at Whangarei and Kaipara harbours to spread the ideas of Catholicism. These journeys are variously documented in Garin's 'Notes sur la mission', the letter summaries that his brother kept in his 'R esum e de la correspondance de l'abb e Garin', as well as the diaries of Philippe Viard, who had been appointed Bishop and Pompallier's

coadjutor in a papal brief of 7 February 1845.<sup>47</sup> From these writings, we know that Garin undertook at least eight journeys to Kororaraka (two days' travel), six to Whangarei (one long day's travel), and six to Kaipara Harbour (one to two days' travel) during his time in charge of the Mangakahia mission.<sup>48</sup> While chiefs like Tirarau, Waiata and Paikea were often not themselves converted to a European religion, it was they who gave permission to missionaries such as Garin to travel around their territories to spread the Christian message. As John Owens notes, their backing was an essential component in missionary success.<sup>49</sup> When a village decided to be affiliated with the Catholic mission, with the chief's permission Garin would stay at the village long enough to organise a prayer group to whom he would teach the Catholic catechism *Te Ako Marama*, and a catechist would be trained to recite morning and evening prayers. On occasion Garin would visit to hold these prayers, especially in the evenings when questions and answers on the catechism could continue long into the night, and to give the converts further instruction.<sup>50</sup> Once the converts were sufficiently instructed, he would baptise them. Garin described for Colin his main tasks at Mangakahia as 'visiter les naturels, coucher chez eux, mettre de l'ordre dans ma maison', and summarised, 'D'ailleurs je suis très content dans ma nouvelle position; j'aime beaucoup ce genre de vie'. As he told Colin, he much preferred his work as a missionary over that of provincial and procurator at Kororaraka, although he recognised the

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<sup>47</sup> Keys, *Philip Viard*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>48</sup> NM Jan. 1844- Sep. 1846; APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 20; Wellington Archdiocesan Archives (WAA), Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1846-1849, 4 Jan. 1847.

<sup>49</sup> J.M.R. Owens, 'Maori as Missionary: A Whanganui Case Study', in *Pacific Journeys*, ed. by Cropp and others (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005), pp. 124-34.

<sup>50</sup> For example, NM, 17 Oct. 1844.



dangers of being alone on a mission station with no other Marist to set him an example, noting ‘ici je n’ai d’autre modèle que moi-même, et jugez de ce que je puis faire avec un tel modèle’.<sup>51</sup>

As for maintaining his faithful, Garin would hold Sunday mass regularly at the mission station, usually in Latin and Maori but also in Latin and English when the settlers were present. However, with his parishioners spread out over a very large area, he often had to travel to give services. According to the March 1842 Kaipara census undertaken by Surveyor-General Charles Ligar, there were only approximately 100 Maori men based at Tirarau’s pa Aotahi, a larger contingent of 200 Maori men at Kaihu under Parore, and various smaller establishments in the Kaipara Harbour, including those belonging to Paikea (50 men) and another Te Uri-o-Hau chief, Mate (30 men).<sup>52</sup> Ligar recorded a total of 545 Maori men in the Kaipara area, from the northern reaches of the Wairoa to Kaipara Harbour: some one to three days’ travel depending on the tides. What is more, the local European settlements as recorded by Ligar, namely John Wilson and Alexander Ross’s sawing station, Edmund Ruff’s sawing station, Charles and Henry Walton’s farm, George Stephenson’s trading station, and properties belonging to Thomas Forsaith and Gregor McGregor, were to be found in the lower reaches of the river far from the mission station.<sup>53</sup> In 1846 Garin began to say mass for the Europeans at their houses.<sup>54</sup> He also frequently travelled to give services for Maori who had

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<sup>51</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Colin, 25 Apr.-2 Jun. 1844.

<sup>52</sup> *Early Journals of Henry Williams*, p. 177; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Kaipara Report (WAI 674)* (Wellington, 2006), p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> NAW, IA 1, 42/1251 The Ligar Report 28.4.1842, cited and amended in Byrne, p. 522.

<sup>54</sup> NM, 11 Jan. 1846.

temporarily relocated with Tirarau or Waiata to the Wairua River for cultivation and canoe-building, or to the lower reaches of the Wairoa River for tree-felling, notably at a camp known as Te Awamutu.<sup>55</sup>

In addition, there were Catholic outstations to be visited at Pukeokui, Tamaterau and Ngunguru in the Whangarei area, Ngawakarara in the upper reaches of the Wairoa River, and Hukatere and Omaumau in the Kaipara Harbour.<sup>56</sup> With the expertise of Kaperiere and Matiu to manage the tidal nature of the Wairoa, Garin was able to travel to places accessible along the river and in the Kaipara Harbour by waka and by boat as often as he needed. As mentioned, he also travelled with Maori groups to Whangarei and Kororareka, relying on their expertise to guide him through the difficult terrain: a forest (Whatitiri) on the route to Whangarei and a swamp area and sizeable forest (Purua) on the way to Kororareka.<sup>57</sup> His custom of travelling with Maori and staying with them along the route stands in contrast to Buller, who often stayed with the European settlers in the lower reaches of the river, and had accommodation houses built for him at his two most successful outposts, Kaihu and Okaro.<sup>58</sup> Garin was thus able to live closer to local Maori than did Buller, thanks to his lack of family responsibilities, and his Catholic, Marist background, which had taught him to sacrifice the material comforts of European life for his apostolate.

During Garin's time at Mangakahia, this area of Northland was little inhabited or influenced by Europeans. Reporting to the Wesleyan Secretaries in

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<sup>55</sup> For example, NM, 26 Apr. 1846; ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364, 17 Feb. 1844.

<sup>56</sup> NM, 2 Apr., 5 Sep., 10 Oct. 1844; 1 May, 2 Nov. 1845; 6 May 1846.

<sup>57</sup> NM, 5 Aug. 1844, 2 May 1845.

<sup>58</sup> Byrne, pp. 115-16.

London, Buller noted that there were only thirteen European families settled on the Wairoa River, many of whom attended the Wesleyan services.<sup>59</sup> In fact, Garin recorded at the beginning of his period as missionary that the Catholic Europeans did not come to his services every Sunday, some because they did not have a waka and others because of their Protestant husbands or through illness.<sup>60</sup> Garin also generally did not have a Marist Brother living with him, apart from a brief period over Christmas 1846,<sup>61</sup> instead relying on Kaperiere and Matiu to assist him with manual tasks. In this regard Garin shared the Maori way of life: his everyday language was Maori, he lived with Maori assistants, occupied a raupo hut in the early days of the mission, and often slept under the stars or in Maori whare during his visits around his extensive circuit. Further, he genuinely enjoyed Maori company and built up significant relationships with his followers. His attentions thus were noted: ‘ils savent bien apprécier toutes ces attentions; ils racontent cela aux autres et disent que j’ai beaucoup de bonté pour eux. Ils se disent entr’eux que [les étrangers] se fâchent continuellement mais lui il est bon envers nous, jamais il ne se fâche.’<sup>62</sup> Garin frequently demonstrated a willingness to adopt everyday Maori practices, for example eating and appreciating Maori food, such as fermented corn, and using ti roots to slake his thirst during long journeys.<sup>63</sup> He noted the ingenuity of Maori, explaining with admiration certain Maori practices, such as the ability to read signs of occupation – a piece of wood

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<sup>59</sup> MCA, James Buller dossier, Buller to the Secretaries, 24 Apr. 1845.

<sup>60</sup> NM, 24 Feb. 1844, 10 Nov. 1844.

<sup>61</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1846-1849, 21 Dec. 1846, 4 Jan. 1847.

<sup>62</sup> NM, 8 Jun. 1844.

<sup>63</sup> NM, 8 Mar., 17 Sep. 1844.

burned at one end to light a pipe, an empty basket or the remains of a fire – and to understand who had been in that place.<sup>64</sup> Given that he was living in a predominantly Maori world, Garin followed Maori custom, and, importantly, did not seek to contest local Maori hierarchies. His respect for the people was reciprocated, it would seem, as suggested by the reception he received when returning home from a journey to Kororaraka in 1844: ‘En approchant je sonne du cornet à piston. Les naturels se rassemblent pour me voir arriver; la joie est sur tous les visages. Ils me revoient tous avec le plus grand plaisir. Un enfant me dit: “Ka nui te aroha o nga tangata katoa ki a koe” [L’amour de toutes les personnes pour toi est grand]’.<sup>65</sup>

### **Beginnings of Cultural Hybridity**

The reciprocal respect that existed between Garin and the Maori of the Northern Wairoa, at least as he recorded it, is one of the outstanding features of Garin’s diary, and is emphasised by the human-centred, interactive nature of the writing itself. Bhabha has described hybridity as a negotiation of cultural identity which ‘entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy’ (p. 4), something which required there to be respect on both sides. Another major feature of Garin’s diary is his recording of ethnographic information, sparked perhaps by his scientific curiosity about the world around him and the instructions that the Catholic missionaries received to record Maori customs and practices. Arguably much of this ethnographic information records evidence of the mutual

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<sup>64</sup> NM, 9 Mar. 1844.

<sup>65</sup> NM, 13 Mar. 1844.

transformation of Maori and European identities, termed here cultural hybridity, that occurred in the community that he was living in. In Garin's world cultural practices were frequently influenced by the other party at the pragmatic level of modifying behaviour to facilitate trade and other exchanges. However, cultural hybridity could also be produced at a more profound level, when novel ideas and thought systems were adopted by the other group. Three possible sites for cultural hybridity, which are analysed below, included religion, tapu or taboo, and utu or (gift) exchange.

### *'Syncretism', or Religious Hybridity*

Although as a Catholic missionary Garin's aim was to propagate his religion to another people, his diary reveals a number of examples of religious hybridity, a fact that was revealing of the Catholic approach to the evangelisation of Maori which sought to introduce Catholicism by emphasising its similarities to, and interconnection with, pre-existing Maori religious beliefs. In Pompallier's instructions to his missionaries, for example, he advised them to admit the Maori belief that Maui was their ancestor; the Bishop was recorded by CMS missionary James Watkin as telling Ngai Tahu Maori that Hine, Maui's wife, was the Virgin Mary.<sup>66</sup> Such similarities between the two religions included beliefs in demons, exorcisms, holy water, a pantheon of saints and spirits, and the use of ornaments and *wakapakoko* or images. In Garin's words, 'leurs usages ont avec la foi un

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<sup>66</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 40-41; Dunedin, Hocken Library, MS J. Watkin Journal, 7, cited in Alison Begg, 'The Conversion to Christianity of the South Island Maori in the 1840s and 1850s', *Historical and Political Studies*, 3 (1972), 11-17 (p. 16).

rapprochement assez frappant'.<sup>67</sup> Religious hybridity could occur both ways, with indigenous beliefs being absorbed into Christianity, as well as Christianity being incorporated into the local belief system. In this regard, the term 'syncretism', which at face value seems equivalent to 'religious hybridity', is often used pejoratively to suggest the corruption of indigenous belief systems by Christianity, or a failure for one religious system to fully assimilate the other.<sup>68</sup> However, as Nikos Papastergiadis notes, the reconfiguring of spiritual expression can also be interpreted as an indicator of traditional cultures' resilience in the face of contact with the 'repressive' or 'modernising' forces of the West.<sup>69</sup> The idea of syncretism is, moreover, not a new one: John Peel, in a 1968 study of religion in Yoruba, stressed the continuities between old and new beliefs involved in the process of conversion.<sup>70</sup>

Garin's recording not only of everyday life, but also of Maori customs and beliefs as observed by him and related to him by Maori priests, reveals his desire for reciprocity between himself and the people whom he was seeking to evangelise. Garin seemed especially sensitive to the blending of religions and ideologies that was taking place. He was eager to know about traditional religious beliefs, and his position in the community allowed him to be privy to conversations with Maori priests. During one of his frequent visits up and down

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<sup>67</sup> Turner, p. 51; NM, 28 May 1845.

<sup>68</sup> Birgit Meyer, 'Beyond Syncretism: Translation and Diabolization in the Appropriation of Protestantism in Africa', in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis*, ed. by Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 45-68 (pp. 45-46).

<sup>69</sup> *Turbulence of Migration*, p. 126.

<sup>70</sup> J.D.Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1968), cited in Robin Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 41 (1971), 85-108 (p. 95).

the Wairoa River, in this case to Pukeokui to see his patients, Garin was instructed by Haki Paka, a tohunga,<sup>71</sup> on the Maori view of the gods, the afterlife, the Creation, and also illness, about which he recorded:

Lorsque quelqu'un tombe malade c'est parce que ce kainga est mauvais, on s'y conduit mal, c'est pourquoi les âmes des ancêtres viennent leur infliger quelques maladies. Ces âmes entrent dans le corps du patient et le mangent ou lui mordent les entrailles ou les membres. Alors on appelle un prêtre et un tohunga karakia [maître en invocations ou incantations]. Le tohunga karakia adresse la parole au dieu c.-à-d. à l'âme du tupuna [ancêtre] et lui dit d'aller dans le prêtre: 'Haere, haere, va, va, sors du corps de ce malade.' Alors on entend un bruit sourd dans le corps du malade. C'est le dieu qui s'en va au prêtre; alors on donne de la nourriture sacrée à ce prêtre, et le dieu est satisfait.<sup>72</sup>

Such recordings contrast starkly with the comments of Wesleyan Buller, who said of Maori religion: 'The Maoris were devil-worshippers', or of Anglican William Colenso, who said 'They had neither doctrine nor dogma, neither cultus nor system of worship'.<sup>73</sup> Instead, Garin recorded from his talk with Haki Paka that the Maori gods were the souls of their ancestors, who went from one place to another in search of their bodies and to speak to their relatives. According to Garin, then, there was strictly speaking no 'cultus' or form of worship, though there were different ceremonies for different circumstances such as for the planting of the kumara.<sup>74</sup> Wetekia similarly instructed Garin on Maori customs,

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<sup>71</sup> NM, 16 Jan., 8 Mar. 1846.

<sup>72</sup> NM, 2 Dec. 1845.

<sup>73</sup> Elsdon Best, *Some Aspects of Māori Myth and Religion*, Dominion Museum Monograph, 1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1978), p. 9.

<sup>74</sup> NM, 2 Dec. 1845.

adding a number of interesting observations to those of Haki Paka. Garin recorded from their conversation regarding the Creation, ‘C’est Maui qui a fait le soleil et la lune pour éclairer pendant le jour et l’autre pendant la nuit, mais les étoiles sont les yeux des dieux maoris. Les naturels croient que les yeux des chefs brillent dans le ciel.’<sup>75</sup>

While Garin was interested in learning as much as he could about traditional beliefs, his principal task was clearly to give Catholic instruction to Maori. In order to bridge the cultural communication gap between himself and the local community, Garin attempted to use Maori ways of expressing ideas to explain his Christian message. To do this he went through a process of understanding the Maori mind and Maori ways of thinking, leading him to refashion his own thinking. For instance, he learned to express his ideas figuratively, explaining the saints whom Jesus left as a guide for those on earth by talking about his own journey from the Bay of Islands to Mangakahia, when he was unsure of the way but was guided by the people whom he met along the path.<sup>76</sup> Garin did not record any particular experience which led him to this understanding, though another Marist missionary, Claude-André Baty, on hearing Bay of Islands Maori making allegorical comparisons, stated ‘je me trouvais moi-même à l’école, car j’apprenais les expressions et la manière de présenter certaines choses de manière à frapper les naturels.’<sup>77</sup> As Garin became more involved in the Maori world, his comparisons became increasingly relevant, as

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<sup>75</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1846.

<sup>76</sup> NM, 12 Apr. 1844.

<sup>77</sup> Girard, II, doc. 232, Baty to Maître-pierre, 18 Jan. 1843.



suggested by his advice to his followers at Mangakahia when he had to leave on his first journey to Kaipara:

Lorsque vous voulez quitter un kainga que vous avez travaillé pour aller travailler dans un autre vous faites une fence afin que les poules n'entrent pas dedans pour ravager ce que vous avez planté et malgré cela en vous en allant vous avez des craintes. De même je vous quitte parce qu'il faut que j'aie travailler parmi d'autres peuples, la fence, c'est la prière, mais malgré cela, je crains que le démon ne vienne au milieu de vous... Lorsqu'un troupeau est gardé par le berger, les chiens n'osent pas en approcher, mais si le berger n'y est pas, ils ne craignent pas de même.<sup>78</sup>

Garin appeared to be open towards comparing Maori beliefs and the Catholic religion. With Wetekia, Garin discussed the respective merits of the Christian and Maori gods: Wetekia believed that the Christian God was preferable because he only punished sinners in the next world, whereas Garin considered that it was better to be punished in this world 'car dans l'autre monde le châtement sera sévère'.<sup>79</sup> Garin recorded the comments of some of his closest followers, including catechist Hoane Papita Akiro, and Emeretiana Kautawa,<sup>80</sup> on the passion of Christ:

Lorsque je dis que notre Seigneur fut trahi par Judas et saisi par les juifs, Hoane Papita me dit: 'Et comment! Les autres apôtres ne le défendirent pas et ne l'enlèverent pas des mains des juifs?'. Souvent j'entends ces paroles, tantôt de l'un tantôt de l'autre: 'He mea wakatakariri tenei ki ahau' – 'cela m'indigne'. Après l'instruction Emeretiana dit: 'Mes péchés sont petits, ceux des

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<sup>78</sup> NM, 6 Oct. 1844.

<sup>79</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1846.

<sup>80</sup> NM, 17 Oct. 1844; ACDA, RA 11.

juifs sont grands.’ Hoane dit: ‘Le péché d’Adam fut petit et celui des juifs a été grand.’<sup>81</sup>

Garin’s diary demonstrates clearly that Maori were debating the new religious beliefs and contrasting them with their own beliefs. Kerry Howe has similarly noted the extent to which Thames-Waikato Maori discussed the nature of their atua and the Christian Atua with the missionaries.<sup>82</sup>

The fact that Maori were active in debating the new Christian ideas that missionaries like Garin were introducing meant that the field was ripe for the creation of hybrid religions and ideologies, and the blending of the Christian and Maori belief systems. Garin would often seek to baptise Maori on their deathbeds, as Pompallier had suggested in his instructions to his missionaries.<sup>83</sup> The reason for this was not self-interest, for otherwise their souls could not go to heaven. Many sick adult Maori would consider baptism futile, however, retorting ‘Ma te iriiri ka aha ai?’, or ‘De quoi me servira le baptême?’.<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, Maori did not blindly accept either Catholicism or Protestantism: in the Northern Wairoa some would attend both Buller’s services and Garin’s to decide which of the religions was ‘la bonne’.<sup>85</sup>

Whether local Maori opted for Garin’s Catholic religion or Buller’s Protestant religion, there were two distinct – albeit often unconscious – responses

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<sup>81</sup> NM, 30 Mar. 1844.

<sup>82</sup> K.R. Howe, ‘The Maori Response to Christianity in the Thames-Waikato Area, 1833-1840’, *NZJH*, 7 (1973), 28-46 (pp. 34-35).

<sup>83</sup> ACDA, POM 14-3, 5-6.

<sup>84</sup> For example, NM, 2 Feb. 1844, 14 Jun. 1845.

<sup>85</sup> NM, 16 Mar. 1845.

to Christianity. On the one hand, Garin's Catholic message was altered as Maori beliefs were absorbed into Christianity to suit Maori purposes. To begin, with regard to Maori motives for becoming Christians in the first place, a topic which has been much discussed by New Zealand historians, missionaries tended to have vastly different expectations from those of their converts. Missionaries were often unwilling to admit the extent to which the motivation stemmed, first, from the rivalry between tribes and the prestige provided by having a resident missionary, as revealed by Petit and Garin's experience and asserted by Kay Sanderson and Philip Turner (pp. 148-159), and second, from the desire for European goods, as revealed in Garin's 'Notes sur la mission' and argued by Judith Binney. Missionaries did, on the other hand, appreciate another reason for conversion, namely the desire for European knowledge, which is also revealed in the 'Notes sur la mission' and is argued by Howe and John Owens.<sup>86</sup>

Given the lack of European settlers in the Northern Wairoa, and the relative power of local Maori over those there were, the willingness of Northern Wairoa Maori to appropriate Christianity does not well align with Binney and Harrison Wright's thesis, supported by Alison Begg's study of Ngai Tahu Maori, that cultural disruption caused by European settlement and a resultant shattering of confidence was a necessary condition for conversion. The specific experience of Northern Wairoa Maori instead better supports Owens' and Howe's argument, that cultural disruption was not always a precondition for Maori acceptance of Christianity, and that the part played by Maori in welcoming the missionaries on

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<sup>86</sup> Kay Sanderson, 'Maori Christianity on the East Coast 1840-1870', *NZJH*, 17 (1983), 166-84 (p. 167); Judith Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', *NZJH*, 3 (1969), 143-65; Howe, 'Maori Response to Christianity'; J.M.R. Owens, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840', *NZJH*, 2 (1968), 18-40.

their own terms needs to be acknowledged.<sup>87</sup> The tribes of the Northern Wairoa, under the powerful chief Te Tirarau who had made significant gains from the Te Parawhau alliance with Ngapuhi during the Ika-a-Ranganui battle,<sup>88</sup> furnish us with an example of a people who welcomed missionaries and adopted Christianity quite on their own terms, seeking prestige and knowledge from, and trade with, the missionaries.

Garin recognised the very political nature of religious belief and adherence, and that, for Maori, Catholicism's position as a minority religion was of no little consequence. This understanding came to Garin very early on in his time at the Mangakahia mission. During Pompallier's visit to organise the purchasing of the land for the station, Garin noted that few Maori presented themselves to be baptised, and 'La raison qui en retient quelques-uns c'est qu'ils [les catholiques] ne sont pas nombreux.'<sup>89</sup> Mate later confirmed for him, 'Tes disciples sont si peu nombreux, qu'il n'y a pas beaucoup d'encouragement à se joindre à eux tandis que les missionnaires sont très nombreux.'<sup>90</sup>

Garin was also well aware of the pragmatic nature of some of his followers' choice to become Catholics. As he informed potential converts, 'si tu tournes à notre Église, il ne faut pas tourner pour recevoir de nous du tabac, des pipes ou des habits: il faut tourner pour chercher et trouver la justice'.<sup>91</sup> At other

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<sup>87</sup> Binney, pp. 151, 165; Harrison M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 142-47; Begg, p. 11; Owens, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840', pp. 39-40; Howe, 'Maori Response to Christianity', p. 28.

<sup>88</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *The Kaipara Report*, p. 20.

<sup>89</sup> NM, 3 Feb. 1844.

<sup>90</sup> NM, 13 Jul. 1846.

<sup>91</sup> NM, 26 Jun. 1844.

times he showed his tolerance of these pragmatic reasons: ‘Kou m’a dit hier que peu auparavant l’arrivée de Monseigneur, Tirarau disait aux naturels de tourner à M. Buller et que depuis l’arrivée de Monseigneur à cause qu’il avait vu qu’il avait beaucoup de taonga, il a dit aux naturels de tourner à l’Évêque.’<sup>92</sup> He appeared similarly unconcerned to learn that Wetekia’s children said Catholic prayers to avenge a slight from Parore, who had stolen a bell from Wetekia’s messenger returning from the Catholic mission at Hokianga, after Wetekia and Waiata had decided to allow their kainga to become Catholic.<sup>93</sup> Also, though he told Te Uriheke of Tamaterau in Whangarei<sup>94</sup> to listen to the true God rather than the ‘whio’ or spirit who was telling Te Uriheke that his people should pray,<sup>95</sup> he sometimes showed his acceptance of motivations springing from Maori beliefs in dreams and visions:

Haki vient me voir et me dit si je veux baptiser son enfant. ‘Certainement,’ lui dis-je. ‘Voilà,’ ajoute-t-il, ‘pourquoi je te dis cela: c’est que j’ai eu un songe. Dans ce songe j’avais une croix que j’ai laissée glisser de mon sac; elle est tombée dans l’eau et tu me l’as fait apercevoir, alors je t’ai dit “Eh bien! Il faut la jeter au feu.” Tu ne voulais pas et cependant je l’y ai jetée et tu ne t’es pas fâché contre moi. La pensée que j’ai eue de jeter cette croix au feu vient peut-être de Satan, et c’est pourquoi je veux faire baptiser mon enfant.’<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> NM, 1 Mar. 1844.

<sup>93</sup> NM, 26 Feb. 1844.

<sup>94</sup> NM, 26 Mar. 1846.

<sup>95</sup> NM, 5 Sep. 1844.

<sup>96</sup> NM, 30 Mar. 1844.

The following excerpt from Garin's diary of his first journey to Kaipara, regarding the reception of his Catholic message by the chief Mate and his people, is indicative of the realistic approach he began to adopt:

Je remarque encore ce que j'ai remarqué chez d'autres: ils tournent en partie à l'Évêque parce qu'ils sont parents de Waiata dont la femme fait la prière de l'Évêque et la femme de Mate ici est la sœur de Waiata. Hier dans une conversation du chef avec un naturel j'ai compris que presque tous les naturels ont leurs idées formées longtemps d'avance pour tourner d'un côté ou d'un autre et que c'est le plus souvent par des raisons de parenté, et de plus c'est pour avoir l'occasion de recevoir de temps en temps du tabac ou des habits. Cependant je pense qu'ils ont aussi en partie le désir de se faire instruire et d'imiter les étrangers, mais un des plus grands mobiles pour le plus grand nombre est le désir du tabac et des habits. Ils ne le cachent pas. Ils le disent eux-mêmes. D'après ces réflexions quoique Mate m'ait dit hier qu'aucun d'eux ne fera la prière dans la suite, je suis presque sûr d'avance qu'une partie d'eux la fera bientôt, peut-être même avant que je parte.<sup>97</sup>

One motivation that the historical literature on missionaries does not mention frequently, but which is certainly present in Garin's diary, is that of Maori interest in the Christian message itself. After two years of experience on the mission, Garin was able to say that many Maori became Catholic 'pour un seul motif, c.-à-d. pour recevoir du prêtre des habits, tabac, etc. dans la suite par échange. Plusieurs ont 2 intentions, celle-là et celle de trouver et suivre la vérité.'<sup>98</sup> This appears to be a fair assessment given the episodes recorded in the diary concerning Garin's most faithful followers, Tiperia Pouri and Penehamini

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<sup>97</sup> NM, 18 Oct. 1844.

<sup>98</sup> NM, 27 Sep. 1845.

Ware, who was Garin's catechist at the pa.<sup>99</sup> Both instructed other Maori with the comparisons they made between the Christian and Maori beliefs, exhibiting their appreciation of the Catholic message. As Penehamini is reported to have said: 'À present il fait nuit, et s'il n'y avait pas une lumière et que je perdisse un objet, je ne le verrais pas, parce qu'il est nuit; de même nous sommes dans les ténèbres et si tu n'étais pas ici pour nous enseigner, nous ne verrions pas le tikanga.'<sup>100</sup> While Garin's understanding of the variety of motivations that Maori had for becoming Christians was rare among the early missionaries, he was not the only Marist to come to this conclusion. Joseph-André Chevron explained to Marist Superior Colin that the Maori calling to Catholicism, though it might be 'une vertu d'enfant, une vertu de caprice, de boutades, une vertu de caractère ou d'inclination naturelle, une vertu d'intérêt surtout, [...] aidée par la grâce de Dieu, en fait cependant une vertu véritable.'<sup>101</sup>

Garin frequently noted that his converts, once gained, would appropriate Maori beliefs into the Catholic teaching that he gave them. Local Maori who had been to war, for example, believed themselves to be in a state of tapu and refrained from going to Catholic services for the amount of time that they had been away. Likewise, Manukau Rewharewha, a Te Uri-o-Hau chief who was in the process of being tattooed, wished to wait until the tattooing was complete before returning to prayers.<sup>102</sup> Northern Wairoa Maori brought to Catholicism many of their beliefs: not only tapu, but also utu, mana, the importance of

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<sup>99</sup> ACDA, RA 11; NM, 14 Jul. 1844.

<sup>100</sup> NM, 10 May 1844.

<sup>101</sup> Girard, V, doc. 592, Chevron to Colin, 19 Jan.-3 May 1847.

<sup>102</sup> NM, 4 Jul. 1846, 7 Aug. 1846; Serabian, p. 605.

whakapapa. Some of these beliefs were intrinsic to their being Catholic. Penehamini, for example, told Garin that the only reason that he remained Catholic when the followers at the pa returned Garin's prayerbooks was that 'je me souviens de mon père; mon père a été baptisé à Tokerau et il est mort avec un nom saint, c'est pourquoi j'ai voulu me souvenir de lui et me faire baptiser afin d'être comme lui, et de me souvenir de lui.'<sup>103</sup> Meanwhile, the Te Kuihi chief Te Wehinga (or Wheinga), a cousin of Parore who lived at a separate kainga<sup>104</sup> – Waioruhe, on the Wairoa River – attended Catholic services, while telling Garin that he would remain neutral 'pour ressembler à ses ancêtres qui n'ont point fait de prière.'<sup>105</sup>

The extent to which the enduring Maori concept of mana was tied into the Maori appropriation of Christianity is frequently revealed in Garin's diary. On an occasion when both Buller and Garin found themselves at the pa for evening prayers, and so the Catholic service might be overheard by the Protestants, Garin received advice from his followers: 'Kaha<sup>106</sup> me dit à voix basse: "Fais réciter le catéchisme que tout le monde sait." Te Witu<sup>107</sup> me dit: "Que le kauwau [sermon] ne soit pas trop long." Penehamini me dit la même chose; Wetekia m'approche pour me dire aussi de faire réciter ce que tout le monde sait bien.' As Garin summarised, 'ils se piquent de bien faire la prière.'<sup>108</sup> Garin also recorded that, having taught his assistants the names of the apostles, the first nine Popes and the

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<sup>103</sup> NM, 14 Jul. 1844.

<sup>104</sup> Hooker, p. 73.

<sup>105</sup> NM, 7 Oct. 1844.

<sup>106</sup> Wikitoria Kaha of Tangihua. ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>107</sup> Moriki Te Witu of Mangakahia. ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>108</sup> NM, 12 Apr. 1844.



last eight, 'les autres naturels se sont piqués d'émulation et enviaient leur sort.'<sup>109</sup>

It was also important that the figure of Garin himself, not merely his prayers and teaching, be impressive:

Enfin nous approchons du kainga et j'admire les observations de Mohi.<sup>110</sup> Te Witu qui est fatigué m'a proposé de porter sa petite hache; je l'ai acceptée et Mohi me dit: 'Donne cette hache à un autre afin que ceux qui nous voient ne disent pas que tu es un tangata kohuru [homme trompeur ou meurtrier].' J'avais eu la même idée. Peu après il me dit: 'Mets à bas ta soutane.' Car je l'ai relevée à la ceinture afin de ne pas me déchirer dans les forêts. Je lui réponds: 'Je comprends cela et c'est ce que je fais ordinairement lorsque j'approche des kainga.'<sup>111</sup>

This need to be impressive extended to Garin's European accoutrements. The Catholic Maori were pleased that Garin had his own boat, and, on its maiden journey when he dedicated it to Saint Appollonia, delighted in using the name, asking, 'Aporonia se tient-elle bien sur l'eau?' and 'Avez-vous mis Aporonia en un lieu sûr?'.<sup>112</sup> However, when Garin painted the boat black, it lost its prestige for the tribe:

Les naturels ne cessent de me plaisanter de ce que j'ai peint ma baleinière en noir, sans mettre seulement un cordon blanc. Ils me disent: 'Il faut que tout soit noir, les rames aussi.' 'Et si j'avais de la peinture noire je voudrais que ta maison fût peinte en noir,' me dit Tiperia. Ils sont fâchés de cela. Waiata dit: 'C'est de tous les boats de cette rivière le plus remarquable' (par sa laideur il veut dire). Ils tiennent à ce que leur Pakeha ait un

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<sup>109</sup> NM, 28 Apr. 1844.

<sup>110</sup> Mohi (or Moih) Te Houtai, one of Garin's catechists. NM, 17 Oct. 1844; ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>111</sup> NM, 7 Jun. 1844.

<sup>112</sup> NM, 9 Feb. 1844.

boat qui figure, c'est un honneur pour eux – parce que je suis leur Pakeha.<sup>113</sup>

In comparison to many of his fellow missionaries, Garin records a number of episodes which suggest his tolerance for the assimilation of Maori customs and beliefs within Catholic Christianity. This included his assistants, who, Garin noted, made the sign of the cross when leaving the mission house at night as ‘Satan, un dieu maori, fait du mal à ceux qui sortent la nuit.’<sup>114</sup> Similarly, Garin made the sign of the cross for Te Piko, a boy from Whangarei who was living at the mission station for a time, as Garin’s fire was tapu and Te Piko wished to light his pipe from it.<sup>115</sup> The following episode recounting the burial of Wetekia’s daughter Maria<sup>116</sup> at Te Ripo, probably in the upper Wairoa River, suggests Garin’s tolerance towards tapu, and towards the way in which Christian and Maori beliefs were mingling in Mangakahia:

Je vais avec le boat à Te Ripo pour la sépulture de Maria. Tirarau est avec moi. Je propose à Wetekia de faire porter le corps par 4 naturels baptisés; il accepte. [...] Nous nous levons et faisons la prière. Je m’aide à finir la bière, puis on sonne 2 coups de cloche; on se réunit. Je chante les prières des morts; 4 porteurs, Tiperia, Hoane Papita, Penehamini, Moihi, prennent la bière et nous partons lentement. Je me suis aidé à mettre le corps dans la bière: Wetekia a les mains tapu, Mange<sup>117</sup> lui donne à manger.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> NM, 14 Sep. 1845.

<sup>114</sup> NM, 26 Feb. 1844.

<sup>115</sup> NM, 5 May 1846.

<sup>116</sup> NM, 21 Feb. 1844; ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>117</sup> Peata Mange of Whatitiri, one of Wetekia’s wives. ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>118</sup> NM, 19-20 Mar. 1844.

This tolerance also extended to Wetekia's explanation of his refusal for being baptised:

Wetekia me dit qu'il avait ainsi parlé il y a quelque temps à Himeo avant son baptême: 'Écoute-moi, je pense à me faire baptiser et en me faisant baptiser c'est à toi que je veux transmettre tous mes tapus, c.-à-d. le mana. Celui-ci a refusé, voulant se faire baptiser, et Wetekia n'a pas pu se faire baptiser parce qu'il n'y a personne à qui il puisse transmettre ses tapus.<sup>119</sup>

Garin was not the only Catholic missionary to show his tolerance for the assimilation of Maori beliefs into the Maori practice of Catholicism. As Baty informed Marist Jean-Baptiste-Justin Chanut in France, 'Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire qu'en tournant à la religion, les catéchumènes ne rejettent pas leurs superstitions aussitôt après'. Unlike Garin, however, Baty believed that they could be led to abandon their beliefs 'petit à petit', openly discussing this with his converts: 'comme ils disent eux-mêmes les pommes de terre ne parviennent pas à maturité en un seul jour'.<sup>120</sup>

Garin's diary is also revealing of the extent to which some Maori would slot selected aspects of Christianity into their traditional world view. For example, finding out about the Christian Heaven and Hell did not necessarily mean that Maori saw their traditional afterlife as an illusion. Rather, it was often seen as an alternative destiny, and Garin notes that some Maori would refuse to be baptised

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<sup>119</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1846.

<sup>120</sup> Girard, I, doc. 77, Baty and Épalle to Chanut, 10 Nov. 1840.

because they wanted to meet up with their ancestors in Hawaiki, the Maori afterlife.<sup>121</sup> Such a response was also recorded by Howe in his study of Thames-Waikato Maori.<sup>122</sup> Garin's status as a priest was meanwhile seen as giving him particular powers over the Maori gods:

Wikitera pendant son sommeil se met à crier de toutes ses forces en faisant des contorsions effrayantes. C'est, je pense, le cauchemar ou une crise de nerfs. Il crie pendant 4 à 5 minutes. J'arrive, il crie, je lui fais le signe de la croix sur le front, il cesse de crier, quelques instants après, je lui fais sentir de l'éther sulfurique. Les naturels disent que c'est le dieu maori qui le possédait et que quand je suis venu, il a eu peur et a laissé.<sup>123</sup>

Maori who had been baptised were likewise considered to have powers over the Maori gods, suggesting that Maori considered the Christian God to be more powerful than their own gods. The rangatira Te Arahi of Ngawakarara, Kaperiere's adoptive father,<sup>124</sup> believed that the Christian God protected the Christians when they violated a tapu, as Garin noted:

Nihi [...] a dit aux autres naturels devant moi: 'Lorsque ma femme<sup>125</sup> a été morte je l'ai enterrée et comme elle avait été baptisée je pensais que je n'avais pas à craindre le tapu. Je me suis donc approché du feu, et voilà que le lendemain mon bras s'est trouvé affligé de cette maladie.' 'Si tu l'avais fait enterrer,' lui répond Te Arahi, 'par ceux qui sont baptisés tu n'aurais pas

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<sup>121</sup> NM, 8 Feb., 7 Oct. 1844.

<sup>122</sup> Howe, 'Maori Response to Christianity', p. 35.

<sup>123</sup> NM, 16 Mar. 1844.

<sup>124</sup> NM, 2 Jul. 1846; Serabian, p. 493.

<sup>125</sup> Makarita Pare, died 1 May 1844, and Nihi, both of Te Pawera, Mangakahia. ACDA, RA 11; NM, 29 Mar. 1844.

eu à craindre cela, car le démon n'a pas de pouvoir sur ceux qui sont baptisés.<sup>126</sup>

Waiata's interpretation, on the other hand, was that those who had been baptised had lost their positive spiritual qualities within the Maori system and become noa or ordinary, as Garin was informed by Tiperia:

Tiperia vient me prévenir de ce qu'on dit parce que j'ai fait coucher sa femme à la cuisine. Il pense que c'est Waiata qui a ainsi parlé. Il a dit: 'Kua ponongatia tatou' [Nous sommes devenus des esclaves], c.-à-d. qu'ils sont devenus noa ceux qui ont été baptisés, n'ont plus observé les tapus. Waiata lui-même a dit à Emeretiana après son baptême: 'Eh bien, à présent va chez le père Garin, va souffler le feu, boire de l'eau dans les marmites, coupe tes cheveux et jette-les au feu. Tu es noa à présent.'<sup>127</sup>

The appropriation of Catholic beliefs into the traditional Maori world even extended to death ceremonies. Garin recorded that Te Arahi's wife, Tira, took her baptised child to Haki Paka to learn her child's destiny from the Maori gods. When the child died two days later, she was laid to rest above ground in the Maori way, but after a Catholic service.<sup>128</sup>

Naturally, Garin was not the only missionary to record or display such examples of code-switching. Replying to a Maori meeting held to dissuade Anglican Bishop George Selwyn from leaving Waimate for Auckland, William Williams reportedly drew a picture of the New Zealand Diocese on the gravel,

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<sup>126</sup> NM, 2 Jul. 1844.

<sup>127</sup> NM, 19 Nov. 1844.

<sup>128</sup> NM, 16 Jan., 18 Jan. 1846.

divided it into three parts and asked whether it was not fair that the Bishop should live in the midst of the diocese rather than at either end, using figurative Maori communication techniques as Garin frequently did.<sup>129</sup> However, the general impression given is that most missionaries were less tolerant than Garin of the hybridising of the Christian and Maori religions. For example, the same William Williams described as an ‘abomination’ the attempt by a group of his Maori followers to say prayers before being tattooed, not seeing this as the honouring of the power of the Christian God.<sup>130</sup> Garin, on the other hand, on hearing that his followers at Oruawharo had abandoned Catholic prayers after their tattooing on the advice of a Protestant chief, told them that nowhere in the Bible did it say that one should stop praying because of a sin, but rather that they should now pray even harder than before.<sup>131</sup> Howe has noted that it was rare that the early missionaries on the Loyalty Islands, many of whom were Catholic, could accept the Islanders’ appropriation of Christianity within the patterns of their own political, economic and social aspirations and their own beliefs, because of their utopian views of the Polynesian and their missionary vocation.<sup>132</sup> Yet Garin appears to have taken a realistic approach, perhaps assisted by the instructions that the New Zealand missionaries received from Pompallier, to study Maori customs carefully and record their observations. Such early ethnology, as promoted by Pompallier, was the crucial element missing in evangelical practice, in the opinion

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<sup>129</sup> Garrett, pp. 135-36.

<sup>130</sup> William Williams, *The Turanga Journals, 1840-1850: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, Missionaries to Poverty Bay*, ed. by Frances Porter (Wellington: Price Milburn for Victoria University Press, 1974), p. 258.

<sup>131</sup> NM, 10 Jul. 1846.

<sup>132</sup> K.R. Howe, *The Loyalty Islands: A History of Culture Contacts, 1840-1900* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977), p. 124.

of Maurice Leenhardt, a French Protestant missionary in New Caledonia who later became a leading ethnographer in Paris. Leenhardt's view of the missionary's task involved merging into the local culture and seeking Christian equivalents in local traditions. He believed that ethnology was essential in the comprehension of cultural-spiritual change and had the ability to make Christianisation less authoritarian, and more a part of the reciprocal interaction of cultures.<sup>133</sup>

### *Tapu and Utu*

The hybridisation or mixing of cultures that occurred during colonial contact was not limited to the Christian and Maori religions, of course. Just as Maori adopted aspects of Christianity, so too Garin attempted to follow Maori practices, living in the Maori world on Maori terms. One of the most crucial aspects of the Maori belief system for Garin to follow was that of tapu: the respect of what was 'restricted, forbidden, or sacred', as opposed to things that were noa or 'ordinary, everyday, common, profane.' The word tapu indicated that a certain person, place or object could not be freely approached, that restrictions had been placed upon access to it. These restrictions could be imposed for religious, social and political reasons, and thus varied greatly.<sup>134</sup> Garin was often asked to make the sign of the cross in order to neutralise the effects of tapu, and he had to avoid violating tapu in his everyday life so as not to incur the wrath of local Maori, who would demand reparation.

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<sup>133</sup> James Clifford, *Person and Myth*, p. 107.

<sup>134</sup> Margaret Orbell, *The Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Māori Myth and Legend* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1995), p. 186.

It is interesting to note the evolution in Garin's approach towards tapu. When still new to the Maori mission, he gave Paikea, a rangatira, two figs of tobacco as a gift and left them on his blanket; Paikea let them fall to the ground because he was tapu on account of the recent death of his daughter. Tirarau explained to Garin the reason for Paikea's action, and so Garin arranged for him to be given another two leaves.<sup>135</sup> It was acts such as this, where Garin demonstrated his understanding of the importance of tapu, that assisted in his acceptance by the local community. However, Garin on occasion showed less tolerance when a tapu situation did not involve a chief, in his early days at Mangakahia. For example, he described Tiperia as exhibiting a 'naïveté sans pareille' when the latter was surprised that his newly-baptised wife could infringe tapu without falling sick or dying.<sup>136</sup> He sometimes also encouraged his converts to defy tapu, and was concerned that Kaperiere and Matiu, who were due to receive first communion, still feared tapu, challenging them to touch a tapu cap belonging to Wetekia to prove that they no longer believed they would get sick or die from doing so.<sup>137</sup> Garin's early attitude towards tapu is revealed by his refusal to give a piece of food cooked on his fire, which was tapu, to a tohunga, Porotaka, so that the tapu could be removed from food cooked at the mission station. Despite Porotaka's accusation that 'tu n'aimes pas tes enfants, parce qu'ils mourront s'ils mangent de ta nourriture sans avoir rempli cette formalité', Garin rebutted 'ce n'est point par dureté de cœur que je refuse cette nourriture car tous

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<sup>135</sup> NM, 13 Apr. 1844.

<sup>136</sup> NM, 16 Mar. 1844.

<sup>137</sup> NM, 24 Mar., 28 Apr., 10 May 1844.



les jours je donne quelque nourriture aux naturels, mais si je refuse aujourd'hui, c'est que je ne puis pas participer à ce ritenga sans me rendre coupable moi-même'.<sup>138</sup> In this instance Garin appeared to feel compelled to refute the power of tapu, because of his role as a Catholic priest.

Perhaps on account of a major setback for the mission which occurred in the interim, when his catechumens from the pa, led by Tirarau's nephew Tito,<sup>139</sup> abandoned Catholic prayers and returned his prayerbooks, Garin began, slowly, to meet his potential converts in what might be described as a middle ground. Soon after the episode with Porotaka, Garin was informed by Matiu's father, Tauwhanga of Pararaumati,<sup>140</sup> that he had infringed a tapu and his family, including Matiu, was in danger. On this occasion Garin did not seek to apply his European interpretation to events, but instead agreed to keep Matiu with him so that he would be protected.<sup>141</sup> The next day, Garin explained to Waiata that he had not intentionally or maliciously infringed a tapu by collecting rainwater from his roof, admitting 'je ne connais pas tous vos tapus, tous vos usages', and Waiata, accepting the apology, did not ask retribution for the slight.<sup>142</sup> While Garin did not want to openly affirm tapu, he was becoming aware of the importance of respecting Maori custom, and began to relate tapu to his own beliefs, as suggested by the following excerpt from his diary:

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<sup>138</sup> NM, 10 Jul. 1844.

<sup>139</sup> Serabian, p. 490.

<sup>140</sup> ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>141</sup> NM, 21 Jul. 1844.

<sup>142</sup> NM, 22 Jul. 1844.

Waiata vient me faire écrire une lettre qu'il veut envoyer aux naturels (hahi katorika) [catholiques] afin de leur conseiller de donner un prix à Tirarau s'ils ne veulent pas qu'il leur fasse la guerre, parce qu'ils ont porté de la nourriture cuite par le lieu tapu. Je refuse d'abord, craignant de participer à leurs tapus. Il me presse et me dit que si je refuse cela, demain il ira trouver Tirarau et que les naturels auront la guerre. Je réfléchis et il me semble que je ne participe pas directement à leurs tapus puisque cette lettre consiste à leur conseiller de donner un prix à Tirarau s'ils veulent ne pas avoir la guerre, et à leur dire de ne plus passer dans ce lieu pour ne pas s'attirer la colère de Tirarau. Je consens à l'écrire. C'est même à ce que je crois à présent: charité.<sup>143</sup>

Garin then wrote the letter to Tito, who had refused to receive the Mangakahia Catholics' offers of compensation, admitting that his converts had violated the Maori ritenga or customs, but insisting that the idea of providing compensation was 'un bon ritenga chez tous les peuples'.<sup>144</sup>

Garin showed a similar appreciation of social mores when faced with the difficult situation of his French gardener and cook, Pierre, propositioning Tito's wife, Merepeka. When confronted with indisputable evidence, Garin took action and sent Pierre away. As his flock told him, 'tu ne peux pas garder un tel homme avec toi dans ta maison'.<sup>145</sup> His diary also reveals that his thinking evolved from his original position of not sanctioning prayers to the Maori god so that local Maori could eat his tapu food. When Kaperiere told him that Waiata had performed this ceremony, his first response was that it was wrong. However, when Kaperiere and Matiu pointed out that Waiata was not praying to the demon, but was rather telling the demon to go away and not harm those who ate the pork,

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<sup>143</sup> NM, 26 Jul. 1844.

<sup>144</sup> NM, 28 Jul. 1844.

<sup>145</sup> NM, 12-14 Dec. 1844.

Garin recorded, ‘Je réfléchis qu’il y a de la ressemblance avec les exorcismes de l’Église’.<sup>146</sup> With time he came to accept Maori belief in the concept:

Je vais voir Haki malade. Lorsque je suis à ses côtés, on apporte de la nourriture pour les naturels. L’un d’eux crie: ‘N’approchez pas la nourriture car ce lieu est plein de taniwha’, c.-à-d. dieux de la mer. Il me rend une fiole dans laquelle je lui avais envoyée un remède; il me la rend en me disant qu’elle est tapu, car il y a bu. Maintenant je ne puis pas la donner à d’autres naturels. Il faut que j’attende quelque temps.<sup>147</sup>

Garin’s attitude, which displayed an increasing openness towards ideas of tapu, contrasts with that normally expected of Christian missionaries. In fact, one of Garin’s Marist contemporaries, Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean, chose to openly defy tapu with the might of the French. When local Maori threatened to *tapouer* his cooking pots and threatened to kill a Maori boy who was preparing the food, he told them that if he or anyone from his station were touched, they would be avenged by a French frigate, summarising ‘Je mis sur mes marmites un autre tapu que le leur, défendant de les emporter.’<sup>148</sup> Buller, likewise, believed that tapu was an ‘arbitrary’ and ‘cruel’ system of belief (p. 203). Of a discussion with Wetekia on the subject, he recorded that ‘their “tapu” [...] seems so complicated as to be hardly fully understood by themselves [...] and I am of opinion that in the course of one or two more generations it will be entirely forgotten except as it may be left on record by those who have examined into their superstitions.’<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> NM, 21 Nov. 1845.

<sup>147</sup> NM, 14 Mar. 1846.

<sup>148</sup> Girard, II, doc. 160, Petit-Jean to Girard, 18 May 1842.

<sup>149</sup> ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364, 13 Nov. 1841.

One particular area of his life in which Garin frequently encountered the concept of tapu was in his role of curing the sick. In Jane Thomson's view, the 'average priest' did not consider medicine to be part of his job, though, as she also noted, Garin was certainly an exception to this rule (p. 171). There are a number of indications in Garin's diary of the reputation he enjoyed as a healer. Kawiti, the great Ngapuhi chief and ally of Hone Heke based in the Bay of Islands, during a visit to Tirarau stopped in at Garin's station seeking his remedies.<sup>150</sup> Garin was also told by Tiperia that 'Le père Petit est venu ici mais il n'a guéri aucun de nos maladies, pour toi tu en as guéri plusieurs', while Taurau, Tirarau's brother and one of Buller's disciples, reportedly told Buller, 'Il n'y a que le père Garin qui a de bons remèdes.'<sup>151</sup>

From a letter demanding new medicines from his parents in France, the extent of Garin's repertoire of remedies is apparent. The list includes laudanum, castor oil, cinchona bark, turpentine, verdigris, rhubarb, lime flowers, flowers of sulphur, gum arabic, eau de Cologne, magnesium, sulphuric ether, and chartreuse.<sup>152</sup> He noted that one of the most successful was cinchona bark, with laudanum for upset stomachs and kidney problems, magnesium for children, and eau celeste for the eyes.<sup>153</sup> It is unclear precisely where Garin acquired his medical knowledge, though he appeared to already have some awareness of popular remedies from France. Shortly before leaving for New Zealand, he asked

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<sup>150</sup> NM, 20 Feb. 1846.

<sup>151</sup> NM, 27 Sep., 14 Dec. 1845; Waitangi Tribunal, *The Kaipara Report*, p. 25.

<sup>152</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 16.

<sup>153</sup> NM, 23 Jan. 1846; William Richard Wade, *A Journey in the Northern Island of New Zealand: Interspersed with Various Information Relative to the Country and People* (Hobart Town: George Rolwegan, 1842; repr. Christchurch: Capper Press, 1977), p. 35.

Marist Superior Colin to obtain for him a bottle of arnica – the properties of which he knew a great deal about – from ‘M. Pelletier, pharmacien, rue Sirène’.<sup>154</sup> There was, in fact, a large apothecary located beside the Brou seminary dating from the seventeenth century, from which Garin might have learned of such remedies. The Catholic missionaries also received instruction from Louis Arnoux, chief surgeon on the French warship, *Rhin*, which called into the Bay of Islands at various times between 1843 and 1846. Arnoux gave them a small treatise on medicine to read, as well as remedies and surgical implements.<sup>155</sup> Garin’s recordings of his encounters with sick people, in which he describes their way of thinking and the processes used to lift a tapu or banish an atua, provide a number of examples of developing cultural hybridity in Mangakahia.

Garin’s cures were often viewed in terms of traditional Maori thought, as he noted: ‘Taramainuku<sup>156</sup> trouve que le remède a travaillé. [...] Le lendemain il raconte la guerre que le remède a livré à la maladie et sa victoire, il raconte pendant plus de 20 minutes cette guerre.’<sup>157</sup> Here Garin was describing the Maori view that illness was attributable to the presence of spirits, which would enter the body of a person who violated a tapu. As Wetekia informed him, ‘les âmes errantes [...] punissent les délits. Ainsi si quelqu’un vient à manger un fruit tapu, ou s’il va dans un lieu tapu etc., il est sur-le-champ puni par l’une de ces âmes qui entrent dans le corps du délinquant et lui mordent les entrailles ou les

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<sup>154</sup> APM, OG 031, 5e départ, Garin to Colin, 2 Dec. 1840.

<sup>155</sup> Toulon, Archives de l’Hôpital Maritime, Nouvelle-Zélande. Océanie. Rhin, 1846, No. 27 Copie du rapport adressé à Mr Bérard.

<sup>156</sup> Also known as Tara, of Mangakahia. NM, 29 Mar., 31 Aug. 1844.

<sup>157</sup> NM, 12-13 May 1845.

membres'.<sup>158</sup> Such beliefs were not considerably different from Garin's world view. Garin believed in providence, like many of his missionary contemporaries.<sup>159</sup> This was despite his interest in scientific progress: in the early nineteenth century French medical science was making significant advances in pathology.<sup>160</sup>

Garin was then witness to the many different means by which the tapu could be lifted or the atua banished because he was often called, like a tohunga, to attend to the sick. As well as karakia, or prayers, some sick people immersed themselves in water, others burned a certain herb, sat among embers, or placed a foot on their body.<sup>161</sup> Garin's remedies offered an alternative to traditional cures, and, by behaving as a tohunga, he demonstrated his usefulness to local Maori, thereby gaining mana and arguably a special place in the community.

Diagnosing illnesses and supplying remedies were primary tasks for a missionary, though, as Helen Gardner notes, they left missionaries open to the accusation of using medicine to buy converts (p. 38). Garin admitted on occasion that he rushed to the aid of a sick person to further his aim of conversion. For example, he took a remedy at three o'clock in the morning to Waiata's brother, the Mangakahia chief Rako,<sup>162</sup> in the hope that he would then allow his daughter

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<sup>158</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1846.

<sup>159</sup> Paul Goldsmith, 'Medicine, Death and the Gospel in Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay, 1845-1852', *NZJH*, 30 (1996), 163-81 (pp. 167-68, 177).

<sup>160</sup> John Harley Warner, 'The Idea of Science in English Medicine: The 'Decline of Science' and the Rhetoric of Reform, 1815-45', *British Medicine in an Age of Reform*, ed. by Roger French and Andrew Wear (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 135-163 (pp. 136-38).

<sup>161</sup> NM, 11 May 1844; 28 May, 2 Oct. 1845.

<sup>162</sup> NM, 12 Feb. 1844, 21 Feb. 1846

to be baptised,<sup>163</sup> and told Haki Paka, himself a tohunga, that if it were true that the Devil was inside him, Garin's remedies would be useless and only prayer to the Christian God could help him.<sup>164</sup> However, he sometimes showed a genuine interest in the interaction of his cures and the cures of the Maori priests, asking what the Maori beliefs were in different cases of illness, and not disputing this version which frequently varied from his own:

Ensuite je demande à Waiata quelle est leur croyance par rapport à ce malade. Lorsque le dieu maori est entré dans son corps le dieu lui dit de se jeter à l'eau. Alors le malade se jette à l'eau afin que le mal que lui fait éprouver l'eau soit égal au mal que le dieu veut lui faire. Et c'est, je pense, pour cela que Waiata dit que ce dieu est un dieu bon et que le malade ne mourra pas. Le malade ayant bu de l'eau et étant rempli, le dieu n'a plus besoin de manger le malade.<sup>165</sup>

Garin did not impose his cures, or reject Maori cures. When a salt pack that he had applied at the insistence of a patient caused her more pain, he recorded: 'Elle s'est mise à crier et à répondre au dieu maori qu'elle croyait être dans son bras... Ce matin elle a l'air toute abattue. Elle est persuadée que le dieu la mange. Cette malade se fait mettre le pied dessus le bras par une autre femme. Celle-ci presse de son pied le bras de la malade de toutes ses forces.'<sup>166</sup> This is reminiscent of M.L. Pratt's Mungo Park, who accepted the Africans' opinion that his suggestion to amputate a patient's leg was barbarous, and would cause greater pain than the

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<sup>163</sup> NM, 8 Feb. 1844.

<sup>164</sup> NM, 8 Mar. 1846.

<sup>165</sup> NM, 11 May 1844.

<sup>166</sup> NM, 2 Oct. 1845.

patient was already suffering (p. 83). This mixing of European and Maori ideas of illness was also present in the thought of Garin's Maori converts. After treating a sick Protestant woman in Garin's absence, they recounted to him that their remedy had sought the sickness inside the patient. They had applied 'piropiro' or a mixture of whale oil and turpentine to the patient's painful leg, and had then followed the sickness – or god – which kept moving around her body, rubbing her with the piropiro, until she had been cured.<sup>167</sup>

Philip Turner argues that the Marists attacked Maori beliefs not by denying the power of tapu and atua, but by identifying them with Satan and attempting to replace them with the more powerful Catholic sanctions, thereby delivering a clear message of the superiority of their God and the cultural system he supported.<sup>168</sup> However, Turner fails to take into account the extent to which some Catholic missionaries, including Garin, saw the similarities between the Maori and Catholic belief systems, rather than the clear superiority of Catholicism. In fact, while Garin was making parallels between the procedures to lift a tapu and exorcisms and holy water, and was generally exhibiting an appreciation of the role of tapu and of the tohunga in Maori society, other Catholic missionaries, such as Louis Catherin Servant, were making similar observations. In his account of Hokianga Maori, Servant noted how 'only persons of distinction are admitted to the dignity of the priesthood' and were 'greatly honoured' by their people, thereby recognising the similarities between the role of a tohunga and that of a Catholic priest (p. 39). In the hybrid world of 1840s' New

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<sup>167</sup> NM, 2 May 1844.

<sup>168</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 206.



Zealand, cultural borders were being broken down as Garin engaged with Maori tapu, just as Catholic Maori engaged with the taboos of Garin's religion, such as puremu or adultery, and working on the Sabbath.

Garin also took care to follow the Maori custom of utu, perhaps best defined as reciprocal exchange rather than the more clichéd idea of revenge. Raymond Firth describes the general principle behind this exchange system as being that 'for every gift another of at least equal value should be returned.'<sup>169</sup> The concept was broader than Firth allowed, however. Utu was a complex system, requiring balance, exchange and compensation in every aspect of Maori life, not merely that of gift exchange.<sup>170</sup> As Garin remarked of a dispute between Wetekia and Rako, 'Dans ces batailles on cherche à mettre égalité'.<sup>171</sup>

Garin used the custom of utu to further his mission of conversion. When he visited new villages, he would ask the permission of the local chief before baptising or holding prayers, and, importantly, he would offer the chief tobacco or a blanket, as a chief visiting from another area would do:

Ko Aho<sup>172</sup> vient me voir aujourd'hui avec Tirarau, Paikea, Paenganui [nfi] et des enfants. Je les reçois bien. Je fais griller quelques tranches de porc à la poêle, je leur fais faire des matefaims et du thé et ils se régalent. J'ai pour but en recevant bien ce chef de me faire bien voir de lui, car il est, dit-on, le plus

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<sup>169</sup> Raymond Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, 2nd edn (Wellington: Government Printer, 1959), pp. 412-13.

<sup>170</sup> Hélène Serabian, Giselle Larcombe and Peter Tremewan, 'Father Garin in Kororareka and Mangakahia, 1841-1847' in *The French Place in the Bay of Islands Symposium* (Russell, 2004).

<sup>171</sup> NM, 13 Feb. 1844.

<sup>172</sup> Also written Koaho, chief of Kaipara. NM, 6 May 1844.

grand chef de Kaipara et je tiens à ce qu'il me fasse une bonne renommée dans cette baie que je dois bientôt aller visiter.<sup>173</sup>

Garin's understanding of the practices of gift exchange and hospitality, which were often guided by the principle of *utu*, helped to gain him respect among Maori. He paid greatest attention to treating the chiefs in a manner appropriate to their status,<sup>174</sup> and this was duly noted by them, with Te Wehinga commenting that 'quand il va chez le missionnaire [Buller], il n'a pas de quoi se rassasier, mais seulement il a de quoi se lécher les doigts pour dire qu'il donne peu à manger', whereas Garin offered him a good meal.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, when Mate visited from Kaipara, Garin offered him some tea and pork and played his musical instruments, demonstrating his tuning fork, much to Mate's amusement.<sup>176</sup> Garin was also careful to tell local Maori if he would not be paying them in return for a service, such as when they accompanied him to visit the sick which, he told them, was a service to God, recognising that their custom was to expect an exchange for the services that they provided. The willingness of his catechumens to forego a payment on these occasions also suggests the extent to which they were able to understand Garin's point of view, and meet him in the middle ground.<sup>177</sup>

Unfortunately, however, Garin could not always participate in chiefly gift exchanges, and this left him in a weak position. The main reason was that he simply lacked the material means to do so, a common problem among his fellow

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<sup>173</sup> NM, 11 May 1844.

<sup>174</sup> NM, 1 Apr. 1844.

<sup>175</sup> NM, 14 Sep. 1844.

<sup>176</sup> NM, 28 Aug. 1846.

<sup>177</sup> NM, 11 Feb., 17 Mar. 1844.

Catholic missionaries. With funds from France dwindling as the rift between Pompallier and Colin became known, and manpower relatively decreasing from 1843 when Colin suspended the sending of missionaries to New Zealand, the rigorous seminary training that instilled in the priests a self-sacrificing lifestyle was being put to the test. Importantly, self-sacrificing priests were often of little interest to Maori leaders in their quest to advance the welfare of their tribe. Garin's diary demonstrates how local Maori benefited economically from the presence of Europeans, as they began to supply the latter with food and with services as guides and handymen. In this regard Garin was useful in the community not only for his medical services, but also for the part he could play in exchanges: bringing European technology and goods, such as his flour mill and metal tools, to local Maori, and requiring Maori goods and services to maintain his mission station. The fact of Garin's increasing poverty was thus significant. While he sometimes managed to obtain a compromise on payments, with, for example, the Maori who accompanied him to Kororaraka agreeing to accept 'une fois un bon prix, une fois un petit prix', local Maori frequently persuaded Garin to give more than what had been agreed, especially with the threat that the chiefs would no longer allow their people to work for Garin in the future.<sup>178</sup> He was also sometimes forced to accept goods for which he had no need – wheat he had no room for, or pork that he could not preserve because he was away from the station and had no salt – because they threatened that they would refuse to sell to him in the future or would cease coming to his Catholic services.<sup>179</sup> In fact, Philip Turner

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<sup>178</sup> NM, 8 Jun. 1844, 22 Sep. 1845.

<sup>179</sup> NM, 18 Oct. 1844, 4 Apr. 1845.

describes Garin's diary as documenting 'a ceaseless round of threats, demands, negotiations, almost always ending in the capitulation of the priest.'<sup>180</sup> On occasion Garin did find himself in a 'ceaseless round' of negotiations that wore him down, noting once 'Ils me causent bien du trouble avec leurs instances, leurs importunités, leurs violences',<sup>181</sup> and admitting that it was causing him to treat his assistants harshly.<sup>182</sup> Yet Garin was also able to make light of his troubles, as he demonstrated to Tirarau in an exchange after the latter claimed that he did not ask Garin for tobacco: "'Tu ne m'en demandes pas", reprends-je, "combien de fois ne m'en as-tu pas demandé?"

It is interesting to note here the balance of power in the community. Garin risked losing one of his assistants, Kaperiere, because he inadvertently insulted Te Arahi, his adopted father, during an exchange of goods.<sup>183</sup> Meanwhile, Tito stopped attending Garin's prayers for seven months because Garin had offended him by not accepting a pig that Tito had offered him, though he had earlier accepted one from Tauwhanga, 'père de ton pononga [esclave]', as Tito phrased it. This caused a serious rupture in their relations and the rejection of Catholicism by the greater number of the catechumens at the pa.<sup>184</sup> It was at the instigation of the Maori of Mangakahia that missionaries had moved to the area, but in the same way, the Northern Wairoa was a Maori-dominated area with little European settlement where the resident Europeans lived on Maori terms, and the

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<sup>180</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 164.

<sup>181</sup> NM, 20 Sep. 1845.

<sup>182</sup> NM, 29 Nov. 1845.

<sup>183</sup> NM, 6 May 1845.

<sup>184</sup> NM, 26 Jun. 1844.

missionaries could just as easily be rejected or even sent away by local chiefs. Tirarau also once threatened to expel Garin, who had refused to give him a spade, though later he was pleased to hear that Garin had not taken it to heart: ‘Ah! Il a compris que c’est pour rire que nous avons ainsi parlé, ce n’est pas sérieusement.’<sup>185</sup> As Garin noted, ‘Je vois de plus en plus que ce chef ne cherche qu’à mettre de l’émulation entre M. Buller et moi afin que nous rivalisions de faveurs à son égard. Il fait ainsi la guerre pour qu’on cherche à l’apaiser en lui faisant quelque cadeau ou plutôt pour qu’une autre fois on ne lui refuse pas ce qu’il demande.’<sup>186</sup>

Despite this, Garin’s understanding of Maori systems of competitive gift exchange and reciprocity was such that he was able to successfully mediate between local Maori and the European settlers. Missionaries often found themselves playing this role – John Owens even entitled his biography of Richard Taylor ‘The Mediator’ – because of their greater contact with Maori and thus greater understanding of the Maori world compared to many Europeans.<sup>187</sup> Garin was very careful to take both sides of the story into account, and sought to enable a reciprocal cultural understanding between the parties:

Les naturels me rapportent que Papu [Mr Babe], l’Européen du haut de la rivière, a sollicité Nia fille de Wetekia pour la séduire, et qu’il a dit aussi qu’elle avait la bouche grande comme une marmite. Paroles très injurieuses pour les naturels et qui ont mérité plus d’une fois la mort à ceux qui les ont dites. Wetekia me dit que c’est à présent qu’il va lui enlever tous les biens qu’il

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<sup>185</sup> NM, 21 Nov. 1844.

<sup>186</sup> NM, 25 Nov. 1844.

<sup>187</sup> J.M.R. Owens, *The Mediator: A Life of Richard Taylor 1805-1873* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004), p. 269.

lui a donnés ainsi que la jeune fille qui est à son service. Waiata me dit que Nia lui est parente et qu'il veut demander un prix à Papu. Je lui dis de se rappeler que les Européens recherchent les malfaiteurs et qu'ils réfléchissent bien à ce qu'ils vont faire. Je demande s'ils veulent le frapper, mais ils me répondent que non. Je leur conseille de se rassembler en comité, de convoquer cet étranger et de lui demander un prix.<sup>188</sup>

In the same way, when Tiperia asked compensation from Edmund Powell for hitting his son Ruka with a stick, Garin explained to Tiperia that it was the European custom to punish disobedient children, though he understood that Tiperia would still be scandalised by Powell's conduct, which required retribution.<sup>189</sup> He was also called upon by Maori and Europeans to mediate in trading disagreements, in which he invariably advised the settlers to satisfy Maori demands, and sought to diffuse tension by treating the local chiefs well.<sup>190</sup> His mediation extended to attempting to prevent conflict between rival Maori groups – a role to which the missionaries came naturally because of the tendency of tribes to adopt the opposite religion from their rival neighbours.<sup>191</sup>

The extent to which, on the whole, Garin became immersed in the Maori community can be seen from a number of observations that he records in his diary. Maori commented that Garin knew how to do things the Maori way. Waiata, told him, 'tu n'es pas un étranger comme les autres'.<sup>192</sup> When Garin threatened to leave the mission because of problems he was having with Waiata,

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<sup>188</sup> NM, 10 Feb. 1844.

<sup>189</sup> NM, 10 Jun. 1844.

<sup>190</sup> NM, 15 Apr. 1844.

<sup>191</sup> NM, 19-24 Feb. 1846.

<sup>192</sup> NM, 22 Jul. 1844.

he overheard a Maori saying, ‘quel est l’étranger qui demeure si paisiblement que lui?’<sup>193</sup> He was admired for his calm and subtle approach, it would seem. Hamiora, an elderly Protestant chief, possibly the rangatira Hamiora Paikoraha,<sup>194</sup> told his kainga: ‘Le parler de cet étranger est bien; il est calme. Le père Petit n’était pas comme celui-là.’<sup>195</sup> On a different occasion, Waiata and Tito had a dispute, and Garin was asked to mediate. He wrote a letter to both chiefs, and Tito remarked on reading the letter, ‘ce n’est pas moi qui suis chef, c’est le père Garin’.<sup>196</sup> While Garin could not always participate in gift exchanges, the efforts he made to respect existing social hierarchies, efforts which became more successful as time progressed and he became more aware of his surroundings, were not lost on local chiefs, for whom Garin was a symbol of prestige and not merely a temporal resource. Garin’s attitude towards utu contrasts strikingly with that of other Catholic missionaries, many of whom became disillusioned and felt that Maori were only becoming Catholic in order to obtain clothes and tobacco. According to Jean-Simon Bernard, ‘Tout chez eux est matériel’. ‘Avec du tabac et des couvertures on leur fera faire la prière qu’on veut pendant quelque temps. Si on se lasse de donner, ils se lassent aussi de prier et abandonnent tout.’<sup>197</sup> Even the more balanced Petit-Jean informed Colin in an assessment of the New Zealand mission that the dark side of missionary work was that the missionaries were viewed as temporal resources: he was dismayed to see the home of a much-sought

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<sup>193</sup> NM, 24 Sep. 1845.

<sup>194</sup> Hooker, p. 25.

<sup>195</sup> NM, 7 Jun. 1844.

<sup>196</sup> NM, 28 Jul 1844.

<sup>197</sup> Peter Tremewan, Personal Communication, 8 October 2007; APM, Z 208, Bernard to Colin, Jun.-11 Aug. 1844.

after missionary robbed and pillaged, and a chief who had travelled to Kororareka to get a missionary, ‘mécontent d’une part d’habits qu’il eut, les prendre et les hacher’.<sup>198</sup> While Garin had doubts about the Maori motivation for becoming Catholic, he was able to take a realistic perspective, and saw that, while some Maori sought European goods from the missionary, some did in fact become Catholic because of the Catholic message. What is more, there were signs that his catechumens wished to meet him in the middle ground on the issue of gift exchange, though they felt compelled to follow their chiefs. On at least two occasions that he recorded, Garin mentioned to his followers that usually the congregation maintained their priests rather than the other way round, referring to the European version of Catholicism.<sup>199</sup> Tiperia later told Garin that he was aware that in Europe it was the faithful who fed their priests, and so gave him potatoes for nothing, explaining that he would give more ‘s’il n’était pas retenu par la crainte que les autres ne lui en voulussent en ce qu’il introduit une coutume qui leur ôterait quelques habits ou du tabac’.<sup>200</sup>

Garin’s diary therefore highlights the complex and often fluid manner in which coloniser and colonised engaged in 1840s’ New Zealand, what is termed here a hybrid state. It demonstrates that in Mangakahia there was a substantial interchange of cultural ideas, with Garin adapting to the Maori community he was living in just as local Maori accommodated to the European presence, leading to changes not just of the Maori way of being but also of the European way of being.

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<sup>198</sup> Girard, II, doc. 159, Petit-Jean to Colin, 18 May 1842.

<sup>199</sup> NM, 16 May 1844, 14 Sep. 1845.

<sup>200</sup> NM, 19 Mar. 1846.



There was, therefore, a mingling of the new European, Christian ideas, together with Maori religious and traditional beliefs such as tapu and utu, with each side attempting to accommodate the other when they deemed it appropriate. At a political level this was made possible because of what James Belich describes as the ‘rough parity’ that existed in the interaction between Maori and Pakeha spheres in the 1840 to 1860 period.<sup>201</sup> Arguably, though, Garin’s special blend of realism, empathy and openness, enabled him to accept Maori on their own terms, seeing them ‘concretely as a complex of virtualities, a characteristic, past, present, and future’.<sup>202</sup> Such a mode of knowledge the missionary and ethnographer Maurice Leenhardt defined as ‘l’esprit concret’, as opposed to ‘l’esprit positif’, a detached mode of thought which judged others by its own standards only and had dominated European colonisation. Garin’s diary nevertheless shows that there were instances of misunderstanding between himself and the Maori of Mangakahia. However, as Nikos Papastergiadis notes, the presence of gaps and contradictions in the Third Space is not necessarily a sign of failure, for identity is constructed through the negotiation of difference in an ongoing process.<sup>203</sup>

### **Political Hybridity?**

In *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy describes sailors as ‘moving to and fro between nations, crossing borders in modern machines that were themselves micro-systems

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<sup>201</sup> *Making Peoples*, pp. 270–71.

<sup>202</sup> James Clifford, *Person and Myth*, p. 198.

<sup>203</sup> ‘Tracing Hybridity in Theory’, p. 258.

of linguistic and political hybridity.’<sup>204</sup> During the Northern War of 1844 to 1846, Garin found himself in the midst of a growing political hybridity, moving to and fro between the colonial authorities and local Maori, some of whom wished to be allied to the British and some of whom chose to fight alongside Hone Heke and Kawiti. It was a time when forms of authority introduced by the colonisers existed alongside core Maori social values.<sup>205</sup> The following analysis considers Garin as actor in the political events of 1844 to 1846, assessing to what extent the Maori of Mangakahia and Garin himself – as a Frenchman and a missionary who was neither coloniser nor colonised – were able to meet in the middle ground in this wider field of struggle.

### *The Hone Heke War and Mangakahia*

The role of the French mission during the sacking of Kororareka was a controversial one. Garin was living in Mangakahia when Hone Heke and his followers staged their uprising against British colonial authority, famously cutting down the British flagstaff flying on Te Maiki Hill, which culminated in the razing of the town where Garin had formerly lived. Though, under the pressure of charges of disloyalty, Pompallier – as head of the Catholic mission – claimed to have been politically neutral during the events at Kororareka. Pompallier’s identification with the Maori people over the European settlers has been discussed at length, most notably by Philip Turner. However, as Turner points out, the

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<sup>204</sup> Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 12.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Joshua Forrest, *Subnationalism in Africa: Ethnicity, Alliances, and Politics* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004), p. 243.

priests generally had a better appreciation of Maori motivation than the Bishop, living as they did among Maori with little European contact,<sup>206</sup> and their perspective on the Northern War also merits discussion.

Garin first mentioned the sacking of Kororareka in a diary entry of 19 March 1845, eight days after the event had taken place. Garin was away at the Kaipara Harbour when Maori couriers returning from Auckland informed the Kaipara chiefs Paikea, Manukau and Mate that a battle had taken place between Maori and Pakeha at Kororareka, with small losses on both sides. What was more, Garin recorded, Hone Heke was threatening to march to Auckland to kill the Europeans, and intended to ask Tirarau, Mate and Parore for permission to pass through their lands on his way to the town, which he aimed to reach on 22 April. For Garin's benefit, the couriers added that Maori had been told not to touch Pompallier, so that, if there were a battle with the Europeans, the French would be spared.<sup>207</sup>

The ambiguity of Garin's position in the Maori world was highlighted by the events of 1845 on two accounts. First, as a missionary, Garin brought with him a message of peace, and was placed in a difficult position when questioned on the conduct that his Maori converts should maintain during the war. Garin replied to Tiperia's question of whether he should take his prayerbooks with him to war, 'Je crains que vous ne vous en serviez pour faire des cartouches', though when reassured this would not happen, agreed: 'Eh bien, portez-les et soyez puissants à invoquer le Seigneur afin qu'il vous éclaire et qu'il vous fasse agir en tout cela

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<sup>206</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', pp. 131-38.

<sup>207</sup> NM, 19 Mar. 1845.

avec des intentions droites.’ He similarly refused to give Waiata and Tirarau old paper to make cartridges, though he agreed to lend Tirarau the mission bell to call Maori for meetings about the war, which he considered to be ‘pour le bien du peuple’.<sup>208</sup> His focus on Maori spiritual well-being over political concerns can be seen from his comment that if war were to break out, he would invite his catechumens to be baptised and his neophytes to confess, in effect giving them his blessing before they left for the battle.<sup>209</sup> In fact, Hoani Te Raki of Ngawakarara went to confession to receive communion before he left to fight at Ruapekapeka.<sup>210</sup> Garin recorded that Maori he knew did not reject Christianity because of the war, but rather sought the protection of the atua:

Il paraît qu’ils ont une grande confiance en la prière. [Himi Peru] me dit que quand les soldats les fusillent pendant qu’ils font leur prière, ils ne cessent pas pour cela de prier jusqu’à ce que l’un d’entr’eux ait été atteint d’une balle, alors ils se lèvent pour se battre. ‘Si nous avons vaincu, notre victoire n’est pas de nous, mais elle vient de Dieu, oui, c’est Dieu qui nous rend forts; c’est à la prière ‘e Ihowa’ [‘Ô Jéhovah’] que je dois la vie.’<sup>211</sup>

It appears that Garin’s message of peace had some effect: Garin’s Catholic followers in Mangakahia were approached by Bay of Islands Maori, notably Himi Peru who was the son of the Ngati Hine chief Ruku of Kawakawa who was killed

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<sup>208</sup> NM, 26 Apr. 1845.

<sup>209</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1845.

<sup>210</sup> NM, 19-20 Dec. 1845.

<sup>211</sup> NM, 21 Dec. 1845.

in the fighting,<sup>212</sup> to join Kawiti's forces, which many of them refused to do.<sup>213</sup> As Wetekia told him, 'Si tu étais parti, je quittais la prière et je partais pour la guerre contre les étrangers. Mais c'est toi qui nous retiens ici par les bonnes pensées que tu nous suggères.'<sup>214</sup> It is interesting to see to what extent Garin's comments align with those of Governor George Grey, who defended Pompallier and the Catholic missionaries from British accusations that they had instigated the uprising. The Governor informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he was 'perfectly satisfied' that the French missionaries had done 'everything in their power to promote peace and good order'.<sup>215</sup>

Second, there was the question of political allegiance. Garin preferred to remain neutral during the fighting: he did not want to take the part of the British colonial authorities, but he also did not want to be seen to be taking the Maori side. He refused to write a letter to Governor Robert FitzRoy on behalf of Paikea to say that the tribes of Mangakahia and Kaipara would not allow Hone Heke to travel through Kaipara to go to Auckland and fight the Europeans.<sup>216</sup> Yet, while Garin tried to remain neutral – no doubt conscious of the precariousness of the French missionaries' situation in New Zealand in 1845 – and while he also condemned the Maori pillaging of the settlers strongly, it appears that he was

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<sup>212</sup> J.S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders: With Notes Corroborative of their Habits, Usages, etc., and Remarks to Intending Immigrants, with Numerous Cuts Drawn on Wood*, 2 vols (London: James Madden, 1840; repr. Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976), I, pp. 80-84; NM, 14 May, 21 Dec. 1845.

<sup>213</sup> NM, 22 Nov. 1845.

<sup>214</sup> NM, 25 Sep. 1845.

<sup>215</sup> Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons, *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Colonies, New Zealand (GBPP)*, 8 vols (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968), V, 552.

<sup>216</sup> NM, 21 Mar. 1845.

sympathetic to, or perhaps more correctly, given his abhorrence of warfare, that he understood Maori reasons for uprising against colonial rule:

Orikini voulait piller l'Évêque comme pour se venger du pillage des blancs de Kororareka. Kawiti dit: 'Si on pille l'Évêque, je pille Wiremu [Henry Williams] et les Américains.' Je dis alors aux naturels: 'Ceci est piller sans aucune raison' – 'he mea poka noa, kahore he take.' Auparavant les Européens pouvaient dire: 'Ils ont une cause de se battre', mais ici ce n'est purement que l'esprit du pillage qui les pousse.<sup>217</sup>

Garin later explained what the Europeans that he mentions in this conversation could have said in justification of Maori aggression, namely that Maori did not want the British flag and that this had led to their assault on Kororareka.<sup>218</sup> There is no doubt that Garin understood what support of the Maori forces implied: Hamiora, when Garin attempted to dissuade him from returning to the war, rebutted 'il faut bien se battre contre ceux qui vous lient'.<sup>219</sup> Still, Garin advised Wetekia, who had asked what he should do if Hone Heke came to the river, that 'C'est aux chefs qui ont à régler les choses qui regardent les terres et les personnes, à bien réfléchir et à agir selon leur conscience, c'est aux autres d'obéir, d'aller à la guerre s'ils y sont appelés et de rester tranquilles s'ils y sont invités, mais surtout que personne ne se livre au pillage ou au massacre sans une juste raison'.<sup>220</sup> Garin thereby appeared to give his assent for fighting where there was

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<sup>217</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1845.

<sup>218</sup> NM, 30 Apr. 1845.

<sup>219</sup> NM, 21 Aug. 1845.

<sup>220</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1845.

justification. Garin himself reported that ‘Hone Heke [...] n’a pas voulu faire du mal aux Pakeha maoris, c.-à-d. qu’il n’en veut qu’au gouvernement.’<sup>221</sup>

Richard Taylor, too, referred to Hone Heke with respect, not believing him to be guilty of atrocities and describing his conduct as ‘certainly very noble’. However, from Taylor’s records it appears that there was one simple but fundamental difference in the position of the British and French missionaries during the sacking: Taylor referred to northern Maori as ‘the enemy’, in clear contradiction to Garin’s thinking.<sup>222</sup> Buller, who was closer to the action than Taylor and surrounded by Maori who were peaceable and had friendly intentions towards the Government, did not use such terms, though he wished for the warring factions to ‘submit to the supremacy of British law’, confirming where his sympathies lay.<sup>223</sup> Many years later, in 1876, Garin would give a public lecture in Nelson recounting his experience of the Northern War, in which he identified his fight for Catholic education with the Maori fight for sovereignty in 1845, showing his solidarity with Maori and their rejection of the colonisers.

It is clear from Garin’s experience that the French were seen by Maori as a neutral, and perhaps even opposing, force in events, assisted by the Catholic mission’s efforts to disassociate itself from the British armed forces. Garin recorded that on 10 April, when he first journeyed to Kororareka after the sacking, he was received ‘avec des signes peu ordinaires d’affection’ by Ruku, who had been to the town to take part in the looting. At Te Wahapu, Garin was given a

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<sup>221</sup> NM, 19 Mar. 1845.

<sup>222</sup> Owens, *The Mediator*, p. 109.

<sup>223</sup> MCA, James Buller dossier, Buller to the Secretaries, 27 Feb. 1846.

surplice that had been stolen inadvertently from the Kororaraka Catholic mission during the looting, and which Maori wished to return.<sup>224</sup> Garin was also useful as a mediator between the Maori and British worlds, for example informing Buller, who had greater contact with the Governor, of the thought of local Maori, that ‘si [le gouverneur] prend les Européens de cette rivière que nous avons protégés ici, pour qu’ils aillent se battre contre des Maori, nous aussi, nous irons nous battre contre les Européens, car les Pakeha nous disent de rester dans la paix et ils appellent ceux qui sont dans la paix pour aller se battre.’<sup>225</sup> He similarly assisted together with Buller at the pa when Tirarau returned five rifles to Kawiti, in a symbolic gesture implying that Tirarau did not wish to go to war.<sup>226</sup>

The French then were seen as an alternative political force that could keep the British at bay. Te Parawhau chief Te Iwitahi,<sup>227</sup> based in the Whangarei area, asked Garin to put a request to Pompallier for a catechist or priest to be sent to his kainga, which Garin saw as having a political motive, for Wetekia had told him ‘c’est afin que nous puissions circuler sans crainte, car [Te Iwitahi] pense que là où il y aura des Français on respectera les Maoris. Il voit que l’Évêque est respecté dans sa personne et dans celle de ses prêtres.’<sup>228</sup> Meanwhile, hearing that Waiata had asked for Frenchmen to reside on the Wairoa, Mate too requested that Garin write to Pompallier for ten French families to reside with him, and a priest

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<sup>224</sup> NM, 10 Apr. 1845.

<sup>225</sup> NM, 21 Jul. 1845.

<sup>226</sup> NM, 19 Feb. 1846.

<sup>227</sup> Hooker, p. 65.

<sup>228</sup> NM, 1 Jun. 1845.



for his kainga.<sup>229</sup> What is more, it was not merely amongst his followers that Garin heard such sentiments: one of Hone Heke's men told him 'C'est pour les Français cette terre'.<sup>230</sup> In the event, Grey informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Pompallier had 'mistaken his position, by imagining that he was entitled to maintain a perfect neutrality between the Government and those in arms against it', and that, while this system of neutrality had been recognised by the previous administration, it had been quashed upon Grey's arrival in the colony.<sup>231</sup> There was no escaping the fact that the presence of the French Catholic mission and French warships in the area offered an alternative political allegiance for Maori.

Of course, Garin could not help but feel threatened in the volatile situation he found himself in, especially given the possibility that Hone Heke and Kawiti would attack Auckland from Kaipara. As Garin himself said, 'ils sont dans le cas de massacrer jusqu'au dernier des Européens qu'ils trouveront afin de couper entièrement tout commerce avec eux et ne pas s'exposer à perdre leur île.'<sup>232</sup> When the priests from the north visited Kororareka in mid-April, less than a month after the hostilities, Garin wrote 'Nous sommes toutes les nuits dans la crainte de quelqu'attaque.' He confided in Baty, 'Notre vie est bien entre les mains de ces naturels: s'ils voulaient faire un coup ce serait bien aisé.'<sup>233</sup> He began to use his diary as a kind of confessional for his fears, writing: 'Pour moi je

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<sup>229</sup> NM, 15 Oct. 1845.

<sup>230</sup> NM, 13 Dec. 1845.

<sup>231</sup> GBPP, V, 552.

<sup>232</sup> NM, 25 Apr. 1845.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

cherche tous les jours à m'entretenir dans la pensée de la mort, car au milieu d'un peuple livré à toutes les passions, à l'injustice, à la vengeance, à la trahison, à la cruauté, à la cupidité la plus marquée, que n'a-t-on pas à craindre?'. Such judgmental comments are very rare in the diary, and suggest the extreme strain under which Garin was living at this time.

When Garin travelled to Whangarei he felt the threat even more strongly, to the point of paranoia. When two gunshots went off while he was holding prayers, he wondered if it was a sign to attack him:

Nous nous réunissons pour la seconde fois à la prière. 2 coups de fusil partent. Plusieurs naturels quittent brusquement leurs places et vont où les fusils ont tiré; tous les autres regardent comme avec inquiétude, et continuent cependant de chanter le waiata commencé. Pour moi je me sens livré à différentes réflexions. Serait-ce un signal de faire quelques coups contre moi? Je me trouve étranger au milieu de naturels qui viennent de chasser et de voler les étrangers et de prononcer des menaces de les tuer s'ils reviennent. Je me trouve moi, prêtre catholique, au milieu de naturels protestants! S'ils ont envie de m'ôter la vie cela leur est bien facile, et moi humainement parlant je n'ai pas l'espoir d'échapper. S'ils venaient à me faire périr, hélas!, suis-je prêt à paraître devant Dieu?<sup>234</sup>

This fear also extended to his home in Mangakahia. Awoken at three o'clock in the morning by gunfire, he admitted, 'mon imagination travaille et interroge. Un naturel du parti de Hone Heke est venu hier: aurait-il opéré un changement ici?'. He prepared for flight, dressed in his new cassock and armed with his Breviary, copy of the New Testament and crucifix.

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<sup>234</sup> NM, 1 May 1845.

Despite this, when the Europeans in Northland were told to escape to Auckland, Garin refused, knowing that the Maori of Mangakahia – including Tirarau and Waiata – wanted him to stay. He was told that, in the event of hostilities, he had to go to Aotahi, and that Waiata if necessary would forcibly remove him from his home to take shelter with Maori.<sup>235</sup> When there was still the risk that Hone Heke and Kawiti would travel down the Wairoa to attack Auckland, Garin was reassured that Tirarau would hide his belongings for him at the pa, given the possibility that the Europeans on the river would be pillaged when the warring party returned from the battle.<sup>236</sup> Tirarau showed great concern for protecting the inhabitants of the river, and had to be dissuaded from asking for soldiers to be sent to maintain the peace.<sup>237</sup> Similarly, Wetekia, on hearing that Garin was leaving for Whangarei because of the pillaging that had taken place there, wrote a letter to Te Iwitahi, asking them to allow his missionary ‘le soin d’apaiser la terre et les arbres’, ‘parce que les naturels de la Baie ont beaucoup favorisé l’Évêque’; Tirarau was concerned enough to accompany Garin and his party himself.<sup>238</sup> Tirarau told Garin that he should stay with them, because, unlike the Wesleyan missionary Buller, he had no wife or children to look after; Waiata did likewise:

‘Pour toi tu n’as ni femme ni enfants, il te faut rester avec nous.’  
‘C’est aussi mon intention’, lui dis-je, ‘que les étrangers nous  
invitent à nous retirer, nous ne le ferons pas, nous ne sommes

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<sup>235</sup> NM, 29 May 1845.

<sup>236</sup> NM, 23 Apr. 1845.

<sup>237</sup> NM, 26 Apr. 1845.

<sup>238</sup> NM, 27-28 Apr. 1845.

pas venus pour eux, mais principalement pour les Maoris. Ce n'est autant que vous nous chasserez que nous nous en irons.' 'C'est bien', me répondent-ils tous. 'Oui, reste avec nous; reste et si nous mourons que nous mourions ensemble.'<sup>239</sup>

What could better highlight the interdependence that had grown up between Garin and the Maori of Mangakahia, and the fact that the binary opposition of Maori and Pakeha was being eroded? This was even more the case when one considers that Tirarau was 'closely-related' to Kawiti,<sup>240</sup> and that the call to abandon the Europeans on the river and join the fight was therefore strong, something which Buller also highlighted to the Wesleyan Secretaries in London.<sup>241</sup> In fact, Garin recorded that both Parore and Tirarau were visited by Hone Heke and Kawiti respectively in an effort to gain their allegiance in February 1846, though they ultimately failed to give it.<sup>242</sup>

## **Assessment**

As Philip Turner notes, the position of the French missionaries as an oppositional force during the Northern War did not help Catholic baptism numbers. Though Hone Heke discredited the Protestant missionaries and in so doing showed the Catholics in a favourable light, the northern Catholic missions went into a sharp decline after the conflict. The reasons for this appear to have been mainly political: there was little point for Maori in being associated with a minority

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<sup>239</sup> NM, 19 Apr. 1845.

<sup>240</sup> Pickmere, p. 86.

<sup>241</sup> MCA, James Buller dossier, Buller to the Secretaries, 19 Jun. 1845.

<sup>242</sup> NM, 19-20 Feb. 1846.

religion, whose opponents were so clearly dominant. Catholic influence was more pervasive in areas that were less affected by European contact, such as the central North Island, where the relationship between missionary and Maori was not undermined by other Europeans. In Turner's words, despite the 'personal courage and mana of priests like Garin and Baty', Catholic numbers fell away in the northern stations.<sup>243</sup> Garin noted this in his diary: he had received news in May 1846 that large numbers of Maori were leaving the Catholic missions in Hokianga, Whangaroa, and the Bay of Islands, while at his own station only nine Maori and his two former European servants had taken communion at Pentecost.<sup>244</sup> This was no doubt a contributing factor in the decision to remove Garin from Kaipara, to minister to the newly-arrived Fencible settlers in Howick, in what would effectively be a settler parish where Garin had little opportunity for ministering to Maori.

According to Ernest Simmons, Garin's Kaipara mission did not have 'very lasting results'. Simmons notes the lower numbers of Catholic Maori when compared to the Hokianga mission, and the lack of visits paid by Garin's successor, Baty, who was given responsibility for the Kaipara mission though he was based at Kororaraka. Instead, Whangarei, which Garin had been the first priest to visit, gained steadily in importance.<sup>245</sup> In addition, according to Simmons, 'quite a few' of the baptisms at the Kaipara mission were of Europeans (they were in fact nine out of a total of 170 baptisms in the years 1840 to 1847

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<sup>243</sup> 'The Politics of Neutrality', pp. 137, 147.

<sup>244</sup> NM, 25, 31 May 1846.

<sup>245</sup> *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops*, pp. 81-82.

inclusive). Simmons thus concludes that it is difficult to judge how successful the Kaipara mission really was.<sup>246</sup>

It is true that the Kaipara mission languished behind most of the other Catholic stations in terms of baptisms. During Garin's time at Mangakahia, there were 145 baptisms, which brought to 161 the total number of baptised Catholic Maori at the Kaipara mission by the time of Garin's departure, if one includes those baptised by Petit in the 1840 to 1843 period.<sup>247</sup> However, the accuracy of baptism statistics in estimating numbers of Maori who may have regarded themselves as Catholic or Protestant has been called into question, as denying the significance of the wider interest in Christianity. Howe, for example, describes baptism statistics as the tangible, but 'Eurocentric, evidence for a response to Christianity'.<sup>248</sup> As Serabian asserts, there is evidence that Garin's mission was more successful than his baptism numbers would suggest. On his departure from the mission, he left a well-established station consisting of a presbytery and a chapel, with six outstations spread from east Whangarei to Kaipara Harbour, and a community of Catholic Maori who regularly attended Catholic services (p. 70). More importantly, following Garin's departure a number of Maori chose to be baptised during Baty and Bishop Viard's visits to the area, with thirty-three baptisms taking place in the years 1848 to 1850 inclusive, suggesting the lasting influence of Garin's teaching. These included Tauwhanga, Matiu's father, and even Wetekia, a rangatira. In fact, for the 1840 to 1847 period approximately forty

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<sup>246</sup> *In Cruce Salus*, p. 19; ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>247</sup> ACDA, RA 11.

<sup>248</sup> Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality', pp. 144-46; Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', p. 157; Howe, 'Maori Response to Christianity', p. 40.

per cent of Catholic Maori baptised belonged to the rangatira class, which also confirms the influence of Garin's message. In late 1852, five years after Garin's departure and following the exodus of the Marists from the north, Buller noted 'The small party attached to the Roman Catholic mission still adhere to that corrupt church'.<sup>249</sup> Garin continued to communicate with Kaperiere and Maraea te Hoia Waiata, Waiata's daughter, in the 1850s and 1860s, and from a letter of Kaperiere's it is clear that there was still a group of Catholics gathering for daily prayers in Mangakahia as late as 1869, despite the fact that they had never had another resident priest.<sup>250</sup>

The fact was that Garin was labouring in a sparsely-populated area that had been evangelised by the Wesleyan missionaries before his arrival. The Kaipara Catholic mission was established four years later than the Wesleyan mission, and was managed from Hokianga for its first three years. Garin frequently recorded comments from Protestant Maori that 'Si vous étiez venus les premiers, nous aurions tourné à vous'.<sup>251</sup> The direct competition of neighbouring mission stations did not help matters. Garin found that on his first visit to Kaipara Harbour he was followed by Buller who was seeking to beat him to evangelising Kaipara Maori. Not only that, but Garin had been preceded by Anglican Bishop George Selwyn, so that, only a week earlier, the Maori whom Garin was visiting had held a meeting at which they had decided to become Protestant.<sup>252</sup> Even Buller, however, confided in the settlers on the river that, while he had a very

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<sup>249</sup> KL, Wesleyan Letters to the Secretaries, Buller, 22 Nov. 1852, cited in Byrne, p. 146.

<sup>250</sup> MAW, HD2, Kaperiere Hoeroa to Garin, 7 Aug. 1869, 106-7.

<sup>251</sup> NM, 27 Mar. 1844.

<sup>252</sup> NM, 11 Oct. 1844.

comfortable house and a pretty chapel, there were hardly any Maori attending his services.<sup>253</sup> To the Wesleyan Secretaries he described Tirarau and the Maori at the pa as ‘manifesting the utmost indifference’ to the mission’s object. He noted that Tirarau, although very friendly, had never shown himself to be particularly disposed towards Christianity, and, because of the great influence he had over his people and the subordinate chiefs, had the means of keeping them from accepting Christianity also. In late 1843, Buller summarised that he had been nearly five years at Mangakahia, and ‘yet little comparatively has been done’: he had endured years of ‘discouragement, disappointment and grief’ at the station.<sup>254</sup>

Garin appears to have been less apt to moments of despair than his Wesleyan counterpart, and was sometimes favourably compared to him. The Maori of Kaipara Harbour told Garin, ‘Voilà le seul étranger qui a la patience d’attendre si longtemps dans les kainga maoris’, and were impressed that he visited them often, unlike Buller who only visited those on the route to Auckland.<sup>255</sup> Even the Europeans on the river told Garin that he was doing a better job than Buller, who would arrive and leave the kainga on the same day to take advantage of the tides, while Garin would stay overnight with the community so as to give further instruction.<sup>256</sup> It was perhaps this willingness to live on Maori terms that distinguished Garin’s mission, and it is not surprising that, during his

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<sup>253</sup> NM, 3 Mar. 1844.

<sup>254</sup> ATL, MS-Copy-Micro-0364, 21 Nov. 1843.

<sup>255</sup> NM, 25 Oct. 1844; 10 Jul. 1846.

<sup>256</sup> NM, 29 Mar. 1846.



Episcopal visit over Christmas 1846, Viard found Hatoi in better heart than the Hokianga station.<sup>257</sup>

It is in this sense that Garin transcended his role as a missionary, being no longer merely the purveyor of a new European religion, but becoming a transculturator, a ‘Pakeha Maori’ in his own, priestly way. Garin, as a Catholic missionary who was neither British nor Maori, neither coloniser nor colonised, with the simple motivation to evangelise rather than civilise, had an openness to the thoughts and perspectives of others. Arguably, this allowed him and his mission to flourish in the increasingly hybrid society of 1840s’ Northland. Being neither coloniser nor colonised meant a freedom for Garin to affirm the commensurability of European and Maori lifeways, and to allow reciprocity between himself and Maori. Usefully too, Garin never had to justify his nation’s subjugation of Maori, as English missionaries would have needed to do. Garin and the Maori of Mangakahia thus engaged in a process of exchange and hybridisation, exhibiting a blending of the Maori and Catholic religions, Maori and French ways of being, and Maori and French political aspirations. By recording this period of his life in such an immensely-detailed diary, and reporting the very words of his interlocutors, Garin has left perhaps his greatest legacy: an up-close and personal view of a Maori community and their response to the changing face of their land in the mid-1840s.

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<sup>257</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 18.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### A DIFFERENT NEW ZEALAND – HOWICK, 1848-1850

While living as a missionary among the Maori, Garin chose to live on Maori terms. Despite this, he was a fervent Marist who believed fundamentally in the good of the missionary enterprise. Garin was never able to spend enough time with Maori to evolve from this perception, unlike the ethnographically-minded Protestant missionary, Maurice Leenhardt.<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps because of Garin's strongly Marist convictions, and his willingness to follow the will of God and his superiors, that he was selected to abandon his missionary posting in favour of the newly-formed Fencible settlements, in the south of Auckland. This move represented another turning-point in Garin's career, from missionary to the new role of parish priest to the settlers.

Garin's removal to the Fencible settlement of Howick, which was founded in part because of the Northern War that Garin had experienced firsthand, reflected general changes in New Zealand society. The Marist missionaries had been sent to New Zealand specifically to evangelise Maori. However, they found themselves obliged to become involved in pastoral care in addition to their missionary work, as European settlers began to arrive in ever-increasing numbers. This chapter begins by tracing the establishment of the Fencible settlements under Governor Grey, and then looks at Garin's diminishing involvement with the Maori world caused necessarily by his posting to Howick. It demonstrates that,

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<sup>1</sup> James Clifford, *Person and Myth*, p. 1.

even in this early and brief period of his work with the European settlers, Garin was able to use his new posting as an opportunity for self-invention, which primed him for his best-known work in Nelson.

Like the early years of Garin's life, there is little documentation relating to his time in Howick. Only a small portion of Garin's diary exists for this period, as the diary from September 1846 until December 1849 has been lost. Similarly, there is only one original letter available, which was sent to his family in France. In fact, for the period 1846 to 1849 very few letters originating from New Zealand missionaries are available in the Marist Archives in Rome. Only ten letters from New Zealand were recovered for these years by Charles Girard, for inclusion in his collection, *Lettres reçues d'Océanie*. This chapter thus uses not only Garin's diary and the letter summaries that his brother kept in his 'Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin', but also communications between Garin and the colonial administration. It balances these primary sources against literature on the Irish diaspora experience in New Zealand to build a picture of Garin transcending cultural barriers, and building communities in southern Auckland. It concludes with a brief explanation of the Marists' move to the Wellington Diocese, which cemented Garin in his role as a parish priest to the settlers.

## **The Fencibles Scheme**

Auckland was never attacked during the Northern War, thanks in part to the refusal of Kaipara chiefs Tirarau and Parore to allow Hone Heke and Kawiti to pass through their lands, and mount an attack on the capital. However, Governor Grey considered it necessary to adopt a plan for maintaining 'British supremacy in

these islands'. In May 1846, he requested 2500 troops to defend the colony. Of this force, he proposed to reserve a thousand men for the occupation of Auckland. By November of that year Grey had his reply: the Colonial Office would meet his demands, though not all reinforcements would come from the regular army. A part of the troops would be made up of 'a force of a different description'. This force was to be designated the Royal New Zealand Fencibles. It would consist of approximately five hundred men who had been discharged from the army, and were thus already trained in military discipline and duties. These men would be under the constant superintendence of officers, for, in the past, discharged soldiers had not proved to be good settlers. The Fencibles' force would be sent directly to Auckland, to be established in two or three villages prepared for their arrival in the vicinity of the capital. Each village was to be prepared with a school house which would also serve as a chapel. The villages were to be placed so that the greater part of the lands adjoining them were still in the possession of the Crown. The Colonial Office envisioned that the sale of these lands, whose value would be greatly increased by the formation of the Fencible settlements, would allow the British Government to recoup some of the expenses incurred in providing the corps. The conditions imposed on the Fencibles were that they must be under forty-eight years of age, of good character and industrious habits, medically fit and robust, and willing to serve for seven years. While part of the Fencibles force, they would attend military exercises for twelve days each year, and muster under arms at church parade every Sunday, in addition to their military duties if called upon to fight. In return, they would be given a free passage to New Zealand for themselves and their families, a two-roomed cottage and acre of land free of rent,

and a guarantee of employment for the first year of residence in the colony. Upon the termination of seven years' service, their cottage and allotment would become their own property.<sup>2</sup>

The placing of the Fencible settlements caused considerable debate. With their primary purpose being the defence of Auckland, the settlements needed to be located in the vicinity of that town. However, there was not sufficient Crown land available in close proximity. The settlements were eventually placed to the south of Auckland, at Onehunga, Panmure, Otahuhu and Howick, respectively ten, fourteen, fourteen and twenty-one kilometres from the capital.<sup>3</sup> Placing them at this distance supported the Colonial Office's aim of increasing the value of Crown lands in the neighbouring area of the settlements and defraying the costs of the overall plan.<sup>4</sup> However, it also caused significant hardship for the Fencibles, who had difficulty in finding private employment. Howick, the most isolated of the settlements, was called the 'Deserted Village' and 'Grey's Folly' in the early years.<sup>5</sup> However, in Grey's view, the success of the pensioner immigration scheme depended on retaining the men at their villages: scattered among the population of Auckland, the Fencibles were of little help to the defence of the colony. The condition of enrolment requiring compulsory attendance at church parade every Sunday also left the pensioners no opportunity to gain employment at a distance from the settlements.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the settlements were necessarily inward-

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<sup>2</sup> GBPP, V, 472-79.

<sup>3</sup> GBPP, VI, 1850 [1136], 140.

<sup>4</sup> GBPP, VII, 1851 [1420], 147.

<sup>5</sup> K.M. Holloway, *Maungarei: An Outline History of the Mt Wellington, Panmure and Tamaki Districts* (Auckland: Mount Wellington Borough Council, 1962), p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> GBPP, VII, 1851 [1420], 146.

focused, and the provision of services within them, including religious services, assumed a certain importance.

A peculiarity of the Fencibles' composition was that most of the men were recruited in Ireland. Approximately half of the pensioners were Irish Catholics. In the brief period of time in which the Fencibles arrived, from August 1847 to September 1849, the Catholic population of Auckland more than doubled.<sup>7</sup> As Grey explained to the Secretary of State for the colonies, it was therefore inappropriate to appoint a single military chaplain, who was likely to have been Anglican, to minister to the entire Fencibles contingent. Instead, Grey arranged for the Anglican and Catholic bishops to provide clergymen for the settlements. In return for the bishops' cooperation, the Government permitted them to select one acre of land in each village for a church and presbytery. They were also allowed to purchase four acres of land as a glebe, at the price afforded to the pensioners. As Grey himself noted, this meant that the Fencible settlements became parishes with their own clergymen, which enhanced the feeling of community in the settlements.<sup>8</sup> In August 1847 Grey held discussions with Bishop Viard, who had been left in charge of the Vicariate of Western Oceania during Pompallier's absence in Europe from April 1846.<sup>9</sup> Regarding the provision of churches and schools for the Fencibles, Viard undertook to proffer the necessary clergymen.<sup>10</sup> Within a week Colonial Secretary Andrew Sinclair had written to Viard officially,

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<sup>7</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 35.

<sup>8</sup> GBPP, VI, 1849 [1120], 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Keys, *Philip Viard*, p. 52.

<sup>10</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1846-1849, 24 Aug. 1847.

promising land for Catholic chapels.<sup>11</sup> Viard's agreement with the Governor had the positive result that the Marists received substantial sums not only for European church infrastructure, but also for a Maori college in Auckland. In 1849 St Mary's College was built on the North Shore, under the supervision of Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean.<sup>12</sup> However, Viard's collaboration with the Governor also lessened the autonomy of the Marists, and tied them inextricably into the provision of religious services to the European settlers.

By November 1847 the first four companies of the Fencibles had arrived. The First Division aboard the *Ramillies*, and the Second Division aboard the *Minerva*, arrived before the sites of the pensioner villages had even been chosen. The First Division was eventually settled in Onehunga, while the Second was taken to Howick together with the next two companies, which arrived on the *Sir Robert Sale* and *Sir George Seymour*. Howick had in fact only been singled out as a potential site on 18 October.<sup>13</sup> With events overtaking him, Viard was faced with the difficult decision of removing one of his missionaries from the stations that they had worked so hard to establish. In the event, Viard chose to transfer Garin from Mangakahia to the new Fencible settlements. Garin had shown himself more capable than many of his Marist colleagues of bending to the will of his superiors, a quality which Petit-Jean had ironically described as 'la première et indispensable qualité d'un homme apostolique'.<sup>14</sup> Also, when Viard had visited

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<sup>11</sup> NAW, IA 4, 47/1568 Colonial Secretary to Viard, 30 Aug. 1847.

<sup>12</sup> Girard, VII, doc. 875, Petit-Jean to Poupinel, 12 Feb. 1850.

<sup>13</sup> Nelson Blake, 'The Royal New Zealand Fencibles', *Historical Journal: Auckland-Waikato*, 32 (April 1978), 17-21 (p. 17).

<sup>14</sup> Girard, II, doc. 298, Petit-Jean to Girard, 8 Dec. 1843.

Mangakahia during Christmas 1846, he had been impressed with Garin's management of the station, where much had been accomplished in a relatively short space of time. And thus, Kaipara, which had never been a particularly promising mission in terms of baptism numbers, was left without a resident missionary. From the records of Garin's brother, Numa, it appears that Garin was sent to the Fencible settlements until Viard had Irish priests to dedicate to the pensioners. The Mangakahia Catholics were thus only meant to have been placed under Baty's care temporarily, until Garin's return.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, this did not turn out to be the case, and Garin's removal from Hatoi marked the beginning of the great decline of the Catholic Maori mission stations. The Marists, who had not received any reinforcements since 1843, were unable to keep up with the influx of European settlers. The Irish priests that Viard would have liked to dedicate to the settlers did not begin arriving until the 1860s (with the notable exception of Jeremiah Joseph Purcell O'Reily, the Irish Capuchin who arrived independently of the Marists in 1843 and became the first Catholic priest of Wellington).<sup>16</sup>

Viard assigned Garin to Howick. Howick was a large settlement comprising three companies of Fencibles, and was considered to be the chief Fencible settlement at the time.<sup>17</sup> In 1848 it became an administrative centre with a Court of Petty Sessions,<sup>18</sup> just as Garin's hometown of Saint-Rambert had been the regional seat of justice. Soon, Garin was also required to minister to Panmure

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<sup>15</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 25.

<sup>16</sup> O'Meeghan, 'The First Wave of French Marists'.

<sup>17</sup> George Augustus Selwyn, 'New Zealand. Part V, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through his Diocese, Including a Visit to the Chatham Islands in the Year 1848', in *Project Canterbury* <<http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/spg20.html>> [accessed 22 February 2009].

<sup>18</sup> 'Government Gazette Notices', *New Zealander*, 29 March 1848, p. 3.



and Otahuhu, which each had one company of Fencibles. Onehunga, another large settlement where three companies were based, was made the responsibility of Antoine Séon.

There has been some disagreement as to when Garin actually began his work in Howick, with some local historians placing him there as early as October 1847. An entry in the Howick baptism register for 25 December 1847 may have caused some confusion. This entry, though in Garin's handwriting, clearly states that the 1847 baptism was performed by Jean Forest.<sup>19</sup> What is more, the diary of Bishop Viard reveals that it was only on 23 November 1847 that it was decided to remove Garin from his missionary posting to minister to the Europeans in Auckland.<sup>20</sup> According to Garin's later correspondence with his brother, he did not leave Mangakahia until the end of December 1847, accompanied by his Maori assistant, Kaperiere Hoeroa, who stayed with him throughout his time in Howick. They travelled one last time down the Wairoa River and across the Kaipara Harbour, and went overland from the Kaipara River to the Waitemata Harbour. A few days later, on 2 January 1848, Garin and Kaperiere took up residence in Howick.<sup>21</sup>

This accords with a historical note that Garin sent to François Yardin in 1878 in which he listed 2 January 1848 as the date that he began his work at Howick. It is also consistent with a formula for baptism that Garin wrote at the beginning of the Howick baptism register, which is dated 2 January 1848.<sup>22</sup> It

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<sup>19</sup> ACDA, RA 7-1 Howick Church Register.

<sup>20</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1846-1849, 23 Nov. 1847.

<sup>21</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853.

<sup>22</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, 53; ACDA, RA 7-1.

would seem that Garin was introduced to his new parish by Forest: he probably wrote the formula out for his future reference from Forest's instructions, as he has signed it with Forest's initials. While subscriptions were received for the Howick school and chapel as early as 26 December 1847, it is likely that they were made to Forest, rather than to Garin directly.<sup>23</sup> Garin returned to Auckland briefly around 11 January for a few days, during which time he collected further subscriptions for the Howick school and chapel. He was again in Auckland on 18 January, after which he accompanied Viard to visit some of the supervising officers of the new settlements – Major John Gray, the Commanding Officer of the Royal New Zealand Fencibles, and Captain Alexander Macdonald, who was based in Howick.<sup>24</sup>

### **Garin and Auckland Maori**

Given Viard's commitment to provide priests for the Fencible settlements, Garin's immediate concern at Howick was always going to be his Fencible parishioners. It would be unwise, however, to see Garin as completely removed from the Maori world at this time. According to the conclusions of the Waitangi Tribunal, when the town of Auckland was established, Maori and Europeans living there entered a mutually beneficial relationship. Ngati Whatua and neighbouring tribes benefited from the rapidly-expanding market for their produce and the acquisition of European technology and skills, and settlers profited from the plentiful provisions

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<sup>23</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, 1.

<sup>24</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1846-1849, 11-14, 18-21 Jan. 1848; GBPP, VI, 1850 [1136], 140; GBPP, VII, 1851 [1420], 125; "The "Gazette", *New Zealander*, 12 January 1848, p. 2.

and cheap, efficient labour that could be obtained from local Maori.<sup>25</sup> This would appear to have been the situation in Howick, where there was a continued Maori presence. For instance, Maori carpenters built many of the Fencible cottages, several Maori policemen worked under a European sergeant, and Maori traders sold fruit, vegetables, fish and pigs to the early settlers.<sup>26</sup> Paul Monin similarly asserts that Maori society in Hauraki continued to function largely according to Maori customs in the 1840s, due to the numerical superiority of Maori and the colonial administration's limited capacity of law enforcement.<sup>27</sup> This was still the case when Garin was in Howick, although the tide was beginning to turn as European settlement in the area – heavily increased by the influx of the Fencible soldiers – became more pervasive.

Since around the late seventeenth century, Ngai Tai had occupied the lands from Te Wairoa to Tamaki as far as Otahuhu, in the immediate environs of Garin's home parish of Howick. They were most closely associated with Maraetai, where a CMS mission to Maori had been based from 1837 until 1842, under William Fairburn. In the early to mid-nineteenth century Ngai Tai were led by the prominent chief Tara Te Irirangi.<sup>28</sup> According to Alan La Roche, it was from Ngai Tai that Tirarau obtained his wife, Wakakohu, having taken a war party

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<sup>25</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Orakei Claim (WAI 9)* (Wellington, 1987), Chapter 4.

<sup>26</sup> Rachael Ngeungeu Te Irirangi Zister, Personal Communication, 1988, cited in Alan La Roche, *The History of Howick and Pakuranga: Whitford, Bucklands and Eastern Beaches and Surrounding Districts* (Auckland: Howick & Districts Historical Society, 1991), p. 51; Ruth Alexander, *The Royal New Zealand Fencibles* (Auckland: New Zealand Fencible Society, 1997), p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, pp. 117-19.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Monin, *Waibeke Island: A History* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1992), pp. 23-24; La Roche, pp. 27-28.

there from Kaipara. Wakakohu was Tara Te Irirangi's daughter.<sup>29</sup> As for Garin's third parish, Panmure, this was located on what was traditionally Ngati Paoa land. In the early nineteenth century Ngati Paoa had two substantial settlements at Tauoma, which became the site of Panmure. These were Mauinaina, a kainga of some four thousand people, and Mokoia, a fortified pa. However, Mauinaina and Mokoia were virtually abandoned after Hongi Hika's conquest of the area in 1821. The remnants of the Tauoma peoples resettled on Waiheke and other Gulf islands.<sup>30</sup> According to Monin, the Ngati Paoa of Waiheke were also associated with the Anglican mission at Maraetai, and between 1837 and 1841 made it a practice to cross from Waiheke to Maraetai on Sundays.<sup>31</sup>

Though evidence of Garin's interaction with local Maori is sparse, due to the loss of his diary for the greater part of the Howick years, there are signs that he maintained a relationship with the Maori world. He continued to live with his Maori assistant, Kaperiere, in the fashion that he had in Mangakahia, whereby Kaperiere worked for him in return for Garin supplying Kaperiere's material needs.<sup>32</sup> Also, just as he had in Mangakahia, Garin used Maori words in his notebooks when he was dealing with Maori in a given situation. For example, in a list of expenses he wrote two hundred pounds of 'kanga', or sweetcorn, which he had probably purchased from local Maori traders.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, a number of

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<sup>29</sup> La Roche, p. 34.

<sup>30</sup> R.C.J. Stone, *From Tāmaki-makau-rau to Auckland* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2001), p. 306; Holloway, p. 54; John Butler, *Earliest New Zealand: The Journals and Correspondence of the Rev. John Butler*, ed. by R.J. Barton (Masterton: Palamontain & Petherick, 1927), cited in Monin, *Hauraki Contested*, p. 51.

<sup>31</sup> *Hauraki Contested*, p. 87.

<sup>32</sup> For example, see SMPA, Ledger 7, 68; Ledger 7, Correspondance 1848, Garin to Governor Grey, 2 Nov. 1848.

<sup>33</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, 68.

local Maori subscribed to the Howick chapel and school shortly after Garin's arrival in Howick, in early 1848. The list of subscribers that Garin asked to be published in the *New Zealander* contains no fewer than nineteen local Maori, of which only three can be identified with certainty: Kaperiere Hoeroa, the Ngati Pukenga chief Te Riritahi,<sup>34</sup> and Hone Whaka, who was a signatory in a Hauraki land sale.<sup>35</sup> Other subscribers who can possibly be identified are Hira te Ahipaura, who may be the Marutuahu leader Te Hira who featured prominently in Manukau and Tamaki land sales, Nohepa te Rehu, who may be Hohepa Purehu, one of the signatories to the Great Barrier Island land sale,<sup>36</sup> and Te Ara, the largest Maori donator on Garin's list, who could be the Ngai Tai chief Tara Te Irirangi.<sup>37</sup> If these assumptions are correct, it would seem that Garin had followed the practice that he had established at Mangakahia, and had already begun to build connections with influential Maori, perhaps with some assistance from Séon. Garin's continuing involvement with the Maori world reflects the hybrid nature of New Zealand society even in the vicinity of European settlement in the 1840s.

On the other hand, it appears that Garin had little opportunity for missionary work with Maori in Auckland, which had traditionally been the crux of his relationship with them. Unfortunately, because of the lack of primary source material available for the years that Garin was in Howick, it is unclear

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<sup>34</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Rauapatu o Tauranga Moana: Report on the Tauranga Confiscation Claims (WAI 215)* (Wellington, 2004), p. 189.

<sup>35</sup> H. Hanson Turton, *Maori Deeds of Old Private Land Purchases in New Zealand, from the Year 1815 to 1840, with Pre-Emptive and Other Claims: (Copied from the Originals): Together with a list of the Old Land Claims, and the Report of Mr. Commissioner F. Dillon Bell*, 3 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1882), II.

<sup>36</sup> H. Hanson Turton, *Maori Deeds of Land Purchases in the North Island of New Zealand: (Copied from the Originals)*, 2 vols (Wellington: Government Printer, 1877-1878), I; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Rauapatu o Tauranga Moana*, p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *New Zealander*, 2 February 1848, p. 3.

whether he was given specific direction by Viard to concentrate on the Fencible settlers and not visit Maori kainga to seek new converts, or if this happened because of his circumstances. In April 1845, long before Garin's arrival in Howick, Antoine Séon was appointed to Auckland as Maori missionary, to minister to the groups of Catholic Maori on Waiheke and around the Hauraki Gulf who had been visited by Petit-Jean since 1843.<sup>38</sup> Petit-Jean had visited all of the principal Ngati Paoa kainga and had sometimes baptised whole whanau.<sup>39</sup> While there were only sixty Maori converts recorded in the Auckland region in 1846,<sup>40</sup> Séon's commitment was wide-ranging: he moved around both the Waitemata and Manukau harbours, as well as the Hauraki Gulf, and it is clear that the Auckland Maori mission remained his responsibility throughout his time as parish priest to the Fencibles at Onehunga.<sup>41</sup> For example, Séon is listed in information that was provided by Forest for the 1848 Blue Book returns as having a raupo church, with a regular attendance of forty, at Waikawau in the Hauraki Gulf.<sup>42</sup> He also asked the Governor for land for a Maori chapel in Auckland in 1849.<sup>43</sup> This left Garin somewhat divorced from the Auckland Maori mission.

However, even if it were the case that Garin was given the task of evangelising local Maori in addition to his other duties, he was not realistically in a position to undertake this task. Not long after his arrival in Howick, Garin found

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<sup>38</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> APL, Heritage Collections, NZMS 708, RA 1-1 St Patrick's Cathedral Combined Register 1841-1851, cited in Monin, *Waiheke Island*, p. 87.

<sup>40</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 20.

<sup>41</sup> O'Meehan, 'The First Wave of French Marists'.

<sup>42</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849.

<sup>43</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/937 Séon to Governor Grey, 23 Mar. 1849.

himself saddled with three Fencible parishes to care for, one of which was located on the Hauraki Gulf and the other two on the Tamaki River. He also faced considerable competition, given the headstart that the Anglican missionaries had in the area. The former CMS station at Maraetai had ministered to Ngai Tai settlements along the coast, including Paparoa/Howick.<sup>44</sup> In fact, Garin only recorded one Maori baptism during his two and a quarter years at Howick, that of Matiu, the child of a Maori policeman, on 7 August 1848.<sup>45</sup> Though there was a Maori congregation at St Patrick's Cathedral in central Auckland, where it was recorded that Maori prayers were held every night,<sup>46</sup> there is no evidence of Maori involvement in Garin's churches in Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu. There is one rare exception: Garin wrote regarding a school party that he had organised, 'Des naturels qui avaient accompagné les Panmurens et qui avaient déjà pris part à la distribution des biscuits et du lait viennent aussi partager leur tasse de thé'.<sup>47</sup> However, in general it would appear that Allan Davidson's observation, that missionary and colonial Christianity were incompatible,<sup>48</sup> may have been correct in the cases of Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu. Arguably, this reflected the sometimes considerable racism amongst the settlers towards Maori, which the Auckland newspapers provide ample evidence of during this period.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> La Roche, p. 34.

<sup>45</sup> ACDA, RA 7-1.

<sup>46</sup> ACDA, POM 33-4 Mr Dale's Account of New Zealand 1848, 6.

<sup>47</sup> NM, 8 Dec. 1849.

<sup>48</sup> Allan K. Davidson, 'The Interaction of Missionary and Colonial Christianity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *Studies in World Christianity*, 2 (1996), 145-66 (p. 162).

<sup>49</sup> For example, on land issues, 'Maori Magnanimity', *New Zealander*, 13 September 1848, p. 2.

Garin does not appear to have solicited involvement with the Maori mission, whether acting on instructions or out of choice, but he did note that his new Irish flock was more difficult to minister to than the newly-converted Maori with whom he had worked at Kororareka and Mangakahia.<sup>50</sup> This would suggest that Garin was not one of the Marists who, according to Philip Turner, found their work in European parishes ‘both more immediately rewarding and less demanding than mission work’.<sup>51</sup> He was, instead, representative of what soon became a growing number of Marist missionaries forced to work among the settlers – settlers who were generally British, and quite unlike the Marists themselves. When the Marists were sent to the Diocese of Wellington, a number of the early, experienced missionaries would find themselves confined to settler parishes, namely Garin in Nelson, Delphin Moreau in Nelson and later Dunedin, and Petit-Jean in Wellington. In 1859, four new Marist missionaries arrived in New Zealand, after sixteen years of no reinforcements. Though they had volunteered as missionaries, three of the four men were sent to Pakeha settlements. Upon the arrival of Irish and English clergy – who generally worked among the British settlers – in the 1860s, the change in the focus of the New Zealand Marists’ apostolate was complete. In order to retain the goodwill of the colonial administration and not come under fire for divided loyalties, as had happened during the Northern War, there had been a slow and subtle re-orientation towards the colonial church at the expense of the missionary church. With Viard unable to provide strong direction for his priests, the Marist Society left itself open to the

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<sup>50</sup> APM, Garin dossier, *Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin*, 25-26.

<sup>51</sup> Turner, ‘The Politics of Neutrality’, p. 188.



criticism of neglecting its original mission. As Jean-Marie Vibaud, a later Marist missionary in New Zealand, said: ‘La Société est [...] coupable quand elle a permis que les intérêts maoris devinrent secondaires, et que le Maori catholique se trouvât insensiblement et sans faute de sa part un étranger et un mendiant dans sa paroisse.’<sup>52</sup> Garin’s new role in Howick thus considerably reflected the changes that were beginning to take place on the Marist mission, just as the changes within the mission mirrored the increasing European dominance in New Zealand society.

## **Garin and the Irish World**

### *The Irish Diaspora in New Zealand and the Catholic Church*

In a move that would change the face of Auckland forever, 2581 immigrants arrived under the Fencibles scheme, comprising 721 military pensioners and their families.<sup>53</sup> Of the 460 men for whom country of birth was given, nearly sixty-three percent were born in Ireland. This was the most sizeable group of Irish immigrants to arrive in Auckland to date.<sup>54</sup> As Lyndon Fraser notes, one of the most important questions facing Irish scholars today is the degree to which Irish people blended into receiving societies or asserted distinct ethnic identities in their new environment.<sup>55</sup> In the case of the Irish in New Zealand, this issue is also connected to the nature of the Catholic Church, because of the New Zealand

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<sup>52</sup> MAW, J.M. Vibaud, *Esquisse historique de la mission maorie dans le diocèse de Wellington*, cited in Turner, p. 190.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander, p. 17.

<sup>54</sup> Terry Hearn, ‘Irish Migration to New Zealand to 1915’, in *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration & New Zealand Settlement*, ed. by Lyndon Fraser (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000), pp. 55-74 (pp. 57-58).

<sup>55</sup> Lyndon Fraser, *Castles of Gold: A History of New Zealand’s West Coast Irish* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2007), p. 18.

Church's non-Irish, French Marist origins. For the first forty years of their apostolate in New Zealand, French Marist priests outnumbered British priests, so that Irish migrants found themselves transported to a new land, with a foreign priest as the father figure in their community. The issue of a distinct Irish ethnicity is thus also relevant to Garin's ministry in Howick.

There were a number of ways in which the Irish in New Zealand identified themselves as different, such as their language and hospitality. Of course, Irishness also generated disparaging remarks. The Irish were criticised for their lack of sophistication, criminality, superstition, disloyalty, and drunkenness, the latter being an issue that particularly concerned Garin and other Marists.<sup>56</sup> Irish Catholics were often portrayed as priest-ridden.<sup>57</sup> According to Hugh Laracy, Irish migrants in the nineteenth century took Ireland's history, politics and religion with them: a kind of Irish consciousness, which also became an element of dominating importance in Catholic affairs where they settled. It is perhaps this Irish consciousness that has led to the Irish being classed a diaspora. One of Robin Cohen's nine criteria for diaspora is a 'strong ethnic group consciousness', 'based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate' (pp. 185-86).

In the case of New Zealand, this Irish consciousness could lead to the rejection of French Marist priests like Garin.<sup>58</sup> After all, a prominent feature of

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<sup>56</sup> Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand, 1840-1937: 'The Desired Haven'* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 228-30; Richard P. Davis, 'The Irish-Catholic Question and New Zealand Society, 1868-1922' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Otago, [1968]), p. 539.

<sup>57</sup> Alasdair Galbraith, 'The Invisible Irish? Re-discovering the Irish Protestant Tradition in Colonial New Zealand', in *A Distant Shore*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 36-54 (p. 40).

<sup>58</sup> Hugh Laracy, 'Bishop Moran: Irish Politics and Catholicism in New Zealand', *Journal of Religious History*, 6 (1970), 62-76 (pp. 62-65).

Irish Catholicism was the special relationship between priest and parishioners: Irish priests at one time risked imprisonment and even death to bring Catholic rites to the people. According to Neil Vaney in his study of Irish Catholics and French priests on the West Coast, there was a marked contrast in Irish attitudes to priests of a different nationality. The special current of sympathy and close identification was no longer there, exacerbated by the language barrier.<sup>59</sup> Both Vaney and Laracy cite the example of Delphin Moreau in Dunedin. A meeting of Dunedin Irish laity in 1867 resolved to demand a British bishop and priests for the South Island, while in 1869 a group of Dunedin parishioners, unhappy with Moreau, wrote to Bishop John Bede Polding in Sydney asking for a priest of their own race and language. Part of the problem in Dunedin was Moreau's approach to the setting up of a missionary church in a new area. The first generation Marists considered themselves as itinerant missionaries, and as a rule did not focus on building up church infrastructure in European centres. They concentrated instead on visiting their widely-scattered flocks.<sup>60</sup> In the event, Patrick Moran, arguably New Zealand's most Irish bishop, was appointed to the Dunedin diocese in 1869; the Marists also went to considerable lengths to obtain Irish clergy for their Irish parishioners.<sup>61</sup> Francis Redwood, who became Bishop of Wellington after the death of Viard in 1872, was so preoccupied with the Irish question that in his first pastoral letter he forgot to refer to Maori.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Neil Vaney, 'The Dual Tradition: Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand – the West Coast Experience, 1865-1910' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Canterbury, 1976), pp. 114-17.

<sup>60</sup> Vaney, pp. 117, 123-25; Laracy, 'Bishop Moran', p. 64.

<sup>61</sup> Keys, *Philip Viard*, pp. 218-19.

<sup>62</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 112.

According to Vaney, if the Irish were less deferential to non-Irish priests, they were even more inclined to be aggressive and hostile to other non-Irish and non-Catholic groups in the community (p. 118). However, recent scholarship has attempted to counter this picture of an Irish ghetto mentality, by revealing examples of the connectedness of Irish migrants with the wider British settler community in New Zealand. For example, while Angela McCarthy agrees that Irish consciousness could be transformed into religious tension, she believes that this tension was confined to specific areas at specific times, notably the outbreaks of hostility that occurred on the West Coast in the 1860s, and in Timaru in 1879 (p. 241). Of particular relevance to Garin is Gabrielle Fortune's study of the middle-class Irish in Auckland in the mid-nineteenth century. The settlers studied by Fortune were all successful businessmen and professionals who were actively involved in the establishment and advancement of the Auckland Catholic Diocese. They included Hugh Coolahan and Daniel Lynch, with whom Garin was in contact.<sup>63</sup> These men played a prominent role in nineteenth-century Auckland society, and contrast with the stereotype of Irish Catholic immigrants as being uniformly poor and under-educated. Fortune concludes that her subjects did not form an Irish enclave but rather participated with English and Scottish settlers in colonial life (p. 24). While they managed to maintain their Irish identity, attracting many prominent people to the Auckland Hibernian Society, their loyalty to the Crown was unquestionable (p. 79). It should be added that Fortune's study covers a different timeframe from that of Vaney's and Laracy's: the 1840s, a period

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<sup>63</sup> Gabrielle Fortune, 'Hugh Coolahan and the Prosperous Irish: Auckland, 1840-1870' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1997), p. 17.

which Michael O’Meeghan believes was characterised by ‘easy-going neighbourly religious tolerance’, and, of course, the period that Garin was working in Auckland.<sup>64</sup>

In Lyndon Fraser’s study of the West Coast, he goes further to assert that the Irish did not really form as an ethnic group in New Zealand, and that even the Catholic Church, so often considered the main vehicle for the expression of Irishness, was ambivalent about maintaining ethnic boundaries. The New Zealand Catholic Church was, after all, a melting pot of French, English, and Irish influences. Ethnicity was overtaken by more pressing loyalties such as religion, family, class, and locality.<sup>65</sup> Patrick O’Farrell agrees that the Irish did not have a strong, united presence in New Zealand. Though a distinctive minority group, they were not self-promoting because of their dispersion throughout the country and their lack of a concerted national leadership.<sup>66</sup> Of West Coast Irish stock himself, O’Farrell further notes that he experienced the ‘dual tradition’ of Irish parishioners and French priests personally, through his Irish parents’ fond recollections of the French clerical presence up to the early twentieth century. The young Irish priests who took over as curates in Greymouth in the 1950s did not measure up to the religious, personal and social standards that had been set by the French (p. 26). As both O’Farrell and Fraser argue, it was not necessarily true that the French Marist priests were unable to achieve the same sympathy and reverence that the laity reserved for Irish priests. The ‘selfless missionary

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<sup>64</sup> *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 92.

<sup>65</sup> Fraser, *Castles of Gold*, p. 156.

<sup>66</sup> Patrick O’Farrell, ‘Varieties of New Zealand Irishness: A Meditation’, in *A Distant Shore*, ed. by Fraser, pp. 25-35 (pp. 34-35).

dedication' of the Marists and their standard of spiritual care were such that some Marists on the West Coast, such as Jean-Baptiste Rolland, achieved 'heroic priest' status.<sup>67</sup> Garin's experience in Howick would appear to support O'Farrell and Fraser's conclusions.

### *Frenchman in an Irish Community*

Because of the nature of Garin's previous missionary experiences in Kororaraka and Mangakahia, he had comparatively little experience of the European settlers and no great mastery of the English language. The move to Howick thus represented a time of significant change for him. There was a substantial gap between the work of evangelising Maori, and maintaining the faith of a population that was already Catholic. It is not surprising, then, that in the beginning there were signs that Garin was unenthusiastic about his new posting. In a letter of 24 August 1848 to his brother, Numa, Garin described his station as consisting of 'vieux soldats, catholiques, mais vieux ivrognes'.<sup>68</sup> While such judgments may sound harsh, they are comparatively mild-mannered when compared to those that Garin's colleague, Forest, made upon his arrival in Auckland some years earlier. Forest described the capital as 'une petite ville dont le luxe et la débauche surpasse certainement nos plus mauvais endroits de France'. But worse still, 'Tous les riches sont protestants; à peu près quatre cents catholiques parmi la classe la plus pauvre sont pour nous. Encore, si c'étaient de bons catholiques,

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<sup>67</sup> Fraser, *Castles of Gold*, p. 118.

<sup>68</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 25-26.

mais hélas, ils n'ont de catholiques que le nom.'<sup>69</sup> Garin appears to have accepted his new posting with more stoicism than his colleague.

Drunkenness was a recurrent issue. The Fencible sergeants believed that it was better to have public houses in the Fencible settlements, so that the pensioners would not be encouraged to walk to Auckland for their drinking. When the first four publican's licences were issued in April 1848 by Captain Charles Henry Montresor Smith, a Fencibles officer and Resident Magistrate at the court of Howick, they incredibly provided one hotel for every eighty adult inhabitants in Howick.<sup>70</sup> Garin found it difficult to tolerate the presence of drinking establishments in Howick. Upon the death of Catherine Lynch, wife of a local publican, he commented 'Depuis que Owen Lynch a eu sa public house il n'a pas prospéré; ce jour-ci en a produit une nouvelle preuve'.<sup>71</sup> A brief comment in his diary, that 'Les pensionnaires depuis la St Patrick se sont remis à boire', and another expressing his satisfaction that only one licence was given for a public house outside of the village in 1850, shows that this continued to be a sore point.<sup>72</sup> This gap in cultural understanding could also work the other way, of course. In May 1848, two articles appeared in sequential issues of the *New Zealander* regarding the loss of a schooner belonging to the Catholic mission, which had been dashed upon the rocks at Howick. The first article, consisting of an

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<sup>69</sup> Girard, II, doc. 205, Forest to Colin, 7 Oct. 1842.

<sup>70</sup> 'Government Gazette', *New Zealander*, 27 Nov. 1847, p. 2; *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 May 1849, p. 2; Alan La Roche, Personal Communication, 7 August 2007.

<sup>71</sup> NM, 26 Feb. 1850.

<sup>72</sup> NM, 18 Mar., 15-17 Apr. 1850.

advertisement placed by Fencible Sergeant William Hawkesworth Barry,<sup>73</sup> asked for subscriptions to replace the vessel to be sent to Forest, Garin, Hugh Coolahan, Alexander McDonald or the Fencibles' medical officer, Henry Mahon. The second article, from Forest, stated that neither he nor any of those mentioned in the previous advertisement would be accepting subscriptions.<sup>74</sup> There was a potential clash between the Marists' 'hidden and unknown' philosophy, and the Irish way of doing things.

Despite these few instances, the Fencible settlers and Garin enjoyed a powerful shared experience. Garin arrived in Howick in January 1848, less than two months after the settlers had disembarked in the settlement. Both Garin and the Fencibles arrived to an unwelcoming scene. Indecision over where to place the Fencible settlements had meant that the promised weatherboard cottages and allotments of land were not prepared, so that from November 1847 until early 1848 the new settlers were housed uncomfortably in two long sheds built by army engineers near the beach. While they waited for their cottages, the Fencibles constructed raupo whare on their allotments, with the help of local Maori. A total of approximately one hundred and eighty raupo huts were built. Though the raupo whare were an improvement on the sheds, they were temporary abodes and could not survive long in the weather conditions. These inadequate lodgings, together with the problems of no firewood, no coal and no decent soil in the Papanui/Howick area, and the clay roads that became impassable after the rain,

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<sup>73</sup> Dorothy Beavis, Nelson Blake and Dee Collings, *Howick*, rev. edn (Howick: Howick Historical Society, 1975), p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> W.H. Barry, Letter to the Editor, *New Zealander*, 20 May 1848, p. 4; J. Forest, Letter to the Editor, *New Zealander*, 24 May 1848, p. 4.



meant that conditions in the Howick settlement were extremely primitive in the early years.<sup>75</sup> While Garin did not have to live in the sheds, he recorded in August 1848 that he was still living in a raupo hut, in which he had cut two small windows with a knife. The hut was rat-infested.<sup>76</sup> During his time at Howick, Garin therefore showed himself to have the ‘selfless missionary dedication’ that Lyndon Fraser sees in the West Coast-based Marists.



**Figure 8: Reconstructed raupo hut, Howick Historical Village**  
**Private collection of the author.**

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<sup>75</sup> Beavis, Blake and Collings, pp. 3-4; Alexander, p. 51.

<sup>76</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 26.

Garin understood the importance of creating a parish infrastructure, unlike some of his fellow missionaries. Being based in Howick gave him a distinct advantage in this respect. There were four Marist missionaries working in the Auckland region between 1848 and 1850, namely Forest at St Patrick's parish in central Auckland, Petit-Jean in charge of St Mary's College on the North Shore, Séon in charge of Onehunga and the Auckland Maori mission, and Garin based at Howick. Forest and Petit-Jean had both been instrumental in the establishment of St Patrick's parish, and together provided Garin with a role model for the founding of a parish in a settler community. By March 1848 St Patrick's Cathedral in central Auckland had been consecrated;<sup>77</sup> described as 'one of the most handsome and substantial of our public edifices',<sup>78</sup> the cathedral was a testament to the positive results that could be obtained from close cooperation between the Marists and their parishioners.<sup>79</sup> St Patrick's School was also described by Thomas Moore Philson of the Fifty-eighth Regiment as 'carrying all before it and the activity of the priest in calling upon the Protestant parents of the children'.<sup>80</sup>

With Forest and Petit-Jean's model to follow, Garin wasted little time in working on setting up his own parishes. Both Garin and Séon immediately opened subscription lists for school rooms, which would act as temporary chapels in their respective settlements until such time as a proper edifice could be built. The

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<sup>77</sup> 'St Patrick's Catholic Church', *New Zealander*, 18 March 1848, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> 'Consecration', *Daily Southern Cross*, 25 March 1848, p. 2.

<sup>79</sup> Simmons, *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops*, pp. 102-03.

<sup>80</sup> William Williams, *The Turanga Journals*, p. 508. Though the Turanga Journals assume that the school referred to by Philson is a Garin school in the Fencible settlements, this is unlikely given that Philson's experience was of central Auckland.

acknowledgements of donations that appeared in the *New Zealander* show the extent to which the Irish parishioners were willing to work with their new priests towards a common goal.<sup>81</sup> In the Blue Book returns for 1848, Forest recorded Howick as having no church, but instead a school room that acted as a chapel.<sup>82</sup> It is likely that the appropriately-named Our Lady Star of the Sea Church was built at some time in late 1848, after Forest had drafted the Blue Book returns, and before Garin began to work in earnest on the churches for Panmure and Otahuhu. This aligns with other accounts of early Howick.<sup>83</sup> According to Ruth Alexander, Our Lady Star of the Sea was built with the assistance of the settlers, who supplied labour and materials for the building: another example of the strong relationship that developed between Garin and the local Irish community.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *New Zealander*, 2 February 1848, p. 3; A.J. Séon, Letter to the Editor, *New Zealander*, 2 February 1848, p. 3.

<sup>82</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849.

<sup>83</sup> For example, see Alexander, p. 61; La Roche, p. 116; Beavis, Blake and Collings, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> ACDA, Roman Catholic Receipt Book 1848-1873, cited in Alexander, pp. 60-61.



**Figure 9: Our Lady Star of the Sea, Howick (date unknown)<sup>85</sup>**

While Garin was busily working in Howick to develop his parish community, new dispatchments of Fencibles were arriving. The *Clifton* brought the Fifth Division of Fencible settlers to Panmure on 23 January 1848, while the *Ann* brought the Sixth Division to Otahuhu on 15 May.<sup>86</sup> Garin was appointed parish priest of both Panmure and Otahuhu at some time between early and mid-1848, according to a letter he wrote in July that year explaining that ‘as I am

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<sup>85</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 4140 2.

<sup>86</sup> Blake, ‘Royal New Zealand Fencibles’, p. 17; Otahuhu Centennial Celebrations Committee, *A Century of Progress, 1848-1948: A Souvenir of Otahuhu Yesterday and Today* (Otahuhu: Otahuhu Centennial Celebrations Committee, 1948).

appointed to visit the pensioners of the next settlement at the Tamaki, my situation has become more laborious and expensive'.<sup>87</sup> In August he also told his brother, Numa, that he had arranged to purchase a horse so that he could reach his other parishes more easily.<sup>88</sup>

By the end of 1848, Panmure had a raupo school room that was used as a chapel, but was much too small for its purposes.<sup>89</sup> In mid to late 1848 Garin wrote to the Colonial Secretary asking that land for a Catholic church, school and cemetery be marked out at both Panmure and Otahuhu.<sup>90</sup> He also asked for another raupo hut to be allocated to him at Panmure.<sup>91</sup> The land had been surveyed by September 1849, and Garin placed an order for wood for the Panmure church in March 1850.<sup>92</sup> He passed the subscription money for the church to Pompallier before leaving for Wellington in April. Pompallier consecrated St Patrick's Church, Panmure, on 14 February 1852.<sup>93</sup>

According to Forest, Garin had not organised a chapel at Otahuhu by late 1848,<sup>94</sup> though Forest's information on the pensioner settlements appears to have been out of date. Other sources indicate that a raupo whare was functioning as the first Catholic church and school in Otahuhu in October 1848.<sup>95</sup> This whare was

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<sup>87</sup> NAW, IA 1, 48/1639 Garin to Governor Grey, 18 Jul. 1848.

<sup>88</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 26.

<sup>89</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849.

<sup>90</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1848, Garin to Colonial Secretary, [n.d.].

<sup>91</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1849, Garin to Civil Secretary, 26 Mar. 1849.

<sup>92</sup> NM, 14 Mar. 1850.

<sup>93</sup> NM, 18 Apr. 1850; 'Notice', *New Zealander*, 14 February 1852, p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849.

<sup>95</sup> Otahuhu Centennial Celebrations Committee, *A Century of Progress*; Bruce Ringer, *Manukau's Journey: A Manukau Timeline* <<http://manukau.infospets.co.nz/journey/home.htm>> [accessed 10 March 2009]; NAW, IA 12/9, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1848.

apparently erected on land donated by John Quinton, whose daughter Martha had been the first settler baptised by Garin at Otahuhu.<sup>96</sup> In late 1849 land was marked out for the future church and cemetery at Otahuhu,<sup>97</sup> while a more permanent school building was erected in the settlement in February 1850, despite the Marists' imminent move to the Wellington Diocese.<sup>98</sup> It seems that Garin worked similarly devotedly in his additional parishes, and was able to provide a church infrastructure in a relatively short space of time.

A further way in which Garin was able to gather the community together was by his creation of schools. By the end of 1848, Garin had established schools at all three of his Fencible parishes, and their success is suggested by the fact that the Howick school had twice as many pupils as the local Anglican school, and twice as many pupils as Séon's school in Onehunga. In 1849 there were 137 pupils at Garin's Howick school, compared to 49 at the local Anglican school, and 44 at the Onehunga school. Garin's schools at the smaller settlements were also flourishing, with 62 pupils enrolled at Panmure and 22 at Otahuhu.<sup>99</sup> In late 1849 Garin applied to receive the allowance for the Catholic school at Howick directly, so that he could extend it to cover a school for boys and for girls. This was granted,<sup>100</sup> and he refers to visiting his 'écoles' at Howick before leaving for Wellington, suggesting that he had in fact established two Catholic schools in

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<sup>96</sup> ACDA, Otahuhu Parish File, Otahuhu Parish Notes, cited by Alexander, p. 95; ACDA, RA 14-1, Otahuhu Church Register.

<sup>97</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1849, Garin to Captain Hickson, [n.d.]; Mr Ormsby to Garin, 19 Sep. 1849.

<sup>98</sup> NM, 12, 18 Feb. 1850.

<sup>99</sup> NAW, IA 12/10, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1849.

<sup>100</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1849, Garin to Government, 1 Oct. 1849; Colonial Secretary to Garin, 10 Oct. 1849.

Howick by this time.<sup>101</sup> The presence of a male and a female teacher – Patrick Evers and Mary Finlay – at the Howick Catholic schools in 1849 also confirms this.<sup>102</sup> Garin therefore provided the pensioners with a strong centre for their Catholic community, and contributed to the infrastructure of the Fencible settlements with his provision of a church in Howick and schools in each village.

Garin was very astute at obtaining what was necessary for his new parishes, whether by involving the local community, or obtaining government assistance. By late 1848, he had a flourishing Catholic station at Howick. Of his six-acre property, one acre was dedicated to his raupo hut, garden and the school building, and another acre to the cemetery; there remained four acres to be planted. His land had been fenced with government assistance, and he had a cow on the property, as well as a beehive.<sup>103</sup> He had also planted vines, like many of his fellow Marists at their mission stations. The vines did not produce a crop before his departure,<sup>104</sup> though, in the meantime, wine that had been made from his Mangakahia grapes was entered by Governor Grey in the Agricultural and Horticultural Society show, and won first prize.<sup>105</sup> In November 1848 Garin wrote to the Governor, asking for a cart for his horse and also plants for hedges. He apologised for involving Grey in such detail, but added that he had been encouraged to write because of the interest that Grey had shown in the Catholic

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<sup>101</sup> NM, 17 Apr. 1850.

<sup>102</sup> NAW, IA 12/10.

<sup>103</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1848, Garin to Governor Grey, 2 Nov. 1848.

<sup>104</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853; *Letters from Oceania: Letters of the First Marist Brothers in Oceania*, ed. by Edward Clisby, 4 vols (Rome: Cours de patrimoine mariste, 1993-), IV (1999), doc. 80, Claude-Marie to Brothers of the Hermitage, 6 Jun. 1849.

<sup>105</sup> ATL, Micro-MS-0669, 12, Lady Grey to Garin, 31 Mar. 1849.

station at Howick.<sup>106</sup> Garin also wrote to Colonial Secretary Andrew Sinclair, asking for a cottage to be built to his specifications to replace his raupo hut, which would not survive another winter.<sup>107</sup> This was followed up by Viard, who appealed to the Governor with regards to Garin's position. The Governor agreed to build a presbytery at Howick, provide Garin with a gardener, and give twelve pounds for the priest's living costs.<sup>108</sup> In March 1849 Viard received a formal reply from Sinclair that Garin would be given a Sergeant's cottage, which was eventually built in the style that Garin wished, with all of the rooms on a single floor. He was also given three shillings a day for the maintenance of his horse.<sup>109</sup> Garin was prepared to fight to improve his parish, a fact that was likely not lost on the pensioners.

It was not merely by establishing the infrastructure of his parishes that Garin was able to transcend cultural barriers and create a strong community, of course. The reason recorded for Garin receiving his presbytery was that 'this clergyman has resided there from the first establishment of the village'.<sup>110</sup> Interestingly, during the period that Garin was based in Howick, no minister from the other denominations resided in the Fencible settlements. Though All Saints' Anglican Church was the first church to be opened in Howick, in November 1847,<sup>111</sup> Selwyn chose to have his collegiate deacons minister to the pensioners.

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<sup>106</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1848, Garin to Governor Grey, 2 Nov. 1848.

<sup>107</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1848, Garin to Colonial Secretary, [n.d.].

<sup>108</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1849-1854, 10 Feb. 1849.

<sup>109</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/339 Viard to Colonial Secretary, 12 Feb. 1849; SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1849, 15 Mar. 1849; Garin to Civil Secretary, 26 Mar. 1849; WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1849-1854, 10 Apr. 1849.

<sup>110</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/339 Viard to Colonial Secretary, 12 Feb. 1849, note added by Surveyor General, 15 Mar. 1849.

<sup>111</sup> Blake, 'Royal New Zealand Fencibles', p. 18.



The deacons all lived at St John's College in Tamaki, where their essential role was that of schoolmaster.<sup>112</sup> During Garin's time in the Fencible settlements, Frederick Fisher and later John Frederick Lloyd visited Howick, while Arthur Guyon Purchas was in charge of Onehunga.<sup>113</sup> Howick did not have its first resident Anglican priest until the arrival of Vicesimus Lush in December 1850, after Garin's time.<sup>114</sup> The fact that Garin was the only resident minister in Howick appears to have been of consequence. From the baptism, marriage and death registers, it is clear that there were a number of recantations under Garin's ministry. During 1848, a Protestant was re-baptised in the Catholic church just weeks before his death, two Protestant men became Catholic and remarried their respective spouses in the Catholic Church, and a child was re-baptised Catholic. For the year 1849 there were no fewer than six recantations, and three children were re-baptised. Another child was re-baptised in 1850, a week before Garin left Auckland.<sup>115</sup> Garin also remarried a Catholic couple who had been previously married in the Anglican Church.<sup>116</sup> It would seem that Garin was a most persuasive priest, and was respected in the community. It is interesting to note how this evidence contrasts with comments from St Patrick's parish in central Auckland, where Petit-Jean and Forest encountered many careless Catholics,

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<sup>112</sup> Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St John the Evangelist, Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843-1992: A History* (Auckland: The College, 1993), p. 64.

<sup>113</sup> Selwyn, 'A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through his Diocese, 1848'; Michael Blain, 'Blain Biographical Directory of Anglican Clergy in the Pacific', in *Project Canterbury* <[http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain\\_directory/directory.pdf](http://anglicanhistory.org/nz/blain_directory/directory.pdf)> [accessed 22 February 2009]; NAW, IA 12/11, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1850.

<sup>114</sup> Vicesimus Lush, *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1850-63*, ed. by Alison Drummond (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1971), pp. 54-55.

<sup>115</sup> ACDA, RA 7-1; Alan La Roche, Personal Communication, 7 August 2007.

<sup>116</sup> ACDA, RA 7-1.

which they attributed to irregular marriages that kept people away from communion, or simple indifference.<sup>117</sup> There are also other small signs that suggest the respect which Garin was accorded by the Fencibles: it was Garin, for example, who organised an address from the pensioners of Howick to Doctor Mahon upon his removal to Otahuhu and Onehunga, and had it published in the *Daily Southern Cross*.<sup>118</sup>

Another defining aspect of Garin's apostolate in Howick was his emphasis on the outward signs of religion, which was characteristic of Catholicism in the nineteenth century. As an international movement,<sup>119</sup> this had the potential to unite Garin and his parishioners. When growing up in France, Garin had been exposed to the Marist missions to the countryside: celebrations of the faith that went beyond church services, to encompass processions, retreats, exercises of the Jubilee and the like. Garin's sense of the importance of mission was likely heightened by the pluralistic nature of New Zealand settler society, where many denominations had to exist alongside one another. It is in particular the examples of mission, in this different sense from that of the mission to indigenous peoples, that Garin recorded in his diary during his time in Howick.

In the first extant entry of his diary from Howick, in December 1849, Garin recorded that a ceremony was held to bless his presbytery. He turned the blessing into a school party, with afternoon tea for 150 people, and a procession of the Howick and Panmure schoolchildren complete with banners. One hundred and

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<sup>117</sup> RA 1-1 St Patrick's Cathedral Combined Register 1841-1851, cited in Simmons, *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops*, p. 104.

<sup>118</sup> 'Address', *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 March 1849, p. 2.

<sup>119</sup> Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), cited in Fraser, *Castles of Gold*, p. 108.

twenty children attended. The importance that Garin attached to the occasion can be seen from his decision to create a monument to the day when the Howick and Panmure schoolchildren had to say their farewells. He named the place of their parting 'Union Bridge' – a monument that would stand the test of time, unlike a tree which could be blown down by the wind.<sup>120</sup> It is perhaps from Forest that Garin had the idea to incorporate such events into his parish calendar. The St Patrick's parish in Auckland is recorded as having celebrated St Patrick's Day with a procession and tea party in March 1848, shortly after Garin's arrival in Auckland.<sup>121</sup> This emphasis on mission also made visits from the Bishop particularly important. During an April 1849 sojourn in Howick, Viard held mass, accepted a recantation and performed a conditional baptism, gave confirmation to twenty pensioners and first communion to six children, distributed prizes to the schoolchildren, and renewed baptismal vows, all on the same Sunday. He repeated this at Panmure a week later.<sup>122</sup> Such visits heightened the presence of the Church in the community.

By going back to his roots, and holding these events in the vein of the missions to the countryside that he had experienced in the Bugey, Garin helped to create a vigorous Catholic community in Howick. Attendance at church was generally 120 people, in comparison to just 50 for the similarly-sized settlement of Onehunga.<sup>123</sup> As had been the case in Mangakahia, Garin understood the importance of respecting the elders in the community, having the Coolahans or

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<sup>120</sup> NM, 8 Dec. 1849.

<sup>121</sup> 'St Patrick's School', *New Zealander*, 18 March 1848, p. 2.

<sup>122</sup> WAA, Bx 188, Bishop Viard Journal Intime 1849-1854, 21-23, 29 Apr. 1849; ACDA, RA 7-1.

<sup>123</sup> NAW, IA 1, 49/266 Forest to Colonial Secretary, 31 Jan. 1849.

the sergeants to dinner, and giving them gifts.<sup>124</sup> By the time of Garin's departure, his cottage had become a focal point of the community, as the mission station had been on the Wairoa River.<sup>125</sup> When it came time to leave, he received visits from Sergeant Barry, who came to express the regrets of all of the Fencibles at his departure, and from a Protestant pensioner, possibly James Smith,<sup>126</sup> who spoke to the same effect. Garin was particularly impressed by the fact that Protestants as well as Catholics regretted his leaving. As he wrote to his mother, 'C'est dimanche dernier que j'ai été obligé moi-même d'annoncer mon départ; depuis ce moment je n'ai cessé d'avoir des visites et des témoignages de regrets. Plus d'une fois je me suis forcé pour comprimer mon émotion'. The children had been particularly affected, and he by them: 'que de larmes quelques-uns de ces enfants et surtout l'un d'eux m'ont fait verser, c'étaient de hauts cris que ce dernier poussait et qu'il faisait pousser à sa mère'.<sup>127</sup> The bonds that Garin was able to create with his parishioners were also strong enough that he stayed in contact with a number of Fencibles long after he had left for Nelson. For example, in December 1854, he wrote in his diary that Patrick Corrigan from Panmure had been attending his boarding school in Nelson.<sup>128</sup> He exchanged letters with Benjamin Condron – his schoolteacher from Panmure – during the 1850s and with

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<sup>124</sup> ACDA, RA 16-1, Panmure Church Register.

<sup>125</sup> NM, 18, 24 Feb. 1850.

<sup>126</sup> La Roche, p. 57; Alexander, p. 175.

<sup>127</sup> MAW, HD5, Garin to Françoise Marguerite Auger, 19 Apr. 1850, 1-2.

<sup>128</sup> NM, 4, 20 Dec. 1854.

Sergeant James Cleary up to the mid-1860s, and wrote to the new Catholic priest, Henry Fynes, up to the 1880s.<sup>129</sup>

During his brief time at Howick, Garin managed to create a sturdy parish infrastructure, but more than this, he styled himself as the parish priest of a vibrant Catholic community. It is in this sense that Howick provided Garin with a new opportunity for self-invention. Garin's move to Howick reflected general changes that were taking place in New Zealand society and the missionary churches in general. However, what made Garin exceptional in comparison to his colleagues was his ability to accept the change from missionary to parish priest, and make a success of his new position. While Garin and his parishioners may not have had the shared background of Ireland, their religious distinctiveness made them cultural allies of a sort, and there was a willingness on both sides to transcend the cultural barriers that divided them, and build a strong Catholic community. Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu parishes do not fall into Ian Breward's stereotype of the settler parish that had 'much goodwill until money was requested', 'much apathy', and 'little emotional energy for parish activities' (p. 98). Perhaps this willingness on both the Fencibles' and Garin's part to lay aside their cultural differences reflected their position as new migrants, a minority group in New Zealand living in relatively difficult conditions. As Nikos Papastergiadis notes, community is a source of protection from the fears of isolation, conflict, vulnerability and estrangement of the migrant: it is a step towards making sense of the world. It gives meaning to the otherwise fragmented and disjointed

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<sup>129</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, DNM 2/33.

experiences of everyday life.<sup>130</sup> It would appear that Garin had a similar experience to the earlier one of Petit-Jean, who, like Garin, would minister in European parishes after the move to the Wellington Diocese:

Je croyais que je ne pourrais me consoler de la perte de mes chers Nouveaux-Zélandais et voici que mon coeur s'est enraciné parmi les Européens. Ô Dieu, je sens qu'il m'en coûterait de quitter Auckland. J'affectionne mon troupeau, les petits enfants de mon école sont mes délices, les Irlandais me ravissent par l'expérience de leur foi singulière. Il est vrai, les croix ne manquent pas, mais on les aime ou au moins on les souffre patiemment parce qu'on se flatte d'en triompher.<sup>131</sup>

### **The Marists' Move South**

While Garin had been establishing new parishes in Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu, important discussions had been taking place in Rome between the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, Marist Superior Colin, and Pompallier. At the end of 1846 Colin and Pompallier had gone to Rome to seek arbitration from Propaganda Fide and the Pope in an attempt to resolve their dispute over the administration of the Vicariate of Western Oceania, which at that time officially comprised New Zealand, Tonga, Wallis, and Futuna.<sup>132</sup> Fundamentally, Colin did not want Pompallier to return to New Zealand in charge of the Marists. During the interminable negotiations that took place, further divisions of the Western Oceania mission were proposed, in particular the creation of two dioceses for

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<sup>130</sup> *Turbulence of Migration*, p. 196.

<sup>131</sup> Girard, II, doc. 298, Petit-Jean to Girard, 8 Dec. 1843.

<sup>132</sup> Wiltgen, p. 400.

New Zealand: one based at Auckland and the other at Port Nicholson.<sup>133</sup> Once Pompallier had agreed that he could no longer work with the Marists, this division had the advantage that the Marists could be put into one part of the mission, leaving the other to Pompallier.<sup>134</sup> And thus, in 1848 Propaganda Fide issued a decree to the effect that the Vicariate of Western Oceania was to be divided into two vicariates, one to be established at Auckland with Pompallier as Vicar Apostolic, and the other to be established at Port Nicholson with Viard as Vicar Apostolic.<sup>135</sup> On 12 April 1850 Viard and Pompallier signed an agreement setting the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, just below Lake Taupo, as the border between their dioceses.<sup>136</sup>

As Jane Thomson has noted, this thorough upheaval was only made possible by the Marists' self-abnegation, and would never have been attempted by the CMS (p. 173). The move had disastrous results for the mission in New Zealand. The successful Maori missions in the Bay of Plenty were virtually abandoned: only Opotoki retained a resident priest throughout the 1850s. The Rotorua station, which had amassed 1200 converts as of 1850, was not even visited between 1850 and 1861.<sup>137</sup> The Marists also had to forsake the Auckland parishes, which were flourishing thanks to Governor Grey's cooperation with Viard, along with the new cathedral, St Mary's Maori College, and a large number

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., pp. 420-21, 428

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 500.

<sup>135</sup> APF, Indice dei Decreti della S.C. per ordine di località dal 1800 al 1871, Oceania, 1848, 465.

<sup>136</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. IV, fol. 525, cited in Simmons, *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops*, p. 126.

<sup>137</sup> Turner, 'The Politics of Neutrality', p. 186.

of schools and wooden churches.<sup>138</sup> And, of course, the Maori-speaking Marist missionaries were removed to the south, considered to be a cold, arid desert, where there was a far lesser concentration of Maori, and very few Catholic Maori and settlers to minister to. Despite the Catholic missionaries' 'self-abnegation', the Marists based at the Sydney supply centre wrote to France, 'nos confrères quittent avec beaucoup de regret Auckland et ses environs. En effet au moment où cette mission, qu'ils ont arrosé de leur sueur, commençait à leur donner quelque consolation, il faut l'abandonner pour aller dans une autre où il y a tout à créer.'<sup>139</sup> Petit-Jean was more explicit: 'il faut tout quitter, tout mettre entre les mains de Monseigneur Pompallier. Dieu soit béni. Si nous avons la résignation de Job et l'obéissance d'Habraam, le Seigneur nous donnera le centuple de ce que nous perdons'.<sup>140</sup>

Garin gave a detailed account of his view of the Marists' departure in his diary and his last letter to his mother. He recorded that Pompallier returned to New Zealand on 1 April 1850, bringing with him nine sisters, two secular priests, and eight seminarists for the Diocese of Auckland.<sup>141</sup> His arrival was met with a mixture of emotions. Garin wrote to his mother:

J'arrivai à Auckland où se trouvait Monseigneur Pompallier avec ses jeunes prêtres, séminaristes et religieuses, et où les anciens prêtres, les pères Forest, Petit-Jean, Séon, etc., faisaient aussi leurs préparatifs. Quel contraste! Quels sentiments

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<sup>138</sup> APL, Heritage Collections, GL NZ vol. II (1), Viard to Governor Grey, [n.d.], 183-87; APL, Heritage Collections, GL NZ vol. II (1) att., Governor Grey to Viard, 16 Apr. 1850.

<sup>139</sup> Girard, VI, doc. 799, Rocher to Colin, 6 May 1849; doc. 812, Chaurain to Colin, 5 Jun. 1849.

<sup>140</sup> Girard, VII, doc. 875, Petit-Jean to Poupinel, 12 Feb. 1850.

<sup>141</sup> NM, 1 Apr. 1850.



différents agitaient les esprits! Monseigneur Pompallier arrivant après une absence de près de 3 ans, une douzaine de jeunes lévites, 9 religieuses! D'un autre côté le père Forest qui avait au prix de sa santé élevé avec beaucoup de peine une très belle église en pierres. Le père Petit-Jean qui avait bon nombre d'années auparavant été le premier prêtre envoyé dans cette place, enfin plusieurs autres anciens prêtres ayant mérité l'estime et l'affection la plus cimentée par une longue sollicitude prodiguée envers les grands et surtout envers les petits. Ces pensées se combattant avec les premières remplissaient les pauvres catholiques et de joie et de tristesse, mais je puis dire que tristesse a dominé d'une manière frappante. Si quelques personnes allaient faire visite à Monseigneur Pompallier, après quelques instants de joie un sentiment pénible venait se peindre aussitôt sur les figures; si d'autres allaient voir les religieuses, c'était des larmes.<sup>142</sup>

In the conclusion of his story, however, Garin's views reflect the 'self-abnegation' that Jane Thomson mentioned:

Mais pour nous quoiqu'attachés à ces peuples que nous avons en premier lieu cultivés, nous sommes habitués à faire des sacrifices, et après avoir donné quelque chose aux sentiments de la nature nous nous rappelons ce que doit être un missionnaire. Il doit considérer tous les lieux comme un vaste champ qu'il doit cultiver ou simultanément ou successivement, il doit se faire un devoir comme soldat de Jésus Christ d'aller partout où son chef l'appelle, il ne doit pas s'attacher aux lieux, mais il doit s'attacher au salut des âmes; si la nature réclame, cependant le devoir lui commande et plus elle aura été contrariée plus Dieu aura été glorifié. Ainsi nous nous estimons heureux de penser que les serviteurs de Marie, après avoir été appelés à évangéliser le nord de la Nouvelle-Zélande et y planter la foi, sont encore appelés à évangéliser le sud. Et c'est à quoi nous nous disposons.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> MAW, HD5, Garin to Françoise Marguerite Auger, 19 Apr. 1850, 1-2.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

Garin left Howick on 17 April. On 19 April the Marists were ordered to board the *Clara* which would take them to Wellington. With much regret Garin had to farewell Kaperiere, his assistant and companion of nearly seven years. Garin wrote that Kaperiere would have moved to the Wellington Diocese, if his relatives had not sent letter upon letter urging him to go to St Mary's College on the North Shore. According to Garin, the Marists were farewelled by Pompallier and his seminarists aboard the vessel and the groups parted on good terms, with 'marques réciproques d'affection, de charité et de bienveillance'. On 20 April the Coolahans, Daniel Lynch, and a Mr Henry sent three travelling desks on board as farewell gifts for Forest, Petit-Jean and Garin, and then the Marists left Auckland for their new diocese.<sup>144</sup> They arrived in Wellington after a tempestuous journey on 1 May; the following day Garin learned that he and Brother Claude-Marie would be going to Nelson. One event succeeded another quickly: less than a month after leaving Howick, Garin had arrived in Nelson to another, different settler parish.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> NM, 17-20 Apr. 1850.

<sup>145</sup> NM, 1-2, 6, 10 Apr. 1850.

## CHAPTER NINE

### NEW CHALLENGES – NELSON, 1850-1889

When Garin arrived in Nelson on 9 May 1850 aboard the *Lady Nugent*, little did he know that he would spend the rest of his life in this newly-formed town in the South Island. After all, during his first ten years in New Zealand he had experienced three relocations. What is more, the Marists' future in New Zealand was on shaky ground in the 1850s. Despite this, Garin threw himself into his new role with great gusto, a fact that was not lost on the Nelsonians with whom he would spend nearly thirty-nine years.

Previous assessments of Garin's work in New Zealand have usually focused on his contribution to Catholic education, which was made during his time in Nelson. While the importance of Garin's work in the education arena is not disputed, this chapter attempts to give a more rounded picture of the many years that he spent as the parish priest of Nelson. It begins by looking at the particular nature of the Nelson settlement, which had quite an impact on Garin's experiences, and then outlines the definitive evolution of Garin from missionary and sometime administrator to parish priest. Despite a last foray into Marist administrative issues, and disjointed attempts at ministering to Nelson and Marlborough Maori, by the early 1860s Garin had made a firm choice to focus on creating the best European parish that he could, and distanced himself from the earlier focuses of his missionary work.

Hence this chapter concentrates necessarily on Garin as parish priest, the ‘Apostle of Nelson’ as he has been described.<sup>1</sup> It analyses the incredible array of manuscripts recording his work in Nelson, including diaries, letters, letterbooks, and annals, in addition to letters to the editor and advertisements which he placed in local newspapers, and places these within the context of diaspora and migration studies. It thereby analyses the ways in which Garin promoted a European Catholic identity in Nelson, and contributed to the wider New Zealand Catholic diaspora, through his creation of a strong Catholic community and his advocacy of separate Catholic schools. As parish priest of Nelson, Garin considered himself the voice of the Catholic minority, and ensured throughout his apostolate that the Catholic voice was heard, without adopting the aggressive approach of future Bishop of Dunedin Patrick Moran. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the impact of Garin’s thirty-nine years of work for the people of Nelson, an impact which is still felt today.

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<sup>1</sup> Goulter, p. 72.



**Figure 10: Garin, the Apostle of Nelson<sup>2</sup>**

### **Nelson – A Wakefield Settlement**

Given the obstacles of distance and cost that migrants faced to reach New Zealand, they needed to be either adventurous, or given the incentive of a free or subsidised passage. It was by subsidising the journey that the New Zealand Company populated the new colony with 10,000 European settlers in the 1840s.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 3663.

<sup>3</sup> Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 78.

Following the establishment of the first New Zealand Company settlement at Wellington, the Company's Principal Agent, Colonel William Wakefield, was looking for a site for his second venture. His preferred site, Canterbury, was vetoed by Governor Hobson, who did not want any more distant settlements like the unruly Wellington to add to his workload. Hobson counter-proposed Warkworth, in the vicinity of Auckland, where he could keep a watchful eye on proceedings. Dissatisfied with this suggestion, Wakefield resorted to the New Zealand Company land around Cook Strait, to which Hobson's veto did not extend.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1820s the northern half of the South Island had been conquered by Kawhia and Taranaki tribes, led by Ngati Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata; Wakefield had personally conducted the purchase of land from Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa Maori in 1839.<sup>5</sup> With the first emigrant ships due to depart, Wakefield made a hurried survey of Blind Bay, or Tasman Bay as it is now known. There he happened upon Boulder Bank, choosing the natural port of Wakatu for his new settlement. Unfortunately, Wakefield had given priority to finding a port over the concern of securing farmland.<sup>6</sup> The proceeds from land sales were the key to financing Wakefield settlements, and there was limited flat land in the vicinity of Wakatu, which was renamed Nelson. The more ambitious pastoralists among the new settlers would spread over to the Wairau Plain in the late 1840s.

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<sup>4</sup> W.J. Gardner, 'The Founding of Nelson and Canterbury: A Comparative Study', *Historical News*, 48 (1984), 1-9 (p. 6).

<sup>5</sup> Ruth M. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement* (Wellington: Reed, 1965), pp. 22-25.

<sup>6</sup> Gardner, p. 6.

Meanwhile, back in England, a committee was founded by Kentish landowner Bryan Edward Duppa, for people wishing to emigrate to New Zealand in a year's time. They recommended a price of one pound ten shillings per acre of land, of which the extra ten shillings would go towards public works. This public works fund, later known as the Nelson Trust Funds, was to be spent in fixed proportions on religious endowments for colonists of all denominations, a non-denominational university college, and steam navigation.<sup>7</sup> The emphasis on social planning for the second New Zealand Company settlement was an interesting innovation in comparison to the earlier settlement at Wellington, which had seen an excessive commercialism.

Like other Wakefield schemes, Nelson was in principle to have been a rural society. However, the New Zealand Company was a London commercial enterprise with little knowledge of how to make effective contact with the inhabitants of the English countryside. The Company had little success in recruiting rural labourers, and, with ships to fill at the last minute, enlisted labourers from the slums of London who formed the greater part of the steerage passengers for Nelson. With England in the grip of the depression of the 'Hungry Forties', the urban labourers were no doubt attracted by the Company's promise to provide employment for those who were unable to find jobs in the private sector.<sup>8</sup> The early characteristics of the Nelson settlement, described by Jim Gardner as 'London-based, commercial and in significant measure non-conformist' (p. 5), were born from this particular set of historical circumstances.

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<sup>7</sup> Allan, pp. 49-51.

<sup>8</sup> Gardner, pp. 2-4.

These characteristics were to be influential features for Garin's mission. As Ruth Allan has noted, the education of the better class of Nelson immigrants made up for their lack of material wealth, and led to a thriving cultural community (p. 106), of which Garin was very much a part. In addition, the non-denominational outlook of the Nelson settlers was revealed during the very first expedition to Nelson, when the non-conformists joined the Anglicans in asking the CMS to send a clergyman to Nelson. They wrote, 'we are convinced that the ordinances of religion are necessary to the keeping together of society, and that an intelligent clergyman would contribute much to the welfare of the intended community, in the absence of ministers of our own persuasion'.<sup>9</sup> This same point of view was expressed after Bishop Selwyn's first visit to Nelson. Selwyn's high church views had produced 'a sad conviction that it was in vain – that we had hoped for a rest from sectarian differences, which we were not to have'.<sup>10</sup> The Nelsonians' non-denominational outlook would be of no small consequence to Garin in his work.

The preliminary expedition on the *Whitby* was led by Captain Arthur Wakefield. Eight migrant ships – the *Fifeshire*, *Mary Ann*, *Lord Auckland*, *Lloyds*, *Bolton*, *Martha Ridgway*, *London* and *Clifford* – arrived in the new settlement between February and May 1842, bringing the population to two thousand.<sup>11</sup> In 1842 a further ten ships were sent from England, while a New Zealand Company agent in Hamburg organised two small German migrations to Nelson in 1842 and 1844.<sup>12</sup> A total of 3642 passengers arrived on the twenty migrant ships.<sup>13</sup> During

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<sup>9</sup> *New Zealand Journal*, 3 July 1841, pp. 160-61, cited in Allan, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> *Nelson Examiner*, 27 August 1842, p. 99.

<sup>11</sup> Allan, pp. 62, 85-96.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-05.

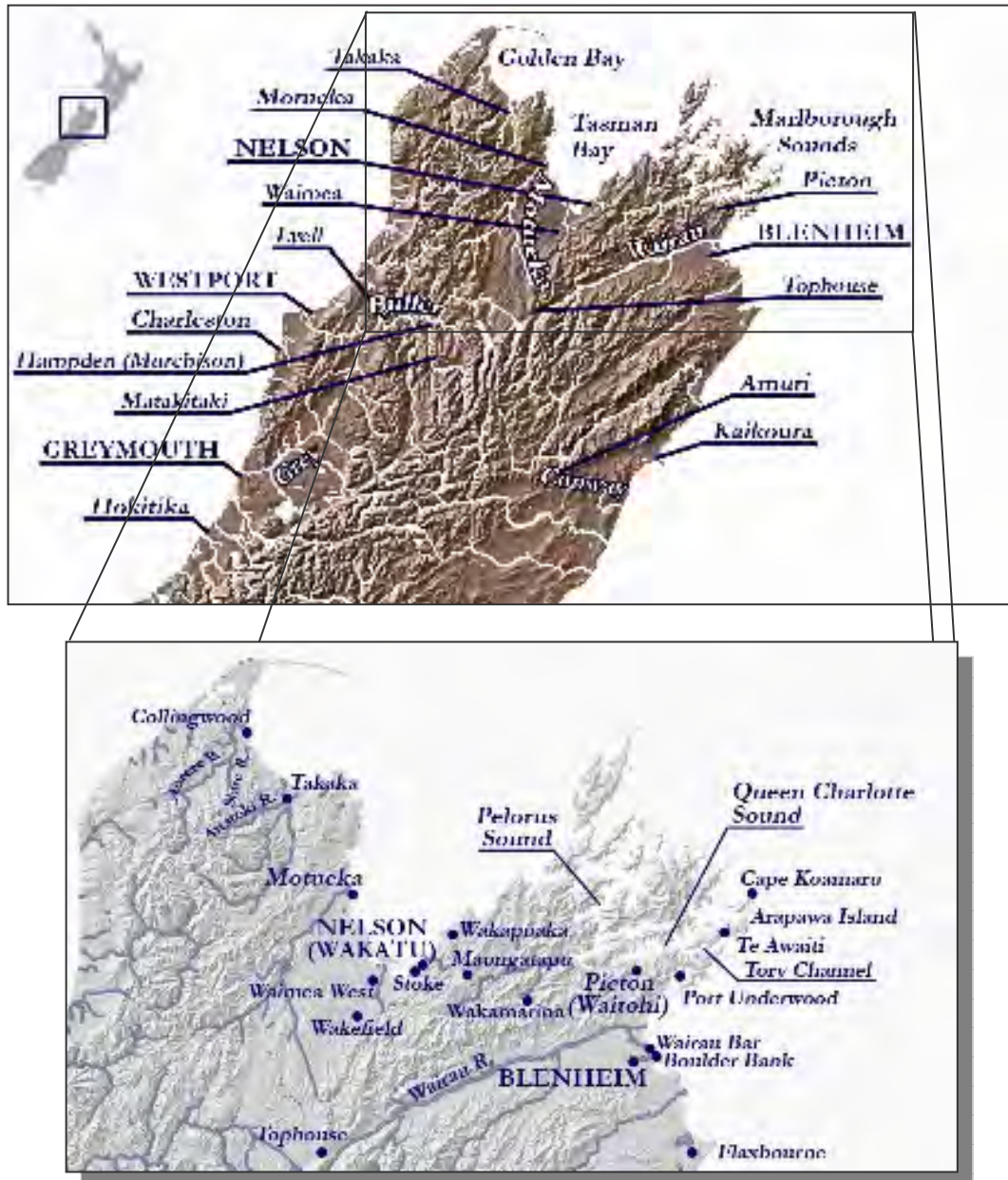


the 1840s, the settlement suffered notably from its restricted land, superabundance of labourers caused by the lack of capitalists prepared to emigrate (even Bryan Duppa had remained in England, though his brother George moved from Wellington to Nelson), and deficiency of capital because of unsold land. However, by the time of Garin's arrival in 1850, Nelson was entering a golden age in its development, with successful pastoralism on the Waimea Plain, Wairau Plain, and in Amuri and Kaikoura, and the town, raised to the dignity of a city in 1858, rapidly becoming a thriving colonial port: the gateway to the goldfields of Nelson and the West Coast.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Gardner, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> Jim McAloon, *Nelson: A Regional History* (Whatamango Bay: Cape Catley in association with the Nelson City Council, 1997), p. 49.



Map 3: Garin's Nelson, 1850-1889<sup>15</sup>

This map indicates places of importance to Garin during his time in Nelson, notably the areas he traveled to regularly and founded churches in, and the rivers that he used for travelling and which originally formed the boundaries of his diocese (the Grey and Conway Rivers).

<sup>15</sup> Adaptation of Custom Map of Northern South Island, sourced from NZTopoOnline, New Zealand mainland only (NZTM2000), June 2009, Crown Copyright Reserved.

## **The Final Transition to Parish Priest**

### *Establishment of the Catholic Church in Nelson*

There was one major difference between the settlement of Nelson and that which Garin had left behind in Howick. While Howick had been populated by a large number of Irish Catholic pensioners, most of the immigration to Nelson had come from England, providing Garin with a new challenge. Jock Philips and Terry Hearn, in their study of the nature of British immigration to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, noted that Nelson, as a Wakefield settlement town, had a disproportionately high number of English-born settlers: over eighty percent in 1878 (p. 145). Only six percent of the United Kingdom-born settlers in Waimea County were Irish (p. 158). In Howick sheer numbers had enabled the Catholic voice to be heard despite the fact that New Zealand was a British colony, but in Nelson the numbers were overwhelmingly Protestant. Garin wrote to his brother that in 1852, of Nelson's 4587 European inhabitants, only 231 were Catholic. The number of Catholics barely surpassed that of persons who had refused to state their religion. There were, on the other hand, more than 2500 Anglicans, 530 Presbyterians, and 529 Wesleyans. Garin wrote, 'ces différentes sectes s'acharment de concert contre nous autres catholiques'.<sup>16</sup>

And yet, despite the small Catholic presence, upon his arrival in Nelson Garin found a fledgling Catholic community. The Nelson settlement contained a number of prominent Catholics, not least among them the English farmer Henry Redwood. Redwood had arrived in Nelson in December 1842 together with his

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<sup>16</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853.

family and son-in-law Joseph Ward, and based himself in Waimea where he built the best farmhouse in the district, named Stafford Place.<sup>17</sup> From there Joseph Ward had written to Bishop Pompallier in 1843, perhaps concerning an Episcopal visit to the new settlement.<sup>18</sup> Every Sunday Redwood and his extended family, including Ward and others who wished to join them, had been reading the mass prayers at Stafford Place, which had become a de facto parish centre. They were eager to see a priest appointed to Nelson.<sup>19</sup> In his diary, Ward recorded that Pompallier and Jeremiah O'Reily, the Catholic priest of Wellington, visited Nelson in 1844, and held the first mass in a private house on 5 May. Ward described the Bishop as a 'heavenly-looking man' and was impressed with O'Reily's sermon. Ward also noted that Pompallier preached to local Maori 'very fluently indeed' in the afternoon, although his English had not been as fluent.<sup>20</sup> The youngest member of the Redwood family, Francis, would later write the same of Garin when he first moved to Nelson.<sup>21</sup> The week-long visit was sufficiently successful that O'Reily began calling at Nelson once a year, in January 1845, May 1846, and then to open the first Catholic church on Easter Sunday 1847.<sup>22</sup>

As early as January 1844, before Pompallier had said the first mass in Nelson, Ward recorded that he was collecting a subscription for a Catholic school

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<sup>17</sup> Simmons, *Pompallier: Prince of Bishops*, pp. 107-08; Allan, p. 209.

<sup>18</sup> ATL, MS-2228-2243, MS-2237 Joseph Ward Diary Precis 1843-1879, 24 Jul. 1843.

<sup>19</sup> Anthony Harris, *The Beauty of your House: The Nelson Catholic Parish, 1844 -1994* (Nelson: St Mary's Parish, 1994), p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> ATL, MS-2237, 5 May 1844.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Redwood, *Reminiscences of Early Days in New Zealand* (Wellington: C.M. Banks, Printers, 1922), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> ATL, MS-2237, 23 Jan. 1845; SMPA, DNM 2/31 Annals of the Catholic Station Established in Nelson, New Zealand, May the 9th 1850, 2-3.

and chapel.<sup>23</sup> At a public meeting of the subscribers in March 1845, a building committee was appointed that included Henry Redwood, Francis Otterson (at whose house the first mass had been said), and Ward himself.<sup>24</sup> According to Garin, writing the early history of the Nelson parish, the New Zealand Company gave the Catholics land for religious and educational purposes in about 1846. The chapel was built there in 1847, at a cost of forty-three pounds.<sup>25</sup> According to the 1849 Blue Book of Statistics for New Munster, it could hold fifty people, and was attended by twenty parishioners.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, in May 1848 a school teacher, Elizabeth O'Dowd, arrived in Nelson, and a house that also served as a school room was built for her on the Catholic land near the chapel. Approximately twenty Catholic and Protestant children attended the school.<sup>27</sup> By 1848, then, the Catholics had organised for themselves a section containing a small chapel, a school house, and a cemetery. That Nelson had ambitious Catholics who would take initiatives to obtain clergy and create a parish infrastructure boded well for Garin's future in the settlement.

Garin thus arrived in Nelson in 1850 to find that the Catholics had already created a parish infrastructure of a kind, which included not just a chapel, but even a functioning school. What is more, there was the prospect of obtaining outside assistance for the station, as had been the case in Howick, although this time it

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<sup>23</sup> ATL, MS-2237, 31 Jan. 1844, 3 Feb. 1844.

<sup>24</sup> ATL, MS-2237, 11 Mar. 1845; Lowther Broad, *Jubilee History of Nelson: From 1842 to 1892* (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1976), p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 2-3; SMPA, DNM 9 Historical Notes on Marist Foundations in New Zealand, Dunedin, Oceania, Wellington, Nelson, 1846-1882, Including Schools and Churches.

<sup>26</sup> NAW, NM 11/2, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics (New Munster) 1849.

<sup>27</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 4.

came in the form of the Catholic portion of the Nelson Trust Funds. Garin had been given six pounds by Bishop Viard to procure himself a Maori whare upon his arrival in Nelson. However, his new parishioners would not agree to their pastor living in such a house when the other clergymen inhabited more comfortable dwellings, and found him rooms to rent while they set about organising a Catholic station. Two weeks after his arrival, they procured a former New Zealand Company store to serve as a house for their priest, using part of the Catholic portion of the Trust Funds. Another part of the Trust Funds was used by Joseph Ward to procure an acre of land. The latter was necessary as part of the former site of the Catholic chapel and school house had been requisitioned by Nelson's Resident Magistrate, Major Mathew Richmond,<sup>28</sup> for a jail. The Catholics also purchased by subscription a further acre of land adjoining the new site, in Manuka Street where St Mary's Church stands today. There they placed Garin's house, adjoining to it the little chapel which had been removed from its earlier site. This way a room in the house could serve for the altar and the congregation could occupy the entire chapel. The school room on the former site was sold and the thirty-nine children attending the Catholic school in 1850 were taught by Elizabeth O'Dowd in the chapel, while a new house was erected for the school mistress.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> 'RICHMOND, Mathew, C.B.', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (updated 18 September 2007) <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/R/RichmondMathewCb/en>> [accessed 20 April 2009].

<sup>29</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 3-8.

As Garin noted to Marist Superior Favre, one of his main focuses in these early years was to establish Catholic schools.<sup>30</sup> The first step was to create separate schools for boys and girls, which he did in 1851. Also, soon after his arrival in Nelson, he suggested to the Catholic parents living in the outlying districts that if they wanted to send him their children, he would board them in his house so that they could attend the Catholic schools. By the end of November 1851 he had seven boys at St Michael's boarding school; the youngest son of Henry Redwood, Francis, was one of the first boarders.<sup>31</sup> Upon the arrival of a second Marist, Delphin Moreau, to act as curate, Garin was able to begin offering classes in Latin, French, and mathematics, which were taught by Moreau. This became a select high school, or college, catering for gentlemen's sons – Catholics and Protestants alike.<sup>32</sup> The college gained such a reputation that the editor of the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, Charles Elliott, complained in his editorial:

There is not a school in the settlement where a liberal education can be obtained, unless Protestant parents think proper to send their sons to the school of the Catholic Mission. We have a Protestant Government, an endowed Protestant Church, a population nineteen-twentieths of which are Protestant, and yet our only teacher of more than the most ordinary branches of education is a Catholic Priest. We mean no disrespect to this reverend gentleman who we believe to be an estimable man, and at his school he tells us no sectarian doctrines are taught, but we think it disgraceful that the poor unendowed Church of Rome, weak in numbers also, should be able to set up an institution for imparting education to youths, while the Protestant clergy,

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<sup>30</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>31</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 14; Girard, VIII, 1034, Moreau to priests of Auckland, 13 Jul. 1851; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 12 Apr. 1851, 25 Nov. 1851.

<sup>32</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 28.

backed by such overwhelming numbers leave the field wholly unoccupied. There is something radically wrong in this.

Elliott later suggested that the Catholic school had made itself more prominent in Nelson than any other because of the public advertisements, exhibitions and examinations that Garin organised, as well as the personal zeal and recommendations of the school's immediate supporters.<sup>33</sup> In fact, according to Garin, the first public examination that he held in January 1852 was such a success that the examiner, a Protestant man, sent his son to the school and many others followed his example.<sup>34</sup> Garin's schools managed to attract more Protestant than Catholic pupils, by restricting religious instruction to after-school hours only.<sup>35</sup> This was crucial to their viability because of the small number of Catholics in Nelson. While the eventual opening of Nelson College spelled the demise of Garin's college, his boys' and girls' day schools would happily survive the advent of secular provincial education, and prospered throughout the 1850s.<sup>36</sup>

Having explained the success of Garin's school in the 1852 examinations, Bishop Viard remarked in his report to Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda Fide Frasoni on the Wellington Diocese, 'Quel besoin de bâtir une église et une école pour une ville qui offre de si grandes espérances.'<sup>37</sup> It took somewhat longer for the Nelson congregation to build a permanent church than it had for Garin's

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<sup>33</sup> Charles Elliott, Editorial, *Nelson Examiner*, 8 May, p. 42; 29 May 1852, p. 50.

<sup>34</sup> NM, 7 Jan. 1852; APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>35</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 27 November 1852, p. 158.

<sup>36</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>37</sup> OPM, H34, H01159 Rapport fait à son Eminence Frasoni Cardinal Préfet de la Propagande sur les commencements du Diocèse de Wellington (Nouvelle-Zélande) depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1850 jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1852, 21.



congregation in Howick. This may have reflected the small number of Catholics in Nelson Province, and their dispersion over a wide terrain which encompassed nearly the top third of the South Island, down to the Grey River on the west coast and the Conway River on the east.<sup>38</sup> It was probably also due to a delay in distributing the greater part of the Catholics' share of the Nelson Trust Funds. In the meantime, Garin was obliged to say mass in the temporary chapel erected in Nelson, or, in the case of the country districts, in private houses. In December 1853 Garin finally received from Joseph Ward a cheque for the Catholic portion of the Trust Funds, amounting to two hundred and seventy-nine pounds.<sup>39</sup> Meetings were then held in Nelson and Waimea, the two main centres of Garin's parish, containing twenty and twenty-two Catholic families respectively.<sup>40</sup> It was decided to devote seventy-nine pounds of the sum to erecting a church at Waimea West, and two hundred pounds to building a church in Nelson. Further subscriptions for the Waimea West church increased the original seventy-nine pounds to approximately three hundred pounds.<sup>41</sup> As had been the case with the Anglican churches,<sup>42</sup> the Catholic church at Waimea West was built before that in Nelson town, on land that Garin had obtained from Governor Grey;<sup>43</sup> it was opened on 16 December 1855.<sup>44</sup> The sum available for the town church was also raised to four hundred and fifty pounds through subscriptions, and the Gothic-

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<sup>38</sup> NM, 5 Apr. 1862; O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, pp. 80, 86.

<sup>39</sup> ATL, MS-2244-2249, MS-2249 Joseph Ward Diary Vol 6 1852-1854, 2 May, 8 Aug. 1852; 11 Dec. 1853.

<sup>40</sup> SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1851, Garin to Colonial Secretary, 23 Sep. 1851.

<sup>41</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 36, 42-43.

<sup>42</sup> Allan, p. 172.

<sup>43</sup> NAW, SSD 1, 5/130 Garin to Superintendent Nelson, 16 Jun. 1852; SMPA, Ledger 7, Correspondance 1852, Superintendent Nelson to Garin, 13 Aug. 1852.

<sup>44</sup> 'Catholic Church, Waimea West', *Nelson Examiner*, 15 December 1855, p. 4.

style edifice was completed in mid-1857.<sup>45</sup> It was consecrated on 28 June by Bishop Viard as St Mary's Church. Viard blessed the Waimea church the following day, placing it under the patronage of St Peter and St Paul.<sup>46</sup>

Garin commented to the new Marist Superior Julien Favre, 'Il est bon de remarquer que si nous recevons du terrain ou de l'argent du Gouvernement ce n'est pas sans demander, et sans embarras que nous pouvons obtenir quoique nous ayons le droit de recevoir'.<sup>47</sup> Despite this, in seven years Garin and the Nelson Catholics had achieved much. They had built St Mary's Church in Nelson and St Peter and St Paul at Waimea West, which were attended on average by fifty and forty parishioners respectively. The Catholic station in Nelson was a substantial one, run by two priests and a Brother, and containing a wooden house for their accommodation, a kitchen, a stable, and a wooden school room. The day schools were attended by 103 boys and 36 girls, while 71 children attended Sunday school only.<sup>48</sup> In 1858 the newly-appointed Visitor-General of the missions, Victor Poupinel, visited New Zealand for the first time. It is clear from his report that Nelson was the most impressive station in the Wellington Diocese, after Wellington itself.<sup>49</sup> The progress in Nelson was so great that in 1855 Viard suggested that the South Island become a separate diocese, centred on Nelson.<sup>50</sup> In

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<sup>45</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>46</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 55.

<sup>47</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>48</sup> SMPA, DNM 9, Census Act 1858 Schedule 07.

<sup>49</sup> MAW, HD6, Poupinel to Maitrepierre, 3 Apr. 1858, 152-54; E. R. Simmons, *Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand* (Auckland: Catholic Publications Centre, 1978), p. 54.

<sup>50</sup> ACDA, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 758r-758v, Viard to Franson, 6 Jan. 1855.

1858 he made this proposal formally to Propaganda Fide and Marist Superior Favre.<sup>51</sup>

In addition, and perhaps more importantly, in these first ten years Garin established a network of English Catholic friends, from a wealthy and educated background like himself. This circle of friends – the Redwoods, the Goulters, and especially Joseph Ward – would support him in his work for the rest of his life. They provided Garin with an insight into British culture, and would play a vital part in shaping his open-minded views, which would allow him to integrate so successfully into the wider Nelson community.

### *Pompallier Inquiry*

That Garin had built up such an impressive parish in the 1850s was a testament to his ability to adapt to new circumstances, remain focused on the task at hand, and distance himself from the politics of the mission. The Marist mission in New Zealand in the 1850s was in crisis. Three priests and three brothers, disillusioned and unable to adapt to the Diocese of Wellington, left New Zealand after the move south. The ill Claude-André Baty left for Sydney and then New Caledonia, where he died, and Louis Rozet went to France to complete his noviciate and never returned.<sup>52</sup> Only eight missionaries remained, forcing Viard to leave three of the five provincial capitals without priests.<sup>53</sup> The shortage of men led Viard to obtain permission from Rome to be the Marists' religious superior in the Diocese of

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<sup>51</sup> APM, Z 152.18, Viard to Favre, 3 Jun. 1858.

<sup>52</sup> SMPA, DNM 9 Historical Notes; O'Meehan, "The First Wave of French Marists".

<sup>53</sup> APM, Z 152.18, Viard to Favre, 3 Jun. 1858.

Wellington, with the power to prevent further Marists from leaving, and to appoint missionaries to sole-charge stations if required.<sup>54</sup> This caused great friction between Viard and his missionaries, at a time when the strains of moving to a new, European-focused mission were already taking their toll.<sup>55</sup> Colin, who remained as Marist Superior until 1854, preferred to concentrate his efforts on the apostolate in France because of the difficulties that were being encountered in the overseas missions.<sup>56</sup> In 1852 he informed the New Zealand Marists that the Marist Society had abandoned New Zealand, and that they were free to do as they chose. Some Marists, like Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean, warned Viard not to count on them as they would have to return to their Society,<sup>57</sup> Garin asked Colin twice where he should go if the Marists did not remain in New Zealand.<sup>58</sup> Colin acted out of understandable concern for the welfare of his missionaries, whom he believed were over-exerted and poorly-treated by their bishops. However, his belief that France should be the future focus of the Marists' work was short-sighted, and not all Marists shared his view. As Ralph Wiltgen observes, time has proven these other Marists correct. Colin's Society of Mary would become one of the greatest missionary orders of the Catholic Church, with Oceania as its field of specialisation (pp. 547-48).

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<sup>54</sup> Girard, IX, doc. 1228, Rocher to Colin, 3 Mar. 1853.

<sup>55</sup> Girard, VIII, doc. 1046, Rocher to Colin, 23 Aug. 1851; doc. 1184, Rozet to Poupinel, 22 Sep. 1852; doc. 1207, Pezant to Grange, 21 Dec. 1852; IX, doc. 1212, Séon to Poupinel, 7 Jan. 1853.

<sup>56</sup> Wiltgen, pp. 540-42.

<sup>57</sup> Peter Tremewan, Personal Communication, 18 March 2008, Bernard to his sister, 13 Jan. 1855; Girard, VIII, doc. 1186, Petit-Jean to Poupinel, 2 Oct. 1852.

<sup>58</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Colin, 24 Aug., 26 Sep. 1853.

In the midst of this uncertainty over the future of the Marists in New Zealand, and the difficulties with Viard, Garin was called upon to deal with another administrative problem. Louis-Maxime Petit, one of the most experienced Marist missionaries, had remained behind in the Diocese of Auckland to assist Pompallier before returning to France in 1852. Upon his return to Lyon he wrote to Rome making various accusations against Pompallier. He alleged that the Bishop was in financial strife, had lost the confidence of his clergy and laity, was too closely-involved with the Sisters of Mercy who had arrived with him from Europe in April 1850, and was a drunkard. Petit claimed to have seen him drunk twice during the year that he had spent with him. Then, in December 1852, seven of the Auckland priests, who had also been recruited by Pompallier in Europe, wrote to the Propagation de la Foi in Lyon asking for passages home. They complained that the living allowance provided by Pompallier was insufficient, and that the Bishop was wasting valuable funds on the Sisters of Mercy. In February 1853 one of the seven priests, Francis Kums, wrote a separate complaint to the Pope and to the Propagation de la Foi, which was signed also by John Breen (by proxy) and Timothy O'Rourke. This culminated in a formal investigation into the various charges that had been made against Pompallier.<sup>59</sup>

Propaganda Fide ordered the investigation, instructing Viard to conduct it from New Zealand, and to go to Auckland himself or to send a visitor to get information.<sup>60</sup> A few days after the ailing Jean Forest arrived in Nelson to take advantage of the healthy climate, Garin received a letter from Viard directing him

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<sup>59</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, pp. 48-49; APF, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 141<sup>r</sup>-141<sup>v</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, Kums to Pope Pius IX, Feb. 1853; fols 229<sup>r</sup>-230<sup>r</sup>, Kums to Propagation de la Foi, Feb. 1853.

<sup>60</sup> Girard, IX, doc. 1309, Rocher to Colin, 19 Nov. 1853.

to leave for Wellington as soon as he could, with no explanation. Garin left Nelson two months later, on 19 July, and was informed of his mission on 23 July, his birthday.<sup>61</sup> The mission was to be kept secret: in particular Forest was not to know of the details. However, having learned of his exclusion from the circle of confidence, and in increasingly poor health, Forest wrote from Nelson stating that Garin was not to leave on his mission. Garin replied that it was a formal order, and, having received an apology from Forest, set off on his voyage finally on 22 November.<sup>62</sup>

The mission was so secret that Viard instructed Garin to burn all letters relating to the investigation together with the notes that he had taken in Auckland, and to tell no one in the Diocese of Wellington what had transpired. He was only to keep ‘la lettre fatale’, to give back to Viard on his return to Wellington. It would appear that Propaganda Fide had prepared a letter removing Pompallier from his post or possibly recalling him to Rome. Viard would also keep the ‘pièces importantes’ that Garin had sent from Auckland.<sup>63</sup> In fact, in his diary Garin records nothing relating to the investigation beyond the details of his voyage north, which was an occasion for him to return to his missionary roots and spend time with Maori guides. Also, the location of Garin’s findings – a thirty-page report he wrote during his visitation of Auckland<sup>64</sup> – is currently unknown.

Garin was away from Nelson for ten months, much of which was occupied with travelling or waiting for passage on ships. He only spent four months

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<sup>61</sup> NM, 16 May; 19, 23 Jul. 1853.

<sup>62</sup> NM, 6, 8 Sep.; 22 Nov. 1853; Girard, IX, doc. 1344, Forest to Colin, 22 May 1854.

<sup>63</sup> ACDA, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 463r-463v, Viard to Garin, 20 Mar. 1854.

<sup>64</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 458r-461v, Viard to Fransoni, 25 Mar. 1854.

actually in Auckland conducting the investigation, from December until April.<sup>65</sup> From Viard's correspondence, it appears that Garin spoke with the local laity, and all concerned parties still present in Auckland (two of the priests who had made the accusations had left the Diocese because of ill health, and another had drowned off the East Coast).<sup>66</sup> His findings were presented by Viard in a brief report to Frasoni. Regarding the temporal administration, Garin's evidence showed that, while Pompallier's management of finances could have been wiser given his long experience on the mission, he was currently not in debt. As for the charges of drunkenness and impropriety with the nuns, Viard found Pompallier somewhat at fault: any excessive use of liquor was to be abhorred in a bishop, as was any imprudence with the nuns, such as hearing their confessions in his room and staying late at their residence. However, those who claimed to have seen Pompallier drunk, and that his relations with the nuns were inappropriate, were his sworn enemies. Viard did not exonerate Pompallier fully on any of the three counts, but rather concluded that the charges were exaggerated, and the grievances did not breach the limits imposed by Rome.<sup>67</sup> Garin added that the letters of complaint sent to the Pope and the Propagation de la Foi, though signed by all of the priests of Auckland, were not rigorous testimonies of the facts but essentially the work of one man.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> NM, 20 Dec. 1853, 21 Apr. 1854.

<sup>66</sup> ACDA, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 398<sup>r</sup>-403<sup>r</sup>, Pompallier to Viard, 13 Jan. 1854; fols 463<sup>r</sup>-463<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Garin, 20 Mar. 1854.

<sup>67</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 458<sup>r</sup>-461<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Frasoni, 25 Mar. 1854.

<sup>68</sup> APM, 912.25, Garin to Viard, 8 May 1854.

Viard was upfront in his praise for Garin's efforts. He thanked Garin for having accomplished his task with great efficiency and devotion, summarising: 'Certes si toutes les affaires concernant ces pauvres missions s'étaient traitées avec tant de satisfaction, la funeste discorde aurait fui loin de nous et de grandes choses se seraient opérées pour la conversion de ces peuples.'<sup>69</sup> To Fransoni he was even more effusive:

Le père Garin, Éminence, a exécuté avec fidélité tous les ordres que je lui avais donnés et Dieu l'a comblé de bénédictions. Ainsi, une mission qui dût faire trembler notre faiblesse, s'est accomplie dans le calme. Tant il est vrai qu'il ne faut pas suivre la providence, qui se sert quand il lui plait, des plus faibles instruments pour renverser les plus grands obstacles. Dieu veuille conserver longtemps ce cher mariste à son Évêque et à sa société. Le père Garin pendant son séjour à Auckland a réconcilié à leur pasteur des brebis égarées et entre autres celle qui lui avait fait la guerre la plus cruelle.<sup>70</sup>

Certainly, Viard's choice of Garin for this mission would appear to have been a conscious one. Garin had been able to see Pompallier's viewpoint when the Marist missionaries first started making accusations against him in the early 1840s, and was known for his capacity to follow the orders of his superiors, a fact which Viard noted to Pompallier after the investigation had taken place.<sup>71</sup> However, it would seem that Garin had been particularly concerned about having to leave his station. Viard commented that Garin had obeyed his Bishop 'au grand

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<sup>69</sup> ACDA, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 463<sup>r</sup>-463<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Garin, 20 Mar. 1854.

<sup>70</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 458<sup>r</sup>-461<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Fransoni, 25 Mar. 1854.

<sup>71</sup> APF, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 462<sup>r</sup>-462<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Pompallier, 20 Mar. 1854.



préjudice de votre cher troupeau’,<sup>72</sup> and that ‘un missionnaire qui abandonne généreusement la station qu’il a fondée avec tant de peine, pour obéir à son Évêque, acquiert de grands mérites’.<sup>73</sup> Garin received a joyous welcome when he arrived back in Nelson in mid-1854.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps on account of his dedication to his Nelson parishioners, this was to be the last time that Garin played a role in the Marist administration. As he himself had earlier explained to Viard, in Kororareka, Mangakahia and Howick he had been in close proximity to the mission headquarters and his fellow Marists, but in Nelson he found himself ‘à l’égard de la mission tout aussi étranger que si je me trouvais jeté sur quelque île bien plus éloignée’. It was no surprise, then, that he became ever less involved in Marist politics and more preoccupied with his parish, apart from a recommendation from Pompallier that he be considered a candidate for his coadjutor in 1866.<sup>75</sup>

### *Garin and Nelson Maori*

While Garin distanced himself speedily from administrative work after his appointment to Nelson, this was not the case with his missionary work with Maori. There is a surprising link between Garin’s experiences with Maori in Howick and Nelson. The campaigns of Hongi Hika which had annihilated the Maori of Hauraki in the 1820s, and influenced the style of interaction between Maori and European during Garin’s time in Howick, also led Ngati Toa of

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<sup>72</sup> WAA, Bx 193, Bishop Viard Letterbook 2, Viard to Garin, 16 Jun. 1856.

<sup>73</sup> ACDA, SC Oceania vol. V, fols 463<sup>r</sup>-463<sup>v</sup>, Viard to Garin, 20 Mar. 1854.

<sup>74</sup> NM, 28 Apr., 15-16 May 1854.

<sup>75</sup> Simmons, *In Cruce Salus*, p. 84.

Kawhia to migrate south to Taranaki and the Wellington region. From his base in Kapiti, Ngati Toa leader Te Rauparaha set out to provide for the future of his people, invading the South Island in 1827 together with his Kawhia and Taranaki allies Ngati Koata, Ngati Rarua, Ngati Tama and Te Atiawa, in the first of a series of such incursions.<sup>76</sup> The Kurahaupo iwi of Nelson-Marlborough, comprising Rangitane, Ngati Apa and Ngati Kuia, were defeated, and were submerged within the conquering northern tribes.<sup>77</sup> It was a combination of these tribal groupings that Garin would visit in Nelson, Motueka and the Marlborough Sounds in the 1850s and early 1860s.

Because of the changes wrought by the invasions in the late 1820s, as well as the impact of European whaling in the area and the arrival of the early missionaries, the locations of many pa and kainga in the mid-nineteenth century did not reflect customary patterns.<sup>78</sup> Following Te Rauparaha's raids, Waimea and Wakatu were never again occupied permanently by Maori.<sup>79</sup> This meant that there were no Maori tribes living in the immediate vicinity of the European town of Nelson. Nonetheless, in their history of the Maori of Te Tau Ihu, Hilary and John Mitchell note that estimates of the Maori population of Nelson-Marlborough were as high as 2650 at the time of European colonisation in the 1840s – a by no means insignificant number (II, 20). By the mid-1850s this population was no longer focused heavily around the north-eastern coastal area where the whaling

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<sup>76</sup> Mein Smith, pp. 34-39.

<sup>77</sup> Hilary Mitchell and John Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu o te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough*, 2 vols (Wellington: Huia in association with the Wakatū Incorporation, 2004-2007), II, p. 479.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20; Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Mauī: Report on Northern South Island Land Claims (WAI 785)* (Wellington, 2008), pp. 20-22.

<sup>79</sup> Allan, p. 24.

establishments and early missionary stations had been located, but was instead spread far and wide, across Massacre Bay (now Golden Bay), Motueka, outer Nelson (Wakapuaka), and the Queen Charlotte and Pelorus Sounds (II, 470).

As the Mitchells note, Christianity preceded Garin to Te Tau Ihu by many years. At first, it was passed on by former slaves returning to their Taranaki tribes, who now also inhabited the northern South Island (II, 72). This teaching was reinforced by Protestant missionaries' visits to the area (II, 73-74), and then the arrival of Wesleyan missionary Samuel Ironside in December 1840. Ironside based himself at Ngakuta Bay, at the head of Port Underwood (II, 77). There he had a head church that could accommodate 800 parishioners (II, 82), and at least sixteen Maori chapels spread around his mission (II, 114). Reporting to the Wesleyan Secretaries in early 1843, he noted that, according to his register, he had baptised 613 adults and 155 children in his two years at Ngakuta.<sup>80</sup> This was a very substantial proportion of the approximately two thousand Maori who were then living in the Marlborough Sounds according to the Mitchells (II, 470). Ironside left Ngakuta in 1843 in the aftermath of the 'Wairau Affray' (II, 84) – a confrontation between the Nelson settlers and Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata over disputed land in the Wairau Valley, which caused the deaths of some of the most prominent settlers.<sup>81</sup> John Aldred, Ironside's successor who was based at Nelson, baptised a further 160 Maori from throughout Nelson and Marlborough until his departure in 1849.<sup>82</sup> Ironside in turn replaced Aldred in Nelson, and

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<sup>80</sup> MCA, Ironside to the Secretaries, 7 Jan. 1843, cited in W.A. Chambers, *Samuel Ironside in New Zealand, 1839-1858* (Auckland: Ray Richards; Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, 1982), pp. 115-16.

<sup>81</sup> McAloon, pp. 29-33.

<sup>82</sup> MCA, Nelson Baptismal Register 1842-1971, cited in Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 100.

reported that in 1851 two-thirds of the 550 Maori in Nelson Province (excluding Marlborough) were Wesleyan.<sup>83</sup>

The Anglican mission had a slower start because of the lack of a resident missionary. Octavius Hadfield visited Marlborough from his base at Kapiti in 1840 and 1841 and found several chapels and schools, notably at Rangitoto and at Okukuri in Tory Channel. He claimed a school attendance of 80 and a congregation of 900 at Okukuri.<sup>84</sup> Like Garin, the Anglican missionaries, beginning with Charles Lucas Reay, based themselves in Nelson town and travelled to the outer reaches of the mission where Maori were based when possible.<sup>85</sup> Henry Butt in particular maintained contact with Maori communities up to the mid-1850s.<sup>86</sup> The Anglican mission had Maori chapels at Wakapuaka and Motueka; they also built two brick hostels for Maori to stay in during their visits to Nelson.<sup>87</sup>

Given the amount of pre-1850 missionary activity, it is not surprising that Garin said soon after his arrival in Nelson that it would be a miracle if any Maori in his parish became Catholics.<sup>88</sup> The Protestant missionaries had arrived earlier, but more importantly had the financial means to provide what Maori wanted: a parish infrastructure of their own. The Maori mission field was so well-covered

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<sup>83</sup> Geo. I. Laursen, *Te Hāhi Weteriana: Three Half Centuries of the Methodist Māori Mission, 1822-1972* (Auckland: Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, 1972), cited in Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 100.

<sup>84</sup> ATL, MS-0895, Hadfield to the CMS, 1 Feb., 8 Oct. 1841, cited in Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 75; ATL, MS-0987-0902, Hadfield to O. Hadfield, 20 Jan. 1841/2, cited in Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 115.

<sup>85</sup> Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 85.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 92.

<sup>87</sup> 'Local Intelligence', *Nelson Examiner*, 16 September 1843, p. 318; H.F. Ault, *The Nelson Narrative: The Story of the Church of England in the Diocese of Nelson, New Zealand, 1858 to 1958 (With an Account of the Years 1842 to 1857)* (Nelson: Standing Committee of the Diocese of Nelson, 1958), p. 276.; Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 116; Allan, pp. 171-72.

<sup>88</sup> NM, 24, 29 Jan. 1851.

that, when four German Lutheran missionaries arrived in 1843, they were told that the Maori were already spoken for.<sup>89</sup> In fact, Garin does not appear to have made a concerted effort to minister to Nelson and Marlborough Maori, attempting at one point to leave this responsibility to his new curate, Moreau.<sup>90</sup> Garin's diminishing involvement with the Maori world is suggested by a query to Viard in 1861, regarding whether he should use the Protestant or Catholic terminology for religious concepts with Maori who wished to convert.<sup>91</sup>

There are, of course, some signs of Garin's remaining commitment to the Maori mission, though the first example he recorded of interaction with Maori in Nelson was initiated by them. Eight Maori approached him seeking books. His response was to give them what they asked for, though he also warned them not to become Catholics to get clothes and tobacco, as their worship would be unworthy. In Mangakahia Garin had been aware that not all Maori became Catholics for what he considered to be the right reasons. The Maori whom Garin met lived at Wakapuaka, Motueka, Golden Bay, and some further away still.<sup>92</sup> Their approach may have led him to visit Maori at Motueka and Wakapuaka in 1851. He recorded that he spent a night at the Motueka pa during a visit to the European Catholics in the area. He was disappointed to see that local Maori were not very enthusiastic, and that those to whom he had distributed books had not used them profitably. He believed that they were trying to see the lie of the land, to find out if he would give them more clothes and tobacco than the Protestants. During a second visit,

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<sup>89</sup> Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 106.

<sup>90</sup> APM, Z 61 580, Moreau to Marist [nfi], 30 Jul. 1851.

<sup>91</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 11 Nov. 1861.

<sup>92</sup> NM, 5 Aug. 1850.

Garin learned that the Protestant ministers had been angry with Maori at the pa for showing an interest in Catholicism, and so he found them very unenthusiastic about his prayers. Also, Garin could not provide a Catholic chapel or Catholic books for them, in contrast to the Protestants.<sup>93</sup> At Wakapuaka, Garin encountered a similar response: the Maori man to whom he had given a book had decided against being a Catholic, because he was the only one at his kainga. When he had become ill the rest of his kainga had refused to look after him because he was Catholic, and so he had reverted to being a Protestant. Garin spent the night at Wakapuaka, and heard the same argument that he was hearing everywhere, namely that if he had arrived first the Maori would have become Catholics.<sup>94</sup> That Garin had been burned quickly during his experiences with Nelson Maori is suggested by an incident in August 1851, when he repulsed an attempt by local Protestant Maori to engage with him, because they asked him for something to eat as well as his books. Writing to his brother, Garin blamed the conduct of these Maori on the European influence in the area. He believed that Maori living in European towns learned an unbending commercial spirit that they did not have formerly.<sup>95</sup> The only other evidence of Garin working with Nelson Maori derives from summaries of letters to Rene Te Uenuku of Golden Bay in 1861 and 1862. In 1857 Garin baptised one of Rene's children,<sup>96</sup> and in 1861 prepared Rene and his wife for Catholic baptism. One of the letter summaries is written in Maori,

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<sup>93</sup> NM, 23-24 Jan., 10 Jun. 1851.

<sup>94</sup> NM, 29 Jan. 1851.

<sup>95</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa, 4 Aug. 1851.

<sup>96</sup> NPM, St Mary's Catholic Parish Nelson Baptism Register (1845-1900).

showing that Garin had not forgotten the language.<sup>97</sup> These conversions may explain the appearance of a small number of Maori Catholics in the statistics that Garin gave for his Nelson parish in the late 1860s.<sup>98</sup>

Garin's greatest work with Maori was carried out at the north-eastern extremity of his parish, in the Marlborough Sounds. From 1853 until 1862 he made an annual visitation of his parishioners in the Wairau Plain, and from there would range across the Sounds where there were a number of isolated European communities, including New Zealand's first whaling settlement, Te Awaiti on Arapawa Island, Tory Channel.<sup>99</sup> Many Europeans in the area had taken women from the local tribes as their partners, such as the whalers of Te Awaiti who had formed relationships with Te Atiawa women.<sup>100</sup> Garin was therefore ministering to European Catholic men, their Maori partners and their part-Maori children, in three specific areas, notably the Wairau Bar, Port Underwood, and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tory Channel. Because of his visits, the children of the McDonalds of Boulder Bank, Workmans of Flaxbourne, Davises, Guards and O'Briens of Port Underwood, McDonalds of Waitohi (Picton), Keenans, Mulroys and Nortons of Te Awaiti, and Hymeses of Queen Charlotte Sound were baptised Catholic – a total of twenty-seven baptisms.<sup>101</sup> Garin also performed marriage ceremonies for three couples, and remarried two mixed couples who had been

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<sup>97</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Rene, 6 Sep., 25 Nov. 1861; Garin to Renata, 27 Sep. 1861, 10 Feb. 1862.

<sup>98</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/34 Letter Copy Book, 1859-1878, Garin to Marist [nfi], 20 Apr. 1868.

<sup>99</sup> 'GUARD, John', from *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. *Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (updated 18 September 2007) <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/G/GuardJohn/en>> [accessed 2 May 2009].

<sup>100</sup> Mitchell and Mitchell, I, 239.

<sup>101</sup> NM, 31 Jan., 6 Feb., 8, 16 Feb. 1853; 1 Mar. 1855; 1 Apr. 1856; 11 Mar. 1858; 26 Feb. 1859; 22 Feb. 1861; 23, 24 Feb. 1862.

married by visiting Protestant missionaries.<sup>102</sup> However, he only succeeded in baptising one of the whalers' Maori wives.<sup>103</sup>

In addition, Garin visited the occasional Maori community. He met with two influential Maori chiefs during his journeys, specifically a nephew of Te Rauparaha, Wiremu Te Kanae of Ngati Toa,<sup>104</sup> and Kaikoura Whakatau of Ngai Tahu.<sup>105</sup> This was reminiscent of his Mangakahia experiences. From Te Awaiti he also undertook a perilous journey to visit a Maori community at 'Amaru', probably in the northern extremity of Arapawa Island where Cape Koamaru and Oamaru Bay are located. There he found three Maori Catholics, and seven Maori who wished to be baptised. He chose to defer the seven baptisms because he did not have time to teach the converts, though he advised them on what steps they should take to be baptised when they were next in Nelson or Wellington. This was a recurrent issue: the Maori in Marlborough were so far from Nelson that Garin was often unable to give them adequate instruction for baptism.<sup>106</sup> In reference to this visit, a Protestant man in the Wairau told the first Anglican Bishop of Nelson, Edmund Hobhouse, that Garin – a poor and ordinary Catholic priest – had gone to visit Maori in a very steep place on the coast that no Protestant missionary had yet managed to visit.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> NM, 8, 14, 17 Feb. 1853; 1 Mar. 1855; NPM, St Mary's Catholic Parish Nelson Baptism Register.

<sup>103</sup> NM, 1 Mar. 1855; NPM, St Mary's Catholic Parish Nelson Baptism Register.

<sup>104</sup> Peter Tremewan, Personal Communication, 30 April 2006.

<sup>105</sup> Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 24.

<sup>106</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853.

<sup>107</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 19 Mar. 1860.



Garin travelled extensively, twice visiting Kautere, approximately ten kilometres south of Kaikoura, to see a Catholic Maori family based there,<sup>108</sup> but neither Garin nor Moreau made considerable headway in converting Maori. There were no Maori parishioners in Nelson in the early 1850s, which Viard attributed to the difficulties that Garin and Moreau already had just to maintain their schools and cater to their European parishioners.<sup>109</sup> In 1860 Garin informed Viard that there were no Maori Catholics in Nelson, and only ten or so in Queen Charlotte Sound who went to Wellington for services – probably the small community that he had met at Amaru.<sup>110</sup> After Marlborough was separated from Nelson parish and given its own priest in 1864, Augustin Sauzeau confirmed that the Catholic Maori were always travelling because of their affiliation with North Island tribes, and that he could not do much for them.<sup>111</sup> In 1868 Garin recorded ‘about a dozen’ Maori Catholics in Nelson parish, none of whom went to church.<sup>112</sup> As Garin had earlier noted to his brother, ‘J’ai ici très peu de Maoris à voir. Ils se trouvaient munis et de livres et de chapelles protestants lorsque je suis arrivé, en sorte que je n’ai rien pu faire chez eux. Si j’avais eu les moyens et la facilité de les voir plus souvent et d’élever des chapelles pour eux, j’aurais pu réussir.’<sup>113</sup> The Catholic numbers thus never approached the numbers of Anglican and Wesleyan Maori in the area. It should be added, however, that by the 1860s the Anglican and

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<sup>108</sup> NM, 15 Mar., 4-5 Apr. 1862.

<sup>109</sup> Girard, VIII, doc. 1125, Moreau to Colin, 3 Mar. 1853; OPM, H34, H01159, 20-21.

<sup>110</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Viard, 21 Sep. 1860.

<sup>111</sup> Augustin Sauzeau, ‘Diocèse de Wellington (Nouvelle-Zélande): Station de Blenheim’, *Annales des Missions de la Société de Marie*, V (1884), 343-52 (p. 344).

<sup>112</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/34, Garin to Marist [nfi], 20 Apr. 1868.

<sup>113</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853.

Wesleyan ministers from Nelson and Marlborough were finding themselves increasingly occupied with the European mission at the expense of the Maori mission, just as Garin had some years earlier.<sup>114</sup>

Hilary and John Mitchell have emphasised Garin's cynical appraisal of Maori motives for becoming Christians during his time in Nelson, asserting that he seemed to have 'given up on Maori' (II, 106-09). Garin's attitude towards the combined European and Maori communities in Marlborough certainly supports this impression. He was appalled at the loose way of life that he witnessed at Te Awaiti and Port Underwood, where drunkenness and adultery were commonplace, and this led him to make some especially harsh comments. For instance, having recently been apprised of the number of men living in sin (sometimes with two women) and of girls having children out of wedlock,<sup>115</sup> he wrote to his brother: 'Ces crimes de fornication et d'adultère existent assez communément parmi la haute classe, particulièrement parmi la basse classe, et surtout parmi les enfants qui naissent d'un père Européen et d'une mère naturelle. Ces enfants ont généralement les vices des deux races. Ils sont menteurs, voleurs, ivrognes et impudiques.'<sup>116</sup> Such judgmental statements are rare in Garin's writings, and reveal that he could at times be influenced by nineteenth-century racial views. They may also reflect his frustration that, in ten years of visiting the Te Awaiti and Port Underwood communities, he had been unable to convince most of the Catholics there to live according to the rules of the Church.

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<sup>114</sup> Mitchell and Mitchell, II, 95-101.

<sup>115</sup> NM, 23, 25 Jan. 1862.

<sup>116</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 20 Feb. 1862.

However, these comments must be balanced against other evidence that suggests that Garin had an enduring empathy for Maori and interest in Maori culture. When Garin first arrived in Nelson, he taught Maori as one of the elite subjects at his high school.<sup>117</sup> Now that he saw Maori only rarely, he considered that he had less interesting things to report in his letters home.<sup>118</sup> In recounting the story of the Wairau Affray, he showed himself open to the Maori version of events, describing the man who instigated the massacre by firing a shot as ‘un brûlot d’Européen’, and the second shot from the Europeans as ‘une autre sottise plus coupable encore que la première’.<sup>119</sup> There are also examples of him acting as a mediator between the two cultures. This could happen in everyday life: Garin intervened when Joseph Ward and his son Austin panicked on seeing a Maori man make a sign like a gun, explaining that the man was in fact showing his wife how the surveyors use the telescope which Ward had with him.<sup>120</sup> But Garin also mediated in the public arena. During a lecture that he gave to raise money for his parish, he recounted the story of the battle of Kororareka as seen through his eyes. He explained the valiant conduct of Maori, who, on Hone Heke’s orders, put down their weapons and escorted the wife and daughter of the guardian of the British flag safely to a waiting boat. Fighting ceased at the sight of the flag of truce they were waving, a fact that Garin pointed out was ‘worthy of record, even amongst civilised nations.’ He also noted ‘several instances of humanity’ on the part of Maori: that Heke declared his fight was only with the ‘red clothes’ (the

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<sup>117</sup> ‘Catholic Schools’, *Nelson Examiner*, 2 August 1851, p. 98.

<sup>118</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>119</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 3 Mar. 1853.

<sup>120</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 11 Feb.-19 Apr. 1861.

soldiers); that the soldiers and national guards were permitted by Maori to retreat on boats without coming under fire; that a flag of truce was raised to give both camps time to transport their wounded and bury their dead. Garin was attempting to give his European audience a different perspective on the events of the Northern War.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Garin defended the Maori of the North Island at a public meeting regarding an attack by Hauhau warriors in Poverty Bay in November 1868 – a courageous move in a hall full of angry settlers. He noted that there were but a few hundred Hauhau as opposed to 36,000 North Island Maori, and it was plainly evident that not all Maori were hostile. Some Maori had lost their lives protecting Europeans from the Hauhau warriors. In the newspapers, on the other hand, Garin advocated the view that less attention should be paid to the advice of the Aborigines Protection Society, and the Hauhau dealt with through ‘correction and repression’.<sup>122</sup> Garin’s attitude towards Maori could not be described as purely cynical and judgmental, but, by the same token, it was certainly no longer idealistic and starry-eyed as it had been when he first arrived at Kororareka.

Garin had long been suspicious of Maori motives for becoming Christians, but this had not prevented him from working to convert Maori in Mangakahia. The major difference in Nelson stemmed from the focus of his station. Whereas in Mangakahia Garin was based in a Maori settlement, and would travel around his parish visiting the locals who were predominantly Maori with some few

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<sup>121</sup> ‘New Zealand Thirty-Five Years Ago’, *New Zealand Tablet*, 29 September 1876, pp. 13-14; 6 October 1876, p. 9; 13 October 1876, p. 8; 20 October 1876, pp. 7-8; 27 October 1876, p. 8.

<sup>122</sup> ‘The Atrocities in Poverty Bay. Great Public Meeting in Nelson’, *Nelson Examiner*, 17 Nov. 1868, p. 2; Oswald Curtis, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 19 Nov. 1868, p. 3; A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 19 Nov. 1868, p. 3.

Europeans dispersed among them, he was now based in a European town and visited the inhabitants of Nelson Province who were for the most part European. Garin was responsible for a station where Catholics of both races were few and scattered, and where considerable efforts were required to establish a parish community. Though he still reminisced about his time as a missionary to Maori, in Nelson he chose to cement himself firmly in the role of parish priest. In this sense, he reflected the experience of the Society of Mary in New Zealand at that time. It is telling that in 1860 Viard and Pompallier were appointed resident bishops and lost their titles of vicars apostolic, showing Rome's recognition of the development from a mission to a local church.<sup>123</sup>

### **Building Communities**

As Miles Fairburn notes, in nineteenth-century New Zealand migrants had to struggle with atomism: the breaking of ties to family, friends and community that occurred upon migration to such a distant part of the world. With specific reference to religion, Fairburn's thesis paints the nineteenth-century churches as poorly-attended and socially marginal; at a general level, it depicts colonial New Zealand as being gravely deficient in its social organisation. However, differences of religion, as of ethnicity, could be sources of colonial community. A fellow Catholic in a sea of Anglicans was less a stranger than they were. These 'old-world lumps', as James Belich describes them, could survive the migration process, and, especially when fostered by community leaders like Garin, reduce

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<sup>123</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 49.

the atomism that Fairburn sees as endemic to nineteenth-century New Zealand society.<sup>124</sup>

As the leader of a minority group, Garin expressed his identity in the new land by asserting the Catholics' cultural distinctiveness. He fought to gain a place for Catholics in New Zealand settler society, a society whose Protestant dominance threatened to overwhelm the Catholic presence. In the following discussion of Garin as parish priest of Nelson, it is argued that Garin's promotion of the Catholic cause enabled the Catholics of Nelson to transmit a strong intergenerational Catholic identity, but, more than this, that his championing of separate Catholic education contributed to a distinctive national Catholic identity – a Catholic diaspora in New Zealand. A diaspora is defined by its ability to recreate a culture in diverse locations.<sup>125</sup> This discussion uses the diary in which Garin recorded his continuing 'missionary' work, his correspondence comprising over seven thousand letters,<sup>126</sup> his annals of the Catholic station of Nelson, and his letters to the editor, to answer the questions posed by James Clifford regarding diaspora cultures. Clifford asks, 'What is brought from a prior place? And how is it maintained and transformed by the new environment?'<sup>127</sup> These questions need to be answered to understand Garin's experience, for he did not only advocate the Catholic position. On many occasions he instead showed his ability to adapt to

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<sup>124</sup> Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), pp. 11, 181-83; Belich, *Making Peoples*, p. 416.

<sup>125</sup> Vijay Agnew, 'Introduction', in *Diaspora, Memory and Identity*, ed. by Agnew, pp. 3-18 (p. 4).

<sup>126</sup> Peter Tremewan, 'Les lettres du père Garin' in *Lettres reçues d'Océanie 1836-1854 Symposium* (Wellington, 2009).

<sup>127</sup> *Routes: Travel and Translation*, p. 44.

local circumstances, gaining respect from the general Nelson community so that he was indeed living ‘inside, with a difference’ (see Chapter 2, n. 41).



**Figure 11: Nelson Catholic station, 1860s<sup>128</sup>**

### *Fight for Catholic Education*

The principal and most visible way in which Garin fostered a Catholic identity in Nelson and further afield was through his work in the education arena. In the nineteenth century the idea of state education for the masses arose in response to the spread of industrialisation and democracy. However, the reassertion of Papal conservatism after the Revolutions of 1848 ensured that Catholic policy regarding

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<sup>128</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 337C.

it would be hostile.<sup>129</sup> Pius IX specifically disapproved of the system of secular education that was carried out in what he termed ‘godless colleges’.<sup>130</sup> From the time of its inception, the Marist Society had considered Catholic education as one of its principal aims, second only to mission.<sup>131</sup> As Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn note, Catholic schools were, in effect, protectors of the faith (p. 177). Garin was a pragmatist: his choice to educate Catholic children in religion after school hours, so that Protestants could attend his schools, confirms this. But he brought a specific cultural baggage with him from Europe. He could not support a state education system that preferred secular education over denominational education without opposing the Church.

Because of the more prominent position of Patrick Moran, the Bishop of Dunedin, and the promulgation of his views through his newspaper, the *New Zealand Tablet*, Moran arguably gained a higher profile than Garin in his fight against secular education.<sup>132</sup> Yet it was Garin who first brought the issue to provincial and national attention, following the establishment of a provincial education system in Nelson in 1856.<sup>133</sup> Under the Nelson Education Act, a compulsory rate of one pound was imposed on householders for the whole province to devote to education. A capitation levy of five shillings was also

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<sup>129</sup> Hugh Laracy, ‘Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand’, in *Perspectives on Religion: New Zealand Viewpoints 1974: A Selection of Essays Given at a Colloquium Held at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, in August 1974*, ed. by John Hinchcliff (Auckland: University of Auckland Bindery, 1975), pp. 9-14 (p. 13).

<sup>130</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 5 May 1858, p. 3.

<sup>131</sup> Coste, pp. 223-24.

<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Laracy, ‘Paranoid Popery’, p. 9; B.D. McLeod, ‘Good Reading Matter: The New Zealand Tablet, 1873-1895’, in *Building God’s Own Country: Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, ed. by John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2004), pp. 96-112 (p. 101).

<sup>133</sup> ‘Education Bill’, *Nelson Examiner*, 16 February 1856, p. 2.



imposed on every child between five and fourteen. The province was divided into educational districts, and each elected a committee responsible for appointing teachers and managing the instruction. A central board of education controlled the financing and supervised the local committees, built and equipped the schools, and appointed an inspector of schools. Religious instruction was to be uncontroversial, so that the schools could be open to all children.<sup>134</sup> The Act therefore established state-managed, non-denominational schools. It was quite unlike what Garin had proposed when the Education Commission had asked for his opinion on the system of education most suited to the province. His proposal was rather that the Government should assist all well-conducted schools that gave a certain amount of secular instruction, and not interfere in any way with the religious instruction given in the schools or with their management.<sup>135</sup>

Garin was extremely vociferous in his opposition to the Act and its provision of secular education in Nelson, for the most part using the letters columns in the *Nelson Examiner* to express the Catholic point of view. He led the campaign against the Act, writing at least fifty letters to the editor in the eleven years that the debate continued. On occasion, he deliberately inflamed the discussion to keep the issue fresh in Nelsonians' minds, and fight for subsidies for his separate schools.<sup>136</sup> He also involved prominent Catholics in the community in his campaign. In particular, Garin enjoyed the support of Joseph Ward, who proved himself an important ally at the Provincial Council by raising the

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<sup>134</sup> New Zealand, *Education Statutes of New Zealand 1844-1877*, 3 vols (Palmerston North: Massey University Department of Education [1979]), II, 28-33; John Mackey, *The Making of a State Education System: The Passing of the New Zealand Education Act, 1877* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1967), pp. 92-93.

<sup>135</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 23 February 1856, p. 3.

<sup>136</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/26 Index Book Belonging to Father Garin.

Catholics' opposition to the Act at every opportunity.<sup>137</sup> Garin also enlisted the help of Premier Frederick Weld, whom he knew from Weld's interests in pastoralism in the Wairau Plain.<sup>138</sup> It was from Weld that Garin had formulated his idea that the Provincial Government should assist all well-conducted schools giving some secular instruction and not interfere with their religious instruction or management.<sup>139</sup>

It took some time for the framers of the Act to appreciate Garin's reasons for not placing his schools under the provincial system. As they saw it, they had simply made his practical solution of teaching secular education during the school day, and reserving religious instruction for after-school hours, into law, and they believed themselves indebted to Garin for providing the example.<sup>140</sup> Garin thus sought to demonstrate that he had used the system of secular instruction in his schools out of necessity. He had his proposal to the Education Commission published in the *Examiner*, where he argued that it was one thing to keep a school at the beginning of the colony, and quite another to establish a regular system of education. He would always support the denominational system over the secular system, in accordance with the beliefs of the Catholic Church.<sup>141</sup> Garin then organised a petition on 'Religious Liberty' to the Governor, which he again advertised in the *Examiner*. The petition alleged that the principal of freedom of

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<sup>137</sup> See, for example, 'Education Bill', *Nelson Examiner*, 16 February 1856, p. 2.; Joseph Ward, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 5 March 1856, p. 2; A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 21 June 1856, p. 3; 'Provincial Council', *Nelson Examiner*, 16 May 1857, p. 2.

<sup>138</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 21 June 1856; SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Weld, 21 Apr. 1865.

<sup>139</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 16 Mar. 1855.

<sup>140</sup> 'Education Bill', *Nelson Examiner*, 16 February 1856, p. 2.

<sup>141</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 23 February 1856, p. 3.

religion, one of the founding tenets of the country and fourth article of the Treaty of Waitangi, was being violated by the Nelson Education Act. Religious freedom was being encroached upon because members of the Catholic Church were forced to contribute towards schools which they could not in conscience attend, where ‘uncontroversial’ Bible reading was given from the Protestant version of the Bible.<sup>142</sup> The petition reportedly collected 335 signatures in Nelson and Waimea, suggesting that Garin had managed to gain sympathy for his cause from Protestant as well as Catholic settlers.<sup>143</sup> In fact, he later publicly stated that he had been ‘liberally aided by Protestant friends, who have recognised [our] claims on Government’.<sup>144</sup> From a list that Garin kept of the letters he wrote to the newspapers, it is clear that he deliberately provoked discussion of this petition. As ‘Agricola’, he wrote that there was no violation of religious liberty under the Act; this then gave him the opportunity to counter this argument, in a letter signed ‘Publicola’.<sup>145</sup> He also published an unusually frank letter from Bishop Viard, in which Viard said that he had been ‘profoundly afflicted’ by the passing of the Act, as ‘The harmony that should prevail among the members of the colony, above all, at the commencement of their labours, is destroyed, and may not hope to be established again until the abolition of these exceptionable laws on education’.<sup>146</sup>

The repeated raising of the issue by Garin in the newspapers led senior members of the Nelson community to re-think the implications of the Act from

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<sup>142</sup> ‘Religious Liberty!’, *Nelson Examiner*, 10 May 1856, p. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Civis, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 31 May 1856, p. 2.

<sup>144</sup> A.M. Garin, ‘The Catholic Schools’, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 16 February 1867, p. 3.

<sup>145</sup> Agricola [Antoine Garin], ‘The Education Act and Religious Liberty’, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 14 May 1856, p. 2; Publicola [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 17 May 1856, p. 2.

<sup>146</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 21 May 1856, p. 2.

the point of view of the Catholics. Charles Elliott, as Editor of the *Nelson Examiner* and a member of the Provincial Council that had passed the legislation, tried to suggest that Garin's schools could be brought under the Act as it stood. He believed that the only changes that needed to be contemplated to them were the improved buildings and school materials, and improved salary for the teacher that the Act would provide.<sup>147</sup> At this point, Garin explained exactly what would be required for him to place his schools under the Act. He needed to retain the management of the schools, specifically the appointment of teachers, selection of books, and planning of the course of education. As he explained, he wished to keep a Catholic school, with Catholic teachers, and with history and geography books where the history of Europe since the times of Luther was not represented from the Protestant point of view. The latter might seem a pedantic point. However, some years later Garin gave an apt example of the problem from a geography book, which stated regarding the governance of Italy: 'The present race, though famous for painting, sculpture, and music, has long been in a degraded condition under the Government of the Popes, and other tyrannical and superstitious rules.'<sup>148</sup>

It took some time for Garin's perspective to be accepted, and matters became heated. The Catholics were described as 'one small section of the community, the most extreme, the most exclusive, the most uncompromising of any in its religious opinions'. It was suggested that 'If they will concede nothing, explain nothing, propose nothing; if they will not listen to offers of compromise,

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<sup>147</sup> Charles Elliott, Editorial, *Nelson Examiner*, 21 June 1856, p. 2.

<sup>148</sup> A.M. Garin, 'Education', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 5 June 1866, p. 3.

[...] they must share the fate of all violent and unreasonable minorities, and submit to the general will'.<sup>149</sup> It should be remembered, of course, that the founders of Nelson were known for their liberal and non-denominational outlook. By his opposition to the Education Act, Garin threatened these values. Allan Davidson underlines the extent to which education was a divisive factor in the community, bringing to the surface the latent religious suspicion imported to New Zealand by migrants.<sup>150</sup>

Nonetheless, the force of Garin's argument and his standing in the community were such that a compromise began emerging. In February 1857, Charles Elliott wrote that the Catholics were comparatively not numerous, 'but yet, as their scruples are conscientious and such as they have the most perfect right to entertain, deserving of our utmost consideration, and by all means, if possible, to be won into acquiescence'. The Central Board of Education proposed the introduction of a scheme used in Canada which allowed for the minority of ratepayers in any educational district to take their own portion of the rate out of the common fund, to be applied to the formation of a separate school, denominational or otherwise.<sup>151</sup> Garin continued to fire up the argument, writing, as 'Candidus', that the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand had emitted similar opinions to those of the Catholics at a meeting held in Wellington.<sup>152</sup> Having been requested to give his opinion on the re-election of a Superintendent of Nelson, he even suggested that electors vote for the candidate who would amend the current

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<sup>149</sup> A Trustee, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 5 July 1856, p. 2.

<sup>150</sup> *Christianity in Aotearoa*, pp. 85, 93.

<sup>151</sup> Charles Elliott, Editorial, *Nelson Examiner*, 11 February 1857, p. 2.

<sup>152</sup> Candidus [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 8 August 1857, p. 3.

education system.<sup>153</sup> He would again try to lead Catholic voters in the 1867 superintendency election, provoking considerable criticism.<sup>154</sup>

Whether because of Garin's politicisation of the issue, or because of his dogged determination and ability to win support among the senior members of the community, an amendment was passed in 1858 that allowed the establishment of denominational schools within the public system, by a group of ratepayers contributing not less than fifty pounds per annum to the rates levied under the Act. These were to be known as 'separate schools'.<sup>155</sup> Still, Garin did not avail himself of the amendment: he believed that he had yet to win the right of choosing his own books and teachers.<sup>156</sup> In his role as the voice of the Catholic community in Nelson, throughout the 1860s he continued to send letters to the *Nelson Examiner*, and also to the newly-formed *Colonist*, supporting Catholics in their attempts to be dealt with fairly under the Act.<sup>157</sup> He agreed that the current system of education was the most practical for those living in the less-populated country districts, but continued to fight for subsidies for his schools in Nelson town.<sup>158</sup> In 1866 he organised another petition seeking redress for the Catholics, this time to the Provincial Council. The petition excited much correspondence on the

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<sup>153</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 16 September 1857, p. 2.

<sup>154</sup> An Independent Elector, 'The Catholics and the Superintendency', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 14 March 1867, p. 5; A Protestant Layman, 'The Roman Catholics and the Superintendency', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 19 March 1867, p. 3.

<sup>155</sup> *Education Statutes of New Zealand 1844-1877*, II, 34-37.

<sup>156</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to Editor, *Colonist*, 7 March 1865, p. 2.

<sup>157</sup> See, for example, A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 9 April 1859, p. 2; Inquirer [Antoine Garin], 'The Richmond Government School', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 3 December 1864, p. 3.

<sup>158</sup> A.M. Garin, Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 22 November 1859, pp. 2-3.

education question,<sup>159</sup> so that it became one of the debating points in the 1867 elections for the superintendency. In the event, a suggested amendment by candidate and eventual winner Oswald Curtis was made to the Education Act. The amendment stated that the subscriptions to rates were to be halved to twenty-five pounds, and the assistance given by the Central Board was to be made in the form of money only.<sup>160</sup> Separated schools would therefore now be able to choose their own teachers, and buy their own books. Finally, after eleven years of campaigning, Garin was able to announce that he would be placing his schools under the Act.<sup>161</sup> Of course, the concessions made to the Catholics did not please everyone. One correspondent complained regarding the amendment: ‘It must be highly satisfactory indeed [...] to the Roman Catholics, who with the acute intelligence which usually distinguishes their administration, teach what they like and get helped in cash all the same!’<sup>162</sup> It was, after all, such a concession that it received even the approval of Bishop Moran when he arrived in New Zealand in 1871.<sup>163</sup>

By his struggle to keep separate Catholic schools, Garin helped to maintain a distinctive Catholic identity in Nelson. First, as he noted to a local parishioner, it was through a school that children had access to their priest; if there was no school, the children would be ‘little strangers to their pastors’. The school

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<sup>159</sup> ‘Provincial Council: Government Aid to Roman Catholic Educational Purposes’, *Nelson Examiner*, 26 April 1866, p. 3.

<sup>160</sup> A.M. Garin, ‘The Catholics and the Election’, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 2 March 1867, p. 3.

<sup>161</sup> A.M. Garin, ‘Education Act Amendment Bill’, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 20 June 1867.

<sup>162</sup> Colonist, ‘The Nelson Public Schools’, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 29 August 1868, p. 3.

<sup>163</sup> ‘Superior Schools’, *Nelson Examiner*, 24 September 1873, p. 3.

thus enabled him to perform his ministry.<sup>164</sup> Garin also believed that without the schools, the Catholics in Nelson would be nearly invisible, ‘comme noyés et comme entraînés dans une multitude de Protestants; se voyant ainsi confondus, ils ne tiendraient pas même à être connus comme Catholiques et ils vivraient en Protestants’.<sup>165</sup> In other words, the schools were crucial to creating a Nelson Catholic community. Garin had thus effectively resisted the processes of nation-building that could suppress minorities, and lead to the erasure of difference in the community. His success stemmed from his determination and personal popularity, and the efficiency of his schools. They continued to hold the top place among the primary schools of Nelson, attracting considerable Protestant and Catholic numbers (some 139 pupils in 1859), even when they were the only schools in Nelson where fees had to be charged.<sup>166</sup> Just as importantly, his success can be attributed to his ability to find practical solutions and take a non-extremist perspective, unlike Moran who tried to forbid Catholics from sending their children to public schools altogether.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Goulter, 29 Jan. 1864.

<sup>165</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 9 May 1862.

<sup>166</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 3 Feb. 1859; APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 9 May 1862.

<sup>167</sup> Laracy, ‘Paranoid Popery’, p. 9.





**Figure 12: Garin standing in the porch of his Boys' School (date unknown)<sup>168</sup>**

The consequences of Garin's fight for a Catholic education were also felt beyond the confines of the Nelson community. Education was a national issue, and the Nelson compromise became well-known throughout the country. On hearing that the General Assembly wanted to propose a uniform education system for all of New Zealand, Garin began working towards ensuring that the Nelson Education Act Amendment Act of 1867 was made into a piece of national legislation. There were two provisions that he considered vital for the new national legislation. The first was that there was to be no Bible reading or religious instruction in public schools whatsoever, so that no controversy arose over which version of the Bible was to be used or the religious persuasion of the teacher. The second was that separated schools could be formed on the same terms that he enjoyed in Nelson. He corresponded furiously with Bishop Viard in

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<sup>168</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 1032B.

the month of August 1871, seeking to explain that the denominational system could not be advocated in the smaller localities where numbers did not permit the erection of schools for each religious body. He similarly refused to request state aid for the Catholics, as there was no state church in New Zealand and demanding special treatment was out of the question. In the end, his more practical solution of secular instruction, and separated schools where there were enough householders to form one, was accepted by Viard. Garin thus took the lead in rallying other Marists in the Wellington Diocese.<sup>169</sup> He also made the new bill a discussion point in Nelson by writing to the newspapers,<sup>170</sup> and petitioned prominent Nelsonians who had a voice in politics: first, David Monro, who had been Speaker of the House for ten years until 1871,<sup>171</sup> and then, Oswald Curtis, Nelson member of the House of Representatives from 1867 until 1878.<sup>172</sup> It was Curtis who kept Garin abreast of events in Wellington, and through whom Garin proposed an amendment to the Act. Ultimately, the amendment was not accepted, though the Act that was passed by the House of Representatives in 1877 did institute completely secular education, with no Bible-reading in schools.<sup>173</sup> Indirectly, the Nelson system had exercised a 'powerful influence in helping to mould the national system'. Education was, moreover, an area in which the Catholics, with

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<sup>169</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 18, 21, 23, 31 Aug. 1871; Garin to Sauzeau, 14 Sep. 1871; Garin to Forest, 15 Sep. 1871; Garin to Ecuyer, 23 Feb. 1872; Garin to Petit-Jean, 18 Jul. 1872.

<sup>170</sup> A.M. Garin, 'The Education Act', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 9 September 1871, p. 6; reprinted in *Colonist*, 12 September 1871, p. 4.

<sup>171</sup> Rex Wright-St Clair, 'Monro, David 1813 - 1877', in *DNZB* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>> [accessed 10 May 2009].

<sup>172</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 6 vols (Wellington: Cyclopedia Co., 1906), V, 24; SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Monro, 24 Jan. 1871; Garin to Curtis, 11 Sep. 1871.

<sup>173</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Curtis, 26 Jul., 6 Aug. 1877; 22, 29 Aug 1878; Garin to Forest, 29 Aug. 1879; A.E. Campbell, *Educating New Zealand* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1941), p. 47.

the help of community leaders like Garin and Moran, established a distinct identity for themselves. After 1877, they withdrew their children into their own schools which continued to flourish,<sup>174</sup> a legacy which is still present in New Zealand today.

In the wake of the 1877 Act, Garin organised a petition to the House of Representatives to have his schools in Nelson placed on an equal footing with the public schools, but this was unsuccessful. He therefore lost the provincial subsidies he had enjoyed for ten years, as well as many of his Protestant students.<sup>175</sup> This was of consequence: in 1877 Protestant children outnumbered the Catholic children significantly, with 30 Catholics to 117 Protestants at the Boys' School, and 87 Catholics to 146 Protestants at the Girls' School.<sup>176</sup> One factor ensured the continued success of the schools, however, and this was their reputation. Charles Richards was in charge of the Boys' School for twenty-three years, from 1854 until 1877, and gained much credit for the school.<sup>177</sup> After losing his subsidies, Garin was forced to let Richards go because he commanded such a high salary, but employed Arthur McMurrugh Kavanagh as his head teacher. Kavanagh was the son of a Cambridge University professor and former head inspector of national schools in Ireland, and was able to continue Richards'

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<sup>174</sup> A.G. Butchers, *Education in New Zealand: An Historical Survey of Educational Progress Amongst the Europeans and the Maori Since 1878; Forming with 'Young New Zealand' a Complete History of Education in New Zealand from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1930), p. 87.

<sup>175</sup> 'Catholic Petition', *Colonist*, 10 August 1878, p. 3; 'Evening Classes. St Mary's Schools', *Colonist*, 6 July 1878, p. 2; 'St Mary's School Fete', *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 July 1878, p. 16.

<sup>176</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Curtis, 7 Aug. 1877.

<sup>177</sup> 'St Mary's Schools', *Nelson Examiner*, 18 January 1868, p. 4; 'Social to Mr C.A. Richards', *New Zealand Tablet*, 14 June 1895, p. 15.

tradition of teaching excellence.<sup>178</sup> As regards the Girls' School, in 1866 Garin proposed that the Religieuses de Notre-Dame des Missions open an exclusive girls' school in Nelson, as there was no equivalent of Nelson College for girls.<sup>179</sup> The Religieuses de Notre-Dame des Missions were a Lyonnais congregation like the Marists.<sup>180</sup> Though Garin's relations with Superior General Barbier and her Sisters were sometimes strained,<sup>181</sup> the Sisters improved the reputation of his Girls' School to the extent that new buildings had to be erected and the Sisters soon had three schools: a common school, select school and high school.<sup>182</sup> In 1882 the three girls' schools had a total attendance of 170 children, which said much about the Sisters' reputation.<sup>183</sup>

Another addition to Garin's schools which ensured their longevity was made in the form of orphanages. Garin was aware of the problem that Catholic children who had been orphaned were brought up as Protestants if they entered a state-run institution.<sup>184</sup> During a visit to Golden Bay, probably in November 1871, Garin's curate J. Nicolas Binsfeld discovered a number of Catholic children at an

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<sup>178</sup> MAW, HD8, Employment Agreements for St Mary's School, Industrial School and Parish, 10; Peter Tremewan, Personal Communication, 31 December 2007.

<sup>179</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Yardin, 11 Apr. 1867.

<sup>180</sup> 'Les religieuses Notre-Dame des Missions', in *Diocèse de Nevers* <<http://catho58.ccf.fr/diocese/dreligieux.html#1>> [accessed 14 May 2009].

<sup>181</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Forest, 27 May 1873; APM, Z 208, Garin to Poupinel, 21 Nov. 1873; APM, Z 61 580, Binsfeld to Poupinel, 14 Apr. 1873; Marie-Bénédicte Ollivier, *Missionary Beyond Boundaries: Euphrasie Barbier, 1829-1893*, trans. by Beverley Grounds (Rome: Religieuses de Notre-Dame des Missions, 2007), pp. 329-32, 371-72.

<sup>182</sup> 'Elections of Local Committees under the Education Act', *Nelson Examiner*, 8 July 1871, p. 4; SMPA, DNM 2/31, 210.

<sup>183</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Redwood, c. 26 Aug. 1882.

<sup>184</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Koghan, 14 Aug. 1871; Garin to Vicar General Auckland, 23 Aug. 1871.

orphanage in Motueka.<sup>185</sup> In early 1872 Garin applied to Superintendent Oswald Curtis for the right to claim Catholic orphans, such as those at the orphanage of Motueka, and bring them to Nelson under the care of St Mary's Catholic station. He also applied to receive the allowance which the orphanage was given for their care. The Executive Council agreed, and, having received a list of the children placed at the orphanage, Garin set about discovering which of them had a Catholic father, and had the Catholic orphans brought to his station.<sup>186</sup>

Thus began St Mary's Orphanage. Originally the boys were cared for by a matron at the station and the girls by the Sisters at the convent, and the children all attended the parish schools.<sup>187</sup> Then, in 1879, Garin applied to the Colonial Secretary to have St Mary's Orphanage deemed an 'industrial school' under the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act (1867).<sup>188</sup> St Mary's was so constituted, being the first denominational institution of the kind to be established by law. Industrial schools could take orphan children, neglected children, homeless children, or any child who had committed a crime, but whom the justices believed should be sent to an industrial school rather than a prison. Though originally a provincial establishment,<sup>189</sup> an amendment to the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act in 1881 stipulated that the schools could be opened to any child in New Zealand as committed by a magistrate. It was at Garin's instigation that the

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<sup>185</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Reilly, 14 Oct. 1871; DNM 2/33, Garin to Binsfeld, 12 Oct. 1881; MAW, HD6, 165-67.

<sup>186</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Wallis, 21 May 1872; Garin to Walsh, 13 Sep. 1872; Garin to Belliard, 21 Sep. 1872; SMPA, DNM 2/31, 164.

<sup>187</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 164.

<sup>188</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Colonial Secretary, 2 Oct. 1879.

<sup>189</sup> 'Industrial Schools', *New Zealand Tablet*, 9 April 1880, p. 14.

Member of Parliament for Waimea, Joseph Shephard, had worked to have this amendment passed in the House.<sup>190</sup> Thereby St Mary's Industrial School became the first denominational industrial school for boys and girls in New Zealand.<sup>191</sup> The pride that Catholics took in this achievement is evident in a circular produced by Bishop of Wellington Francis Redwood soon after the amendment was passed, asking his clergy to organise collections for new buildings for the industrial schools:

You will readily understand the far-reaching import of this enactment. We have now in our power to rescue our Catholic neglected and criminal children and youth from the dangers to their faith always existing in secular and non-Catholic establishments. [...] After waiting and striving so long for such a boon, it would be a lamentable misfortune [...] to allow it to fail for want of a little money.<sup>192</sup>

At this point Garin effectively began to care for two different types of children: orphans, and neglected children. He chose to house them in separate buildings, so that he had boys' and girls' orphanages, and boys' and girls' industrial schools.<sup>193</sup> However, while the Sisters ran a separate, common school that catered for the orphans and neglected children, Garin had no such arrangement for the boys, and by 1884 his Boys' School had suffered a version of 'white flight' as parents withdrew their children and sent them to the public schools. The solution that he found for this problem was to have teaching

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<sup>190</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Shephard, 27 Jun., 22 Sep. 1881; *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, V, 27, 30.

<sup>191</sup> 'Industrial Schools', *New Zealand Tablet*, 14 October 1881, p. 15.

<sup>192</sup> MAW, HD6, Redwood to Clergy, 29 Sep. 1881, 173.

<sup>193</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa, 10 Oct. 1883; SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Hislop, 1 Nov. 1881.

brothers. Garin believed that two or three Marist Brothers would suffice to look after the orphanage, and would enable a separate school to be established for them. A farm could be purchased near Nelson so that the Brothers would be self-supporting.<sup>194</sup> As was often the case with the Nelson parish, the Stoke Industrial School, though Garin's idea, was a community effort. Prominent members of the Catholic community, such as Garin's close friend Judge Lowther Broad, organised the business aspects, while Bishop Redwood took a particular interest in developments.<sup>195</sup> It was completed in 1886. As Bishop Moran said in the *New Zealand Tablet*, 'the erection of this grand building is a matter for congratulation among the Catholics throughout the Colony, and particularly in the Diocese of Wellington.'<sup>196</sup> Lay staff ran the establishment until the arrival of the teaching brothers in 1890; by 1893, of the 503 Catholic children in Catholic orphanages, 315 of them were at Stoke Industrial School in Nelson.<sup>197</sup> Thus, while Garin had not succeeded in getting the Nelson education system passed into national law, he had obtained the first denominational orphanage and industrial school, of which Catholics in need from all over the country could avail themselves. Again, education had brought the Catholic difference to light.

Garin had brought from Europe the idea of denominational education, reflecting the position of the Catholic Church. He then sought to maintain this ideal in New Zealand, by supporting the denominational system 'wherever and

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<sup>194</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Sauzeau, 15 Jan. 1884; Garin to Redwood, 22 Jan. 1884.

<sup>195</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Redwood, 5 Jun. 1884.

<sup>196</sup> 'Wellington', *New Zealand Tablet*, 27 August 1886, p. 16.

<sup>197</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 158; Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 78.

whenever practicable', notably in the more-populated towns.<sup>198</sup> However, when faced with practical difficulties, he was capable of moving from this position and advocating a system that was in effect a compromise between denominational and secular education, as he maintained in his schools in Nelson. In his fight for Catholic education, Garin was able to transcend the stereotype of Catholics as the most exclusive and uncompromising section of the community. He instead adapted to the particular circumstances of life in predominantly British, Protestant New Zealand, while continuing to fight for the rights of the Catholic community to have their own institutions when possible, such as his orphanages and industrial schools.

### *The Nelson Catholic Parish under Garin*

Of course, Garin did not only bring from Europe the idea of denominational education, but rather a whole system of Marian beliefs and practices that had been inculcated during his noviciate in France. During the post-Revolution era in which the Marists were formed, Christianity in France was in an expansive mode, with an emphasis on church-building and exterior manifestations of the faith. In this climate, the Marists had formulated three principal aims: education, mission and the defence of the Catholic faith, with an overlying focus on a compassionate approach to their apostolate. This was another part of the cultural baggage that Garin brought to New Zealand. The situation that Garin found in Nelson was reminiscent of the Marist missions to the countryside in the 1820s: scattered

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<sup>198</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 21 Aug. 1871.



populations, with limited access to the infrastructure of the Church. By maintaining the Marist philosophy in Nelson, Garin also helped the Catholics to maintain the faith that they had known in Europe.

Education, mission, and the defence of Catholicism thus provided Garin with the framework for his apostolate in Nelson, and allowed him to maintain a strong Catholic identity for his parishioners. He provided the backdrop for this work by creating an unofficial Marist community in Nelson. Apart from his earliest years on the mission in Kororaraka, Garin had spent his time at Mangakahia and Howick working in sole-charge positions. In Nelson, which was for some years the only Marist station in the South Island,<sup>199</sup> he instead insisted on receiving assistance. Brother Claude-Marie accompanied Garin to Nelson in 1850. Claude-Marie often protested that the work in Nelson was too onerous for him, and asked on many occasions to return to Europe.<sup>200</sup> He was eventually sent to Napier in 1879, though returned to Nelson after two years at his express wish.<sup>201</sup> Despite Claude-Marie's discontent, Garin recognised that the Brother was an integral element of his mission, remarking on several occasions to their superiors that it was Claude-Marie who cared for the boarders that Garin hosted at the station, prepared the church for services, and led the church music.<sup>202</sup> In addition to the Brother, Garin also requested a curate, saddled as he was with two parish centres: one in Nelson, the other in Waimea. As noted above, Delphin Moreau

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<sup>199</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 51.

<sup>200</sup> For example, see APM, VM 222, Claude-Marie to Poupinel, 3 May 1859, 2 May 1860, 10 Feb. 1864.

<sup>201</sup> APM, Z 208, Claude-Marie to Marist [nfi], 11 Sep. 1880.

<sup>202</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Brother Louis-Marie, 18 Jul. 1876; APM, VM 222, Garin to Poupinel, 17 Sep. 1858, 22 Jan. 1862; APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 9 May 1862.

was the first to hold the post. After eight years of teaching, ministering to the Waimea parishioners, and relieving for Garin when the latter was away visiting the Catholics in Golden Bay and the Wairau, Moreau was called away and was replaced by Léon Pons, a newly-arrived Marist. Unfortunately, Pons left the Society within months of his appointment, a move which devastated Garin.<sup>203</sup> Pons's departure led to a series of different men being appointed throughout the 1860s and early 1870s, beginning with the ailing Pierre Michel, Aimé Martin, Maurice Trésallet, Jean-Pierre Chareyre, and Belgian Marist Nicolas Binsfeld. Finally, Irish Marist William Mahoney was appointed in 1875 and remained in the post until Garin's death, assisted from 1887 by a second curate, James Landouar.<sup>204</sup> The Nelson station was clearly of some importance to the Marists: after 1851 Garin was never left without at least one curate. Together with the school teachers Garin employed and the Sisters who were based in Nelson from 1871, this provided his parishioners with a whole network of Catholic clergy and personnel to use as a reference point in their community.

With this network to support him, Garin sought to fulfil the aims of the Marists: to provide education, to re-ignite the faith of the Catholics and seek new converts, and to defend the Catholic faith. To begin with education, for Garin this did not merely mean the creation and maintenance of Catholic schools. Garin was keenly aware of the danger that Catholic children brought up in a predominantly Protestant country would lose their faith. He thus gave great importance to reaching as many children as possible with catechism and Sunday school

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<sup>203</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 61; APM, Z. 208, Garin to Poupinel, 31 Aug. 1859; NM, 21 Sep. 1859.

<sup>204</sup> MAW, HD6, 165-67.

teaching. Children in Waimea were unable to attend the Catholic school in Nelson unless they could afford to live as boarders. Garin thus devised a system whereby they were visited every week for catechism, so that they would receive the same instruction as the children in Nelson town. In order to motivate them, for good work he would give them ‘bons points’, or paper money, which they could use at the end of the school year to buy Catholic books and pictures.<sup>205</sup> For the end of year examinations, he would decorate the respective churches, and display the pictures and books that were up for sale. Children who recited the Bible with the least mistakes or gave the best replies to the catechism questions were allowed to choose their prize; an auction was then held so that all children could spend the ‘money’ they had accumulated during the year. Garin believed that ‘ce mode d’émulation produit les plus merveilleux effets’.<sup>206</sup> The importance of Garin’s work with the children in the countryside is underlined by his mentoring of Francis Redwood. Having seen that Francis and his brother Charles knew their catechism perfectly, he invited them along with other boys to board at his house in Nelson for a week, during which they had a regular spiritual retreat to prepare them for their first communion. According to Redwood, writing some seventy-one years later, his vocation – the first vocation to the priesthood in New Zealand – sprang from this first communion. Garin, his curate Moreau, and Brother Claude-Marie taught Redwood Latin, French and music at their St Michael’s boarding school, grooming him to be a priest. In late 1854 a ship called into Nelson with Father Jean-Baptiste Comte on board, who was returning to France. Garin

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<sup>205</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Favre, 20 Apr. 1857.

<sup>206</sup> APM, VM 222, Garin to Poupinel, 18 Feb. 1858.

encouraged the young Francis to seize this opportunity of leaving for Lyon where he could train to be a Marist. Francis would return to Nelson twenty years later, as Garin's bishop.<sup>207</sup>

Another means by which Garin reinforced the children's Catholic identity was through his organisation of school 'tea parties', which would usually consist of a parade with flags, sometimes oral examination of the children, and then tea and games. They could be attended by several hundred people, and some of Nelson's leading citizens.<sup>208</sup> Garin put great thought and effort into these parties, which were in direct competition with those that the public schools held, and they often had a touch of French flair. In 1871, after twenty years of the parties, the *Colonist* still wrote that 'the French game of Chicken in the Pot was highly amusing'.<sup>209</sup> The parties were also an opportunity for him to indulge the children in some of his own interests, such as music and singing,<sup>210</sup> and all things modern. His magic lantern was reputedly one of the biggest in Nelson, and made images that were five centimetres high appear a metre high,<sup>211</sup> other examples of modern entertainment included stereoscopic views and a galvanic battery, used to make engravings. For the twenty-sixth anniversary of St Mary's Schools in 1876, he took the children by train to Wakefield. For many of them it was their first ride on a steam train, and the *New Zealand Tablet* wrote that 'The effect, too, on the settlers [...] of the steam horse tearing along with such a happy freight, together

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<sup>207</sup> Redwood, *Reminiscences*, I, 13-19.

<sup>208</sup> NM, 7 Jan. 1851, 7 Jan. 1852, 17 Jan. 1868, 18 Jan. 1871.

<sup>209</sup> 'St Mary's Schools', *Colonist*, 20 January 1871, p. 2.

<sup>210</sup> NM, 7 Jan. 1851, 7 Jan. 1852, 7 Jan. 1863, 17 Jan. 1868.

<sup>211</sup> APM, Z. 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 5 Feb. 1866.

with the profuse display of banners was picturesque in the extreme, as was evidenced by the scores who rushed to their doors waving [con]gratulations with the nearest article at hand'.<sup>212</sup> School picnics and church openings were some of the few events that women and children could participate in,<sup>213</sup> and Garin's knack for providing interesting entertainment made them a focal point on the Catholic calendar.

Exterior signs of the faith were also the essential ingredient in 'mission': the re-igniting of the faith, and obtaining of new converts. Church-building was one of the most obvious of these exterior signs, providing the setting for celebrations of the faith, and was a constant feature of Garin's apostolate in Nelson. Much of the post-1860 church-building was owed to the influx of miners to Nelson Province. Gold was discovered in the province first at the Aorere, Slate and Anatoki rivers in Golden Bay in the mid-1850s, then the Buller and Lyell Rivers in the southwest corner of the province in the early 1860s, and in 1864 at Wakamarina, only fifty kilometres east of Nelson town.<sup>214</sup> Over the winter of 1864 the Wakamarina miners retired to Nelson and crowded Garin's church. With the subscriptions of these miners and those of the West Coast, among whom Garin's curate Trésallet collected, an addition to the church was made in 1865 and a handsome steeple built, with a gilded ball and cross to commemorate the miners' generosity.<sup>215</sup> Garin remarked proudly to his brother, 'cette flèche ne fait qu'écraser celle du temple protestant que depuis longtemps on appelle un

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<sup>212</sup> 'St Mary's Schools Picnic', *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 May 1876, p. 14.

<sup>213</sup> McAloon, p. 53; NM, 22 Jan. 1862.

<sup>214</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 7 Jul. 1858, 22 Jun. 1865; McAloon, pp. 61, 75-76.

<sup>215</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 22 Jun. 1865.

étouffoir'.<sup>216</sup> The Catholic bell tower, nicknamed the 'miners' tower' because they had financed it, was the highest building in Nelson. Garin wrote that the sound of its bell was stronger and deeper than any other in the town, and warmed the heart of Nelsonians by reminding them of home.<sup>217</sup>

Garin's curates all participated in the church-building bonanza. Trésallet's collections enabled the doubling of the church at Waimea in 1865,<sup>218</sup> and the building of Sacred Heart Church at Takaka in 1868. Trésallet's replacement, Chareyre, was the driving force behind the construction of St Joseph's Church at Wakefield in 1870. Mahoney in turn organised the building of St Francis's at Motueka, which was completed in 1876, and another church at Hampden (present-day Murchison), which was built with the miners' subscriptions in 1882. Lastly, after a devastating fire burned down St Mary's in Nelson on Easter Monday 1881, a new church costing two thousand pounds was built, with Nelson Catholics contributing five hundred pounds, West Coast Catholics another five hundred pounds, and Garin himself four hundred pounds.<sup>219</sup> By 1882 the parish of Nelson thus contained six churches in addition to its schools and orphanages, despite the small numbers of Catholics in the province who were able to fund them.<sup>220</sup> Garin and his curates were able to create this fine infrastructure for their parish thanks to the miners' generosity, but also to Garin's clever management of

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<sup>216</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 5 Feb. 1866.

<sup>217</sup> WAA, Bx 211, Garin to Redwood, 23 Oct. 1868; APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Yardin, 25 Jun. 1868; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 22 Jun. 1865.

<sup>218</sup> WAA, Bx 211, Garin to Redwood, 8 Aug. 1865.

<sup>219</sup> SMPA, DNM 9 Historical Notes; Census Statistics of New Zealand, Return of Places of Public Worship in April, 1881.

<sup>220</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Redwood, c. 26 Aug. 1882.

his finances. Though priests technically had no income, Garin obtained funds through subscriptions, boarding school fees, art unions, and an arrangement with Joseph Ward, by which Ward farmed sheep for Garin and gave him around one hundred pounds' profit from them each year.<sup>221</sup> Thanks to Garin's economies, the Nelson priests were even able to purchase land in the more far-flung reaches of their parish, namely Blenheim/Meadowbank/Renwick and Westport, in preparation for the building of churches and schools. They thereby smoothed the way for the priests who would take over those areas when they were removed from the Nelson parish's control in 1864 and 1867 respectively.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Petit-Jean, 7 Oct. 1872; ATL, MS-Group-0361, 88-140 Joseph Ward Diary 1867, 9 Jul. 1867; MS-Papers-5270 Joseph Ward Diary 1876-1877, 8 Mar. 1876.

<sup>222</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Ward, c. July 1862; Garin to Goulter, 29 Jan. 1864; Garin to Walsh, 4 Sep. 1867; O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope*, pp. 83, 90.



**Figure 13: The 'new' St Mary's Church today**  
**Private collection of the author.**

The Catholic emphasis on exterior signs of the faith could also be seen in the European touches that Garin brought to his churches. He imported the church ornaments from Europe, sending long lists of pictures, crosses and decorations that he would like to receive, as well as more specific requests such as his church bell.<sup>223</sup> Among other things, two chandeliers were sent in 1859 by the young Francis Redwood from France, and a stained glass window was obtained in 1887 via Étienne Chaurain, Marist Superior at Spitalfields. The window was paid for by a member of the Nelson congregation as a memorial to her recently-converted

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<sup>223</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Germain, 12 Sep. 1879.



husband.<sup>224</sup> The style of service at St Mary's was similarly European, with a focus on music and ceremony. Garin, a competent musician who could play a variety of instruments including the flute, clarinet and harmonium, held singing lessons for the school children, a class that was 'assez vantée en ville', and from which his church benefited.<sup>225</sup> Every Sunday there was a sung high mass, and, according to Garin, 'Notre musique est en général considérée la meilleure de l'endroit'.<sup>226</sup>

Garin believed that a vital part of enlarging his Catholic community was the encouragement that mission visits could bring, in the style of the French missions to the countryside. He constantly sought visits from his bishops, whom he needed to encourage baptisms, conduct confirmations, and give importance to ceremonies such as the blessing of churches. Unfortunately, Bishop Viard took a passive approach to his role, preferring to be fully involved in the care of the Wellington parish at the expense of the rest of the diocese.<sup>227</sup> However, Garin did obtain a three-week long visit from Viard in June 1857 to celebrate the opening of his new churches and give confirmation to the parishioners of Nelson and Waimea, and in 1866 the Bishop made a second visit with the original visiting priest of Nelson, Jeremiah O'Reily. Garin had the details of O'Reily's happy reunion with his parishioners published in the *Colonist*.<sup>228</sup> The appointment in 1874 of Viard's successor, Francis Redwood whom Garin had taught as a young

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<sup>224</sup> WAA, Bx 211, Garin to Redwood, 25 Feb. 1859; SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Chaurain, 5 Jun. 1886; Clisby, doc. 220, Chaurain to Poupinel, 4 Feb. 1874; SMPA, DNM 2/31, 247.

<sup>225</sup> APM, Z 208, Moreau to Colin, 3 Mar. 1852.

<sup>226</sup> Clisby, doc. 122, Claude-Marie to Redwood, 8 Dec. 1857; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 17 Aug. 1859.

<sup>227</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Poupinel, 14 Feb. 1866; O'Meehan, *Steadfast in Hope*, pp. 94-95; Keys, *Philip Viard*, pp. 209-11.

<sup>228</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 55; 'Confirmation', *Colonist*, 10 July 1866, p. 3.

boy, ensured that episcopal visits for celebrations and mission work became more frequent. Other examples of this more proactive type of Catholicism included the exercises of the Jubilee that Garin and Mahoney held in 1851 and 1875 respectively,<sup>229</sup> and the hosting of missions given by visiting evangelists such as Father Patrick Hennebery, who revived Catholic commitment and promoted a pledge against drinking. Hennebery held a week-long mission in Nelson in October 1878, at which Redwood presided to give confirmations and Augustin Sauzeau assisted as confessor. The effects of such missions in reviving the faith were indisputable: during Hennebery's visit 300 people took the pledge, and there were 300 communions, 21 baptisms, and 78 confirmations.<sup>230</sup>

Given the particular geographical nature of the Nelson parish, Garin considered that gathering his scattered flock was another essential aspect of his mission. As he noted, he only had direct access to approximately one-third of his parishioners in Nelson town. The other two-thirds were split between the Wairau on the one hand, and Waimea and Motueka/Golden Bay on the other.<sup>231</sup> This meant a return to the travelling that Garin had known in Mangakahia, though in Nelson he had to cover even greater distances over more difficult terrain. From an analysis of Garin's diary and the baptism registers that he kept, it appears that he visited Motueka six times between 1851 and 1857; following the goldrush, he extended these trips to encompass Golden Bay, which he also visited six times. This was in addition to the annual visits that he undertook over a ten-year period

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<sup>229</sup> NM, 8 Jun. 1851; SMPA, DNM 2/31, 192.

<sup>230</sup> Hugh Laracy, 'Patrick Hennebery in Australasia, 1877-1882', in *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts and Perspectives*, ed. by Brad Patterson (Wellington: Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, 2002), pp. 103-16; SMPA, DNM 2/31, 211.

<sup>231</sup> APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Viard, 21 Sep. 1860.

to the Wairau. While the visits to Motueka were only of three to four days' duration, those to Golden Bay could last up to three and a half weeks, and those to the Wairau could take from four to eleven weeks depending on whether he also visited the Kaikoura coast.<sup>232</sup> This travelling was a considerable burden in an already demanding parish, split between Nelson and Waimea and with up to three schools and a boarding school to maintain. The emphasis that Garin placed on travelling reflects the importance that he gave to mission in his apostolate, even if that mission was now to a predominantly European population. As Garin explained to his brother regarding the division of work with his curate, 'l'un ira ramener au bercail les brebis égarées ou faire entrer d'autres qui n'y avaient jamais été, tandis que l'autre en sentinelle veillera à ce que celles qui sont dedans n'en sortent pas'.<sup>233</sup>

For the Catholics who Garin saw in these remote areas, his visits provided the opportunity to put a human face to the Church, beyond the correspondence that they had with their priest throughout the year. Doubtless, the journeys involved great hardship. Until 1860, when the Maungatapu Saddle was opened, the Wairau had to be reached via Tophouse. This was a substantial detour which led the traveller to the junction of three river systems: the Buller, Motueka, and Wairau rivers, from whence Blenheim could be reached. The perils of river-crossing were renowned – in 1853 Constantine Dillon, one of Nelson's most prominent citizens, had perished in the Wairau River<sup>234</sup> – but it was not the only

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<sup>232</sup> NM, 1851-1863.

<sup>233</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa, 4 Aug. 1851.

<sup>234</sup> NM, 22 Apr. 1853.

danger. Garin coaxed horses past the crashing waves of the Kaikoura coast to reach isolated communities, climbed impossibly steep ravines in order to perform the first religious ceremony in a gold-mining community, and drank the pool of water left by a horse's hoof when there were no other provisions.<sup>235</sup> When the intriguing details of travelling in nineteenth-century New Zealand are laid aside, his accounts of his journeys read as a list of baptisms, marriages, conversions, and funerals. The priest's visits marked life's great events. On his first visit to the Wairau in 1853, Garin baptised twenty-six children, married two couples, and remarried a further two.<sup>236</sup> On 27 March 1856, he said the first ever mass in the Wairau, at the McDonalds' house in Boulder Bank. During his travels, he taught the children their catechism, held confessions, said prayers and mass at private houses, and taught the children to read in the more isolated settlements such as Te Awaiti. Some parents waited anxiously for his visits, wanting him to baptise their children. He also had to convince families to continue bringing their children up as Catholics in settlements such as Motueka, where there was a Protestant church and Sunday school freely available, but no Catholic infrastructure.<sup>237</sup> Garin's visits were thus vital to maintaining the faith of the Catholics in the more remote parts of his parish. He backed these visits up with other measures, such as creating two circulating Catholic libraries – a town library and a country library – and organising subscriptions to Catholic publications like the *Freeman's Journal* on

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<sup>235</sup> NM, 9 Mar. 1861; 6 Feb. 1863; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 7 Jul. 1858.

<sup>236</sup> NM, 21 Jan.-25 Feb. 1853.

<sup>237</sup> NM, 15-17 Jan., 20 Feb. 1855; 20, 27 Mar. 1856.

behalf of his parishioners. This kept them in touch with Catholic values, and provided them with a sense of collective identity.<sup>238</sup>

Unfortunately, the journeys eventually took their toll. Returning from Motueka in 1863, Garin contracted what he described to his brother as ‘une inflammation dans les poumons’ and ‘une laryngite’. At the height of his illness he was so close to death that extreme unction was performed, and he was unable to say mass for eight months.<sup>239</sup> These afflictions incapacitated him to the point that he could no longer travel.<sup>240</sup> At this point, Garin’s younger curates – Trésallet, Chareyre, Binsfeld, and Mahoney – assumed responsibility for the travelling missionary role. Their visits began to focus increasingly on the West Coast, which saw an influx of some forty thousand miners as gold was discovered there in 1865 and 1866. Trésallet ranged down the coast, travelling as far as Hokitika. Though technically it was beyond the reaches of the Nelson parish, this area was too difficult for the Canterbury-based priests to access.<sup>241</sup> In 1867 Stephen Hallum was appointed to Charleston and Thomas Walsh to Westport. However, it took some time for parish boundaries to be established, and Chareyre ministered to settlements in the Murchison area, such as Lyell and Matakītaki, until 1871.<sup>242</sup> After a brief respite, Murchison reverted to Nelson parish following

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<sup>238</sup> APM, VM 222, Moreau to Poupinel, 3 Apr. 1860; Garin to Poupinel, 4 Sep. 1867; Peter Gibbons, ‘The History of Mr Andersen’s Writing: Discourse and Author/ity in a Settler Society’, in *Telling Lives*, ed. by Coleborne, Houlihan and Morrison, pp. 29-43 (p. 39).

<sup>239</sup> NM, 5 Apr., Oct. 1863.

<sup>240</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l’abbé Garin, 43.

<sup>241</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Hoult, 26 Jan. 1865; O’Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 86.

<sup>242</sup> APM, VM 222, Chareyre to Poupinel, 23 Mar. 1869; SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Petit-Jean, 15 Sep. 1870; Garin to Walsh, 12 Dec. 1871; O’Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, pp. 87, 90; Keys, *Philip Viard*, p. 204.

Mahoney's appointment in 1875, and was still being visited by him in the 1880s, as suggested by his construction of a church there.<sup>243</sup>

It should also be noted that, in addition to the parishes created in Charleston and Westport, the Wairau was made a separate parish under Augustin Sauzeau in 1864. This was further divided into the parishes of Blenheim and Picton by 1871.<sup>244</sup> The creation of five parishes from the original Nelson parish said much about the unstinting efforts of Garin and his curates in ministering to what was, effectively, the top third of the South Island. The number of conversions to Catholicism was similarly a tribute to the emphasis which Garin and his curates gave to mission. According to an article in the *New Zealand Tablet* in 1880, the Catholic population of Nelson had the peculiarity that more than half of the Catholics were converts. In Garin's first ten years in Nelson there were twenty-six conversions, while in the years 1875 to 1880 Mahoney received over forty converts, including a man whose father had been Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>245</sup>

The final essential ingredient of the Marist philosophy that Garin sought to follow in Nelson was the defence of the Catholic faith. Aside from the Hibernian societies that he helped to found in Nelson and Blenheim,<sup>246</sup> it was through his extensive correspondence with the editors of local newspapers that Garin defended Catholicism. Although this correspondence was foreshadowed by the

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<sup>243</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Registrar-General, 10 Sep. 1876; Garin to Claude-Marie, 26 Nov. 1879.

<sup>244</sup> P.P. Cahill, *St Mary's Parish, Blenheim, Marlborough: Being an Account of One Hundred Years' Development of the Parish* (Wellington: John Milne, [1965(?)]), pp. 8-9.

<sup>245</sup> 'St Mary's Nelson', *New Zealand Tablet*, 3 September 1880, p. 15; APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Viard, 21 Sep. 1860.

<sup>246</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Binsfeld, 21 Sep. 1875; *Marlborough Express*, 19 February 1876, p. 5; ATL, MS-Papers-5270, 15 Feb. 1876.

early work of Jean-Baptiste Petit-Jean in Auckland, Garin became the most prolific writer of the early New Zealand Marists.<sup>247</sup> From an index book that he kept recording his letters to the editor, it is apparent that after 1858 – the year in which the amendment to the Nelson Education Act was passed which defused the education issue – the majority of letters that he wrote to the newspapers consisted of replies to articles which calumniated the Catholic Church.<sup>248</sup> Many of the articles made claims so outrageous they were easily refuted: that the French Government opposed the circulation of the Bible because it was immoral; that a Catholic priest had been imprisoned for reading a German Bible; that Jewish children were being forcibly baptised in Rome.<sup>249</sup> Some letters dealt with issues that touched Garin personally. When the *Nelson Examiner* published an article likening the Jesuits – whom the Marists had modelled themselves on – to the Mormons, Garin wrote defending the Jesuits and provoked a stack of letters ‘d’un pied de haut’, according to the editor.<sup>250</sup> Other letters provide food for thought even today. When an article in the *Examiner* alleged that the French missionaries had been used by the French Government to colonise the Pacific Islands, whereas the Protestant missionaries had been instrumental in Christianising the Pacific Islanders, Garin wrote:

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<sup>247</sup> Girard, IV, doc. 543, Petit-Jean to Forest, 28 Sep. 1846; docs 558 and 559, Petit-Jean to Editor of the *Auckland Press*, Nov. 1846; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 17 Aug. 1859.

<sup>248</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/26.

<sup>249</sup> Impartiality [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 12 January 1859, p. 2; Investigator [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 17 February 1860, p. 3; An Observer [Antoine Garin], ‘The New Mortara Case’, Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 20 November 1863, p. 3; ‘The Papal Government and the Jews’, Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 11 December 1863, p. 5; ‘Jewish Children Baptised in Rome’, Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 12 January 1864, p. 3.

<sup>250</sup> Veritas [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 1 September 1858, p. 2; WAA, Bx 211, Garin to Redwood, 25 Feb. 1859.

This mode of narrative, by which it represents French missionaries as instrumental for ‘colonising’, and Protestant missionaries as ‘Christianising’, seems to me to be dictated by rather unfair and prejudiced feelings. In the case of any such distinction, I think the reverse would have been more obvious to the position of both parties; for it is well known that the French Government has no spiritual power in the Catholic Church, and is therefore unable to send missionaries to any part of the world; but, on the contrary, Protestant missionaries generally having their spiritual head connected with their Government, they may be sent by it as instruments of colonisation.

Garin then proceeded to give the French version of events in Tahiti, under the pseudonym ‘Hear Both Sides’.<sup>251</sup> Garin wanted the public to be aware that there were two views and sought to give examples from the other perspective, so that the Protestants could see that they would not like to be treated as the Catholics were. He admitted that these letters took up much of his time. In 1870, he noted that he had to read the *Colonist* every Tuesday and Friday, the *Nelson Examiner* Wednesday and Saturday, and the *Evening Mail* every night, as well as the Catholic newspapers – specifically *Freeman’s Journal* from Sydney, the *Tablet* from England, and *L’Univers* from France – which he needed to rebut the misrepresentations that appeared in the Nelson press. One letter could take eight days because of the research involved, in theology and history books as well as newspapers. However, the letters played a vital role in dispelling people’s prejudices against Catholicism.<sup>252</sup> As Victor Poupinel noted after his first tour of New Zealand, Garin did not let himself be discouraged by the minority position

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<sup>251</sup> Hear Both Sides [Antoine Garin], Letter to the Editor, *Colonist*, 16 July 1858, p. 3.

<sup>252</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 17 Aug. 1859, 23 Jun. 1870.



that he found himself in: 'il soutient avec énergie ses droits dans les journaux, et par ses amis, dans les assemblées publiques. Il a réellement de l'influence, il est respecté et estimé'.<sup>253</sup>

Garin was thus a leader who took all possible measures to reinforce the identity of his community, maintaining the Catholic diasporic distinctiveness. His zealous efforts did not go unnoticed by Nelsonians. As 'A Protestant' wrote to the *Nelson Evening Mail*:

The remarkable developments of the Roman Catholic propaganda in our midst call for serious thought. While we have been quietly relegating the ancient faith to the limbo of exploded absurdities, lo! A Phoenix-like resurrection bursts upon us until we have to confess what stands forth as a solemn truth today that the only religious community in our neighbourhood which is really instinct with life is this venerable anachronism of Roman Catholicism. [...] In the Old Home today there are hundreds of husbands who are mourning as worse than dead their entangled wives, and parents their children. They toyed with the velvet paw as our Nelsonians do, and, like the late Dr Wilberforce, woke up at last to see their dearest ones hopelessly fixed by the relentless claws. [...] It would be an impertinence for me to speak of the personal excellences of the ladies and gentlemen who are at the head of our Nelson Roman Catholic propaganda. Their adherents are among our best citizens, and their various good works are a rebuke to our self-seeking and want of zeal. As the visitor to our charming city glances over the amphitheatre which constitutes its area, with its environment of hills, from the Port road, he will see two magnificent sites crowned with ecclesiastical buildings. If he should happen to be of the Romish faith he will learn with infinite satisfaction that the elegant structure to the left is a Roman Catholic Church, and if he should be a worthy son of the English Church he will hear with amazement, dashed with shame, that the indescribable monstrosity which obtrudes itself from the other unique site is the Cathedral Church of the Nelson diocese!<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> MAW, HD6, Poupinel to Maitrepierre, 3 Apr. 1858, 153.

<sup>254</sup> A Protestant, 'Roman Catholic Progress', Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Evening Mail*, 6 January 1883, p. 5.

However, while Garin fought for the rights of the Catholic community, he was also pragmatic. He understood the need to adapt to the colonial environment, where conditions were very different from Europe, and many denominations had to exist alongside one another. In the view of Peter Lineham, Protestantism gave an essentially conservative, respectable, and anti-Catholic tone to New Zealand society.<sup>255</sup> In the mid to late nineteenth century, religious animosity was fuelled by the sectarian overtones that emerged in the debates over education and prohibition.<sup>256</sup> Even in Nelson, which had been known for its non-denominational outlook at the time of settlement, a religious tone emerged which was Protestant Anglican but with a distinctly low church leaning.<sup>257</sup> It was a far cry from the days of Howick. There were ways in which the Catholic identity had to be transformed in predominantly British, Protestant Nelson, if the Catholic community did not want to be cut off from society at large.

Like Andrew Burn Suter, the Anglican Bishop of Nelson from 1865 until 1891, Garin demonstrated signs of religious intolerance at the outset.<sup>258</sup> On hearing that a Catholic man with a wife and three children had died, Garin and the school mistress rushed to collect the children, worried that the Protestants might take them otherwise.<sup>259</sup> More public displays of Garin's prejudice came from his

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<sup>255</sup> Peter J. Lineham, 'The Nature and Meaning of Protestantism in New Zealand Culture', *Turnbull Library Record*, 26 (1993), 59-75 (p. 60).

<sup>256</sup> Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, pp. 85, 93.

<sup>257</sup> McAloon, p. 44.

<sup>258</sup> Katherine W. Orr, 'Suter, Andrew Burn 1830 - 1895', in *(DNZB)* (updated 22 June 2007) <<http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>> [accessed 22 May 2009].

<sup>259</sup> NM, 25 Aug. 1850.

work in education. While Garin agreed to go to the tea party for Matthew Campbell's Nelson School Society during his first year in Nelson, he upset the organisers by leaving early because they prayed and sang Protestant hymns. Garin was invited to take his school children to be examined by the Governor, but declined; he also refused to join in a public meeting of the schools. When he was asked to combine his school with the Campbell schools for the annual tea party, he refused again because of the prayers and hymns that would be sung. The party organisers argued that doctrine was not the issue: they simply wished to foster good relations among the children.<sup>260</sup> Garin continued to hold this position in public for some time, refusing to attend the ceremony for laying the foundation stone of Nelson College in 1859 because of the Protestant hymns that would be sung.<sup>261</sup> There was also the small matter that Nelson College followed the non-denominational system of education, with which he did not agree.

However, there are many signs that point towards an increasing capability on Garin's part to adapt to local circumstances, and become more open to Protestant contacts. Garin was a man of science, who did not believe that science and religion were incompatible, but at the same time did not accept his religion blindly. Following two sermons given by Bishop Redwood at the opening of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney and at Garin's own St Mary's Church in Nelson, Garin wrote to Redwood, 'My mind is still under the painful trial of thought against the divinity of our Lord which you so ably defended.' Though he sought

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<sup>260</sup> NM, 26 Dec. 1850, 17 Feb., 26 Dec. 1851.

<sup>261</sup> DNM, 2/34, Garin to Governors of Nelson College, 23 Nov. 1859.

to repel these thoughts, they continued to trouble him.<sup>262</sup> He also had a special ability to place himself in another person's shoes and understand that there were two sides to an argument, as he explained to a member of his congregation with whom he had disagreed: 'I see by the content of your letter that we are, you and your clergy, like two men who placed in a different position try to judge from a distance, of the shape or nature of the same object. To one it will appear to have a certain shape which will be denied by the other.'<sup>263</sup> These two attributes led him to take a practical approach to his apostolate, and it is not surprising that he became more tolerant and accepting as he became more firmly entrenched in the Nelson community. Already in 1855, he asked Bishop Viard for advice on remarriage, when faced with a number of difficult situations during his journeys to the Wairau and Marlborough Sounds. Though the theology being taught in early nineteenth-century French seminaries, that of Louis Bailly, stated that a priest could not remarry a Catholic that had been married by a Protestant minister, or give a marriage blessing to Protestants who converted, the Marists' philosophy was more compassionate, and hence appropriate to the colonial environment.<sup>264</sup> Mixed marriages were another such issue. With Viard's permission, Garin allowed mixed marriages if the Catholic party agreed to bring any children up as Catholics, as prescribed by the *Rituel de Belley*.<sup>265</sup> He also had to be flexible in this regard, however. Having baptised the son of a settler in the Wairau, he commented that the settler, who was Protestant, had allowed Garin to have this

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<sup>262</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Redwood, 27 Mar. 1883.

<sup>263</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Ferrers, 30 Mar. 1875.

<sup>264</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Viard, 29 May 1855.

<sup>265</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Tom Redwood, 6 Feb., 8 Jun. 1860.

one, but had baptised the rest of his sons Protestant. His daughters were Catholic.<sup>266</sup> This kind of practical ministering was exemplified by Garin's advice to a couple who each had children from a previous marriage, and were having marital problems because they were protective of their own children. He suggested that they separate until the children were older, and they had a chance to live happily together.<sup>267</sup> As Garin later told the Superior General of the Religieuses de Notre-Dame des Missions, when she refused to make concessions for the colonial situation, 'The letter kills, but the spirit gives life.'<sup>268</sup> By 1869 Garin was advising his parishioners that 'amusements may or may not be sinful, according to nations, customs and habits'. The amusements that Garin was referring to were horse-racing and card-playing, and modern dances like waltzes and polkas.<sup>269</sup> Of course, not all Marists agreed with Garin's flexible approach. It is interesting to note that Chareyre, whom Garin greatly respected as a missionary, was highly critical of the concessions that Garin made, complaining about 'ce damnable laissez-aller, ces mortels ménagements' that were advocated by the Marist superiors in Wellington and were the common practice of the priests. In Chareyre's opinion, 'Il faudrait des remèdes que le bon, le patient, le saint père Garin, ne laisserait jamais employer', to reform the errant Catholics in Nelson town.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> NM, 10 Mar. 1862.

<sup>267</sup> NM, 20 Feb. 1861.

<sup>268</sup> Archives des Religieuses de Notre-Dame des Missions, F.I. Box File II, Garin to Barbier, 20 May 1876, cited in Ollivier, p. 372 (II Cor. 3,6).

<sup>269</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Bolton, c. 12 Mar. 1869.

<sup>270</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Poupinel, 1 Feb. 1869; APM, VM 222, Chareyre to Poupinel, 3 Jun. 1869.

Garin's tolerance eventually extended to the Protestant majority in Nelson. He began collaborating with Protestant leaders in the community towards mutual goals, describing the former Principal of Nelson College, the Reverend F.C. Simmons, as 'a sincere friend to me', 'a fair promoter and supporter' of St Mary's Schools who took the greatest interest in his cause.<sup>271</sup> When he learned from the governors of Nelson College – originally a Protestant institution, which he had strongly opposed – that the college could accommodate secular instruction for Catholic pupils, Garin had their letter published in the newspaper. He was aware that Catholics had not been sending their children to the college because they believed that religious instruction was given there.<sup>272</sup> In Arthur Butchers' view, it was only in the Province of Nelson that one could have seen the Anglican Bishop, the Roman Catholic priest, the Lutheran pastor, and the Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers, all sitting together and working harmoniously on the Central Board of Education.<sup>273</sup> With regard to church life, Protestants often took part in Catholic celebrations, such as the large number who attended the blessing of the new Catholic church in Wakefield.<sup>274</sup> Garin made a speech at the opening of the Catholic church in Motueka summing up his attitude, which the *New Zealand Tablet* paraphrased thus:

It was a great satisfaction to him to see so many friends, though non-Catholics, join their neighbours in their festivities, and encourage them by their presence in their Christian work.

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<sup>271</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Simmons, 16 Jun. 1876.

<sup>272</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/32, Garin to Governors of College, 19 Jan. 1871.

<sup>273</sup> Butchers, *Education in New Zealand*, p. 108.

<sup>274</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 23 Jun. 1870.

It is true they differed with him in some fundamental religious points, but, if they could not agree with him in such points, they should take care always to maintain unity in the bonds of peace and brotherhood. They must know his conduct in this respect, and his principles during the many years he had been working in that part of the Colony. He met with many Protestant gentlemen and clergymen, with Protestant Bishops for charitable purposes; in the Central Board of Education, in the aid society, and in public subscriptions or collections, for people in distress and destitution, and their intercourse had always been on friendly terms though differing in religious matters. Now his reasoning was this – he respected their consciences and their convictions, as he wished them to respect his. He supposed they were sincere in their views, as he expected them to suppose he was sincere in his.<sup>275</sup>

He also spoke out publicly against the more militant expression of the Catholic difference in New Zealand, Fenianism, and was very concerned that the militant Irish diocesan priests, whom Bishop Viard had begun importing in the 1860s, were sullyng the Marists' name.<sup>276</sup>

Garin's increasingly tolerant attitude stood in stark contrast to the approach of the newly-arrived Moran, whose extreme views attracted international attention (his *New Zealand Tablet* was described as revelling in religious disputation and 'politically bumptious' by the Liverpool *Catholic Times*).<sup>277</sup> Interestingly, Garin's old rival from Mangakahia, James Buller, also showed a softening of his attitudes towards Catholics, despite his original hostility to Garin. As Buller wrote in his *Forty Years in New Zealand*, 'The unavoidable admixture of all creeds and classes, in daily life, has the good effect of rubbing off

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<sup>275</sup> 'Opening of a Catholic Church at Motueka, Nelson', *New Zealand Tablet*, 13 June 1879, p. 11.

<sup>276</sup> 'The Rev. Father Garin on Fenianism', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 2 March 1868, p. 3; APM, Z 61 8 410, Garin to Favre, 19 Jan. 1870.

<sup>277</sup> 'A Word of Advice for the Catholic Times', *New Zealand Tablet*, 22 September 1893, p. 1.

some foolish prejudices' (p. 446). Lowther Broad, at a presentation made to Garin on his sixty-third birthday, noted the absence of sectarian bickering between the many denominations attending St Mary's Schools. He commented that daily interaction dispelled unfounded prejudices, and that the children had learned that there was something to be respected in all forms of the Christian faith thanks to Garin's influence and inspiration.<sup>278</sup> It was in this sense that Garin lived 'inside, with a difference', helping his Catholics retain their spiritual integrity by his fierce defence of the Catholic faith, while being sufficiently pragmatic to accept the need for compromise. Garin had brought a special brand of Catholicism from nineteenth-century France, which emphasised education, mission, and the defence of the faith, and the exterior signs of religion. He used this ethos to maintain a diasporic Catholic identity in New Zealand, with his schools and orphanages providing examples for separate Catholic schools and institutions up and down the country, and news of his achievements reported in publications far and wide.<sup>279</sup> Despite his advocacy of the Catholic position, however, he was capable of adapting to the colonial situation, thus transcending the stereotype of the intolerant Catholic priest, and becoming a respected figure in the wider Nelson community.

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<sup>278</sup> 'Presentation to the Rev. Father Garin', *Colonist*, 25 July 1873, p. 3.

<sup>279</sup> For example, *Evening Post*, 14 July 1875, p. 2; 'Nelson News', *West Coast Times*, 30 May 1879, p. 2; 'Nelson. January 3', *North Otago Times*, 4 January 1882, p. 2.



## Impact

At his sixtieth birthday party, Garin pointed out to the assembled crowd that by a singular and curious coincidence, he was born in 1810, had been in Nelson for twenty years, in New Zealand for thirty years, had left France in 1840, come to Nelson in 1850, and was now of age sixty, this in the year 1870. He asked where he would be in 1880.<sup>280</sup> It was a rhetorical question: some years earlier he had told his brother, Numa, that he was determined not to return to France to seek the comforts of home, preferring to ‘mourir sur la brèche en combattant’.<sup>281</sup> By the end of his life, Garin and Jean Lampila were the only priests remaining of the original Marist missionaries who had ventured to New Zealand in the late 1830s and early 1840s. However, the rigours of Garin’s immensely full life had begun to tell on him some years before, following the serious illness that he contracted when returning from his 1863 visit to Motueka. He became particularly susceptible to bouts of ill health, and was plagued with back pain and rheumatism, describing the latter as ‘un baromètre portatif’ that he had been quite happy to do without.<sup>282</sup> Garin by 1886 could barely say mass and hear confessions, and had to use crutches to walk, even to the altar and back.<sup>283</sup> According to a telegram transmitted to the *Wanganui Herald* and *Evening Post*, among others, by 1888 he was no longer involved in the active work of the parish.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 145.

<sup>281</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l’abbé Garin, 42.

<sup>282</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l’abbé Garin, 59-63, 66; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 26 Apr. 1854.

<sup>283</sup> MAW, HD6, Joly to Dunand, 1 Sep. 1886, 163.

<sup>284</sup> *Wanganui Herald*, 23 July 1888, p. 2; *Evening Post*, 9 August 1888, p. 3.



**Figure 14: Garin in old age, 1887<sup>285</sup>**

Upon his return from Europe in 1874, Redwood decided to reward his mentor with the appointment of a curate whom Redwood believed would make ‘the declining years of this venerated pastor placid, sweet and serene like the mildest summer sunset’. Mahoney had a special ability to take charge of the work

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<sup>285</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, PSC 1876 5.

of the parish, while leaving the credit to Garin in the eyes of the congregation and the people of Nelson.<sup>286</sup> Mahoney did all of the parish travelling, saying Sunday mass alternately in Nelson, Waimea, Nelson, and Wakefield every month, and visiting the other churches at Motueka, Takaka and Murchison once every three to four months; in 1884 he took over the management of both industrial schools and the Stoke farm, at Garin's request.<sup>287</sup> In 1886 Garin implored Redwood not to remove Mahoney, as Garin could not do without him as his curate.<sup>288</sup> Mahoney became Garin's face to the world, representing him at the school prizegivings and school picnics, and taking his place at the Bishop's side for the opening of the Stoke Industrial School, when Garin was too ill to attend.<sup>289</sup> Though Garin became ever less involved in the active work of the parish in the late 1880s, he was, however, still working in the background, writing to parishioners about such things as the payment of rents for pews in the church and the rules for marriages, contradicting false insinuations made against the Catholic Church in the newspapers, and maintaining his accounts, annals, and letter registers.<sup>290</sup>

Garin died on 14 April 1889, in the company of the Sisters and Mahoney. His death at the end was sudden though not unexpected, as he had been ill for some time, suffering from frequent attacks of bronchitis. On 13 April he had been very unwell, and Brother Claude-Marie sat up with him through the night. The

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<sup>286</sup> Redwood, *Reminiscences*, II, 15.

<sup>287</sup> APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 28 Feb. 1879; SMPA, DNM 2/33, Garin to Binsfeld, 14 Mar. 1883; Garin to Redwood, 1 Sep. 1884.

<sup>288</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/34, Garin to Redwood, 11 Jan. 1886.

<sup>289</sup> 'St Mary's Schools', *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 December 1880, p. 17; 'St Mary's School Treat', *New Zealand Tablet*, 23 January 1885, p. 23; 'Opening of St Mary's Industrial School at Stoke, near Nelson', *New Zealand Tablet*, 3 September 1886, p. 9.

<sup>290</sup> SMPA, Ledger 2, DNM 2/31, DNM 2/33.

following morning the doctor was called as he was having difficulty breathing. Though unable to speak at the end, he followed Mahoney with his eyes as his companion for the last fourteen years performed the ceremonies for the dying.<sup>291</sup> News of Garin's passing appeared in publications throughout the country, from Taranaki to Otago.<sup>292</sup>

At the time of his death, Garin had been parish priest of Nelson for almost thirty-nine years. His impact in the education arena is undisputed. Ian and Allan Cumming consider that, in the history of Catholic education in New Zealand, Garin exerted 'the greatest influence'. Writing on the Nelson Education Act as a model for the rest of the country, Arthur Butchers describes Nelson as being 'doubly fortunate' in its possession of such 'enthusiastic and practical educationalists' as Garin and Matthew Campbell. John Mackey asserts that the 1858 amendment to the Nelson Education Act, which Garin provoked by his strident protests, is 'unique in the whole of New Zealand's official correspondence on education', because of its practical understanding of minority problems. In his history of the Archdiocese of Wellington, Michael O'Meeghan similarly focuses on Garin's role in education, noting that it was Nelson, more than Wellington, that became the battleground for public funding for schools with a religious component.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> 'Death of Archpriest Garin', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 15 April 1889, p. 2.

<sup>292</sup> 'Death of Father Garin', *Wanganui Herald*, 15 April 1889, p. 2; 'Death of a Veteran Missionary', *Evening Post*, 15 April 1889, p. 2; 'Death of Father Garin', *Marlborough Express*, 15 April 1889, p. 2; 'Death of Ven. Arch-Priest Garin. One of the Early Missionary Priests', *Taranaki Herald*, 16 April 1889, p. 3; 'Death of an Early Missionary', *Otago Witness*, 18 April 1889, p. 27.

<sup>293</sup> Ian Cumming and Allan Cumming, *History of State Education in New Zealand, 1840-1975* (Wellington: Pitman, 1978), p. 13; A.G. Butchers, *Young New Zealand: A History of the Early Contact of the Māori Race with the European, and of the Establishment of a National System of Education for Both Races* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie, 1929), p. 146; Mackey, p. 94; O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 54.

There is no doubt that Garin's work in education had an impact nationwide, and that his efforts in promoting separate Catholic schools and orphanages rivalled that of the better-known Moran. Garin's influence was felt for many years after his death because of this work, and because of the fact that he had inspired the first New Zealand candidate for the priesthood, who became not only Bishop of Wellington but was also made New Zealand's first Archbishop in 1887.<sup>294</sup> Redwood was a lasting reminder of Garin and his schools. But perhaps it is also in Nelson that Garin's impact needs to be acknowledged. While in Nelson, Garin was a parish priest, an educationalist, and a travelling missionary, embodying the best of colonial attributes, in similar style to his rival Bishop Suter. He was resourceful, hard-working and practical. He could turn his hand to anything, as suggested by the three prizes that he won at the Nelson Exhibition, for a glass beehive he built in the wall of his room so that he could see the bees work from his armchair, for a sundial which was so accurate that all Nelson clocks were run by the 'Catholic time', and for his beautiful beurre bosc pears.<sup>295</sup> The esteem in which he was held by the Catholic community is undoubted. They commissioned a portrait by Gottfried Lindauer to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his administration of the parish, which is held today by the Suter Gallery. They presented him with silver and gold chalices and salvers on the occasions of his sixtieth and seventieth birthdays. For the last ten years of his life, the school children would prepare special addresses, gifts and parties to mark his

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<sup>294</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 130.

<sup>295</sup> APM, Garin dossier, Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin, 57; APM, Z 208, Garin to Numa Garin, 22 Jun. 1865.

birthdays each year.<sup>296</sup> On 20 October 1884 a banquet was held to celebrate the jubilee of Garin's ordination as a priest. It was presided over by Bishop Redwood, and attended by 180 people, including the mayor of Nelson. As Redwood noted in his address, 'there was not a remote corner in the colony' where there were not people thinking of Garin on that special day. On this occasion, Redwood made his mentor, 'adorned by every virtue that they might expect in a good priest', Venerable Archpriest of the Wellington Diocese.<sup>297</sup>



**Figure 15: Portrait of Garin by Gottfried Lindauer, 1875<sup>298</sup>**

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<sup>296</sup> SMPA, DNM 2/31, 196, 219, 223, 233, 237, 241-42, 244-45, 248-49; 'St Mary's Station', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 11 August 1870, p. 2.

<sup>297</sup> 'Banquet to Rev. Father Garin', *Colonist*, 21 October 1884, p. 3.

<sup>298</sup> MAW, Photo Collections, doc. 464.

Garin was also a man who could win respect from all sections of the community, even if they did describe him as ‘a most unusually amiable representative of a most illiberal and persecuting sect’.<sup>299</sup> This was the key to his success in what was one of the least Catholic parts of the country. Some local Protestants admired the Catholic clergy’s self-denial and visiting among their parishioners, and lashed out against their own clergy, too many of whom, they believed, contented themselves with ‘delivering stale platitudes from the pulpit’.<sup>300</sup> Garin’s funeral spoke volumes. The funeral procession was joined by citizens and clergy of all denominations, including the Anglican Bishop Suter, the Mayor, Judge Broad, the Mother Superior and Sisters of the Convent, and the school children. Businesses were closed along the streets through which the procession passed; the roads were lined with thousands of people, as everyone gathered to pay their respects to ‘one universally esteemed for his uprightness and goodness’.<sup>301</sup> As Redwood said to the assembled congregation, ‘You are the finest funeral oration that could be made in his honour – your crowded numbers, the zeal with which you have sought to pay a last token of esteem.’<sup>302</sup>

Another token of the people’s esteem came in the form of a mortuary chapel, dedicated to St Michael after Garin’s first boarding school. Subscriptions to the chapel arrived from all sections of the community; the blessing of the tomb, conducted by Bishop Redwood, was attended by a thousand people.<sup>303</sup> The

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<sup>299</sup> Charles Sewell, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Examiner*, 20 November 1852, p. 154.

<sup>300</sup> Another Protestant, Letter to the Editor, *Nelson Evening Mail*, 8 January 1883, p. 2.

<sup>301</sup> *New Zealand Tablet*, 19 April 1889, p. 18.

<sup>302</sup> ‘Funeral of the Venerable Archpriest Garin’, *Catholic Times*, 26 April 1889, pp. 22-23.

<sup>303</sup> *New Zealand Tablet*, 6 September 1889, p. 17; ‘The Garin Memorial. Blessing the Tomb’, *Colonist*, 15 December 1890, p. 3.

mortuary chapel still stands overlooking the sea, in the Wakapuaka Cemetery. And there still remains an affidavit, signed by the two Nelson priests, William Mahoney and James Landouar, three Sisters from the convent, Lowther Broad, and four Protestant workers, attesting that on 7 November 1890, having exhumed the coffin from its original site in the Nelson Cemetery, these ten viewed the body of Antoine Marie Garin, which had been lying in water for a year and a half, completely incorrupt.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> SMPA, Statement upon the Exhumation and Re-Burial of the Remains of the Venerable Archpriest Garin S.M. [copy].





**Figure 16: St Michael guarding the crypt**  
**Private collection of the author.**

## CONCLUSION

Australian political biographer James Walter, in referring to the particularity of writing the biography of someone who has lived in a colonial society, has said that such stories will, at first, be preoccupied with the collective cultural project. In postcolonial societies like Australia and New Zealand, it is important to know what we are as a collective before we explore who we are as individuals. Other stories will be told within the story of the life: the public and political, the building of institutions, the creation of communities. In Walter's view, life stories can thus provide a framework for reflective cultural history.<sup>1</sup>

It is as much for this reason, as for the need to explain Garin's lived contexts to an audience, that this thesis came to be framed as a cultural biography in the style of David S. Reynolds. Garin provides a starting point from which to view certain historical events, the building of institutions, and the creation of certain communities in nineteenth-century New Zealand. To a great extent this is thanks to his meticulous recording of his work as a missionary in Kororaraka and Mangakahia, and as parish priest in Howick and Nelson. A biography of Garin takes the reader on a number of journeys. These include the rebirth of Catholicism and mission in nineteenth-century France, the political trials of the Marist Society in establishing the mission in New Zealand, the process of Maori conversion to Christianity, relations between a Maori community and a European missionary in

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<sup>1</sup> James Walter, 'Biography, Psychobiography, and Cultural Space', in *Shaping Lives: Reflections on Biography*, ed. by Ian Donaldson, Peter Read and James Walter, Humanities Research Centre Monograph Series, 6 (Canberra: Australian National University, 1992), pp. 260-86 (p. 282).

the immediate post-Treaty period, the Irish immigrant experience in the Fencible settlements, the building of a settler community in Nelson, and the change from a Maori-focused to a settler-focused Catholic church in New Zealand. Garin too was in a relatively unique position to witness events in New Zealand society; he was an outsider, a Frenchman who was not aligned with British rule, and a Catholic missionary who was promoting what was, in New Zealand, a minority religion. Garin was also instructed by his bishops to keep accounts of his missionary work: to record Maori customs and practices rather than to civilise his catechumens, and to record the establishment of his European parishes. While this thesis has not attempted to provide a Maori perspective on Maori-missionary interaction, or a settler perspective on the Protestant-Catholic settler dynamic, it has sought to present Garin's view of the events of which he was a part in nineteenth-century New Zealand. It is Garin's interpretation of the interaction and cultural accommodation that took place between himself and his communities that informs the exposition and analysis here.

The central issue of this biography has been the intercultural dynamic in Garin's life. Being an outsider – neither 'colonising' British settler nor 'colonised' Maori – in colonial New Zealand defined his experience. Garin brought a very specific cultural baggage to New Zealand, because of his French, Marist background. There was a radical difference between Maori, whose society was governed by concepts of power including mana, tapu and utu, the settlers, who generally went to New Zealand to improve their opportunities far from the social strictures of Europe, and the Marists. The Marists operated within a strongly self-conscious disciplinary framework, which emphasised the abnegation of the self, in

order to carry out the greater will of God through education, mission, and the defence of the faith. Their focus was on compassion and community, rather than power and domination. Moreover, the presence of the French Marists in New Zealand was in itself a complicating factor. They added a level of diversity, both politically and socially, to New Zealand society, and should not be forgotten in our nation-building narratives.

Garin's life in New Zealand can be read as a tale of cross-cultural encounter occurring within two cultural-social paradigms: the Maori-Pakeha paradigm, and the Catholic-Protestant settler paradigm.<sup>2</sup> These paradigms require different tools of analysis. For the Maori-Pakeha paradigm, Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity was drawn on. The concept of hybridity redirects our perception of the authority of power in the colonial context. It stresses the interdependence of coloniser and colonised, admitting the existence of agency on both sides. As Lyndsay Head notes, the rapid modernisation of Maori society which took place as Maori acquired literacy skills, bridging the gap between the Maori and European cultures, makes it difficult to accept victim interpretations, especially for the initial colonial period.<sup>3</sup> Hybridity theory thus provides a means of finding other readings of early relations. Garin and the Maori of Mangakahia embodied the hybrid world of 'Old New Zealand'. Because Garin was not aligned with the colonising nation, he had the freedom to allow a level of social and material reciprocity between himself and Maori that functioned outside more regular power relations. While misunderstandings took place as Garin negotiated

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<sup>2</sup> John Hutton, Personal Communication, 20 May 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Lyndsay Head, 'Land, Authority and the Forgetting of Being in Early Colonial Maori History' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury, 2006), pp. 10-11.

the muddy waters of cultural difference, he was able to gain respect and near-universal sympathy in Mangakahia for his ability to adapt in the Maori world. That the diary of a missionary, whose task was to teach his belief system to indigenous peoples, presents examples of a developing cultural and political hybridity suggests the potential usefulness of hybridity theory in New Zealand historical practice.

For the Catholic-Protestant settler paradigm, the idea of diaspora was used as a tool of analysis. As a concept, diaspora is related in theoretical terms to the idea of hybridity, both evolving within the field of post-colonial studies. While diasporic identities are usually formulated on the basis of national or ethnic groupings, this thesis has proposed that diaspora theory could usefully extend to religious groupings, such as the Catholic minority in New Zealand. The Catholics established their own institutions, including schools and orphanages, and Hibernian and Fenian societies, while Catholic publications and popular literature kept links open with the wider Catholic world. In his role as parish priest of Howick and Nelson, Garin worked to establish such Catholic infrastructure and foster Catholic links and communities. However, he also saw the need to adapt to the new circumstances that he found in New Zealand, and accept compromise on some issues of importance to the New Zealand Catholic diaspora. It was Garin's ability to adapt to colonial society, while preserving a sense of himself as French and Catholic, that made him such a valued member of the Catholic communities as they negotiated their own place within the wider settler state.

Garin was a product of his times in a number of ways, from his decision to become a priest and missionary in post-Revolution France, to the racial views that

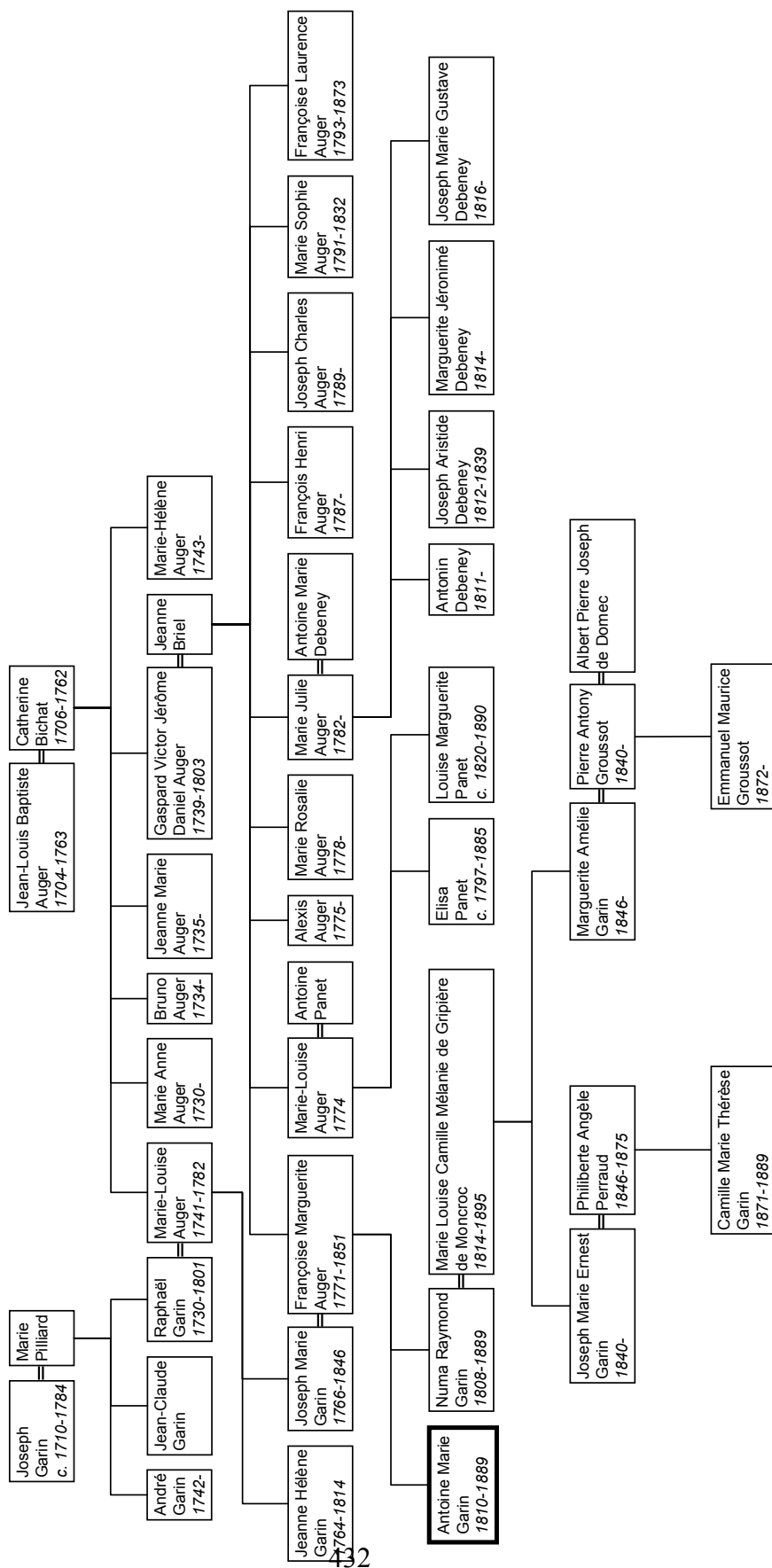
he brought with him to Oceania. Yet he also transcended his times because of his extraordinary openness to other viewpoints and cultures. According to Kerry Howe writing in 2003, study of the missionaries ‘petered out’ in New Zealand historiographical practice largely because missionaries are now ‘readily seen as agents of wicked colonial practice’. Similarly, John Stenhouse, while admitting that our Christian past ‘has bequeathed to us ghosts that we must lay’, asks if we have become so preoccupied with our predecessors’ failings that we have forgotten their virtues and achievements.<sup>4</sup> Garin had his failings, and there are contradictions in his story, but his ability to build bridges between cultures deserves note. This was first revealed at Kororareka, as a precursor of the interdependence that would develop between Garin and the Maori of Mangakahia, and was translated into his experiences as a parish priest, where he fought for the rights of the Catholic diaspora while adapting to the predominantly British, Protestant community of Nelson. Garin’s is not the story of a man who from humble beginnings rose to great heights, through a series of defined promotions and progressions. He arrived too late in New Zealand to become a bishop: none of the early Marist missionaries who stepped onto New Zealand shores after 1839 managed that feat. Garin was rather what Sidney Hook described as an ‘event-making man’ – an individual who influenced his times and his communities by force of will and the force of his actions, though he did not achieve particular national fame (pp. 108-11). Garin’s impact can be seen in a number of areas, from his work in Catholic education which influenced national policy, to his creation of

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<sup>4</sup> Howe, ‘Two Worlds?’, p. 52; John Stenhouse, ‘God’s Own Silence: Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History’, *NZJH*, 38 (2004), 52-71 (p. 68).

a vibrant Catholic community in Nelson, and his contribution to Nelson city as a whole, where a number of monuments exist to him today. Garin was thus a 'great little person', a successful grassroots Catholic missionary, whose story deserves to be told alongside those of his bishops. However, it may be that his greatest legacy will be the eventual publication of the diary that he kept while missionary to the Maori of Mangakahia, a complex work that documents the real, everyday border crossing that took place in the hybrid society of 1840s' New Zealand, even between Maori and those 'wicked agents of colonial practice', the (French Catholic) missionaries.

# APPENDIX I: FAMILY TREE OF ANTOINE GARIN\*





\* This family tree only includes branches of the family mentioned in the text of the thesis, and excludes children known to have died at an early age. Di Carlo, 'Généalogie d'Antoine Marie Garin'; Di Carlo, Personal Communications, 10 July 2006, 21 June 2009, 23 June 2009; Roanne, Archives Municipales, Registre de naissances 1872; Peter Tremewan, Personal Communication, 3 July 2006.

# **APPENDIX II: FRENCH POLITICAL REGIMES AND DIOCESES, 1789-1840**

## **Political Regimes**

1789-1799 French Revolution  
1792-1804 First Republic  
1804-1814 First Empire (Napoleon I)  
1814-1824 Restoration (Louis XVIII)  
1824-1830 Restoration (Charles X)  
1830-1848 July Monarchy (Louis-Philippe)

## **Diocesan Boundaries**

Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey belonged to the following dioceses:

1789-1790 Lyon (Yves-Alexandre de Marbeuf)  
1791-1798 Ain (Jean-Baptiste Royer)  
1802-1822 Lyon (Joseph Fesch)  
1822-1852 Belley (Alexandre-Raymond Devie 1822-1852)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gadille, p. 317; Trenard and Trenard, pp. 134, 150, 155, 264.

## **APPENDIX III: NEW ZEALAND DIOCESES, 1836-1889**

- 1836-1844     New Zealand is included in the Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania (Jean-Baptiste François Pompallier)
- 1844             Pompallier's territory is limited to New Zealand
- 1848             Auckland Diocese is established in the northern half of the North Island, above the thirty-ninth parallel (Pompallier 1848-1869)
- Wellington Diocese is founded, encompassing the lower half of the North Island below the thirty-ninth parallel and the South Island (Philippe Joseph Viard 1848-1872; Francis Redwood 1874-1935)
- 1869             Dunedin Diocese is created from Wellington Diocese, encompassing Otago and Southland in the lower part of the South Island (Patrick Moran 1869-1895)
- 1887             Christchurch Diocese is created from Wellington Diocese, encompassing Canterbury, most of Westland, and Nelson Province from the Conway to Hurunui rivers, in the central South Island (John Grimes 1887-1915)
- 1887             Wellington is made Archdiocese of the Province of New Zealand (Redwood)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> O'Meeghan, *Steadfast in Hope*, p. 10.

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Garin dossier, principally comprising:

- Notes sur la mission
- Notes sur l'enfance et la jeunesse de l'abbé Garin
- Résumé de la correspondance de l'abbé Garin missionnaire de 1840 à [1885]

Letter collections:

912.25 Oceania V Extraite

OG 031 Oceania Gen., 5e départ, including Garin's 'Carte du monde'

OOC 202 Documenta P. Petit de negotiis N. Zeland

VM 222 Epistolae (Villa Maria)

Z 61 8 410 Superiores

Z 61 580 Epistolae Variae

Z 152.18 Epistolae 1846-60 and 1861-72

Z 208 Epistolae (New Zealand)

Registre H, Novices 1

##### **Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome**

Indice dei Decreti della S.C. per ordine di località dal 1800 al 1871, Oceania, 1848

SC Oceania Scritture Riferite nei Congressi – Oceania – 1853-1857 vol. V

##### **Marist Archives, Wellington**

HD2, HD3, HD5, HD6, HD8 Historical Documents

Nelson Parish File: Lindauer Portrait

Photo Collections

##### **Wellington Archdiocesan Archives**

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Bx 193 Bishop Viard Letterbooks 1 1853-1866 and 2 1855-1860

Bx 211 Archbishop Redwood Personal Correspondence 1854-75; Ordination; Consecration

##### **Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington**

Micro-MS-0669 Marist Fathers' Archives: Papers Relating to the Catholic Mission in New Zealand

MS-2228-2243 Ward, Joseph, 1817-1892: Diaries, Notebooks and Account Books  
MS-2244-2249 Ward, Joseph 1817-1892: The Diaries of Joseph Ward of Marlborough  
MS-Copy-Micro-0364 A Continuation of the Journal of James Buller  
MS-Group-0361 Diaries of Joseph Ward and Members of the Ward Family  
Cartographic Collection

#### **National Archives, Wellington**

IA 1 Internal Affairs Series 1 Inwards Letters  
IA 4 Internal Affairs Series 4 Outwards Letterbooks  
IA 12/9, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1848  
IA 12/10, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1849  
IA 12/11, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics 1850  
NM 11/2, Micro 703 Blue Book of Statistics (New Munster) 1849  
SSD 1 Superintendent of the Southern Division Series 1 General Inwards Correspondence

#### **St Mary's Parish Archives, Nelson**

DNM 2/26 Index Book Belonging to Father Garin  
DNM 2/31 Annals of the Catholic Station Established in Nelson, New Zealand, May the 9th 1850  
DNM 2/32 Letter Registers. Copies or Summaries of Letters Written by Father Garin, 1852-1875  
DNM 2/33 Letter Registers. A Second Volume of Correspondence Record, 1875-1888  
DNM 2/34 Letter Copy Book, 1859-1878  
DNM 9 Historical Notes on Marist Foundations in New Zealand, Dunedin, Oceania, Wellington, Nelson, 1846-1882, Including Schools and Churches  
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Ledger 7  
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POM 33-4 Mr Dale's Account of New Zealand 1848  
RA 7-1 Howick Church Register  
RA 11 Liber baptisatorum in Ecclesiâ parochiali S. Rosarii necnon et S. Irenei Loci vulgi dicti Mangakahia et Kaipara, inchoatus die 28 Mensis junii, anni 1840  
RA 14-1 Otahuhu Church Register  
RA 16-1 Panmure Church Register  
RD 1-1 Burial Register of St Patrick's Cathedral Auckland, begun in 1854

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Heritage Collections, GL NZ Grey Letters New Zealand vol. II (1)

Heritage Collections, NZMS 140 New Zealand, by Gilbert Mair, Esq., Wahapu, Bay of Islands, 1839

Heritage Collections, 886 NZ:R D995.118 aj 1858 Kaipara Harbour, surveyed by Comr. B. Drury, and the officers of H.M.S. Pandora, 1852

**Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives, Christchurch**

James Buller dossier

**Archives de l'Évêché de Belley, Bourg-en-Bresse**

Annuaire du Clergé de Belley

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Tableau du Clergé de Belley depuis la fondation du Diocèse – 1823

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Série L L'époque révolutionnaire, 10 L Administration du district de Saint-Rambert

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Tables décennales, Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey

**Œuvres Pontificales Missionnaires, Lyon**

H30 Océanie Occidentale 1836-1848

H34 Wellington 1844-1877

I30 Maristes 1842-1877

**Archives de l'Archevêché de Lyon**

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**Archives départementales du Rhône, Lyon**

1 T 173 État de l'Instruction primaire par département: Arrondissement de Belley (1831, 1836-1837)

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