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**Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier – Loved and Lamented through the
Generations in New Zealand**

**An Overview and Appraisal of Bishop Pompallier's Mission to Maori, its
Continuation and the Return of his Body to New Zealand**

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree in Master of
Philosophy in History

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List of Abbreviations

ACDA	Auckland Catholic Diocese Archives
ACPF	SC Archives of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith – Rome
DMPCA	Diocesan Maori Pastoral Council Auckland
MAW	Marist Archives Wellington
AMO	Annales des Missions d'Oceania
NCRS	National Catholic Resource Centre
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
OMPA	Oceania Marist Province Archives
PDC	Pompallier Diocesan Centre
POM	Bishop Pompallier
PP	Parish priest
SM	Society of Mary
WD	Wellington Diocese
WDA	Wellington Diocese Archives

Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier – Loved and Lamented through the Generations in New Zealand

An overview and appraisal of Bishop Pompallier's Mission to Maori and its Continuation and the Return of his Body to New Zealand

Preface

This work is presented in apologetic mode due to criticisms of Bishop Pompallier and his mission to Maori, which has come from all quarters, though denial of Pompallier's genuine shortcomings is not the purpose either.¹ Nonetheless it is, for all intents and purposes, a limited 'apologia pro' Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier. The objective of this thesis is twofold: firstly to present information about Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, Catholic missionary bishop in New Zealand, that demonstrates Maori regard for him has continuity over the years as evidenced by real individual actions; secondly to disprove or at least unsettle the claim that his Catholic mission to Maori was a failure.² A case has not yet been made for his enduring 'relationship' with Maori and how memory of him was maintained through the generations; but the focus has been on his administration, personnel, financial and other problems. This work is an attempt to redress the balance. The fact that over a hundred years after his death Maori petitioned authorities for the return of "Pomaparie's" bones, must be a

¹ See Oxford Dictionary - apologia= APOLOGY *n.* 1; esp. a written defense or justification of the opinions or conduct of a writer, speaker, etc. The currency of the word is largely due to J. H. Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 1864. 1784 J. NEWTON Apologia. Four letters to a Minister of an independent Church: by a Minister of the Church of England. 1876 C. M. DAVIES *North. Lond.* 356 A very manful.apologia was that with which Miss Miller favoured the large audience. 1883 *Sat. Rev.* 10 Nov. 613/1 The Duke [of Argyll] has put his own version of the story on record. This apologia is a pamphlet, entitled *Crofts and Farms in the Hebrides*. 1903 *Westm. Gaz.* 20 Jan. 8/2 They may be taken as his 'Apologia' though not in any sense an apology for the achievements of his official career. 1927 A. H. MCNEILE *Introd. N.T.* ii. 12 His [St. Mark's] Gospel is not an *apologia* to Jews but an *apologia* to the world of the truth of Christianity. <http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/cgi/entry/50010381?>

²An example of claim of failure is found in E.R. Simmons *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*. (Auckland: CPC 1978). p.5. Fr. Simmons states: "Bishop Pompallier's thirty three years as an active bishop ended in failure and disappointment." (p. 50.)

starting point for further consideration of the importance to them of the man, known affectionately as “Epikopo”.³ With respect to opinions of mission in New Zealand it is of interest to note that claim was made in 1969 that “in the New Zealand vernacular, ‘missionaries’ are exclusively these men of the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the Wesley Methodist Mission.”⁴ This ‘usage’ is said to not be, “just a result of religious bias; rather it is also a linguistic eccentricity of historical origin”.⁵ Therefore, the history of the Catholic Mission may have been overlooked, to varying degrees by those historians subscribing to this viewpoint and would also explain the lack of secular historical material relating to Pompallier and *his* mission. It was further argued, by historian Ruth Ross, member of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and not a Catholic, that Pompallier was “opposed by the Protestants in a spirit, and in language, which today appears singularly lacking in Christian charity”.⁶ Even though the Catholics were said to be “no less rigid in their religious attitudes” it is acknowledged that “their language at least was more moderate”, thus indicating some vindication of Pompallier and his missionaries.⁷ Since these thoughts were expressed further work has been published addressing the balance of opinions to some degree, but also more harsh criticisms have been levied at Pompallier.⁸ Even though Pompallier himself was originally targeted by his opponents, both lay and clerical, to the degree that his life and mission was threatened with destruction, gradually he won acceptance, even admiration and genuine affection. For example in a letter (1839) to Fr. Colin,

³ This was an affectionate name, given him by Maori due to the Latin for bishop, episcopus. “Pikopos” came to be another name for Catholics (and thereby followers of the Bishop). The terms are found in many publications both Catholic and Protestant.

⁴ Ruth Ross *Catholic Origins form part of N.Z. History* in *Marist Messenger* (a national Catholic Monthly established 1929). Wellington: Society of Mary New Zealand August 1970, p.13. Printed version of a talk given by her in 1969. Hereafter publication ref. *Marist Messenger*.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid, 13. Ruth Ross describes herself as “a non-Catholic venturing into the field of Catholic history” whilst recording “her warmest thanks...to Archbishop Liston and ...Cardinal McKeefry, for “much kindness and encouragement”. Ruth Ross, *A Guide to Pompallier House* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1970), p. 7.

⁷ Ibid, 13. Ross worked with Catholic historian Fr. E. Simmons, assisting him in the organization of Auckland Diocesan Archival material and would have gained more knowledge of Pompallier from this material. Fr. Simmons subsequently wrote a biography: *Pompallier Prince of Bishops*. (Auckland: CPC, 1984) hereafter referred to as Simmons, *Pompallier*.

⁸ Simmons, *Pompallier* 1984. Jessie Munro, “Colin and Pompallier” in *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania Marist Missionary Perspectives* Ed. Alois Greiler SM, (Hindmarsh: ATF Press, 2009), pp. 65-85.

Marist Superior, a whaling captain, gave his impression about Pompallier upon returning home. He said “I can add what Monseigneur will not tell you: he is not only beloved but adored by the natives, liked and held in esteem by the English and Americans.”⁹ (The word adored was underlined in the original text). This sort of testimony is not uncommon in records of the time. The Marist Order has made much correspondence about the mission more readily available over the last two years, thus greatly assisting research, on the establishment and continuation of Pompallier’s mission to Maori and how involvement has been sustained through the decades. The use of *modern* hermeneutical practices though, when examining writings from Pompallier’s particularly difficult time, can present certain problems with accurate interpretation, causing some conflict in opinions with regard to Bishop Pompallier’s reputation and character.¹⁰

With respect to the Catholic Maori Mission certain knowledge of the missionaries and their “flocks” is gained from what they have recorded of their own work through the decades. The name “Marists” is synonymous with the Maori mission, due to their pivotal connection to Pompallier and their records are an invaluable source of information.”¹¹ *The Marist Messenger* has recorded historical facts of the Marist Order, including those relating to Pompallier indicating subsequent development of Maori Catholicism, as Marists continued as Maori missionaries.¹² It was also instrumental in keeping alive knowledge of the history of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, and it inevitably made references to Bishop Pompallier, thus preserving an historic record like other New Zealand Catholic publications. Other information is also contained in the

⁹ Munro “Colin and Pompallier”, p.74.

¹⁰ Reference here is made in particular to the letters of missionaries to their superiors, as in those to the founder of the Marist Order Fr. Colin and correspondence between Pompallier and his personnel. Cognizance of the limitation of hermeneutics in attempting to read back into history certain hypotheses has to be borne in mind, particularly when so much of the history is contained in private correspondence. Also attempting to read certain inferences into statements made at the time may not result in accurate comprehension.

¹¹ A publication assembled “to commemorate the centenary of the establishment of the New Zealand Province of the Society of Mary 1889-1989” gives an overview of the Mission to Maori during the period 1838-1989. Ref. Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Mary. *Aspects of the Apostolates of the Society of Mary in New Zealand*. Ed Peter Ewart SM (Wellington: Marist NZ Province, 1989.) (hereafter referred to as *SMs in NZ 1889-1989*).

¹² *Marist Messenger* National Catholic Monthly established 1929. Wellington: Society of Mary New Zealand Province.

various publications of the Catholic Church which started in Pompallier's time with the acquisition of a printing press, as well as correspondence written by hand. The most comprehensive New Zealand work on Pompallier and his mission to Maori though, as Founder and Father of the Catholic Church in Western Oceania, is the biography written by Miss Lillian Keys, only eighty-nine years after Pompallier's final departure. This work, *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*, largely based on primary sources, is said to be "a treasure...for which future generations owe...a debt of gratitude."¹³ Miss Keys was able to bring to her study of Pompallier, "ample knowledge of the early years of New Zealand, as well as "serious research for and scholarly examination of letters, papers, documents and reports".¹⁴ A New Zealand bishop at the time that it was published, James Liston, in commenting on this work, said that despite failures, Pompallier "shines in his own right as a noble missionary, worthy of a place with the greatest, his life having the quality of a crusade".¹⁵

The full story of the history of the Catholic Maori Mission is still yet to be told, although some attempt has been made.¹⁶ Assessment of Pompallier's mission is incomplete without a certain degree of knowledge of this whole mission to Maori and how it developed, and thereby a picture is gained as to *why* it can be claimed that he was a man loved through the generations. It can be argued that "no other aspect of European intervention in New Zealand had such a swift and conspicuous effect on the country's social terrain as the spread of Christianity in this period" of

¹³ Archbishop Liston, D.D. Bishop of Auckland in Foreword in Lillian Keys *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*. (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1957), pp.13-14.

¹⁴ Ibid. Foreword, p.13.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ A number of works, relating to the Mission have been written through the decades and are contained in Catholic archives. For Example Fr. G. Arbuckle SM *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society* Wellington: NZ Bishops Conference, 1976. Also known as *The Arbuckle Report* "prepared for private use only" by and described as a sociological survey gives detailed information about Maori in general and refers to the Catholic Mission. An unpublished work was written by Maori Missioner Fr. J. Durning in early 1970's entitled *History of the Maori Mission* and reserved in the Marist Archives, Wellington. Articles near the time of the 2002 Hikoi include that of Rory Sweetman, "Pompallier's Legacy, Short History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand." *New Zealand Geographic*, no. 54 (Nov/Dec 2001): 10-29.

Pompallier's fledgling mission.¹⁷ Therefore, the overall impact of Christianity has to be taken into account when analyzing the success of the Catholic Church, even though its different teachings inevitably caused confusion for some. Subsequent charges of neglect, abandonment or failure with respect to this Mission have to be measured against the background of the difficult times, and with the intentions of most missionaries, of whatever religious persuasion, which may be presumed to have been for the good. Accordingly, the missionaries' severity of language can be understood as part of the stresses of the uncertain times. Vows taken to maintain poverty, chastity and obedience, invariably affected *how* both men and women in the Catholic missionary field were able to work, as opposed to how missionaries of other churches were obliged to operate, with the necessary restrictions placed them by commitment to wives and families. Forty six Catholic priests and sixteen brothers, as well as many nuns, are recorded as ministering to the Christians in the early period of the establishment of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, from 1838 to 1870.¹⁸

Bishop Pompallier's careful recruitment of others to assist him in his missionary endeavours were well made and identified those noted for their commitment to the task. Apprehension of the vital part which Marist, Franciscan, Mill Hill, Benedictine and other orders played in Pompallier's New Zealand mission is essential in understanding *how* the mission to Maori continued. This success of the continuation of the Maori mission is also identifiable by examination of the work of Catholic diocesan priests and religious who worked either solely or partially for Maori, from the time of the establishment of the Mission by Pompallier to the present day. Devotion to the spiritual needs of Maori by various priests and religious originated from the time of the very beginning of the mission and is still discernable through the ensuing decades down to the

¹⁷ Paul Moon, *Newest Country in the World*, (Auckland: Penguin, 2007) 97.

¹⁸ Phillip Turner, "The Politics of Neutrality the Catholic Mission and the Maori", (MA Thesis presented in partial completion of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History, Auckland University 1986) held in Colin Library Edition, Good Shepherd College, Auckland.

present day. Claims made in relation to failure of the Maori mission do not take into account the diversity of the work undertaken on behalf of this mission. The actual *claim* of failure of the Roman Catholic Mission of the Maoris 1838 – 1860 can be said to have been “coloured by unavoidable reliance on Protestant sources”.¹⁹ This sort of claim could also be said to be due to ignorance of the considerable volume of primary sources held in Marist, diocesan and other archives, which are now more accessible.

Memory of Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier has been continuously kept alive since his departure from New Zealand in 1868.²⁰ In some ways his was an untimely departure as he incurred blame for the financial crisis caused in part by the devastation brought about by wars between the relatively recently established English Government and the Maori tribes. Pompallier tried valiantly to intervene and prevent these wars from which Maori struggled to recover, as their numbers and health had already declined to such an extent that they were not expected to survive as a race. As also pointed out at the time and over the decades since, matters of justice concerning Maori land and sovereignty were at stake in the wars. An influx of Europeans also overshadowed Maori rights and needs to some degree. Similarly it can be argued that more balance is required in opinions of Pompallier and his mission and that there has been a lack of comprehension of the man; his missionary crusade, his necessary commitment to Catholicism, but also his dedication to a race largely unknown at the time of his encounter with them. This very obscurity of a people subsequently affected adversely by essential changes in their lifestyle enabled grave abuses at the time. Introduction of ways foreign to Maori was a cause of contention and in some areas detrimental but also admittedly a cause of improvement in material matters by way of education.

¹⁹ Ibid, i.

²⁰ According to some Maori, they have kept the following quotation in mind with respect to Pompallier. “The memory of him shall not depart away, and his name shall be in request from generation to generation”. Ecclus. 30:6-14 in Roman Catholic Daily Missal 1962. (Kansas City: Angelus Press, 2004), 983. Source: Jim Parkinson kamautua from Far North.

Lack of comprehension of Pompallier and the Catholic mission to Maori relates firstly to: a misunderstanding of the role of a Catholic bishop in missionary territory at the time of his mission; secondly to misapprehension of the personality and trials of Bishop Pompallier and thirdly to lack of appreciation of the genuine relationship between him, Maori people and the trials both faced at the time of encounter. Comprehension of the distinction between the Protestant missions and the very different Catholic mission is essential in gaining more insight into the nature of the Catholic missionaries' endeavours. The level of success of these endeavours has been debated over the decades, but the claims *against* success have been largely unsubstantiated, with little or no historical accounts available regarding the continuity of the Catholic Maori mission over the years.²¹ Proving that the love of Pompallier has continuity over the years is possible when records are examined, oral history, and real individual actions are considered, particularly in view of the 2002 Hikoi which brought Pompallier's "bones" back to New Zealand. Disproving or at least unsettling the claim that his mission to Maori was a failure is also possible by an in-depth study of Pompallier's own writings; ecclesiastical records, as well as Maori oral tradition and academic writings of those who also deny failure.²² For instance, writing in 1937, one researcher says that his research work "was written to show that the Catholic Mission is worthy to compare favourably with the Missions of any other denomination and that is an injustice to dismiss its labours with a sentence or two, as is done by many notable New Zealand historians" and "to clear up three general misconceptions relative to the Catholic

²¹ Catholic Church records prove this continuity as will be shown later, with archival material retained by relevant orders as well as dioceses demonstrating evidence of the Maori Mission through the decades.

²² First hand accounts have been given by many missionaries themselves records of which have been preserved by the Catholic Church as well work presented as theses. E.g. C.P. Bowler SM *An Historical Account and Appreciation of the Labours of the Marist Missioners in the Auckland District of New Zealand 1838-1848*, 1930 (Copy obtained from General House Archives in Rome "ACME", 2009), M. I. Taylor, *The Origin and Establishment of the Catholic Maori Mission in New Zealand* (Wellington: Marist Archives circa 1940's – photocopied by Fr. A Jones SM 1991) P.J. Kane, *Early History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand 1838-1848*, 1937 (Sighted MAW 2009.) The early work of Murphy Ellen (Sister Mary Simeon – Mission sister) *The Missionary Work of Bishop Pompallier* (Auckland University, 1932). This thesis is referred to by Fr Mulcahy SM, former Marist Archivist Wellington in his recording of the Maori Mission. See MAW.

Missions”.²³ These misconceptions will be listed and discussed later; they include Pompallier and the Treaty of Waitangi, the gifts he distributed among Maori and his communications with Hone Heke at the time of the wars.

The claim of this thesis that Bishop Pompallier has been loved and lamented through the generations has been maintained principally by Maori, but also by those Europeans who later benefited from his missionary efforts. The positive reputation that Pompallier developed is evident principally from the actions of Catholic Maori, who have kept his memory alive by various means, not least of which has been, and continues to be, by naming their children “Pompallier” after him.²⁴ When available evidence is scrutinized, especially that which records the history of those actively engaged in the field of Maori mission, it at least unsettles the claim of failure. This evidence has been carefully kept by the Catholic Church in her various archives including those of the Marist Fathers and Brothers, countrywide Diocesan Archives and also those of the other Religious involved in the Maori mission but principally the Marist Order, Franciscans, Mill Hill Fathers, Sisters of Mercy, Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion. These orders have all kept records detailing their involvement, to greater and lesser degrees, with Maori and their Catholic faith, publishing official commemorative material in honour of various “milestones” of their orders.²⁵

Evidence of the success of Pompallier’s mission to establish Catholicism in New Zealand is also contained in the Catholic records documenting the continuation of the Maori Catholic faith from

²³ P.J. Kane *Early History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand 1838-1848*, 1937, Introduction, p. 1.

²⁴ Naming children after Pompallier has been a continuous tradition among Maori. See Fr. Henare Tate personal interview January 2009. Also at the time of the 2002 Hiko another such baptism was publicly performed. Ref. media reports and also verbal testimony from Hiko leaders. Oral history obtained from Maori themselves also testifies to the reality of the success of their own mission. Refs conversations with many Maori including Fr. Henare Tate, Fr. Antony Brown, leaders of the Catholic Maori Council as well as personal Maori friends some of whom do not care to be mentioned.

²⁵ Each order has its own archives where such material is kept and access is variable depending on circumstances.

the very beginning of the mission. Regular acknowledgement of Pompallier is found in these records demonstrating his importance as the official 'Founding Father' of the Catholic faith in New Zealand and elsewhere in Oceanic islands. More personal continual devotion to Pompallier is also uncovered by oral history, which gives access to the views passed down by elders to each successive generation.

The impact made by Pompallier affected forever the fabric of New Zealand, as did the impact made by other missionaries who taught the same sort of Christian message concerning peace, charity, forgiveness of enemies and reconciliation. This teaching, which concerns true tolerance and "caritas", without any condescension, inevitably resulted in a better New Zealand society than the society which Pompallier saw when he arrived, which was plagued with violent lawlessness. The particular mission commenced by Pompallier has to be taken as a whole, and not in isolated pockets, in order to get a view of the broad picture. The original mission encompassed vast areas which were later split up into various dioceses. Changing patterns of Maori habitation of areas and the gradual development of urban maraes caused some difficulty in the provision of priests, and eventually Maoris in urban areas were expected to attend local parishes. In order to respond to needs, Maori Catholic publications were introduced and edited by Maori Mission priests.

Drawing on information from around the country, which have been kept up over the decades and demonstrate the continuity of the Maori mission, a record of Catholic Maori activities is revealed. An example is publication of the proceedings of the *Hui Aranga* "Te Aranga Ake" (The Resurrection), which began in 1946, which has been held in various parts of the North and South Islands. That of 2009 was held in Palmerston North Catholic Diocese. Other Catholic Maori publications telling similar stories include *Whiti Ora*, started in 1948, while Maori activities before this date were reported in Catholic newspapers like *The Month* and *Zealandia*. This

material assists in disproving the charge of failure on the part of Pompallier and provides (with assistance of the knowledge of Maori themselves) evidence of the enduring success of the mission. Success is reflected in the almost tangible, but nonetheless mysterious, unbroken bond, between Maori and Pompallier, established in 1838 and continuing to this day (2009); surviving approximately seventeen decades. Such a “relationship” is surely the explanation of why the bishop is still referred to as “a man loved through the generations”, with his loss still lamented, as one could see from the emotion displayed on the occasion of his “return”.

Apprehension of the fact that the Catholic missionaries were primarily concerned with Catholic ecclesiastical matters, not politics, helps us to avoid acrimony. Political matters regarding the Established Church of England, connected to the English government, were in the forefront of both Catholic and non-Catholic ecclesiastical circles at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, hence the request put forward by Pompallier. In this regard mention must be made of the impact of the 1829 Emancipation Act in England.²⁶ Any interpretation of the foundational Catholic mission in New Zealand has to be made with full recognition that the Catholic Church was still emerging from repression in England and France and what this meant for those struggling with restoration. Bishop Pompallier could not be certain “that freedom of worship and equality would automatically follow the British annexation...alone of all the British colonies established up to that date, New Zealand did not have an established Church”.²⁷ The Anglican Church did for a time, though, receive “very preferential treatment”.²⁸ It is well said “that Pompallier’s doubts were well founded is shown by the proceedings of the 1850’s when the

²⁶ See ‘A Bill for the Relief of His Majesty’s Roman Catholic Subjects’, *Hansard* (24 March 1829) <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/peel/ireland/catheman.htm>

²⁷ Fr. John Pierce *Bishop Pompallier and the Treaty of Waitangi*. An unsubmitted thesis for MA and Honours in History, 69. Confirmed by personal conversation with former Auckland Archivist Fr. Bruce Bolland (2009) who had in turn received the thesis from Fr. Pierce who advised that Bishop Liston did not wish the thesis to be submitted. Fr. Pierce attached as an appendix An Act for the Relief of his Majesty’s Roman Catholic Subjects. 1829.

²⁸ Ibid.

Anglican Church came near to being the Established Church of the country.”²⁹ Theological knowledge of the Catholic Church’s practices of religious celibacy and other vows, its intentions towards its converts and how its message, “not of this world” was preached, is necessary in order to understand that the early Catholic Mission in New Zealand could not have had political aspirations, for itself.³⁰

Jumping forward in time, some mention also has to be made in this work, of the effects of the Council of Vatican II on Maori Catholicism, due to changes in liturgical practices which bore some resemblance to the original “Reformation”, which had caused the suppression of Catholicism in England. Generally speaking, Vatican II brought about a diminished sense of appreciation of tradition which included early missionary endeavours and their traditional methods. The effects of the diminution of Catholic tradition, albeit for the most part an unintentional diminution is briefly discussed in concluding parts of this thesis. The overriding intention though is to present a more positive image of Pompallier and his mission, the significance of which has been neglected for approximately half a century. Reminders of the early times explain why Pompallier’s remains are enshrined in the tiny Purakau Church which was “taken on the Hokianga tide to Motuti”.³¹ Again It is well said that, with respect to Pompallier’s faults and failings (all too common in human nature generally): “There is no sense in blame...there were too many extenuating circumstances”.³²

²⁹ Ibid. p. 69.

³⁰ Reasonable knowledge of the Catholic faith per se can be said to be desirable in order to avoid miscomprehension leading to charges of failure. Ref. Jane Thomson, “Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris, 1838-1860”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol 1 No. 2, October, 1969, pp.166-229. See Phillip Turner *The Politics of Neutrality, the Catholic Mission and the Maori 1838 – 1870*, i-viii. Turner takes issue with Thomson’s article.

³¹ Jessie Munro “Catholic Beginnings in Oceania” in *Marist Missionary Perspectives* Ed. Alois Greiler SM, (2009), p. 85.

³² Ibid, p. 85.

Introduction

In order to demonstrate recent “real individual actions” proving love for “Epikopo” the first part of this thesis will present a comprehensive report on the return of Pompallier’s remains by way of the *Hikoi Tapu* (Holy Journey), starting in Rome, and the events leading up to it. Because the first objective is to prove that Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier was loved and lamented through generations, facts about this unprecedented, emotionally charged event which concentrated the eyes of the world upon “Pomaparie”, (Maori for Pompallier) are highly relevant to this objective. This event also at least unsettles the claim that Pompallier’s Catholic mission to Maori was a failure because it was possible to observe the tremendous reception his remains received from Maori the length and breadth of New Zealand.³³ . Necessarily then, Catholic Maori are the focus of this work.

Part two entitled, *Looking Back*, gives a picture of Pompallier’s popularity generally and in particular, as depicted by the receptions afforded him on his returns from his two visits to Rome and Europe (1849 and 1860) and the sadness expressed at his final departure for France in 1868. Continuity in Maori Mission, with the establishment of schools for Maori and the role of Franciscans after the separation of the mission into separate vicariates, is also discussed. Looking back over events of those early decades is necessary to gain insight into *why* the memory of the first New Zealand bishop was kept alive through the decades from his departure in 1868 until the 2002 Hikoi of his “return”. Those memories now span twelve decades, dating to

³³ Archival material gives ample evidence of this enthusiastic Maori reception as well as oral history obtained from personal discussions with Maori friends and associates.

the time of the writing of this thesis in 2009. This awareness is present in 1868 and the thesis discusses positive aspects recorded at the time. Like Pompallier's returns from visits to Rome, these welcomes reflect the affection with which he was held. By looking at the vital role played by the Franciscan Order after the departure of the Marist Order from Auckland Province to the new Marist-based Wellington diocese, more understanding of *how* the Maori Mission was continued is gained.³⁴ Origins of the whole Mission, and Pompallier's nineteenth-century journeys around New Zealand, setting up mission stations, including the establishment of enduring French connections with New Zealand, are also mentioned. These positive French connections, established at the beginning, were rejuvenated at the time of the 2002 Hikoi. They were established between Puteaux, Paris, Lyon, in France and Akaroa and Auckland New Zealand and focused on the memories of Captains, Cecille, d'Urville, Lavaud (all of them connected in various ways with the early times). these memories were revived recently.

Looking further back to the origin of the Mission provides an opportunity to examine its "raison d'être", which was not only the establishment of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, but also a commitment to Maoridom. It was a commitment based on mutual respect and trust, focusing on the good of Maori, and the means employed to achieve this end demonstrated that actions were excluded any personal gain for the missionaries, except the joy of winning souls for God.

Development of the Maori missions was a reflection of Pompallier's focus, as the influence of his original Instructions continued. The establishment of missionary bases, in many places in response to requests made by Maori, had necessitated many journeys around New Zealand by Pompallier, Marists and others who were recruited to join them. These numerous and arduous

³⁴ The reorganization of the operational areas of the New Zealand Catholic Church was decided upon in Rome with the advice of Bishop Pompallier, Marist Superior Fr. Colin. Ref. *Acta Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide*, Rome 1848. This was when the New Zealand Mission was divided into two dioceses – Auckland (which included all the areas from Far North to the 39th parallel) for which Pompallier was responsible and Wellington. This diocese, which included all the area south of the 39th parallel, became the responsibility of Bishop Viard, as recommended by Bishop Pompallier. At this time most of the Catholic Maori population resided in the Auckland diocese.

journeys were appreciated by Maori, for while they were commenced when Pompallier's health was good, they continued when his health declined in the later years of his life.³⁵ Thereafter younger and more physically able missionaries took up the travelling mission started by Pompallier, who became more and more confined to administrative duties. The Catholic relationship with Maori can be explored through oral history for the importance of oral history in the telling of this story must be emphasized.

The relationship between Bishop Pompallier and Marist Superior Colin, with the controversies and ecclesiastical policies necessitating patient perseverance, is discussed in part three as is the Marist role generally. Negative as well as positive aspects of this relationship are followed up. The apostolic work of the Marist Order began in New Zealand and Oceania with the mission to Maori and Polynesians. So inevitably the formation is inseparable from discussion of this mission to Maori, due to their foundational and continuing partnership. Thereby the Marists, Pompallier and Maori can all be said to be inseparable from any discussion of the founding of the Catholic faith in New Zealand. The Marist descriptions of the mission with its ups and downs, was continued by their successors, whether they were diocesan or members of orders like the indefatigable Mill Hill Fathers.

Part four gives a general overview of the success of the mission to Maori, by exploring its development through the decades. The continuation of the relationship with Maori, which can be

³⁵ Evidence of this ill health, beset by painful arthritic conditions, is gained from those working with him at the time, (in particular the Mercy Sisters) and was known to Maori. See *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy* cited in Lillian Keys, *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier* (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1957), p. 406. See also *Sisters of Mercy (NZ) Gracious is the Time* (1952) and *Daughters of Our Lady* of Compassion Publications including *Audacity of Faith – Sisters of Compassion Centennial 1892 – 1992*. See also <http://www.compassion.org.nz/publication/publications.htm>

demonstrated through oral as well as written history, resulted in a definitive memory of Pompallier as “a man loved through the generations”. This is investigated, as is the continuation of Maori Mission in the traditional Catholic manner. It is essential that we understand the normal Catholic methods of the day for carrying out missiology in order to avoid misunderstandings and come to wrong conclusions about the man Pompallier and his crusade. The roles and methods of the Franciscans, Mill Hills, and other orders, as well as diocesan priests, in furthering the Maori Mission also are investigated to a limited degree.

Negative and positive images of Pompallier generally are also explored in part five, Changes in lay participation in the Catholic Church, necessarily impacting on Maori, particularly measures instituted after the Second Vatican Council, are also discussed. Various misunderstandings about early New Zealand Catholicism, which at times have provoked scathing criticism, will be identified and briefly mentioned. The confusion arising from theological differences and ignorance of traditional practices needs some exploration on account of the resultant acrimony afforded Pompallier. These theological differences will be briefly touched on as a means of answering possible confusion. Some theological discussion is essential, due to continuing criticisms of Pompallier and his mission, which reflect a certain lack of Catholic theological knowledge.³⁶

Part six returns to the theme of the first chapter, regarding the 2002 Hikoi. The Pastoral Council formed to work for the return of Pompallier’s remains proves the effectiveness of the knowledge “passed on through the generations”, of the enigmatic personality of “Epikopo”. The bond formed between the Bishop and his “flock” has proved indissoluble, much to the interest of some European Catholics, who also joined Maori to lobby for the return of the Bishop’s remains. Thus,

³⁶ In particular Paul Moon *Hone Heke Nga Puhi Warrior* (Auckland: Ling, 2001), pp. 25-26. Also by reference by same author in, *The Newest Country in the World* (Auckland: Penguin, 2007), p. 99.

Pompallier proved yet again to be a uniting force. The French aspect of this relationship has to be acknowledged, both at the beginning and with respect to the Hikoi, for it has proved vital to the successful conclusion of the plans to eventually bring Pompallier back “home”. In a similar vein, contact with French captains, which were at times vital for security and economic reasons, are duly acknowledged. These positive, earlier uniting relationships were evident again in 2002 due the “return” of their initiator, Pompallier.

Overall, though, the intention is to give less attention to any acrimony encountered in the early and subsequent times, and instead *focus* on the *agape* principle of love practiced by Pompallier, his missionaries and subsequent missioners and also how this principle was largely sustained despite adversity.³⁷ Catholic Maori people, generally speaking, have also proved admirably their ability to retain this sense of agape with respect to their faith and their beloved “Epikopo”. This is not to deny any faults or failings of Bishop Pompallier, his missionaries and any others who continued the Maori Mission, but the objective is to point out the good due to the fact that often, “the evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones”.³⁸

³⁷ The concept of love – agape - here mentioned is defined as “Christian love, esp. as distinct from erotic love.

[Greek, = brotherly love] *Concise Oxford Dictionary* Ed. D. Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 24-25

³⁸ Quote from, Mark Anthony in the play *Julius Caesar*, Act 3, Scene 2. – William Shakespeare.

Part 1:

Hikoi -Te Hokianga Mai O Te Pihopa Pomaparie - Pompallier's “21st century journeys” ending at Motuti, Hokianga

The whole story of the venture that was eventually undertaken to obtain and return the remains of a bishop loved and lamented through the generations is complicated as well as captivating. Such aspirations started maybe a century or more before the event; it could be said that aspirations started among Maori at the time of the death of Bishop Pompallier in 1871, but since these ancestors are long departed, this question is difficult to answer. Maori themselves are of course the best judge of the matter of their own oral history, and they indicate that this was the case and have passed on their knowledge to others, supplemented by baptismal and other personal, official church documentation.³⁹ Maori themselves insist that Pompallier was and continues to be loved through Maori generations and they regard the point to be indisputable, as a result of the successful procuring and return of his remains to those who profess this love.⁴⁰ As the first Maori people whom Pompallier met and affected gradually dispersed around New Zealand, so did the history of their “Epikopo”. He was an extraordinary man in many ways, but a mere man nonetheless, with faults, failings, in common with men generally. Accomplishing the establishment of the practice of the Catholic faith in territory shortly to come under the authority of England, where full acceptance and implementation of the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act still had some progress to make, was no mean feat, considering that Pompallier reached New

³⁹ Reference here is to Baptismal, First Holy Communion, Marriage and other certificates issued by the Church at various stages.

⁴⁰ Many Maori have made this affirmation including, the past and present Catholic Vicars for Maori, Frs. Tate and Brown, Robert Newson (Chairman of *Te Runanga o te Hahi Katorika ki Aotearoa*, the New Zealand Catholic Māori Council) and others who led or participated in the Hikoi 2002. They are said to be too numerous to name. This information has been ascertained from personal interviews 2008-2009.

Zealand less than a decade after the Act. The Hikoi of 2002 extended the missionary work initiated by Pompallier, for the return of his remains sharply rekindled knowledge of *how* faith was taught and practiced in his era, the *methods* of worship and teaching having changed in recent decades.⁴¹ Interestingly several Catholic priests, one a modern day Maori Missioner, made comments to the media at the time regarding the Hikoi taking them back to “their roots.”⁴²

⁴¹ Here reference is made to *actual* changes that occurred to what is known in Catholic Canon Law as the “Lex orandi, Lex credendi” (laws of worship and belief), whereby traditional practices were altered to varying degrees, causing some confusion. These changes occurred after the Second Vatican Council ended and included the introduction of *Novus Ordo Missae* (New Order Missal) 1970. The Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* issued by Pope Benedict XVI, 2007 has restored traditional believes and practices. Ref. Benedict XVI *Summorum Pontificum* www.vatican.org In July 2009 Benedict issued another decree, concerning re-examination of the implementation of Vatican II documents, *Ecclesiae Unitatem*.

⁴² *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 2002.

Events leading to the Return of Pompallier's Remains

Decades before the actual return of the remains of Bishop Pompallier to New Zealand articles, books, Maori reports from their hui (meetings) indicated that something was afoot regarding the departed bishop and that “that something” was to eventuate before too long. Catholic newspaper reports also indicated the renewed interest in the “Apostle of New Zealand”. Te Wa – the Hikoi of the Marist Brothers to Northland in 1988, at the time of the one hundred and fiftieth celebration of the arrival of the bishop to the shores of New Zealand - was another sign, showing the unity of lay and clergy, European and Maori, in their renewed interest Pompallier. Fr. Henare Tate, Vicar for Maori, recalled the past for the Brothers on this particular Hikoi, ‘Te WA’, and told of the history of places “occupied by the Bishop and the early brothers”, and “the loss of most of the Hokianga records from 1891 until 1915”.⁴³ These were kept at Rawene, “one of the oldest parishes in New Zealand” when the church and presbytery were burnt down.⁴⁴ This loss was not an isolated case for a number of old churches and presbyteries had been lost to fires and the fire justified even more the need for oral history to be collected as a means of retaining knowledge of the past. Archival material of examples of media reports in the decades before the Hikoi record varying opinions of Pompallier and were indicative of renewed interest.

A New Zealand *Tablet* newspaper report in 1985 suggested that “Pompallier was to some extent an agent of French power in the Pacific” and that “the younger Pompallier considered New Zealand as a field of action on which to win his spurs in order to secure promotion to the senior benefices of France”.⁴⁵ Suffice to say that this opinion was not supported by historical fact. A 1987 report in the Wellington Diocesan publication *Welcom* discussed Pompallier's attendance at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi stating that he “played a significant role in

⁴³ Fr. Henare Tate “Te Wa”- The Hikoi of the Marist Brothers to Northland, 1988. ACDA sighted 2008

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Bernard Cadogan, *New Zealand Tablet*, 6 March 1985, p. 12.

advising Catholic Maori chiefs about the full implications of the Treaty”.⁴⁶ This report was in line with general discussion surrounding the Treaty at the time and indicated Pompallier’s responsible action in requesting that freedom of religious worship be part of the Treaty. Another indication of interest in Pompallier was the restoration of Pompallier House, Russell, built for the Catholic Mission in the 1840s. It took place in 1994, occasioning more comments about the life and mission of Bishop Pompallier. Similar events took place on the occasion of the ceremony establishing the first resident Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Etteldorf in 1994, when the memory of Bishop Pompallier and his mission was recalled.⁴⁷ An article in a major newspaper in 2000 reported that Pompallier’s bones had been exhumed the previous year from a Paris cemetery so that church leaders could bring their founding father home. This was the occasion that identity was verified by viewing the contents of the coffin, which contained a Maori necklace. The article continued by saying that the Church was “still seeking a final resting place for the bishop’s remains”.⁴⁸ The aforementioned are just a sample of reports.

The return of Bishop Pompallier's remains marked a culmination of many years of lobbying and planning by Maori Catholics, but included some Europeans, especially in the Hokianga, including the part Maori farmer Peter Vujcich.⁴⁹ He hoped that Pompallier’s remains would come to Purakau, but “Pompallier’s old Purakau church was shifted some years ago to Motuti, 8kms from its original site”, so Purakau was unsuitable.⁵⁰ Other followers of “Epikopo” - those who remained loyal to him and kept his memory alive through subsequent generations - are said to have always regretted his sudden departure in 1868, and that he never returned to them.

⁴⁶ Unnamed author, *Welcom* Wellington Diocese 20 May 1987. Wellington Diocesan Archives. Sighted October 2008.

⁴⁷ Unnamed authors, *Welcom* February 1994. Wellington Diocesan Archives. Sighted October 2008.

⁴⁸ Angela Gregory, “Catholic heartlands rich past lives again”, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May 2000.

⁴⁹ He attended primary school in the Purakau presbytery and bought the site of the mission from the Catholic Church in 1961 with a view to restoration, as he thought “development would offer cultural, employment and tourism opportunities.” Angela Gregory, *New Zealand Herald*, 5 May, 2000.

⁵⁰ Vujcich had already started rebuilding the 400m wharf and wanted to recreate the former tidal mill; such was his love of the mission history and Pompallier Ibid.

Though he had to retire to France and was buried in Paris, far away from the people who considered him their spiritual father, they did not forget him. During the 1990s, in particular, many voices began to call for the return of their first Catholic Bishop. Eventually the Maori Taitokerau Regional Pastoral Council pursued the possibility of obtaining Pompallier's remains in order that their "spiritual father" might once again be among them. Impetus came from New Zealand's participants in the 1997 World Youth Day, held in Paris. On this occasion Auckland Bishop Dunn and Maori Bishop Mariu had led a delegation of 70 young people to Puteaux, France for a pilgrimage to the grave of Bishop Pompallier. On his return home Bishop Dunn contacted the Chaplain for Oceanians in Paris, Fr. Riocreux, to "examine the possibility of bringing back his (Pompallier's) remains".⁵¹ Fr. Riocreux later recalled how he "knew this name Pompallier and its importance for the Church of Oceania" but "was totally unaware of his reputation among the Maoris and the mark he had left on New Zealand history" and from 1997 his name and person became familiar to him.⁵² In 1998 a follow up visit to Pompallier's grave was made by a Maori delegation.⁵³ Members of The National Catholic Maori Council of New Zealand played a major role in negotiations and arrangements for the whole venture, making their own particular visits to France and Rome at various times. Plans though, for the return of the founder of the Catholic Church of New Zealand and nearby islands Wallis, Fortuna etc, were initially commenced in the 1970s by Maori.⁵⁴

The French government had to make the final decision as to whether and when Bishop Pompallier's remains would return to New Zealand. As far as Maori was concerned this 'return' was a project of great spiritual significance that had to be conducted properly, which meant they

⁵¹ Press release prepared by Father Jean-Yves Riocreux FPD –P/1 (French Press Documents). Translated by Fr. Brian Quinn SM, April 2002. MAW

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ref. Fr. Henare Tate – personal interview.

had to travel to Italy and France. Pompallier's links with God, family, country and the Church of France had to be addressed and acknowledged before his remains could be brought back. This "protocol" was a demonstration of Maori "tikanga" (culture and customs) based on tradition which is very much an oral rather than a written tradition and was strictly adhered to when the remains of Pompallier were returned. New Zealand Catholic Bishops finally announced in 2001 that thanks to the consent and cooperation of the Pompallier family, the French government and the bishops of France, Bishop Pompallier's remains would be released for return to New Zealand. Bishop Dunn had issued a Pastoral Letter concerning the return of the remains in which he explained that for some time he had been in discussion and consultation with the Tai Tokerau Pastoral Council. This Council, he said, had requested of him his "blessing and approval for the return of Bishop Pompallier's remains to New Zealand" and that he had consulted the New Zealand Bishops, his own Council of Priests and Diocesan Pastoral Council.⁵⁵ Bishop Dunn requested that the Diocese "treat this return as an opportunity for remembering and rejuvenating our Faith".⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Bishop Patrick Dunn, *Auckland Pastoral Letter* August 2001. Pompallier Centre (PC).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Start of the Hikoi Tapu in Rome

On 30th December 2001, Auckland Bishop Dunn, two priests – Maori Pa Henare Tate and Marist Fr. Brian Prendeville - some Marist brothers, nuns, a group of kaumatua and kuia from the Hokianga, other Maori from Auckland and Otaki, and some Europeans duly started the Hikoi Tapu (Holy journey), to Rome and France.⁵⁷ The party of 37 included “a few supportive other Pakeha lay people”, making “one bus full”, visiting Rome and Lyon, before exhuming Pompallier's remains at dawn on 9 January 2001.⁵⁸ This venture was the original initiative of Fr. Henare Tate whose “dream” brought it to fruition.⁵⁹ This “Holy journey” ended in what could be described as Pompallier’s “21st century journeys” around New Zealand, with his final “resting place’ in Motuti, Hokianga, Northland. The journey, and in fact the whole project contributed to a better, kinder understanding of Pompallier, the man and his mission. The highlight of the journey to Rome was said to be meeting Pope John Paul II and “the infectiousness of ...enthusiasm” the encounter engendered was recorded in reports at the time.⁶⁰ Visiting Lyon was particularly poignant as the pilgrims tried to comprehend the many connections between that city and New Zealand, due to the numerous recruits from the French area that Pompallier managed to inspire to become involved in his “Oceania crusade”. It was reported to be “overwhelming to sit in the churches and buildings they lived and worshipped in, to connect with their *whanaungatanga* and celebrate liturgies in English, Maori and French; liturgies at one and the same time poignant and joyous”.⁶¹ ⁶² Following a service at Notre Dame, Paris, the entourage on “the pilgrimage in the footsteps of Pompallier” headed back to New Zealand.

⁵⁷ Nuns from the Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion, (DoC) the NZ founded Order played a prominent role.

⁵⁸ Pat Lythe *Hikoi Tapu to Rome and Paris 30 Dec-13 January 2002 – A personal diary and reflections from a Pakeha participant*. Auckland Diocesan Pastoral Council (ADPC) Office files on Hikoi 2002. Sighted 2009. Pat Lythe, Executive secretary, PC.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ A group photograph was taken with Pope John Paul II to record the occasion, in Pat Lythe *Hikoi Tapu to Rome and Paris 30 Dec-13 January 2002 – A personal diary and reflections from a Pakeha participant*.

⁶¹ Pat Lythe, *The Apostle comes home to rest* in the *Tui Motu InterIslands*, independent Catholic Magazine, 16 Auckland: Undated PC. <http://www.tuimotu.org>

Arrival of Pompallier in New Zealand and First Auckland Visit

The pilgrim group arrived at Auckland Airport to be greeted by a very warm welcome. They were to escort the Bishop's remains throughout New Zealand, travelling from marae to marae, entrusting 'him' to *hunga kainga* (home people) in each location, where relationships were rekindled; in particular the relationships the local *tupuna* had with Pompallier. The original itinerary had to be extended due to "popular demand", such was the enthusiastic response to the Bishop's "return", as many clamoured for the privilege of "hosting" the bishop in order to pay their own individual respects, with the New Zealand part of the journey.⁶³ The remains arrived in Auckland 13 January 2002 where they were transferred to a richly carved Kauri coffin and received an appropriate welcome. A Maori carver of Te Rarawa had spent six months carving the special casket that tells "the total story of the man", the carver said.⁶⁴

Auckland was obviously a special place to receive Pompallier as it became his base and it was where he ended his time in New Zealand, departing only three years before his death. Media reports at the time of the arrival on New Zealand soil of the remains, generally reported that the Bishop was back among people he nurtured.⁶⁵ Bishop Dunn of Auckland is quoted (at the time of the arrival of the group in France) as saying "There's very much a feeling that he belongs to us". He was commenting about bringing Pompallier's remains back after they had been exhumed from the Parisian cemetery. Whaiora Marae Otara, Auckland was the scene of an

⁶² Liturgy celebrated by Pompallier though would have been somewhat different, being almost identical to that of Latin Rite Missal, used universally in the Catholic Church until 1970, but for Maori with parallel translations. This form of the Latin rite was rejuvenated by Pope Benedict XVI with his 2007 *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum*, in which he identifies two, forms of the one Latin Rite: the "extra-ordinary" form celebrated for the first time on New Zealand soil by Pompallier in 1838 and the 'ordinary' 1970 *Novus Ordo* form which became common usage. Ref. Benedict XVI *Summorum Pontificum* www.vatican.org

⁶³ Ref. Fr. Henare Tate in personal interview 2009 Unga Waka Marae.

⁶⁴ Val Aldridge *The Dominion*, Wellington, 12 January 2002.

⁶⁵ Ref. in particular a heading from secular newspaper which read, "Bishop back among people he nurtured". Liddy Middlebrook. *New Zealand Herald*. 14 January 2002.

emotional *powhiri* (after an airport reception), where Maori leaders and many others “filed into the meeting house to touch and kiss Pompallier’s casket, as Maori elders wept”, with Maori affirming, “We had to know about him...he’s part of our faith”.⁶⁶ After spending ten “welcoming” days at various Auckland venues, including the Maori Hato Petera College North Shore, home of Fr. Henare Tate, the pilgrimage moved on to start the New Zealand leg of its journey.

⁶⁶ Liddy Middlebrook. *New Zealand Herald*. Monday, 14 January 2002.

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The casket was flown to Invercargill, the first step on the national tour, where it was again warmly greeted with a *powhiri* (Maori welcome) – the norm for arrival at each new venue – as was time spent in *mihi*, prayer and hymns at each marae. At Tomairangi Marae a woman produced an obviously precious document “stating that her Maori great[-great grandmother of Kaiapoi was baptized in Akaroa at the age of twenty six years by Bishop Pompallier and married on the same day, 18th February 1846”.⁶⁷ According to Fr. Tate there were many similar examples on Pompallier’s “21st century journey” of such evidence, including oral history, produced by those whose ancestors had passed on memorabilia of Pompallier. After a Mass in the Basilica in Invercargill, attended by hundreds of people, “some of whom had come great distances”, the remains were taken to Otakou, Dunedin. Here it was “accompanied by a good number of Catholic and Maori pakeha from Dunedin” and then on to the Cathedral where “parish groups visited...some numbered fifty or eighty”, quite a significant number for relatively small parishes.⁶⁸ A car transporting the casket and Hikoi members was sponsored and “signed with words in Maori on one door and in English on the other – ‘Pihopa Pomaparie Hikoi Tapu’ (Bishop Pompallier Pilgrimage)”; another indication of jubilant support.⁶⁹

In Southland Pompallier was again welcomed by the descendants of the people whose lives he touched, having celebrated Mass at Wellers Rock, close to the Otakou Maori settlement and again more evidence of continuing connect to Pompallier was produced. A descendant of *one* of the first Otago Maori to be baptized by the bishop said with respect to Pompallier, “It’s something I’ve always known about and heard his name as part of our family history”.⁷⁰ The

⁶⁷ Fr. Henare Tate, *Pompallier Visit to Dunedin Diocese 28th January 2002* Hikoi (personal report and newsletter at the time) Folder PC sighted 2008-9.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Southland visit organizer, who was of the tribe of Ngai Tahu, said the bishop's work "represented a special commitment to Maori people".⁷¹ He also said of Pompallier that, "he came from a long way away to work with Maori and carried a lot of risk".⁷² Thus more knowledge of and respect for the bishop, who visited the area so long ago, was made obvious by the manifestation of renewed interest and comments made, stimulated by the Hikoi. The Dunedin Whanau took "Pihopa Pomaparie" north to Moeraki where it was recalled that "Pomaparie" spent six days in 1840, whilst baptizing and marrying Maori (quite a long stay at that early stage of the Mission). It was fondly recalled that:

The chiefs asked him to take their sons with him to educate them at the mission station but he didn't have the resources or personnel. However he took three, one of whom was called Porure...his mother was dead. The chief addressed Pompallier with these words, "Bishop, let Porure be your son, love him well, be to him a father".⁷³

Such were the strong and poignant memories of Moeraki Maori, that they accompanied the travelling party to Christchurch where they were "welcomed by Maori of all denominations" whose "speeches revolved around the theme...thank you for bringing Pompallier so that we can greet him, and touch him. We are proud to be a part of the celebrations for this man."⁷⁴ It was also reported that "not one of the kaumatua would give up the opportunity of acknowledging Pomaparie. The kai had to wait", thus indicating the depth of feeling for their Pomaparie.⁷⁵ The next stop of the travelling party was Akaroa, where Pomaparie was welcomed by a guard of honour, formed by one hundred and fifty people. A particular report about Pompallier's known love of roses is revealing as this is the flower of the rosary and Pompallier had a special

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Joanna Norris *Otago Daily Times* 28 January 2002.

⁷³ Pompallier, *Annals des Missions d'Océanie* POM DCA. Also recalled in reports at the time of the Hikoi.

⁷⁴ Tate, *Pompallier Visit to Dunedin Diocese* 28th January 2002. PC.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

devotion to Mary.⁷⁶ A member of the French embassy discovered the Akaroa event and declared that “Bishop Pompallier did a lot of what diplomats should do” in that he “learned the language and got to know the people.”⁷⁷ Akaroa was where Pompallier wrote a Maori Catechism and the site of St. Patrick’s Church built in 1865, overlooking the spot where Pompallier came ashore in 1840. Members of a pakeha family re-union similarly heard of the return of Pomaparie and after discovering their ancestors were married by this very “Pihopa”, “all turned up for the Mass”, at the Cathedral.⁷⁸ These stories all weave a rich tapestry depicting heart felt feelings still held for “Pihopa Pomaparie” in Southland and are further proof of enduring interest.

⁷⁶ It was reported at the time that a special rose spray on display in the Carmelite Convent, where the casket was left overnight, was arranged by one of the descendants of the original French settlers who testified that “Bishop Pompallier was a keen rose grower and brought the original French roses to Akaroa with “many types still growing in local gardens”, some of which were put on his casket.⁷⁶ It is also claimed that “On one of his early visits to Akaroa, Bishop Pompallier must have carried with him cuttings of his little rose, for one old lady of just on a hundred had a plant in her garden which she cherished and called ‘The Bishop’s Rose.’ See refs. http://www.rosarosam.com/articles/waimate/roes_for_waimate.htm and www.rosarosam.com/articles/akaroa/old_roses_in_akaroa.htm -

⁷⁷ *New Zealand Catholic*, 10 February 2002, p.2.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

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Fittingly, a Maori member of the police escorted the Pihopa Pomaparie Hikoi Tapu fleet, from the Wellington Wharf to the Cathedral filled to overflowing for a Mass (much of which was in Maori) to commemorate Bishop Pompallier's life, said to be a powerful affirmation of the vitality of the Church he established.⁷⁹ This was an occasion to acknowledge the continuation of the same "vitality" obtained from the originating source of the Western Oceanic part of the Catholic Church, and those to whom the mission was directed, Maori New Zealanders. Fittingly, when the casket arrived at the Cathedral the *tangata whenua* (local Maori community) led the *powhiri* (welcome); a moving and powerful tribute to New Zealand's first bishop. The Mass was concelebrated by Cardinal Williams, the Papal Nuncio, Bishop John Dew and 50-60 priests, and attended by the French Ambassador. It was one of the high points of the more than three month journey of Pihopa Pomaparie around New Zealand. In his homily the Cardinal recounted the appointment of Pompallier to the huge vicariate of Western Oceania, which he described as "mission impossible".⁸⁰ He went on to say that Pompallier, in financial strife during most of his episcopate, "would exult at the amounts New Zealand Catholics contribute to the Church in less developed countries".⁸¹ Thus the Cardinal pinpointed the difficulties which Pompallier encountered and contrasted them with developments relating to the Church and country he loved so much, which in its turn had become "a mission sending" one.⁸² He also said that "Bishop Pompallier would want to remind us that in Catholic theology, mission has an exciting history. Mission is the story of God and man."⁸³ This statement relates very much to Pompallier as his attitude to mission epitomized this reality. His own holiness, piety, was reflected in his "voluminous" writings and remarked upon in his own time, as well as during the Hikoi, as were

⁷⁹ Tate Pompallier Visit to Dunedin Diocese 28 January 2002.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Cardinal Williams Homily Mass at Sacred Heart Cathedral 5th February, 2002.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

his gentleness and kindness.⁸⁴ After this Mass at the capital's Cathedral the bishop's remains were taken to Porirua, where Te Ngakau Tapu is New Zealand's only personal Maori parish. A very well attended "deeply moving Mass" was reported as being offered there on Waitangi Day.⁸⁵

The party then travelled to focal spots in the Diocese of Palmerston North, Pukekaraka, (Otaki), Hato Pauro College Fielding, then, Wanganui, Jerusalem, visiting churches "absolutely packed... inside and out".⁸⁶ It is also reported that there were in attendance "lots of pakeha and many representatives of other Churches".⁸⁷ In Pukekaraka, another historic and vibrant Catholic Maori Centre, Mass was offered on successive days; firstly in Maori the old church, built in Pompallier's time, then secondly a farewell Mass in the new church, filled to capacity and celebrated by Cardinal Williams, thus indicating the devotion of the people of this area. Traveling on to Fielding Maori College, Hato Paora, the cortege, met by the bishops of the Palmerston North Diocese Peter Cullinane and Owen Dolan, and old boys past and present paid their respects. The cortege drove onto Wanganui for the trip up the river to Jerusalem, returning through the grounds of Kaitoke Prison, a short distance from Wanganui, to Waipawa. A scheduled ordination was momentarily interrupted in order that Bishop Owen could "go out and give a blessing for their journey". Arrangements had been made for a special greeting to be given by the local people before the ordination Mass but the cortege was late. So the ordinand, parish priest, a kaumatua and kaikaranga accompanied Bishop outside the church. Again, emphasizing the dignity of the "visitor, Pomaparie" was greeted by a local bishop. The party was en route for Pakipaki, a major Catholic Maori Centre, where six speakers praised Pomaparie at the powhiri and "big hakari" and then the people of Pakipaki escorted the

⁸⁴ Unnamed author, *Welcome* Wellington Diocesan Publication February 2002. WDA.

⁸⁵ Fr. Henare *Tate Kaikoura to Waihi* (Wellington – Palmerston North Diocese) Report February 2002. PC

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

travelling party to Wairoa.⁸⁸ In all of the aforementioned places Pompallier's remains were received with equal respect, even awe, by those patiently awaiting their turn to honour them. Photographs taken of the occasions "painted a thousand words", as local kaumatua expressed their admiration for the bishop who brought Catholicism to Wanganui and outlying areas through associates like Mother Aubert.⁸⁹

Additional followers joined the cortege to accompany 'their bishop' to other areas including Taupo where the Catholic Maori Bishop Pihopa Mairu and Hamilton Diocesan Bishop Dennis Browne received them with the pupils of St Patrick's school. After the, now to be expected, crowded Mass they were escorted to Bishop Takuira's marae of Tapeka at Waihi, by both bishops. Here they were received by the paramount chief of Tuwhareoa, Tumu Te Heuheu, his people and many others including pakeha and the assistant Anglican Bishop of Waiapu, George Connors, who also travelled to be present at Waihi. Chief Te Heuheu requested to be a pallbearer when Pomaparie was carried in to church the next day for Mass and did so "in and out after the karakia".⁹⁰ Acknowledgement was given, on this visit, that Tuwharetoa was the Iwi who gave the first Maori Bishop to the Church (ordained priest in 1997 and bishop in 1988). After this visit Okahukura, just out of Taumarunui, was next on the timetable for visiting and expressing acknowledgement of the first Maori priest, Fr. Wiremu Te Awhitu, ordained in 1944, one hundred years after the arrival there of Pompallier. As was usual on this "twenty first century journey of Pompallier" many members of the local whanau were there to honour the

⁸⁸ Another guard of honour was formed by the pupils of Hato Hohepa at the Meanee Church to acknowledge the passing by of Pomaparie. A touching story is related by Fr. Tate regarding a place known as "the 'Font' in this area, where Pompallier is reported has performed baptisms on his only visit there. On this 'return visit' a baptism took place of "a direct descendant of the one baptized by Pompallier". This child is reported to have been extremely restless until it touched the casket. Ibid. See also *New Zealand Catholic*, 24 February 2002, p.2.

⁸⁹ E.g. Photograph in the Wanganui Chronicle Friday February 8th 2002 depicting mourners surrounding the remains. WDA.

⁹⁰ Tate Kaikoura to Waihi (Wellington – Palmerston North Diocese) Report February 2002. ACDA.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

bishop and the occasion, including one hundred pupils of the Taumaranui Catholic School, members of the Te Awhitu Whanau and Maori priest Fr. Hemi Hekiera SM, who accompanied the party to Rotorua the next day.

The people of Te Arawa gathered at Tama-te-Kapua marae near Rotorua Lakeside to await the bishop; four Mill Hill Fathers, all members of the marae as well as members of the Anglican hierarchy were present and local Old Boys of the Catholic Maori College Hato Petera carried Pomaparie's casket. "There was a big turnout that included Anglican Bishop Hui Vercoe, the widow of Anglican Bishop Mariu Bennett, and even Mr. Show Bizz Howard Morrison". The Maori wardens were out in full force as guard of honour reported Fr. Tate.⁹¹ Pohipa Takuira gave the homily at the celebratory Mass in a "church which was packed" and "there were quite a number from outlying communities like Tokoroa. Pomaparie was carried out of the church to the accompaniment of a saxophone".⁹² Again the sheer volume of people in attendance to demonstrate their love for Pompallier, whilst "praying and touching his casket", indicated that many thought about the origins of their faith and were keen to show gratitude to the bishop who was the catalyst. The emotional and faith impact of the occasion was reported to be evidenced by "the full throated singing of the hymns Whakaaria Mai (Nearer How Great Thou Art) and Mo Maria" – the well renowned composition by Bishop Pompallier.⁹³ The large congregation was said, by an eye witness, to include "Tokelauans and Samoans...numerous pakeha...people from Indonesia and the Philippines".⁹⁴

The same sort of scenario was repeated at the next stop, Opotoki where more Old Boys of Hato Petera received the group. "The home people acknowledged the tremendous honour accorded

⁹¹ Fr. Henare Tate Hamilton Diocese Hikoi Report 11 February 2002.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Fr. Billy McDonald, "Return to Rotorua" in *New Zealand Catholic*, 10 March 2002

⁹⁴ Ibid.

them”, by having Pomaparie on their Waiaua marae.⁹⁵ The convoy, gathering additional local people on the way, moved on to Maketu, where “the little church was filled up” and then onto Mt Manganui and Tauranga, all the while meeting great hospitality from the maraes and local people. It was an observation of members of the group that some people came out of curiosity, became captured and then struggled with having to leave Pomaparie. The attendance at the gatherings of non-Catholic people was also said to be impressive and it was strongly affirmed that “Pomaparie continues to extend peace to all those who come near to him”.⁹⁶

The warm reception accorded him on the formal return “visit” to Auckland was to be expected in light of the welcomes afforded Pompallier by all other places. The entourage was now truly en route to Northland, the Hokianga and his final ‘resting place’, Motuti. In the busy Auckland metropolitan area, the need to know about Pompallier and be part of his return was again demonstrated by the way many maraes and schools took the time to gratefully receive him, arranging ‘laying in state’ and numerous celebratory Masses. Tyburn nuns hosted him in the convent as well as the staff of Auckland Pompallier Diocesan Centre, paying their tributes. The casket had been carried through central Auckland, by members of the Catholic community to St. Patrick’s Cathedral where it was “centerpiece” at a Mass attended by prominent politicians and Council dignitaries. At a number of Auckland Catholic Schools namely, Sacred Heart, Liston and St Dominic’s Colleges and others, (as well as Primary schools) the same types of comments were repeated at the time of their hosting of Pompallier. Much respect and joy was affirmed, at being part of his journey up to the Hokianga. Large numbers of pupils volunteered to remain with him throughout the night, when he was hosted at their particular school, for “a time of

⁹⁵ Tate, *Hamilton Diocese Hikoi Report* 11 February 2002.

⁹⁶ McDonald, “Return to Rotorua” in *New Zealand Catholic*, March 10 2002. “As the cortege moved off a priest was asked by a young Maori woman who Pompallier actually was, and when told he was the first bishop to bring the faith to New Zealand her response was to compare him with St Patrick.”

thought, quiet, prayer and sharing”.⁹⁷ Memories of these occasions were said by pupils to be sure to “live on for a long time to come”.⁹⁸ Northern Maori and congregation members took the coffin to the wharf at the National Maritime Museum, from whence an historic scow carried it across the Waitemata Harbour for another night of reverence, in the Puhoi Church well known for its Dalmatian history. The “people of the North” were said to be “looking for their time” (with Pomaparie) and on April 7th 2002 the remains were officially handed over to the Tai Tokerau people.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Steven Shapland, *Pompallier Report* Sacred Heart College, February 2002.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Fr. Henare Tate *Auckland Diocese Hikoi Report* April 2002.

Northland

The entourage arrived in Northland, North Island, where Pompallier's mission began seventeen decades earlier, on April 9th 2002; the fifth month after the arrival from France. They spent the night at the Kaihu Marae then journeyed on to the Waipoua Forest, the Hokianga Heads and Whirinaki's Pa Te Aroha Marae followed by Waima, Kaikohe, Moerewa, and Russell; all places that were very familiar to Pompallier. Again great 'welcomes' were afforded the party. His remains were transported to Russell in the Bay of Islands where they were heartily greeted on Saturday 13th April and lay in state until Sunday 14th April 2002, in a purposely-erected marquee on the site of Jean-Baptiste Francois Pompallier's 1839-50 Catholic mission headquarters. In honour of this pioneer, the Russell site today is also named Pompallier and managed by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. The series of events during the weekend involved the whole community, (not only Catholic and Maori) in the historic event, with all communities aware of the rich history of the area. Bishop Pompallier is acknowledged to be one of the influential figures of an important era, and the unique occasion allowed exploration and celebration of the past as well as the opportunity to look to the future. The local people thought themselves privileged to have him return to the place he left approximately 150 years ago, commented Kate Martin, manager of the historic property named Pompallier, who was consulted about the return of the remains.¹⁰⁰ She also said, with respect to exhumation and reinterment of the remains; "Years of museum debate about human remains had never once involved this kind of scenario."¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, *The Historic Places Trust* contributed a lot to the organizational logistics, with "the biggest contribution coming from staff, normally spread thinly around the country. Staff from the Northern Region, Auckland and Wellington offices

¹⁰⁰ Kate Martin *Te Hokianga Mai o Pomaparie: The Return Home of Bishop Pompallier* 13 & 14 April 2002, November 2002. <http://www.historic.org.nz/Pompallier/pompallieratpompallier.htm>

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

volunteered their own time to act as guides and security over the entire weekend".¹⁰² Martin later recorded that "inevitably, more history, archival and oral, surfaced. Pompallier and the Historic Places Trust in the North made real and hopefully lasting relationships with many groups and individuals, notably tangata whenua, the churches and schools."¹⁰³ At Russell, preparations were made to celebrate an all-inclusive vision, uniting both Maori and Pakeha, Catholic and non-Catholic, clergy and laity alike. Undoubtedly the Far North of New Zealand, Hokianga in particular, had primary claim on the remains of Pompallier as this was the historic site of the beginnings of his mission. According to Father Henare Tate, (one of the prime movers behind the bishop's return) this is because in the North, he continued to be revered.

He left, but the mental and spiritual link between the people and him was never severed. Every bishop that came after him to the Hokianga, was always welcomed with the words, 'Haere mai i runga i nga tapuwae o Pihopa Pomaparie'. Come in the footsteps of Bishop Pompallier.¹⁰⁴

Fr Tate explained that "Maori want to look after him. In Puteaux no one knows him. So it's better to move him out of that oblivion to where he can be respected; not just the spirit, but the remains."¹⁰⁵ He continued by giving a present day example of this respect by relating how he had baptized a baby just the previous year called Pompallier Pomare, named after his father and his father before him.¹⁰⁶ Pompallier's influence is said to have fallen upon Maori "like a consecration" according to Tate.

Whangaroa, Piwana (Totara North) and Waitaruke's Kuhakura Ariki Marae were next on the itinerary for reception of Pomaparie. Children at Kataia's Pompallier Primary school accorded a

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Fr. Tate quoted in report by Tim Watkins *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 1992.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Ibid

warm welcome to the bishop's remains on April 15th before travelling on to Ahipara where the party was met by local chiefs, "reputedly in the vicinity of the Maori Catholic Cemetery".¹⁰⁷ Manukau, Whangape, Pawarenga, Mangamuka Marae, Te Karae were the next stops, then on to Totara Point, scene of Pompallier's arrival in 1838, his return journey almost over.¹⁰⁸ From there the casket was carried to; Motukaraka, Te Karaka, Mitimiti, Waihou, St Peter's Church Panguru, Totara Point and finally to the Marae at Motuti for a three day Hui, before the interment at St. Mary's Church (St. Agnes's in Pompallier's time). It was reported in the secular press that "the biggest welcome home party" the Hokianga had ever seen reached "its zenith in the tiny settlement of Motuti" for the burial of the man for whom love and lamentations had been publicly expressed for four months before he reached his final resting place.¹⁰⁹ Even the journey up the long dusty road leading to Motuti was filled with poignant events. The casket had arrived two days earlier from Kohukohu, on the historic scow, Alama, following a particular moving Mass at Totara Point. It was accompanied by the hikoi group and the French group who had journeyed especially from France for the activities. Local organizers were said to "have thought of everything", according to an eyewitness, as local schools and community welcomed and waved off the party as well as escorting the scow in outrigger canoes.¹¹⁰ Again a police car escorted the cortege this time to Motuti, stopping at an Anglican Church where Pompallier was said to have been made very welcome and where the kaumatua said that he was overwhelmed to be in his presence. Another stop was made at Mitimiti, where a group of young people performed a welcome haka, in order that Pompallier may "be laid briefly on the grave of a

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ *Northland Age*, 9 April 2002.

¹⁰⁹ Bridget Carter, "Loved bishop reaches his final resting place" in *Weekend Herald* 20-21 April 2002, pA13.

¹¹⁰ Pat Lythe in her *Auckland Diocesan Report* April 2002.

beloved former parish priest.¹¹¹ The Catholic Church at Panguru was stopped at next, for mihi and prayers, “and again Pompallier visits one of his priests in the courtyard”.¹¹²

Motuti is finally reached and greeted by a tremendous, “shattering welcome haka from the children and adults of the nearby communities and the elders are said to be particularly happy to finally greet him there, with waiata echoing the joy as Pompallier is laid under a large picture of himself, hanging on the wall of the marae. Many others from different parts of the country were already there to greet the party and all shared a magnificent banquet in Pompallier’s honour.

On the next day of the Motuti Hui, groups of all sizes arrived all day to pay their respects to the bishop, with each group greeted with a full powhiri, karanga, mihi, accompanied by a waiata. Maori were said to have been fascinated by the Bishops and groups from France, New Caledonia, Wallis and Fortuna and pleased they could understand the speech given by the bishop of Tahiti as the language seemed so similar to them.¹¹³ Many marquees were erected all around the grounds, flying flags of the countries represented, containing photographs and many other items to interest the thousands of visitors including the great niece of Thomas Poynton [who played such an important part in early life of Pompallier in New Zealand]. The party of the Maori Queen, said to be an impressive group, arrived symbolically all wearing the leaves in their hair, their kawa being different as they kept their wreaths on, while the people of the North took them off and lay them at the foot of the casket.¹¹⁴ It was a great compliment to Bishop

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Pompallier that the manuhiri again had six speakers, all representing different tribes. The final day of the Hikoi had at last arrived, with thousands of others now gathered for the interment of the coffin.¹¹⁵

The years of planning and lobbying were over, as eleven Catholic Bishops, nearly one hundred priests (all told) and thousands of others gathered for the final ceremonies, with local people winning praise for their tolerance and hospitality. The theme of the importance of people was repeated by this occasion, with returning to the Hokianga for the celebrations being likened to going back to the beginning, for one Wellington Maori missionary who said; “it just puts you in touch with your roots”.¹¹⁶ Another priest, this time from France, said that “seeing the roots in this country from France was very impressive.”¹¹⁷ It was claimed that “the unexpected met *tradition*...to create a moving experience in the reinterment of New Zealand’s first bishop”, [emphasis added] as a silent procession left the Motuti marae carrying the cask to the nearby church. It was accompanied by a loan saxophonist, whose music in conjunction with the solemnity of the occasion, was said to fill the valley and “made the skin tingle”.¹¹⁸ All the efforts made, all in honour of Pomaparie’s remains, were testimony to the fact that he was obviously still held in high regard.

The scene at the final re-interment of Bishop Pompallier’s bones was an impressive sight as photographs of the time portray. It was obviously very much a Maori affair with Maori wardens in attendance, the Tino Rangatiratanga and flags of the Marae on huge bamboo poles, “proudly

¹¹⁵ 2000 – 3000 is the reported number of those attending the interment at Motuti. See Peter Grace in *New Zealand Catholic* 5 May 2002 and secular media reports at the time.

¹¹⁶ *New Zealand Herald*, 22 April 2002.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

borne alongside the solemn procession”, to St. Mary’s Church and the men who carried them were said to be “overwhelmed with emotion”.¹¹⁹ The outside of the Church was lined with local young people who again presented another impressive haka as the casket was carried into the church courtyard and placed on the four foot high bier, especially erected for the occasion. A young Maori male lighted the candles and torches around the bier as the bishops of Oceania and France and many priests, all wearing specially designed vestments “featuring Maori koru like designs”, entered the white picket compound and took their place on the stage under a huge canopy, outside the tiny Church. At this Mass the Bishop of Auckland’s homily was the story of the Hikoi and the impact it had achieved, which he told using Maori as well as French.¹²⁰ Precious gifts were donated, including a gold chalice donated to Notre Dame, Paris, by Pope Paul VI. The re-internment rite of the Mass was performed by the Maori Bishop Mariu and Father Henare Tate. The casket was carried into the Church and laid on a platform altar in order that the Chairman of the Maori Trust might activate the mechanism which caused it to descend into a vault beneath the altar. This was said to be another “very poignant moment – a mixture of joy and satisfaction at a miracle accomplished – “ accompanied by pain and tears due to the inevitable parting from the Bishop of those in whose constant company he had been for almost four months. Even though it was recognized that only his bones were in fact accompanied to so many places, his spirit and all he personified seem to also make the same sacred journeys that touched the heart and faith of thousands.

According to an editorial of the *NZ Catholic* at the time; “what once may have seemed a far-fetched and unrealistic dream” had “become a reality and the way in which it was

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

achieved...seemed to reinforce the soundness of the proposal as the project proceeded.”¹²¹ The editor went on to describe events which had unfolded, connected to Church, family and governments and then he asked whether the Hikoi Tapu represented the completion of a chapter or the heralding of the beginning of a new in the history of New Zealand’s Catholic faith. Again the matter of rediscovery “of the roots of our faith” was raised (this had been a theme of the pilgrimage) as were “the sacrifices our missionaries made” to bring the same faith to New Zealand.¹²² Many further questions could be raised as to this apparent necessity to “rediscover roots” aligned with questions relating to comparatively recent changes in Catholic liturgy the impact of which, on Maori traditional ways of thinking and acting, may be said to still be in need of exploration.¹²³

The Hikoi to the places around the country that Pompallier had visited revealed a somewhat startling interest in Pompallier as Maori in each locality flocked to pay homage to him. Even though a certain interest was expected, the actual response was said to be quite overwhelming. The current Vicar for Maori Fr. Anthony Brown reported that the “Maori response after the return could be termed surreal”.¹²⁴ Accordingly this thesis, seeking to counter the claim that Pompallier’s episcopacy ended in failure, (monetary considerations aside) is proven, to some degree by those who determined “to bring him back”, to New Zealand. This whole enterprise was started three decades before Pompallier’s body was in fact re-interred at Motuti Marae, Hokianga, where fittingly he was perceived as “coming home” to his “beloved Maoris”. He had in fact returned to those whom he consoled so long ago with the now well known words in New Zealand Catholic circles. “Rejoice, O Hokianga”, for “you were you were the first to receive the

¹²¹ Pat McCarthy Editorial Pompallier’s mission is not over *New Zealand Catholic* 5 May 2002, p.7.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Here oblique reference is made to the changes in the Catholic Liturgy from the era of 1970s, said also to be an important period for putting into motion the plans to seek the return of Pihopa Pomaparie.

¹²⁴ Fr. Brown made this statement during one of many interviews regarding the Hikoi and the Maori mission,

light of the Holy Catholic Church"... "My beloved New Zealand".¹²⁵ Pompallier's first mission field, Hokianga, became known as *Te Kohanga o Te Hāhi Katorika ki Aotearoa* [the Cradle of the Faith in Aotearoa] by both Maori and Pakeha. A dialogue Pompallier had with a kaumatua (elder), illustrates that the bishop's attitude often inspired imitation by those who write of him. It concerns a somewhat poignant expression of mutual aroha (love). "If you have love (aroha) for us you will send us a priest" challenged a local Kaumatua. "I don't know about your love (aroha) for me, but I know about my love for you, because I left my country, my land and my family for you", was the telling response of Bishop Pompallier.¹²⁶ This genuine approach to Maori concerns and his enlightened attitude towards their culture, displayed in the comprehensive Instructions he wrote for his fellow missionaries, is remembered still.

¹²⁵ In *Memories* Appendix 3, Keys, 391

¹²⁶ Pompallier, Early History of the Catholic Church.

Reactions to the Hikoi

A member of the Hikoi 2002 group, Runanga Chairman Robert Newson (of the National Catholic Maori Council of New Zealand) twice made pilgrimages to Rome and France in connection with Pompallier. He believes strongly through his Maori ancestry and the oral history passed on to him, that enduring feelings for Pompallier have been retained. Newson's ancestor, Atama Paparangi, was a paramount chief, Te Rarauoa, Mitimiti, Hokianga. Chief Atama's burial stone bears the inscription. "He was with Pompallier", thus the particular affinity this descendant Newson, has with Bishop Pompallier.¹²⁷ According to Newson, the first talk about Pompallier's return of which he was aware, started with his grandparent's generation, but they left it to their grandchildren to make it happen. As one of these grandchildren, he is adamant that Pompallier was in fact a man loved and lamented through the generations, despite "any difficulties he had with money".¹²⁸ In regard to finance, Newson thought that it must have been very difficult for a man of Pompallier's aristocratic background to concentrate on monetary matters anyway, and that having to change focus to the "settler church" meant there would have been understandable conflict regarding how limited resources were subsequently allocated.

Newson, a member of the Ngapuhi tribe, said that his birthplace, Mitimiti, continued through the many decades since Pompallier's departure to have strong memories of him, and that it was apt that his final "resting place" should be in Motuti in the very church (St Mary's) that Pompallier established, which was transported from Mitimiti. The continuation of the Maori mission was also simply a matter of fact as attested to by the continuing faith of many Maori and "even if only one Maori kept it, this would still be proof".¹²⁹ The Maori saying "what is the greatest, people, people, people" epitomized the way Pompallier thought and acted, Newson insisted, and it was

¹²⁷ Mr. Bobby Newson in interview at his home Te Atatu Auckland, 12 June 2009.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

reflected in everything Pompallier undertook. This principle concerning the importance of people and the necessity of an appropriate adaptation of Catholicism to their culture was clearly understood by Pompallier's Maori faithful at the beginning, and the principle continued to be recollected through oral history down the generations. "Money was not his (Pompallier's) main aim he was more interested in the people."¹³⁰ Evidence of this principle is still around as found in Catholic Maori activities generally, including, schools, maraes, and clubs. In particular the 2002 Hikoi was very public evidence of adherence to a founding principle of the Catholic Mission to Maori; for the importance of people in relation to faith remained a focus. This also assisted in keeping Pompallier's memory alive. From Invercargill to the Far North, the Hikoi visited the places of the Bishop's travels during his lifetime, until it reached the church at Motuti whence he once again was reunited with Hokianga Maori, being interred beneath the altar of one of his oldest remaining Churches, St Mary's.¹³¹ The great-grand-niece of Bishop Pompallier (who travelled especially for the occasion from France) was pictured with the Māori Queen at the re-interment ceremony at St. Mary's which indicates the respect he has continued to command.¹³²

Reports from media and other sources, in both France and New Zealand, tell of the coming together of so many Maori, Catholic and non-Catholic, to pay tribute and display real mourning for the French "Epikopo" who had not previously returned to them for them to mourn him. A press release for the French press from the French liaison priest, Fr. J. Y. Riocreux, had an apt headline which read; *The homage of a Church and the Maori people to Bishop Pompallier, first Bishop of New Zealand*. In this report Fr. Riocreux said the New Zealand was "writing a beautiful page in its history, thanks to the return of the remains of Bishop Pompallier...the

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Renamed from St Agnes probably due to Pompallier's devotion to Mary...

¹³² See Te Hokianga Mai O Te Pihopa Pomaparie New Zealand Historic Places Trust Media Release, 13 December 2001.

dream of the Maori people since the nineteenth century,” whilst describing Pompallier as “the defender of the Maori people”.¹³³ Fr. Riocreux mentioned gifts given to New Zealand Church from the remaining Pompallier family, a chalice and a plaque of remembrance bearing an inscription honouring Pompallier and the French Marists.¹³⁴ Under the heading “Maoris at the Puteaux Cemetery” Riocreux describes the emotions displayed by those whose “task was a fairly unusual mission”.¹³⁵ When describing the exhumation process in France he had wrote: “The feelings of those taking part had to be seen to understand how much the memory of the first Bishop of New Zealand has remained in tact on the other side of the world” and that the ceremony at the Puteaux Cemetery “radiated much warmth, respect and love”.¹³⁶ The statement of the late Maori Bishop Max Mariu at the time is indicative of the unity in purpose between French and New Zealand clergy, when he said that “this repatriation is an especially important event for us”.¹³⁷ Riocreux went on to state:

If Bishop Pompallier is little known among the people of Puteaux, he is a legend in his distant country, at the antipodes of France...the return of his remains is a spiritual need, in memory of the foundation of the New Zealand church...The return of Bishop Pompallier’s remains is therefore awaited by a Church and a whole people.¹³⁸

In a previous report in 1999 Fr. Riocreux, as Chaplain for the Oceanians in Paris, described his journey to five countries of Oceania, including New Zealand where he “had the joy of speaking about our holy fellow countryman (Marcellin Champagnat) and recalling his links with Bishop Pompallier”.¹³⁹ Interestingly Riocreux compares Pompallier to another Frenchman Lafayette (who honoured American democracy) commenting that Pompallier honoured New Zealand

¹³³ Press release prepared by Father Jean-Yves Riocreux FPD –P/1 (French Press Documents). Translated by Fr. Brian Quinn SM, April 2002. MAW.

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ Ibid

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

democracy in the same way. He did this by departing abruptly after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi “not wanting to take part in this political moment”.¹⁴⁰ This statement indicates enduring knowledge of Pompallier’s respect for Maori and their rights in making their own political decisions; a knowledge which has continued through the generations.

A young member of Ngati Raukawa/Tainui made a personal media statement regarding “what the return of Pompallier’s bones” meant to her, and her feelings are said to be similar to those of many others.¹⁴¹ According to reports Maori both Catholic and non-Catholic generally speaking, were more interested in the return of Pompallier’s remains than Pakeha. Some Catholics were not all interested and it could be that the venture may have been due to some degree to a certain pastoral neglect of Maori.¹⁴² The young Maori wrote that the remains were returned because “the Maori people wanted to give Pompallier the honour due to him, to reclaim the mana he deserves”, and that “many Maori Catholics have been striving for this for many years”.¹⁴³ Maybe the venture was also symptomatic of a need for a renaissance of Maori Catholicism. The respondent went on to display her knowledge of the facts of the history of Pompallier’s mission recalling that “he had come for us” and that this was “emphasized to his fellow priests”.¹⁴⁴ For her it was important that there was awareness of the reality of there not having been “many basic differences between Maori belief in God and the Christian way”, which was why,

The Maori were so quick to accept the message when Pompallier brought it. The difference is, maybe, in the way we worship...Maori spirituality has tended to get

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Unnamed author *Tui Motu InterIslands*. Not dated, p17.

¹⁴² Ref. Arbuckle Report where some Maori expressed dissatisfaction with liturgical changes. Arbuckle G. SM *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society* (Wellington: NZ Bishops Conference, 1976).

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

lost...This is why it is so important for us to reclaim Pompallier, because he symbolizes what we had.¹⁴⁵

She also declared that “He was a voice on our behalf. He had become part of us...Even though his mortal remains are returning to Aotearoa, his wairua – his spirit – never really left.”¹⁴⁶ These statements are keen indication of knowledge of the past concerning the relationship between Pompallier and Maori. Contrasting comments were made by others including that of a university historian who, when asked about by a newspaper reporter about Pompallier, said he was “curious at the fuss being made about Pompallier’s homecoming”.¹⁴⁷ He is quoted by the reporter as saying “Historians do not idealize Pompallier. He is not a figure of the stature of [Anglican Bishop George] Selwyn, even though you could raise a few questions about Selwyn too.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Tim Watkins “The Bishop’s Bones”, *Weekend Herald* 20-21 April 2002, p.3.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Lineham, Associate Professor of History at Massey University, reported in article by Tim Watkins “The Bishops Bones”, *Weekend Herald*, 20-21 April 2002, p.3.

Aftermath – Pilgrimages to Motuti

The return of Pompallier's remains has prompted many pilgrimages to the Hokianga including those bringing French clergy and laity from overseas. Bishop Dunn has continued to lead pilgrims to Motuti in January each year to celebrate the anniversary date of Pompallier's arrival in New Zealand. Several local pilgrimages have been made by various parish groups at other times, including those seeking to bring back the Latin Mass celebrated in the same manner as the first Mass offered on New Zealand soil by Bishop Pompallier. Interest was also renewed in the history surrounding the original mission, and more discoveries made of this history. For instance various reports highlight the relevance of an ancient icon of Mary the Mother of Christ (circa 750), which was given to Pompallier for his mission in 1847 by Pope Pius IX and much revered by Maori. Interest in this valuable icon, popularly known as the Pompallier Madonna, has been rekindled in recent times due to its apparent disappearance. It is a symbol of Pompallier placing New Zealand under the patronage of Mary, under her title of Immaculate Conception, which is thought to be the original name of the icon, and as a result Maori retain a particular attachment in this doctrine.¹⁴⁹

The expression of sorrow (lamentation) and general outpouring of emotion for Pompallier, both in France and New Zealand, after so many generations is a reflection of the importance of memory, according to Maori concerned.¹⁵⁰ With respect to emotions, the French priest Fr. Riocreux, who was called "a bridge between Puteaux and New Zealand" said he "experienced great emotions" as a pilgrim on the occasion of the return of the remains to New Zealand. This return he said was "neither canonization nor rehabilitation" but constituted "a spiritual truth for

¹⁴⁹ Information about this icon and the controversy surrounding its theft is at MAW and ACDA.

¹⁵⁰ It is reported that the Notre Dame Cathedral was full to capacity for the Mass in honour of Bishop Pompallier. Personal interview with attendee, Robert Newson.

the foundation of this young 160 old Church".¹⁵¹ By way of explanation he went on to say that the faith of New Zealand Catholics needed historical roots and that "the Maori culture is very aware of the significance of the remains of the dead", hence their "waiting for the return of the remains"¹⁵² As the French contact from 1997, Riocreux's role was quite significant for the whole venture of the return of the remains, and he obviously formed a particular bond with Maori both during their visits to France and his to New Zealand.¹⁵³ Most importantly he appreciated the sentiments of Fr Tate, the "specialist in Maori culture" who made clear to him "how highly Bishop Pompallier was thought of by his people", and showed him "his love for our country because of this Frenchman, Pompallier, who had come to them".¹⁵⁴ Even though Northland is a special place in relation to Pompallier, (which is why it is his final resting place) the real affection for him is still, shown in *all parts* of New Zealand. This is testimony to his reputation being held in high regard by all who came to pay respects, seemingly drawn to him in a magnetic manner. The thousands of pilgrims, from many parts of New Zealand and from around the world, who have travelled the dusty road to the tiny Motuti Church for the re-interment of Pompallier, have in turn borne testimony to this magnetic affect.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ He was responsible for explaining the venture to Mr. Jacky Musnier, French ambassador to New Zealand and to the Apostolic Nunciature in Wellington.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

Part 2:

Looking Back at Pompallier the Man and His Activities

1868-1850's - Pompallier's departures and returns

This chapter works back through Bishop Pompallier's comings and goings, in order to gain an image of his true popularity, starting with his final departure. When studying these comings and goings there is a sense of fear among Catholics of this final departure. It seems as though Catholics felt the need to express appreciation of his endurances, the acuteness of which might have caused him not to return at all. Possibly the dissatisfaction expressed at the time about his inability to raise more funds led to his final departure. This particular departure was declared at the time to be for the purpose of seeking assistance from abroad to cover the church's debts as well as to secure more personnel for the missions. Bishop Pompallier's final departure from New Zealand in 1868 was thus a sad occasion, for many perceived that this was indeed the last time that the man called by some Maori "bishop without fault" would grace the shores of New Zealand. He was given "a royal farewell, with a whole week of festivities of one sort or another".¹⁵⁵ Although he was described as being "sick and tired" by one New Zealand biographer, the accounts indicate that he maintained his equilibrium at his departure.¹⁵⁶ Pompallier, as described on the same occasion of this departure (by a second New Zealand biographer writing thirty years earlier) is said to have showed "his faithfulness to the principles for which he had always laboured".¹⁵⁷ With respect to his never forgotten Maori, "the bishop was to the last most generous to priests on Maori missions" despite "his own great poverty".¹⁵⁸ A

¹⁵⁵ E. R. Simmons. *Pompallier Prince of Bishops*. (Auckland: CPC, 1984), p.162.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Lillian Keys. *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*. (Christchurch: Pegasus, 1957), p. 361.

¹⁵⁸ Keys. *Pompallier*, p. 358.

number of “influential Maoris” are reported as coming “from distant pahs to bid farewell to their beloved ‘Epikopo’”.¹⁵⁹

Keys comments that in fact, “his faults were not all that great”, and this can be said to be fair comment, considering Pompallier’s overall achievements.¹⁶⁰ Generally speaking though, this negative perspective seems to be the order of the day among historians in recent times, due primarily to the administrative and personnel struggles with which he began and ended his time in New Zealand.¹⁶¹ Those working with Pompallier at the time had a more positive perspective. For instance the Sisters of Mercy, with whom he worked very closely, defended him and wrote in their Annals about his sufferings and financial difficulties whilst declaring that “he was most certainly one of the most zealous and laborious missionaries that ever labored in the South Seas”.¹⁶² These Sisters expressed their grief regarding Pompallier’s departure to Rome. They made special pleas for his return by writing to Pope Pius IX, adding their pleas to those of Maori.¹⁶³ It is claimed that the praises of Pompallier expressed by the Sisters and Maori represented one view whilst another was held by “weighty men of the diocese”, concerned more with finances than the Maori Mission, but one may say that “there were, as always, two views of Pompallier”, with one admiring his intellect, personality and spirituality.¹⁶⁴ The Sisters of Mercy and Catholic Maori held this view. The second group viewed his so-called “fine façade” to be “a sham concealing serious faults of character and ability”.¹⁶⁵ Holders of the second view are not always clearly defined. In their letter to Rome the Sisters pleaded with the pope of the time, “to send back to his Bishopric without delay our esteemed and well beloved Pastor, John Baptiste Francis Pompallier...the poor natives...sigh for his return, they live but on the hope of soon

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 361.

¹⁶⁰ Simmons, *Pompallier Prince of Bishops*, p. 196.

¹⁶¹ Eg Jan Snyders, *A Piety Able to Cope*, (Hindmarsh: Kloosterstraat, 2007) Chaps. 1, 4.

¹⁶² Annals in archives, Sisters of Mercy, St Mary’s Convent, Ponsonby, Auckland and in Keys, p. 402.

¹⁶³ ACPF SRC Oceania Vol.6 f. 730-731. In E.R. Simmons *Prince of Bishops*. pp. 155-157.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Simmons, *Prince of Bishops*, p. 157.

seeing him whom they revere and love.”¹⁶⁶ This plea indicates the sort of reciprocated affection the Sisters, and doubtless some Maori felt for their bishop. The sisters also expressed their profound grief at his subsequent death, three years after his departure. Their general assessment of him was in line with the perception of him being a “man of action”, for he was their ideal for the mission he was selected to lead. In his comment to Fr. Colin, the Marist Superior, Pompallier himself conveys this aspect of his nature in his comment: “Let us try, my Reverend Father, to form our religious in a style of piety that leaves the head and the other faculties *fully able to cope with exterior matters*” [emphasis added].¹⁶⁷

The training he conducted *en route* for his various recruits which aimed to prepare them for what they were to face, including harsh conditions and wars, reveals this practical side of Pompallier. His concentration on the Maori language, instructing his personnel to be conversant in it, whilst en route to New Zealand again demonstrates his commitment to Maori.¹⁶⁸ A compatriot priest writing at the time of the 2002 Hikoi has given a sympathetic interpretation of Pompallier’s latter days; pointing out that at the end he had “carried on his work in a very different situation that he had begun in”.¹⁶⁹ Fr. Jean-Yves Riocreux went on to describe Bishop Pompallier as becoming “exhausted, aged and ruined” but also as being “a rich and complex personality...an optimist by nature”.¹⁷⁰ Looking back over Bishop Pompallier’s sojourn in his adopted country we can create a picture of what he achieved by considering events during this period of Catholic history.

¹⁶⁶ Annals in archives, Sisters of Mercy, St Mary’s Convent, Ponsonby, Auckland.

¹⁶⁷ Lettres recues d’Oceania, Girard, J. in Jan Synijders. A Piety Able to Cope. p. 92. Also www.mariststudies.org

¹⁶⁸ Maori in turn came to appreciate his efforts, as recorded at later dates either by letter or orally. See ACDA letters. Also oral history recorded in Hui Aranga material.

¹⁶⁹ Father Jean-Yves Riocreux is Chaplain for Oceanians in Paris. Press release prepared by Father Jean-Yves Riocreux FPD –P/1 (French Press Documents). Translated by Fr. Brian Quinn SM, April 2002. MAW.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

The welcome Pompallier received upon his return to New Zealand in December 1860 after his second *Ad Limina* visit to Rome can be described as triumphal in the sense that the welcome was an occasion for as display of genuine affection for the Bishop from all quarters.¹⁷¹ It was reported at the time that there were 3,000 present at the landing of his missionary party.

Protestants as well as Catholics covered the quays of the town...the scene which my landing afforded me was truly touching...the return of the Bishop was saluted on all sides as that of a father, *even those whom he has not the happiness of counting in the number of his flock.* [Emphasis added]¹⁷²

This was to be the final return for Bishop Pompallier after completing his third “journey round the world for the salvation of Oceania”.¹⁷³ When he arrived New Zealand was again in the turmoil of war between the British and the Maori, which had been raging for ten months. Accordingly, we might speculate whether this influenced the welcome which Pompallier received. He had a good reputation among Maori and friendship with Governor Browne and Sir George Gray. So perhaps some may have hoped that Pompallier might be in a position to make positive interventions between the warring factions, each of which contained Catholics.¹⁷⁴

A less flattering view of Pompallier is found in a report of a discussion between “the two best missionaries among his clergy, James Mc Donald and Joseph Garavel” in 1859, after Pompallier’s departure for Rome. Fr. Garavel is recorded as saying: “I said to him [Mc Donald] that the greatest accusation in Rome against the bishop would be not having visited the Maori

¹⁷¹ See record of addresses of welcome and acknowledgement made to Pompallier at the time, containing lists of signatures, both Maori and European. POM 15 – 5/3 ACDA.

¹⁷² Pompallier, in a letter to the Directors of the Work of the Propagation of the Faith in Lillian Keys *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*. pp. 308.

¹⁷³ Keys, Pompallier. p. 309.

¹⁷⁴ Ref. subsequent correspondence between Pompallier and “Catholic Fathers of Maori Tribes” documented in *A Letter of the Catholic Bishop of Auckland to the Catholic Fathers of the Maori Tribes for the Pacification and Christian Happiness of New Zealand* translated from the Maori by the Author – handwritten - (Auckland: Kunst, 1864) POM 15 -3/8. See also *A Few Letters written by Rev. Jean Baptist Francis Pompallier, Catholic Bishop of Auckland, to the NEW ZEALANDERS, in the Time of Native Disturbances, in order to convey to them some Counsels taken from the Luminous Wisdom and Charity of the Mother Church.* (Auckland: Kunst, 1863.) POM 15- 5/7 ACDA.

people. He answered that he had often said the same thing”.¹⁷⁵ So deduce from this conversation that Pompallier committed “a serious error in judgment and a serious failure in pastoral care”. So this illustrates the alternative view of Pompallier.¹⁷⁶ Pompallier himself had *lamented his inability* to visit his beloved Maori more, due to excessive demands on his time and poor health. He had put off his second *Ad Limina* visit to Rome for several years on the plea that his presence was necessary in Auckland. The burden of work would have inhibited his ability to visit those close to his heart.¹⁷⁷ Nonetheless he was also recorded to have written to Maori, soon after his return to New Zealand (December 1860) and visited them as soon as he was able.¹⁷⁸ Misrepresentation or misapprehension of the actual discussion may therefore be claimed.

Tribute paid by various schools and their children at the time of his arrival back in 1860 was similar to that expressed at the time of his final departure and reflected the initial work and effort Pompallier had put into education for both Maori and Europeans. The Catholic Maori Mission had grown steadily despite initial threats to the missionaries’ safety; and hostility, disease, poverty and other troubles. Wars between the tribes had gradually diminished; the priests led by Pompallier, were successful to varying degrees in curbing hostilities. Some chiefs had sought advice about certain practices, inquiring of Pompallier as to the correctness of particular habits. He used his religious instruction to demonstrate to them and his missioners as to why some customs were harmful, deemed sinful, but did so always with a spirit of charity which he urged them and his fellow missioner to adopt. Evidence of the success of this approach is indicated by

¹⁷⁵ *Journal of events from 1589 ACDA* POM 24A-1/2. In Simmons, p.154.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid* POM in Simmons, pp. 153 -154.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid* POM in Simmons, p. 155.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid* POM in Simmons & Keys, Pompallier. See also Archbishop Redwood, ed. *Sketch of the Work of the Catholic Church in the Last Half Century*. (Wellington: Lyon & Blair, 1887), pp. 47-49.

the fear expressed by some chiefs that they would revert to inappropriate behaviour. Pompallier used these comments to justify his call for more priests and instruction.¹⁷⁹

Maori schools were perceived by Pompallier, as essential for the advance of children both in their own cultural practices, in their faith and in general education. Regrettably by the late 1860s Maori parents were said to be “less interested in the education of their children than they had been in earlier years” due to suspicion of institutions following the confiscation of their land.¹⁸⁰ Bishop Pompallier and his missionaries, however, continued to struggle for Catholic schools for Maori, ensuring their eventual survival to some degree. In particular the three Auckland Catholic Maori schools were the focus of Pompallier’s correspondence with the department responsible for Maori affairs. A College established on Auckland’s North Shore 1847 came under great pressure, (as did other Pompallier-inspired Catholic schools) and because of its poverty caused by wars and politics took on European orphans to the detriment of Maori pupils.¹⁸¹ The Auckland Seminary, usually called St Mary’s College, did last until the year following Pompallier’s resignation (1869) and there were at least fifteen Maori seminarians there during the period 1850 – 1869.¹⁸² These Maori seminarians, even though they did not go on to ordination are testimony to Pompallier’s good influence; and they may have continued if he had returned, though financial and political constraints regarding education generally may have proved too difficult to overcome.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier Early History, The Catholic Church, Oceania. Auckland: Catholic Diocese, 1888,

¹⁸⁰ Keys, Pompallier, 342.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² E. R. Simmons. *In Cruce Salus a History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980*. (Auckland: CPC 1982), 278.

¹⁸³ For the Catholic education debate see Keys *Pompallier*, 341-354.

II. Return after first Ad Limina visit to Rome in 1849

Departure of Marists and Subsequent Role played by Franciscans - Continuation of Maori Mission Stations.

Departure from New Zealand of their trusted “Epikopo” on his first expedition back to Rome had caused certain consternation among Pompallier’s Maori flock and jubilation was expressed on his safe return to them. Records of the official receptions given to celebrate Pompallier’s first return record lively sentiments of affection. Documentation from the time reveals the heartfelt appreciation of Maori for Pompallier’s further journeying by all of his faithful flock.¹⁸⁴ This first departure for Europe, in April 1846 with a free passage on the French corvette Le Rhin, was undertaken for the first *Ad Limina* visit to the Pope to present a full report in person as to the state of the area under his jurisdiction. The first part of this report was published as a book, *Notice Historique et Statistique sur le Vicariat Apostolique de l’Océanie Occidentale*, compiled from his journal and letters.¹⁸⁵ Of particular interest, in view of his later financial problems, is the second part of this report which dealt with financial matters and revealed that for the year 1839, Pompallier received £3250 while the Church Missionary Society’s (CMS) received £16,000 as well as income from its properties.¹⁸⁶ Reports indicate the success of the bishop’s endeavours on this first journey to secure more staff by his direct contact with many associates whom he interested in his mission. His persistence led him not to give up on his Maori Mission though faced with financial crises and disappointing wars. In his Pastoral Letter of 1858, Bishop Pompallier advised of his need to re-organise his Diocese, “in order to meet the wants of the numerous souls in the two races of Natives and Europeans, who all compose an extensive flock dispersed in our vast Diocese”.¹⁸⁷ In this same letter Pompallier makes reference to the Diocese

¹⁸⁴ ACDA refs. See also Keys. *Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*, Simmons, *Pompallier*.

¹⁸⁵ Pompallier, J. B F. *Notice Historique et Statistique sur le Vicariat Apostolique de l’Océanie Occidentale* printed in Belgium in ACDA.

¹⁸⁶ Keys, Lillian. *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*., pp. 250-251.

¹⁸⁷ Pompallier, *Pastoral Letter of the Diocesan Administration*. (Auckland: New Zealander Office, 1858), pp.2-3.

being erected “as an edifice of salvation” for the Maori “at first, and afterwards for the cities of emigrants in this colony”.¹⁸⁸ In view of the shortage of priests for his Diocese he mentions a passage from the New Zealander’s [Maori] prayer book, “*Method for the faithful to practice Christian life during the absence of a priest.*”¹⁸⁹ The same method, commended for use, was that used by “a great many native New Zealanders” who benefited from this method, enabling them to join those in heaven “who are from all nations, tribes, people and tongues”.¹⁹⁰ By these references Pompallier seems to be encouraging his “newer flock” of Europeans to follow the example of his “original flock”, who now have to share his attention with the new immigrants. This diversity in management of his expanded mission answers critics who claim he abandoned his original Mission to Maori.

¹⁸⁸ Pompallier, *Pastoral Letter*, p.4.

¹⁸⁹ *Pastoral Letter*, p.5.

¹⁹⁰ *Pastoral Letter* pp. 6-7.

Franciscans

Although the Catholic mission was split after 1850, with the Marists departing for the territory below the thirty ninth parallel, some Marists remained to train their replacements.¹⁹¹ They began to train the eight or nine Franciscans who arrived in 1860, who were described as heroic by Catholic historian Dom Felice Vaggioli. They too were soon faced with enormous difficulties¹⁹² Though the departure of the Marists was likened to cutting “the umbilical cord when the baby was not viable” nonetheless “the baby” was ably assisted into survival by these Franciscans, with the help of the several Marists retained for the purpose.¹⁹³ Assigned to the Maori Missions north of Auckland, the Franciscans agreed to the founding of a canonical order which would, among other things become “the focal point for missionary activity amongst the Maori peoples”.¹⁹⁴ Fighting had broken out between the Maori and the British at the time and people were generally said to be “in fear and trembling about the future”.¹⁹⁵ Due to the mission’s parlous financial state, worsened because of war and mismanagement, Pompallier was unable to provide the promised premises to the Franciscans.¹⁹⁶ Nonetheless they worked with both European and Maori, taking responsible for the northern area,

embracing four main districts of stations: Kororareka and Wangarao on the east coast, and Mongonui and the Hokianga on the west coast, and had responsibility for the Thames – Coromandel district. Consequently, as these areas contained a large Maori population “there was plenty of scope for missionary work.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ See Marist History of how mission was divided. *Marists Fathers and Brothers of the Society of Mary, The Society of Mary in New Zealand 1838-1989*. Wellington: SM, 1989. MAW

¹⁹² There is said to be “some uncertainty as to whether there were eight or nine Franciscans in this original band”, with 6 priests and 3 brothers named. A. Malone *The Franciscans in New Zealand*, 1. Unpublished paper from NZ Franciscan Archives, Auckland, 2.

¹⁹³ J. Durning, *History of the Maori Mission*. (Wellington: Marist Archives 1970), 8.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid* 2.

¹⁹⁵ Dom Felice Vaggioli, *History of New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, Trans. John Crockett (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2000), pp. 39-41.

¹⁹⁶ A number of reasons are given for financial mismanagement including the fact that Pompallier “approved qualified men to manage the mission’s financial affairs...But whether due to a shortage of funds, their ineptitude or an over-reliance on their insubordinates they made conditions worse”. *Ibid*, p. 240.

¹⁹⁷ A. Malone *The Franciscans in New Zealand*, p.3.

The role subsequently played by these early Franciscans in supporting the Maori Missions is evident in reports. One says that “no friar deserted his mission station even when surrounded by fiercely antagonistic combatants”.¹⁹⁸ According to another source, Franciscans are said to have “implacably” opposed the HauHau “new religious political sect”, with “none of them abandoning their posts, and all remained steadfast at the breach, protecting Maori Catholics from the madmen’s snares and lies”.¹⁹⁹ There is a comment that the Franciscans struggled because some Catholics living among Protestant Maori were forced to follow the example of their relatives. They succumbed to the propaganda spread about that: “Catholic missionaries would also disappear and they would then be left without shepherds or teachers”.²⁰⁰ In spite of such alleged scaremongering “the Franciscan fathers managed to keep a good number of their native flock strong in their faith”, as proven by the 1874 statistics for the missions entrusted to them.²⁰¹ Arguments could be made for them acting like a “retaining wall” and stabilizing the situation, as recorded in their own archives as well as diocesan records. A Benedictine historian, working in New Zealand just a decade following the untimely with-drawl of the Franciscans, reports on their dramatic actions and expresses great admiration for their efforts.²⁰²

Although the official history of the New Zealand branch of the Franciscans has not been published, their history has been noted by members of the Order. Former New Zealand Franciscan President, Fr. Antony Malone OFM wrote a paper, “*The Franciscans in New Zealand*” in 2003, which makes available a reasonably comprehensive account of the activities of the pioneer Franciscans in New Zealand. A paper written by a visiting Australian Franciscan

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p.3.

¹⁹⁹ Vaggioli, *History of New Zealand and Its Inhabitants*, p.241.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, p.241.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p.241.

²⁰² Statistics recorded for 1874 show the following numbers of Maori Catholic followers: Kororareka, 50; Whangaroa, 60; Hokianga, more than 500, and Mongonui, 60. These figures reflect a mission less than four decades old.

1986, gives an overview of the Franciscans 1860 – 1873.²⁰³ The vastness of the Auckland Diocese at the time of the Friars' arrival is noteworthy: "encompassing in area half of the North Island of New Zealand" and "much of the mission to the Maori people was in the friars' hands."²⁰⁴ Continuity in the original Maori Mission was ensured therefore by the work of Franciscans as well as Marists; although they were later replaced by others including Benedictines, diocesan priests and different orders of nuns. Memories of the part played by Franciscans in this early history are still retained by Maori, and oral history recalls the men "in brown habits" of old.²⁰⁵ The success of the Friars among Maori reflected the fact that they were Italian and French and were not looked upon with the same hostility as the English. They were instrumental in the conversion of Heremia Te Wake, father of Dame Whina Cooper, a notable Maori leader based at Purakau.²⁰⁶

The Franciscans returned to New Zealand just over half a century later in 1937, but their focus was now changed due to the predominance of Europeans among the Catholic population. Although Franciscans concentrated on retreats for clergy and laity, their links with Maori were renewed when groups of Maori came to them and they made occasional visits to Marae and Maori churches. In recent decades these visits have been more frequent and a very recent (2009) New Zealand television programme records their part, with Maori in an Easter Procession north of Auckland, with a priest "in brown habit" being visible, once again.²⁰⁷ The choice Pompallier made in recruiting the Franciscans thus proved to be successful. Although they had a different charism to that of the Marists they still displayed empathy to Maori ways.

²⁰³ Fr. Malone notes in this paper "This history is merely a compilation from several sources and is not meant to be a definitive account let alone a professionally researched account. Such a work hopefully will be written one day." A. Malone *The Franciscans in New Zealand*, 1. Unpublished paper from NZ Franciscan Archives, Auckland. See also E.R. Simmons, *In Cruce Salus a History of the Diocese of Auckland 1848 – 1980*. pp. 64-66.

²⁰⁴ A. Malone, *The Franciscans in New Zealand*, p.4.

²⁰⁵ Reported by the Franciscans and Maori themselves in personal interviews, 2009.

²⁰⁶ Keith Stuart, o.f.m. "A Documented History of the Franciscans in New Zealand 1860 – 1873". Yarra Theological Union, 1986, p.4.

²⁰⁷ TVNZ *Close Up* Programme, Easter 2009.

Their success is further indication of Pompallier's consideration of *how* Maori needs could best be met and this would inevitably have contributed to fond memories of their bishop.

The generous Haere Mai, Haere Mai Pompallier received when returning from both his overseas trips reflect the affectionate bond established both with Europeans as well as Maori. These links were continually strengthened from the time of Pompallier's arrival in the Hokianga. Pompallier's record of the early history of New Zealand and his published correspondence with Maori chiefs point to the warm relationship which lodged in their memories. The welcoming speeches made to him on his returns from his overseas trips have been retained for posterity and again are testimony to the enduring relationship between Pompallier and all his parishioners. The poignancy of the farewell given him before his final departure is telling, with Maori prophesying that he would not return.

III Origins

Bishop Pompallier's 19th century Journeys - to set up other Maori Mission Stations through the country. French Connections Puteaux, Paris, Lyon, Akarao.

The origins of the Catholic Mission to New Zealand have been well documented by various sources but the most comprehensive records are kept by the Catholic Church, both in New Zealand and Rome, containing reports by Bishop Pompallier, the Marist Order and other Religious. The manner of the establishment of the original Catholic mission, which was specifically to Maori, has been the subject of some discussion of its success or failure.

Pompallier's ability in comprehending the nature of Maori people, whose own understanding of *Te Tangata* [the human person] corresponded to his, was a great strength.²⁰⁸ Some discussions have focused on the matter of Pompallier's prudence in responding to Maori requests made to him for priests and the motives underlying the requests, as well as his use of (and need for) the small schooner *Sancta Maria*. Consideration of the geography of the vast area of Pompallier's original Vicariate apostolic of Western Oceania, is important. Comparatively rapid progress was made, from January 1838 after Pompallier's arrival at Totara Point, in the establishment of mission stations in the Hokianga area, then further afield, in response to requests from Maori.

A map showing the spread of Maori at the time demonstrates that they were largely coastal people.²⁰⁹ The Bishop quickly understood that the Maori he first encountered in Northland were not necessarily typical and soon realized that there were other tribes who were all acting

²⁰⁸ "Kii mai ki ahau: He aha te mea nui a te ao? Maaku e kii atu: He tangata he tangata! [you ask me: What is the greatest reality of the universe? I reply: The human person!]" Michael Shirres *Te Tangata, The Human Person*. (Accent Publications, Auckland, 1997), p. 53. These strong words are heard frequently, as an opening in speeches, whereby the importance of people is emphasized. Pompallier's expertise was acknowledged by Australian Archbishop Polding, who sought advice from him regarding Aborigine people. See Lillian Keys, "Pompallier's visit to the Aborigines" in *Marist Messenger* October 1970, pp. 27-30.

²⁰⁹ Map of time acquired from Marist Fr. Tony Williams, Registrar Good Shepherd College – attached as appendix A.

independently.²¹⁰ The Northland Whirinaki tribe was among the first that Pompallier visited and he made contact with specific Maori chiefs, who in turn recognized him as a rangatira similar to themselves. Examination of how the Maori missions were established shows many journeys had to be made around New Zealand to various tribes in order to respond to the request of chiefs. Accordingly sea transport became essential enabling the mission to spread to Mangakahia, Waikato, Kaipara, Mangakahia, Rotorua, Tauranga, Opotiki, Whakatane, Otaki, Banks Peninsula, Port Cooper and Terekaho.²¹¹

The first mission base at Papakauwau, 1838, was known as the home of the mission, which moved to Purakau for the second establishment in 1839.²¹² In 1840 it removed to Russell – (Kororareka) with the churches of St. Peter Chanel, SS Peter and Paul being established.²¹³ The Bay of Islands had become the centre for the north of New Zealand and in the same year (1840) *Whangaroa* station was started and St Mary's Church *Purakau* being was in 1843. This church was subsequently transferred to *Motuti* on January 13th 1922. Fr. Henare Tate became parish priest there in 1978 (as well as Orongatea). Thus is explained another connection with Motuti area in Northland and the Hikoi which was to be made there more than a century and a half later to return Bishop Pompallier to "his church", still preserved and said to be "waiting" for him by those who still remembered and revered him.²¹⁴ Many Maori moved to what became Auckland areas and the 1848 Onehunga parish (Our Lady of the Assumption) was established in Auckland parish, with a church school set up same year, The Parish priest Fr. Antoine Seon S. M, would have had Maori parishioners. Also, it is recorded in parish records that:

²¹⁰ Interviews with Maori from various parts of New Zealand and discussions with Catholic Vicars of Maori. Eg. Talks with those from Hokianga, Wanganui, Otaki, Auckland and Northland.

²¹¹ See Appendix B - Map of Pompallier's journeys. See Keys, Pompallier 399.

²¹² "Poynton sold Pompallier land at Papakauwau, on the Omanaia Peninsula, not far from modern Rawene and had a house built for him there" and moved into it in 1838. 1839 Pompallier returned house and land to Poynton and moved to Purakau which became the mission station (Purakau Bay is near Motukaraka on the northern side of the harbour in the Panguru Parish).

²¹³ Ref. Inventory Guides –Parish History contained in Parish files ACDA.

²¹⁴ Personal discussions with Fr. Henare Tate.

In Maori times Onehunga, was an important area, to be considered separately from Auckland. The great *Waialua* pa of Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) had great importance up to the eighteenth century...In early European times on, *a substantial body of Maoris* lived in Onehunga , although Potatau Te Wherowhero, later the first Maori King, lived near the wharf for some years(emphasis added).²¹⁵

It was an important port for “a great many Maori schooners, and for canoes bring flour and produce from the Waikato River and the *Waiuku* portage”.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ Onehunga Parish records P1. ACDA files.

²¹⁶ Ibid. Parish records state that in 1849 Otahuhu School was established, with parish priest A. Garin and that from October 1848 –February 1850 it was looked after by Fr. Garin from Howick. ACDA files containing parish records.

Role of Catholic Bishop

As the bond between the Catholic bishop “shepherd” and his Maori “flock” grew from the very beginning of his arrival in New Zealand; he felt keenly his inability to meet requests for priests and holy items or Europeans clothes, given in exchange for services. It had become the custom for “Epikopo” to distribute goods, collected overseas by the supporters of this mission. These goods, many of which may have been second-hand, were carefully distributed by Bishop Pompallier, either personally or through his fellow missionaries. He urged caution though in order to avoid misunderstandings on the part of the recipients in particular, but also on the part of non-Catholics who misunderstood the purpose of these “presents”. Pompallier wrote in his *Instructions* to his missionaries precise advice on this matter urging that gifts be given “with a kind of distributive charity”.²¹⁷ This was in order to avoid harm caused by not recognizing the cultural issues involved. It was “to fulfil the wishes” of the charitable souls, who sent goods to the Bishop and to procure much needed food and other provisions, that gifts were made. “Often repeat these motives to the people, so that they may in the long run understand the reason for our gifts to them, and so be able to refute indignantly the sad and shameful insinuations that calumny has so widely spread against us”, was the advice given by the bishop.²¹⁸ Much trouble was taken by Pompallier to instruct his men how in turn to explain to their flock many things in respect to gifts: the reality of their low cost, the motives of love and concern, the generosity of others, and Christian modesty in dress.²¹⁹ Materialism increased at a pace with the arrival of more and more Europeans and Pompallier strove to counteract it by gentle persuasion, using religious instructions.²²⁰ the chief misconception about the Catholic Faith at the time concerned

²¹⁷ Mc Keefry, *Fishers of Men*, p.9.

²¹⁸ McKeefry, *Fishers of Men*. p.11.

²¹⁹ Poverty that Christ endured on earth was held up as the ultimate role model though, as “a man clothed in his native costume, poor, without land, without fortune, but having a heart filled with the love of God, is truly a noble man”. McKeefry, *Fishers of Men*, p.18.

²²⁰ One incident “among a thousand” sufficing as proof of expression of gratitude to Pompallier for “useful articles” distributed by him was when a harvest by potatoes was donated gratis. Pompallier duly gratefully inspected them as per the custom, expecting to pay and was surprised by their generous donation, having forgotten ‘the articles’ he had

sacramentals, and Pompallier's actions irritated some people. Comprehension of the nature of Sacramentals alleviates such irritation.²²¹

An understanding of the role of a Catholic bishop in missionary territory, as it pertained in Pompallier's times, is crucial to comprehending his thoughts, words and deeds. This is also so of those he came to serve, "whose chiefs looked upon their elevated rank, of which they were proud, as imposing upon them in all things an obligation of higher and greater achievement". The "rich natural endowments" of Maori, pertaining to virtue, were admired by Pompallier and early Catholic missionaries, leading them to form close bonds of affection.²²² Their natural inclination to poetic imagery was appreciated and said to be "a great advantage in spreading the faith", according to the missionary Fr. Garin (June 12th 1842).²²³ Pompallier's use of this natural talent was successful for chiefs and elders quickly absorbed the bishop's teachings, themselves explaining it to the rest of their people whilst in turn acknowledging Pompallier's ability. (See Garin letter dated June 12th 1842.) Another priest, Fr. Baty (in a letter dated January 18th 1843), expressed himself as "delighted to tears" as his flock, after being presenting with Catholic teaching, "made reflections of their own accord so that I became, as it were, a pupil in their school. I learned the Maori figures of speech and the most striking way of presenting our holy

previously donated to the owner of the potatoes. The chief at the time declared "Epikopo...you may not remember; but the Maori has not forgotten your kindness." This is the sort of 'memory' that endures still today, as does the attention and genuine respect paid to "the religious feeling and natural faith of the Maori". *Marist Messenger*, 1 December 1934, p.49.

²²¹ Sacramentals can be very inexpensive items used for devotional purposes such as medals, crucifixes, holy pictures, scapulars etc. These were the sort of 'gifts' the missionaries distributed as well as secondhand items. Gift giving is the practice of all of Polynesian Islands, as continues today when contributions to specific causes are made by way of monetary gifts at special cultural fundraising performances. Pompallier seem to comprehend well the hierarchical system that existed within Maoridom, urging consideration of the ranks of chiefs by counseling: "we should uphold lawful authority by teaching the people to honour their elders and rulers and by always revering them in public." McKeefry *Fishers of Men*, p. 9.

²²² Monfat, *Dawn of Catholicity in New Zealand* in *Marist Messenger* 1 November 1934, p.8.

²²³ Ibid.

mysteries”.²²⁴ Similarly Maori respect for the dead, so admired by Pompallier and his men, continues to be manifested them today.²²⁵

Another bone of contention for some, with respect to Bishop Pompallier, was his description of *Protestantism* as heresy. Of course this was his Catholic theological description of what he perceived to be an inaccurate form of Christianity, used in particular reference to what non-Catholic missionaries were presenting as facts to Maori. Heresy was a term much used in those times. Notably Protestants, both Maori and European attended his Masses and sought his advice, non the least of whom was Chief Te Waharoa (William Thompson), who in particular praised the bishop as being “one without fault”, in his letter to Pompallier dated August 9th 1864.²²⁶ It is admitted by Paul Moon, a recent critic of Pompallier, that “no Catholic or Protestant missionary had given up his life in England or France just to administer his services ...in this new colony”.²²⁷ In the same instance it is also claimed that these services were “to pockets of his fellow countrymen” and that “Maori converts were the real prize”, thus reinforcing the fact that Maori were always the *object* of his mission.²²⁸ With respect to the dispute regarding Maori sovereignty and the Treaty of Waitangi, Bishop Pompallier’s self professed impartiality in political matters was made clear to all. Historians acknowledge that “all the missionaries *with the exception* [emphasis added] of the printer William Colenso and the French Catholic Bishop Jean Baptiste Pompallier, wanted to sign as soon as possible and with a minimum of fuss.”²²⁹ Thus Colenso highlights Pompallier’s determination to distance himself from adverse consequences the Treaty may bring for Maori. Pompallier’s only contribution on the occasion of

²²⁴ Monfat, “Dawn of Catholicity in New Zealand” in *Marist Messenger*, 1st November 1934. p.10.

²²⁵ Monfat, “Dawn of Catholicity in New Zealand” in *Marist Messenger*, 1st December 1934, p.48.

²²⁶ Pompallier, *A Letter of the Catholic Bishop of Auckland to the Catholic Fathers of Maori Tribes for the Pacification and Christian Happiness of New Zealand*, Translated from the Maori by the author (handwritten on printed copy) (Auckland: Kunst, 1864), 7. POM 15 – 3/8 ACDA.

²²⁷ Paul Moon, *The Newest Country in the World. A History of New Zealand in the decade of the Treaty*. (Auckland: Penguin 2007), p.97.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Michael King, *Nga Iwi O Te Motu*. (Auckland: Penguin, 1997), pp. 30-34.

the signing of the Treaty is a positive one in that his request for protection for all religious practice was accepted. His lack of personal gain from any “land grabbing” is noted by Maori and a contributory cause of the affection they professed for him; thus another reason is made evident as to why Pompallier became a man loved through the generations, for the history of the Treaty of Waitangi remains a vital part of Maori history.

Bishop Pompallier’s nineteenth century journeys to set up Maori Mission Stations through the country have been likened to those of St. Paul, the most prolific writer of the New Testament. Like Paul, Pompallier displayed courage in meeting hostility and danger, to the point of embracing it. Receptions received from various tribes, at the beginning of the mission were less than friendly and initially his life was seriously threatened. Pompallier led by example and so the journeys his men were required to make into the interior and elsewhere were invariably similar to those *he* had already made. He “launched out into the deep” as a sincere “Fisher of Men”.²³⁰ It is recorded in his diary of how “sentiments of great satisfaction and the lively affection filled my soul” with the remembrance of the numerous people he had just visited. He praises fellow missionaries and catechists who were labouring for the sanctification of his Maori flock.²³¹ Concern he showed for others was reflected upon by the Mercy Sisters who described how Pompallier was “like a father” to them and anxious about their health, personally seeing to extra provisions for them. They compared him to “a second St Francis de Sales”.²³² This side of his character was also appreciated by Maori, as he tried to provide as much as he was able for their temporal as well as spiritual needs, despite his impoverishment.²³³ Mercy Sisters record that in offering himself to his unknown but heroic destiny in New Zealand “he accepted a consecrated

²³⁰ Title given Pompallier by Bishop McKeefry, in edited book of same name.

²³¹ Bishop McKeefry *Fishers of Men*, 97. Published by Auckland Diocese 1938 to celebrate the centenary of the New Zealand Church. ACDA.

²³² Ibid. p.460.

²³³ Ibid. p.40.

mission in advance of all the trials and perils it was to bring”.²³⁴ They praised “the great” Bishop’s vision for education (with which they were much involved) for “children of both races”, both European and Maori, despite his disappointment at losing fifteen to eighteen thousand formerly Catholic Maoris to Protestantism because “he had not sufficient missionaries to leave with them to keep them faithful”.²³⁵ This vision of education was to continue by the establishment of many Catholic schools, originally only Maori with European schools following (though some Maori joined them) but also separate Maori schools were retained and continue to the present day, with “the special character based on the Marist [and Pompallier’s] philosophy of selflessness, service to others, quiet achievement and hard work”.²³⁶

Connections between Maori and the French were formalised when they established a settlement at Akaroa and these links were resumed strongly when arrangements were being made to bring the bones of their fellow countryman Pompallier back to the scene of his mission. This settlement at *Akarao* contributed to some degree to the success of the establishment of Pompallier’s mission in various parts of New Zealand, including the Hokianga. French ships visiting Akaroa were able to offer assistance to Pompallier and his mission in various ways including free passages.²³⁷ To the present day, the statement on the charter for the restoration of the French styled Pompallier House in Russell continues to indicate the influence and impact of Pompallier’s mission. It states that Pompallier House and therefore Pompallier himself, “has critical importance for the understanding of early colonial settlement in New Zealand, for the early mission work of the Catholic Church”.²³⁸ This French influence was not only on the Catholic Church, but also on the emerging country of New Zealand which in a small way

²³⁴ Sisters of Mercy Auckland New Zealand, *Gracious is the Time*. (Auckland: Whitcomb & Tombs, 1952), p.2.

²³⁵ *Gracious is the Time*, p.7.

²³⁶ Nathan W. Matthews, “Hato Paora College: A Model of Maori Catholic Education”. Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy (Dunedin: University of Otago, 2006), p. 210. MAW.

²³⁷ Ref. *The French & the Maori* –Ed. John Dunmore (Waikanae: Heritage Press, 1992). – Published for Federation des Alliances Francaises de Nouvelle Zelande.

²³⁸ *Pompallier @ Pompallier* <http://www.historic.org.nz/Pompallier/pompallieratpompallier.htm> April 2009.

adopted some aspects of French culture. Pompallier is reported to have been “disliked for his nationality” as Britain and France who “were still very much in political competition”.²³⁹ Peter Low has written that “in both countries there were *advocates* of empire-building, most of whom thought that missionaries could be useful in preparing annexation and colonization.”²⁴⁰

Consequently the support given to the bishop by the French navy (which was necessitated because his life had been threatened by over-zealous protectors of Protestantism), was viewed with some suspicion by British authorities, with some “accusations that Catholic priests were plotting to take over New Zealand”.²⁴¹ In spite of being accused of duplicity, it can be argued that Pompallier was trying to be fair and impartial whilst bearing in mind the rights of his “Maori flock” for whom he felt some responsibility. In this regard his letter to Hone Heke is often quoted, in particular where he reminds Heke of his (Pompallier’s) words to him saying: “I never told you to give up your rangatiratanga to foreigners, whether English, French, American or any other nation...if you wish to give it up to a foreign nation that is your affair.”²⁴² This statement was thought objectionable by Protestant missionaries at the time, but was subject to misinterpretation. The matter of the Treaty of Waitangi remains a sensitive issue to this day.²⁴³ In all the discussions about the treaty, Maori are inevitably the subject and the fact of Pompallier being influential in the matter of religious freedom for *all* is now well known. More attention has been drawn in recent times to the original Catholic Maori mission being a French Marist mission, and the ability to access more available archival material has made research easier.²⁴⁴

²³⁹ Peter Low, “French Bishop, Maori Chiefs, British Treaty” in Dunmore, *The French and the Maori*, p.98.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Low, “French Bishop, Maori Chiefs, British Treaty”. p.105.

²⁴² Pompallier to Hone Heke quoted by Low, *French Bishop, Maori Chiefs, British Treaty* p.106.

²⁴³ Low, *The French and the Maori*, pp. 97-106.

²⁴⁴ Ref. Marist writings on the subject including *The French Marist Maori Mission* by Fr. M. O’Meeghan S.M. Also works of Br. Clisby S.M. and Fr. Girard S.M. editing translations of original material written at time of the mission.

Part 3 – Bishop Pompallier and Marist Superior Fr. Colin - Role played by Marists.

Pompallier's close association with the Marist order, originating in their base, Lyons in France, determined the manner in which the Catholic Maori Mission was to be established. The Marist Order was vital to the success of this mission and has continued its involvement to the present day, albeit in a more diverse manner. It is interesting to note that when Pompallier was a young man, and made chaplain to the school of La Favourite, Lyons, he undertook the establishment and direction of the Third Order of Mary, "but his rule had to be considerably modified, since it demanded too much of people living in the world".²⁴⁵ This indicated the zeal for contemplation and meditation that he shared with the founder of the Marists, Fr. Colin, despite the apparent later differences which emerged between Pompallier and Dr Colin regarding the training of missionaries in the field,. When Pompallier exchanged "the ordered routine of parish and college life for the perils and sufferings of an Apostle", it could be reasoned that he had to modify his own ideas of religious training. There is said to be "ample evidence that he made the exchange" from the much easier and more comfortable life in Europe, "with a grateful heart".²⁴⁶

Pompallier's training of his priests, including Marists was such that they continued his particular style of ministry to Maori who in turn, generally demonstrated affection for the Marist priests and brothers. Even though the Marists took responsibility for the southern diocese at the time of the creation of the two dioceses, the relationship between them and Pompallier was not severed completely. The departure of the Marists from the Auckland diocese occurred eighteen months

²⁴⁵ Cardinal McKeefry *Pompallier The Apostle of New Zealand* published in the official programme for the Catholic Centenary Celebrations 1938, 67. ACDA.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p.67.

after the decision was made in Rome (June 20th 1848). Bishop Pompallier was in Rome at the time and was able to secure eleven diocesan priests to replace Bishop Viard and the five Marist fathers who transferred with him to Wellington. This meant that five Marist Fathers remained in Auckland “to assist the new diocesan clergy to qualify for Maori Mission work”.²⁴⁷ Similar affectionate bonds established between Marists, Maori and Pompallier were also continued to varying degrees by these “replacements”. Marist priests continued to write about the Maori mission, as they did in the early years when regular and numerous letters were sent to Fr Colin and to their families.

²⁴⁷ Marist Fathers *The Marist Messenger* 1 September 1959, p.17.

Controversies, Perseverance, Ecclesiastical Policies

Controversies with respect to Pompallier and his relationship with Fr. Colin have resurfaced in recent discussions, and interest has been stimulated by the return of his remains to New Zealand. Questions regarding the relationship have arisen after examination of more recently available material, in particular letters and reports written at the time of the establishment of the Maori mission. It needs to be acknowledged that at the outset a close, amicable relations existed between Frs. Colin and Pompallier and when Colin was proclaimed Superior General of the Society of Mary it was, "His Excellency [Bishop Pompallier] who led him to the presidential chair waiting for him".²⁴⁸ At the time that Pompallier was their chaplain, the motto of the Marist Tertiary Brothers was to "Be exemplary Christians in public, religious in secret".²⁴⁹ It can be argued that this motto is important for understanding the subsequent disagreements between Colin and Pompallier as to the methods and the type of work in which the first Marists should be engaged. Both Colin and Pompallier were victims of their times in different ways. Ecclesiastical consultation and discussion were difficult between those in the distant mission fields with the authorities in Rome and Superiors as in Fr. Colin's case, in France. Moreover the original motto indicated a concentration on "good works", with *contemplative* religious life more in the background, given their time and circumstances.²⁵⁰ The ministry that Pompallier was associated with, in his capacity as chaplain to the Marist Tertiary Brothers in Lyon included, "working for orphanages and schools, visiting the poor in their homes, attending hospitals, hospices, and prisons and catechizing the children of the Lyonese silk-workers."²⁵¹ This sort of work focused on acting as "Christians in public", among the needy. Such down to earth experience was very useful for the sort of work Pompallier encountered in the largely unknown antipodes, where the needs would prove to be so great.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p.132.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, p.126.

²⁵⁰ This would be after the manner of St Augustine who said that good works also can be counted as prayer.

²⁵¹ Ibid, p.126.

Comments made by his “men in the field” reflect Pompallier’s personality and devotional enthusiasm. Such comments include the following, written by Fr. Maxine Petit:

The bishop’s zeal and good heart makes him rush out at all times and do all sorts of things. He looks askance at us when we – more than he does - divide our time between duty to the neighbour and to ourselves. In the early days here, Father Épalle and myself did our spiritual exercises as much as possible at moments we thought he would not notice. Not that he stopped us from praying, but because on several occasions he reproached us for praying all the time.²⁵²

Pompallier’s method called for constant action and this necessitated a somewhat frenetic pace, though this sort of pace may have been dictated by the needs that pressed upon him. He wrote to his mother in November 1842 about the long voyage of thirteen months he was obliged to make, “during which nearly three thousand have been baptized and confirmed by my own hands” and how he must labour “by paving the way in this infant church, by clearing with my cross new paths...I must water with my sweat each stone of the edifice that I erect”.²⁵³ He also spoke about “a great number of neophytes...who beg the favour of accompanying me”, eager to encounter with him “the dangers of the seas” and other hostility.²⁵⁴ Whilst he was away his priests did suffer “severe privations”, the cause of which were not of Pompallier’s making.²⁵⁵ According to reports about these “privations”, Pompallier’s enforced absences proved to be a contributory cause. During his “unexpected lengthy stays in the tropics the funds...were exhausted” with the arrival of four more Marists adding extra burden for need for funds. Allocated funds deposited by the key supporter of the the mission, Propagation of the Faith, in a

²⁵² Petit to Colin, 27.04.40, LRO, doc. 56 [6].

²⁵³ Keys. *Pompallier*, p. 196.

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p.196.

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p.194.

London bank “were lost through the failure of the bank”.²⁵⁶ The poverty was caused to some degree by Propaganda accounting practices. These practices were such that, “expenditure was always ahead of income, a situation made more difficult by the fact that the mission was expanding all the time”.²⁵⁷ Slowness of communication, trying to conduct business over vast distances and bank failures were the lot of Pompallier. Criticism of his financial acumen and general administration can be challenged on since these problems were not of Pompallier’s making.

It can be fairly said, in explanation of some of the difficulties between Pompallier and Fr. Colin that the work encountered in the far flung foreign mission fields could not not be fully comprehended from afar, despite the best will in the world. Colin understandably wanted more time for religious devotions for his men, who in turn were trained differently from the early Marist Tertiary Brothers. More time for contemplation meant less time for action, in hostile terrain where *more* time was needed to provide for all of one’s own necessities of life generally. Reports calling for compromises were badly interpreted. The need to to forfeit or subsume religious life to some degree, proved to be real. Though the Marists were founded with a focus on the New Zealand and Pacific Mission, the demands made on Fr. Colin for staff for many more places other than New Zealand escalated, which made it impossible just to respond to Pompallier’s needs. The decade of 1845 – 1855 was certainly to prove to be “a decade of achievement”, for Marist Superior General Jean Claude Colin as more mission stations were opened in the other vicariates.²⁵⁸ Hardships increased due to the need to “share” limited resources previously reserved for those working in New Zealand, were inevitable and borne by most with acceptance. This need to share resources inevitably impacted on the Maori mission

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid pp.185 – 232.

and led to the rejection of Bishop Pompallier's repeated demands for more men and money, but nobody involved with the mission, including himself, was by any means living in any lap of luxury. Comments have been made by some writers about "various European and Maori freeloaders" seeking meals and travel aboard Pompallier's little schooner, the *Sancta Maria*, and about him making excessive promises and giving gifts.²⁵⁹ Other sources have claimed there were excesses in these areas, but these so called "excesses" usually relate to Maori and reveal a need for more comprehension of cultural matters. In defence it can be said that Pompallier's guests and mode of travel were necessary for goodwill and his "schooner" was the only method of relatively quick transport at the time, bearing in mind the scattered requests received from those he had come to serve.²⁶⁰ Most Maori at the time lived on the coast with only tracks through thick bush as the means of getting from place to place. Similarly, hospitality was shown to Pompallier and his men by Maori and so he had to respond likewise. He does record that he made promises to provide priests to chiefs with an expectation of fulfilling them but was unable to, due to the diversion of men to other parts. Acrimony that is reported to have developed between Colin and Pompallier is similar to that reported by other difficult missions and can be attributed, in least in part, to inevitable but often unforeseen problems.²⁶¹ Colin like many others in the Catholic system was in an awkward position as, "Bishop Pompallier's vicar-general and representative in Rome. He was the Pacific Mission procurator, treasurer and buyer. Fresh funds to enable the mission to exist and grow were Colin's problem to find."²⁶² Pompallier said glowingly of Colin, "What a consolation for me to know...that at the first signal from Oceania, you will be able to spread over those distant lands a new legion of missionaries of Mary".²⁶³ These words were uttered by Pompallier *en route* to Oceania, and echo expectations that

²⁵⁹ John Hosie, *Challenge, the Marists in Colonial Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p.46.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Hugh Laracy, "Colin and Melanesia", in *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania, Marist Missionary Perspectives*. Ed. Alois Greiler SM (Hindmarsh: ATF Press, 2009), p.173.

²⁶² Hosie, Stanley W. *Anonymous Apostle*, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1967), p.138.

²⁶³ Ibid.

turned out to be challenging to fulfil, although Colin is described as generating “an extraordinary confidence in those around him”.²⁶⁴ The point is that even the best laid plans, however well intentioned, can go astray one way or another depending upon circumstances. All the while it is obvious from the writings of Pompallier and his missionaries that they all focused singlemindedly on the Maori until the natural expansion of the whole mission to other islands and to Europeans became a reality.

Much published disagreement between Colin and Pompallier may be also explained by the fact that at that time “relations between bishops and religious priests were tender enough in Europe” due to the difficulties of suppression and then emancipation of Catholics.²⁶⁵ It has been suggested that “Colin was gnawing at one of the oldest bones of ecclesiastical contention” when he confronted a problem pertaining generally to foreign missions.²⁶⁶ Disputes, between Religious Superiors, their members and bishops, were not uncommon in the *missionary field*, though Fr. Colin was also described as blaming “himself for keeping the reins of government too tightly in his own hands”.²⁶⁷ It was claimed by missionaries themselves that in foreign missions “religious priests were in the schizophrenic situation of belonging to a superior general by their vows and a bishop by their ministry”.²⁶⁸ Missionary work though was like no other, as bishops and superiors as well as all of those “in the field” came to comprehend, and exacting demands inevitably caused friction in many quarters. Colin’s plan for the Western Pacific to be broken into five vicariates meant that “Propaganda could bypass the New Zealand bottleneck because finance and missionaries could be sent directly to each area instead of through Pompallier.”²⁶⁹ This plan obviously entailed problems with reduced finances for Pompallier in New Zealand and

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid p.173.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, p.232.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, p.173.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, p.172.

considering the impoverishment suffered must have been difficult for Pompallier to cope with. Hierarchical structures in the Catholic Church are very important and responsibilities of pope, cardinal, bishop and priest are clearly defined. Those of Religious Superiors vary depending upon how their orders are canonically established. Difficulties can arise if there are differences of opinion on certain matters, which are referred to Rome for arbitration. In recent times Marists have researched matters concerning their rule, discussing the circumstances surrounding Fr. Colin's resignation in 1854 and recalling the difficulties he experienced, stating; "we all know that at the end of his life Colin fought to bequeath to the Society constitutions that would include his 'early ideas'."²⁷⁰ Difficulties concerning the Marists' work in New Zealand were exacerbated by the absence of "a set of rules fixed with certainty nor, much less, approved by Rome". "What I say can take the place of a rule", the Founder had once or twice declared.²⁷¹ Julien Favre, the superior general after 1854 was "conscious of being henceforth the leader of a society whose growth and development needed a special effort of organisation and codification."²⁷² These sorts of comments serve to highlight the complications of the times, not easily solved due to constantly shifting circumstances.

Pompallier and Marist Superior Colin

In the case of Pompallier and Colin the matters in dispute mostly concerned finances, though extra difficulties in all matters relating to the mission were due to the time it took to communicate over such great distances. Letters were the only form of communication with Oceania available at the time, which was another reason for the *Ad Limina* visits to Rome that Pompallier made. They gave him an opportunity to explain matters, follow up problems and answer questions

²⁷⁰ Jean Coste, *A Marian Vision of the Church: Jean-Claude Colin* Translated by Fathers Seán Fagan and Charles Girard (Rome, 1998), p.14. Unfinished work completed by Marist Fathers and described as a 'synthesis on Colin's original thought, done by an historian who is familiar with Colin and his time and who does some thinking.' See <http://www.smnz.org.nz/spirituality/marianvisionofchurch%20-%20jcoste.pdf>

²⁷¹ FS, doc. 141, § 9 and 12 Ibid, 20.

²⁷² Ibid, 21.

directly. Interestingly the seven-page letter Fr. Servant wrote to Colin on 26th April 1840, which is often said to be critical of the way Pompallier was conducting the mission, concerned the problem of Bishop Pompallier acting in place of a provincial. This letter acknowledged that “the problem of the clash between religious and ecclesiastical jurisdiction had arisen. But the main complaint was the almost complete neglect of the rest of the Vicariate, with the Bay of Islands absorbing all the resources sent from France”.²⁷³ As two and a half years had passed since his Marist confreres had been left on Wallis and Futuna and no-one had been able to return to visit them, it is unsurprising that the same missionary, Fr. Servant, “recommended limiting Pompallier to south of Capricorn and creating a second vicariate in the tropics”.²⁷⁴ This was said to have potential as “there were fewer Europeans migrating there”.²⁷⁵ The problem caused to the New Zealand mission by the comparatively sudden large influx of European into New Zealand, seems to have been thought unlikely to occur in the second “vicariate in the tropics”. Nonetheless the sheer size of Pompallier’s original vicariate provoked varying degrees of discontent. Pompallier’s stated lack of financial expertise hindered his ability to cope with accounting practice. Pompallier was required to give account of general expenditures which were attributed to his mission. The general impoverishment of the New Zealand mission was not fully comprehended by those not actually working in the New Zealand mission field itself. Therefore the tension caused by this impoverishment was not fully grasped. The resources available for the mission were scarce and comparatively meager considering the needs at the time, and there was inevitable debate as to *how* resources were to be distributed. As the first bishop in the area Pompallier experienced difficulties which Fr. Colin could not understand from so far away. In defense of his administrative shortcomings, it should not be forgotten that

²⁷³ Fr Catherin Servant sm, by Michael O’Meeghan December 1st, 2007 Ref. [Marist History](http://www.maristmessenger.co.nz/?p=184)
www.maristmessenger.co.nz/?p=184 - 33k assessed 10th May 2009.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

missionaries, including Pompallier himself, risked succumbing to the perils of the time which included “one chance in four of dying a violent death”.²⁷⁶

The forgoing discussion regarding the history of the debate between Fr. Colin and Bishop Pompallier is still of interest today. Pompallier was originally inseparable from the Marists for he helped to establish their order. In recent times with the resurgence of interest, the Marist Order has made available documentation in its archive about the early years of the Marist Mission in New Zealand, including material concerning Pompallier. Their publications are in French with some translations available.²⁷⁷ Applying modern hermeneutical techniques to the writings of those living in another time and place, in very different circumstances (as in the case of letters written by the early missionaries) is thwart with difficulties.²⁷⁸ Conjecture and assumptions can be the result. For example one commentator, Jan Snijders, with respect to Colin’s initial opinion of Pompallier comes to the conclusion that “Colin had his doubts about Pompallier’s abilities as a leader of men”, whilst another comes to the opposite conclusion.²⁷⁹ The conclusion of Wiltgen based on the available material, is that “Colin was in favour of Pompallier, having encouraged him as early as 3 August 1835 to accept the responsibility of heading the mission”.²⁸⁰ Both commentators repeat the letter from Colin to Pompallier in 1835, in relation to leading the Oceania Mission, “at the present moment I can think of no one else but you who can fill the

²⁷⁶ A Marist Father writing one hundred years after Pompallier’s departure from New Zealand reports on the establishment of the Marist mission and describes conditions that had to be faced. Ref. *Anonymous Apostle, The Life of Jean Claude Colin, Marist* by Stanley Hosie, 175. Hosie reported that many missionaries also succumbed to ; murder, drowning, centipedes, sharks, malaria, black water fever, tuberculosis, leprosy, elephantiasis, intestinal parasites and ulcers. Ibid, p.175.

²⁷⁷ Ref. Fr Girard and Br. Clisby’s Marist publications. <http://www.mariststudies.org>

²⁷⁸ Modern hermeneutical practices involve reading back into historical accounts certain conjectures, which may or may not be accurate. Methods of philosophers Heidegger and Gadama are used in these practices.

²⁷⁹ Jan Snijders. *A Piety Able to Cope. Jean-Claude Colin and the Marist Missions in Oceania*. “A first and provisional publication in view of the Suva colloquium 2007 ‘Colin and Oceania’”. Kloosterstraat: A private publication 2007, 6. The first quote is that of Fr. Snijders and the second Fr. Ralph Wiltgen in *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 122. Ref given by Wiltgen, PF: SOCG vol. 950 (1835) f. 649rv.

²⁸⁰ Fr. Ralph Wiltgen in *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, (Canberra: Australian National University Press), 122. Ref given by Wiltgen, PF: SOCG vol. 950 (1835) f. 649rv.

position that is offered to you”.²⁸¹ At about the same time the opinion was also expressed that Pompallier was “a priest of rare merit and piety...a person of distinction in all respects”.²⁸² Another, who also recommended Pompallier at the time, was Fr. Jean-Louis Pastre, Prefect Apostolic of Bourbon, who described Pompallier as being “a man of God as regards knowledge, prudence and zeal for souls, and that therefore he enjoys the greatest esteem among the clergy of Lyon.”²⁸³ Although disappointment is often expressed regarding the deterioration of the relationship between Colin and Pompallier, Fr. Colin himself is quoted as speaking positively of Pompallier, asking him “to be the religious superior over the missionaries being sent with him”.²⁸⁴

Acute problems in maintaining a good relationship with others over such a vast distance must have been the order of the day though, and comments made during the “heat” of distress do not necessarily perjure. Instead confidence in Pompallier recorded at the time is in keeping with the image portrayed of him by those who continued to revere his memory through the generations.

²⁸¹ PF: SOCG vol. 950 (1835) f. 649rv. PF: SOCG: Scripture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali, i.e. incoming letters and reports from bishops, missionaries, royalty, government officials, nuncios, minutes of synods, etc., used as a basis for discussion at General Meetings. See Wiltgen, *Founding of the Catholic Church in Oceania*, 549 – under heading “symbols used for the archives consulted”.

²⁸² Archbishop de Pins of Lyons quoted in Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, p.122. Ref. PF: SC Oceania vol. 1 (1816-41), f. 329r, 333r.

²⁸³ PF: Udienze vol. 85 (1836, Part 1) f. 365 r, 370v. “Pastre’s words in italics were underlined in the script used by the secretary and must have been particularly stressed.” This is stated by Wiltgen in *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, p.556.

²⁸⁴ Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, p.131.

Marist Role in the Maori Mission

The letters written to Fr. Colin from his Marist missionaries, priests and brothers reveal much regarding the joys and stresses of the life of a Catholic missionary. As a fellow Marist Fr. C.P. Bowler, writes in 1929 though, these letters were never intended for the general public.²⁸⁵ Fr Bowler was born among the Maoris and spent the greater part of his youth in their company. He thus came to “appreciate their good qualities; and had “only the happiest of memories in their regard”.²⁸⁶ Fr. Bowler spent twelve years studying missionary efforts all around the world. His research brought him to the conclusion that the early Catholic missionaries in New Zealand were “heroes of the first rank, capable of being favourably compared with the greatest missionaries of Christianity”.²⁸⁷ This was due, he concluded, to their tireless work being undertaken for the purest of motives out of concern for the spiritual and general wellbeing of the Maoris people they were chosen to serve, without any thought of gain for themselves. As Pompallier strove so hard to attend to his flock, giving explicit instruction to the Marists and others under his direction, he deserves some the credit for their success. Fr. Bowler writes of “the high qualities” of Pompallier whilst also quoting non-Catholic appreciation of the work of the early Catholic Missionaries.²⁸⁸ The source of this appreciation, a prominent Protestant Mr. Terry says of Pompallier at the time that he was:

A man peculiarly adapted for the purposes of the mission of his Church. By education, a scholar, in manners engaging, in countenance, prepossessing and expressive, added to sincere and earnest zeal in the cause he had under taken...It may easily be imagined that he creates no ordinary sensation among the Maori people.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Bowler p.30.

²⁸⁶ Bowler p.iii.

²⁸⁷ Bowler p.iv.

²⁸⁸ Bowler, Marist Missioners, p.79.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

Appreciation for this zeal was demonstrated by the outpouring of affection to all those who became known as “Epikopos”. The same regard given to the Bishop was, for the most part, shown in turn to the priests, brothers and religious he worked so hard to bring to Oceania. The communal commitments made by chiefs on behalf their people, which led to numerous conversions, may be challenged, but many Maori converts persisted in their adopted faith in different parts of the country.²⁹⁰ According to the Marist missionaries some groups of Maoris separated from them “to unite with the Protestants... for a host of reasons”. In some cases it was due to “the shortage of priests, in others to poverty, or to the calumnies of the Protestants, or to the lack of some book”.²⁹¹ Here the Protestant use of the Bible is referred to and the method of Sola Scriptura whereby Maori were led to rely solely on the Bible, which was called “the book” and described by some early Marists as “a necessity on the part of the Maoris. Books have become as much a need for them as tobacco. The natives feel it, and describe it perfectly when they say: ‘My book is my tobacco’.”²⁹²

The role played by the Marist Order in supporting Maori Mission continued through the decades, as reflected in their publications and involvement with Maori *Huis*. At the Extraordinary Provincial Chapter of the Society of Mary in New Zealand in 1971, a Provincial Maori Mission Committee was established. On request a brochure was drawn up by this Committee, (experienced in working with Maori) which gave “practical guides for all priests engaged in the apostolate to the Maori people”.²⁹³ This brochure was another indication of the desire of the Marists to continue their mission to Maori and encourage others to take up their work in the contemporary setting. Intentions of the writers included the determination to ensure that “the

²⁹⁰ Ref ADCA sources – Parish records also MAW and various Catholic Church publications.

²⁹¹ <http://www.mariststudies.org/docs/Girard0435>

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Fr. N. Delaney, SM Chairman Provincial Maori Committee Report Introduction, Brochure, 1973.

seed of the Gospel, sown among Maori people in patience and in tears” was “neither drowned with a well-intentioned deluge nor parched” due to inadequate presentation.²⁹⁴ The purpose was to “give help where help might be appreciated and needed”.²⁹⁵ Two important principles put forward by the priests were firstly that “friendship must exist before knowledge can be imparted” and secondly that “religion in the concrete – yes: in the abstract no”.²⁹⁶ These principles were in line with the advice given by Pompallier in his Instructions to his mission workers. Comments made by a Maori Missioner regarding what he referred to as the “credibility gap”, meaning what one “hears preached and what goes on in action”, are of note.²⁹⁷ He gave an example of this gap with respect to Maori when he referred to “the days when the Pakeha got him to turn his eyes upwards towards God and Heaven, while the land was whisked from beneath his feet.”²⁹⁸ This brochure is one indication of the many efforts made by the Marists to keep the Maori mission going. The final conclusion offered gives insight into the mentality of Marist Maori Missioners for it says the object is “to make a lasting friend out of the Maori who comes to you” and that when the missionary has been found “kind and understanding, then God’s grace has so much more opportunity of taking root. Also you will have learnt a lot about yourself; as will he; and the rest can be left to God”.²⁹⁹

New Zealand Marists contributed in many other ways to furthering understanding of Pompallier’s priestly “apostolate among the Maoris”, and his original influence on the Maori Mission, as well as memorialising their own admirable endeavours.³⁰⁰ Examples of Marist work

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, pp.21 – 22.

²⁹⁷ Fr. Conaghan, S.M. Maori Missioner, Wellington in Provincial Maori Committee Report Brochure, 1973, p.22

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p.22.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. p.23.

³⁰⁰ Fr. Kevin Roach SM in the introduction to his *Dissertatio ad Lauream in Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, Rome 1963) - pays tribute to Pompallier. Roach declares that others who

in New Zealand are contained in the Maori publications they worked so hard to continue, as well as in Catholic diocesan reports.³⁰¹ Pompallier is inevitably referred to in these works, having been instrumental in starting Marist “field” work in Futuna and Wallis Island en route to New Zealand. Difficulties Pompallier endured were similarly suffered by Marists and their heroism was appreciated by their “flocks” of faithful devotees, though their (Maori) numbers declined due to the wars with new and easy access to firearms, and chronic sickness from imported diseases. The move of the mission to Auckland in 1841 indicates the rapid changes occurring at the time of consolidation, taking into account Pompallier’s lack of priests. All these changes impacted on the Marists themselves, who were never divorced from Pompallier even though the mission was split into Auckland and Wellington dioceses, with the Marists going south. Records demonstrate that many Marists held Pompallier in high regard, his instructions to them having the effect of them acting, to varying degrees, as he had acted when establishing his relationship with Maoridom in general. Thereby Marists assisted greatly in keeping the memory of Pompallier very much alive by their own courageous actions and continuing devotion to the Maori mission. Although the undeniable rift between Pompallier, Fr. Colin and some other Marists continues to be aired to this day, the discussion has never been settled.

The multiplying, divergent or entwined tentacles of contact Colin and Pompallier... had to come to grips with and make decisions from...the huge obstacles of the times, it was remarkable how Colin, his Marists and Pompallier founded the Catholic Church in New

contributed principally to the beginnings of the Church in New Zealand were necessarily overshadowed as he concentrated on the Marist mission only. This is especially true of Bishop Pompallier as he said “we say nothing of Pompallier’s apostolate among the Maoris, his love for and patience with them. We say nothing of his elegant manners that gained him the good-will of a colonial and foreign society. We pass over his good neighbour policy, his generous heart, that readiness to do a good turn, that perhaps only people who have lived in a young country can appreciate.” Regrettably this sort of ‘overshadowing’ is oft repeated in other works, through the decades, which discuss ‘the mission’ but may fail to say much at all about ‘the man’ whose original responsibility it was, and that his primary commitment, in the beginning, was to Maori.

³⁰¹ The works of Frs. Bowler and Arbuckle are early examples.

Zealand so sensitively and courageously, and this achievement is of primary consideration.³⁰²

³⁰² Jessie Munro *Colin and Pompallier in Catholic Beginnings in Oceania* Ed, Alois Greiler SM Hindmarsh: ATF Press, 2009, 67.

Part 4:

Development of the Maori Mission from the Beginning and though the Decades - Reflection of Pompallier the Man & his Crusade: Established Maori Relationship Continues Via Oral History

Maori have contributed to the consideration of, and deliberation on, *how* the mission to Maori developed. This theme is developed throughout this thesis. In this part the modern Maori mission is discussed, with particular focus on developments affecting Maori in the Catholic Church after the Second Vatican Council particularly from in the 1970's. Maori churches, situated close to marae in country areas continued but new *forms* of Maori Mission, different from that which originated with Pompallier, had been developed in cities, including urban Church Marae from about 1955³⁰³ and Catholic Maori Clubs, formed from the beginning of the twentieth century.

Maori were from the beginning, one focus of the Catholic hierarchy as the indigenous peoples of New Zealand/Aotearoa and were identified at the beginning of the mission as "the New Zealanders". Evidence of the continuing success of the original Catholic mission is demonstrated by the active display of their faith by Catholic Maoris nationwide over the years, as recorded in Church records in various ways. The charge that the Maori mission had failed, has been repeated in recent times, with various reasons given.³⁰⁴ An example of such a charge is said to be due to a "damning report", given by Bishop James Goold, of Melbourne, on "the moral conduct of Bishop Pompallier" and his "maladministration"³⁰⁵ Bishop Goold, however, is also reported to have been disposed to believe anything bad about Pompallier and his report

³⁰³ Eg. Te Unga Waka Huri Tau Marae opened in Epsom Auckland, 1966.

³⁰⁴ Eg. E. R. Simmons, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*. p. 50.

³⁰⁵ E. R. Simmons. *Pompallier, Prince of Bishops*. Auckland: CPC, 1984, 188-189. The aforementioned indictment was also said to have been greatly influenced by "the sharp tongue of Suzanne Aubert". Only one incidence is recorded though which indicates criticism by Mother Aubert, from whom praise of Pompallier and his mission was also forthcoming. Simmons, *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*, p. 50. See also Keys, Pompallier, p. 358.

was written on the basis of a less than a month's stay in Auckland.³⁰⁶ The charges against Pompallier were dismissed, after further investigations presented him in a more positive light, with Maori at the forefront in presenting kinder views.

³⁰⁶ Simmons. *Pompallier, Prince of Bishops*, p.189.

The Maori Mission in Early Days

The subsequent development of the Missions was a reflection of Pompallier and his crusade, for his missionary methods with Maori were continued.³⁰⁷ For instance in his Instructions to his missionaries he says:

“Address yourself to winning the approval and confidence of the chiefs and the people. To make them love you warmly, you must love them the same, in spite of their faults, being always kind to them, without any meanness”.³⁰⁸

The men and women who followed him into Maori mission acted in the manner instructed as testified to even in comparatively recent times.³⁰⁹ Pompallier made a point of giving instruction regarding gifts (a bone of contention to some Protestant missionaries) saying:

Normally you should give gifts to the natives through the chiefs (although in the name of the charity of the Catholic Church, which loves us as well as them). Never make presents without knowing that no jealousy will be provoked thereby.³¹⁰

These are just two examples of how he wanted those working in the mission to act. It may be difficult to prove *how* his concerns were continually maintained, but there is *evidence* that Pompallier’s foundational work was the key to later priorities.³¹¹

Pompallier’s attempts to minister to both Catholic and non-Catholic on the battlefield, achieved reconciliation to some degree between tribes. Many Maori (Catholic and non-Catholic)

³⁰⁷ John Baptiste Francois Pompallier. *Instructions pour les travaux de la mission - Instruction for Mission Work*. 1841 trans. Kerry B. Girdwood Morgan Auckland: unpublished treatise Massey University, 1985.

³⁰⁸ Pompallier. *Instructions pour les travaux de la mission*, 2.

³⁰⁹ Ref. statements made in Maori publication such as *Hui Aranga*.

³¹⁰ Pompallier, Instructions, Para 6. With respect to misunderstandings that could be caused, Pompallier urges under the heading of the ‘Mission’s intentions’ that care be taken to ensure that the wrong impression was not given regarding the function of the mission. He insisted that it was not intended to pay in clothing and tobacco for embracing the faith, saying prayers, and “carrying out the religious practices”. Ibid.

³¹¹ As he was the Founding Father of the Catholic Faith in New Zealand, his methods, attitudes were inevitably passed on to subsequent followers.

acknowledged his efforts in letters they wrote to him. Family ties are important to Maori, as was demonstrated to all by their generosity during the 2002 Hikoi. The Catholic mission to Maori continued to be pursued, by Pompallier when his duties confined him to Auckland, by his establishment of education facilities, including a seminary. Fifteen Maori students began the seminary course, with one “even going on to the Propaganda College in Rome in 1859”.³¹² By this time inevitably, this fundamental mission had become increasingly difficult to manage due to other commitments but Pompallier managed to establish an Auckland seminary. Towards the end of Pompallier’s time in New Zealand, wars and worldwide economic depression and the depreciation of the value of the property held by the Catholic Church in New Zealand due to the wars made it impossible for him to raise further mortgages and maintain the ministry. This in turn caused intolerable burdens although, “in spite of his own great poverty the Bishop was to the last most generous to priests on Maori missions.”³¹³ Moreover Pompallier continued to lobby for assistance for New Zealand upon his final return to Europe in 1868, still keeping in mind his “beloved Maoris”.³¹⁴ Reallocation of mission headquarters to Auckland inevitably affected Maori as many more Europeans migrated to New Zealand cities and consequently the needs of *European* Catholicism came to the fore. Nonetheless Pompallier strove to keep his Maori missions going despite financial difficulties and “while he had a shilling to spare it went to the Maori missions”.³¹⁵

A variety of religious orders were connected to the establishment of the Catholic Mission to Maoris who hold archival material relating to their part played in its establishment and

³¹² Sisters of Mercy, Auckland. *Gracious is the Time: Centenary of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland, 1850--1950*. (Auckland: Sisters of Mercy, 1952), p.70.

³¹³ Keys, *Pompallier*, p.358.

³¹⁴ Ibid. See also E. R. Simmons. *Cruce Salus* pp. 89-90.

³¹⁵ *Gracious is the Time*.

continuation.³¹⁶ In particular the Sisters of the Holy Family played an important role with the continuity of the mission. This community was started by Pompallier (1862) with Maori members, but it was disbanded in the about 1866 and resurfaced as the Sisters of Mary in 1936 - as an exclusively Maori religious congregation. Pompallier is credited with laying the foundations for this latter order and the years 1936 to 1952, (when all seven Maori sisters entered the Marist Sisters) “were a significant period in the life of the New Zealand Church and especially for Maori”.³¹⁷ Land wars are said to have “most likely played a considerable part” in the collapse of the original order of Sisters of the Holy Family. Similarly it is said that by 1867 because of poor social conditions generally, Pompallier was “faced with the *almost* complete ruin of the Maori Missions”.³¹⁸

Questions raised by those involved in the Maori Mission, as to the reasons the mission went awry in the early days also included “disaffection in the Northern Missions that made the apostolate impossible for the time being, because of the inroads of Pai Marire”.³¹⁹ Life was very difficult for the majority of the predominantly rural Maori population for the period between the land wars and the 1930’s. It is therefore unsurprising then that the Sisters of Mary did not appear until then. The periods, when the storms were weathered and other missionaries (including sisters and brothers of Orders) came to the rescue, was however relatively short in comparison with the time needed to establish a firm footing for the Catholic Church universally. Given the severe difficulties of the times, it is understandable that by the 1880’s renewal of some kind was necessary, and it was achieved by the St. Joseph’s Missionary Society (Mill Hill

³¹⁶ These orders included religious sisters including Sisters of Mercy Sisters, (arrived 1850) Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion (founded 1892), Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions and Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart who both arrived in Auckland in 1884.

³¹⁷ ACDA POM 8 - 4/15 Accounts of the Bishop’s Administration with the Sisters of the Holy Family, 1/1/1866. See also E. R. Simmons, *Pompallier*, p.153.

³¹⁸ Keys, *Bishop Pompallier*, p. 340. Emphasis added.

³¹⁹ J. Durning History of the Maori Mission (Wellington: Marist Archives, 1970), p. 8.

Fathers) in the Auckland province. Most Catholic Maori were resident at the time in this province and the relatively swift “resurrection”, so called, was a significant achievement for those concerned.³²⁰ The development of the Maori mission is synonymous with the development of Catholicism in New Zealand, with this very development bringing in its wake good for both European and Maori, with respect to modification of some cultural practices encouraging a better social environment. The “sons of France” who continued the mission, (eventually moving to below the 39th parallel) lived well past Pompallier, some into the twentieth century. Fr. Claude Cognet (1858 – 1912), for example, who in 1957 was said to be “concrete proof that the spirit of the Marist Maori Mission is still a living thing...he never lost his hold on the Maori Mission and its problems, and in death he chose to lay his worn-out body among the race he loved.”³²¹ Irrespective of *where* in New Zealand they ministered, they were still contributing to the universal Church.

Bowler has written that “nowhere in the history of Christian missions, can be found a body of men who laboured so zealously or with purer motives for the spiritual excellence of their flock, than did the early Marists in New Zealand”.³²² This is not to deny the devotion of non-Catholic missionaries, but the Marists as a group deserve this honour. A generous tribute was paid to some Marists by Anglicans in the late 1860s in their *New Brighton Magazine*, which called them “beloved alike by Catholic or Protestant, Church of England or Presbyterian...rendering the help that was needed, or giving the kind word of encouragement to the sorely troubled.”³²³

³²⁰ This order is also known as the Mill Hill Fathers due to the area of Mill Hill, England whence they originated.

³²¹ Mary Goulter, *Sons of France*. (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957), p. 194. Another example is Antoine Garin (died 1889) who worked at least nine years among Maori.

³²² C.P. Bowler *An Historical Account and Appreciation of the Labours of the Marist Missioners in the Auckland District of New Zealand 1838-1848*, iv. Thesis for Master of Arts by A.C.M.E. 1930, pii. Copy obtained from the Marist General House Archives, Rome. C.P.

³²³ Goulter, *Sons of France*, p.169.

Marists, and other missionaries too, continued to be worthy of such a description because of their continued dedication to Maori. These missionaries including the Mill Hill Fathers, Franciscans, Benedictines and diocesan priests, like the McDonald brothers, are all worthy of such praise.³²⁴ Mill Hill Fathers (St. Joseph's Missionary Society) took over the Maori Mission in the Auckland diocese and "by a thorough, methodical, painstaking expanding apostolate...founded solidly the Maori Mission of today that exists in the Auckland diocese".³²⁵ These priests adopted Pompallier's *manner* of conducting the mission and successfully attracted Maori. This manner of presenting the Catholic faith was consistent with advice received from the Holy See, in terms of general missionary Instructions.³²⁶

Whilst it is true to say, with respect to the Maori Mission in the Far North of New Zealand, that "the mission was *almost* [emphasis added] ruined owing to the war", still it *continued* primarily due to the efforts of the Vicar General of the Maori, Fr. James McDonald, who worked under four successive bishops, becoming legendary among Maori.³²⁷ Rev Dr. James McDonald lived among Maori for almost thirty years, travelling about from place to place "and partook only of their food".³²⁸ Devotion demonstrated by the McDonald brothers, labelled Pompallier's "loyal lieutenants" and close friends, enabled the continuation of the mission and prevented ruin, further disproving the claim of abandonment.. Both men were heroic in their efforts and proved their loyalty to their bishop. In 1852 James was given charge of St Mary's, North Shore, where there was a school for Maori, a seminary and a farm.³²⁹

³²⁴ Works of C.P. Bowler, Ellen Murphy, John Pierce, M Taylor, Lillian Keys. (Likewise, similar could be said of those Protestant missionaries equally totally dedicated to Maori in like manner.)

³²⁵ Durning, *History of the Maori Mission*, p.10.

³²⁶ Wiltgen, *The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania*, pp.125-127.

³²⁷ J.J. Wilson. *Memoirs of the Early Days*, p.47.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ See Dictionary of New Zealand Biography http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/DNZB/alt_essayBody.asp?essayID=1M3

Maori were forced to leave mission stations because of the wars with Europeans. In turn, these stations could not be sustained without a flock, as Pompallier lamented in his memoirs. Further oral history from Maori closely related to the area, in particular descendants of the paramount chief Atama Paparangi, records how knowledge of Pompallier was passed on from ancestor to ancestor with the comment that “he spent money he did not have but the Catholic side of the family think he is a saint”.³³⁰ This Maori respondent said that knowledge and love of Pompallier was passed down through the generations via his mother’s side of the family and what he learned from this oral history made him return to his faith after an absence of seven years.

The Auckland diocesan area included many Maori and so a sort of parallel ministry was sustained for Maori alongside those of the newly arrived Catholic Europeans [Pakehas]. It is strongly asserted by Marist priests that there were no gaps in the Auckland Maori Missions which extended from the far north to the Waikato. The transfer of the Marists Fathers to the Wellington area did not affect the numerical strength of the Auckland personnel. Marist priests explained that during the time of transfer to Wellington, “five Marist Fathers remained in Auckland for a considerable time to assist the new diocesan work. The new staff had not to start from the ground as had their tutors”.³³¹ Evidence of the effectiveness of this tutoring is given by the example of Fr. O’Rourke who is recorded in 1851 as “exercising the ministry in the Maori language – the first Irishman to do so”.³³² Furthermore, when assessing the Maori mission until the end of the twentieth century I suggest that the evidence of its strong continuance is not only contained in Maori oral history but also in the records of the Catholic Church. Whilst the missionaries concerned may not have been able to publish works themselves, the dioceses

³³⁰ Interview with James (Hemi) Parkinson 17th May 2009, Titirangi. He is a direct descendant via his mother, from Atama Paparangi.

³³¹ *Marist Messenger* 1 September 1st 1959, p.17.

³³² *Ibid.*

they laboured in have published limited histories as have their orders.³³³ The Marists for example, record the stations of their priests and brothers indicating details of work, as well as conferences of missionaries.³³⁴

³³³ Eg. In more recent times Catholic Dioceses and others have published histories of the work in their particular diocese which contain references to the mission to Maori either as it was in the beginning or how it continued, depending upon circumstances. Eg. Diocesan histories of Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin.

³³⁴ Eg. Maori Missions. M.M. 1. FF1-304 and MM 1 – 5. MAW. Also lists of priests and brothers stationed at missions 1870 – 1993 and 1913 – 1960 MAW. Records have been kept from the beginning of the Marist Mission and may be sighted at MAW.

Oral Tradition

A certain comprehension of oral history, also known as “word of mouth”, is necessary in order to appreciate its importance. For those concerned with Bishop Pompallier and his mission to Maori, “the oral tradition is central to any study of Maori history”.³³⁵ It is claimed that “the strengths of oral evidence outweigh its weaknesses, although the latter must always be borne in mind.”³³⁶ Therefore careful choice must be made with respect to those whose testimony is sort with respect to obtaining oral history concerning Pompallier. This entails identifying the ancestry of those closely connected with the 2002 Hikoi to return Pompallier’s remains,. At the same time it also has to be borne in mind that, oral testimonies are “neither better nor worse than documentary evidence; both are useful in different ways”.³³⁷

According to Fr. Henare Tate, the former Maori Catholic Vicar for Maori, acceptance of the oral tradition of knowledge is an essential part of learning. On the occasion of the Hikoi 2002, when referring to Maori, he said that “Theirs is very much an oral rather than a written tradition” and this tradition is “a valid source of knowledge and a valid form of preserving and passing on of information and knowledge.”³³⁸ This oral history also records Catholic Pakeha whose ancestors were directly linked to the time of Pompallier, and especially with those related to Maori via marriage, which ensures a special relationship.³³⁹ The bond formed between the Bishop and his Maori “flock” has thus proved to have survived, much to the interest of some European Catholics, specifically at the time of the Hikoi reuniting his bones. The special relationship with Pompallier, kept alive by “the elders” (according to Fr. Antony Brown, Vicar for Maori), is made

³³⁵ Megan Hutching, *Talking History A Short Guide to Oral History*. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993), p. 67.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Henare Tate, “Traditional Maori Spirituality in Encounter with Christian Spirituality. In *Resources for Peace in Traditional Religions: Acts of the Colloquium* edited by C. D. Isizoh, 268-269. Vatican City: Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, 2005. Ref. <http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/bitstream/2292/447/1/ANZ-AnnotBib-07.pdf>

³³⁹ For example, this is the case with the historian Michael King whose many works have contributed to a greater comprehension of Maoridom in general and the relationship with Catholicism in particular.

apparent from the testimonies of Maori elders, their ancestors and descendants.³⁴⁰ This testimony manifests the affection it portrays into positive action, like the Maori tradition of naming their children Pompallier. Memories of Pompallier's affection for Maori have been passed on to subsequent generations, thus keeping alive to some degree the original relationship. The manifestation of this ongoing "relationship" between Maori and Pompallier is shown, not only by the special Hikoi to return Pompallier's remains to their rightful place, but also by the process that occurred to achieve the success of this endeavour. Determined continuation of the practice of their faith despite very trying times, from the beginning, is also testimony to the calibre of a people described as "undoubtedly the most intelligent, brave and chivalrous race of aborigines with which the European has ever come in contact".³⁴¹

Another priest/writer who commends oral history, a Marist chaplain to Maori formerly of Otaki, has acknowledged how his tupuna (ancestors) in the Society of Mary and Bishop Pompallier formed for him "a clear pathway to follow", in his work with Maori.³⁴² Fr. Cody pays tribute to a number of Maori from whom he learnt much about *matauranga* Maori, a "way of understanding the reality of our world, which provides us with an explanation of who we are, an explanation of the world around us, and how we are to find our way in the world".³⁴³ *Matauranga*, Cody says "is a gift handed down to us, from generation to generation, Hence the honoured phrase '*nga taonga tuku iho* – the treasures handed down to us'.³⁴⁴ His appreciation of oral history is apparent in his explanation of how he learnt much about these "treasures". Maori say that knowledge of Pompallier gained via oral history was part of "the treasures handed down".³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Personal interview 2009.

³⁴¹ From statement made by Very Rev. Fr. Lightheart November 1898 in J.J. Wilson *The Church in New Zealand – in the Path of the Pioneers*, (Dunedin: Tablet, 1926), p.78.

³⁴² Phil Cody *Seeds of the Word Nga Kakano o te Kupu* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2004), p. 25. Otaki proved to be one of the strongest bases of Maori Catholicism.

³⁴³ Cody, *Seeds of the Word*, p. 15.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ This sort of statement has been repeated to me by a variety of Maori contacts.

Historian, commentator and author on Maori history, Michael King, used oral history in his numerous works. King makes the point about an apparent “inability or unwillingness to tap Maori oral sources” in relation to Maori history.³⁴⁶ He talks about evidence of this history still surviving by oral transmission and stresses the importance of oral sources in determining an authentic viewpoint of how Maori people in general have recorded their own history, still continuing to do so. King believed that using these tools a more complete overview of history is gained.³⁴⁷ The oral history of the Maori people pertaining to Bishop Pompallier and their own Catholic Mission plays a crucial part in determining the reality of the claim that Pompallier was a man loved through the generations, as does also the matter of proving the work of the aforementioned mission.

When speaking of Maori life in the nineteenth and early twentieth century it is claimed that “the commitment to Maori values remained strong, in spite of the fact that most Maori had been nominally converted to Christianity”, which appears to be a rejection of the compatibility of Maori values with those of Christianity.³⁴⁸ The claimant goes on to explain though, that these “values” related more to customs as “Maori increasingly came to view life in terms of *taha Maori* and *taha Pakeha* – the Maori and Pakeha sides of themselves and of the world in general”.³⁴⁹

This identifies an issue that Pompallier stressed regarding how Maori were to be understood and treated by the priests and religious assigned to work with them. Pompallier would have listened to oral histories of various tribes, when he first arrived in New Zealand, as he travelled from place to place, responding to requests from chiefs. He insisted upon the need to

³⁴⁶ Michael King. *Nga Iwi O Te Motu* Auckland: Reed, 2001, 7. [Published 1997 and revised 2001]

³⁴⁷ King, *Nga Iwi O Te Motu*, p.120.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.53.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.54.

comprehend the nature of Maori way of life with its real spiritual depth, encompassing apprehension of the metaphysical world, in order to assist the Maori mission. Such apprehension Pompallier believed to be akin to the beliefs of Catholicism. He states in his Instructions to his priests:

“address yourself to winning the approval and confidence of the chiefs and the people. To make them love you warmly, you must love them the same, in spite of their faults, being always kind to them, without any meanness.”³⁵⁰

³⁵⁰ Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier *Instructions for Mission Work*, In McKeefry, *Fishers of Men*, p.4.

Maori Mission 20th Century Onwards.

There is a wealth of evidence, written as well as oral, which records of how Catholic Maori pursued their religion down through the generations. It is recorded in their own publications which tell of their national hui and clubs.³⁵¹ Whilst it is true that certain areas of New Zealand have a richer part in this history than others, nonetheless, the national character of gatherings from the 1930's ensured a spread of enthusiasm. Research shows that from 1909 many religious hui were conducted by the church "as a serious effort ...to use and adapt established Maori hui occasions as a means of transmitting the Christian message"³⁵² From the 1930's the Maori mission gained momentum and as mentioned earlier, this was the time when situations generally were improving for Maori. Church records support oral tradition and are contained in the various archives of the Catholic Church.³⁵³ Substantial records of Maori activity within the Church reveal how Maoris were encouraged by the successive Maori missionaries who ministered to them. Pictorial records also show the development of Mission churches, whares, and presbyteries for the use of missionaries in their work.

From the 1840's Maori literature had been produced and by the 1890s there was a "Maori Catholic library" including "a catechism of 472 pages."³⁵⁴ Further proof that Pompallier's success with Maori was sustained after he left, is gained by close scrutiny of the Maori publications, as well as the documents relating to the establishment of Maori mission autonomy within the Catholic Church structure. So despite various proposals for assimilating Maori into normal

³⁵¹ Maori newspapers, publications relating to their Catholic faith originated in the early nineteenth century but also correspondence between themselves and Pompallier are still extant. Eg. Morvin Simon.1946 – 1996 Hui Aranga "Te Aranga Ake" 'The Resurrection'. (Wanganui: Morvin Simon, 1996).

³⁵² Peter Conaghan SM, *The Historical Contact of Catholic Missionaries with the Maori of the Archdiocese of Wellington*. Research dissertation: Maori Stage 111, Department of Anthropology (Wellington: Victoria University, 1972), p.14. These kinds of gatherings were common from the very beginning of the mission and from the late 1880's became permanent. Many letters written by all the Marist and other Maori missionaries show the same pattern of gathering the people in hui.

³⁵³ These records are held in each Catholic Diocese as well as in some archives.

³⁵⁴ Report headed "Our Maori Bibliography" in *The Marist Messenger*, 1 March 1938. MAW

parish structures, such plans were abandoned because most Maori did not cooperate.

Literature particularly from the 1950s onwards confirms the inclination of various members of the Church hierarchy to pay attention to the pleas of Maori missionaries, calling for the continuation of the Maori mission as opposed to assimilation into general diocesan parishes.³⁵⁵

Maori missionary Fr. Durning was particularly outspoken, during his ministry (1930s – 1960s) on behalf of Maori. He was an example of the dedicated priests who, through several generations of Maori, encouraged continuity of their Catholic faith. The retention of the traditions of this faith came by the preservation of its creeds, and forms of worship. Thus, continuation of the foundational missionary work ensured respect for Maori language and culture, rejecting only those aspects which were contrary to the Catholic faith. It is well said of Pompallier that he was a man with a crusade not only to spread the Catholic message of the Gospel but also to try to preserve the best of the Maori culture. The faith expressed was the same faith as that of European Catholics, but assimilation into European parish structures was not demanded. Oral expression helped to preserve the faith learned, from generation to generation.³⁵⁶ Those Maori people responsible for this oral tradition are the same people described by Patrick Francis Cardinal Moran of Australasia in the late nineteenth century as a people “generally considered not only to excel in bravery, but also to be far superior in intelligence” to others tribes of indigenous peoples only relatively recently encountered.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁵ Eg. A 1958 published report of a prominent lay group in the Catholic Church, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul revealed the subject of its conference as, “The Society and the Maori Mission”. This report was in the form of a booklet which outlined many aspects of the Mission giving detailed reports of conference talks on the history (mentioning an interesting direct link with Pompallier via a member of a priest contributor’s congregation), statistics, problems and needs of the Maori Mission. See *The Society of St. Vincent de Paul New Zealand Report of Regional Conference*. (Wellington: McKenzie Cooper, 1958).

³⁵⁶ This method of passing on of faith in the informal setting of the family, as opposed to just formal school education, is confirmed by Maori elders. Ref. Vicar for Maori Fr. Antony Brown, Fr. Henare Tate, Kuia...Otaki.

³⁵⁷ Moran, *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia*, p. 889.

Continuation of the Maori Mission is recorded by various accounts of the New Zealand Catholic Church and in archival material held by religious orders and dioceses.³⁵⁸ Study of individual dioceses is necessary in order to discover how the Maori part of the Catholic Church developed. For instance close examination of Auckland records, kept of successive bishops in the dioceses, show references to Maori mission activity from Pompallier to the present Bishop Dunn.³⁵⁹ The history of this development is contained in both written and oral history, with the earliest history recorded in both Maori and English. Debate as to how the Maori Mission should continue and the form it should take, has continued from the nineteenth century to the present day although little importance was given to the oral record until relatively recently.

The commencement of the first Maori newspaper, *Whare Kura* in December 1909 was quite a milestone for the then 60 year old Mission, which was relatively young in terms of worldwide Catholicism. It was edited by a Fr. De Lach (ienne) who came to assist at Otaki in 1893, the same year "Archbishop Redwood arranged for the Otaki Maori missionary to have charge of all the Catholics, European and Maori" of the district.³⁶⁰ The Maori newspaper indicated the high regard in which the Maori missionaries were held and their relevance in pioneering at the time, even though they had to take on extra responsibilities with incoming [into New Zealand] European Catholics. There were efforts to merge both missions but they were not successful, although some Maori may have attended normal parish Masses when they were established and continued to do so, just as they do now. However they were few and far between among Maori. Many bonds were forged between Maori and their missionaries and memories of these

³⁵⁸ The Marist Sisters arrived in Auckland in 1927 and worked in two mission stations in the Far North. The Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary arrived in Auckland in 1952 and conducted a hostel for Maori girls as well as Maori welfare work.

³⁵⁹ Records of those following Pompallier, Bishops Croke, Stein, Luck, Lenihan, Cleary, Liston, Delargy, Mackey, Brown and Dunn were examined. They contain correspondence referring to various aspects of the Maori mission including St Joseph's Missionary Society, Marists, and Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Mary as well as Maori people and others. Egs. Croke – INT, 2-3, (1878), LUC 7a-1 (1887), CLE 60 – 4, 5, 6. (1924-1929), DEL 39 -1 (1959 – 1973), DEL 39 3 (1968 – 1974). MAC 60 – 1 to 7 and 85 -1. (1980's)

³⁶⁰ J.J. Wilson. *The Church in New Zealand Vol II In the Path of the Pioneer*. (Dunedin: NZ Tablet, 1926), p.35.

relationships were recorded in pivotal stations like Otaki which, like the far north of New Zealand, retained a special position within the Catholic Church for Maori.³⁶¹ The Maori Mission itself has taken a number of forms right from the very beginning of its establishment, with Catholic Clubs formed in mission station areas. The first suggestion of a 'rally' of Catholic Maori Clubs was made in 1945 by Maori missionary Fr. James Riordan SM (Pa Heemi Riatana); thereafter it was given the name Hui Aranga, and became an annual event.

Pompallier's influence on present day ministry to Maori, is partly because his Instructions set the tone for all those who were to follow him. Evidence of the preservation of this "tone" is contained in the records pertaining to the Maori mission. During the 1948 Hui Aranga the Central Council of Federated Catholic Clubs was formed "consisting of representatives of the Mission districts having Maori Clubs activities in them".³⁶² The Easter gathering for the Hui Aranga continued to the present day as "an affective apostolate" paying attention to beneficial customs and way of life of Maori, with the quarterly Maori Missions Newsletter, *Whiti Ora*, recording events.³⁶³ This magazine proved to be very popular, with Maori, attracting nationwide subscriptions. It was originally published by the Marist Fathers but from 1989 was published by the Maori Central Council.³⁶⁴

The so called "languishing" of Faith particularly in northern parts of the country, was not abandonment or failure of the mission. Changes in *how* mission had to be conducted, is a different issue. Redefinition of the Catholic Maori mission in an arbitrary manner to suit different concepts caused problems. An example of such redefinition is the assertion by Jane Thomson

³⁶¹ Interview with kuia, Otaki, Church, 20th March 2009.

³⁶² Conaghan SM, *The Historical Contact of Catholic Missionaries*, p.22.

³⁶³ Ibid, p.27.

³⁶⁴ Ref. Notes on Whiti Ora MAW.

in her work “The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand 1838 – 1870,” written in 1966. In this thesis Thomson states;

the Catholic Mission failed to survive...If one takes as the definition of a mission station a Maori settlement which is the permanent residence of a missionary whose time is fully occupied in looking after Maoris, no Roman Catholic mission station existed by the eighteen seventies.³⁶⁵

In a later work, “Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maori, 1838 – 1860” written in 1969, Thomson declares Pompallier and his missionaries during this period to be “unknown because unsuccessful and unimportant”, and not standing out “as individuals in the pages of the historians”.³⁶⁶ The latter conclusion has been rectified to some degree by subsequent historians. Work undertaken in the area in previous decades, including various theses and Lillian Keys’ substantial biography, seems to have been overlooked by Thomson, who preferred to concentrate on Protestant sources.³⁶⁷ The point is made in another thesis that “strong Catholic communities, who date their allegiance from the 1840s, such as in the Holkianga and Otaki, are testimony to an enduring Catholic influence”.³⁶⁸ So “minimizing the influence of the Catholics” was “essential to Thomson’s thesis” regarding failure.³⁶⁹

All in all, Thomson has very few Catholic references or resources to support her condemnation of Catholic Missionaries and their Maori Mission. Instead non Catholic writings, pamphlets and opinions are drawn on as a basis for adverse criticism presenting a more cynical view overall of Maoridom at the time of colonization. She writes, “the Catholic mission failed to survive”, but then acknowledges that there was indeed; “reconstruction...when mission work was gradually

³⁶⁵ Jane Thomson, “The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand (Victoria University MA thesis in History 1966), p.226.

³⁶⁶ Jane Thomson, “Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris, 1838-1860” in *New Zealand Journal of History* vol 3 no 2 (October 1969), p.166.

³⁶⁷ Lillian Keys’ substantial biography *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*, 1957. The bibliography of Thomson’s thesis contains few Catholic sources.

³⁶⁸ Philip Turner, *the Politics of Neutrality – the Catholic Mission and the Maori* (Auckland University MA thesis in History 1986), iii.

³⁶⁹ Turner, *ibid*.

resumed.”³⁷⁰ This very “reconstruction” necessarily presupposes a “construction”, and in fact adherence to the faith had continued, albeit in a diminished manner. Certainly priests were not placed in as many stations after the wars of the 1860’s, but they still continued visiting and ministering to their flocks (many of whom had scattered) from other bases, as records demonstrate.³⁷¹ Also according to Thomson, a Department of Statistics Census in 1961 proved that “the second period of Catholic missionary activity has *not* been fruitless” [emphasis added] as at that time “Roman Catholics (who numbered 28, 656 in 1961) form the second largest religious group among the Maoris”³⁷²

In contrast another writer, C.P. Bowler, who spent twelve years studying missionary efforts all around the world, came to different conclusions.³⁷³ Many, including Maori Catholics, would contest Thomson’s assertion that “in the long run the priests did not benefit from their apostolic poverty.” *Au contraire*, as Pompallier himself may have replied, like those who followed them, their very lack of commitment to materialism, endeared them to their followers. Bowler was raised among Maori, acquiring first hand knowledge of their culture and faith, a claim not true of other writers on the subject. Bowler said that the early Catholic missionaries in New Zealand were “heroes of the first rank, capable of being favourably compared with the greatest missionaries of Christianity”.³⁷⁴ Interestingly, on the one hand Thomson lauds the pecuniary, material priorities of the C.M.S. missionaries whilst on the other decrying the overriding concern of the Catholic priests for the spiritual welfare of their flock.³⁷⁵ So-called “unwillingness and

³⁷⁰ Thomson *The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand*, p.226.

³⁷¹ Marist, Franciscan, Mill Hill Fathers and Diocesan Records.

³⁷² Thomson, *The Roman Catholic Mission in New Zealand*, 226. Thomson quotes “Department of Statustuca, Population Census 1961, Vol. VIII, Maori Population and Dwellings, p.31.

³⁷³ Fr. C. P. Bowler (1898 – 1955) was an outstanding teacher at Marist Colleges, writing a series of twelve booklets - *The Living Truth* – used widely in Catholic Schools. He taught at St. Patrick’s Silverstream and St Patrick’s Wellington. Confirmed by Fr. T. Williams SM, Registrar Good Shepherd College Auckland.

³⁷⁴ Bowler, *An Historical Account and Appreciation of the Labours of the Marist Missioners in the Auckland District of New Zealand 1838-1848*, p. iv.

³⁷⁵ Thomson *Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris*, 1838-1860, pp.170-171.

inability”, on the part of the Catholic missionaries, according to Thomson, “to provide for ‘the good things of life’” can be said to be really outside the authentic realm of their priestly profession, having taken vow of poverty, chastity and obedience. Here Thomson seems to be decrying the missionaries’ vows to be detached from material concerns. Catholic missionaries’ primary concern was with spiritual, as opposed to material, matters. Their vows obliged them to put spiritual matters above all else though they did try to help with material wants whenever time and means allowed.³⁷⁶ If this lack of material support on the part of the Catholic missionaries really did “hamper their progress in winning souls for the next” life, maybe the souls supposedly won by this more earthly emphasis, were not truly interested in “the next life” and their “gains” were illusory.³⁷⁷

Pompallier’s more tolerant attitude towards Maori customs, which were called “half measures” by the C.M.S. missionaries, is contrasted by Thomson with that of C.M.S. policy of “rooting out of heathenish feasts and customs”. Yet she concedes that these policies “were probably right since a policy of gradual change...no longer applied”.³⁷⁸ When she declares that by 1838 “the Maoris were ready to throw over old ways and follow their new masters”, she seems to overlook the subsequent general unrest and wars between the Maori and “their new masters”.³⁷⁹ She has not recognised that New Zealand is still *Catholic missionary territory* and that the Maori Mission started in 1838 continues to this day. This is why “the mission to Maori” was continued in New Zealand by Marists, Mill Hill Fathers, Franciscans and Diocesan priests.³⁸⁰ The *method* of the continued mission has necessarily changed with the times. Today there is an increased

³⁷⁶ For example building mills, planting crops and paying for assistance in these activities in food or other goods received from overseas. Thereby they encouraged industry and provided employment.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, p.172.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

³⁸⁰ Mill Hill Fathers continue to this day, with responsibility for Unga Waka Parish and Franciscans were in early 2009 shown on Television as part of a religious procession in the Far North. Ref. URL <http://tvnz.co.nz/breakfast>

contribution from Diocesan priests as the population of New Zealand has changed to include both Maori and Europeans and in recent times a greatly increased Asian population.

The Pastoral Council formed to work for the return of Pompallier's remains proves the effectiveness of the "passing on through the generations" of knowledge of the enigmatic personality of "Epikopo", principally via oral history. Actual continuation of the Maori Mission also ensured that Pompallier's memory was kept alive, as various reports and records kept by all involved in the Mission substantiate. Pompallier is continually referred to in various ways in this archival material and oral history inevitably continues to play a part in passing on the Catholic faith from generation to generation of Maori. Detractors generally appear to fail to understand the nature of Pompallier's mission which was *principally* to do with theology, not sociology or politics, although inevitably normal social contact and some assistance in material matters were required. It must always be borne in mind though that the fundamental principles on which the mission was based were theological.

It was to be expected that an influx of Irish people would result in a demand for Irish priests and bishops and cause an eventual change in the character of the Catholic Church in New Zealand "from a French institution to a largely Irish one."³⁸¹ Maori then came to display the same love and respect for the Irish priests. Much correspondence on the mission has been left by "scholarly men who were in a good position to know with certitude the facts that they relate; men who were honest and straight-forward in their accounts and were surrounded by enemies who would have brought them to book for even the slightest infringement of the claims of truth."³⁸²

³⁸¹ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p.208.

³⁸² C.P. Bowler *An Historical Account and Appreciation of the Labours of the Marist Missionaries in the Auckland District of New Zealand 1838-1848*. Bowler was resident at St. Patrick's College, Silverstream when writing his thesis which was written on the work of missionaries in Auckland, Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and Wellington.

The impact of changes in Catholic liturgical practice affecting Maori is still to be fully discovered. Questions concerning the Church and “local controversy over its new post-Vatican vernacular liturgy” may be related to the Maori mission, but even so, rejection of changes in practices does not mean rejection of faith.³⁸³ Charges of failure levelled against both Pompallier and the Maori mission have not been proven.³⁸⁴ Evidence to the contrary is available from the actions, writings and oral reports of Maori themselves. With respect to the relationship between Maori and Pompallier it is interesting to recall what Bishop Liston stated in 1938, at the time of celebrations of New Zealand’s first Catholic Centenary. He said that the first bishop for this country made his name with Maori which remained “to this day as gracious as a benediction” and that his “Maori children have ever kept affectionate memories of their Bishop, and time has made clear to all... the greatness of a soul, in its failures as well as in its triumphs”.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, p.456.

³⁸⁴ E.G. E. Simmons work *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand* is in fact far too brief for such conclusions. Likewise the work of Jane Thomson, also claiming failure fails to offer substantial evidence “Some Reasons for the Failure of the Roman Catholic Mission to the Maoris, 1838-1860” in *New Zealand Journal of History* Vol.3 No. 2 October 1969.

³⁸⁵ McKeefry, *Fishers of Men*, Foreword.

Part 5: Adverse and Positive Reactions to Pompallier and his Mission – Some Causes.

Catholic Maori Participation in Church continues down the Decades – Changes Post Vatican II

Bishop Pompallier is described as a failure by a number of contemporary historians. For instance Fr. Ernest Simmons states in his book *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand* that “Bishop Pompallier’s thirty-three years as an active bishop ended in failure and disappointment”.³⁸⁶ Whilst some “disappointment” can be conceded given the circumstances at the time, (e.g. Maori Wars, economic depression causing bankruptcy) “failure” can be challenged as being unsubstantiated. The case for failure can be disproved, or at least doubts cast on this assumption, by evidence to the contrary, acquired in the decades since failure was claimed. Evidence supports the contention that Maori Catholic continued their faith to this day, from the very beginning of the Mission³⁸⁷ The case for Pompallier’s success has not really been made, although references are made to it by his biographers, Keys and Simmons. Therefore as the claim of failure referring to Pompallier and the Maori Mission have attracted continual attention, both need to be addressed. If the Maori Mission is proven to be been successful, *ipso facto* Pompallier will be proved not to have failed. Claims of failure of Pompallier’s work may be influenced more by second guessing the *intentions* behind certain actions and writings by

³⁸⁶ Simmons, Ernest *A Brief History of the Catholic Church in New Zealand*, p.50. Other writers, including Jane Thompson and Paul Moon also talk of failure.

³⁸⁷ Many Catholic Maraes established around the country as well as the Catholic contingent who form part of non-Catholic maraes provide evidence of the continuation of Maori Catholicism. Vicars for Maori as well as Maori missionaries confirm this continuation of Pompallier’s mission, though it took different forms.

Pompallier than by close scrutiny of the sequence of events which may demonstrate actual success. Examination of both adverse and positive reactions to Pompallier and his mission (for the two are inseparable) throw more light on the matter.

Pompallier under Scrutiny

Misunderstandings with respect to early New Zealand Catholicism, which have provoked such scathing criticism of Pompallier and his mission, have been repeated in modern times by those writing about the early Maori Mission.³⁸⁸ The irritation about the actions of Pompallier was surely due to lack of comprehension of Catholic theology. Confusion arising from theological differences and ignorance of traditional practices, recorded in the nineteenth century and carried over into the twenty-first century, needs to be reviewed on account of the acrimonious criticism accorded Bishop Pompallier. Of particular significance in this regard are comments made public at the time of the 2002 Hikoi returning Pompallier's remains. A major New Zealand newspaper report, at the time, discussing Pompallier caused some heated debate resulting in a certain amount of ill will, it would seem.³⁸⁹ In this report Pompallier was described as "insidious, mischievous, seditious and treasonous" by a New Zealand historian Paul Moon, who rejected "the belief widespread today that the bishop showed any special understanding and compassion for Maori".³⁹⁰ Even the admission of the fact of there was a "belief widespread today" concerning admiration of Pompallier and his attitude to Maori, is indicative of continued public knowledge of, and interest in him. Though his good intentions were denied "from an unexpected quarter", as Moon is described, another New Zealand historian spoke in Pompallier's defence.³⁹¹ He said that the criticism of Pompallier purporting him to be "a person prepared to manipulate Maori and prepared to manipulate the British to achieve his goals of furthering the intrusion of Catholicism into the country" was "absolute nonsense".³⁹² Further, this defender of Pompallier accused Pompallier's critic "of reflecting the anti-Catholic prejudices widespread among Protestant

³⁸⁸ Ref. Paul Moon *Hone Heke Nga Puhi Warrior* Auckland: Ling, 2001, 25-26. Also by reference by same author in, *The Newest Country in the World* (Auckland: Penguin, 2007), p. 99.

³⁸⁹ Influential internet sources report criticism – eg. URL www.wikipedia.org

³⁹⁰ *New Zealand Herald*, 14 January 2002.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

missionaries at the time”.³⁹³ Again, in this claim and counter claim a case can be made for *how Catholic Maori themselves* envisaged their beloved “Epikopo”. They retain a special relationship irrespective of the opinions of others. Exactly what this relationship was, and is based on, is a matter only truly explicable by Catholic Maori themselves. It was they who kept their Catholic faith alive from the beginning, one way or another, when the Bishop and priests they longed for were temporarily absent, for whatever reason, and these reasons were many and varied.

Questions raised concerning Pompallier’s actions as a Catholic bishop seem to centre more on political issues than theological ones. Recent criticism of how Pompallier acted at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi implies that he was interfering in politics and that it was unnecessary for Pompallier to have requested that the clause he asked to be inserted about religious liberty for all, to be read aloud. This clause provided for freedom of worship for Maori Catholics as well as others, but somehow it has been viewed as “political machinations”.³⁹⁴ “Political machinations” were in fact practiced on distant shores against Catholics at the time and Pompallier would have been aware of them, having travelled from the same distant shores. He would have been aware of the situation regarding Catholics in England, whence the Catholic Emancipation Act was only eleven years old and ten years after the signing of the Treaty in 1850, a political debacle concerning the first Catholic primate of England since the Reformation took place.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Ibid. It is of interest to note that in this debate Pompallier’s detractor is a ‘strong Protestant’ and his defender a Catholic.

³⁹⁴ Moon, *Hone Heke*, p.25.

³⁹⁵ Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman wrote a pastoral *From Out of the Flaminian Gate* to his Catholic faithful in England which was misinterpreted and caused such inflammatory newspaper reports that Wiseman felt obliged to slip quietly back into England. Even the Prime Minister accused him of having political motivations. Eventually his real theologically based motives were accepted and he won government support and the respect of many people by his humanitarian actions as well as ecclesiastical work. Ref. WARD, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, (London, 1898); GILLOW, *Bibl. Dict. Eng. Cath.*, s.v., with a complete list of his published works; WHITE, *Memoir of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1867); MILNES (LORD HOUGHTON), *Monographs* (London, 1873); MORRIS, *The Last Illness of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1865); *Dublin Review* (Jan., 1865); and *Memorial* (April, 1865). <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15670a.htm>. Richard J. Schiefen, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* ‘Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen (1802–1865)’, first published Sept 2004, 3330 words, with portrait illustration <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29791> Oxford Biography Index entry. Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen (1802–1865), cardinal and archbishop of Westminster. Oxford Biography Index Number 101029791.

This primate was Cardinal Wiseman, whom Pompallier met as he did John Henry Newman, whilst visiting Rome.³⁹⁶ Wiseman had been rector of the Catholic English College in Rome where he met many dignitaries. Political attention seemed as inevitable for Pompallier as it was for Wiseman as both were adversely affected by the English repression of Catholicism and the eventual Emancipation Act.³⁹⁷ Wiseman and Pompallier both faced charges, made it would seem through lack of true comprehension regarding their leadership roles within their own church. This role did not encompass any vision of acquiring political power. Both leaders were primarily concerned with the spiritual needs of their church, although assistance was inevitably given to Catholics, if at all possible, where particular material needs were evident.³⁹⁸ Wiseman, taking up the reins as leader of England's Catholics, was a "Prince" of the Catholic Church in the same sense as Pompallier but both were in fact not concerned with earthly, political power but that of "another world", the spiritual realm. Charges similar to those levelled at Pompallier, were subsequently levelled at Wiseman when he became head of the Catholic hierarchy as archbishop of Westminster, although the reaction in England drew more attention at the time.³⁹⁹ The language used in the charges against Pompallier and his fledgling church which included "harbouring his private schemes against the Crown" and "clandestine influence on those Maori who were already fostering anti-crown thoughts", and these bore a similarity to those levelled against Wiseman.⁴⁰⁰

The rights and wrongs of this "suspicion" are not the focus here but we need to recognise similarities in how Catholics generally were viewed, both in New Zealand, at the time and "home" (England) and the consequences of such views. One should also bear in mind the

³⁹⁶ Ref. Letters written by Pompallier to Wiseman, 1849 and 1856 POM 22-8. ACDA.

³⁹⁷ The Catholic Emancipation Act restored limited rights to Catholics in 1829.

³⁹⁸ Pompallier himself fulfilled a necessity for European goods as he was able and distributed warm cloaks to Maori chiefs for example. He also paid for services rendered in this way.

³⁹⁹ Wiseman faced "fierce 'Papal aggression' riots in which windows were smashed, bonfires lighted in the streets, and pope and new cardinal-archbishop burned in effigy". See Ward, *Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*.

⁴⁰⁰ Moon, *Hone Heke*, p.26.

reality of French Catholics still being missionaries in their own country because of the French Revolution (1789), the Napoleonic Wars (1799 – 1815) and the 1830 Revolution, all relatively shortly before the launching of the mission to Oceania. As a result of their own experience French Catholics had an awareness of politics impinging upon religion. Acknowledgement of *differences* in religious belief is needed in order for agreement to be reached regarding respect of the right to differ about the political intentions of the French Catholic priests in New Zealand. The claim of adverse influence on Maori, who were largely unaware of political suspicions, cannot be justifiably attributed to Catholic missionaries. The *cause* of suspicion, be it Protestant or Catholic, could reasonably be attributed to the precarious political climate of the times rather than animosity.

Religious freedom was requested by Pompallier in accord with his Church's acceptance of the invalidity of coercion. This is not to say that he would have forsaken his duty, as he saw it, to challenge whatever he thought he considered as error with respect to Christianity. This sort of challenge was a *theological* one, as that was the field Catholic bishops were primarily concerned with, irrespective of varying opinions regarding politics and the Catholic Church at the time. Bearing in mind the repression of Catholicism that existed in England for approximately four centuries, and the havoc that it produced, it is not unreasonable that "the schism that existed between the two denominations was enormous, and ...encounters were typically curt and barbed".⁴⁰¹ Whether this is specifically true of Pompallier and his missionaries when they contacted Protestant missionaries is another question, as admiration was expressed and exhibited by some Protestants towards Catholics, and vice versa , in these years. It is of

⁴⁰¹ Moon *Newest Country in the World*, p. 98.

interest to note that prominent English politicians Macaulay and Gladstone visited Wiseman in England the same year Pompallier arrived in New Zealand, 1838.⁴⁰²

Those who attack the motives of Pompallier and his co-workers in the same political vein as the attack on Wiseman must take cognizance of theological differences which caused political backlash at the time. It was quite normal for those of different religious persuasions in England to engage in debate even on street corners. Hence it was normal to debate religious questions publicly too. To claim that onlookers were puzzled by “the relish that missionaries of all persuasions sometimes seem to experience when arguing with their opponents”, is to beg the question as to whether “onlookers” particularly Maori, were in fact familiar with what was common practice elsewhere in the world. As New Zealand was indeed “the newest country in the world” at that time, it is small wonder that there was ignorance of normal activities of others living in other countries. Theology in the nineteenth century engendered much more passion than is the case today, as the example of the *Oxford Movement* in England demonstrated. The publication of pamphlets and the occurrence of debates provoked huge interest in Pompallier’s time among lay folk as well as clerics.⁴⁰³ Religion and politics were closely entwined in the nineteenth century at the higher levels of government and ecclesiastical circles but that did not mean that missionaries were bound to become involved. Pompallier, as a senior cleric, would have been aware of governmental interest in the movements of the Catholic Church in both France and its close neighbour Britain. Therefore his actions and attempts to avert political unpleasantness such as was experienced by his counterparts overseas were understandable. To accuse Pompallier of “privately” nursing “deep bitterness towards the Protestant

⁴⁰² Hunter-Blair, O. (1912). “Nicholas Patrick Wiseman”. In *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Retrieved May 6, 2009 from New Advent URL : <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15670a.htm>

⁴⁰³ The role of John Henry Newman is probably the most well known, including his eventual “defection” to Catholicism, which was inspired to some degree by Nicholas Wiseman.

missionaries” is to somehow to claim access to his innermost thoughts.⁴⁰⁴ The accusation of “deep bitterness” is made on the basis of a letter written by Pompallier to the Marist Superior Fr. Colin in which Pompallier protests the role of Protestants in undoing his work. This is just as a legitimate claim to make as it would be if Catholics undid the work of Protestant missionaries. In neither case would it necessarily prove the “hatred” of one for the other.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ Moon, *The Newest Country in the World*, pp. 101-102.

⁴⁰⁵ Pompallier to J-C Colin May 1840, in Keys, p.194. Quoted in Moon, *The Newest Country in the World*, p.102.

Maori Mission Evidence

The success of the Maori mission is shown by a variety of Diocesan, Marist and missionaries reports, which continued to be published, after the departure of Pompallier. Participation, both of priests and their “flock” continued to fluctuate down through the decades, but the Church followed Maori from their country or bush settings into the towns. In all of these many reports, difficulties are recorded, and this is not unexpected, considering the disasters that had to be coped with including a flu epidemic that decimated the people, the great depression and two world wars. Stories are invariably found in these reports of heroic work of Maori, for their faith and each other and their “notable converts”, one of whom was buried with “a completely Anglican audience”.⁴⁰⁶ Amazingly positive reactions to priests taking over from very elderly missionaries or re-establishing contacts in neglected areas are recorded. Time and time again the resilience of the Maori people, retaining faith to varying degrees whilst living in expectation of once again receiving priests to minister to them in their new places of residence, is obvious. There are examples of those who “lived a relic of the boom days of the mission...contributed wealth to Wharekura (schoolhouse) and had considerable gifts of Church knowledge and oratory.”⁴⁰⁷ Another example is that of a very elderly Maori lady “who had had contact with the Church from earliest times [with Fr. Regnier in the 1870’]” and was welcomed in about 1930, when a little knowledge of Maori was admitted by the new Maori missionary.⁴⁰⁸ Fr. Durning became well respected and loved by Maori, ministering among them for decades. Reference is made to him in many reports about the Hui Arangi and other meetings of Catholic Maori Clubs and bishops consulted him for advice regarding the Maori mission, as recorded in their correspondence.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ Fr. J. Durning SM *History of the Maori Mission* circa 1970s. MAW.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ He was a man of action, as opposed to being an author, but his advice was sought and he is mentioned in a number of diocesan Maori Mission reports, including in correspondence with bishops.

Reports (from the late 1960's and the 1970's) made by those involved with the Maori Mission for many decades, give details of encouraging developments and ideas for the future, with opening of The Auckland Catholic Maori Centre, Te Unga Waka in 1966.

A 1969 Northland survey, made known to the diocesan conference of the Catholic Women's League (CWL) revealed a desperate economic need for the local Maori Missions. At this meeting CWL passed a remit "that the CWL endeavour to maintain close personal contact with all Maori Mission stations, realizing that it is an honour to serve them".⁴¹⁰

World pilgrimage of Maoris 1970 was the headline of another 1969 report which described *The Federation of Catholic Maori Clubs* plans for a special pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Rome and the major shrines of Europe with the *Franciscan Travel Service*. In the same publication it was announced the Auckland Diocese would have a Maori Pastoral Council. This decision was made after consultation with 200 Maori people representing "thirty six parishes or areas ranging from Ahipara in the Far North to Gisborne in the east and Taumarunui in the south".⁴¹¹ Another Catholic Maori Centre was reported to be planned "to go up in Otara", in 1971, at a special meeting to launch the project. At the same time the twenty-fifth national Hui Aranga gathered in Christchurch to celebrate Easter with four Maori priests and over two thousand participants including the Prime Minister, thus indicating the health of the mission. The annual Hui Aranga was evidence of thriving Maori Catholicism as were; camps for Maori children, Maori Festivals

⁴¹⁰ *Zealandia* newspaper clipping headed Maori need is "desperate", 24 April, 1969 in ACDA.

⁴¹¹ *Zealandia* newspaper reporter and publication, *Maori plan own council*. Newspaper clipping ACDA.

of Faith, Maori weeping at the welcome of their latter day bishops and comprehensive Church study of Maori needs.“⁴¹²

Otaki served as a base for a line of distinguished missionaries to serve the Maori Catholics of the West Coast from Wellington to Wanganui. Regular camps held for children in the earlier decades of the twentieth century ensured that they got “a great deal more teaching than they get today...We had a fundamental plan of supplying these children with enough of the basics of our faith... the camps also, far more than today, featured piety”, in the opinion of the missionary writing in the 1970’s.⁴¹³ The same missionary recalled “a great hui at Motukarara in Canterbury that must be ranked not only as memorable by Mission standards but as an outstanding event in the history of the Church in the South Island”.⁴¹⁴ He commented that no “other event drew such a crowd as came to the hui on the Sunday”, thus confirming the strength of the faith of Maori which was more obvious when they gathered as a people.⁴¹⁵

A comprehensive report, entitled *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society* also known as the *Arbuckle Report* (so named after its author anthropologist, Fr. G. Arbuckle S.M.) was completed in 1976 (though based on research dating back into the 1960s). The author described it as a *Sociological Survey: Pastoral Needs of Maoris and Polynesian Immigrants in New Zealand*, for private use only. The report is largely concerned with statistical information and was undertaken in response to a request from the New Zealand Bishop’s Conference meeting of 1975 which “asked that a survey be made to discover the overall pastoral needs of Maoris and Polynesian

⁴¹² ADCA unnamed reporter, *Zealandia* newspaper clipping dated 15 April 1971.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

migrants in the country". The twofold objective was "to help the Church in New Zealand become more aware of the nature, problems and challenges of ethnic pluralism" and "to clarify realistic goals and priorities for action within the Dioceses."⁴¹⁶ It was stated in the report that the survey was "essentially a study by Catholics on Catholics" and that it was "not a personal report on the Church by the survey team."⁴¹⁷ One respondent was stated to have insisted that "we simply must not consider Maoris as migrants" as they were in New Zealand "long before Europeans and Polynesians".⁴¹⁸ The response given was that "migration should not be defined only in terms of geographical movement. In depth, any person is a migrant who comes into contact with another culture" and further explanations offered regarding migrants and their problems generally.⁴¹⁹ Religious practice of Maoris was considered in the report as was the Maori mission and its problems, with Mass attendance a main preoccupation and a variety reasons for non-attendance reported, together with mission weaknesses. It was stated that "tradition continues to influence the degree of religious adherence" and that "the changes in the Mass, e.g. from Latin to English or Maori, have removed for a number the tapu or atmosphere of 'mystery' 'mystery' 'secrecy' so important in traditional life. (Cf. p.43/H) Consequently, some are no longer attracted to the Mass."⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁶ G. Arbuckle S.M, *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society* Marist Society of New Zealand, 1976, 1/1. Fr. Arbuckle was described as an anthropologist – confirmed recently by Fr. Williams SM.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid 2/1.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid 3/1

⁴¹⁹ Ibid 4/1

⁴²⁰ Ibid 50/H-51/H

Recent Times – Recent Changes

Reformation of Catholic Maori participation in the Church down the decades seems to have come full circle as from the beginning in Pompallier's time Maori were encouraged to "be themselves", whilst accepting the boundaries of Catholic doctrine and dogmas. In more recent times Maori have again been more strongly encouraged to participate as a *group* within the Church, as they did when they were the original focus of Pompallier's mission. This participation is formalized in a number of documents issued by the Catholic Church in New Zealand over the decades since Vatican II in particular.⁴²¹ In one of them Pope John Paul II is recorded as saying when he visited the country in 1986:

"the peoples coming from Europe, and more recently from Asia, have not come to a desert. They have come to a land already marked by a rich and ancient heritage and they are called to respect and foster that heritage."⁴²²

(Questions can be said to arise though when Maori are not encouraged to gather together with similar catechesis in the manner of the successful hui of old.) These words of the Pope are a re-enforcement of Pompallier's own words and actions to some degree.⁴²³ During his visit to Auckland in 1986 the Pope was given a special Maori welcome, at a national Hui sponsored by the Catholic Church for Maori Catholics, at which Maori expressed genuine affection for him.⁴²⁴ John Paul II's message to them was said to be, "full of wisdom and guidance for the future". This warm encounter of Maori with their Pope was said to be "a high point" in their lives "and the

⁴²¹ E.g. Ruth Smithies, *Our Common Ground* JPD (Wellington: Diocese Wellington, 1990).

⁴²² Ibid, Ref. back page.

⁴²³ Ref. Pompallier's *Early History of the Catholic Church* and his *Instructions* and letters ACDA.

⁴²⁴ It was reported by Catholic Maori participants that "we are never likely to forget the coming of the Pope to Aotearoa...we wanted the Maori people to be proud of our welcome. But we had to guide our waka through many shoals to get everything right" Fr. Ryan MHM ed. *Te Unga Waka Huri Tau 25 – Silver Jubilee 5th March 1966 to 1991* Auckland: MHM & CPC, 1991. The spirit displayed by Maori, in perfecting their welcome to their Holy Father is another indication of the success of the Maori Mission, with a similarity in display of affection for their Pope, bearing some resemblance to that shown to Bishop Pompallier.

effort was all worthwhile”.⁴²⁵ Again the warmth Maori experienced at this encounter bore similarities to that recorded on their encounter with “the Prince of Bishops” only a century and half previously. It also reflected their respect for “Roma” (also indicated in the naming of a marae in Otaki which was the meeting place of numerous Hui Arangi). Maori sentiments of affection were reciprocated by the Pope as indicated in his address to them, which included the following.

The strengths of Maori Culture are offering the very values which modern society is in danger of losing...As you rightly treasure your culture, let the gospel of Christ continue to penetrate and permeate it, confirming your sense of identity as a unique part of Christ’s household. It is as Maori that the Lord calls you. It is as Maori that you belong to the Church. (Ko te kupu mihi a te Papa a Hoane Pauro II).⁴²⁶

The pivotal role played by the Marist Order in support of the Maori Mission continued strongly in the aftermath of the Vatican II Council. At the Extraordinary Provincial Chapter of the Society of Mary in New Zealand, 1971, a Provincial Maori Mission Committee was established. On request a brochure was drawn up by this Committee, (who were experienced in working with Maori) which gave “practical guides for all priests engaged in the apostolate to the Maori people”.⁴²⁷ Two important principles put forward by the priests were firstly that “friendship must exist before knowledge can be imparted” and secondly that “religion in the concrete – yes: in the abstract

⁴²⁵ Fr. Ryan MHM ed. *Te Unga Waka Huri Tau* 25, p.88

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Fr. N. Delaney, SM Chairman Provincial Maori Committee Report Introduction, Brochure, 1973. This brochure was another indication of the desire of the Marists to continue their mission to Maori and encourage others to take up their work albeit in the ordinary parish setting. Ibid. Marists working in various parts of New Zealand contributed their ideas to the brochure. Intentions of the writers included the determination to ensure that “the seed of the Gospel, sown among Maori people in patience and in tears” was “neither drowned with a well-intentioned deluge nor parched” due to inadequate presentation. The purpose was to “give help where help might be appreciated and needed”

no”.⁴²⁸ These principles were in line with the advice given by Pompallier in his Instructions to his mission workers.

This is not to say though that all Maori were keen or in agreement with *all* proposed changes in the way their Catholic faith was to be conducted, particularly in matters of worship. Generally speaking they were said to be “split down the middle” with those preferring the “old ways” and those in agreement with changes. For instance, with liturgical matters, some did not like the Novus Ordo (New Order) Mass as it changed the way they were used to participating in the Latin Mass, with catechists traditionally reading certain prayers in Maori.⁴²⁹ Others recalled their preference for “the Mass of Pompallier”, which was said universally (with a few minor changes) until the 1969/70 New Order Missal replaced it. This new liturgy proved to be a radical departure from the liturgy of old.⁴³⁰ Difficulties in ironing out liturgical problems would necessarily have affected Maori Catholics.⁴³¹ Some Maori played a leading role in calling for the re-establishment of traditional worship, well before the recent decree restoring the Latin Mass.⁴³² Maoris were thus prophetic in their comments reported in the 1976 survey conducted for the New Zealand Bishops (the Arbuckle Report) when they made known their dissatisfaction with changes to their liturgical worship which caused them to be “no longer attracted” to it.⁴³³ The question as to *how much* Maori were affected by the Novus Ordo Liturgy, whereby a new form of the Mass in the

⁴²⁸ Ibid, pp.21–22.

⁴²⁹ This comment was made by Bishop Pat Dunn during an interview April 2009 and repeated with permission.

⁴³⁰ Benedict XVI's encyclical *Summorum Pontificum*, 2007, accompanied by a letter to every bishop in the world. Both the encyclical and letter explained the need to return more to the traditional form of worship in the Church by use of the Missal of John XXIII issued in 1962. Pope Benedict declared that use of this Missal had not been abrogated, contrary to popular opinion. Debate concerning the apparent abandonment of traditional practices is still ongoing. Pope Benedict XVI has spoken strongly in favour of a return to traditional methods of worship and has very recently called for an examination of theological interpretation of Vatican II documents. Ref. Benedict XVI *Ecclesia Unitatem* 8th July 2009. Ref. URL www.vatican.org

⁴³¹ Some Maori chose to return to the ‘old Latin Mass’ when it was re-established in Auckland and Wellington dioceses over twenty years ago by two New Zealand diocesan priests qualified in Catholic Canon Law.

⁴³² In Auckland, Maori from the Far North, owning land very near to the establishment of the Catholic Mission, the Tuinaman Family, Hemi Parkinson [a kaumatua] and others assisted a mature priest to establish a Latin Mass Centre in an abandoned Catholic church, Widow, Mrs. Tuinaman became the priest's housekeeper, remaining so for over twenty years. Both of these family's ancestors had connections to Pompallier.

⁴³³ G. Arbuckle SM. *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society – Sociological Survey: Pastoral Needs of Maori and Polynesian Immigrants in New Zealand*. (Wellington: Marist Order, 1976), 51/H.

vernacular of each country was introduced, with the subsequent loss of other traditional practices, is difficult to determine and only fully known by Maori.⁴³⁴ In some places the New Order Mass is now conducted solely in Maori.

It can be argued that *misapplication* of Vatican II documents led to a lessening of appreciation of early missionary efforts. In point of fact, the intention of the Vatican II documents was not to jettison the *teaching* of the Church but to encourage new pastoral *methods*. Such methods were described by Fr. Arbuckle in his survey and applied to Maori.⁴³⁵ In the aftermath of the changes of Vatican II, traditional practices frequently gave way in the face of varying degrees of interpretation as to how the new liturgical instructions should be implemented. Traditional Catholic liturgical practices in New Zealand were loved by Maori, and they were altered to varying degrees, some licit some not so, as subsequent Vatican Instructions revealed. Catholic Church teaching had not changed as Pope John Paul II often stressed when repeating that “the Church teaches the same today, as She did yesterday and will tomorrow”⁴³⁶ This teaching incorporated the same pastoral principles that Pompallier instilled into his missionaries which stated that always Maori must be treated in a manner that reflected their dignity whilst at the same time presenting the Catholic faith. Diminution of Catholic *tradition* inevitably affected some Maori, due to their strong sense of tradition.

⁴³⁴ Due to loyalty and devotion to the Catholic Church and her priests, Maori generally are reluctant to discuss the matter according to some Maori sources. Eg. Mrs. Cathy Tuinaman and her family, Northland.

⁴³⁵ G. Arbuckle SM. *The Church in a Multi-Cultural Society – Sociological Survey: Pastoral Needs of Maori and Polynesian Immigrants in New Zealand*. Wellington: Marist Order, 1976.

⁴³⁶ John Paul II ref. www.vatican.org

Fr. Simmons reported a “lower Mass attendance” and “a drift of Catholics out of the Church” but in this account the ethnicity of those who made up this “drift” is not revealed.⁴³⁷ At this time it is also claimed that congregations were depleted “by laity who choose to leave the Church on both liberal and conservative grounds; or they were confused by the onrush of new ideas”.⁴³⁸ The number of Maori priests rose to nine in the nineteen nineties, and the first Maori bishop was appointed in 1988, which led to the conclusion that the Catholic Church was “looking more indigenous”. Nonetheless it seems that many Maori were among the “drifters”, maybe sharing the label of “conservative” and hankering after the old days with the liturgy celebrated in the manner of Pompallier. Either way, whether Maori generally were more content with the changes or wishing more settled pre-Vatican II times, the result was probably more discussion, with more oral history being exchanged about the way the faith had continued. Dissatisfaction was voiced by some with respect to changes as they preferred the status quo. Statements like: “pace of change, so much more rapid than the peaceful, slow ordering of the Church originally envisaged in Council, also brought stress” and “by the 1980’s Maori too were asking more questions about their place in the New Zealand Church, and the extent to which they could still retain their values and rituals”, are noteworthy.⁴³⁹ Accordingly then, Maori “unsettlement” may have been a direct cause of some Maori wanting to regain some of the old “stability” by turning to someone who brought a certain stability to their lives, one way or another not much more than a century ago.⁴⁴⁰ These sentiments may have precipitated the call for Pompallier’s “bones” to be returned to their perceived natural resting place, thereby providing a conduit for the peace and contentment for Catholic Maori. Again, although only Maori know the answers to these

⁴³⁷ E. R. Simmons. *In Cruce Salus – A history of the Diocese of Auckland 1848-1980*. (Auckland: CPC, 1982), p. 273.

⁴³⁸ King, *God’s Farthest Outpost A history if Catholics in New Zealand*, p. 181.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*, p.182.

⁴⁴⁰ Informal discussions with Maori and confirmed as “possible” by Vicar for Maori – interview 2nd March 2009.

questions, some have verbalized regret, disappointment and disquiet about some modern approaches to the Catholic faith.

According to testimonies and reports, the determination to bring about the Hikoï started about the same time as the introduction of the Novus Ordo Liturgy after Vatican II. Closer examination of the liturgical changes introduced leads to a better understanding of why some changes were rejected, causing protests from members of the Catholic Church. These changes included radical alterations to places of worship involving removal of statues, alterations to altars, and other traditional aspects of worship. Various devotional practices of old were rejected while the subsequent emphasis placed on “Lay Leadership” produced both positive and negative results, with the role of ministerial priesthood sometimes being confused with the “royal priesthood” of the laity. This confusion inevitably impacted on Maori also as the traditional liturgy of the Mass was sometimes replaced with lay-led services.⁴⁴¹ Thus Maori inevitably became part of the dispute through the requests made of them that they too participate in liturgical matters in a manner foreign to them. Again, it can be argued that Maori unsettlement increased, due to uncertainty, or alternatively that involvement in the life of the Church increased, due to the post-Vatican emphasis on the more active part to be played by laymen and women in Church life generally.

⁴⁴¹ Claims that preparations for ‘Priest-less Parishes’ were essential, as ‘raison d’être’ for the introduction of the lay led Eucharistic Services, were not shared by Church authorities in Rome Ref. various Vatican Instructions from the Congregation for Divine Worship at URL www.vatican.org There is provision for special concessions for prayer where it is absolutely impossible for the Mass to be offered but these particular provisions are to meet the circumstances of there being no priests at all who can be reasonably expected to travel to these areas on Sundays at least. Issue now to be re-examined in terms of *Ecclesiae Unitatem* Pope Benedict XVI Apostolic Letter given *Motu Proprio*, 2 July 2009. Ref. URL www.vatican.org English translation available www.fiuiv.org

In an address to the Catholic Education Council in Wellington in 1983, John Rangihau talked about an initiative he was involved in, Te Tangata, to encourage Maori development. He said that as he listened “to Maori people throughout New Zealand, at different hui”, he heard “a special form of Maori, Catholic Tu Tangata”, with some Maori expressing “concerns that they have for their church and for what is happening inside of it”.⁴⁴² In this address, Rangihau makes reference to Catholic initiatives, including dialogue with bishops, to improve matters for Maori generally. He also made the call for Maori values informing a “purely Catholic perspective” arguing that “there is so much scope for even traditional Maori Catholic thinking to return to the roots from which it sprung.”⁴⁴³

A special group of Maori, Te Runanga o te Hahi Katorika, was called together in latter times to advise the bishops on Maori spiritual and pastoral matters, and this may have been a source of reassurance for Maori, who were “asking more questions about their place in the New Zealand Church”.⁴⁴⁴ Similarly the same could be said of the recognition by diocesan synods that “the relationship between Pakeha and Maori was of one of partnership, founded in religious principles”.⁴⁴⁵ This “reassurance” may have caused Maori to take more pride in their faith whether they embraced the Novus Ordo [New Order] way of worship or not. The same resurgence of “pride” in or love for their faith may also have contributed to more confidence to reassert their place in the Church by requesting the return of Pompallier’s remains, irrespective of liturgical changes. Testimony about this renewed confidence is obtainable from various sources including reports from meetings of Maori Councils held to organize the return of

⁴⁴² John Rangihau to the *Catholic Education and Maoritanga Council*. Wellington, 1983, 6. MAW.

⁴⁴³ Ibid, p.9.

⁴⁴⁴ King, *God’s Farthest Outpost*, p.182.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, p.182.

Pompallier's remains, as well as oral testimony given in verbal discussions.⁴⁴⁶ Councils established to encourage more Maori participation in the Catholic Church, were in contrast to the call for "assimilation" of Maori Catholics into the ordinary parish system, although such participation was an option as well. Numerous references can be found, from the turn of the twentieth century to present day, of Maori participation in their own highly successive Catholic events to which non-Catholics were also invited.

Pompallier's work is still bearing more fruit today too, as very recent acknowledgements of him demonstrate. At least both support and criticism demonstrate the continued interest in Pompallier since the 2002 Hikoi which returned his remains to New Zealand. Whether his work will continue to bear fruit for Catholic Maori is for them to decide but the continuation of their Catholicism is an indication of this "fruit". Paul Moon's *A History of New Zealand in the Decade of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840's*, 2007, contained harsh criticism of Pompallier, as did another work by the same author, *Hone Heke* (2001). Both of these books cast doubts on the matter of Pompallier's work in fact "bearing fruits" for Maori. Criticism in the same vein was repeated in major newspapers in New Zealand at the time of the Hikoi.

In April 2009, however, a more positive image of Pompallier was evident at a portrait exhibition held in Wellington and Auckland, where a portrait of Bishop Pompallier took prominent place and was used on advertisement posters. This exhibition was described as "a unique opportunity to view a collection of portraits of those whose contributions have helped shape the nation and

⁴⁴⁶ Ref, Diocesan and Marist records of Maori Council meetings. See Marist Fathers & Brothers Aspects of the Apostolates of the Society of Mary in New Zealand (Wellington: SM, 1989). See also Arbuckle Report.

continue to leave their mark on history.”⁴⁴⁷ The book published for the special exhibition states that Pompallier “identified himself deeply with New Zealand...his portrait...attests to his role here”.⁴⁴⁸ Admittedly, the positive or negative character of his role is not discussed but the comments indicate a positive assessment, as does the advertising for the exhibition. It is interesting to note that an explanation of the title of the exhibition, *The Power of Portraiture*, talks about themes relevant to Pompallier, the powers of *heroic leadership* and formal *authority* [emphasis added]. Thomas Carlyle quoted by a contributor to the book, said “no sadder proof can be given by a man of his own littleness than disbelief on great men”, and this could be a reflection of Pompallier criticism.⁴⁴⁹ Generally speaking, the exhibition praised both “hero worship” and “formal authority” as beneficial concepts and both can be observed in Pompallier.⁴⁵⁰

To complete this brief analysis of positive and adverse reactions to Pompallier, bearing in mind the hardships he faced, a comparison could legitimately be made, as biographer Lillian Keys does, between St Paul and Bishop Pompallier. It may be claimed that Catholic Maori would accept this comparison. Pompallier too lived the missionary bishop’s life as it was once lived by St. Paul by:

Journeying often, in perils of waters...of robbers...from my own nation...from the
Gentiles...in the city...in the wilderness...from false brethren: in labour and painfulness,

⁴⁴⁷ Ref. *The Power of Portraiture*. curated by Dr. Erin Griffey displayed in New Zealand Portrait Gallery, Shed 11 Wellington 25 February – 5 April 2009, URL www.portraitgallery.nzl.org. Quote from website advertising exhibition. Accessed 19th April 2009. Exhibition viewed 22/3/09 in Wellington.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Erin Griffey, *The Power of Portraiture* (Auckland: Auckland University, 2008), p.11.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

in much watchings...Besides those things which are without; my daily instance, the solicitude of all the churches.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Quoted in Keys, *The Life and Times of Bishop Pompallier*, p.382.

Part 6 Pompallier as a Uniting Force in the Hikoi - though still more Criticism

Coming together of Pakeha & Maori to lobby for Return of JBFP's Remains

With his return to New Zealand, figuratively speaking, Pompallier was again acting as a conduit as he did of old.⁴⁵² The establishment of a special council to work for the return of Bishop Pompallier's remains was a combined one in that it involved Pakeha as well as Maori even though the initiative was a Maori one. Members of the Marist Order both priests and brothers also assisted with arrangements for the return of the remains of Pompallier, as did other religious orders. New Zealand, French and Vatican authorities were all reported to have been most co-operative with the venture of the return of Pompallier's remains, thereby uniting in the common cause.⁴⁵³

As the group who travelled to Europe was also a mix of Maori and pakeha, the Bishop proved to be a uniting force in more ways than one, even changing a propensity towards cynicism (as reported by a member). Those organizing the Hikoi asked the question of themselves at the time that they were about to set out, as to why they were in fact making this pilgrimage. It was affirmed that a pilgrimage was made to *keep tradition alive* and that "pilgrimages image the

⁴⁵² As chaplain to the Marist Tertiary Brothers in Lyon, France, he had participated in the coming together of the Marist Order and the 'team' that was to formally establish Catholicism in New Zealand and other Pacific Islands. It was Pompallier who referred the idea of missionaries for the Pacific to Jean Claude Colin, who in turn encouraged "Pompallier to accept the offer to lead a mission there". Stanley W. Hosie, *Anonymous Apostle*, p.127.

⁴⁵³ Comments from Fr. Henare Tate, Catholic Vicar for Maori at the time and Fr. Antony Brown, subsequent and current Vicar for Maori. Also recorded in Hikoi material *Pompallier Centre*, Ponsonby Auckland.

pilgrimage of life” but “it is not just journey. It is a search, a journey of discovery”.⁴⁵⁴ Pilgrimages were also said to “recall significant events in our tradition”...to be made one with the past” whilst seeking “identity as a New Zealand Catholic”⁴⁵⁵ In this case then, the tradition is that of the Catholic Church, where the place in this tradition of individuals as well as that of pastoral councils is necessarily aligned with the universal Catholic Church, for Maori and all members.⁴⁵⁶

Enthusiastic reception of the Hikoi 2002 can be said to have softened the bad publicity Pompallier received at the end of his career, which “tended to overshadow his earlier achievements”.⁴⁵⁷ Study for this historic occasion, was undertaken by seminarians, schoolchildren and others of their Church history and more knowledge gained in a tangible way, as their own reports of the occasion demonstrate.⁴⁵⁸ Hence a bridge was built, at this time with younger generations. Interest in the return of his remains has been sustained by the many and regular “pilgrimages” made to Motuti, Hokianga, Northland, including those of students since his return. It was thought to be appropriate that Pompallier should return to those he had encouraged with the words “rejoice Hokianga, you were the first”, and become once more a focus for Maori and Catholicism. His “return” proved even more popular than expected, with extra arrangements needing to be made for his “visits” to more places than anticipated. Media response was interesting too, as both negative and possible reports were made at the time about Pompallier generally and his mission. As discussed in Part One of this thesis, all the clamour, excitement and general outpouring of affection that the Hikoi engendered was modern day proof of the enduring place the bishop held in the hearts of many. A headline in the *New*

⁴⁵⁴ Hikoi material APC, Ponsonby Auckland. ACDA

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid

⁴⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 14 January 2002. Photocopy from Hikoi material APC.

⁴⁵⁸ A 2001 Religious Education Programme resource, *The Beginnings of the Church in Aotearoa New Zealand*, discussed Pompallier, the Marist Missionaries and the Maori response to the Catholic mission. Gary Finlay, Director NCRS *The Beginnings of the Church in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Wellington: NCRS, 2001), pp. 35-57.

Zealand Herald at the time (2002) is indicative of perception of Pompallier. It declared him to be a “guiding light” which “shines again for the faithful”.⁴⁵⁹ The particular “faithful” in this case were primarily both Catholic Maori and Europeans of New Zealand, although others joined in “to catch the light”, so to speak for various reasons.

It must be acknowledged that it was also reported at the same time 2002, that Pompallier “outreached his capacity to fulfil” his vision “however right and admirable” and that “he *never realized* or admitted the difference”.⁴⁶⁰ This reservation is of course a jar on the claim of unity, but it must be argued in defence that it is impossible to purport to *know* Pompallier’s inner thoughts; how he may have agonized about not being able to fulfil all promises he made to Maori, his despondency at lack of resources and the declining economic situation, whilst at the same time coping with an increasingly painful medical condition. Whatever may be said of Pompallier’s vision it must be questioned whether the ability to assess Pompallier’s *own* realizations and admissions is really possible, unless some sort of written or oral evidence can be produced to *substantiate* such claims. That is to say that questions must be raised as to whether Pompallier himself expressed failure or disappointment with his mission or whether others at the time expressed the aforementioned criticisms. He certainly expressed concern regarding lack of personnel and other resources, including lack of finances and is said to have offered his resignation but then withdrawn it. He was very positive in his writings about his mission and encouraged others away from negativity and towards unity.

More criticism of Bishop Pompallier arose at the time of the return of his remains.

“Contemporary evidence” purporting to prove that Pompallier was, “insidious, mischievous,

⁴⁵⁹ *New Zealand Herald* 14 January 2002. Photocopy from Hikoi material Pompallier Centre.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Unnamed reporter quotes historian Michael King quoting deceased Catholic Church historian Fr. Ernest Simmons in his entry in the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*.

sedition and treasonous” was claimed. Such alleged evidence was not made transparent, and no clear supporting facts produced. Instead vague allusion to oral evidence from the whanau of one Protestant Maori chief was offered as justification for a harsh assessment of Pompallier’s character.⁴⁶¹ *Opinions* based on those of anti-Catholic writers in Pompallier’s time and modern personal hermeneutical interpretation of letters Pompallier himself wrote at the time, were the basis of the aforementioned condemnation.⁴⁶² For instance, an opinion of a quotation from a letter Pompallier wrote to the Maori chief Hone Heke in 1845 was reported in the secular press, quoting historian Paul Moon at the time of the Hikoi in 2002. It was claimed on this occasion that; “the seditious nature of Pompallier’s political machinations” was revealed by the following select quotation from a letter from Pompallier to Heke 1845.

If I were an Englishman living with New Zealander, and if I had ever solicited you to yield the sovereignty of your nation to the English, your heart would do well to mistrust...but ...I am of a different nation. I have never spoken of you submitting to any foreign power.⁴⁶³

To say that this statement reveals an “obsessive hatred of Protestantism”, and “treason”, as reported in the popular Press, surely goes beyond the boundaries of a valid construction of what the words say.⁴⁶⁴ An unbalanced interpretation of the letter can be justly said to have occurred. Close examination of the full text of the letter discussed reveals Pompallier’s *stated* intention to prevent or thwart war between the government forces and Maori and in so doing save the lives

⁴⁶¹ Ref. Paul Moon entry Wikipedia. “Moon’s 2001 biography of Hone Heke caused a major controversy because of its treatment of Bishop [Jean Baptiste Pompallier](#), whom Moon described as ‘seditious’ and ‘treasonous’. When interviewed by the New Zealand Herald on the strong reaction to his criticism of Pompallier, Moon pointed out that his comments in the book amounted to just a few sentences, and that his descriptions of Pompallier were entirely accurate based on the sources, including the oral histories of [Heke’s whanau](#)”. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Moon assessed 21st April 2009.

⁴⁶² Ibid

⁴⁶³ Ibid

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. Concentration on Pompallier’s French nationality appears to have caused an over-reaction.

of many, both pakeha and Maori. How the positive intentions expressed by Pompallier, in the letter referred to, could deserve such a negative interpretation is difficult to ascertain.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ Pompallier, *A Few Letters...to the New Zealanders*, 1863.

French Reconnections

On a more positive note, a follow up media report of 2005, motivated by interest roused by the Hikoi, tells about an occasion that “set the scene for a poignant memory of Auckland’s pioneering Catholic Bishop Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier”.⁴⁶⁶ This report refers to further initiatives that have been undertaken concerning Bishop Pompallier, resulting in the renaming of a reserve in his honour. French ambassador Jean-Michel Marlaud was quoted in the Auckland report which described the unveiling of a plaque “renaming the tiny reserve on the corner of Pompallier Terrace... the Bishop Pompallier Reserve”.⁴⁶⁷ Marlaud described Pompallier as “a truly towering figure during the formative decades of modern New Zealand” and the report went on to say that Pompallier’s influence was still very much present in the landscape of modern Auckland.⁴⁶⁸ Although this occasion seemed to be largely a French-inspired affair, led by a New Zealand group of French people, the *Alliance Francaise*, nonetheless it was another demonstration of affection for Bishop Pompallier. It was another example of the original initiative taken by Maori causing a chain reaction by stimulating interest of others in Pompallier, including non-Maori at large. This positive response was encouraged by the activities of the Historic Places Trust, as well as French people both in France and New Zealand. Pompallier’s Northland “home” has attracted many French and European visitors from overseas as well as those domiciled in New Zealand, as has Pompallier House in Kerikeri.⁴⁶⁹

Pompallier’s ability to be a uniting force is also evidenced by the resurgence of French interest by New Zealanders, resulting in the number of journeys made to Paris, Puteaux and Lyons for consultation regarding the return of his remains, as well as the actual Hikoi itself. Furthermore,

⁴⁶⁶ Glenys Hopkins in *The Bay News*, May 2005 Volume 11 No. 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ This information was gained by personal visits to Motuti in 2004 and 2008 whereby a relationship was established with residents of the Marae and the surrounding area. This resulted in acceptance on Motuti and other maraes in the area.

the rekindling of French interest is demonstrated by reports in French media and shows an interest in New Zealand's culture past and present. For instance, gifts given to Pompallier by high ranking members of various island nations are discussed in a French publication *Missi* and declared to have "symbolic value of great significance".⁴⁷⁰ The report in this French Magazine goes on to say that "far from being incidental to the historic record, these objects have a significance which extends beyond their original use. They mark stages in his apostolic life, they witness to a meeting, a friendship, to a dialogue, and to the recognition of Maori tribes."⁴⁷¹ The report states that; "the chiefs of tribes, the princes and kings acknowledge by these gifts the mana of the Bishop and include it in *their respective genealogies* [emphasis added]."⁴⁷² These gifts, viewed in the light of friendship and respect, are concrete evidence of the impact Pompallier made which in turn became a force for unity. The fact of being included in the "respective genealogies" of the givers, as the French report says, is further indication of how Pompallier came to be remembered through the generations. Therefore the matter of making contacts with the New Zealand and French governments to gain various permissions for the return of a former foreign national (as in the case of Pompallier, even though he had acquired New Zealand citizenship) to New Zealand proved to be a unifying act. Efforts were made to renovate Pompallier's grave in France and the regular stream of visitors in more recent decades also proved that, *that* particular 'corner of a foreign field', as far as Maori was concerned, was somehow part of New Zealand. Pompallier in fact had dual citizenship.

French interest in Pompallier and his now permanent 'presence' at Motuti has continued and the former Vicar for Maori, Fr. Henare Tate is now resident there, guiding visitors to the Church where his remains are kept. The French Chaplain for Oceanians in Paris has kept in touch with

⁴⁷⁰ French publication *Missi Synthese* April-May-June 2003 No 82, p9 - under headings *Integration and Inculturation*. ACDA.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

him to assist with such visits. The demonstration of interest and even affection, by visiting Europeans from overseas and from within New Zealand, who have made the shrine now established at Motuti a place of pilgrimage, reinforces the contention of this thesis. These “pilgrims” have also brought Pompallier from relative obscurity into the limelight. Appreciation for the efforts he made for the Catholic faith in New Zealand are being demonstrated and included in this appreciation, as is recognition of the efforts of Maori, who have succeeded in achieving this broader acknowledgement of Pompallier.

More Unity

The current Bishop of Auckland, Patrick Dunn, who led the hikoi to bring Bishop Pompallier's remains back to New Zealand, conducted homilies in French and Maori, during the journey, thereby acting as a "linguistic bridge". He points out that the founder of the Catholic Church in this country proved himself to be "enlightened as a missionary" by the way he taught his followers by the analogy of the tree, having become aware of the Maori sense of genealogy.⁴⁷³ Bishop Dunn believes that Pompallier was drawing an analogy between the Maori lineage, whakaupapa and that of the Catholic Church. He pointed out that Pompallier appreciated that the "sturdy genealogy of Catholicism" would appeal to Maori.⁴⁷⁴ In defence of Pompallier's aristocratic bearing and way of behaving, Bishop Dunn offered the opinion that this was natural, due to his French lineage and connections. Bishop Dunn thought that this behaviour like a chief which Pompallier exhibited would resound with Maori chiefs, causing them to recognize a fellow chief and thus be attracted to listening to and accepting as true what he had to say.⁴⁷⁵ Bishop Dunn also expressed his sympathy for the burden of Pompallier's leadership, suggesting that consideration should be given to the trauma caused to Pompallier in adopting British citizenship. This was an example, he thought of his "burden of leadership", which other missionaries also followed by adopting British citizenship too.

Another prominent member of the 2002 Hikoi, the present Auckland Diocese Vicar for Maori, Fr Antony Brown, himself Maori, says that he too has much respect for the way in which the Maori sense of genealogy was utilized by Pompallier. Fr. Brown also believes he "made the ultimate sacrifice by becoming an English subject for the survival of his mission" and that Pompallier's

⁴⁷³ Though there were Catholic individuals in New Zealand at the time, their Catholicism could not be practiced properly without the Mass and the Sacraments – hence the desperate search for priests by some of them.

⁴⁷⁴ Personal interview with Auckland Bishop Dunn at Pompallier Centre 22nd April 2009, reported with permission.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

many burdens must have pressed in on him as he was “in the hot seat”, in New Zealand.⁴⁷⁶ Fr Brown expressed admiration for the way in which Pompallier made decisions “on the ground” bearing in mind that his whole mission was constantly “on the line”.⁴⁷⁷ He agreed that the Bishop was indeed a force for unity, in more ways than one.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Fr. Brown 4th July 2009, reported with permission.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

Summary

A crucial contention of this thesis is that Bishop John Baptiste Francois Pompallier never gave up on his mission to Maori, despite some appearances to the contrary, and that this fact was known and appreciated by his 'beloved Maori'. This caused his name to be remembered and revered by Maori through the generations. Proof of the contention is contained in his writings at the time and further evidenced by his dogged perseverance in pursuing the best interests of Maori from the beginning of his mission even to in his dying days. The second thesis that his mission to Maori did not fail, is inextricably entwined with the aforementioned contention, making a circular argument in that as Pompallier was revered through the generations, his mission to them did not fail, as it was kept alive by his memory.

The evidence of others also; fellow Missioners both Catholic and non-Catholic, priests, sisters, brothers and laymen, European and Maori, attests to the real success of Pompallier's Maori mission. In particular the evidence is sustained by Maori themselves, through the generations, even continuing their custom of naming a child after Pompallier. By demonstration and articulation of this reciprocated affection, it can be argued then that success is not solely measured by "numbers", as in census figures indicating attendance at, or active participation in religious services and activities, but by *retention* of authentic faith in both the "apostle" and his message. This is the reason Pompallier is named by a successor as the "Apostle of Oceania". Undoubtedly Pompallier's mission suffered to varying degrees during the period of his ministry in New Zealand and after it with loss of conversions, as well as incurring apathy on the part of Maori at certain difficult stages of the mission. Nonetheless the Maori bounded back in more ways than one and proved their faithfulness as a wealth of information regarding their increasingly active participation in the Catholic Church demonstrates. Thoughts, recorded by

successive Maori missionaries down through the decades, reveal a great depth of commitment both on their part as well as that of Maori Catholics. This is not to say though that the same commitment (to Pompallier or the Catholic faith) was shared by all Catholic New Zealanders, Maori or European.⁴⁷⁸

Thoughts uttered by those following Bishop Pompallier's Catholic leadership role in New Zealand seem particularly apt to consider in a summary. For example those of Archbishop Liston uttered (1938) only a relatively short time after Pompallier's death (sixty seven years later). He described Pompallier as "a soul of courage that reached out to distant lands and unknown peoples and a heart deeply in love with God and the Maori people and all men."⁴⁷⁹ This perception was echoed by Cardinal Williams and Auckland Bishop Dunn, in another millennium – with Dunn literally following "in the footsteps of Bishop Pompallier" by leading the Hikoi Tapu. Cardinal Williams affirmed Pompallier to be "one of the great missionaries of his century."⁴⁸⁰

Comprehension of *the sort of man* Pompallier truly was is vital in order to get an authentic picture of the nature of the Catholic French bishop and that of the mission. This "authentic picture", which has to be much more than a "snapshot" as it were, should reveal the fact that he was indeed, loved and lamented through the generations. Acquiring such a "picture" necessarily involves examination of as many reports as possible. These need to be oral and written, public

⁴⁷⁸ Records sighted through the decades, from around New Zealand, indicate this devotion to Maori. Eg addresses given at Christchurch by Fr. P Cleary 1963 *Maori Mission in New Zealand*, 1963 and similar in 1976. MAW. Fr. M. Caulfield *My Vision for Maori People in the Church in New Zealand*, 1980. MAW. M. W. Mulcahy, *Surprising Spread of Catholic Faith in Centre of New Zealand*. MAW. Catholic Maori Pastoral Care Plan, 1985, Te Kaupapa MO Te Iwi Maori Katorika 1988, 1991-1992.

⁴⁷⁹ Bishop McKeefry *Pompallier The Apostle of New Zealand His Life and Times*, (Auckland: CPC, 1938), p.65. In, Official Programme Catholic Centenary, 1938. ACDA

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

and private, handed down from eye witnesses as well as from those who researched; “patiently, quietly, persistently, in New Zealand and lands abroad, to the end that the full store of Pompallier may some day be written”.⁴⁸¹ The work of such a researcher, writing only fifty four years after the bishop’s death cause him to affirm that, “Mgr. Pompallier was in many respects an ideal missionary pioneer and bishop. His physical, mental and spiritual qualifications enabled him to accomplish wonders during his long episcopate of thirty years.”⁴⁸² Others make similar comments, some of which have been referred to earlier in this work. In a final analysis of literature on the matter though it can be argued that; ‘second guessing’ what Pompallier actually meant, causing a negative interpretation, may in turn have caused harm to his reputation - in the sense that such guessing led to misinterpretation. Whereas those who took his words literally affected more good; for instance consideration of “Pompallier’s legacy” necessarily includes the wealth of churches, built by Maori and still preserved and carefully maintained by them.⁴⁸³ As comparatively little has been written on Pompallier in any depth, comparisons of others’ opinions of him is difficult. Simmons’s biography presents more negative impression than that of Keys, although Keys is a much more comprehensive work. A presentation of negative and positive commentaries has been presented elsewhere with effort made to give a balanced picture of impressions, including discussion of perceived negative aspects of Pompallier’s character.

With these thoughts in mind balanced opinion, of Pompallier’s many statements and observations, relating to his own intentions, political situations and general ecclesiastical concerns, is essential in gaining a true picture of the man. It seems that in the eyes of some he

⁴⁸¹ Bishop McKeefry, *Pompallier The Apostle of New Zealand His Life and Times*, 1938. ACDA

⁴⁸² George O’Neill, “The Story of the Church in New Zealand” In *Studies An Irish Quarterly Review* (Melbourne: Linehan, March 1925), 69. MAW

⁴⁸³ There are many examples in the Far North of New Zealand, mostly attached to Maraes, but also are elsewhere in the country according to the Vicar for Maori – Fr. A. Brown. In this reference acknowledgement is made of the title of the article by Rory Sweetman – “Pompallier’s Legacy”, 2001.

was damned either way; on the one hand for not taking a more political stand on certain issues and on the other for even making the statement that his was not a political role.⁴⁸⁴ For this sort of reason, at the commemoration of the centenary of his mission in 1938, just seventy years after his departure, one commented that “not a little misrepresentation and much misunderstanding” had become attached to his name.⁴⁸⁵ In order to clarify such misunderstanding, clearer apprehension of Pompallier’s, thoughts, personality and trials can be gained from in depth study of his own numerous letters and other writings preserved by the Church. Insight into his commitments can be acquired from these writings, of which this early affirmation is an example: “I fear neither pillage, nor burning, nor death, providing that I can assist the flock confided to my care”.⁴⁸⁶ Obviously he was determined to pursue what he perceived to be his apostolic role as a bishop, following the example of the original Apostles.⁴⁸⁷ Hereby some shadows of St. Paul are revealed. Like the great voyager Paul, Pompallier similarly journeyed hither and thither, suffering some remarkably similar perils.

Pursuant to reports on Pompallier’s character, “documented proofs brought to light” are said to “have revealed a man of saintly qualities”.⁴⁸⁸ One may also see that he was “of the stuff of which old-time saints were made” and that in this respect, “time has begun to show us the man that he was”, suggesting that hindsight was needed to accord him the respect he truly deserved.⁴⁸⁹ To

⁴⁸⁴ Peter Low, “French Bishop, Maori Chiefs, British Treaty.” in Dunmore John Ed. *The French & the Maori* (Waikanae: Heritage, 1992). pp. 97-106.

⁴⁸⁵ McKeefry, *Pompallier*, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁶ These words uttered by Bishop Pompallier, when declining safe passage on the ship North Star at the time of Hone Heke’s rebellion, indicate his true motives for establishing his mission to Maori in New Zealand. They reveal, to some degree, the reasons why he remained revered and lamented for so long after his departure from New Zealand. [Quotation from *Pompallier the Apostle of New Zealand, His Life and Times*—official programme Catholic Centenary 1938]

⁴⁸⁷ Reference is made by a number of commentators that Pompallier did consider himself to be obliged to follow the example of others before him who ventured into territory not evangelized in a Catholic sense.

⁴⁸⁸ McKeefry, *Pompallier*, p. 65.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

all the critics of Jean Baptiste Pompallier, who concentrate on his human failings, it can be said that it is better to have tried an arduous mission, and failed to whatever degree, than never to have tried at all. His reported piety, perseverance and particular personality enabled him to cope and maybe go where so called wiser men would have feared to tread, considering the political and social conditions at the time. Suppression of, and to varying degrees hostility towards, the Church he represented, was still a reality, in Oceania as well as elsewhere with anti-Catholic opinion still apparent throughout England and further afield.⁴⁹⁰ Pompallier had to contend with many issues in relation to varying British authorities, however sympathetic to his person some members may have proven to be. His request for a promise of religious toleration was in no sense trivial being described as; the extraction “of a promise from Governor Hobson that *all* denominations would be given equal treatment and that the new administration would respect religious freedom” (first signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840).⁴⁹¹

Despite criticisms more positive impressions still endured of “the Prince of Bishops” through the decades since his death as already mentioned, continuing to this day. Another example is that of an artist’s simple 2005 rendition “of certain painterly situations in the missionary life of Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier”, providing a modern, sympathetic view of the man and his struggles.⁴⁹² The artist expressed sentiments, in a brief letter to “dear Bishop”, as an introduction to her work, which can be echoed by those who have studied him as the artist did. This artist declared that the bishop fired her imagination and that the more she observed the

⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly Cardinal Wiseman, even on his death bed, was still interested in the activities of the French bishops as recorded at the time. Ref. John Morris, *Cardinal Wiseman's Last Illness*. (London: Burns & Oates, 1865), pp. 24-25.

⁴⁹⁰ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p. 208.

⁴⁹¹ Sweetman, *Pompallier's Legacy*, p. 18.

⁴⁹² Piera Mc Arthur “*The Holy Ghost Among the Fantails*”, Auckland: Studio of Contemporary Art, 2005, p.1.

events of his life the brighter her vision grew and with it her perception of his difficult situations.⁴⁹³

The allegiance to his memory, on the part of Maori, can be described as extraordinary, in the sense that they have succeeded in keeping that memory so alive. The question could be asked as to where else in the Christian world has such devotion *continued* to be shown in likewise manner, to a local founder of the Church. Maori are best able to speak for themselves of course and they did so, loud and clearly by organizing and participating in the 2002 Hikoi. Scrutiny of reports made at the time of this “holy journey” demonstrates an almost tangible respect for the man Pompallier and his mission. When considering Pompallier as a “uniting force”, it is interesting to note his coat of arms, with a bridge in the centre, which somehow speaks volumes of unuttered intentions.⁴⁹⁴ The *raison d’être* for the Hikoi, culminating in a renewed interest in Bishop Pompallier generally, was a strong desire to bring back the remains of “someone special” whom Maori still revered. His grave had been visited on many occasions by them as well as other New Zealanders, through the decades. Thus the “bridge” between France and New Zealand continued to be utilized with New Zealanders, through the centuries again crossing the vast oceans.

Development of his particular mission, necessarily broadening to include Europeans, was likened to a crusade as it reflected the sort of man Pompallier was reported to be: member of the French aristocracy, ex- Dragoons officer, and devotee of the founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola. Consequently it is unsurprising that it is stated that “there was to the end of his life something of the soldier about him and he always had admiration for soldierly qualities.”⁴⁹⁵ It

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ People, working as ‘uniting forces’, building all sorts of essential ‘bridges’ in the sociological and religious senses, are still as necessary today as ever they were in Pompallier’s time.

⁴⁹⁵ Murphy Ellen Murphy, (Mission Sr. Simeon) *The Missionary Work of Bishop Pompallier* (Thesis Auckland University,

can also be affirmed that Pompallier grasped, relatively quickly, the foundational Maori concept of their unique understanding and respect for the sacredness of God, people and land. By respecting the importance of their rituals and urging patience, of his priests, brothers and religious, he earned their respect and love. Overall, the story of Bishop Pompallier's "return" is a poignant one with the "bridging" it achieved between New Zealand and France. Evidence of the French connection is still apparent as events of recent years demonstrate. The renaming of an Auckland Reserve to "Bishop Pompallier's Reserve" (2005) in his honour, is another example. On this occasion (in 2005) Pompallier was described as "a truly towering figure during the formative decades of modern New Zealand", with reference also made to his continued devotion, even to the end of his life.⁴⁹⁶

Today (2009) it would seem, more apprehension of who Pompallier was and what he stood for is abroad since the determined effort of Catholic Maori, (joined by their non-Catholic brethren both Maori and European) of the 2002 Hikoi. This ground breaking action of actually transporting the remains of a founder of the Catholic faith, with all the dignity, care, obvious affection and joy the Hikoi inspired, proved to be a uniting force which needs to be accredited to Maori. These final words, a favourite Maori saying, could be said to express the "raison d'être" for this unique effort. "E toru nga mea, nga mea nunui. E ki ana te Paipera Whakapono Tumanako. Me te mea nui Ko te Aroha - rough translation; "There are three main things the Bible tells us about, Faith, Hope and the main thing Love (caritas)."⁴⁹⁷

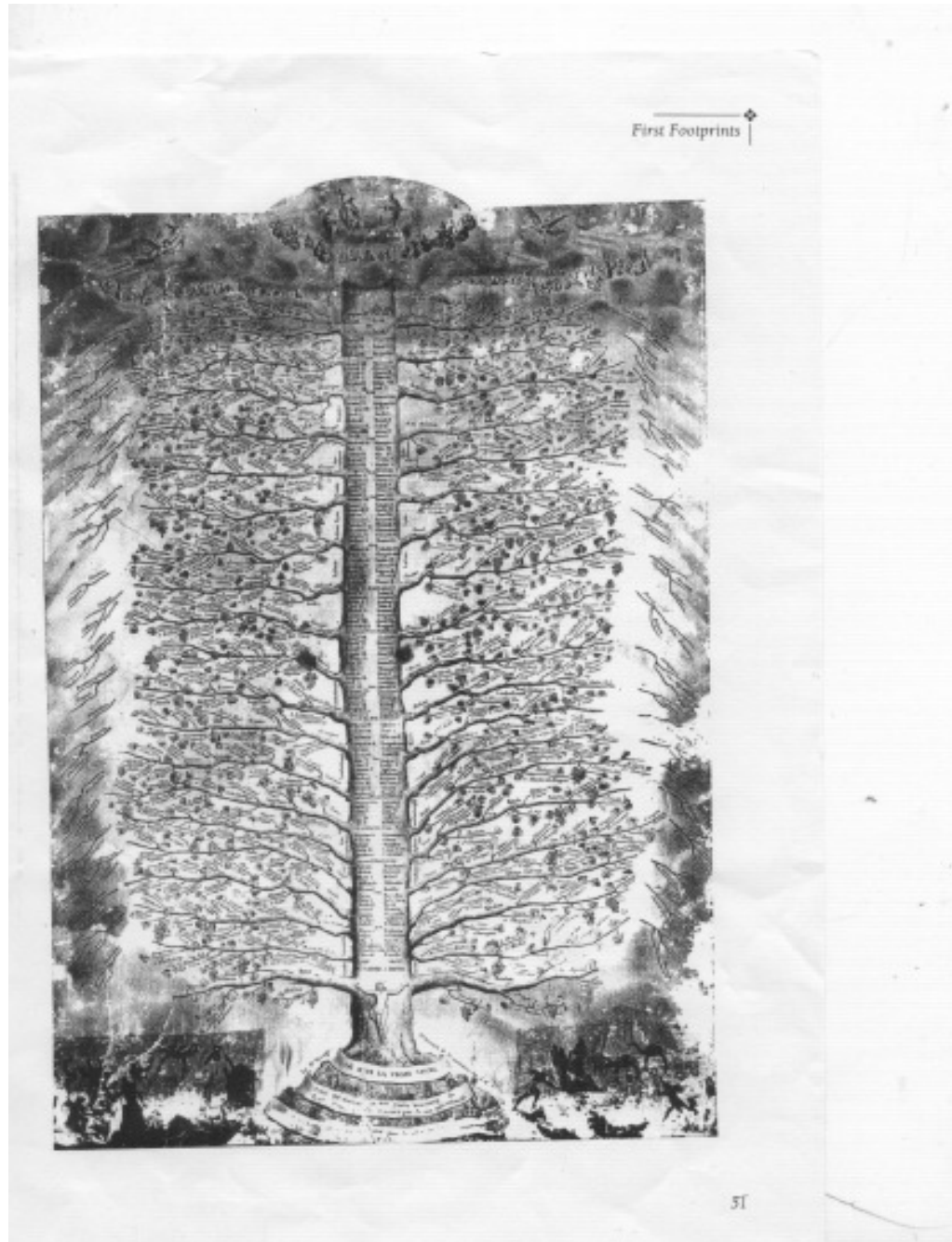
1931), p. 8. Copy held Catholic Institute of Theology, Newman Hall, Auckland. Thesis referred to by Fr Mulcahy SM Archivist Wellington when emphasizing importance of French explorers for the Catholic Church (handwritten notes MAW) cited 16/10/08. Ref. Fr. Mulcahy SM *The Church in New Zealand* (Marist Archives, Wellington, 1969). Photocopied 16/10/2008. Unpublished work.

⁴⁹⁶ Bishop Pompallier's Reserve, Ponsonby – Launch Friday, 8 April 2005 Speech Notes by Michael Lee.

www.alliancefrancais.org The report went on to say that "It is believed that during the siege,[of Paris] the Bishop used to write to his friends in Auckland using the famous balloon post used by the Parisians to communicate with the outside world", including New Zealand. Ibid.

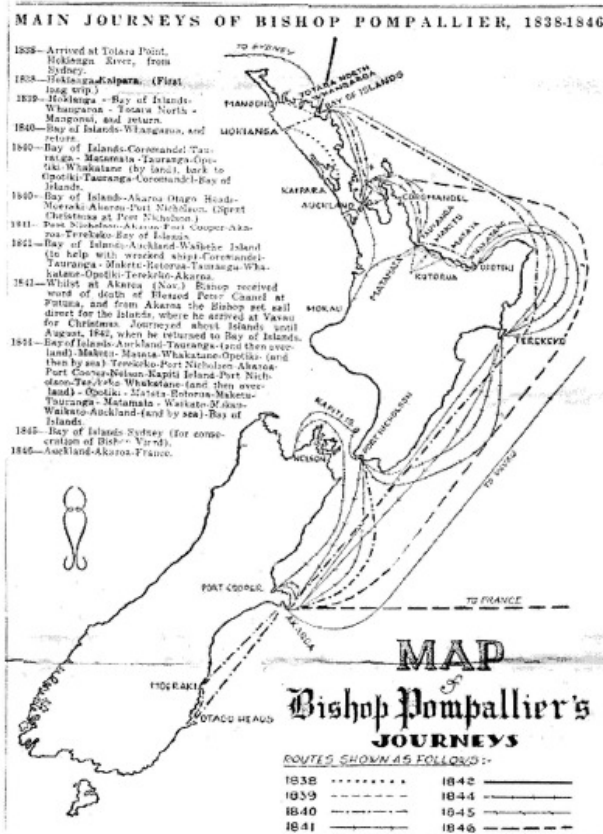
⁴⁹⁷ Ref. Saying obtained from Fr. M. Ryan MHM *Tamaki Maori Mission Te Unga Wak Kaitiaki*, Epsom, Auckland, 2005.

Appendix A: Bishop Pompallier's 'Tree of the Church'
(Copy from M. King. *God's Farthest Outpost*)



Appendix B: Main Journeys of Bishop Pompallier 1838-1846

(Copy of Map from L. Keys, Pompallier - information and Sancta Maria replica SM archives)



Sancta Maria



Appendix C1: Early lists of Society of Mary (Marists)

MARIST ARCHIVES
WELLINGTON N.Z.Society of Mary.1850Océanie

Mission de la Nouvelle Zélande.

124 M^r Piaré évêque d'Orthésie

125 Sen O. Baty M

126 Forest

127 Petit

128 Petitjean

129 Comte M

130 Perant M

131 Lion (Antoine)

132 Garin

133 Reignier

134 Lampila M

135 Deschamps M

136 Moreau

137 M. Agrest

Les ff Michel

Florentin

Elié Régis

Claude Marie

Dorville

Justin

Emery

Luc e Marc

Mission de l'Océanie centrale

138 M^r Dabatillon, évêque d'Enos.

139 Les O.P. Servant à Futuna

140 Gréel D.

141 Galary D.

142 Chevalier à Tonga

143 Calinson D.

144 Rouleau, aux fidi

145 Dithieret D.

146 Merisier, aux Wallis

147 Favier, Victor, à Rotuma

148 Verme

149 Mathieu, aux Wallis

150 Juvillon

151 Violette aux Samoa

152 Badel D.

153 Vachon D.

154 Mugner D.

3.

L.O.P. Mondon

155 L.O.P. Mondon

156 Les ff Joseph Luy à Futuna

Marie Nivier D.

Marie Augustin, aux Wallis

Joseph Muriaour D.

Jambou

Jean Reynaud à Tonga

Jacques Oelou aux Samoa

Pastor aux Samoa

Lucien, à Rotuma

Étaient en voyage, aux dernières nouvelles

157 Les O.P. Dubreuk

158 Diepleu

159 Derest

160 Sage

161 Michel

162 M. Fambouet

Les ff Louis Richelin

Charis

Sorlin

Mission de la Mélanésie

163 M^r Collomb, évêque d'Antiphras

164 Les O.P. Fremont

165 Willien

166 Montouzier à Woodlark

167 Thomasin D.

168 Crapenard D.

169 Ducretet

Les ff Gennade à Woodlark

Arthide

Optat

Mission de la N^{lle} Calédonie170 M^r Donarrie évêque d'Amato

171 Les jgs. Rougier à Amato

172 Chapuy D.

173 Roussier à N^{lle} Calédonie

174 Goujon D.

175 Chatel D.

176 Gagnière à Amato

Les ff aug. Leblanc D.

Prosper Nouet D.

Bertrand D.

Appendix C2: Early lists of Society of Mary (Marists)

[illegible]

	Londres.	
	Albert-place, 8, Spitalfields.	
PR. Chauvain, Etienne	Leforestier.	Faure.
Ecuyer.	Pons.	—
Gautherin.	Crouzet.	—
—	Roufort.	P. Colomb.
L'Ermilage (Loire.)	Par St-Chamond.	
PP. Matricon.	De la Lande.	—
La Négude (Ardèche).	Par Aubenas :	P. Besson, Claude.
Salat-Pey-les-Lyon,	P. Favier, Claude.	—
—	Rome	P. Nicolle.
MESSEURS DE L'OUVRIERE.		
Procureur A. Sidney (Australie.)		
PP. Toupinel, v. g.	Rocher.	Trapenard.
Nouvelle-Zélande (Dunedin, de Wellington)		
Mgr. Viard.	Petit-jean.	Reignier.
PP. Forest.	Pezant.	Lampila.
Besson, Antoine.	Garin-Antoin.	Morcad.
Océanie Centrale.		
Mgr. Bataillon.	Dobreuil.	Monier.
PP. Servant.	Merials.	Joly.
Chevron.	Padel.	Eilloy.
Callon.	Verne.	Farre, Laurent.
Bréhéret.	Mondou, Hipp.	Bochetaz.
Favier, J. Vict.	Ducrétet.	Schall.
Grezel.	Piéplu.	Breton.
Jumillon.	Dezes.	Guitta, Pierre.
Violette.	Sage.	Garnier.
Rouilleux.	Michel.	Castagnier.
Nouvelle-Calédonie.		
R. P. Rougeyron, P. A.	Chapuy.	Forestier.
PR. Frémont.	Goujon.	Villard.
Montrouzier.	Palazy, Franc.	Lambert.
Thomassin.	Gagoiere.	Barriol.
Vachon.	Vigouroux.	Bernard.
N. B. — Cette liste ne devra être communiquée qu'aux Pères de la Société.		

Appendix D1: List of Marist Missionaries on the 'Maori' Mission in N.Z.**List of Marist Missionaries on the 'Maori' Mission in N.Z.****From 1850 onwards...**

1850 - 5 Priests 'Full Time' Maori Missioners in Various Mission Stations in the North & South Islands, together with 9 Priests in Parishes and 9 Brothers assisting in various Stations.

Maori Missioners:- Baty Kororareka. Comte & Pezant Otaki. Lampila Hawkes Bay. Bernard Whanganui River,

Wellington Diocese established in 1850.**Priests and Brothers of The Society of Mary move south from Auckland.**

They are stationed in all the existing Parishes which have been established and continue to open new Parishes . Some are stationed in existing Maori Missions Stations such as in Wanganui, Taranaki and Hawkes Bay. In some areas there is a nominated Maori Mission Priest and there are others who attend to the non Maori population.

**1856 - 57 2 Priests on Maori Missions, Pezant Whanganui/Taranaki.
Reignier Hawkes Bay.
8 " in Parishes.**

**1858 - 59 1 Pezant Taranaki.
11 Priests In Parishes.**

**1860 2 Pezant Taranaki. Lampila Kauaeroa
11 in Parishes.**

**1861 – 65 1 Lampila. Kauaeroa.
11 in Parishes.**

Appendix D2: List of Marist Missionaries on the 'Maori' Mission in N.Z.

2

1866 – 68 1 Seon Hutt Valley/Wairarapa. (1862-68)

18 in Parishes.

1869 - During the next ten years, there are some 20 or more Priests in Parishes where there are known local Maori Communities visited by Marist Priests i.e. Hutt Valley, Wanganui, Whanganui River, Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, Otaki, .

In the Other Parishes :- Wellington City, Napier, Nelson, Blenheim, Christchurch, Dunedin, Tuapeka, Invercargill, Hokitika , there are few local Maori living locally within the parish boundaries.

1870	21	“	“	“	“	“	“
1872	24						
1873	24						
1874	25						
1875	25						
1876	28						
1877	32						
1878	31						

The above continues with a new listing of Priests beginning to be officially described as Maori Missioners full time . They arrived from France between 1879 and 1912, keen to work with the Maori people

1879 -1882	<u>Soulas</u> Pakipaki H.Bay Maori Mission.
1883 – 1903	Soulas Whanganui “
1903 – 1920	Soulas Taranaki. “

Marists Mission to The Maori Officially Listed.
As from 1888.

At Hiruharama (Jerusalem, Whanganui River)
Te Pakipaki (Near Hastings Hawkes bay).
Wairoa Northen Hawkes bay.
Turakina (Manawatu district)
Otaki - And the South Island.

Appendix D3: List of Marist Missionaries on the 'Maori' Mission in N.Z.

3

1884 Melu Whanganui,(Jerusalem Wan.River.)

1885 -1934 “ Turakina & then Otaki.

This Priest, while stationed in Otaki , travelled widely and was responsible for building between 14 and 17 'Maori Mission Churches' in both the North and South Islands. Other local non-Maori Catholics also attended Masses etc.

Diocese of Christchurch founded 1887.

1887 -89	<u>Cognet</u> , Jerusalem.
1890 – 94	‘ Otaki.
1894 -95	‘ Wellington
1896 -1903	‘ Okato
1903 – 08	‘ Opunaki
1908 – 12	Otaki.

1885	‘Le Pretre Jerusalem.
1886-1893	‘ Pakipaki.
1894 – 1933	‘ Wairoa & Parish.

1891 Melu,Broussard, Otaki.

1892 - 1897	Maillard Whanganui River
1898 – 1904	Otaki
1904 - 1909	Whanganui River
1909 – 1913	Raetihi
1914 – 1920	Otaki

This pattern of staffing Maori Missions continued for many years until 1939 when a new outreach to Taranaki at Okato and other Maori Missions began with New Zealand born Marist Priests, Frs.Gus Venning, James Riordan, James Durning and Francis Wall and others.The Maori Mission apostolate had been largely left to efforts of The Society of Mary in the Wellington & South Island Dioceses.

One example of a Maori Mission Station at this period in history is at Otaki . See a summary provided.

Appendix D4: List of Marist Missionaries on the 'Maori' Mission in N.Z.

†

**6 Priests fulltime..Maori Mission Stations at Otaki, Jerusalem, Wairoa,
Okato, Hawkes Bay, Wellington, South Island.**

1930 -1946	6 Priests as above.	
1947		
1948 - 1951	8 Priests..	<i>Hato Paora College founded - 6 of 8 priests on the staff.</i>
1952 – 1958	6 Priests.	
1959 – 1964	10 Priests	
1965 -	11 Priests.	
1966 – 68	10.	
1969- 70	12.	
1971 – 73	11	
1974 -75	12	
1976 -	14	
1977 -	13	
1978 -	12	
1980 - 85	15	
1986 -	12	
1988 -	9. Includes Nth.Auckland (2)	
1990 -96	7	
1998 -	4	All Parishes provide occasional mass in Maori from this date onwards..
2002-	3	Northland /Mission & local Parishes.
2004-	5.	Includes Te Puna & Te Awamutu “ “
2006 – 08	5	Includes Taumarunui. “ “

Appendix E1: Otaki/Pukekaraka Time Line

MARIST ARCHIVES
WELLINGTON N.Z.

OTAKI / PUKEKARAKA TIME LINE

- 1844** Fr Comte SM arrived in Otaki and made it his Headquarters. His territory covered the Manawatu, Wanganui and the Wairarapa.
He built a church and a house on the hill top.
He built water mills, a timber mill, a rope walk, oxen and ploughs and a shop.
He also taught a school of 40 pupils (more girls than boys).
- 1854** Fr Comte SM went back to France
- 1856-1885** 'The Messy Period'
Hard economic times. Epidemics of disease
Only periodic visits by Marist priests travelling up the coast:
Fr Petitjean SM (1854 -1867)
Fr Seon SM and Fr Maillard SM (1865)
Fr Pertuis SM
Fr Moreau SM (1871)
- 1856** The church burnt down
- 1858** Fr Seon SM collected \$ for new church but not fully completed for 30 years
- 1860's** Land Wars, Kingite movement, Pai Marire, Disease and lack of instruction all lead to a diminished flock.
- 1880-1916** 18 Churches were built in the region at Maori request (Ta Melu)
- 1885 Onwards** Fr. Melu SM arrived and started a huge revival. Apart from the old Church and school, all buildings were built in his 50 year time
- 1887** Onwards there were large hui of Maori held at Otaki every few years
- 1893** Fr. Delachienne SM arrived formed a great team with Melu
- 1897** Presbytery and Convent built
- 1901** Congregation was too big for church so it was expanded
- 1904** 'Roma' Meeting House built
- 1905** 'Hine Nui O Te Katoa' Meeting House built
- 1909-1917 & 1923-1928** 'Whare Kura'- the Catholic Maori quarterly magazine published at Otaki.
- 1914 -1918** The Great War
- 1918** The Influenza Epiemic
- Post 1918** Growing influence of the Ratana Church led to a fall off of followers

2.

- 1917** New Zealand born Maori Missionary Fr Gus Venning SM appointed
- 1925** Fr. James More—O'Ferrall SM, first non-French Parish Priest appointed to Otaki
- 1926 – 1936** Fr Jim Riordan SM Maori Missionary based at Otaki
- 1936-1951** Fr. Gus Venning SM Maori Missionary based at Otaki
- 1940** Major welcome for the Apostolic Delegate
- 1974** 130th Jubilee Celebrations of St Mary's Parish
- 1994** 150th Jubilee Celebrations of St Mary's Parish
- 2002** Remains of Bishop Pompallier visited Otaki
- 2006** Centenary of the Meeting Houses ' Roma ' and ' Hine Nui O Te Katoa '

HATO PAORA COLLEGE FEILDING.

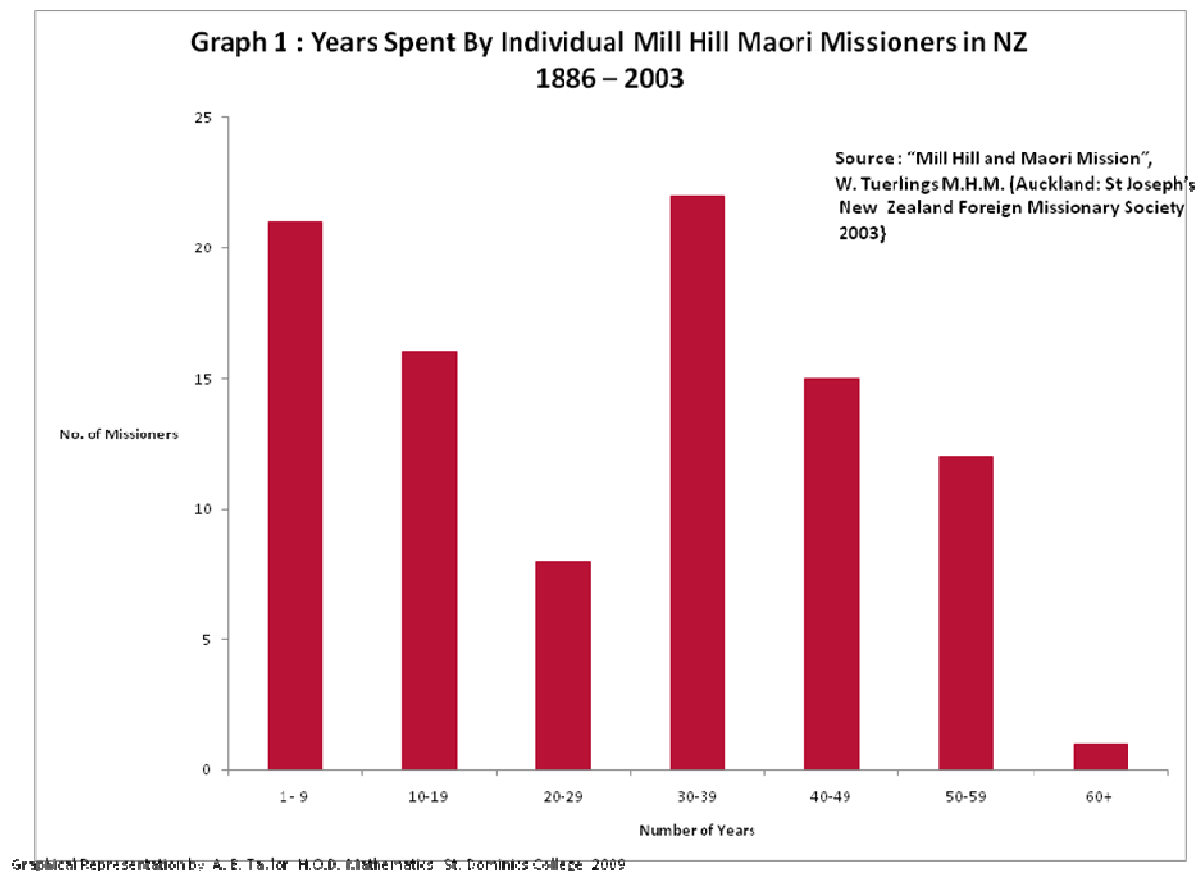
This Boarding College for Maori Boys was opened in October 1947 and has provided Secondary Education since that date.

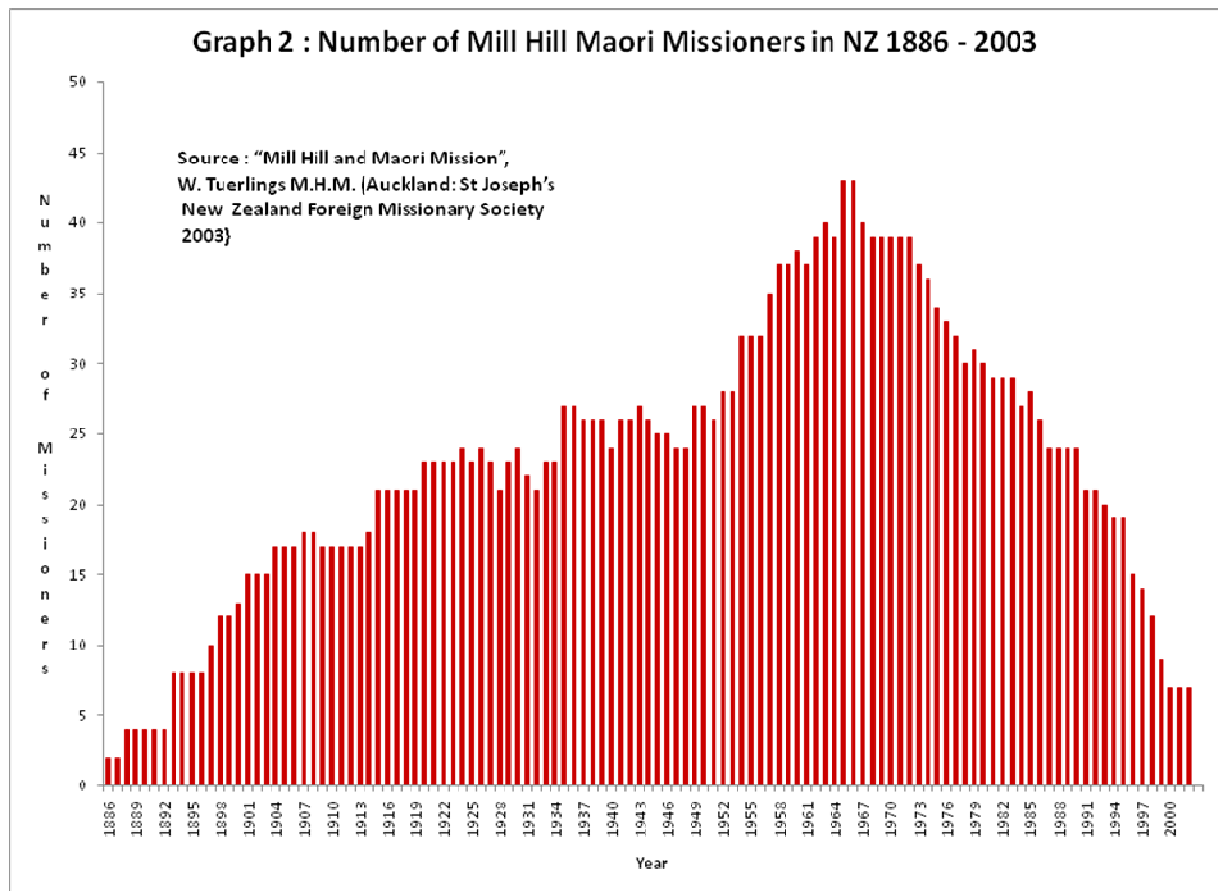
From the beginning the staff was made up of Priests and Brothers of The Society of Mary as a special outreach to the Maori People of New Zealand.

The staff grew from some five Priests and Brothers up to eight and then began to include non- Priests until they took over altogether .

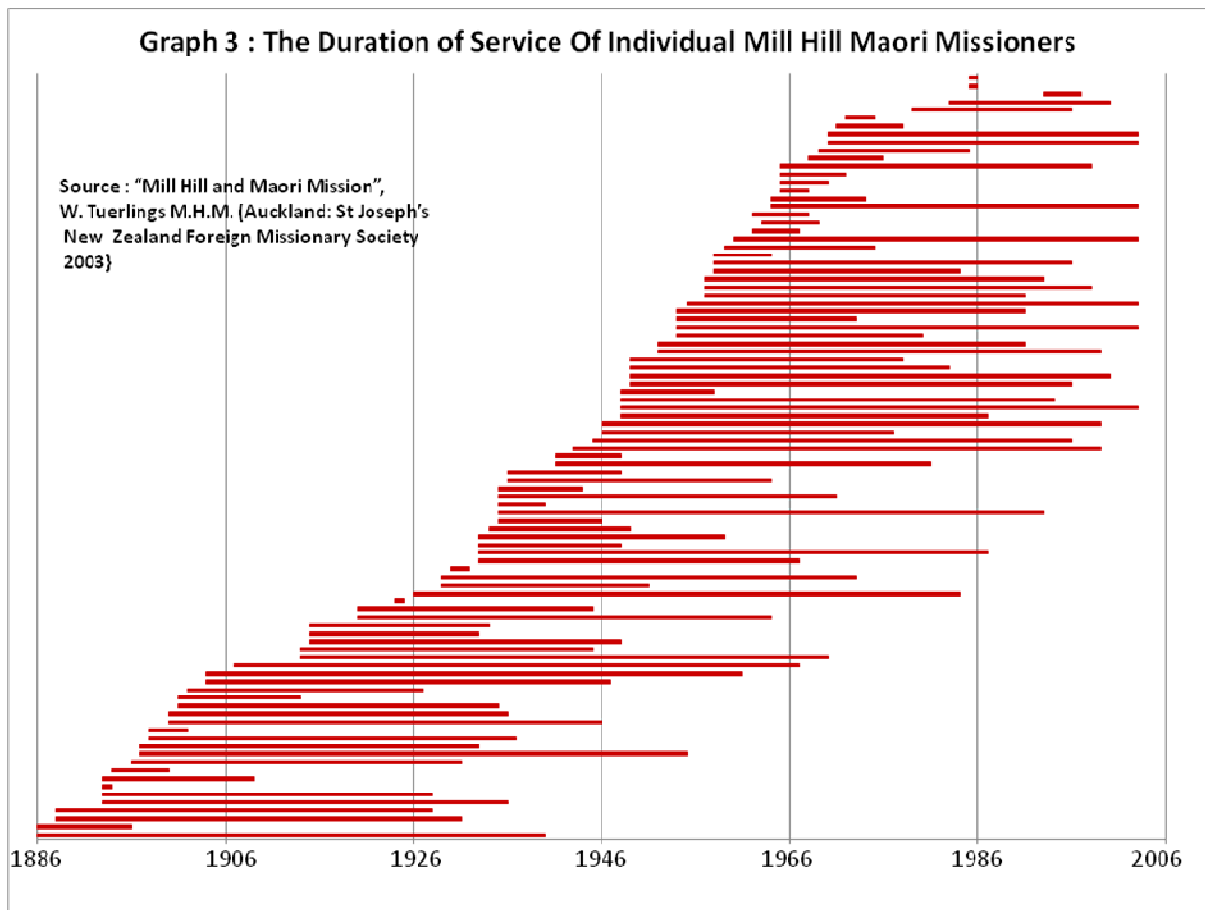
In recent years since the Priests and Brothers retired, , a local Marist Priest from the Feilding Parish has been a Chaplain so the Marist still have a connection with the College.

Appendix F Graphs of Mill Hill Fathers on Maori Mission 1 – 3



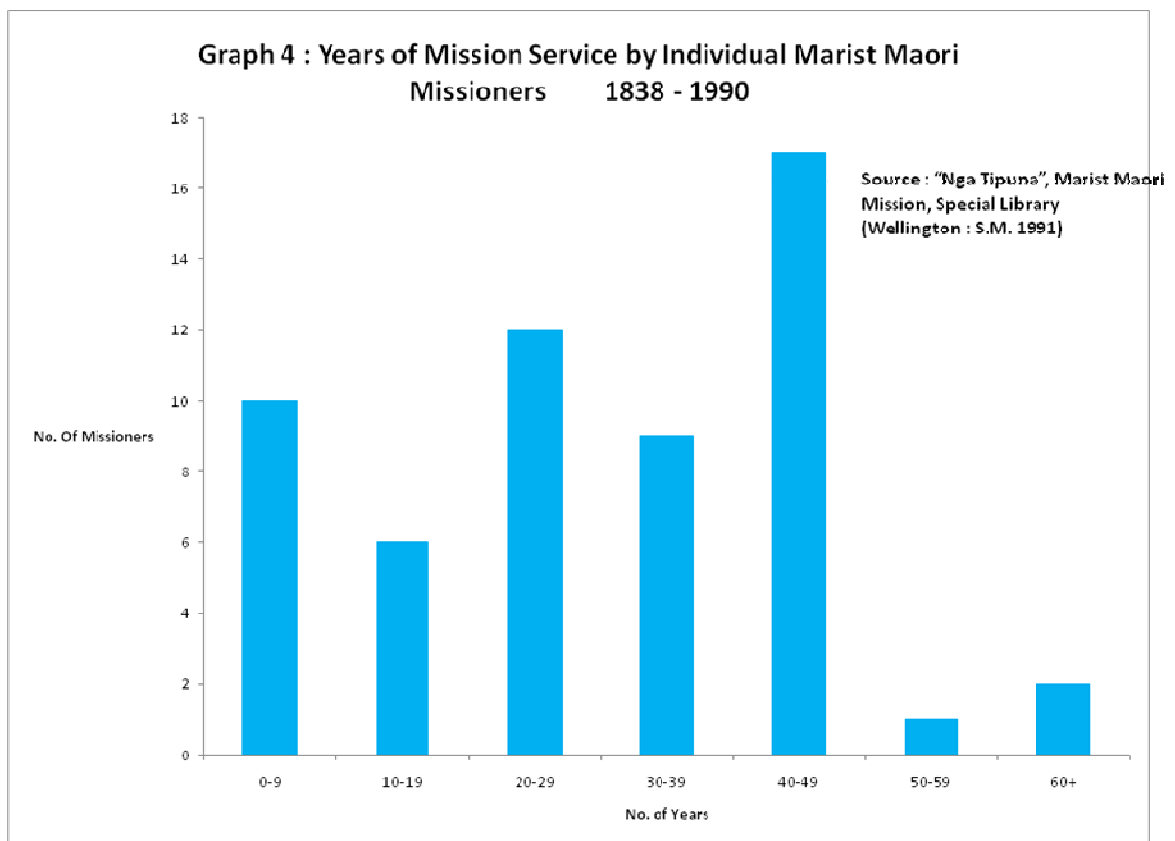


Graphical representation by A. B. Taylor, HOD Mathematics, St Dominic's College

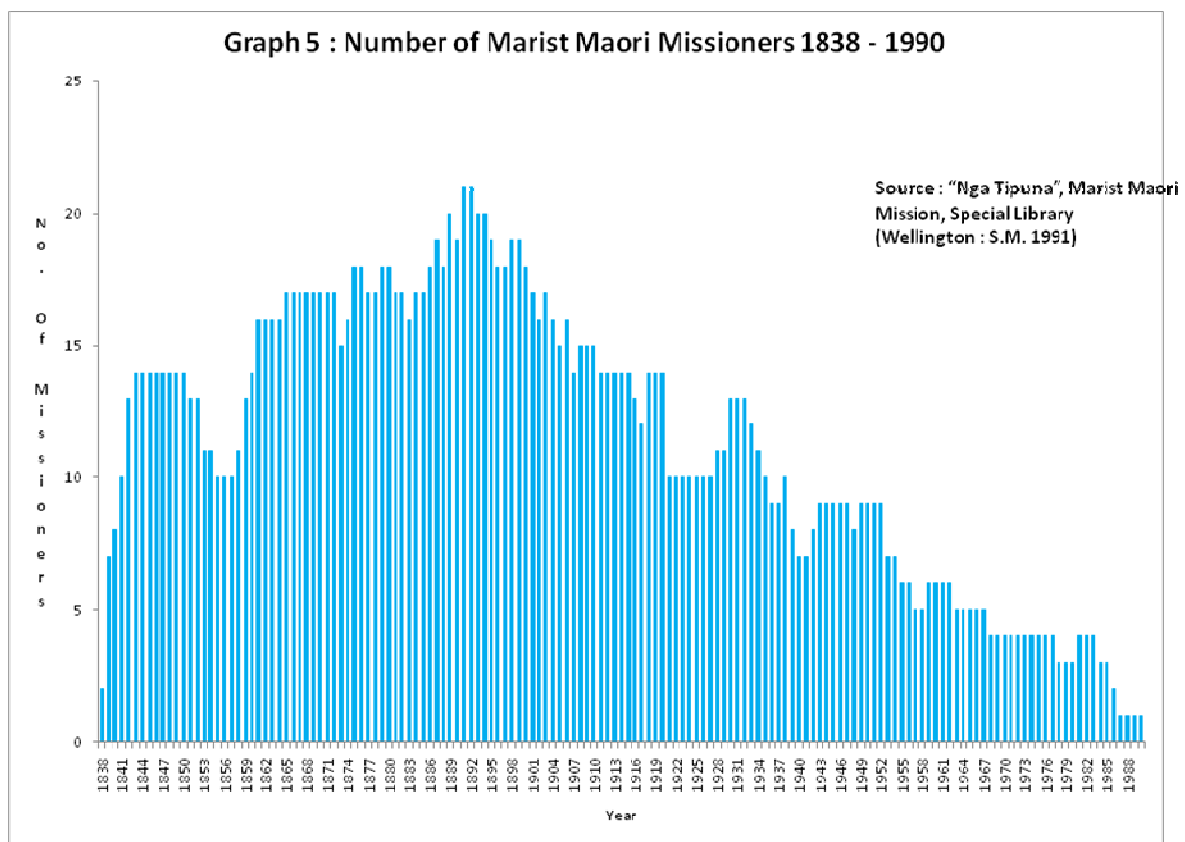


Graphical representation by A. B. Taylor, HOD Mathematics, St Dominic's College

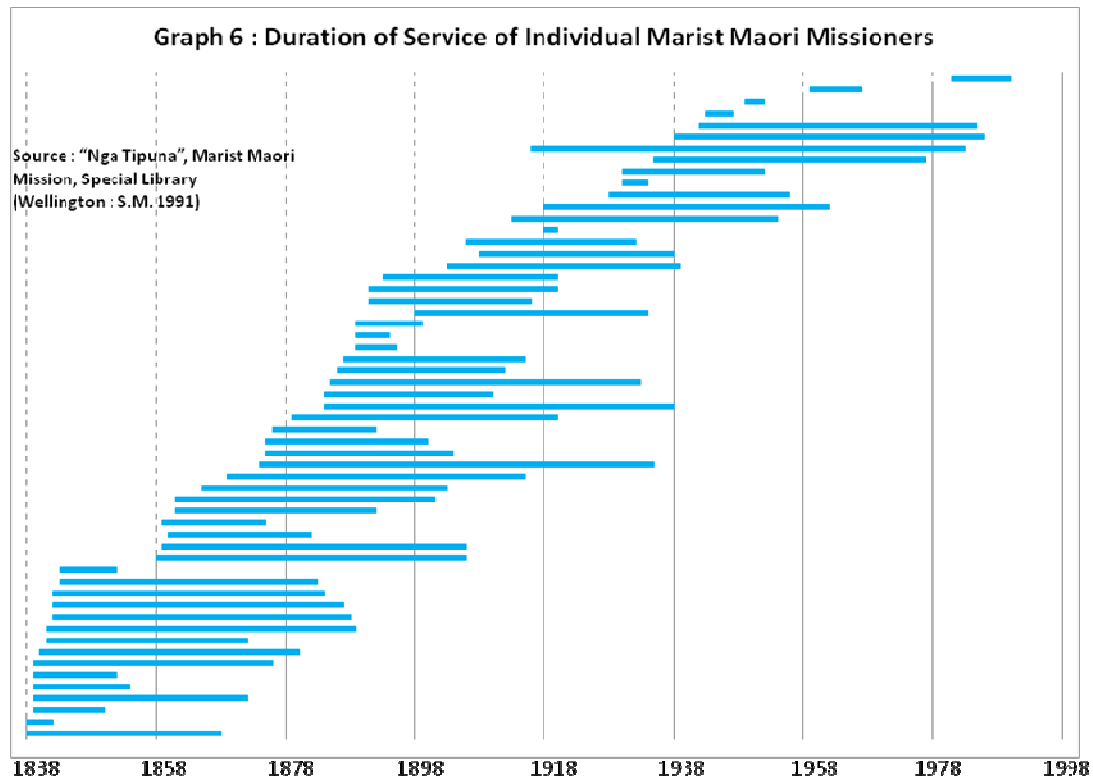
Appendix G Graphs of Marists on Maori Mission 4 - 7



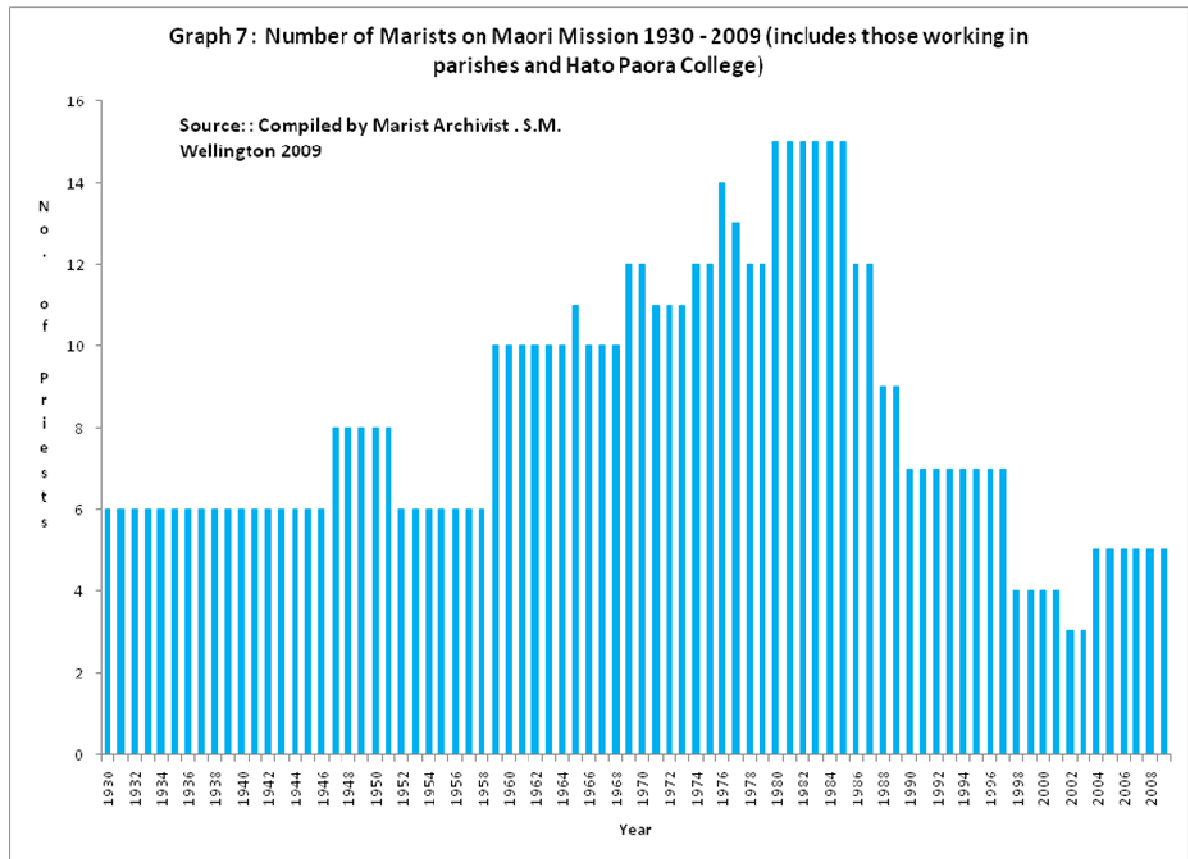
Graphical Representation by A. B. Taylor H.O.D. Mathematics St. Dominics College 2009



Graphical Representation by: A. B. Taylor M.O.D. Rotorua, St. Dominic's College, 2009



Graphical Representation by A. B. Taylor H.O.D. Mathematics St. Dominics College 2009



Graphical Representation by A. B. Taylor, M.O.D. Mathematics St. Dominics College, 2009

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