

The Planned Society of Mary in 1817

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The bicentenary of the Fourvière pledge has highlighted the importance of the year 1816 in the history of the Society of Mary. What about the following year? True, the Marist Brothers consider their foundation date to be 2 January 1817, the date when Marcellin Champagnat brought together at Lavalla his first two recruits, Jean-Marie Granjon and Jean-Baptiste Audras. However, no such dated event marks the history of the priests or of the sisters. Yet, it is an important year, probably the one when Jean-Claude Colin began putting down in writing the ideas that will later become the rule of the Society, and also the one when Pierre Colin called to join him in Cerdon two young women whom he had known in Coutouvre, Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn and Marie Jotillon. The two most recent biographers of Jean-Claude Colin, Donal Kerr and Justin Taylor, each devote several pages to the Cerdon years (1816-1825). By limiting ourselves to the one year 1817, we cover ground that has already been explored, but perhaps the exercise will enable us to take a fresh look at it.

I. The Year 1817 in France and in Lyon

Let us first evoke the framework within which the activities of the signatories of the pledge of 23 July 1816 will take place. At the beginning of his novel *Les misérables*, Victor Hugo entitles one chapter: "The Year 1817", the first sentence of which reads: "The year 1817 is the year that Louis XVIII, with a certain royal cheek not devoid of pride, called the twenty-second year of his reign". Louis XVIII thus claimed to succeed Louis XVII, relegating to oblivion the first Republic and Napoleon, twenty years of the history of France. One symbol of this willful oblivion was the appointment as captain of the frigate *La Méduse* of a fervent royalist, Chaumareys, who provoked the loss of his ship and abandoned his passengers. His trial took place at the beginning of 1817; he spent three months in jail. On 18 January, we read in the journal *L'Ami de la religion et du Roi*: "The shipwrecked of *La Méduse* are in the camp of Dacca".¹

The year 1816 had already been a catastrophic year throughout the world, as a result of the eruption of the Tambora volcano in Indonesia in April 1815. Throughout 1817, *L'Ami de la religion* often refers to disturbances linked to the failed crops. On 25 January, after announcing that there are sixteen religious at the Grande Chartreuse and that many are wanting to join them, the newspaper adds: "no more can be received at this time because of the failed crops". In April, May, and June, wheat bought in Morocco and in Russia arrived either at Calais or Marseille.² The shortage caused the price of bread to rise. Some people hoarded the wheat to increase their profit, but they were fooled as the crops promised to be good and the prices fell.³

The price of bread was not the main factor in the incidents that took place in Lyon and the surroundings on 8 June, but it acted as a trigger. These incidents were hardly mentioned in *L'Ami de la religion*: in the issue of 25 June, we can read: "Wheat came down at all the large markets. Peace is back again in all the places where it had been momentarily disturbed". The next paragraph announced: "The Lyon provost court⁴ condemned to death, on the 19th, the man called Valençot, the leader of the uprising of Trévoux, who was executed, on the 20th, in Trévoux itself"

¹ Perhaps this refers to Paulin d'Anglas de Praviel, an officer who, having left *La Méduse* in a boat, "decided to reach the coast and then to walk to Saint-Louis. He managed by following the shore at the cost of cruel suffering. Paulin d'Anglas, who led the soldiers, caught yellow fever at the camp of Dakar" (<http://www.gerard-verhoest.com/meduse.htm>).

² 2 April (n. 276, p. 238-239); 3 May (n. 285, p. 383); 4 June (n. 294, p. 108); 28 June (n. 301, p. 225).

³ 7 June (n. 295, p.125-126); 11 June (n. 296, p. 143); 14 June (n. 297, p. 157); 2 July (n. 302, p. 239): "Greedy men who had speculated on the rising price of grains were victims of their guilty maneuvers. Several were ruined as prices fell suddenly, and some, it is said, took their own lives"; 15 November (n. 341, p. 29): two bakers from Strasbourg were condemned to two months in prison for having caused the price of grains to rise at the market.

⁴ "A criminal tribunal set up temporarily and whose sentences cannot be appealed. More particularly, an exceptional jurisdiction set up at the time of the Restoration, in 1815, to judge summarily political offenses" (<https://www.notrefamille.com/dictionnaire/definition/prevotal/#LJvuQIPUCBq5AhtT.99>).

(n. 300, p. 205). As a matter of fact, the troubles were real but sporadic, and they affected mostly the surroundings of Lyon. The fear of a plot in favor of Bonaparte or of the Republic triggered a pitiless repression: guillotine, deportation, and forced labor.⁵

In his chapter on the year 1817, Hugo also mentions the appointment of Bishop de Pins as Archbishop of Lyon, to replace Cardinal Fesch, who was Napoleon's uncle. This, however, is an error, for the person concerned was rather Bishop de Bernis, who, in any case, did not come to Lyon, since the see remained vacant until 1822. All along 1817, negotiations took place between the French government and the Holy See to draft a concordat meant to replace that of 1801. Among other items, it was necessary to define the boundaries of dioceses before appointing bishops. The diocese of Lyon was thus deprived of the territory of the diocese of Belley. Although he was exiled to Rome since 1815, Cardinal Fesch took an interest in the fate of his diocese. On 10 August, he wrote to the pope to protest against the new boundaries (OM 1, p. 89). On 1 October, the pope deprived him of all jurisdiction in his diocese. Three vicars general (Joseph Courbon, Gaspard Renaud, and Claude-Marie Bochart) had already been governing the diocese since 1808, under Fesch until the latter's exile, and practically on their own until 1824. Thus, in 1817, the Marist aspirants were dealing with the vicars general. As a matter of fact, they dealt with Courbon and Bochart, since Renaud kept in the background.

II. The Marist Aspirants and the Fourvière Pledge

What became of the Marist aspirants? They were hoping to regroup at Le Puy, but they were dispersed throughout the diocese. Déclas recalled: "After we were ordained, we were all dispersed, some at one place, others at another" (OM, doc. 551, § 5). On 1 January 1817, which ones were still interested in the Marist enterprise? Let us start with the list found in OM 4, p. 175, namely: Jean-Claude Courveille, then, in alphabetical order, Champagnat, Charles, Jean-Claude Colin, Déclas, Gillibert, Jacob, Janvier, Mottin, Orsel, Jean-Pierre Perrault-Mainand, Pousset, Seyve, Terrailon, and Verrier.

Already on 28 September 1816, Philippe Janvier received permission to leave the diocese of Lyon to go to Louisiana (OM, doc. 54, lines 14-16). Pierre Pousset and Joseph Verrier, who were still seminarians, were both teaching at the minor seminary of Verrières, and therefore were probably already under the influence of Bochart. For the time being, let us set aside Courveille and the four who became Marists (Champagnat, Colin, Déclas, Terrailon). That leaves Charles, Gillibert, Mottin, Orsel, Perrault-Mainand, and Seyve. Déclas drew Maurice Charles, Jean-Antoine Gillibert et Thomas Jacob toward the Marist enterprise.

At the beginning of 1817, Charles was parish priest at Belmont, Déclas's native parish; Gillibert taught at the minor seminary of L'Argentière; and Jacob was spending three months at the major seminary of St Irenaeus, in the course of which he was ordained deacon on 16 December 1816. Also at St Irenaeus were François-Xavier Mottin, in the third year of theology; Pierre Orsel, in the first year; and Jean-Pierre Perrault-Mainand in the fourth. Jean-Baptiste Seyve was a curate at Tarentaise, right next to Lavalla.

Which of those still took an interest in the Marist project at the beginning of 1817? Apparently, Gillibert (OM, doc. 862, § 1) and Jacob (OM, doc. 75, § 14) were the only ones. Mottin, Orsel and Perrault-Mainand were still at the seminary at the beginning of 1817, and we know nothing as to whether they still took an interest in the Marist project five months after they had signed the Fourvière pledge. As for Seyve, he seems to have kept contact with Champagnat.

Back to Courveille and the four signatories who became Marists. All were curates: Jean-Claude Courveille at Verrières, Étienne Déclas at Saint-Ignyde-Vers, Marcellin Champagnat at

⁵ See Nicolas Bourguinat, « La ville, la haute police et la peur : Lyon entre le complot des subsistances et les manœuvres politiques en 1816-1817 », *Histoire urbaine*, 2000/2 (n° 2), p. 131-147. DOI : 10.3917/rhu.002.0131. URL : <https://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-urbaine-2000-2-page-131.htm>. Nicolas Boisson, Une approche socio-historique de la violence au XIX^{ème} siècle: le cas d'une conspiration à Lyon en 1817: https://www.memoireonline.com/06/12/5990/m_Une-approche-socio-historique-de-la-violence-au-XIXeme-siecle-le-cas-dune-conspiration--Lyon14.html.

Lavalla, Étienne Terrailon at Firminy, Jean-Claude Colin at Cerdon. Let us also mention, at Coutouvre, Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn and Marie Jotillon. There they had known Pierre Colin, who was now parish priest at Cerdon. Déclas evokes in a general way a climate which probably applies to the year 1817: “We wrote to each other, we visited occasionally, we even recruited a few proselytes” (OM, doc. 591, § 10).

Until August 1817, Courveille was a curate at Verrières, where the vicar general Bochart was hoping to win him over to his plan for a Society of the Cross of Jesus (OM, doc. 750, § 7). However, Courveille had launched the idea of a Society of Mary, and he was determined not only to stick to that enterprise but also to remain at the head of it. In December 1816 and January 1817, he added to his title of curate that of Marist, and beginning in 1822, that of Superior General. Déclas recalled: “He wanted to be superior, the head of an Order” (OM 2, doc. 551, § 12; OM 4, p. 519-520). At Verrières, he attempted to transform into a Third Order of Mariists an Association of the Holy Family which had been founded by his parish priest (OM, doc. 105, § 1). When he was transferred to Rive-de-Gier, in August 1817, he found there a group of young women teachers which had been formed under the impulse of the parish priest Lancelot (OM, doc. 55-56) and he made it his business to direct at least some of them toward the Society of Mary (OM, doc. 871, § 4). Jeantin also noted: “Up to 1817 or 18, Father Colin corresponded with Mr Courveille; the latter wrote to him to ask for money and to recommend that he recognize his dignity”. “When writing to Father Colin in 1817 or 18, Mr Courveille spoke of revelations; for instance, he said that Louis XVII would be a great Marist, that the Blessed Virgin would give him all the power she enjoys” (OM, doc. 839, § 12, 43).

The date 2 January 1817 is written in the register of perpetual vows of the Little Brothers of Mary: on that day, Jean-Marie Granjon and Jean-Baptiste Audras were received as postulants and settled in a house that Marcellin Champagnat had rented from Jean-Baptiste Bonner and that he and Jean-Claude Courveille bought on 1 October of the same year (OM, doc. 57). While it is considered to be the foundation date of the institute, the date 2 January is nonetheless part of a series of events that preceded it and that were to follow it. As a matter of fact, not only had Marcellin Champagnat contacted Granjon on 6 October 1816 (OM, doc. 754, § 1), but the very idea of founding a congregation of teaching brothers had come to him before he entered the major seminary (OM, doc. 755, § 1), and he decided to work at it because of the mandate he received from his companions during the conversations that preceded the Fourvière pledge (OM, doc. 754, § 1). At the same time, Champagnat always considered the brothers to be a branch of the Society of Mary. Hence his declaration in 1837: “I hand over purely and simply into the hands of the Superior General of the Society of Mary the branch of the Marist Brothers which had been entrusted to me in 1816” (OM, doc. 416, § 1).⁶

When Champagnat founded the brothers, he was responding to a local need. He was probably not aware of a debate which divided France into partisans or enemies of the Lancaster schools. This English educator promoted mutual teaching, where a more gifted student teaches others under the supervision of an adult. Already on 1 January 1817, *L'Ami de la religion* mentioned these schools in connection with a work set up in favor of the young Savoyards (children from Savoy who were employed to sweep chimneys): “nobody considered sending them to Lancaster schools” (p. 229). These schools were quickly perceived as hostile to religion. Jean-Marie de Lamennais, who was then vicar general at Saint-Brieuc, declared war on them.⁷ Champagnat simply entrusted his recruits “to a former Brother of Christian Schools who had perfect knowledge of the simultaneous method” (Zind, p. 126).

Among the activities taking place in 1817 and which may have to do with the Marist enterprise, it is worth mentioning a small girls school in Belleville. Jeanne-Marie Colin, Jean-Claude's sister, ran that school, and Marie Jotillon, the future Marist Sister, worked there that

⁶ See Jean Coste, «Le mandat donné par ses compagnons à Marcellin Champagnat en 1816», dans *L'étude de la spiritualité mariste*, Rome 1984, p. 1-16. An English translation by Elizabeth Charlton should be available before long.

⁷ See Pierre Zind, *Les nouvelles congrégations de frères enseignants en France de 1800 à 1830*, Saint-Genis-Laval, 1969, p. 101.

year. The story needs disentangling, but it opens up interesting trails. The parish priest of Belleville was Gabriel Captier, who had been a curate at Saint-Bonnet-le-Troncy. Jeanne-Marie Colin, who became an orphan in 1795 at the age of eleven, probably rejoined Captier at Poule, where she was brought up (OM, doc. 889, § 3). She followed him to Belleville when he was appointed parish priest there in 1803. The following year, together with her sister Claudine I and with Marie Mathieu and Claudine Traclet, she bought property there to run a school and lay the foundation for a religious congregation. Meanwhile, at Coutouvre, where Pierre Colin was parish priest from 1810 to 1816, Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn and Marie Jotillon were looking for ways to live out their wish to become religious. The contact with Belleville probably took place through Pierre Colin, and Marie Jotillon accepted Captier's invitation to join the small group gathered around Jeanne-Marie Colin. Her stay was short-lived; it probably began shortly before All Saints' Day of 1816 and ended towards the beginning of 1817. Ephemeral as it was, that contact had repercussions, for Jeanne-Marie Colin and Marie Mathieu eventually joined Marie Jotillon at Bon-Repos (OM, doc. 759, § 5).

III. Jean-Claude Colin and the Marist Project

In September 1816, Pierre and Jean-Claude Colin became parish priest and curate at Cerdon. They were certainly aware of the doings of their two sisters at Belleville. As we just saw, Pierre had even steered his former parishioner Marie Jotillon to them. At that time, however, Pierre was unaware of his brother's involvement in the Marist enterprise. This involvement had three dimensions: 1. continued contact with the signatories of the Fourvière pledge; 2. a strong feeling that the plan for a Society of Mary came from God; 3. the drafting of a rule.

1. The contact with the first Marist aspirants is well documented. As we saw above, Jean-Claude Colin corresponded with Courveille, who asked for money. Déclas mentions letters and visits. Jean-Claude Colin received letters that he could not show his brother (OM, doc. 623, § 4). Colin himself admitted: "When I left the seminary, I constantly kept writing to Mr Cholleton, my director. I did not dare take a step without consulting him. He always replied faithfully, but after some time he wrote to me that I needed to go by myself a bit, to think, and not to be constantly on a leash (OM, doc. 480). Jeantin reports: "When he was a curate, he often came back to Lyon to go to confession to Mr Cholleton" (OM, doc. 839, § 11). From 22 to 25 April, he stayed at the seminary of St Irenaeus (OM, doc. 51, line 7). Perhaps those visits enabled meetings with other Marist aspirants: Mottin, Orsel, and Perrault-Mainand were at the seminary at that time.

2. Around 1838, Colin said: "During six years, I experienced extreme sweetness when thinking of this Society, with a clear feeling that it was the work of God" (OM, doc. 447). Two years later, he told Mayet: "At the beginning, when I thought of the Society, during six years I felt tangible consolation just at the thought of it; whenever I heard news, I just blossomed, my face brightened" (OM, doc. 519, § 7). Even though Pierre did not yet know of his brother's plan, he suspected that something was on. How? "Because at times I felt extraordinarily happy interiorly and exteriorly" (OM, doc. 819, § 43).

3. Later, Colin made it clear that his work on the rule went back to that time. In a note he dictated to Brother Jean-Marie in 1869, referring to himself in the third person, he said that: "filled interiorly with a strong confidence equivalent to a kind of certainty that the idea came from God and that it would eventually come about, he used the free time that the holy ministry allowed him to prepare for its success by putting down in writing the first thoughts which one day would serve as a basis for the constitutions" (OM, doc. 815).

The work on the constitutions went on for three years (OM, doc. 820, § 74). When did it begin? In 1817 (OM, doc. 812, § 3). Before or after September, that is before or after Pierre adhered to the Marist enterprise? If it began before, it would be easier to understand that Pierre guessed something was going on without knowing just what. That is why I favor the hypothesis that the work began in the first half of 1817 and went on until the end of 1819. Thus, throughout the year 1817, we may imagine Colin spending part of his nights writing the draft of a rule for the Society of Mary: "If I went back to Cerdon, I would go and see the small five-foot square nook which was at the foot of my bed. That is where I spent the nights and wrote down the first ideas

on the Society” (OM, doc. 839, § 36). “... I often spent nights writing the constitutions, [...] the next day, around four o’clock, I was worn out” (OM, doc. 819, § 42).

IV. *The Work on the Rule*

The first fascicle of *Antiquiores textus* (p. 15-24) contains what we know about the contents of the Marist plan up to 1822, but what was the situation at the end of December 1817? The first fragment mentioned is a saying which, as far as Colin was concerned, came from God: “Unknown and hidden in the world”. Are we going too far if we recognize there the inner word that led Colin to work on a rule? Let us imagine the following scenario: while Courveille was a curate in Verrières up to August 1817 and when he was transferred to Rive-de-Gier, he kept considering himself as a “superior, the head of an order” (OM, doc. 551, § 12). Such a concern bothers Colin; he cannot imagine Mary thus putting herself forward. From there to seeing in the expression “Unknown and hidden in the world” not only a personal calling, but the very spirit of the Society of Mary, there is only a step. When we consider the importance Colin always gave this expression,⁸ it would not be surprising if it had struck him as soon as he began working on the rule.

At first sight, the second fragment seems to come out of nowhere: the superior general shall follow the opinion of the majority of his council, even if it goes against his own.⁹ In all his studies on this topic, Coste does not mention Courveille’s name. When we concentrate on the year 1817, it is easy to imagine Colin gradually becoming aware of a clear difference between the style of Courveille and his own reluctance to putting himself forward. Here again, the link with Mary is self-evident and it is to be found in the more developed version of this item of the rule which we find in g, 5 (*Ant. textus*, fasc. 1, p. 23-24): “Thus, Mary always went along with the will of others than with her own”.

Does the text h also go back to the year 1817? The argument put forth with regard to the first two fragments seems to be just as valid for h, 5 (p 20), which refers to cupidity. Here again, Courveille’s style may have acted as a repellent: his requests for money were part of his claims as a superior general.¹⁰

When was Pierre informed? Around September 1817, it seems (OM 3, p. 243, note 4). From then on, he joined the Marist enterprise, not without informing Courveille (OM, doc. 718, § 16). He used to celebrate the anniversary of his baptism and of his first mass on 18 November. Perhaps this was also the date he chose in 1817 for “his first commitment to the Society of Mary”. Three copies of the Fourvière pledge are in his hand. First, he probably committed himself to bringing about the congregation of Mariists, and then he invited others to join it (OM, doc. 623, addition a). That Jeanne-Marie Chavoïn and Marie Jotillon, who had been his parishioners in Coutouvre, came to Cerdon is a precious contribution of his to the Marist enterprise.

On the relationship between the two brothers, Jean-Claude spoke more than once:

“... during the first year when we lived together, before Rome spoke, we lived united to each other, like brothers; we consulted each other; we did nothing one without the other (OM, doc. 470).

When we arrived in Cerdon, my brother and I, people were surprised, and happy, and edified when they saw how we acted. Neither one nor the other gave the impression that he was jealous of his penitents; one did not worry about who heard a person’s confession (OM, doc. 479).

When it was necessary to strike a hard blow, his brother the parish priest, who probably saw God’s gift in him and whose humility led him to remain in the background, pushed Father Colin forward. [...] Their union was perfect. They only argued when it was a matter of doing painful

⁸ See Jean Coste, “N. 8 - The Marist Way in the Apostolate: *Ignoti et quasi occulti*”, in *Acta Societatis Mariae*, vol. 5 (1958), p. 45-91.

⁹ *Ant. textus*, fasc. 1, p. 15. On this question, see Jean Coste, “One of the Oldest Points of Fr. Colin’s Rule: The Request That the Superior Take the View of His Councillors in Preference to His Own”, in *Acta S. M.*, vol. 8 (1968), p. 162-186; *Studies on the Early Ideas of Jean-Claude Colin - I*, p. 74-88.

¹⁰ On the opposition to the spirit of cupidity, see Gaston Lessard, *Devenir mariste*, St Augustin, 2015, p. 102-108.

things, like visiting sick people who lived very far away and through difficult paths and in bad weather (OM, doc. 541, § 8, 16).”

At the end of his life, Colin evoked his life at Cerdon with his brother: “I was fortunate in being appointed to be near him. Sick as I was, I could not have lived with anyone else. We had only one purse, and there was never any bickering, except when it was a matter of running a difficult errand. Each one wanted to do it” (OM, doc. 880, § 4).

V. Cerdon in 1817

What took place in Cerdon outside the rectory? The Annals of Cerdon have a promising title, but they turn out to be a disappointment, because they were not written on the spot, but either from notes written at the time or from tradition (OM 1, p. 64). Here is what they report for the year 1817:

“From the beginning of winter, people experienced the harshness of scarcity. The poor suffered extreme deprivation. In the spring, they were constrained to borrow food for the cattle. They picked and ate the grass from the fields. That painful spectacle lasted several months. A few people died for lack of food. What is surprising is that in such straits nobody proposed doing violence to the rich, the hoarders, or to stop the loads of wheat which went by every day bound for Switzerland. The price of bread gradually rose to 15 francs a measure. The grain merchants of Poncins were so inhuman as to sell some on credit to poor heads of families for up to 22 or even 25 francs. — The beans went up to 12 and 13 francs, and the potatoes up to 4. Finally, divine providence gave the harvest; it was reasonably good, and the price of wheat came back down to 6 or 7 francs, despite the efforts of the hoarders of Poncins, who kept secret reserves. The wine harvest was very mediocre, but the potatoes were abundant and of a good quality.

From the middle of 1816 up to the grape harvest of 1818, wine was driven to an excessive price, even beyond 150 francs the Mâcon measure.”

Under the date 1818, the author of the Annals denounces the mores, but those had been prevailing for some years. Hence, his verdict holds for 1817:

“The young men, and especially those who had been drafted for the last wars of Napoleon, exhibit a degree of malice, of pride, and of arrogance which is painful for society and bodes ill for the future. The fair sex, for their part, partake of this contagion; they carry luxury and impertinence to its limit. Both outdo each other in rising above their birth, their families, and their station. Religion, its holy maxims, its duties, its practices, are disregarded and abandoned by both; one only finds some piety and virtue in a few ministers of the altar and the holy persons who give themselves to the religious state. The number of lay people who follow the maxims of the gospel and of the saints and who fulfill their duties is as small as that of the elect predicted by Jesus Christ.”

This indictment coincides in part with Colin’s memories as reported by Mayet:

“... people were making a racket at night. Father Colin got hold of a lantern and went straight to the place where the noise was heard. People cried: “The priest, the priest,” and all ran away and were dispersed like straw in a storm. He laughed heartily as he recounted this.

A person in whom he took an interest and whom he wanted to correct indulged in worldliness and apparel. Father Colin met her and bowed profoundly, and the person probably understood.

Another time, he went to see a good person who was very well behaved and whom he wanted to heal from dancing (she had had a party the evening before or shortly beforehand). He inquired about her health with great worry, asked her how she was and persecuted her with his show of interest. She was, I think, a mother.

Another time, he cured from dancing a person who was very good, by giving her as a penance to dance by herself before the door of a barn. At first, she thought he was joking, and later she said that this little indirect lesson had made her feel how foolish dancing is more than anything else (OM, doc. 541, § 3-5).”

Nothing indicates that these incidents took place in 1817. Perhaps they even imply rather that Colin was already well acquainted with the milieu. In any case, they offer a glimpse upon the small world in which Colin lived during the first years of his ministry.

In 1817, Colin was twenty seven years old. He had lost his father and his mother at the age of five. When the time came for him to make his first communion, at the age of fourteen, a crisis brought out some traits of his personality: on the one hand, a conscience so delicate as to verge on scrupulosity; on the other hand, a strength of character which commanded the respect of those around him (see OM, doc. 548 and 578). Not long after that, he left his village to join his brother Pierre at the minor seminary. Thirteen years later, when the young priest found himself a curate in Cerdon, he rejoined his brother Pierre, who was now his parish priest. What is surprising is that he managed to affirm himself and to exert genuine authority as a priest. He had much to learn, but already he knew who he was and where he was going.