HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

VOLUME 4

by

M. Georges Rigault

THE RESTORED INSTITUTE

(1805-1830)

Original translation by Brother S. Edmund Dolan FSC of St Mary's College, Moraga.
[Edited by Br. Gerard Rummery, FSC]

PREFACE

The translation of this work from French to English was done by Brother Edmund Dolan of the San Francisco District. His intention was to make it possible for English-readers to be able to appreciate the extraordinary richness of the ten-volume work of Monsieur Georges Rigault, fellow of the French Historical Academy, whose research from 1932-1954 was honoured by the award of the APLON prize.

Brother Edmund's wish to make the work more easily read in English led him to translate all proper names into English. Unfortunately, this has meant that his work is almost impossible to research by cross-reference, for although **Frère Barthèlemy = Brother Bartholomew** are somewhat similar, the same cannot be said for **Frère Guillaume and Brother William** and for most proper nouns. In his work over three years Brother Edmund suffered a number of slight strokes. In this translation omitted sections of the original text have been inserted. Some occasional errors in translation have been corrected.
As corrections in the text were not possible in the now-dated computer language used in the original, the text has had to be re-formatted for changes to be made. Footnotes have had to be copied separately and re-inserted.

The original French sentence-structure of the text, especially in the use of the semi-colon in what would not usually be usual practice in English, has been maintained by the original translator.

It has not been possible to maintain the page references to other volumes as was possible in the original French text.

Despite these limitations, readers will discover in these volumes in English an enthralling story of the Institute launched by that great servant of God, John Baptist de La Salle and by those who followed him over the past 300 years and more.

Brother Gerard Rummery

HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE

BROTHERS OF THE

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

VOLUME FOUR

RESTORATION OF THE INSTITUTE

1805 - 1830

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME FOUR

There is a particularly fine connection between this volume and the preceding Volumes 2 and 3 which traced the History of the Brothers of the Christian Schools during the revolutionary period. The work germinated in Lyon, Toulouse, Paris and eventually elsewhere emerged into the sunlight. Brother Frumence, who returned from Rome in 1804, devoted himself to its development and with him, and as his successor, the outstanding Master and Chief named Brother Gerbaut directed the new destiny of the Institute. Brother Guillaume de Jésus gathered the fruits of his two predecessors and maintained the direction of the Lasallian Congregation up to the events of July 1830.

During this short period of some 25 years so many things happened. It was rich in political transformations, religious activities, in efforts and new beginnings in secular matters. It was a period of great importance for the spiritual family of Saint John Baptist de La Salle and for the future of Christian teaching. The renewal in setting up pedagogical settings, the application of the Institute's Rules and methods according to the mind and planning of the holy Founder took place slowly amid difficulties. Obstacles appeared, blocking the path of the pioneers who had to cross ground where there had been upheavals with ruins everywhere. If the initiators found generous collaborators among the clergy, among Catholics, among the veterans of the Society dispersed in 1792 and among the young people recruited at the beginning of the 19th century, they encountered opposition from the prejudice, egoisms, intelligences, brambles stored up from the year of abandonment and the anarchy of ten years. There is no doubt that, in France, where the Congregation resumed its essential task, the Imperial government, followed by the Bourbon monarchy, gave evidence of good will toward the Brothers and, relied upon them to "elevate" the moral climate of the people, promised, and ultimately gave them, genuine support. Nevertheless, the public authority meted out financial aid and freedom of action to the teachers of youth parsimoniously. Napoleon I's behavior regarding the Holy See, the persistent "Gallicanism" of the nobility and the bureaucracy, the concern to maintain the upper hand over will and conscience by means of monopoly over "University" education frustrated instruction as this was understood by the Church and by the better and more orthodox believers. With a Caesarian despotism Napoleon mingled harsh demands and calculated encouragement. And then the preferential treatment granted by Louis XVIII's ministers to a specious system of education imported from Great Britain gave rise for a time to bitter controversies and unfortunate anxiety. Peace returned, but it was only partial, because once passions were awakened, they never quieted, and because, in a nation confused in its moral and social life and indoctrinated with naturalism and rationalism, the enemies of the Faith boldly played their game, indulged in endless complications, took advantage of every blunder and prepared for a triumphant future. And because of the propaganda of anti-Christian intellectuals, because of the errors and blindness of statesmen, because of a thoughtless attachment to outmoded principles and to useless tools of government; and, finally, because of the all too small number of genuinely faithful and evangelical militants, the crisis affected all of Europe, which began to rock on its foundations.

These historical reminders are, perhaps, enough to explain why the results obtained in the Brothers' schools (results worthy of attention and wonder) were not conclusive. The field that had been opened up to the Brothers was quite narrow; and the children who emerged from their care got lost in the world's morass. The atmosphere was such that it did not provide souls with normal breathing room; and the winds of Revolution continued to blow pretty nearly everywhere.

The Brothers had to have a great deal of courage and confidence to dedicate themselves (in spite of the cooling convictions and the threat of storms) to the task that Providence had assigned them. While their recruitment was constantly on the increase, it did not answer to

the immense need of the times. Their educational programs met with immediate and strong opposition; and their material potentialities were diminished by the confiscation of their ancient patrimony, and they were at the mercy of outside competition and of changing governmental and municipal appetites.

Bias, indifference, hostility, narrowness of both mind and heart, time and again, contradicted the finest assurances and interrupted the most generous enthusiasm. But De La Salle's disciples, like their Founder before them, did not shun effort; they adapted themselves to circumstances, took advantage of the most unimpressive means, and responded to every call. They were realists, in the best sense of the term. They didn't linger over spilt milk, and they weren't sulky with their neighbors. At the disposition of royalty and empire, and with the sole reservation of obedience to the Roman Catholic Church and of the higher claims of the truth, they were prepared to go to the ends of the earth in the interests of a broader apostolate.

They maintained their ideals and they accomplished good work. First of all, the Institute reassembled the troops that the Revolution had dispersed. The Napoleonic "University" imposed its structures upon them, but (through the good offices of Fontaines and thanks to the quiet firmness of their Superiors) without fragmenting the unity of the Congregation and without weakening the discipline of the Rule. While the Brothers were regaining their legal existence, restoring their internal government, resuming their Religious habit and going back to the holding of General Chapters, they were accepting integrally the obligations of their vocation and strengthening their spiritual life. At the cost of struggle and suffering to Brother Frumence, and later under Brother Gerbaud's vigorous thrust, the Brothers gradually returned most remarkably to the ways mapped out by the holy Canon of Rheims. This "reorganizational work", in brief, coincided with the duration of the Empire. It was a sensitive, complex task demanding patience and determination, human wisdom and divine aid. We think that it deserves a detailed and in-depth study. We have devoted five particularly crowded chapters to it.

Far from being shaken by Napoleon's fall, the Christian Brothers considered themselves relieved of a most burdensome servitude when the Bourbon dynasty resumed the throne. All their hopes were not to be realized. They might rely on "royal support"; but they did not succeed in evading the "University monopoly". They had to struggle to defend their autonomy and their methods, the subject of the second part of this volume, is connected with the events and the political and educational debates between 1814 and 1820. We should be quite mistaken to think that these accounts of another time are remote and unimportant. At the level of principle, ideas and facts, they retain a qualified value; but, in our own time, they take on a particularly lively interest. What we have to say, we believe, will enable us to make up our own minds. We shall, however, avoid anachronistic parallels, excessively facile allusions and strained associations.

The *modus vivendi* set up by the Minister Decazes, reinforced by Bishop Frayssinous and honored up to the end of the reign of Charles X obtained for the Brothers of the Christian Schools the peace and security necessary for their mission. It will be therefore appropriate to make a pause in order the better to know these fine teachers. After having viewed typical profiles and gleaned significant details, we shall attempt to sketch an overall picture. In order to consider the "men and the activities of the Institute up to the Revolution of 1830", we shall go back to about 1815, or, rather to slightly this side of that date. The rather brief history of the Generalate of Brother Guillaume de Jésus is added to a complementary study of the activities of his predecessor. And, making our way through viewpoints that are purposely cautious, we step over the frontiers of our own country, not only to follow the Christian Brothers into the French colonies overseas, but to examine their situation and describe their progress and their vicissitudes in Italy, where we have already glimpsed them in the 18th

century, and in Belgium, where we saw them during the period of exile which followed upon the "diaspora" of 1792.

The Brothers' "restoration" began in the time of Bonaparte's Consulate and was completed when the monarchial structure of 1814-15 crumbled in Paris and the Dutch rule set up after the defeat of the Empire perished in Brussels. Once again the shape of the world was changing; and the era that was emerging would bring the Brothers, in the eye of the storm, a freedom they had never known, a splendid growth in strength, influence and in educational and apostolic labors.

Later on, God willing, we shall take up the long and illustrious Generalate of Brother Philippe, to which Brother Anacletus's was, in a sense, the prelude. And with the Institute finally restored, we shall accompany St. De La Salle's disciples through the world on their peaceful conquests.

In the development of this fourth volume the Motherhouse Archives in Rome, were, as in the previous ones, generously opened to our research. In the course of the following chapters the reader will be made aware of the quantity and worth of the documents utilized. A list of the important texts would include the following: In the first place there are the Superiors' letters. Brother Vicar-general Frumence's file contains five notebooks of "rough drafts" or outlines of letters for the period, 1808, 1809 and 1810,[1] for the most part rather detailed analyses of letters, notes and instructions written at Petit College in Lyons between the 18th of April and the 20th of July 1809.[2]The notes of Brother Gerbaud refer only to the years 1810 and 1811[3] but to these must be added the invaluable collections of letters, nearly all of them in his own hand, sent between 1810 and 1822 to various Christian Brothers, especially to Brothers Abdon, Maurillian, Nicolas, Thomas and Vivien. This collection includes more than three-hundred letters bearing on administrative, educational and religious matters, and there is nothing that could better inform us concerning the powerful personality of De La Salle's seventh successor.[4]The six collections come to a total of 322 documents. But some of them are in a hand other than that of the Brother Superior. There are letters from Brother Eloi in the collection that has to do with Brother Thomas.

We also use the correspondence of Brother Guillaume de Jésus. However, it does not extend beyond the 18th of December 1827 and is not nearly so interesting as that of the other two Superiors of the Congregation. On the other hand, the various notes preserved in Brother Guillaume's file and his letters to Brother Patrick provide excellent biographical and psychological information concerning the author.

Similarly, there are many details to be gathered from the "individual files" of some members of the Institute who had an important role to play between 1805 and 1830, such as Brothers Emery, Elias and Abdon.

The minutes of the General Chapters are, of course, an indispensable source for history. To

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[1] The first notebook goes from April 18, 1808 to January 18, 1809 inclusive (nos. 1-315); the second, from January 20 to July 20, 1809 (nos. 316-496). The "Drafts" are numbered up to "316". In order to determine the exact dates and identify the recipients of the first 138 letters, it is necessary to refer to the corresponding "resumes". Starting with no. 296 (February 2, 1810) and going up to no. 316 (March 14), the authors are Brothers Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine, since Brother Frumence had died on the previous January 27. The same secretary seems to have done the writing. and two notebooks of "resumés"

[2] Brother Gerbaud's "rough drafts" include only those for the year 1810 and 1811:[2]Three notebooks, 289 entries, many of which are the work, not of the Brother Superior-general but of the "Provisional Regime" that was set up after Brother Frumence's death.

[3] The first notebook goes from 18th April 1808 to18th January 1809 included (1-215); the second from 20th January to 20th July 1809 (number 316-496).

[4]4

these we add the manuscript collection, "Reference C-5" which was begun in 1827 through the efforts of the Brothers in Orleans. It contains copies of "circular" letters sent from Lyons or from Paris to the Communities "starting in December 1806 and extending to October 1826".

Finally, the files of each institution, classified in alphabetical order, offer abundant material.[5] From them we have discovered a number of original documents and copies carefully verified following research in various public and private collections. The industry of the Brothers Archivist was practiced in this instance in a very productive way. We should like to render full justice and express our gratitude to these workers, who are as learned as they are modest. At the head of their list are Brother Donat Charles and Maxime.

The former has worked especially in Paris, in the inexhaustible mine that is the National Archives; while the latter has toiled in Brussels, in La Haye and also among various Italian collections. It would have been impossible for us to succeed in our task without the cooperation that they continued to supply, generously and selflessly in Rome, France and Belgium. Series F in the National Archives, and especially Boxes F-17 12451 et sq. enabled either Brother Donat or ourselves to check extremely significant texts that unveiled the most insightful perspectives on the relations between the "University", the French government and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. All sorts of complementary information was derived from Departmental and Municipal documentary collections, and also (as regards the "ecclesiastical" history dimension of the Institute) from the Archives of the Archbishoprics of Lyons and Paris, and from the Bishopric of Orvieto.

Following our practice, we have confined bibliographical details to the notes and the Index. As regards published volumes, the following are the major works:

For the period of the Empire and the Restoration, failing Brother Lucard's *Annales,* which does not go beyond 1808, we have found a predecessor in the person of Alexis Chevalier who, in 1887, published his work on *The Brothers of the Christian Schools and Elementary Education After the Revolution (1879-1830).* A careful scholar, Chevalier had access to the Motherhouse Archives, which at that time were situated on Rue Oudinot in Paris. But he was unable to extract from his sources more than rather barren accounts; and his opinions, while thoroughly respectable, involved him in certain settled prejudices, which are discreetly, yet honestly, indicated by the Most Reverend Brother Joseph in his prefatory note.

A much older book, *Ernest Arnould's Notes and Documents on Elementary Educational Institutions in Rheims*, continues to deserve to be consulted. Among other monographs on the schools of the 19th century, one of the best has issued from the patient and understanding investigations of Brother Lemandus on *The Brothers in Toulouse*. Following Brother Lemandus' example, the editors of the *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* (edited at Lembecq-les-Hals starting in 1907 and at Rome after 1937) (as well as their rivals on the Rivista lasalliana, edited in Turin) have in their articles, striven to place in context the many facets and the numer−ous activities of their Institute.

In order to situate our personal research in the history of education we have availed ourselves of the expertise of Alfred Cilleuls, Emile Gossot, Marcel Fosseyeux, J. Herment, Alphonse Aulard and Canon Adrien Garnier. For the larger events of political and religious history we have consulted the writings of Louis Madelin, Georges Goyau, Pierre La Gorce, Vicount Guichen and Sebastian Charlety.

The juxtaposition of these names suggests our determination to question the partisans of a variety of opinions and not close our ears to any voice. When the Most Honored Brothers

[5] We have completed these by means of a certain number of District Archives – inspected on-site – in France during visits to Rodez, Beziers, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, Le Puy and Caen.

Junien Victor, whose recent death was for us the occasion of nearly filial bereavement, in 1934 invited us to tell the history of his Religious family, his was like the gesture of Leo XIII when he opened the Vatican Archives to all impartial investigators; for he, too, thought that the Brothers have nothing to fear from the truth. It is comforting for us to be able to recall his noble and wise counsels while remaining scrupulously faithful to the truth.
Georges Rigault.

SOME NOTES ON THIS TRANSLATION:

This re-presentation of the original translation done by the late Brother Edmund Dolan fsc. has included passages inadvertently omitted. While the original French proper names have been restored as regards the names of individuals and of places, the French titles frère, curé, Père etc. have been retained in English as in the original translation.

Brother Gerard Rummery

PART ONE

REORGANIZATION

CHAPTER ONE

"Reassembling the Forces"

To attempt the total restoration of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools what was needed was a faith that would move mountains and a patience to farm the most barren soil. The humble Brother who was repatriated from Rome to Lyons in November of 1804 understood the limits of his human forces: he was capable of trembling in the presence of the immense, the overwhelming task. The men, the ideas, the situations and the means of action scarcely resembled whatever it was that inspired and sustained his youthful fervor, in the long lost days of his novitiate and of his first steps in his career as an educator. Transplanted over many years in Italy, Brother Frumence was suddenly brought home to the ruins, to join rebuilders whose plans and methods came very close to bewildering him in a strange sort of way. He had once belonged to a flourishing Congregation, soundly organized, well-known for the professional worth of its members and provided with a patrimony that was, doubtless, not very large, although it was solid. What reserves, what resources was he going to deploy? Would De La Salle's disciples, faithful to their vocation, return to the fold? Would the confiscated houses and properties be returned to them? Who, in the cities and parishes, would take the places of the supporters and benefactors of times gone by? And would the new political order, mistrustful of every kind of association, allow the reestablishment of a monastic hierarchy, the restoration of Rules approved by the Holy See, and the practice of an autonomy that was indispensable for the development of the Institute?

Unfortunately, the Brothers who were still prepared to accept the strict obligations of Religious discipline made up a very small group. Of those who, fifteen years earlier, figured among the principal aides to the Superior-general, many were dead and others were either too old or too broken to resume their roles. With the exception of the valiant Brother Bernardine and few other no less heroic "seniors", the pacesetters and the leaders had all departed. The search for new leadership was going to be a pressing necessity. It would be important also to combine this new force with what remained of the old. It was a sensitive and difficult task, after the break with tradition, after the inevitable inroad of secular customs, of small personal schemes, of more or les conscious egoism, and, over and above, because of the hiatus which separated the generation trained prior to 1789 from the young men born on the eve of the great turmoil.

By the Pope's hand, God had selected the worker for the rebuilding. And God would never abandon Brother Frumence. He breathed into him the spirit of St. John Baptist de La Salle: the spirit of supernatural wisdom and of practical judgment, and the spirit of total self-abnegation and of perfect love of neighbor. The "Vicar", responsible for the government of the Congregation, entered unhesitatingly upon the paths of the Founder. He, too, would show himself to be eminently a father: holding himself responsible for the soul, the work and the happiness of his sons, he would guide them calmly, prudently and with a completely gentle and clear sighted affection. He was not discouraged by their deficiencies, nor by the tardiness with which they returned; he laid down their duty without evasiveness and without omitting any of the strictest commandments; but, at the same time, he did so with a complete understanding of the obstacles and with an enduring desire to forgive. He was merciful to the rebellious and opened-armed with the prodigal, smiling and festive in the presence of enthusiasm, repentance, ambitious plans and lofty dedication and splendid resolutions.

Concerning children, for whose education the Institute was founded, he showed the same regard, the same kindness and the same detailed vision of the goal to be achieved. It was not the time for broad-based educational institutions, for comprehensive programs of education. Residence [Boarding] schools, destroyed by the Revolution, could not be immediately revived. To restore that institution, so important to commercial and industrial families and to the entire middle class (which was the financial backbone of France), to rejoin the future to the glorious past of St. Yon, Maréville, the Rossignolerie and St. Omer, it would be necessary to await more favorable circumstances. There was a lack of personnel, capital and cooperation from the public authorities. While Bonaparte regarded the Brothers as the important cog in his system of national education, this was true only in so far as they were elementary school teachers. He needed them in the primary schools: they were explicitly forbidden any more ambitious projects. His absolute influence was to be exerted over secondary education: teachers, recruited according to his specifications and bending before administrative discipline, were to train for him a generation of bureaucrats and warriors in "the imperial high schools". The "University" was foreshadowed from the very beginning of his reign.

Religion was not excluded, but it achieved only a secondary position, and a narrowly circumscribed role. "Worship" was for chapels and chaplains were for catechism. There was an appearance of Catholicism, a residue of the faith, but ever threatened with extinction, with being dissolved under the influence of Voltarian doctrines. Here the doors were closed to the spirit which filled the schools in Brother Agathon's time. The Church, on the other hand, had the freedom to enlighten and fortify the humble. Moreover, its influence was sought after, its apostolate encouraged now that what was greatly desired was the conversion of a people, perverted by Jacobinism and anarchy, to good morals, honesty and obedience,. On this score all ministers, prefects, officials, city administrators, intellectuals, middle class, survivors of the "Ancien Régime", partisans of the modern state, encyclopedists and sobered revolutionaries -- all those in any way guiding the "new" France - agreed. The Emperor sounded the note; and the clergy, supported by an administration frequently prepared for good relations and in any case docile to the will of the sovereign, was happy to play its part. After the Concordat the atmosphere was calm and cleansed. The disagreement that was to break out between Napoleon and Pius VII had not yet troubled the peace. Catholics spoke pretty nearly with a single voice -- the voice of praise and blessing addressed to the reforming genius, the reorganizer, the man sent by Providence and consecrated by the Pope in the Cathedral of Paris.

The government and the episcopacy designated the Brothers to begin again to teach both the divine law and the elements of human knowledge to the sons of the poor. Such was, indeed, from the beginning, the distinctive, the primordial, if not the exclusive, vocation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who, according to the Rule of 1718, were founded "to procure this advantage (i.e., a religious education) for the children of artisans and the poor". And the Papal Bull of Approbation of 1725 stipulates that the disciples of De La Salle "are to... be careful to instruct ... especially the poor."[6] Brother Frumence and his aides could only rejoice at having been returned to their country for the service of the common people. No matter where they were called (and with what clamor!) by city counsels, pastors, bishops, private benefactors, or local associations, their efforts were exerted, their lives were spent, without fail, with no regrets and no reservations, to the advantage of the unlettered masses and the most materially deprived.

They sacrificed earthly gratifications -- even the most honorable ones, such as those offered by the teaching of the classics and the sciences and the integral formation of gifted minds

[6]Article 1 of the Bull.

They agreed to limit their own studies. They seemed no longer interested in the reputation or in the success, however legitimate, that had formerly come to them through their pupils in technical schools, in special courses devoted to literature, foreign languages, commerce, navigation and drawing. They were asked to reduce their program, except for catechism, to reading, writing and arithmetic. So be it. They carried humility to this extreme. They received young people into their novitiates whose education was rudimentary and whose knowledge was meagre. The terms "tutor", "schoolmaster" (in language that dominated the beginning of the 19th century) or "schoolteacher", as recommended by the Legislative Assembly of 1792,[7] did not cover the persons who bore these titles with a magic spell nor did they fill any "village frock coat" with pride. For the Brothers the title continued to define essentially the saintly educator who "founded" them. They themselves asked only to remain, in the language of the pupils and their parents, "the dear Brothers", loved for their simple, quiet goodness, venerated because of their dedication, their piety and their spirit of sacrifice. They carried sincere modesty to the point of not being offended by the name "Ignorantines", against which the respect and sensitivity of the upper classes, including high level officials and members of the clergy, all too rarely protested.

But while they were indeed willing to appear in the eyes of the powerful of this world just a cut above ignorance, while they agreed to live in want, in obscurity and despised, so as to live with the poor and the powerless (to whom belongs the Kingdom of God), they did so on a single, overpowering condition: their Founder had written that the schools operated by his "Society" be tuition-free. Approving and reinforcing the decisions of John Baptist de La Salle, Pope Benedict XIII joined to the vows of religion and to the vow of stability in the Institute, the vow "of teaching the poor gratuitously".[8] Gratuity, not only as a professional obligation but as a sacred commitment, the Vicar-general of the Congregation fought ceaselessly to impose, reestablish and maintain. In doing so, he ran up against the prejudices of his contemporaries, the interests of the Communes and the parishes and against the laws that were already on the books. The rich, no matter what their political persuasions, at this time were ordinarily opposed to universal education. Following the example of many 18th century legislators, of Voltaire and La Chalotais, they preferred illiteracy for the peasants and the workers. They were afraid that a little knowledge, causing manual laborers to loath the land and shop, would increase the mob of displaced persons; that the ability to read a public notice might make their servants vain, uncooperative and recalcitrant; and that a bad novel, deciphered by candlelight, might corrupt the morals of an apprentice. True, it was only among the devotees of paradox that we find this intransigence that excluded a whole class of people from school. Practice, which was less rigorous, but flowed from the same principle, tended to limit the number of children admitted to school and to exercise a selection by requiring tuition.

For readily justifiable financial reasons, municipal officials planned to initiate pay-schools. They calculated all the expenses with which the Commune budget was burdened for the furnishings and upkeep of school buildings and for the lodging and salaries of the teachers; and they wanted the families to share as far as possible in the expenses. In many cities they drew up a list of the indigent who alone were to benefit from gratuity.

Once again, the schools were not to be overrun by poor children. The Law of the 11th Floreal in the Year X provided for a quantum: – only one-fifth of the available space would be reserved for non-paying pupils.[9] A strict application of this rule was all that that would be

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3. See Vol. III of the present work

9 See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 449-451.

needed to make things awkward for the Brothers, to prevent many of them from complying with their Superior's directives, and from returning immediately and without reservations to their Institute – in a word, to delay the progress of Lasallian reconstruction.

But Brother Frumence held firm; he repeated the strongest appeals to the Brothers; and he intervened with the civil authorities. He resisted on the ground defined by his predecessor, Brother Agathon: pupils were impartially admitted into the Brothers' schools without any investigation into their financial situation. When a father sent his son to sit with his humblest fellow-citizens, every presumption was in favor of poverty. If for his child, in preference to considerations of vanity or ideas of caste, a father chose an education that was at once religious and sound, dispensed by excellent teachers, why deprive him of a fundamental right? Public wealth would scarcely be wasted in the exercise of this freedom; while the good of souls would undoubtedly result from it. One would be fashioning false hopes to imagine the disappearance or even the measurable decline of the clientele whose poverty inspired De La Salle's work. And it was taken for granted that the Brothers would always dedicate their apostolate to it. For the few youths from "well-to-do" families who attended the schools for the poor, how many generations of workers and craftsmen owed the growth of their faith and their moral and intellectual formation to these incomparable teachers! The Founder's pedagogy was directed essentially at the most unsophisticated minds in the first years of their development. The Conduct laid down the principles and formulated the rules of elementary education, was back in the hands of teachers who had been restored to a vocation to which the champions of tuition-free education could never prove faithless; and by a predestination and the law of "likes attracting likes", the Brothers drew into their wake the sons of the common people. Frequently their best pupils responded to the call of their recruiters. And while it happened that other youngsters who remained "in the world" abandoned their father's calling, the Brothers could not be faulted for undermining the social order. It was less a question to "too far, too fast" than of normal growth. As in the 18th century, a Brothers' school was bound to allow for progress and the rise of an élite. It trained men of initiative and ready for success, while at the same time it put them on their guard against the sort of impatience that is inspired by ambitions.

Unfortunately, in the immediate future, the influence of the Brothers' schools did not extend beyond rather narrow limits. The consequences of the Revolution persisted. It took time to revive institutions that would furnish skillful technicians, craftsmen and construction chiefs, to give studies the scope and the variety that characterized the periods of Louis XV and Louis XVI, and to raise the masses from that low level, that anarchy and sterile individualism born of the laws of the Constituent Assembly and excessively reflecting the interests of the capitalist middle class and "big business". Like the French people, the Brothers' Institute[10] suffered the loss of its enthusiasm following 1789 and its strength was broken. Only now are we moving into its period of convalescence.

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All the more meritorious appeared the concerns that presided over the restoration. And it was in Lyon that those concerns were more at work than anywhere else. The Brothers' work was there understood, encouraged and assisted in such a way as entirely to justify the selection of Petit College as their headquarters.

The agreement between church and civil leaders concerning educational reform continued to be in evidence. To most of them might be applied the eulogy which on the 1st of Mary

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[10] As in previous volumes, it continues to be the case that the term "Lasallian" (a neologism and therefore anachronistic for the time being), is used only as a stylistic convenience.

1806, at a meeting of the city counsel, the Deputy-prefect Sain-Rousset conferred on the former Prefect of Rhone, Bureaux Puzy, who had recently died in Genoa: Enlightened, liberal and kind, joining practice to purpose, endowed with that tact that touches upon every propriety, with great skill he honored an authority that all the charms of civility conspired to make attractive.[11]

Prefects came and went, but the great city's leading citizens continued on the spot and uninterruptedly the work of material and moral restoration. Fay Sathonay, become Mayor of Lyon, kept Bernard-Charpieux and Sain-Rousset on as assistants, who, in their previous administrations, had labored so effectively to reestablish the traditions begun by the famous Father Démia. The three men granted a wide liberty to "the school board", the successor to the "Bureau" inaugurated by Démia in the 17th century. Priests, city officials, and citizens who were members of the board or who promoted it, and, at their head, the former director St. Charles Seminary, Canon Georges Paul, gave the same Christian and social witness as their ancestors. They wanted to develop the primary schools by a system of "shop" classes -- "hives" for the training of "swarms" for the nation's prosperity. Youths would then emerge from the care of their teachers with a stock of religious instruction as well as elementary and professional knowledge. These were bold and exhilarating prospects. But the proposals had to be postponed. The administrators did not have the money, and nowhere could they find the available and competent personnel.

Nevertheless, to draw attention to their goal, on the 17th of December 1806 they decided that each year they would select as apprentices two children chosen from among those who had earned the top prizes at the conclusion of their studies. These victors, assembled "in the Board's meeting room", would take a special examination; and it would be up to the "Brothers of Christian Doctrine" to question them in the presence of the inspectors of schools. Once the results were known, the final nomination would depend upon the reception of a certificate that witnessed to scholarly effort and good behavior. Here again, the teachers' judgment would be sought. Then, the question of a profession would be decided. Apprenticeship would cost the pupils nothing, since the Board would assume the expenses. The candidates and their parents would be invited to state their preferences. And, once agreement was reached, the counselling of the youngsters would proceed.

These were the terms of the "decree" which bears the signature of M. Sathonay who, as Mayor, functioned as president of the Board.[12] In the presence of the City Council he praised the work accomplished by those who supported education. In his report of May 1st 1807 we read: "In Lyon public education continues to make perceptible progress. The primary schools, begun by my predecessors, are maintained by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine for the boys and by the so-called Sisters of St. Charles for the girls, and, as time goes on, are becoming a considerable advantage for the less well-to-do class of people. A Board composed of nine outstanding citizens presides over this important institution. And you, Gentlemen, can judge of the good that it must effect in a city where the working class is so numerous and so poorly off, when we realize that in Lyons there are ten schools for boys and as many for girls, and that each of them give tuition-free education to about 150 children. It is due to the care, the zeal and the activity of each of the members of the Board that the city of Lyons owes the degree of usefulness and completion that these institutions have attained. And I take this

[11] Municipal Archives of Lyon, 4th Register of Council Decisions, fo.83.

[12] The text of the decree has been published in the brochure *Centenaire de la restauration de l'Institut des Frères*, Procure général, 1902, pg. 90.

occasion to make myself the spokesman for public gratitude".[13]

Less than three years after Brother Frumence's arrival, the work of his Brothers, seconded by Father Paul's intelligent guidance and the city's support, produced the best results. Lyon's sense of independence asserted itself in this organization: without being too concerned with governmental tendencies and without taking legislative prescriptions into overly rigorous account, the city spontaneously returned to the ways traced out by ancient France; it restored to a few dedicated men a preponderant role in the creation of schools and in the selection of teachers and programs; it retained total gratuity, which responded to the needs of a poor population; and it admitted the humblest and poorest class of children by the thousands.

The Brothers' Institute was assured of a regular development, without struggle, facilitated by a climate of mind and by the survival of time-honored customs. Jean Baptist de La Salle, in the person of his followers, took his place behind his precursor, Father Démia. If, throughout the French Empire, people could have followed the inspiration of the model set in Lyon, and if, when they asked for teachers at Petit College, the cities undertook to treat the Brothers with the same respect as the great city in the Southeast, the future of the Congregation would have resembled its past. It was wise, however, not to let one's hopes get too high. Local liberties cannot coexist in the face of absolute power or of a will which, with increasing clarity, was tending toward excessive centralization. A letter addressed by Cardinal Fesch to the Emperor on the 16th of October 1807 already shows Napoleon intervening in questions regarding the schools in Lyon. It was still only a question of the use of a building. The Brothers who, for the lack of space, had to refuse admission to some pupils, would have been pleased to be allowed the use of available sites. The Archbishop learned that in Paris they were thinking of other uses for the property. He pleaded the teachers' cause and spoke of the benefits their zeal had lavished on "all the city's children without distinction". The primary school teaches "reading, writing, French, and the elements of mathematics and architecture". Didn't it deserve to be preferred to a secondary school, which would prevent the expansion that was being sought? However, Fesch said he was prepared to bow before the imperial decision.[14]

Surely, Brother Frumence could not have had a more courageous supporter or a more powerful guarantor with the Sovereign than the "Cardinal-uncle", who had never permitted his affections to cool for the Brothers whom he brought back from Italy in his own ambassadorial train; his friendly offices and his spiritual and financial assistance had been definitively secured for them.

He took no small satisfaction for having introduced them into his own diocese. The growth of their novitiate pleased him: it was the period during which the marvelous educator, Brother Emery, had welcome among his novices the future Superior-general, Brother Anacletus (Claude Louis Constantin), as well as Brothers Jean Chrysostom, Nicolas and Benoit, future Assistants. There were seven receptions of the habit in 1806.[15] These were modest beginnings; and there was quality, if not quantity. These recruits, who came from the vicinity of Lyon or (at the farthest) from Franche-Comté, manifested an ardent faith; and they were docile to direction, and complied with the harsh demands of their vocation. The ideal proposed by the Brothers' Rule not only did not discourage, but it further kindled their good intentions. While with most of them at first, knowledge was in short supply, the better

[13] Municipal Archives of Lyon, 4th Register of decisions, f0 251.

[14] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon. Register of Cardinal Fesch's special correspondence.

[15] Centenaire, pg. 96.

endowed among them, like Louis Constantin, quickly made up for their deficiencies. For nearly all of them the daily practice of teaching would produce the necessary facility and skill. If they were assiduous in reading the meditations of the Founder on the duties of teachers, if they made themselves familiar with Brother Agathon's quite substantial essays on the *Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher*,[16] if they applied themselves to the study of catechism and were scrupulous observers of the prescriptions in the *Conduct of Schools*, it would not be long before they proved the excellence of their Institute's methods. Senior Brothers who directed them could glimpse the future with confidence. The youth of the new century, with their enthusiasm, recalled the first groups of Brothers at Rheims, St. Sulpice and Vaugirard; and they would not have been unworthy of De La Salle himself. And, within the limits of the professional subject-matters in which, until further notice, the purposes of the Head of State and the difficulties of the restoration had restricted them, they would obtain, like the Brothers of the past who surrounded Brothers Timothy, Claude, Florence and Agathon, the esteem, veneration and gratitude of pupils and their families alike.

The Vicar-general of the Congregation, with the resources at his disposal, was unable immediately to enlarge the scope its activities. Just as after 1680 the first Brothers spread out into Champagne and its vicinity, their successors in 1805 would first of all put themselves at the service of the diocese of Lyon. They owed it to the city that gave them hospitality, to the province that furnished them with candidates and to the prelate whose authority protected them. There was no lack of work: the children, as we have seen, rushed into the classrooms that had been hastily readied on the slopes of Fourvière and in other localities along the banks of the Saone and the Rhone. The Archbishop's jurisdiction extended over three Departments: Loire and Ain required teachers as well as area around Lyon itself.

Brother Frumence had no difficulty opening the first school in St. Étienne. This large town was already becoming an industrial center; and its working class population included an abundant public served by the Brothers and requiring a moral influence. It was a senior Brother who assumed this weighty responsibility: he was Brother Jean Marcellinus, a man in his seventies who was to be assisted by Brother Pierre Martyr, who was also professed before 1789 and who had once been employed by Brother Vivien in the schools in Rheims; the third man was a Brother James, who was probably a recent recruit. The school in St. Etienne, a sister city of Lyon, had a Counsel or Bureau responsible for supervision of the institution's progress.[17]

The initiative of a benefactor, M. Chavanne, was disclosed to have been at the origins of a school in Villefranche-sur-Saone in 1805. The contract guaranteed the support of two teachers; a third, whose expenses would be defrayed by private charities, was to join them later on.[18]

The Director of the Community was Brother Adelard, who, we are inclined to believe, was Martin Charles Moreau, born in the diocese of Seez in 1747 and who, after his admission to the Institute in 1772 and his perpetual profession in 1778, got mixed up in the events of the Revolution in Picardy.[19] He was still living in Abbeville at the beginning of 1806; and then it was, no doubt, that Brother Frumence's appeal moved him to return to the Congregation in

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[16] See Vol. II of the present work

[17] *Centenaire* pg. 65 and Motherhouse Archives, file HA p1, (Brother John Marcellin's letter to Brother Frumence, September 11, 1807).

[18] Departmental Archives of the Rhone, T. 9.

[19] See Vol. III of the present work. We cite the curriculum vitae of the Brothers according to information supplied by administrative Registers in the Motherhouse Archives.

order to give the full measure of his obedience and his talents. Such an experienced person was indeed worth a cordial welcome; at his own peril he had supported himself as a teacher since 1792. But he returned to become a faithful Religious, took in hand the new school in Villefranche which, with help from a good-hearted man, he furnished and did his best to send "proselytes" to Petit College. He was surrounded by a genuine popularity: even the Mayor came forward to express to Brother Adelard his "great satisfaction at the change" effected among the boys under his guidance: they are no longer "such rascals", he said.[20]

Condrieu complained at the closing of its school when Brother Pigmenion (Jacques Juge) went back up the Valley of the Rhone to place himself under the orders of Brother François of Jesus and, from Rue Tramassac, to become a promoter of the restoration of the Institute.[21] It was right to do deal justly with a city thus sacrificed and to repair the damage done it in favor of the Motherhouse. In 1806 Brother Pierre was sent to Condrieu; he was an excellent choice, since he was a very good man who had been one of Brother Frumence's close associates and his travelling companion on his journey from Italy to France.[22]

He helped Condrieu to moderate its sense of loss at Brother Pigmenion's departure, who, in any case, could not be brought back. The former head of the schools in Lyon, always the man of the strictest duty, yielded his post as Director of the Community of Petit College to Brother Jean François in order to open a modest school in Trevoux. The Department of Ain had won back the Brothers, who at one time operated a school at Belley. In that region Jacques Juge would be able to awaken fond memories: he had gone there in 1805 in the company of Brother Augustine (Pierre Gambert), whose generous vocation three years earlier inaugurated the novitiate on Rue Tramassac.[23] The old man and the young Brother, profound friends, were witnesses to their fellow-citizens of the continuity and the unshakable soundness of the Brothers' Rule.

So, too, at St. Chamond in 1806, Brother Paul de Jésus, the former prisoner of the revolutionaries in Puy and longtime teacher in the Upper-Loire, returned to stand alongside Brother Pigmenion to witness his complete submission to Brother Frumence's authority.[24] At the center of the Archdiocese, the Motherhouse stood on firm foundations, and roundabout one saw rising the columns of new buildings; these were living, powerful columns, the venerable and still intact remains of the temple that had recently been destroyed, stones that had been snatched from the ruins and now selected as models for the restoration. Other stones, only recently hewn on the pattern of those older ones, did not spoil the effect of the future edifice.[25]

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Soon we shall view similar restorations all over France. We shall have to point out the various ways in which these were accomplished, visit the workplaces that were opening up, explain how their mutual relations were established and how the workers of the first hour, who usually relied on their own initiative, entered into partnership with the workers who

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[20] Motherhouse Archives, file HA p 1, Brother Adelard's letter to Brother Frumence, January 22, 1807.

[21] See Vol. III of the present work.

[22] *Centenaire*, pg. 66.

[23] Ibid., pg. 64.

[24] See Vol. III of the present work.

[25] We should link to the Lyon foundations the school in Grenoble, sought for by Father Lagrée, pastor of the Cathedral; in 1807 its Director was Brother Luke (Alexis Ville) former associate of Brother Monitor in St. Malo. Brother Luke had, for several years, thrown in his lot with Petit College. (See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 570)

waited to be hired out of the market place. It was a vast "gathering", a coordination of sporadic efforts, successive returns to obedience, in accordance with the desires of groups already in the ranks and of yesterday's idle, and of most of the suppliers of employment; under the increasingly esteemed, welcomed and vigorous leadership of Brother Frumence.

However, before leaving Lyon we need to pause here in order to take a look at a special institution. We are here in Cardinal Fesch's territory, among men who can refuse nothing that is within their conscience to the imperious Archbishop. The quite adventitious account of the introduction of the Brothers into Corsica is not correctly situated unless it is seen as a part of the story of the schools in Lyons. It becomes interesting and takes on its full meaning the moment it illustrates the features of His Most Eminent Highness and the quality of his relations with the Institute.

Joseph Fesch's love for his tiny birthplace made him seek out the best ways of manifesting that love. To provide Ajaccio with Christian Brothers seemed to him the sort of liberality that was worthy of his purple: the Brothers, while strengthening the islanders in their Catholic faith, would teach them the soundest morality and perhaps liberate them from ancient superstitions; they would, besides, contribute to spread the use of the French language and inspire Corsicans with the knowledge and love of the nation which they hardly knew and which, after nearly half a century of annexation, still met with hostility or mistrust on the part of certain clans.

The son of a native of Basle in Switzerland, Joseph Fesch had become a Bonaparte through the marriage of his sister, Laetitia, and had ardently declared in favor of France at the beginning of the Revolution. This position had led him at the time to go so far as to take the "Oath of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy". His quite sincere return to the bosom of the Roman Catholic Church, which reawakened his priestly vocation, henceforth disposed him for an apostolate from which he refused to exclude his beloved fellow-countrymen. And as human calculation always gets mixed up with supernatural considerations, he cherished a concern to increase the popularity of the French party, to strengthen the family situation and to assist his own reputation and that of his nephew, the Emperor.

Such were the motives, acknowledged or implicit, of his dealings with Brother Raimond, one of the senior Brothers attached to Brother Frumence in the Papal school at San Salvatore in Lauro. His mission as ambassador having brought him back to Italy, on the 8th of September 1805 he wrote to Brother Vicar-general from Rome in the following terms:

"I have just spoken to Brother Raimond de Pamiers[26] about the need for a godly and religious education in Corsica, and I've just persuaded him to leave for Ajaccio, taking it upon myself to get your consent and, indeed, your orders for him to leave Rome before Mid-October, the right time for the journey and for crossing the sea ...Brother Raimond will be well-received in Ajaccio; he will there make ready ...a house that will later on become a residence school and that will supply you with candidates, so that you might spread throughout the island ...You will have to give him two good assistants who not only know everything that has to do with the usual education, but I would like one of them to take charge of directing and supervising the building of a small college, which would be intended for them...This project is of supreme importance to me. So I have no doubt that you will give

[26]For Brother Raimond, see the historical Index to Vol. III of the present work. Following Brother Lemandus, the author of *Histoire des Frères de Toulouse*, we had identified this Brother Raimond under his civilian name of Matthieu Varagnon, who, however, was a native of St. Pal de-Chalencon, in the diocese of Le Puy. The birthplace mentioned here by the Cardinal has caused us to question our statement. A Raimond Catala, born in Pamiers on April 16, 1764, entered the Institute in 1785, where he was called, before the Revolution, by the name of Brother Papoul. He it was, it appears, who, under his baptismal name, was among Brother Frumence's auxiliaries and who was about to begin the work of the Institute in Corsica.

it all the encouragement possible".[27]

It would be hard to imagine a more explicit request. His Eminence had the interests of his native land so much at heart that he practically disregarded Brother Frumence's authority. The question was decided directly by Fesch with the Brother in Rome, over the head of the man appointed to preside over the Institute. Indeed, the Cardinal-archbishop considered himself as the Congregation's highest Superior -- the one to whom it owed its revival. The vast plan he conceived to transplant the Brothers to Corsica brooked neither objection nor delay.

Two other letters, written immediately, facilitated the execution of the plan. One of them was addressed to a correspondent in Marseilles, M. Arnaud, who would be responsible for the embarkment of the assistants who would be required from the institution in Lyon; the other was to be given to the municipal officials on the island; it urged them to give a warm welcome to the travelers and, with the promise of reimbursement, to defray their expenses.[28]

Without further ado, the Cardinal, on the 12th of September, signed the title deed for his foundation:"...Desiring to do all in his power, with the help of God, to establish a means of education that will join the inestimable values of religious and civic education", he solemnly promised "his fellow-countrymen" a "Brothers' school". Peremptorily he "enjoined Brother Frumence...to command Brother Raimond, who was at Holy Redeemer School in Rome, to go to Ajaccio, along with a young novice, leaving on the 15th of October 1805". Furthermore, "Brother Frumence will send (no longer two, but) three more of the best Brothers from the Motherhouse, selecting them" from the group that was thus far unassigned, without granting any priority to the "archbishops and bishops" whose requests had been harassing him.

For the support of five teachers the founder allocated the income from property he had leased to the State as the palace of Ajaccio's Archbishop. He left to the Prefect of the Department of Liamone the task of procuring a temporary residence for the Brothers; later, he himself would buy or have built with his own funds the building needed to house the Community.

Ajaccio, the beneficiary of the school, did not have to become involved in its operations. The financial administration belonged to a "Board" of six members, named by Fesch and presided over by the Bishop of the diocese. But the Brothers retained complete freedom to function according to their Rules.[29]

This document, accompanied by numerous and detailed instructions, was sent to the authorities in Liamone, who were not unaware of what their illustrious countryman expected from their good will and gratitude.[30]

Similarly, the Cardinal prescribed for Brother Raimond the course to be followed down to the last detail: departure from Rome to Leghorn, the 17th of October, at the latest; embarkation either directly for Ajaccio, "if the occasion presents itself"; or by way of the Island of Elba, for Bastia, where the Prefecture will provides means of transportation across

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[27] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon, His Excellency the Cardinal-Archbishop's correspondence concerning the diocese, 2nd Register. On September 26 Father Cholleton, Vicar-general of the diocese, received the order "to send at least two Brothers to Corsica".

[28] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon, ibid.

[29] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon, 2nd Register. Alexis Chevalier mentions this document dated September 12, 1805 in his book *Les Frères des Ecoles chreétiennes et l'enseignement primaire apreès la Révolution* (Paris, Poussielgue, 1887) and the *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1935 published an analysis of it.

[30] Archives cited, letters dated October 8, 1805, to the Mayor of Ajaccio, to the Bishop, to the Prefect and to M. Braccini (the latter had been appointed to fulfill the functions of treasurer of the Bureau.

the island; present credential along the way; at the end of the journey, accept hospitality at the home of M. Braccini, who will introduce the new-arrivals to the Bishop and the Prefect of their new home.

As soon as the Brothers from Rome joined their confreres from Lyons (the latter were to arrive first in Corsica), it would be necessary to set to work: classes began the following week. "Every week" the Brother Director would send a report to Cardinal Fesch, from whom would come useful "directives."[31]

Regretfully, the Community of San Salvatore in Lauro witnessed the departure of its best teacher. But no one took it into his head to oppose the injunctions of His Most Eminent Highness. As for Brother Vicar-general, he agreed to part with another of his oldest and most faithful co-workers. Brother Esdras (Thibaut Maire), at one time a teacher in the residence school in Marseilles, who had come to Rome in 1790 and since that time had been closely associated with the fortunes of Brother Frumence, left the Petit College Community to join Brother Raimond. In the person of these two Brothers, the Institute was giving its best to the birthplace of the Bonapartes. Both of them practiced the Christian virtues to the highest degree; the experience gained in the Papal schools -- and especially their knowledge of Italian -- qualified them for their new post. Early, Brother Raimond impressed as an incomparable educator. He was to guide the youth of Ajaccio with kindness and win the respect of the leading citizens to such an extent that his eventual recall to the continent stirred distress and universal protest.

The Jesuit College, situated on the seashore, near the citadel, was unoccupied. There the five Brothers were housed, and classrooms were fitted out. St. Erasmus' chapel, where a confraternity of sailors met, afforded a place for pupils to assist at daily Mass. This temporary arrangement, threatened in 1806 by a decree that assigned the buildings to the city, actually continued on until 1815. Fesch undoubtedly intervened to maintain the status quo for as long as the plan for a university foundation continued in abeyance.[32]

At the beginning of January 1806 the "Gentlemen of the Christian School Board of Ajaccio" submitted a report of construction and costs to the Cardinal. The founder might well have rejoiced: the work had started and under the best of auspices. However, while it answered to His Eminence's most apostolic views, it was not without causing him some financial anxieties. Joseph Fesch's tightfisted thrift was evident in the midst of his generosity: it inspired some of his most biting quips and cutting remarks. In his view, the Brothers were dangerously close to costing him too much money. He refused to grant them more in Ajaccio than they received "in Lyons and in other cities and towns of France". If "they expanded their ambitions, the school would be lost". Their benefactor thought he was being "indulgent" when he granted them an extra thousand francs to cover initial expenses. Thereafter, five hundred "a head" would be enough. The Community should arrange its budget accordingly. Let the "Gentlemen of the Board" take note. The Cardinal repeated his prohibition against their poking into the "internal" affairs of the school.[33]

The institution, then, continued to be of quite modest scope -- not a real college, but a simple elementary school. Within these limits, it bore excellent fruit. Corsica never seemed to be territory for vocations for De La Salle's disciples. In this respect, Fesch's promises went unfulfilled. On the other hand, a work in favor of Christian civilization was carried on quite

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[31] Archives cited, "Instructions given to the Ignorantine Brothers arriving in Ajaccio to open a College," October 16, 1805.

[32] Chevalier, pp. 137-8. Centenaire, pp. 64-5. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1935, pp. 310-13.

[33] Archives of the Archbishoric of Lyon, Cardinal Fesch's special correspondence, letter of January 27, 1806.

successfully. And for the definitive entrance of the island into the French union, the auxiliaries selected by Napoleon's uncle played their role. Like the Brothers, we should be grateful for the Cardinal-Archbishop's initiatives. While, in founding the school in Ajaccio he displayed all the complexities of his personality -- authoritarianism, impatience and incivility -- he was at the same time inspired by noble purposes; and while he was not loath to nitpick nor to dwell upon squalid calculations, we must avoid judging character. The "old man" dwells beneath the charity and zeal of the prelate: perhaps when the image of his birthplace came to mind, he was less the master of himself; and in those moments, speaking to his fellow-countrymen, he resorted to his harsher tones. But his dedication to the Institute, and his affection for Brother Frumence and the Brothers whom he persisted in calling "the Ignorantines", and his concern for popular education were unequalled. And the proofs were not slow in making their appearance.

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Throughout the Empire there was a desire for the re-Christianization of the masses. In order to educate a generation whose fathers and elders foundered in ignorance and both intellectual and moral wretchedness, an appeal was made to souls capable of self-sacrifice and compassion. Early on, these voices found a response: the older Religious Congregations offered their services; thus, in Lyons we meet with the Sisters of St. Charles. After their work in hospitals, the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul resumed their work in the educational apostolate: Joseph Fesch summoned them to Corsica at the same time that he brought the Brothers. New teaching societies were started, such as Sophie Barat's *Daughters of the Sacred Heart*, Julie Postel (who was professed and canonized under the name of Mary Madeleine) in 1805 began, alone, an apostolate among three-hundred children, which was the forerunner to the founding of the so-called Sisters of Mercy or the *Sisters of the Christian Schools*. But who would be concerned with small boys? Father Chaminade, a native of Bordeaux, was planning a project for them, which we shall meet with during its early stages. The only Religious group whose help was near enough to hand to nourish French hopes was identified and sought by everybody: the cities which had been the beneficiaries of its presence over the past two centuries looked forward to its return; the others knew it only by reputation, which was reason enough to take steps to embrace it. The more favored cities possessed a school maintained by some former members of the dissolved Congregation; their future seemed assured, if recruits began to cluster about these veterans. How obtain the necessary reinforcements without reestablishing contact between the ex-Brother and his former superiors?

The city magistrates informed one another about the existence of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, their rules, their methods and the obligations that their cooperation entailed. Learning that the Brother Vicar-general was then living in Lyon, they went to see him. There were urgent letters, power plays and repeated initiatives. The episcopacy did not take a back seat: a moment ago a line in the Cardinal's letter gave us a good idea of requests that were pending. And in some Departments, Prefects took it upon themselves to plead the cause of their constituents.

Brother Frumence was plainly powerless to satisfy many of the petitioners. He explained his difficulty in every letter he exchanged with them. A long letter written on the 18th of March 1806 to the Prefect of Tarn sums up the principal arguments:

"You have been so kind as to ask us to supply you with Brothers for the Communes of Gaillac, Rabastens and Cordes. With all my heart I wish I were able to reply positively to your zeal by sending you the people you require. It is true that we have many institutions in operation, but I believe that we would have a great deal of trouble in supplying teachers...since the Revolution has occasioned the loss of a great number of the members of

our Society and those who have escaped the shipwreck are quite old and soon will no longer be able to serve the public. Besides, we are unable to have pupils (i.e., novices) in as great numbers as we would wish, because conscription is an obstacle for young men who seem to have a quite decided vocation for the tuition-free education of poor youth; and even if we do admit some who are less than twenty years of age, well then, although they have made their novitiate, they are still obligated (by conscription). You see, M. Prefect, the great obstacles to the promotion of our work. Furthermore, we still have only one novitiate in the French Empire, which is in Lyon; but that is not enough to supply Brothers for so many different places; and in spite of the great desire I have to do so, I find myself in the impossible situation of not being able at present to reply (positively) to your purposes...It is to be desired that some kind people would get together and start up one or more novitiates: since the way to have more trees is to have more nurseries...Moreover, we do not operate schools unless we are allowed to teach tuition-free" ... [34]

Actually, the material, moral and legal objections mounted against tuition-free education was indeed a barrier to the spontaneous growth of the Institute. But they arose only as a last recourse; and the Vicar-general had ways of dealing with them and overcoming them. The insuperable argument, unfortunately, for his refusal of requests for Brothers was rather simply stated: to open schools one had to have teachers; and the older Brothers made up a very much diminished group indeed. The vacuum could be filled only gradually and by making an appeal to a new generation. Of course, there were those who would volunteer for Christian education; but they still had to be trained and educated; and, of course, they must persevere. There were too few houses of formation; and if the imperial government did not give up its practice of drafting teachers into its army, how many hopes would vanish in the hazards of war, how many vocations, ignored at the moment they first beckoned, would be lost in military camps! Recruiting teachers seemed as necessary as recruiting soldiers. Military service should not, then, destroy nor interrupt the service of teaching. Until the end of his life Brother Frumence continued to put the problem in these terms.

He received only partial answers, insufficient to dispel his anxiety. But no matter how uncertain the future of young people continued to be, the good of the Institute and of souls required that he keep going. To fill the novitiate in Lyon, while awaiting the opening of similar institutions, the Vicar-general asked for candidates from the people who asked him to open schools. And since the residents at Petit College lived from hand-to-mouth, with no resources except the modest support supplied by the city, any opening of a Christian Brothers Community was subject to the following condition: founders must pay room and board for the novices sent by them and accepted at the Motherhouse, as replacements for the Brothers sent to the new school.

Cardinal Fesch encouraged this practice. When he himself was informed about an educational project, he would tell his informant of the obligations to be shouldered. It was in this way that arrangements were set up with the Bishop of Troyes and the Prefect of the Upper Loire.[35] Room and board for a year of novitiate came to five hundred francs a year -- surely, no exorbitant sum! There was no “endowment” that would enable the Institute to support future teachers. The most urgent concerns of the cities could only incline them in favor of the Brothers; by making a double contribution of vocations and funds to the success of the enterprise, they were guaranteeing either the early arrival of the teachers they were

[34]National Archives, Series F17 1366, copy of Brother Frumence’s letter sent to Fourcroy by the Prefect of the Tarn.

[35] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon, Register of Fesch’s correspondence, letter dated December 15, 1806 to the Bishop of Troyes and the 24th of the following December, to Brother Frumence. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1934, pp. 38-9, Cardinal’s letter to the Prefect of the Upper-Loire (no date given).

asking for, or - failing teachers ready to go to work -- the return of their own candidates once they were trained. Therefore, saving the possibility of a bad selection, they themselves would be taking in hand the success of their own project.

Nevertheless, it was important for the young men to be able to rely upon good guides. During the months when they benefited from Brother Emery's direction, under Brother Frumence's supervision, they retained their enthusiasm and strengthened their confidence. Many of the "Senior Brothers", who lived at Petit College, supplied them with the models of a solid, indeed heroic, virtue. By their presence alone Brother Maurilian and Brother Servulus recalled the tragedies of the Revolution. Generous young men were excited by the presence of these confessors of the faith. When, later, they were separated from them, would their ardor fail?

With a view to educational work, the professional training of the neophytes seemed no less necessary. The experience of a teacher grown grey in the harness would help them avoid mistakes and blunders. In any family, tradition can be corrupted, if children receive it only in writing and not from the lips of their parents or elders. A Religious Congregation, and especial−ly a teaching Congregation, in addition to its Rule and customs, possesses the commentary of its leaders. In order to preserve De La Salle's spirit, to get at the marrow of his teaching and to practice his educational methods, young Brothers at the beginning of the century needed someone to initiate them during their first years of teaching. Nearly all of them were ignorant of the history of the Institute and of the great work accomplished before the disaster of 1792. Their generation had not known the lessons of the old, the last, survivors of the "apostolic" Communities, Brother Irenée's novices at St. Yon and, therefore, still quite close in time to the Founder. The schools were closed when these young men were only forsaking the cradle. Seated at a teacher's desk without having sat at a pupil's desk, they felt the need of instruction. In any case, their apprenticeship had to go on simultaneously with the beginnings of their careers as teachers. And there was basic learning to be accomplished, religious know−ledge to be deepened, and obedience, humility, forgetfulness of self and detachment from worldly goods to brought to perfection.

Unless he were exceptionally gifted, the Director of a Community did not improvise, because there was too much responsibility placed upon him, both as regards his inferiors and his pupils. Brother Frumence meditated on the words of St. John Baptist de La Salle: the Institute is in the hands of the Directors. It was a problem of putting the foundations back in place. Many Directors had disappeared in the upheaval, and many had lain down exhausted and unusable. But if only some few of them survived strong enough, in whom might be recognized the mark and the manner of the master-craftsman, then the house would be rebuilt.

In this work the patient rebuilder did not want to be alone. He shared his plan with Cardinal Fesch. The inquiry undertaken on the 13th of December 1804 by the Director of Public Education, Antoine Fourcroy, and conducted by the Prefects from one end of the Empire to the other left no doubt as to the names, residence and situation of a large number of former Brothers.[36] It was known which of them were engaged in teaching, who remained celibate, who wished to return to the Congregation and who, although in laymen's clothes, showed that their minds had not been secularized. An edifying life, total dedication to pupils, a clear concern to avoid moneymaking, asking for the lowest possible tuition where tuition-free education was illegal, fidelity to devotional practices as far as material needs, the absence of confreres and the proximity to a church would permit, a copy of the Rule carefully preserved and lovingly read -- all of these were so many signs of a living vocation and an invincible perseverance.

[36] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 586-605.

Nevertheless, during the eighteen months that the Vicar-general had been functioning in France, the return had been slow. Perhaps the Brothers didn't know that he had received from the Pope the power to rule the Institute. Or perhaps they suspected that this authority was legally ill-founded and, in fact, weak and without proper recognition from the politicians. In sincere consciences there existed a large part of ignorance mixed with a sort of fear. Some dared believe in a real resurrection of the Institute. They looked for an elected Superior, a Counsel of Assistants and regularly delegated Visitors -- the entire hierarchy of times gone by. At the same time they imagined that a final reorganization would run up against the worst sort of problems: if they learned that the "Statutes" were sent to the Minister of Cults and the Privy Council, they worried about delays, and they speculated about the judges' refusal.[37] So many disappointed hopes, so many defeats at the human level made them cautious to the point of mistrust. They had once risked their freedom and their lives in refusing to swear the schismatic oath; now that the Revolution seemed to have run its course, they shut themselves up in the quiet of their solitude.

What would rouse them, if not the exhortation of a prince of the Church? Who would most solemnly guarantee both Brother Frumence's legitimate authority and the Emperor's intentions regarding the Christian Brothers except the Archbishop of Lyon, the ambassador to the Holy See and Napoleon's uncle?

Fesch knew how to use his prerogatives as the primate of the French church; with no hesitation he let his voice be heard beyond the limits of his own diocese. In the present instance, he only asked to serve the cause of Christian education by making an urgent appeal to former religious schoolteachers.

On the 19th of July 1806, the following circular letter was addressed to them from the Archbishop's office: "Through the mercy of God, my dear Brothers, your Religious Congregation is growing day-by-day. Brothers are sought in many cities. They are being offered everything necessary and sometimes even their former buildings. The problem for your Superior, dear Brother Frumence, is that he does not have enough Brothers to answer to the requests of so may people zealous for religion. The harvest is great and the workers are few. I invite you, my dear Brothers, and I beg you by the zeal that inspires you for the glory of God, the salvation of souls and your own duty, to come as soon as possible to Lyons, to Brother Frumence, to be employed in your holy Institute. You would thereby give me a keen satisfaction that I would never forget. Desiring always to support your Congregation most efficaciously and spread it, and being able to assure you of the kindest intentions of His Royal and Imperial Majesty in your regard, I greet you cordially".[38]

And surely, in these unaffected lines and in the peremptory and direct style employed by His Eminence, we feel his warm concern and his evangelical inspiration. He was not wanting in a certain quality of discreet unction of a sort that made Religious favorably disposed toward him. The Cardinal really spoke like one of the Fathers of the Church. He wanted to touch hearts and put people at their ease. He spoke as a leader, pointing out to people their "duty" and obligating them to the most serious kind of soul-searchings. He allowed the mantle of his authority to fall over the Vicar-general, to whose rights he bore witness as springing from his rank as "Superior". Finally, he gave everybody satisfactory assurances regarding the political situation: the Emperor of the French, the King of Italy, wished only for the happiness of his most faithful subjects; the restoration of the Institute had to be considered as a certainty. While, for the most serious reasons -- police measures taken against

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[37] Ibid., pp. 572-579.

[38] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyon, Register of correspondence, no. 2. Text published in *Centenaire*, pg. 62.

Religious societies thought suspect, criticism of the Privy Council concerning the form of the Statutes and the making of vows, the remnants of Jacobinism and Gallicanism in the higher levels of the administration -- the Cardinal was silent about the decree in Council of the 4th of December 1803and he did not go overboard in offering himself as guarantor for the unshakable "kindness" of the sovereign.

Among the former Brothers reached by the Archbishop's letter there were a variety of reactions. The sequel to the story will provide an opportunity to study them. For the moment, we shall take a look at two quite significant cases. The first throws light on the gesture of a village school teacher who made his choice without hesitation. Brother Lauren, steward at the residence school in Marseilles, returned to his hamlet of Chaturange in the Upper Loire after the diaspora of 1792. At that time he had been a member of the Institute for ten years and had taken final vows in 1787. Determined to remain faithful to them in his peasant surroundings, he opened a modest school under his civilian name of André Galet. His brother was his assistant. When the former Brother Lauren learned through Cardinal Fesch's letter that he would be welcomed at Petit College, he thought of nothing but the joy of returning to monastic life. Tradition reports the brief talk he gave to his pupils: "My children, I used to be a Christian Brother, and I was very sorry to have been forced to leave my vocation. I have learned that my Institute has been reestablished; I am hurrying to go to Lyon...If any of you wish to join them there, I shall do all in my power to facilitate your admission".[39]

This generous leave-taking was so impressive that two of his auditors complied with his exhortation: the first, Jean-Baptist Chapot, who became Brother Anselme; and then, in 1809, a youth born seventeen years before in the neighboring Commune of Alpinac, named Matthieu Bransiet, the future Superior-general, Brother Philippe.

Alongside this instance of spontaneous obedience, there is a story, if not of flat refusal then, at least, of tardy response. Jean-Baptist Mosnier, also a native of Upper Loire, made his perpetual vows at the same time as Brother Lauren. His name was Brother Pompée when the Revolution drove him from the school in Gouteyron, in Puy-in-Velay. However, he never left town (or, if he did, he lost no time in getting back). Rather than at his post as teacher, he was employed (as proctor, infirmarian or agent) in the service of the residents of the workhouse. His bosses valued him highly and wanted to keep him. And Mosnier preferred not to leave them. But, in order to quiet his conscience, he asked the "chaplain" of the institution to intercede at Lyon and explain to Brother Vicar-general the reasons that kept this professed Brother outside the Institute. On January 7th 1808 Brother Frumence wrote to the "highly respected priest, Father Rigaud": "We are only looking for people of good will and do not force anyone. Since Brother Mosnier's services are of such great value for your shelter, he may, if he wishes, continue them; he must know the extent of the obligation he has contracted".[40]

It was an important distinction: the invitation sent to the former Christian Brother was not couched in the language of an imperative summons. Other things had to be taken into consideration -- the value of the dispensation that had been obtained, the physical or moral disqualifications that might have occurred , canonical impediments, or even (because of exceptional circumstances) prohibitions pronounced by diocesan authorities. It was up to each Brother to examine his conscience, to measure "the extent of (his) obligations". Purely human motives, or the calculating counsel of one's friends and acquaintances could not,

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[39] ,[39]See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 533-537 and 565.
Cited by Ravelet, Le Bienheureux Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, 1888 edition, pp. 428-9, following Brother Philippe's circular of 1839.

[40] Motherhousse Archives, BE a, Brother Frumence's file, original letter.

without endangering the salvation of one's soul, determine one's decision in favor of the world. The language of the Decree issued on the 15th of November 1791 by the Sacred Penitentiary needed to be reflected upon seriously. In granting the Archbishopric of Paris and its delegates the power to dispense the Brothers from their simple vows and, "in both the interior and exterior forum", return to them "the freedom to leave" the Congregation, Rome did its best to place conditions on the future. The document which complied with Brother Agathon's appeal declared: "Moreover, each Brother should be informed and exhorted in the Lord that those among them who shall continue to live as celibates should return to their Institute, if Divine Providence should reestablish things in their former condition".[41]

Jean-Baptist Mosnier did not decide to return to the Community in Lyon until after Brother Frumence's death. His former Director of Novices, Brother Paul of Jesus, congratulated him at the time for "having finally yielded to the Almighty's divine scolding". Brother Pompée would have "to double his pace" in order "to indemnify the Lord

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While, with the support of Cardinal Fesch, the Brother Vicar-general was seeking to restore leadership and recruit troops with the view to peaceful and enduring conquests, previously occupied positions were being fortified. Two cities in the South of France, Toulouse and Bordeaux, were opened to De La Salle's disciples and emulators at the same time as Lyon.[42] In the beginning, a vanguard, set up in these places, functioned independently. But once the presence of the Superior had been reported at his command post, they faithfully placed themselves under his orders; and their territories were annexed to the new center of the Institute.

Brother Bernardine's "fiefdom" in Toulouse, however, retained a rather large measure of autonomy. The "act of association" of the 20th of February 1803 entered into between Pierre Blanc and his associates continued to be its fundamental law. The institution's business was regularly debated in a counsel presided over by the "superior", to whom the small group was bound by the closest ties of obedience. There was even an eventual successor designated. He was Brother Edward of Mary (Pierre Rocher) who had come from Lozère at the beginning of 1804. On the 4th of March, Jacques Imbert, François Marcel, Joseph Bardou, Paul Falandry, Charles Bastoli and Joseph Duran pledged themselves to recognize his authority.[43]

They continued to live under a temporary government that was somewhere between secular independence and Religious obligation. The income arising from tuition and resident pupils' fees were shared according to rules they had adopted. Only Jacques Imbert, (old Brother Césarie) refused to own anything as an individual; his colleagues guaranteed his livelihood. There is a curious document that describes a "M. Jacques Daide, of Lavaur", admitted "as a Brother in fact," at the age of fifty, provided that he offers an annual payment of one-hundred francs...and that after his death, the capital from these payments will be left as the property of the Society". He was to agree to "a contract concerning what he has promised" and "to conform in all things to the Rule".[44] The members of the Council dealt on many occasions with other admissions: to assist them in their classes they received several young men whom

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[41] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 186-188.

[42] Cited in *Essai historique sur la Maison Mére,* 1905, pg. 138. See Vol. III of the present work, Part Three.

[43] Archives of the District of Toulouse, Association's Regist−er, used by Brother Lémandus in his *Histoire des Fréres de Toulouse,* 1909. This register is a notebook, in-quarto, having 23 sheets.

[44] Association's Register, decision of July 22, 1806. In Lémandus, pg. 149.

Brother Bernardine treated as real novices.

The growth of the Community gave rise to such hopes that already the teachers in Toulouse were assuming new responsibilities. The pastor of St. Nicolas, Father Campardon, asked them for "two teachers to conduct classes in his parish". The task involved teaching in a neighborhood situated on the left bank of the Garonne, far from the institution in the Faubourg St. Étienne. The road to be traversed four times a day would be hard work, but the Brothers let themselves be persuaded by "the zeal of the pastor". They agreed on an annual payment of 650 francs for each teacher and recognition for their "rules and customs".[45] In June 1807 the furnishing of a residence near St. Nicolas' church enabled them to open a separate Community directed by Brother Edward of Mary.

At this time the cell in Toulouse was completely reintegrated with the body of the Institute.[46] Submissively, it accepted the promptings of the Brother Vicar-general who, in 1806, called two of Brother Bernardine's co-workers to Lyon in order, personally, to hand them "Obediences". He wanted to get ready for the total observation of the vow of poverty, and before all else he demanded the return to tuition-free classes.

In this connection, during the last four months of 1805 Brother Frumence corresponded with the pastor of St. Étienne's, the venerable Father Bernadet who, after his emigration, had become once again a benefactor of the Christian Brothers. The building given in 1788 by this priest once more sheltered the Brothers. If the generosity of the early days had been joined to the lodgings, the problem of material existence would no longer have worried Brother Bernardine.

To these suggestions the old friend of Institute (along with much praise) could only contribute a gloomy demurrer. On the 13th of October he wrote: "My very dear and honored Brother, I have always and in a special way praised and admired...your founder, M. de La Salle, and I am overjoyed to see that you are in such great demand everywhere... " He recalled his former role and the satisfaction he felt during the days of Bishop Brienne and Bishop Fontanges, when he was in charge of lodging the Brothers in the building on Rue Mange-Poumest, to which their successors have so auspiciously returned.[47] The priest's family had saved this heirloom from confiscation. But greatly diminished resources would no longer permit Father Bernadet to pay an allowance that would suffice for this charitable work. "The Revolution took more than a hundred-thousand francs from my sister and myself." Better appeal to the public authorities, and let them relieve Brother Frumence's concerns.[48]

They then turned to the Prefect of Upper Garonne. Brother Bernardine was to initiate and pursue the negotiation personally. On the 5th of December 1805 he set forth his fears concerning the future of the institution in Toulouse to the high-ranking official, M.

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[45] Lémandus, pg. 167. Decision of the Association, taken on May 13, 1804.

[46] Association's decision of March 15, 1806: We the undersigned, upon our reading of the order or "obedience" that the very dear Brother Frumence, Vicar-general or our Institute has just sent, according to which he commands our dear Brother Antony to come to Lyons...we declare that the said Brother Antony is bound in virtue of his vow, to fulfill it...

[47] Today it is included in the resident school on Rues Riquet and Etoile ; its interior arrangements have hardly changed; and its charming oratory retains its decorations in the style of Louis XVI. Inside, over the door, an inscription reads: This chapel was ornamented and decorated through the generosity of Father Peter Bernadet, Doctor in Theology and Pastor of the Metropolitan Church of St. Stephen. Benefactors of the work were Nobleman Desparbe's, Lady Razingues and Mlle Pybrac. MDCCLXXXVIII. Another inscription survives over the entrance to the institution, at 24 Rue Riquet :"The Brothers of the Christian and Tuition-free Schools" (Letters engraved and gilded on a plaque of black marble)

[48] Letter published in Brother Lémandus' book, pg. 166.

Desmousseaux. If circumstances continued any longer to be opposed to the integral practice of tuition-free education, the Brother Vicar-general, who was adamant on this point, would withdraw the Brothers. The cities that wanted Christian Brothers' schools and that operated them in conformity with the view of the Superior would be given preferential treatment. Thirty-six cities were awaiting a positive reply. By preserving the Brothers' modest structure in Toulouse intact, Desmousseaux would be fulfilling the Emperor's purposes, which had already been thoroughly vouched for by several measures very favorable to the Institute.[49]

On the 23rd of December Brother Frumence's envoy speculated on the outcome of his efforts. "Our business is going well", he wrote to his Superior; and it was unaffected by "the gouty disposition" of the one who was conducting it. The City Council was committed to assuming the financial responsibility for the Brothers in St. Nicolas'. Everything led him to anticipate that it would be the same thing for the Brothers in St. Étienne's. Furthermore, Brother Bernardine wanted the use of a building other than the scarcely habitable one in his own neighborhood. But on this point he expected a setback. "All national buildings are occupied by the military (about which everybody is mad in time of war!") he adds in a slightly malicious parenthesis. He regretted that the Vicar of the Institute had not himself intervened with the Archbishop of Toulouse and the Prefect. "Both of them" had the failing of being "too kind and too soft in business matters". He also noted that these two men saw the resumption of the complete Religious habit not only as beyond suspicion, but, like "everybody else, with the greatest respect and pleasure".[50]

Actually, in a letter dated the 19th of December, Desmousseaux informed the city administration of on a variety of topics affecting the Brothers of the Christian Schools: the "endowment" of those who taught in St. Nicolas' parish, "the need to open similar schools in the northern part of the city", and "the advantages" that tuition-free education would provide for all these schools, including the one in the St. Nicolas district. In a meeting on the 12th of February 1806 the Council was of the same opinion. It declared that it was "urgent" to return the responsibility for the education of young boys to the Brothers; it determined the salary of each teacher at six-hundred francs and passed a resolution in favor of the extension of tuition-free schools to the northern and southern neighborhoods, where, for these purposes they could use the former Perigord College and the Franciscan convent.[51]

The Prefect's approval presented no problem. It came on the 3rd of March. And on the 20th of the following October, the Mayor, M. Bellegarde gave the following estimate of the educational situation: "Since the opening of the Christian Brothers' schools in this city, the (other) schools...which did not have a great deal of influence, gradually failed...You know, also, (Gentlemen), that the City Counsel has endowed the Christian Brothers' schools; this expense is carried in the city's budget. (They) are highly regarded and enjoy general confidence; pupils attend them from all over and in ever-increasing numbers. In a word this institution leaves nothing to be desired in the way of elementary education of youth.[52].

As the result of his intelligent moves, his talents as an educator, his skillful leadership, and, finally, of his Religious obedience, a sort of triumph was about to crown Brother

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[49] Lémendus, pp. 179-81; *Centenaire*, pg. 82. Alexis Chevalier also cited this letter, which he mistakenly dated as December 23.

[50] Lémandus, pp. 170-1.

[51] Ibid., pp. 181-3.

[52] Lemandus, pp. 155 and 161

Bernardine's efforts. The eleven associates who surrounded him at the end of 1805,[53]veteran Brothers or young recruits, were for the most part secure in their vocations: holes created by defections had been filled. Gradually and with no regrets, the initial "association" was transformed into an authentic Community.[54] The old teacher, whose health had become precarious,[55] could now pronounce a joyous *Nunc dimittis*. For more than half a century, a tireless worker, and unparalleled organizer, in dark days a courageous warrior and an evermore faithful disciple of the Holy Founder in the course of his bustling career, Brother Bernardine would leave behind him in the Institute, and especially in the schools in the southern Departments, the recollection of a noble soul and an exceptional personality. His physical appearance, stamped with energy and subtlety, is evoked in the portrait preserved by the Brothers in Toulouse:[56] it represents Pierre Blanc in his Brothers' robe; he is holding the pen with which he wrote his "association's" rules, drew up the plans for his schools, and put the final touches on his arithmetic lessons. The hand shows him as alert; the mouth appears thin and witty; the skeletal structure is distinctive; the look is direct and deliberate, but not unattractive; the overall impression is one of a lively, bold nature that is always prepared for action, with a powerful mind in a rather frail body. This was indeed the southerner whose childhood bloomed under Provençal skies, who breathed the sea air, and who, like the Phocaeans of old, looked for broader horizons. This was indeed the man whom Brother Florence and Brother Agathon appreciated; and who -- wherever he labored -- guided his plow, skillfully cut his furrow, planted his wheat and made ready his harvest for the granaries of his native land and of his heavenly country.

Before he went to his eternal reward on the 29th of August 1809, Brother Bernardine was detained, so to speak, by one final concern. The city of Castres refused to believe that it had been completely forsaken by this distinguished servant. That so much zeal to extend to Castres the benefits of the work inaugurated in 1769 by Bishop Barral and that so much effort deployed to restore its Christian school at the height of the Revolution should have been interrupted by a sudden call from Toulouse[57] embittered the this neighboring city of the capital of Languedoc. Castres' Mayor, M. Lastours, inspired by the noblest intentions, continued to demand a school on the banks of the Agout similar to the one which flourished on the Upper Garonne. He was relying upon the repentance of the beloved deserter.

In fact, Pierre Blanc never forgot either the city that had been so hospitable to the Brothers, so ardent in the past to show them its gratitude, nor its people whose lively, spontaneous and docile children repaid him from the heart for the difficulties he had endured for them. The discussion on the 4th of March 1804 between himself and his associates does indeed seem to have envisaged a new beginning for the enterprise in Castres, either under his direction or under the guidance of Brother Edward of Mary. Doubtless, he had to recognize that a scattering of his activities would compromise the results gained in Toulouse.

Nevertheless, his support did not fail Lastours. The Director of the Community in Castres in 1792 was Brother Cherubin of Jesus who, after refusing to take "the Constitutional oath"

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[53] Brother Bernardine's letter to Brother Frumence, December 23, cited above

[54] From 1803 to 1808 Brother Bernardine received some thirty postulants, most of whom were natives of the Castres region. He dedicated all his free time to them. These young men assisted at the Community's religious exercises, studied De La Salle's Collection and catechism, and recited the Office of the Most Blessed Virgin. (*Archives of the District of Toulouse, Historique du noviciat*).

[55] Letter dated December 23, 1805.

[56] Painted by Taxte in 1808 (Lemandus, pg. 193).

[57] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 379-380 and 564; Vol. III, pp. 427-428 and 482.

and the closing of his school, returned to his birthplace, Bollene, in the Department of Vaucluse. There he did a little teaching, while he lived in retirement, in the home of a neice who provided him with a quiet and homey existence.[58] He was getting on in years and there were some infirmities. However, Brother Bernardine was thinking about Churubin (Joseph Ducord), who had left behind him such fine memories among his former pupils and had supplied them with the example of a courageous fidelity to the Church. Bernardine mentioned him to the Mayor of Castres, who immediately wrote to him. The old man in Bollène hesitated: his age and his health seem to disqualify him for the important mission the Mayor wanted him to assume. It was nearly fifty years since, as an adolescent, Cherubin had begun his novitiate in Avignon. His young and mature years had been spent in educational work. And the shock of the Revolution had hastened his decline. There were probable exaggerations is all of this, since Brother Cherubin de Jésus was just past sixty years of age, and his career had not yet come to an end.[59]

Advised by Brother Bernardine, Lastours insisted. The task was an urgent one, which no Christian Brother could shirk. Would he repudiate the vows he took in 1768? Joseph Ducord felt his "natural" defenses falter; and he declared himself at the disposition of the Brother Vicar-general. Lyons, informed by Toulouse, sent an order to depart, and the people in Castres had won their point.[60]

In a city, henceforth without a bishop, indeed, frustrated by it ephemeral title of 'capital of Tarn', but which retained its episcopal manner and the severe charm of the "Ancien Régime", Brother Cherubin returned to the school, called "Jeu de Paume", built by Bishop Barral's successor, not far from the beautiful gardens designed by André Le Nôtre. There he took up his quarters, with three assistants,[61] on the 9th of November 1805. And a decree issued from Schoenbrunn on the 15th of the following December definitely restored the property to its educational uses.[62].

The atmosphere of this Community, the sympathy of the officials and the people quickened Brother Cherubin's spirits. "He is increasingly enthusiastic about the Mayor", wrote Brother Bernardine to Brother Frumence in his letter of the 23rd of December. And Lastours himself said that he was quite satisfied: on the 28th of April 1806, writing to the "Vicar-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", he spoke of his joy "at having cooperated in the restoration" of the Congregation in a city where De La Salle's disciples once practiced their marvelous apostolate: "Brother Cherubin's zeal leaves nothing to be desired, and, on my side, I have done everything in my power to make his stay here as agreeable and as advantageous (as the situation permits)".

In fact, it was necessary "to come to the aid" of Castres. "Temporal" duties required the sending of a fifth Brother. Four teachers were thus dedicated exclusively to education. However, a serious illness overtook one of the assistants; and to take his place, Brother Bernardine sent Brother Marcel. "He will certainly recall him", it was thought. It was up to the Motherhouse to take the matter in hand. Let it remember the good will of the families in Castres -- a Christian Community that had in the past supplied the Institute with a number of vocations. At this point something like envy for the privileged capital emerges: "Toulouse has only just a little less than double Castres' population:" it can afford to sacrifice something in favor of Lastours constituency. There then follows an admission that the Vicar-general

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[58] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 256 and 603.

[59] Brother Cherubin de Jésus, born in 1741, died April 23, 1824 in Avignon.

[60] Motherhouse Archives, 24 AG 2, Historique du Castres.

[61] Brothers Bartholomew, Gombeaux and Pascal (Archives of the District of Rodez, *Historique de Castres*).

[62] *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 136

would not find amusing, but it concealed a sort of promise that was designed to promote the request's success:
"If, as I hope, education is tuition-free for every pupil next winter, there will be no less than four-hundred children in the schools".[63]

Brother Cherubin of Jesus, then, labored in the tradition of the Christian Brothers, a worthy competitor of his confrere, Bernardine. And taking up once again the task he had assumed when he first became Director, and, after fourteen years, having rediscover himself, he inspired numerous vocations among his pupils.[64]

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The Communities in Languedoc were being restored under excellent auspices and were about to experience, once again, a period of prosperity. Toulouse, for a century, would profit from the powerful impetus that defined its reestablishment. From its novitiate would emerge generations of courageous pioneers -- accustomed to obedience, ready for any work, sustained by an unshakeable faith and by the practice of perfect modesty and a singular austerity. There were flashes of virtue over the Garonne and from the Pyrenees to the Massif Central. It was a vast region acquired for the Christian education of the common people, and thereafter of the middle class, for the apostolate and for the recruitment of Brothers.

People in Bordeaux were quick to be included in this zone of Lasallian influence. In 1805 its capital was already in possession of a school organized in the spirit and following the methods of the Institute. How that institution got started was described in the preceding volume.[65] Two young men, Louis Lafargue and Joseph Darbignac, under the guidance of the future Father Chaminade, dedicated themselves to the education of the poor; neither of them had belonged to a Religious Congregation. However, Lafargue had been a pupil of the Brothers. And since 1802 he had been studying De La Salle's Rule, and, in his classroom, he had been following the principles of the brilliant educator. Joseph Darbignac soon joined him and a small Community sprang up. After two years of effort, these self-appointed teachers travelled to Toulouse, where, during a brief stay, they talked with Brother Bernardine and accepted his encouragement and counsel.

When Father Chaminade learned that the Vicar-general was residing in France, he offered to join his disciples to the renaissant Society. Through the mediation of Father Rauzan, the apostle of the Lyon region, he negotiated the despatching of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to Bordeaux. In this way the gap was bridged between the present and the past: on the rubble of the work destroyed by the Revolution, rebuilding here had to go forward with a twofold contribution of materials: young men of good will sacrificed themselves to supply the foundations and the walls, while qualified representatives of the old Institute tended to the cementing and the facing of the edifice.

Brother Seraphin of Mary and Alexandre finally arrived from Lyon in May of 1806.[66].
Chaminade welcomed them. The Archbishop and the city government agreed as to the immediate employment of the teachers.

On the 9th of April 1802 Archbishop Charles Francis Aviau du Bois Sanzay inaugurated his episcopacy in Guyenne. The Pope and Napoleon had given the archdiocese a saintly

[63] Lemandus, pg. 168.

[64] Motherhouse Archives, KH h 6, Castres file. Text cited by Chevalier, pg. 132.

[65] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 477-482.

[66] Motherhouse Archives, notes on the schools in Bordeaux

prelate. The Brothers knew and venerated him as the Archbishop of Vienne, in the Dauphine, in 1789. As an emigré, he visited their Community in Farrara and, on the 2nd of December 1794 he celebrated Mass there. Secretly returning to the territory of the French Republic in 1797, he reestablished contact with Catholics on the banks of the Rhone and extended his zeal from the Alps to the Cevennes. In order to elude the police, he dressed like a peasant; and he prayed and officiated at La Louvesc, on the tomb of the celebrated missionary of Viviers, Françis Regis. After the signing of the Concordat, he supported the Pope's decisions. For the good of souls and for the sake of religious peace, this man of the "Ancien Régime" provided an example of the most meritorious obedience, by giving up his church in the Dauphine and accepting from the Napoleonic government the See of Bordeaux. No one ventured to challenge his lofty conscience. Just as Archbishop Sanzay, in his hiding places and on his missionary circuits, defied the iniquitous laws of the Directory, so, too, with the intrepidity of St. Ambrose, he knew how to defend the freedom of his ministry and the rights of the Holy See in the face of the Emperor; and Napoleon respected the word and the character of the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

For this upright man Providence reserved a vigorous old age. For twenty-four years the good shepherd multiplied good works: seminaries were completely reorganized; convents were populated and supported; parishes were provided with priests; schools were opened; and preaching was spread everywhere. It took a sudden accident to put an end to his career: the curtains in his bedroom caught fire and Archbishop Sanzay, severely burned, lived on for a few languishing months, from March to July 1826. One of his final acts occurred on the 26th of June: the dying octogenarian had himself carried to the window balcony and from there, blessed the hundreds of school children who, under the direction of the Christian Brothers were participating in a jubilee procession.[67]

A like blessing, which also became a final farewell, accompanied the initial attempts of the Brothers and occasioned an assembly of their pupils. At the Archbishop's request, the city in 1806 assumed the responsibility for the salaries of three Brothers and for furnishing, for their use, the residence that their 18th century predecessors had occupied near the St. Eulalia Gate. Classes had opened in this parish on the 2nd of February 1807. Gradually the Christian Brothers returned to the schools that were theirs prior to 1791. A site in the seminary, at first, housed a neighborhood school, while two classes were taught at St. Michel's in 1808 and others at St. Nicolas' and St. Seurin's in 1809.

Guillaume Chaminade, Archbishop Aviau's worthy co-worker and confidant, worked diligently at the task of the orderly growth of the Community. Nothing at the time suggests that it had entered into his mind to start a new Religious society with features of his own choosing. Louis Lafargue and Joseph Darbignac joined De La Salle's Institute as Brothers Elias and Paulian, respectively. They wore the same habit as Brothers Seraphin and Alexander had been wearing since their visit to Toulouse -- the robe that was customary in the Congregation, with the white rabat.[68] "All that was missing were the sleeves on the mantle", according to Brother Bernardine (a description that was true only of his own mantle).[69]

This final metamorphosis of the two Bordeaux natives seems to date from the early months of 1807.[70].

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[67] Michaud's Biographical Dictionary, article signed by Gley.

[68] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 606-607.

[69] In his letter of December 23, 1805 to Brother Vicar-general.

[70] Motherhouse Archives, notes on the schools in Bordeaux

Their educational apprenticeship could have occasioned no difficulty; they had been teaching according to the best methods for five years. As for a novitiate properly so-called, Brother Seraphin offered them his experience. In his fifties, Valentine Lambert had been a member of the Institute since 1778; he had been trained at Maréville, the novitiate closest to his native diocese of Laon. And he soon believed that Brother Paulian was capable of training, in his turn, the young candidates who had been supplied by Father Chaminade's active recruiting.

However, Brother Frumence, made aware of the situation, appeared uneasy. Joseph Darbignac, former soldier and, the day-before-yesterday, a layman, had suddenly become Director of Novices. His knowledge of souls must have been rather shallow. What special graces had he received to teach future Religious? Father Charminade would, of course, answer for him; but did the good priest really understand how to work for the advantage of the Christian Brothers? And did he not prefer to pursue his own personal project while borrowing inspiration, as he pleased, from De La Salle's ideas?

These questions so preoccupied the Superior of the Institute that, in order to satisfy his conscience, he wrote directly to Archbishop Aviau, who thought to satisfy the respectful inquiry with the following letter, dated the 4th of February 1808: "I have always had at heart the maintenance of your holy Rule, the advantages of which are recognized. Now, I think I can say that, too, is Father Chaminade's view; and it was with this conviction in mind that I put him in charge of special relations with our dear Brothers. He assures me that he leaves the guidance of the Master of novices quite free. As for Brother Paulian, responsible for that work on the recommendation of Brother Seraphin, it is true that he was himself unavailable for the course of regular novitiate exercises in the old program; but you, my venerable Brother, are in a position to know that this is the seventh year that he has been following your Rule with its Religious and charitable observances -- an external practice which he entered upon only after a serious study and to which he has applied himself in concert with Brother Elias; besides, they were both trained for a while in Toulouse".

"Beginners seem to have a special confidence in Brother Paulian, because they see in him the living Rule, while he develops in them both the letter and the spirit of the written Rule. However, if you think it fitting...you can call upon him to come and see you; and after suitable tests, you can send him back to his important duties".

In a final paragraph of the Archbishop's letter, it emerges that Brother Frumence proposed to replace Brother Paulian with some member of the Community in Toulouse. Archbishop Aviau declined this suggestion; because he did not know the Brother in question, and even the Vicar-general knew him only indirectly. The "safeguard" seemed too uncertain.[71]

There was no longer any talk, then, of changing the established order. A few weeks later Father Chaminade himself produced fresh assurances: he declared that he acted solely "according to the views" of the Brothers' Superior; and that he had "nothing to teach" the "venerable" Brother "except what was comforting". "The novitiate organized with your authority and under the auspices of the Archbishop (he wrote in the letter dated the 9th of March)[72] is doing as well as one ever could want: at the moment there are seven novices. Brother Paulian, their Director, has the confidence of everyone; all respect his virtue and obey him with pleasure. Brother Seraphin seems exceedingly pleased ... His only difficulty is that the St. Eulalia house where the entire Community resides (including two classrooms) is so small; he desires, and rightly so, that someone give the novitiate a separate building".

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[71] Motherhouse Archives, HA p 4, autograph.

[72] Motherhouse Archives, HA p 4, autograph.

At this point a plan was mapped out which the recruiter in Bordeaux was very careful to follow, but which, once it was realized, conducted Father Chaminade on to paths far removed from his initial agreements. To house the recruits, whose rapid influx he predicted, he sought some peaceful enclosure -- a sort of Thebaid where, paternally, he might watch over the postulants and lavish upon them the consolation of his ministry. Such isolation indeed seemed desirable; but it concealed a danger that the distinguished cleric, in the purity of his intentions, had scarcely suspected: if the novices, become his guests, live apart from their Community, would they not become too exclusively attached to their priestly mentor? And would not Brother Paulian's docility and gratitude to his spiritual director bind still closer the bonds of total dependence? The future would justify in a rather clear way the fears entertained by Brother Frumence. It was then than an energetic change of course was required, and it would be Brother Gerbaud who would make it.

Until the eve of the Vicar-general's death hardly a disagreement appeared between him and the other man of God, Guillaume Chaminade. The moving of the novitiate, however, did not take place without disappointment and delay.[73] In March 1808 the priest had only broached the subject: "I conferred with the Archbishop: his goodness and zeal have induced him to adopt the plan. I hasten to submit it to you. I have a house in mind which is in the neighborhood of St. Eulalia's. I shall await your reply before concluding any arrangement". And under pressure to dispel all ambiguity, Father Chaminade inspired Brother Frumence with the highest hope: "All our correspondence, my venerable Brother, has been viewed by His Highness. The establishment of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Bordeaux is, so to speak, the work closest to his heart; he looks upon it with keen interest. We should look upon ourselves, you and I, as very fortunate to support the holy views which inspire him. Already Bordeaux is harvesting the precious fruit of all of this. Eight schools[74] opened, with about eight-hundred children in a position to be educated and formed to virtue".

Nothing, then, would separate Louis Lafargue and Joseph Darbignac from the center of the Congregation. Their spiritual director proving this by asking that his beloved disciples be finally authorized to pronounce vows. He warmly pleaded their cause: "I am pleased to testify to what their modesty prevents them from thinking: (namely) that they are worthy of this favor, that they really have the spirit of their vocation, and they have both talent and knowledge. For more than six years they have lived according to the full rigor of the Rule, without counting the first year of inquiry and preparation: never, over this long period, did they have a change or an aversion. I have never lost sight of them. I directed them in the choice of their vocation, I tested them and the long experience they had of it has been nearly always under my supervision. I could tell you many more things in their favor; but you have had the occasion to hear tell of them over several years; never have they failed. In them your Order will make an excellent acquisition".

Coming from a 'confessor of the faith', a great director of souls and the eventual founder of a Religious Congregation,[75] this testimony took on an unexceptionable value. Brothers Elias and Paulian were admitted without further delay to pronounce their first vows. They took

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[73] In some lines that Archbishop Aviau himself added to Father Chaminade's letter, he stated that he himself would be happy to share the expenses "of making the over-crowded novitiate more comfortable". On the 11th of the following July a further communication from the priest informed Brother Frumence that obstacles had arisen. "Somebody went back on his word." (Mother–house Archives, HA p 4.)

[74] Read "eight classes."

[75] We know that, among the many undertakings of Father Chaminade – whose name, as Cardinal Donnet has declared, "is stands at the head of the list of human accomplishments in Bordeaux" – the Society of Mary occupies the prime place. (Cf. George Goyau's book, le P. Chaminade, and Canon Adrien Garnier's *L'Eglise et le'education du peuple,* Paris, 1933, pp. 60-68.

their perpetual vows after the General Chapter of 1810. Unfortunately, Brother Paulian's career was a brief one. Doubtless the severe wounds which put an end to his military campaigns in 1794 contributed to his premature death.[76] The considerable role Brother Elias would play in the Institute for more than forty years did credit to Father Chaminade's choice and his good judgment.

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We now leave the South of France where we have been looking at the progress made between 1805 and 1808 in the recruitment of Brothers, the operation of schools, the reorganization of command and the unification of the Institute under the (now full) authority of Brother Frumence. There, without any difficulty, we found a consistency in events: and there, too, we located the thread that, from Lyons to Bordeaux by way of Toulouse, bound together the various projects and especially the men who were committed to their individual destinies.

We turn our attention now to Paris and the region around Paris; obviously, here the influence of Lyons was less strongly felt and efforts were rather fragmented. However, it would be a misreading of Brother Gerbaud's character and his principles, it would be to forget his intervention in 1803 (at a moment the problem of Brothers Vicar-general's powers arose)[77] to imagine that there were a lot of false starts, a lot of recalcitrant Brothers or a lot of partial restorations. The hand of the Director of the Gros-Caillou Community was suspected or discovered in an operation of reunion that was analogous to the one we have just been studying. There was no lack of advice or directives for Brothers concerned about resuming the traditional Religious life along with their educational tasks. Either they were supplied directly from Petit College; or Brother Frumence's was represented among those concerned by a man who had his complete confidence, the competent and faithful lieutenant whom he knew to be in a position to enlighten doubtful cases, to make sound judgments or to put consciences back on the right path. It was in this way the Brother Gerbaud prepared the way for his future activities as Superior.

He certainly did not succeed immediately in convincing everybody. Independence has its attractiveness; and then, too, desirable positions exercised a hold on the former teachers who were financially independent and also thought of themselves as committed to new obligations involving gratitude and fidelity. In this category we would classify the lone Brother whom we meet at St. Barbara's College. In September 1804, under responsibility to the Prefect of Studies, he directed a tuition-free school that was connected with that institution. Sixty pupils were sent to him by the pastors of St. Étienne-of-the-Mont, St. Benedict and by the "Ladies Benevolent Association" of Paris. A certificate of indigence was required for admission. In 1806 Victor Lanneau, who reorganized St. Barbara's, sent Fourcroy the instructional program that was dispensed to the children of the common people: "1. Religion, of which this class has a very special need in order to accustom it to respect the law and to keep it in subordination (to the government); 2) reading, writing and arithmetic, and whatever French grammar is necessary for a craftsman".[78]

In this way, and for quite humanitarian ends and along lines of imperial politics, the talents of one Christian Brother were employed. When the bonds of matrimony were added to other social obligations, former Christian Brothers obviously could only stay with their calling as

[76] May 6, 1813, at the age of forty-one years.

[77] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 512-519.

[78] National Archives, F17 63003. Cited by Fosseyeux, *Les Ecoles de charité à Paris sous l'ancien régime et dans le première partie du XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1912, pp. 92-3.

teachers, continuing or resuming the methods of the Institute, with the desire of training good citizens and believers instructed in their faith. Such appears to be the teachers in the schools of Versailles, who, since the 1st of May 1802, had been returned to the old classrooms, and, among them was Claude Bichot who, in 1791, signed a furniture inventory.[79]

More or less, they maintained relations either of long standing or of simple courtesy with the Director of Gros Caillou and his circle. The past was not entirely forgotten; they had once worked and prayer together. Even at the outbreak of the Revolution they were struggling side-by-side; many of these fine men who, in the long run, became reconciled to civilian jobs and, wrenched from religious peace and fraternal security, they sought out the solace of family life; and many of them, although "secularized", were ultimately numbered in the ranks of the "non-jurers;" they obeyed Brother Agathon, and they suffered in a just cause.

This was the situation of Brother Principe who had been driven off by the Revolution from the school of the Madeleine in Paris.[80] Using his Religious name, on the 19th of March 1806, he addressed the following petition to the Counselor of State, the Director-general of Public Education: "Having seen...in the newspaper of the 4th of March the praise you directed at the "Ignorantine Brothers", I am pleased to inform you that I am fifty-five years of age and that I had been a part of that group since the year 1774...I left that Congregation only at the time of its destruction...I settled in Lagny...I have a wife and a three year old son. I have continued to teach, and now I have a class of about twenty-five children. But if you can find me a position that would provide me with a decent life, I am at your service".[81]

In Brother Principe's neighborhood, the Community in St. Roch's parish also evaded the ceremonies of "Constitutional worship". Its Director, Brother Boniface. told the president of the Palais-Royal area that he "recognized no other pastor than Father Marduel", who was the legitimate pastor.[82] After he became a bookseller, Guilain Dubois married. His life seemed to revolve about his former Congregation: in a letter dated as late as the 1st of June 1803, Brother Gerbaud was still calling him "Brother Boniface". Brother Frumence called upon him to perform numerous favors. Dubois was greatly moved by kindness and a show of confidence. He was grateful to former confreres who had not "mortified or grieved him in the past".[83]

Brother Gerbaud deserved this acknowledgement: when his friend was widowed in 1820, the Superior-general did not fail to send an expression of his sympathies. The former Brother Boniface continued to be useful by seeking, in company with the pastors of St. Germain-des−Pres and St. Sulpice, a suitable piece of property for the Institute.[84]

It was in this way that the Director of Gros-Caillou comforted his "separated brethren". He reached out to them with a gentleness that never degenerated into weakness. There are rigorists who might be surprized at this attitude. But it was a time when many monks, many priests, after the most serious lapses, were "reconciled" although reduced to "the lay-state". The Brothers who had not returned to the Congregation were not, as they saw it, marked with the sign of the eternal priesthood. They pointed to dispensations obtained in conformity with the decisions of the Sacred Penitentiary or, perhaps less validly, through a confessor, without

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[79] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1924, pg. 225.

[80] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 139-140.

[81] National Archives, F17 1366.

[82] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 90.

[83] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4, Brother Gerbaud's file, Mr. Dubois' letter, August 15, 1820.

[84] Ibid.

any danger to conscience. Hundreds of them had only temporary vows before the Revolution; and at the end of their commitment they considered themselves free.

Brother Gerbaud, like Brother Frumence, did indeed expect that perpetually professed Brothers, barring deriment impediment, to return to the Institute. Later on, in imperative tones, we find him putting pressure on the laggards. From the moment he arrived in Paris people saw the zeal that drove him - the desire to recover the vagrants, to seek out new vocations and the concern to avoid fresh defections. He had obtained Napoleon's approval and had powerful support; as a consequence, people looking for schoolteachers applied to him.

On the 12th of July 1805 M. Piault, the first assistant to the Mayor in the Tenth District,[85] formed a "society for charitable assistance": its principal purpose -- as underscored by the second article of its constitution -- was "to provide for the education of poor children". Quite probably its organizers anticipated the Brothers' cooperation, which they obtained; for, once "Piault's society was firmly established and for as long as it existed, "the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine", assisted by two laymen of tried competence and virtue, provided elementary instruction for the small boys of the District.[86]

The date they opened the school on the Ile St. Louis is better known: the school founded by the Bureau of the "Fraternity District"[87] opened on the 23rd of October 1806 under the direction of the Brothers in a house on Rue Pouletier.[88]

Of course, the Gros-Caillou school occupied the prime place in Brother Gerbaud's concerns. Materially it depended upon the generosity of Mme. de Trans, the foundress. But, then, around 1807, she seemed, if not alienated from a projected that had realized all her expectations, at least to allow herself to be influenced by the fears and the aristocratic prejudices of her friends. The Brother Director, without being unduly alarmed, thought that the situation needed to be clarified. For the Marquise's information he drew up a memorandum, the text of which is worth examining.[89]

"Madam, I am thoroughly convinced that the objections you raise regarding tuition-free Christian schools are in no way serious. Of this truth your own heroic activity and your many sacrifices on their behalf are a palpable demonstration. I regard, therefore, and I accept all your little criticisms, as the pure and simple echo of those big talkers who, like the bewitching siren, follow you around and try, vainly, to divert...the precious flow of your many charities on behalf of poor children. I have recently come to realize the weakness of their arguments...And since my sluggish imagination constantly betrays me, I promised myself to use the first free time of our vacation to set down in writing the answer that I believe must be given to them...in the interests of truth, the glory of God, and for the honor of

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[85] This is now the VIIe precinct in Paris.

[86] Chevalier, pp. 290 and 292.

[87] In 1792, a name given to Ile St. Louis.

[88] Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 92. This historian's explicit statement and the exact date he advances leads us to rectify what was said on page 584 of Volume Three of the present work regarding the beginning of the school in Ile St. Louis. However, we do not believe that Brother Vivien immediately assumed the direction of it.
Brother Gerbaud, as we have seen, maintained an interest in it and kept the Brother Vicar-general informed about it.

[89] This document, discovered in the Motherhouse Archives (It had not been catalogued at the time of our research.) bears on its cover the following title, "Reply to Some Objections to Tuition-free Christian Schools". It is anonymous. Except for the above title, it seems to be written *in toto* in Brother Gerbaud's handwriting. And just as we find the man in the handwriting, so, too, in the quite personal style. As for the person for whom the document was intended, the reader can guess from the opening sentences.

a religious society of which I am the least and the most unworthy member...”

After this introduction, in which Brother Gerbaud’s humility and the difficulties and hesitations of a timid nature are revealed, the argument unfolds, straightforward, impassioned, and skillful. At his desk, this small-featured man with the awkward bearing rose up, found an eloquence that came from the heart, and set a soul filled with faith to writing, and he wrote in a way that he would exhibit later on during the time of his greatest responsibilities as a farseeing and resolute Superior-general:

“The tuition-free Christian School (the necessity of which he meant to prove- was, to his view) the sacred and universal refuge against the world’s corruption. For, indeed, what would poor children do, if they did not go to school? They run the streets, they play and fool around, both sexes indiscriminately, they learn nothing, they do nothing, except what is wicked...Pretty nearly always the first use they make of their reason is to lose their baptismal innocence...”

Over against this all too realistic picture of the precocious vice that thrives in the midst of ignorance, laziness and sexual promiscuity, he sketches the posture of the pupils placed under the direction of the Brothers: “Zealously taught, carefully supervised, continuously...inspired to the practice of virtue, (they) learn to know, love, serve and adore God and Our Lord Jesus Christ, to honor and pray to the Most Blessed Virgin, their Guardian Angels, their patron saints, and all the saints; they learn to make acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition and to raise their hearts to God...to use the bell that sounds the hours as a reminder to renew their attention to the presence of their unseen Master. They “say their beads”, serve Mass, they go to confession and receive Holy Communion”.

Hence, the Christian school is defined as: “a practical study of the most beautiful virtues, gentleness, humility, temperance, politeness, charity, kindness, support for one’s brothers and assiduity in one’s duties. We should acclaim such a school in the person of so many former pupils: “zealous priests, upright magistrates, honest crafts−men...good Christians of every class and condition.”

“If you eliminate the cause, you destroy the effect. One does not wipe out the Christian school without striking at “the foundations of religion, good morals and the State” itself. A recent and “fatal experiment” has provided us with the proof. “During the fifteen years” in which the Revolution demolished the Institute’s schools, “was it possible adequately to deplore the unhappy fate of the current generation...?”

It remained for Brother Gerbaud to refute as decisively as did his predecessors since De La Salle the sophistry of worldly people and of the well-to-do classes, including some of the “good Catholics”, who were so prone to fear the education of the common people and to confine it within the limits of a purely oral catechesis and traditional “f*erverinos*”. Doesn’t the parish supply this sort of instruction? No, because it has no control over the great mass of the children, and it does not adapt sufficiently to their level. The priestly ministry involves too many responsibilities for a “vigilant shepherd,” without assistants and without “substitutes,” to look out for abandoned children.

“You do not wish the poor to learn to read? And you fear that they will abuse such a skill? But, Madam, what is there that we do not abuse? Beauty, strength, health, talent, influence, property, and reputation -- we abuse everything...God...has given us eyes to see, ears to hear, a heart to love: woe to them who, through sins of the senses,“ affront the eternal wisdom”. Providence, however, does not destroy its work.

You cite the dangers of bad reading: But if, during their childhood, the poor have learned only to kill time in idleness and profligacy. ...they will flee to those hellish schoolhouses that are found on every streetcorner...There, a lone individual who knows how to read, a regular Satan’s tool, will infect an entire parish with his poisons”, with his newspapers, his novels and his songs. “Is not this the pestilential breeze that ignites the fires of revolution?”

On the other hand, what purpose is served by good books, if people cannot read? Without the help of an unpretentious missal, the attendance of the poor at Church services will be "like that of the kneelers and chairs". They will be silent and passive, or else they will be prey to distractions, worldly thoughts and temptations.

With the failure of the general offensive against the education of the poor, adversaries directed their attack more particularly against the Christian Brothers. "People inveigh against the considerable expense involved in setting up a Community. We are told that there are fathers of families who would do the work for less money. Of course, teachers gladly give up a part of their lives -- a definite amount of care and attention -- to the children. Is this how the Brothers under−stand their role? A society of men dedicated...to teaching with the sole purpose of sanctifying themselves by being useful to their neighbor, and for this purpose, renouncing every other ambition, every scheme for personal gain, has a thoroughgoing sense of the importance of the responsibility imposed upon it...From 4:30 in the morning until 9:00 in the evening, and even during the time that cannot be refused for the restoration of an exhausted body, and this throughout an entire lifetime, a generous Brother lives for nothing more than the perfect discharge of his obligations. If he writes between classes, it is to provide models for his pupils; if he reads, it is to learn what he must teach them; if he meditates, it is to understand his duties with respect to his pupils and motivate himself to fulfill them; if he prays, he does so for them; if he eats or sleeps, it is to restore his spirits and his energies in behalf of his pupils. His motto is summed up in three words: God, salvation, pupils. A married man has other concerns: as his family grows, he quite rightly seeks to increase his income. Perhaps you mean to select only unmarried men as your teachers. Assuming that you find such men, "would they be immortal?" The job of replacing them would remain "a subject of continuing concern...an inevitable cause of interruption of instruction and of change in teaching methods".

A stern critic might grumble that the Brothers do not appear to be exempt from faults. "Unfortunately", their champion confesses modestly, "I am a proof of that observation. We are talking about men, not angels. But if you have a complaint against one of them, you don't bring your protest to an isolated individual; (but) to the person of the Superior-general (to a Religious society) approved by the two powers (the Church and the State). And you receive immediate satisfaction by the transfer of teacher who has been accused".

The conclusion emerges: "Christian and tuition-free schools" are necessary. "Mankind, religion and the State are equally involved in their success." Tuition deprives the poorest children of a support which they cannot do without. The orderly process of instruction requires the services of a teaching body which will guarantee that that process will go on uninterruptedly. And that body "is the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools".

It was a remarkable introduction both to the collective effort of restoration and to the personal labors of "the great rebuilder". The principles upon which the Christian Brothers were founded were now in place. An entire way of life was sketched out, the faithful copy of the one which the architect of elementary education, the saintly Canon of Rheims, had traced out in the past. The "Brother's day" that Brother Gerbaud described to his benefactor he had himself lived as a young teacher at St. Yon; he resumed it in an absolutely identical way at St. Germain-en-Laye; and, along with his colleagues and disciples, he was leading it in his beloved Gros-Caillou. He gave its formative value, its supernatural significance, full play. He never consented that it suffer either diminution nor relaxation. And it would guide the Brothers' activities in the educational institutions of the First Empire as it once had during the time of Louis XIV. It would constitute the warp and woof of a whole century of dedication.

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A genuine Community was reborn in Chartres on the 11th of October 1802 with Brothers

Jean-Louis, Acarius and Montain, to whom were joined, during the following year, two novices, Brothers Gabriel and Joseph.[90] Relations between this Community and the Lyon's headquarters were established when Brother Frumence returned from Italy. On the 10th of December 1804 Brother Jean-Louis (Charles Richard) was appointed Director by the Vicar. The insistence on limiting the number of tuition-free pupils and the obstacles raised by Fourcroy to the organization of a novitiate[91] thwarted the plans of the Brothers in Chartres. But there is no doubt but what they strove for complete unity of action with Paris and strained after the sort of fidelity of which Brother Gerbaud provided them the model. They belonged to a group of Christian Brothers that had revolved about Paris. The old diocese in the Beauce, suppressed by the Concordat and attached to the ecclesiastical constituency of Versailles, fell immediately under Brother Gerbaud's sphere of influence. When Sebastian Thomas started the St. Germain-en-Laye school he established excellent relations with the clergy in the Seine-and−-Oise. He probably knew the Bishop, Louis Charrier La Roche, who was a fine pastor, although he had once inadvertently strayed into the ranks of the "Constitutionals";[92] Bishop Charrier La Roche's retraction occurred well before the Concordat. During his episcopacy in the Lower Seine the people of Rouen respected him; and Rome was happy to see him become Bishop of Versailles. Few indeed were the prelates of the separated Church who imposed upon themselves such a ringing retraction or offered the Pope such a sincere and humble submission, after the reconciliation of 1802.

Bishop La Roche was in a position to appreciate the Brothers of the Christian Schools. St. Germain continued to be highly satisfied with their educational work. The Bishop's attention bore on Chartres as well: in order to "reward the zeal and regular life" of Brother Jean-Louis and his colleagues, permission was granted to preserve the Blessed Sacrament in their chapel and during certain feasts and during their annual retreat to hold Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.[93] The privilege attested to the fact that the tiny Community was giving "edifying" example to its fellow-citizens. Eight months earlier, for the Easter services, the members of the Community had begun once again to wear the Religious habit.[94]. And they continued to wear it both in class and on the streets. In 1807 they completed their costume by substituting the rabat for "the Roman collar".[95]

It was through the insistence of Brother Joseph (one of the novices in 1803) that this transformation came about. Philibert Brière proved worthy of the men who inducted him into the Institute; and Chartres, the beneficiary of more than a century of the Brothers' efforts, witnessed in this young teacher the heir of the saint who, in 1699, responded to the invitation of Bishop Godet des Marets. Seeing that the future was secure, Brother Jean-Louis left for Nogent-le-Rotrou, where the pastor of St. Hilary's, Father Got, asked him to restore in that city the school that had disappeared in 1791. The old Brother, aged seventy-six, along with two former Brothers, courageously undertook the task on the 28th of August 1806. A city subsidy assisted the school's beginnings; however, a few years later, it was required to rely upon financial support from families.[96]

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[90] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 464-465.

[91] Ibid., pg. 595.

[92] And, what is more, for only a brief time but his virtue, even in the midst of schism, was well above suspicion

[93] Motherhouse Archives, HA q, document concerning the school in Chartres, dated December 12, 1806.

[94] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 607

[95] Motherhouse Archives, FJ j, *Historique de la maison de Chartres*, according to Brother Joseph's (Philibert Brière's) notes.

[96] Motherhouse Archives, FJ j, *Historique de la maison de Chartres*, according to Brother Joseph's (Philibert

Orleans wanted only to follow the example of its neighbors in the Eure-and-Loire by working for the restoration of the Institute. Its Mayor, Crignon-Desormeaux, exhibited the best of intentions, but to realize them he had to obtain men and money. One of his colleagues undertook to explain the situation to the City Council at its meeting on the 10th of February 1806: the actual teachers did not possess the necessary knowledge for the simplest sort of instruction; they hardly knew how to read or write. "They inspired so little confidence" that their classes were deserted. And so, the city considered itself thoroughly ill compensated for the sacrifices it had made in favor of its in teachers. If the city government had its way, Orleans would have had recourse to a simple solution: "The restoration of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", even if it were to cost more. It would be unnecessary to go far afield to find them; several of them were residing in Orleans itself. "By offering them a suitable (arrangement)", they would resume (it was impossible to doubt) their former functions, and they would dedicate themselves with the assiduity and steadfastness of which they had supplied "so many proofs". "In the beginning", twelve of them would be sufficient, and their 18th century schoolhouse could be used immediately. They would be satisfied with a salary of 500 francs each; "the austerity of their Institute," the frugality of their table and the coarse material of their clothing suggested paying them at the lowest going price. If only the public authorities would allow them to live in conformity with the obligations of their vocation, "in everything that is not opposed to the legislation that is in force"; then, education, good morals and religion, which is "so necessary to good order", would immediately benefit from this inspired proposal.

The Assembly adopted unanimously the chairman's conclusions.[97] But it was not within its power to make the final decision. Under the First Empire, city budgets were subject to approval by the Minister of the Interior; and when it was a question of educational expenditures, the Minister consulted with the Director-general of Public Education. Such a procedure, in fact, left Fourcroy and his departments full power of decision to prevent or to promote the restoration of Christian schools. This former member of the Convention, while no longer opposed to the employment of Brothers, continued to distrust Catholicism and to fear the revival of Religious Congregations. He embraced his contemporaries' prejudices against tuition-free education; and he created bureaucratic barriers which, for a long period of time, thwarted the proposals of the city governments.[98]

However, the Prefecture of Loiret, the binding intermediary between mayor and minister, approved of the plans drawn up by the people of Orleans. Pieyre, who had replaced J.P. Maret on the 21st of April 1806 as the head of the Department, in spite of his Protestant origins, showed that he was as well disposed as his predecessor; upon sending the decision of the 10th of February to Paris, he declared that it conformed to public opinion. As far as he was concerned, its implementation presented no difficulty.[99]

Fourcroy condescended to agree to the return "of the former school Brothers". But, at his suggestion, the Minister planned to reduce to six the number of those who would be teaching in Orleans. As a consequence, no more than 3,000 francs were allocated for the project. "The Brothers will not be allowed legal recognition." And the city was to look upon them "as mere primary school teachers". Once this principle was established, its practical application was opened to interpretation: "They will be free to live in Community, if they think that that is

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Brière's) notes, and *Centenaire,* pg. 102.

[97] Departmental Achives of Loiret, Register of the decisions of the Municipal Council of Orleans.

[98] Chevalier, pg. 157 and pp. 249-50.

[99] National Archives, F17 1364: Prefect of the Loiret's letter to the Minister of the Interior, April 1806.

appropriate".[100]

The Mayor's plan could not be put into effect until after these changes and, then, only on a very small scale. Even so, its realization depended upon a rapid recruitment of Brothers. On this point, Crignon-Desormeaux seemed to have moved ahead a little too quickly. He was presuming upon the cooperation of Nicolas Cendre (Brother Liberius), the Principal of the school on Rue Angel.[101] But he did not succeed in obtaining it. And the reason why he failed is easy to understand: the former Brother, quite determined to return to his Congregation, felt that the plan that the city was offering him was a shaky one; and the ministerial stinginess led him, quite correctly, to fear for the success of such an ill-equipped undertaking.

As for finding so many as five truly dedicated associates, in these circumstances, he thought that that was impossible. Hence, in June of 1806 the question of schools in Orleans remained in limbo. Since the rumor of a successful and flourishing foundation had already become widespread, Crignon had to admit to his colleague, the Mayor of Coutance, that not only Orleans could not send teachers to Normandy, but that he had to set up a distress signal for his own project.[102].

On the 25th of June a request was addressed to "M. Frumence, Vicar-general of the Brothers". It mentioned "the many important services" provided by the Christian Brothers before the Revolution. It spoke briefly of the City Council's plan, and, silent concerning the restrictions imposed by higher officials, it raised hopes for a freer future. The Brothers would live together in their old residence and "follow their Rule". If their Superior would grant six Brothers, he would be supporting a beneficent government and he would be meriting the gratitude of the capital city of Loiret.[103]

On the 30th of June Brother Frumence, while deploring the powerlessness of his own "best intentions"[104] refused the request. But the Mayor did not give up. On the 10th of September he wrote:[105] "The needs of our schools, our desire to see the education of our children entrusted to (experienced) teachers, Religious, whose behavior could serve as an example, makes me act like a pest..."

He mentions an appeal by Bishop Bernier to both Brother Vicar- general and the Archbishop of Lyon. And while we have no other information concerning this gesture, we believe that it is more than probable: the Bishop of Orleans took the religious interests of his diocese too much to heart not to add his voice for the return of the Brothers; he sounded the call for monastic vocations; and, further, as his Vicars-general would presently declare, "his compassionate charity embraced every need, he who "sacrificed more than mere superfluities in order to comfort the unfortunate" could not, without anguish, contemplate moral misery. He had to lend his support to Gignon-Desormeaux's entreaties in favor of poor children. Perhaps the disfavor into which Napoleon had, for personal reasons, driven the man who negotiated the Concordat explained the silence observed, according to the Orleans's magistrate, by the people who surrounded Cardinal Fesch.[106] [107] And, then, on the 1st of the

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[100] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans IR 191, letter of the Counselor of State, Director-general of Public Education to the Prefect of the Loiret, May 23, 1806.

[101] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 468-469.

[102] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans IR 191, letter of June 11, 1806

[103] Text published by Chevalier, pg. 157-8.

[104] Orleans IR 191.

[105] Ibid.

[106] "Draft of a pastoral letter on the occasion of Bishop Bernier's death", cited by Canon Leflon, Etienne-Alexandre Bernier, Paris, 1938, Vol. II, pg. 298.

[107] In his reply of September 19, 1806, Brother Frumence insists that Bishop Bernier's letter did not reach Lyon and assumes that it "got lost in the mails".

following October, death would abruptly bring to a close the activities (both pastoral and political) of Étienne Alexandre Bernier.

Effective or not, the Bishop's support entered normally into the Mayor's game. And, finally, he thought he was using a crucial argument when he alleged that "Chartres and Versailles" had been provided Christian Brothers.

Brother Frumence replied: "I have granted no Brother to Versailles. Those in Chartres were reunited in that city, where they were before the Revolution. I have, Sir, no interest...in deceiving you; on the contrary, I would consider myself happy indeed to be able to respond to the trust with which you honor our Institute" ... [108]

This complete honesty put an end to any further insistence. And Crignon rather gloomily asked his Counsel to initial "only for the record" the item listed as "Primary Schools" in the revised budget for 1807. However, the indefatigable man insisted on having the last word. He returned to the subject with Brother Liberius: and, maneuvering, promising, taking advantage of the Brother's scruples, his generosity and his fondest dreams, he made his point. His letter of the 29th of October 1806 to the Prefect of Loiret is a song of triumph: "Finally!...Brother Cendre, at one time the example for the school Brothers ' institution", had decided to direct the schools in Orleans! He had appointed as his assistant Brother Constantian who "has proved his skills for over the last twenty years". Both of them guaranteed help from another member of their Institute. "These three individuals, remarkable for their rare dedication, will form the nucleus" of a group which within six months, will reach its full strength. [109]

The next day Pieyre signed the following decree: "The house...on Rue St.Euvertus previously assigned to the Christian Brothers, is returned to its original purpose;...on the 1st of next November the Mayor of Orleans may house Brothers Cendre and Constantian there, (in order) to teach, tuition-free, the children of needy families". In the beginning, these teachers were to receive 600 francs each annually; the same salary was to be provided the third teacher; once the total of three teachers was exceeded, the sum to be paid would have been, ordinarily, only 500 francs each. For the last two months of 1806 the expenses were to be charged to funds left at the disposition of the Prefect.

While the Mayor was legally entrusted with "the inspection and the supervision of the schools", he proposed, as regards what concerned the selection of personnel, to act always in full agreement with Brother Vicar-general. And this decision showed rather clearly that, in spite of the prohibition dictated by Fourcroy (and, like a stylized provision, included in the Prefectural decree) the Religious association established on Rue St. Euvertus would be bound by the closest ties with the Institute that had been restored in Lyon.

The proof of this is supplied by Brother Frumence himself. On the 6th of November 1806, he wrote to Crignon-Desormeaux: "As long as you ask me for nothing more than my permission to restore the Christian Brothers to the City of Orleans, I give it quite gladly, and I also agree, with the greatest pleasure, that the three members you mention should be the first rebuilders; wishing...with all my heart that the success of their services justifies the trust with which you honor them, while awaiting the circumstances that will afford me the means of coming to their assistances".

The instructions sent to Brother Liberius on the 15th of December seem more explicit: "My very dear Brother, I am delighted with the happy reopening of the schools in Orleans. The harvest is great, which must greatly encourage you. Strive, I beg you, to encourage wise and virtuous young persons...; and then train them as best you can".

It was, in fact, a novitiate that the Superior had in mind. He was relying on a "respected

[108] Orleans, IR 191, Brother Frumence's letter to the Mayor of Orleans, September 19, 1806.
[109] Same reference, to the Departmental Archives of the Loiret.

priest" in Orleans, who was concerned for the restoration of the Congregation and who, to this end, was looking for a residence large enough to house the future Brothers."[110]

Such a protector must be provided with details of a nature to reenforce his sympathies: "Tell him that it was His Eminence Cardinal Fesch...−who invited us back...from Italy...After him, we are indebted for our (situation) to Father Jauffret, Bishop of Metz".[111]

And, in order "completely" to know the story of the restoration in Lyon, let Brother Liberius consult that prelate!

This powerful support justified hope in the work's future. However, this conviction could not be secure unless young Brothers were exempt from military conscription. That is what had to be especially asked of God.[112]

Indeed, certain of Nicholas Cendre's excellent spirit, Brother Frumence left the Director of the schools in Orleans the greatest latitude. Neither the latter's merits nor his faith ever suffered eclipse, and he finally stood revealed in all the splendor of his soul: no difficulty stayed him; alone, he recruited his assistants and trained his novices; in the organization and maintenance of religious and popular education, heroically, he sacrificed his resources, energies, freedom and the peace of his final years.

The Community was formed at the beginning of 1809. The Mayor was delighted with such remarkable diligence. On the 27th of January he wrote to Father Charles, pastor of St. Patern: "The Brothers are now sufficient in number so that two of them can be introduced into the school in your parish. They were presently to appear in the habit, which inspired such respect before the Revolution".[113]

Other classes were then opened near St. Paul's church.[114] In the course of the same year the city paid the salaries of six teachers. It planned on the employment of twelve in 1808 and had already budgeted the sum necessary for their support.[115] It was an optimistic prediction which would meet with both hostility on the part of the government and obstacles arising from the recruitment, training and perseverance of the Brothers.

We shall have to return to the objections raised by the ministerial departments to the wishes of the City Council. The lack of trained personnel caused other concerns. During the first months of 1808, this topic was the object of a "report" submitted by the pastor of Holy Cross Cathedral to the new Bishop, Claude Louis Rousseau.

St. Euvertus' school", he declared, "resumed its initial function a year earlier. Brother Cendre, alone of the former Religious, threw himself immediately into its reorganization, while associating with young people" whom he prepared for their educational work and sent into the parishes. More than three-hundred pupils attended classes in Holy Cross, more than two-hundred in St. Patern, and nearly the same number in St. Paul's".

"In spite of Crignon-Desormeaux's favorable attitude...in spite of Brother Cendre's generous dedication", the enterprise continued under the threat of immanent failure for the want of teachers "competent to assist the Brother Director", and to succeed him "should we have the misfortune of losing him".

How "preserve the benefits" except by obtaining experienced Brothers from the institution

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[110]Orleans, IR 191.

[111] We are assuming that this priest is Athanasius Louis Merault Bizy, Bishop Bernier's Vicar-general; he played a distinguished role in the diocese, and had regular contacts with the Brothers.

[112] Father Andrew Jauffret, Fesch's former Vicar-general: See the Index to Vol. II of the present work.

[113]Orleans, IR 191

[114] Ibid., letter from the Mayor of Orleans to the pastor of St. Paul, March 14, 1807.

[115] Register of municipal decisions, for the meeting of May 1, 1807.

in Lyons in exchange for postulants from Orleans, who will go to study at Petit College "under the supervision of senior Brothers"?

When Brother Frumence was consulted, he indicated a preference for the opening of a novitiate in the Paris region. But for the success of such a foundation several specialized educators were required. And the problem was: where to find them? The Superior pleaded that he was unable to move Brothers in Lyon without Cardinal Fesch's approval. It was then necessary to consult with His Eminence.

We have seen that the Cardinal did not gladly let go of things. The diocese of Orleans had been for some time in reduced circumstances. And Brother Liberius realized that he was inadequately supported. Some of his colleagues left him, beginning with Brother Constantian. Medard Gouge, Brother Agathon's nephew, gave evidence of "conspicuous piety" and disinterested zeal when he taught under the guidance of Brother Gerbaud at St. Germain-en-Laye.[116] Unfortunately, "constancy", which his Religious name suggested, did not figure among his virtues. In October 1807, from Rouen, he assured Brother Liberius that "it was not out of hostility" that he had abandoned his principal; he "loved him as he did all the dear Brothers". He fancied that a great mission clamored for his return to Normandy: it was nothing less than the restoration of St. Yon! "Father Papillaud, Dean and Canon of the diocese" of Rouen had inspired him with flattering expectations. Brother Constantian awaited eagerly for the moment he would be appointed the keeper of De La Salle's tomb![117] His wait was for nothing.

When Crignon-Desormeaux was informed of Brother Constantian's flight, he sought the aid of Mayer Remadieres in Rouen: if in a week's time the Brother had not returned to Orleans, a complaint would be lodged with the Director-general of Education for breach of contract.[118]

Remadieres called the accused and spoke of handing him over to the police.[119] In the end, it was not to Brother Liberius that Medard Gouge muttered his compunction, but to Brother Gerbaud, who found a place for him in the Department of the Marne.

The beleaguered Director of Schools in Orleans had even worse troubles with a certain Louis Marin Mauger, known as Brother Timothy who, suspected of immorality, had to be dismissed.[120] And Brother Charles Lecroix, as he saw it, had done nothing wrong: he found that he had a call to the priesthood. But he was charged with running away and seeking asylum in a priest's house. Crignon spelled it out for him: he must return to St. Euvertus "and stay there until he had gone through all the usual formalities".[121].

In this way, interrupted by these sometimes discouraging crises, life went on in the St. Euvertus Community. A less well tempered man than "Brother Cendre" might have broken under so many blows. But this Brother proved himself to be a worthy confrere of Sebastian Thomas: trials only strengthened his determination. He placed both his talents and his possessions on the line, and, in poignant solitude, with unrelenting labor, he persisted in accomplishing a lasting masterpiece.

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[116] Orleans, IR 191.

[117] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 518. Orleans, IR 191, Brother Constantine's letter to Brother Liberius, October 9, 1807.

[118] Orleans, IR 191, letter of October 15, 1807.

[119] Ibid., Mayor of Rouen's letter to the Mayor of Orleans, October 29, 1807.

[120] Orleans, IR 1911, an entire file relating to this painful affair

[121] Orleans, 191

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While in Orleans, in spite of the paucity of means, results looked promising, it could be hoped that vaster perspectives opened up in the east, in Champagne, the Institute's birthplace. A group of veteran teachers, already inured to educational tasks, had been practicing their art in Rheims since 1803, under the leadership of a very enterprising and very competent man. Writing to the Pope, the teachers in Rheims had declared quite publicly that they were "Brothers of the Christian Schools".[122] Their leader, Brother Vivien (François René Gaudenne) took his place at the forefront of those who were restoring the Institute. In order to refloat the vessel run-aground, Lyons sought his assistance. Among the best friends of the Christian Brothers, no success seemed certain without the presence of Brother Vivien, who had been the confidant of the former Superior-general, the guardian of the most precious relics and archives from St. Yon and Melun, and a distinguished educator and administrator. In September 1804 he came at the call of his confreres in Lyons; he was there to welcome Brother Vicar-general, and also to receive the blessing of Pius VII.[123]

His stay in the Department of the Rhone was no obstacle to his maintaining contact with Rheims. Nor did the expense of several journeys present an obstacle. As bursar at Petit College, while the Motherhouse was being reorganized, he continued to be the indispensable Director in Champagne. This double role seemed well-suited to him. Indeed, who, apparently more than he, worked to reunite the scattered pieces of the great work?

Everywhere he went he gained an attentive hearing. Mayor Bernard-Charpieux attracted him to the slopes of Fourvière. Mayor Jobert-Lucas spoke to the City Counsel of Rheims on the 25th of January 1804 [124] of the progress realized in that city's schools as the result of an energetic shot in the arm.[125] Jacques Quentin Tronsson-Leconte, Jobert's successor in 1805, held François René Gaudenne in at least equal esteem. As a distinguished official and future imperial Senator, he recognized the value of intelligence, and he wanted to lend a hand to any valuable enterprise. At the very outset of his administration he was ready to work in support of the Brothers. The former Carmelite monastery could house the Community comfortably. Tronsson−Leconte immediately bought it on his own responsibility. He later justified the purchase on the 18th of February[126] before the municipal assembly: the services of the teachers selected two years earlier gave complete satisfaction. These teachers "dedicated by calling and by inclination" to education, do not consider their own interests; they open their classes quite freely to the sons of workers, going so far as to admit, not just a fifth, but a third of their pupils tuition-free. Rheims owed it to itself to contribute to the growth of a society whose origins it had experienced and whose benefits it was enjoying. Once, on the Rue Neuve, the Brothers had the use of a spacious building, including the management of a residence school. The well built structure and the beautiful gardens of the Carmelite monastery would provide them with the room necessary, first of all, for the common life, and,

[122] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 510-512.

[123] Ibid., pp. 555 and 579-583.

[124] Pluviose in the Year XIII.

[125] Ernest Arnould, *Notes et documents sur les etablissements d'instruction primaire de la ville de Reims*, 1848, pg. 169.

[126] 29th Pluviose in the Year XIII.

later on, for the restoration of the residence school that had been destroyed by the Revolution. Since the legal situation of the Institute seemed on the verge of solution, the action that was being submitted to the Counsel would meet with no objections at the upper levels of government and held out vast possibilities for the future.

The mayor's proposal was approved "by acclamation." Tronsson-Leconte accepted expressions of "gratitude for his care and his trouble". By obtaining for the people an easier approach to the Brothers, he had served his city well.[127]

The remodelling of the building delayed its occupation.[128]In a letter of 30 Fructidor in the year XIII (September 17, 1805) Tronsson-Leconte told the prefect of the Marne that "the house is not occupied." Meanwhile, a more important question arose:--namely, the principle of tuition-free instruction. As we have seen, Brother Vivien and his colleagues had been boldly interpreting in their own fashion "the Law of Floreal in the Year X". In order to conform to the Rule of their Institute, they sought a more thoroughgoing freedom, and Tronsson-Leconte was prepared to help they get it. On the 27th of April 1805[129] his city Council passed a resolution which, if the government took it into consideration, would ease consciences: primary schools for boy would become "tuition-free for the poor". In fact, the text, put in this way, would authorize the Christian Brothers to dispense their pupils generally from any tuition. And so much was this the mayor's understanding of the resolution that, in order to recompense the Brothers for their eventual losses, he planned, with the approval of the assembly, an appropriation -- "from the account of the assistance to families" -- of 3,000 francs annually, which would be added to the salaries supplied up to that time.[130]

But administrative supervision put a stop to this generous gesture. The people in Rheims were emboldened to ignore the order. In January 1806, after the victory at Austerlitz, the Emperor was expected at Strasbourg: and a deputation from "his famous city of Rheims", with Tronsson-Leconte at its head, had come to submit a petition in this Alsatian capital: "All express to Your Majesty the desire to see re- established...in a lasting way, the tuition-free education for children of both sexes, as it existed previously under the direction of the Brothers and Sisters of the Christian Schools... The wording was quite explicit and corresponded in all points with the Bull of 1725. Napoleon indulged in an evasive reply: "The city can send me its plans on this project."[131]

In the matter of city finances, the monarch's economic policy was always narrow and rigorous. While he agreed to encourage education among the masses, the funds he contributed to the program very often dulled the effect of the best proposals. In his priorities elementary education, in importance, lagged far behind the material structures of the nation and still farther behind the demands of the continental struggle.

However, the Mayor of Rheims did not think that the game was immediately lost. On the 4th of February 1806 he went so far as to say that the Commune was in a good position to win out in the not too-distant future. It had made the final payments on its secondary school; it was looking forward to a real reduction in the subsidy granted the poorhouses, which had just come into some important property. Such a prospect inspired the City Counsel once

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[127] Arnould, pp. 170-2.

[128] He was "obliged to put a guard on it." (Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361.)

[129] Floreal in the Year XIII.

[130] Arnould, pp. 172-3.

[131] Ibid., pp. 173-4.

again to promote the principle of tuition-free schooling.[132]. As for its definitive realization, it was planned for the 1st of May 1807. City Hall talked about the admission of pupils in such a way as to give preference to the children of the poor. And the Brothers were to receive as an indemnity a supplementary sum of 6,000 francs.[133]

This insistence drew attention to the good will of the people in Rheims, which asserted itself at every turn. On the 17th of September 1805 Tronsson-Leconte, writing to the Prefect of the Marne to complain of the slowness with which the administration ratified the purchase of the Carmelite buildings, was already declaring that "the general desire" of his fellow-citizens demanded the complete restoration of the Institute: "Lyons, Toulouse and other cities" were eagerly making their contribution; Rheims, "the birthplace of the Order", did not want to be left behind.[134] A few months later, with the view of facilitating Prefectural approval, the Counsel sought to reduce the cost of remodelling. "It is", indeed, "important" to retain the teaching Brothers for the city, these "men, valuable as much for their exemplary conduct and tireless zeal as for their recognized skill". The "best way" of doing this consisted obviously in "reuniting them into a Congregation, as they were in the past."[135] If they did not have a suitable residence, their lot would continue to be an unstable one.

Unfortunately, this instability resulted not only from the uncertain support accorded the Brothers by the Imperial bureaucracy. Its principal cause must be traced to an internal disequilibrium. The native shrewdness of the people of Champagne was somewhat at fault when it perceived in Brother Vivien's "association" the complete restoration of the former "Order". As an "on-site" prolongation of the work of the Holy Founder, there were several qualities lacking to the presumptive heirs. Their Superior possessed a subtle mind, an astonishing "know-how", and an indisputable zeal; but, during the course of his laicization, he had lost (and he would only regain it gradually) the spirit of humility, of poverty, of obedience and the art of directing a Religious Community. His example could scarcely detach many of his colleagues from their worldly goods. His control over others, which does not seem to have been gentle, was imposed from without, energetic and certainly glamorous, but without touching souls in their depths. A true Christian Brother, Brother Gonzales (Jean-Baptist Poirson), wearied by Brother Vivien's moods, left to search in a more favorable atmosphere for a fresh flowering of his monastic ideal.[136] Other Brothers left their calling for the want of a genuine vocation - let it be said candidly - but also for the lack of sustained direction.

François René Gaudenne's extended absences, in part, explain the waverings and meanderings of his group. During the Revolution, he had taken up the practice of frequent travel. Of course, he pleaded (and quite correctly) his many duties and the missions he had to fill in the service of the Institute, as well as appeals from the Archbishop and other distinguished citizens of Lyon. He liked to exempt himself from obligations to external details and give free play to his capacities as an organizer. Extremely private and full of confidence in himself, he neglected to train the people under him to make decisions, successors who knew how to take charge. His departure for St. Louis-en-liIle testified to a

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[132] Ibid., pg. 174

[133] Meeting for May 8, 1806; Arnould, pp. 174-5.

[134] Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361, in the Year XI, 1815.

[135] Decision of the Muncipal Counsel, May 1806; Arnould, pp. 176-8.

[136] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 463.

praiseworthy desire to obey Brother Frumence's instructions:[137] but in doing so, he succeeded in revealing the blemish in the school in Rheims by throwing the members of the Community into complete disarray.

We assume that Brother Vivien, once he was sure that the Community was finally moved into the Carmelite monastery, went to Paris. The question of tuition-free instruction was still up in the air:[138] and far from being decided in the way in which the Mayor of Rheims and the Director of Education wished, it was to end up in an awkward solution, which would once again underscore the anomalies of an organism in the throes of asphyxiation.

At the beginning of 1807 the Brother Vicar-general was worried. The school in Rheims was more and more eluding his control; and, at the same time, it was a house divided. To correct this anarchy, Brother Frumence had recourse to Tronsson-Leconte. But this sort of intervention by the civil power was still rather surprising. We can only suspect that the Superior of the Institute had no one, among his faltering subordinates, whom he could trust. Either Brother Vivien had by that time taken up his new post in Paris without prescribing a policy for the colleagues he left behind, or his attitude, under the circumstances, lacked clarity and his independence had already rendered him suspect.

The Superior wrote to the Mayor: "Unable to doubt the interest you have in preserving the schools...established in Rheims, since they exist only through the result of your zeal and kindness,...I beseech you...to interpose your authority in order to establish peace...among the teachers in these schools, since it is to be feared that if the differences of opinion continue in this institution, they will cause its imminent destruction...Some want...(to wear) the Religious habit, which is edifying for the public and especially inspires more respect and restraint on the part of the pupils, binds the teachers, and settles them in their vocation, and removes them from influences which might be dangerous for them". There were others who were opposed to the wearing of the Religious garb. (Brother Frumence thought that this group was a very small minority.) "The zeal and the kindness" of the official would perceive "what has to be done to put an end" to what was causing disunity and prevent the stampede that was about to take place.[139]

There is a question as to whether Tronsson-Leconte was anxious to conduct such a delicate mission. It is possible that, in his perplexity, he restricted himself to some cautious encouragement. Deep down, he was particularly concerned to retain the ten or so teachers gathered together through Brother Vivien's efforts in the city's service. Reluctant to enter into the interior affairs of the Congregation, he was satisfied if the children were taught according to the best methods, by teachers known to the public and who bore the popular name of "Brothers of the Christian Schools". For him, habit and Rule seemed less important. A sort of autonomy with respect to Lyons might have indeed entered into his thinking; in this way, he would be exercising a greater influence over the tiny group whose housing and upkeep he provided.

The breach between the Brothers in Rheims and their Institute was widening. Only a few of the former showed any inclination to submit to the Vicar-general; in the face of their colleagues' resistance, they followed their conscience, broke with the dissidents and were reunited to the Motherhouse.

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[137] Ibid., pg. 584. with prudent reservations concerning the exact date of Brother Vivien's move to Paris.

[138] Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361, taken from the decisions of the Municipal Counsel, meeting for May 9, 1807; tuition-free schools were not allowed. The Brothers still occupied the Carmelite buildings provisionally, since acquisition had not been regularized officially.

[139] Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361, letter of January 4, 1807.

There was great agitation throughout Rheims; teaching posts went vacant, and classes were in disarray. It was difficult to replace skilled teachers. This retreat had to be stemmed. Earlier, Brother Frumence had sought out the Mayor; now, it was Tronsson-Leconte who was pleading with Brother Frumence. But he sent his protest, not directly to the Vicar-general, but to the city of Lyons.

Fay Sathonay's reply, dated the 12th of May 1807, throws a great deal of light on the situation: the Superior of the Institute was completely within his rights. The people employed in the schools in Rheims, he explained, "do not regard themselves as dependent upon the institution in Lyons, which, in its turn, does not consider them as forming part of the Order of which Lyons is the headquarters;...since Lyons has no authority over them, it cannot exercise the right of making demands upon them, in order, according to its will, to direct their steps to this or that residence; however, when one of the teachers proposes to recognize Lyons and to return to its bosom...it does not refuse him, but includes him among the number of the Brothers.

As a result, remarked the Mayor of Lyon "it seems that the Vicar-general cannot be accused of removing teachers from your city's schools, since his authority is not recognized there...Fay Santhonay saw only one way of "reassuring" his colleague: "The most suitable measure, and the most advantageous, would be to unite all the members who are dedicated to the same work under the same leader. When such a superior was informed of the needs of each city, he could effect a just division of the members".[140]

There was wisdom in the words of the distinguished Mayor of Lyon. By listening to him, Rheims might have escaped considerable mischief. It had only to take for a model, its neighbor, Rethel, where a regular Community had just been organized. The Rethel school, having survived the most violent storms, found Brother Maximilian (Jean-Baptist Marchand, who had been imprisoned during the Terror) as the heir of Brother Jean Damascene (Jean-Louis Martinet).[141] These two Brothers had continued Christian education in their native city without counting the cost. The former had earned Brother Agathon's crowning support.[142] In his seventies at the beginning of the century,[143] he died at the threshold to the "promised land." His successor, twenty-four years younger than he,[144] obtained the reward of a long dedication. After the vicissitudes of the Revolution, Jean-Baptist Marchand supplied fresh proof of his natural uprightness by joining Brother Frumence. He asked that an "Obedience" from the Vicar-general confirm him in his position. On the 16th of December 1806, Father Gromaire, pastor of Rethel wrote to the Motherhouse: "That excellent man, Brother Maximilian, is still with us...It is only right that I sincerely thank you for him".There was a "young man" assisting him, who "deserve(d) to be admitted to the Congregation". In support of his proposal, the pastor cited "the testimony of our Brothers in Rheims".[145].

The recommendation was, perhaps, subject to caution; but, in fact, it all turned out for the best both for Father Gromaire and his parishioners, who, like their ancestors, "singularly devoted" to the Institute, were generously cooperative. Brother Frumence's signature, with the date the 6th of January 1807, officially reunited the school to the Lasallian family.[146] And

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[140] Ibid.

[141] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 397.

[142] Ibid., pg. 367.

[143] He was born in Rethel on the April 4, 1731.

[144] He was born in Rethel on March 16, 1755.

[145] Motherhouse Archives, KH e 7, Rethel file

[146] See Vol. III, of the present work, pp. 456-457.

two assist−ants, referred to as Brother Didier and Brother Augustine, shared the teaching responsibilities with Brother Maximilian.
The Rheims secession continued, then, to be an isolated instance, for which, in the not too distant future, those who shared in it were to suffer their just desserts. Anxious to straighten things out, Brother Vivien resumed control of his project prior to the end of 1809. But the resumption itself, accomplished without the Vicar-general's authorization, was considered a fresh disobedience. Time was required, salutary trials, calm and patient firmness on the part of the Superiors, and, in the last analysis, the complete victory of Francois René Gaudenne over himself, in order to restore order to the institution, as well as peace and joy to conscience.

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In northern and northeastern France difficulties, although not as serious, were encountered at every step. There was generally a keen desire to return the schools to their former activities, to maintain teachers in their functions, who had devoted themselves to the service of children (henceforth under the safeguard of their Rule), and to supply them with assistance and funds. The former Brothers sought nothing so much as to renew the ties that bound them to Religious fidelity; but this implied demands that were sometimes neglected. There were those who, by mitigating those demands, wished to reconcile them with the comforts of a soft job and with the favor of the public authorities. Far removed from the center of the Congregation, they were inclined to follow first the counsels of city governments and the clergy. They wavered somewhat in the midst of the immensity of their tasks. And many of them could, by way of excuse, cite the sufferings of the recent past, as well as the infirmities of old age.

However, they were carried along by a resurgent breeze. Guided by their faith, they had set out on the right road. They inspired one another and mutually encouraged one another. They sought Brother Gerbaud's assistance and Brother Frumence's direction. To the early tendency to scatter there followed an effort of coordination. Laon, where in an earlier account we saw Brother Leufroy and his group given official recognition,[147] and Soissons, which we shall briefly consider, St. Omer and Tournai, which we shall visit thereafter, showed that they were concerned either to initiate or maintain friendly relations. Alencon corresponded with Nogent-le-Rotrou.[148] In these cities, as well as in Meaux, the organizers and the Directors of the Communities looked respectfully to Lyon, concerned to know that their activities were understood in that quarter and impatient to experience there the realization of their hopes.
Before recalling the Brothers, Soissons was preoccupied with drawing up an "administrative regulation" for its future schools. The text was inspired by Lasallian legislation but not without considerable alterations. The Commune retained broad powers for itself. And the anticipated modus vivendi was more suited to teachers who were semi-laymen.

"The teachers, selected from among celibates, will live in a house" intended for instruction. Each one would have to purchase his own furniture, supply himself with a "black outfit" and a "round hat". Once their agreement had been obtained concerning their internal organization, they would be directed by a superior. "He would deal with them, by mutual consent,

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[147] Ibid., BE a Brother Frumence file, "Obedience" sent to Brother Maximilian.

[148] Father Lefrancois, pastor of Notre Dame in Alencon undertook to found a school at the end of 1805. With this in mind, he entered into negotiations with the institution in Nogent-le-Rotrou and with the Prefect of Orne (Motherhouse Archives Jf j 3, Alencon file). The Community was officially opened in 1807, under the direction of Brother Adorator, the former Director of Rennes. (*Centenaire*, pg. 98).

concerning emoluments," to be drawn from the funds that the city placed in his hands. It would be the mayor's duty "to issue teaching credentials" (to them).

The schools were described as "tuition-free". However, the principle of gratuity suffered some impairment: only the poorest pupils paid nothing at all. Another category, the sons of regularly salaried workers, was charged sixty centimes a month. This compensation rose to a franc for well-to-do families. The mayor decided admissions and dismissals.

The instructional program included reading, writing, the four rules of arithmetic, catechism and grammar. The Old and New Testaments were essential books. The school year was concluded with a formal examination, presided over by the authorities and ratified by the distribution of prizes.[149].

M. Duprez, the Deputy-mayor, put the last touches on these stipulations on the 15th of July 1805. He waited until the 5th of March 1806 to write to Brother Frumence: " ...Our city has considered that, in reestablishing its schools, it cannot do better than to entrust them to the efforts of the body of teachers which directed them so well until its destruction...It applies to you, the Superior, to ask you to send five members of your Order. It assumes, indeed, that...since there have been no professions since the dissolution, it will perhaps be difficult to supply us with five people who can fulfill our purposes and your own. As of now, we already have three former Brothers functioning...They can (we believe) meet with your approval as to their talent and their morals: but we want them to receive "Obediences" from you. We have communicated our intentions to them. They do not (seem) to be sorry to return to their Institute and live under their former rules".

There followed the names of these men of good will: Brother Faustus (Louis Grouset), "seventy-eight years of age", was still sound of mind, and a genuinely religious soul; Brother Aaron (Nicolas Duroisel); and Brother Ladislas (Roch Pascal Garnier). All that was needed was to add a teacher for the youngest pupils and a serving Brother.[150]

Bishop Leblanc Beaulieu of Soissons supported the city's petition: "Providence", he wrote on the 7th of March, "sent us Brother Faustus". He had some reservations about Pascal Garnier who, during the Revolution, had contracted marriage, which had, however, been annulled both canonically and civilly. Of two Duroisel brothers, thrown together for a moment in the same school, the reorganization kept only Nicolas. The other, Jean-Philippe (the former Brother Zenas) "dreaded nothing so much" as the observation of a Rule; the integrity of the Congregation demanded that he be banished.[151]

These comments made an unfavorable impression on the Vicar- general. Besides, he quite correctly suspected the tenor of the notorious "administrative regulation", a copy of which had not been sent to him. Since Brother Faustus and his colleagues were planning to return to their former vocation, the Superior agreed to accept them. But he could not promise to leave them where they were.

The reply brought dismay to Soissons' officialdom. They attempted to put their school in a better light. On the 24th of March, Father Delaloge, the Vicar-general, wrote a letter in the Bishop's name: very few schools, he wrote, offered as many "attractions" as the one the three teachers enjoyed. An aggregate salary of 2,000 francs guaranteed a rather comfortable life. Was it a real objection that tuition was added over and above? Further, the idea of tuition did not originate with the teachers, who did not collect it, except as representatives of city hall. Besides, tuition-paying pupils were very few.

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[149] Motherhouse Archives, KH e 4, Soissons file

[150] Ibid. Text already publised in part by Chevalier, pp. 135-6.

[151] Ibid., Bishop of Soissons letter to Brother Frumence.

The Bishop and the city could not contravene the law. As the joint authors of the school regulation, they thought it was a good piece of work. Nevertheless, the prelate did not deny that some of its articles might appear to contradict the Brothers' Rule: he personally undertook to "remove the difficulties", while recommending silence regarding the mayor. And he asked that Brother Frumence's approval of the choices he himself would make of candidates "in a position" to seek "affiliation" with the Institute.[152]

Disappointments did not stop him. At this time, Brother Ladislas "took off". He does not seem to have been a very great loss; since the poor man had slipped into alcoholism. Nevertheless, a replacement had become urgent. Father Delaloge had decided to provide some "structure" to the Soissons institution: he fancied it "as the birthplace of a novitiate" in the near future.[153]

That was also the dream of Brother Faustus who, left unassisted by Lyons, sought to recruit locally. This venerable Brother, wrote the Vicar-general in October 1807, was strong enough, if not to teach children, then, at least, to direct novices. "May he form others like himself!" His confrere in Laon, the wise and indefatigable Leufroy, also hoped for the success of the project.[154]

This kind of zeal induced Brother Frumence to maintain a favorable frame of mind. The Community in Soissons existed with his approval. The obedience of the old man who directed it, however embarrassed by its defenders, was commendable. It was important not to hurry things. The moment for the more tardy renewals had not yet come.

Another veteran, Brother Theodart, was associated with the beginnings of a new school in Meaux. This city, at the time the headquarters of the diocese that included Rheims and a portion of Champagne, was involved in the movement whose phases we are describing. It looked to the north for workers in Christian initiatives. Brother Theodart came to the city from St. Omer. His efforts in Meaux dated from the 15th of October 1806. The Bishop, one of the pastors and several citizens vouched for him. The city government put him charge of two classes which, combined, had 185 pupils. On Christmas Eve, the Director and his assistants, Brothers Orthaire and Arsenius, wore the Religious habit.

But soon thereafter the old teacher was struck down by an attack of apoplexy. Those whom he left behind needed leadership. And one of them thought of Brother Adelard, the former teacher in Abbeville, who had been transplanted to the Lyons region. The Brothers entrusted M. Petit, "Landlord, St. Nicholas Gate", with the task of obtaining information. He took advantage of his situation to describe to the Motherhouse the work already accomplished.[155] Brother Adelard, who was invaluable to Brother Frumence, did not fall in with the plan, and for several months Meaux was without a Director. The search for a willing candidate was extended into Picardy, but without effect. Petit then had recourse to Brother Gerbaud, to whom he wrote on the 12th of May 1807: "We consider you as a partner, indeed as the soul of our institution. As a consequence, you must share our concerns; and what is more, you must choose one of your good Brothers from one of your well-stocked schools and send him to us...And be...our savior".[156]

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[152] Motherhouse Archives, KH e 4.

[153] Ibid., letter of March 30, 1806.

[154] Ibid., Father Delaloge's letter to the Brother Vicar-general, October 6, 1807.

[155] Motherhouse Archives, KG v 1, Meaux file. Father Petit's letter to "Brother Moreau, called Adela"(sic), January 10, 1807.

[156] Ibid.

His prayer was heard. The long-expected replacement was Brother Micah (Nicolas Lombard). Born in Breheville, in the diocese of Verdun in 1753, he was a compatriot of Sebastian Thomas, whom he preceded (by only a few months) into the Institute in 1778. An authentic Religious, he was precisely the Brother that was needed. On the 5th of October 1807 he wrote to Brother Frumence in language that was traditionally invoked to address a Superior -general:[157] "I present my most humble respects and obedience, as in duty bound thereto by God". He was "happy to live in union with all true and faithful Brothers of the Christian Schools", and to see Brother Agathon's office "so worthily" filled.[158]

There is a surprising statement in the letter: Brother Micah writes "of frightful conditions" during which the "late Superior-general" was supposed to have "left" the Brothers. Very likely these were false rumors circulated about the last years of the distinguished victim of the Revolution.

Filially, he described his concerns and his consolations. "The former Brother Arsenius went home", after having "tried the patience" of his Director. Brother Orthaire, himself wearied by this troublesome colleague, nearly "returned to St. Menehould". He finally yielded to the entreaties of the pastor of the Cathedral and M. Petit.

Brother Micah had him for a companion during a few days "retreat" at Gros-Caillou. Both of them drew courage from Brother Gerbaud. The faithful warrior concludes: "We have reached the point at which difficulties must not terrify us when it is a matter of the greater glory of Our Adorable Master".[159].

There was also the remarkable spirit of faith of Brother Lysimachus in St.Omer. Six years after Brother Agathon's death, we find this dedicated friend of the late Superior, not at Tours, but among the teachers who were assembled in the Department of the Pas-de-Calais.[160] About the end of September 1805 he succeeded Brother Theodart as Director of the Community in St. Omer. Mayor Brus-le-Baubert thought that Brother Theodart was too old to remain at the head of the Community.[161] (And it was doubtlessly after this "retirement" that the old man used up his remaining bit of energy in the school in Meaux.) Popular education made rapid strides under the leadership of Jean-Baptist Patin -- a Brother of the heroic times and a compatriot ("hardworking, honest and virtuous"[162]) of Brother Solomon.

In spite of the honors heaped upon him by the city government, his attitude toward the Brother Vicar-general was one of humble deference. Lacking the funds and the freedom to open tuition-free classes, he did not totally fulfill the wishes of the Motherhouse: the situation distressed him, and he apologized for it. No one desired to contribute with more disinterestedness and more ardor "to the genuine restoration" of the Institute.

Brother Frumence's criticism "would have crushed him", if God had not seen into the depths of his heart. The "modest tuition" he received was imposed by law. He hoped, nevertheless, to obtain the eternal reward promised to teachers. Sincerely, he did not think of

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[157] Motherhouse Archives, KG v 1

[158] In the brochure, *Centenaire*..., pg. 67, it is stated that a Brother Solomon, "former novice of Brother Gerbaud", began the school in Meaux. The documents mentioned above seem to us to oppose such an assertion. Besides, we meet with Brother Solomon (Pierre Masse, who was born in 1778, and entered the Congregation in 1804) at the school in Orbais

[159] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 599.

[160] ibid

[161] Motherhouse Archives, HA q 20, Mayor's letter to Brother Frumence, September 13, 1805. Chevalier, pp. 136-7.

[162] Motherhouse Archives, ibid.

himself as “a teacher for hire”; if he were that, “he would abandon...the flock to the fury of the wolves”; and he would not take “so much trouble to put everything in a basket with a hole in it”.

Once he had uttered this complaint, Brother Lysimachus thought only of the progress of his project. He emphasized the thoroughly favorable attitude of the municipal council: in the near future the Brothers would be residing once again in their old dwelling. The city asked for the rapid restoration of the residence school, which had prospered so during the 18th century. If only Cardinal Fesch would agree to use his influence in Paris, the plan would be on its way to realization. At the moment, six schools were in operation, but the teachers were too few. God grant that they be filled with “the spirit of De La Salle”! Their failings in this respect cast a pall over their Director’s existence. In order for “peace” to prevail, he had “to make concessions...and close his eyes to many things”.[163]

In this way, the courageous Brother worked and suffered during the early days of 1806. But he did not exert himself in vain. It was on the strength of his sacrifices, the example of his poverty, his piety, and his submission to the Rule that the school in St. Omer was rebuilt, although not without delays nor without difficulties. When Brother Lysimachus was transferred a few years later to Calais, he left a workplace where some confusion still reigned. He had, nevertheless, leveled the land and mixed good cement for the foundations. His long life enabled him to witness, from the shadows of his humble duties, the splendid results which brought honor and glory to his distinguished successor, Brother Abdon.

For him the horizon was never bounded by the city limits of St. Omer. His Congregation’s interests continued to rouse his concerns. If he could only spread the success of Christian education and secure the return of some of his good confreres! Like Brother Gerbaud, he knew - rather vaguely - of the existence of former Christian Brothers in Tournai. This city, which by its history, its sympathies and its language had been French, before becoming so once again through conquest, had offered refuge to persecuted Religious. And it remained a peaceful shelter for them from the end of the revolutionary period, under the auspices of Napoleon’s bureaucrats. Brother Lysimachus dreamed of proposing a still better destiny to the teachers in Tournai by associating them with his own activities.

There is a paragraph in his letter to the Brother Vicar- general that refers to them.[164] He asked the Superior to sound out the attitude of Brother “Artemasse” (sic) who “operates a residence school in Tournai, along with another Brother”. St. Omer was opening its arms to these two individuals: their educational mission would not be interrupted, but their religious stability would be obviously safeguarded.

The only Brother “Arthemas” whose admission into the Institute before 1789 is indicated by Motherhouse documents belonged to the Southern Province.[165] Nowhere else is there a trace of him. We are led to assume that Brother Lysimachus, victim of a lapse of memory, confused him with Brother Theonas, whose name sounds somewhat similar.

Brother Gerbaud had already mentioned this Christian Brother to Brother Frumence on the

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[163] Ibid., Brother Lysimachus’ letter to Brother Frumence, January 10, 1806.

[164] Motherhouse Archives, HA a 20. Text published by Felix Hutin in *L’Institut des Freres des Ecoles chretiennes en Belgique,* Vol. I, 1910, pp. 505-6.

[165] Jean-Baptist Duc, born at Montelimar on the 19th of February 1740, entered the Institute in 1765, member of the Community in Avignon in 1792.

3rd of June 1803.[166] A native of the diocese of Nantes and arrived at fifty years of age, Julien Rivière in that year opened a residence school in Tournai, on Rue des Augustines, in a deconsecrated Carmelite monastery.[167] He selected as his assistant Henri Husson, the former Brother Gondebert, teacher in the residence school in St. Omer during Brother Agathon's generalate, and the author of a book entitled *Method of Bookkeeping*.[168] The chronicler, Hoverlant de Beauwelaere of Tournai, knew the two teachers personally: "M. Rivière's piety and knowledge," he declares, "were equal to his noble disinterestedness". His pupils, taught according to the methods special to the Institute, were noteworthy for their sincere religion, their assiduity in work and their discipline.[169]

Since, at the time, the city lacked primary schools, the Director of the residence school was teaching, apart from his 63 residents and four tuition-paying day-pupils, 50 children from poor families.[170] On the 9th of October 1804 [171] the Commune Council granted him 300 francs from funds that were set aside for education;[172] -- a simple gesture of gratitude, noted Mayer Derasse; since, he added as he sent the money-order to the beneficiary,[173] this is not the way to reward services" that arise out of dedication and zeal. And presently he sent a more generous assistance: an annual subsidy of 600 francs, provided Julien Rivière admit 100 tuition-free pupils to his school and place them under the guidance of a special teacher. The city government would decide on admissions.

On the 14th of December 1805 Rivière informed Derasse that he had found the teacher that he needed. But the obligation of piling a large number of children into a narrow space made him think. A suitable building was required. And, in this instance, a building with two classrooms was indispensable: one for beginners and the other for the somewhat more advanced pupils, who would be taught by the second teacher. The mayor saw difficulties; and besides, he appeared to be unhappy with Rivière's choice of a second teacher. It was at this point that Nicolas Vaillant turned up. This former Brother, married, and who, at one time, had been the head of a small school set up in Campeaux Convent[174] wanted to return to teaching. He offered to direct the school free of charge. He wrote: "I flatter myself that I control the parts which go (to constitute the program). That's not the way it is with the fellow to whom Rivière means to entrust the job; he's a quite raw young man who, up to now has practiced the weaver's trade and whom they now want to lead out of the cellar and place him in a teacher's chair".[175]

In the end, Nicolas Vaillant did not win the day.[176] And the distaste experienced by Julien

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[166] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 516.

[167] Hoverlant, *Essai chronologique pour servir a 'l'histoire de Tournai*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 229-30. (This immense compilation was published beginning in 1804.) Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 499.

[168] Unpublished ms. preserved in the Motherhouse Archives.

[169] Hoverlant, Vol. LXVII, pp. 96-7.

[170] Communal Archives of Tournai, Public education, file no. 10.

[171] 17 Vendemiaire in the Year XIII.

[172] Hoverlant, Vol. XV, pg. 269.

[173] Communal Archives of Tournai, file no. 10, letter of Messidor 20 in the Year XIII (15th of July, 1805).

[174] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 516.

[175] Communal Archives of Tournai, ibid., N. Vaillant's letter is dated February 8, 1806.

[176] In 1807 he sought from the Mayor an appointment as an "auctioneer".(Ibid.) We are indebted to Brother

Rivière inspired him to listen to his Congregation's call. He exchanged no more letters with Mayor Derasse after July 1806. His departure from Tournai was probably decided in the course of the following year. The residence school on Rue des Augustines survived under the direction of a former monk from St. Amand's Abbey, Nicolas Joseph Brabant. People in Tournai, trusting to slogans, might very well have believed that nothing changed: "Residence School known under the name of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine", read the prospectus. The course of studies and the regulation remained pretty nearly the same as in the great institutions created by the Brothers in the 18th century. However, only a single teacher remained who had once been a Christian Brothers; he was Henri Husson, whom Brabant retained as his principal assistant. The former Brother Gondebert broke definitively with his past,[177]while Julien Rivière, who had placed himself at the disposition of Brother Vicar-general, once more became (at least for a while) Brother Theonas.

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In contemplating the first fruits of the harvest, it remains for us to pass through one last field -- one of the most fertile in hopes, one of those in which the workers advanced with the greatest courage, the most order, supported by voluntary assistance, and spurred on to the task by the very careful supervision of an on-site leader. We refer to the institutions in Franche Comté and Burgundy placed, almost as much as those in Lyons, under the influence of Petit College. After the sometimes rather awkward beginnings of men left to themselves, after the gropings and mistakes of "self-government" and "separatism", they offer a picture of unmistakable importance. They succeed in informing us about conditions in which the restoration of the Institute was being worked out up to 1808.

On the outskirts of Besançon there was a familiar figure. Bent under the weight of age, he advanced hesitatingly; his movements indicated that he was concerned with the action that surrounded him, although he took no part in it. Once again we are meeting with Brother Lothaire, former Director of novices at Maréville, and former Assistant to Brother Agathon. The sole survivor of the staff which had understood its leader so well, he had not lost his lucidity nor his faith. But he had doubts about his energy, and he feared to venture forth. He had returned to the place of his birth, where he lived simply, under his family name of Jean-Baptist Clerc.

At about the same time in the year 1806 Father Constant, pastor in the Besançon parish of St. Jean was contemplating asking for Brothers. He had written to Father Paul, the man who had organized the school in Lyons. And between the two priests, the matter had been settled. With an affirmative reply from the priest who had Cardinal Fesch's ear, Father Constant set to work. He fixed his choice on the first house he found for sale, did some makeshift remodelling and furnished it. Immediately, he announced to his flock the good news that there would be a Christian Brothers' school.

Once he had heard about it, Clerc told the pastor that he would like to visit the place. He knew what suited the Institute. And he assumed that a project in which the persisting concerns for one's former confreres were involved should be beyond criticism. The impression he received was distressing; and believed that it was his duty to warn Brother Frumence. On the 26th of May 1806 a letter was sent to the Vicar-general: "The interest that I take in the restoration of our Institute and in the school that the pastor of St. Jean's

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Maxim, Mother−house Archivist, for locating and copying this interesting file concerning the schools in Tournai.

[177] In Tournai on October 10, 1810 he married Florentine Josepha Bruneau, fifty-one years of age. (Motherhouse Archives, HA p 1, Tournai file).

plans...urges me eagerly to avoid... shortcomings...(that) are as prejudicial to the teachers as they are to the pupils. Such are the classrooms and residence intended for our dear Brothers". There was nothing attractive about the building, as can be judged from the following bill of details: bad lighting in the rooms, a view from the street downward into the classroom for advanced pupils, a veritable cellar as the classroom for beginners, and a single room to serve as parlor, refectory, exercise room and study hall. The visitor could not but express his surprise to Father Constant. "It's temporary!" he was told. Once the Brothers come, we shall see... "

There was no doubt that Besancon entertained "the highest opinion of the Brothers' ability", and the ones that were being awaited would justify their hopes. But their health and that of their future pupils must not be endangered, and they must not be inconvenienced in their work or in their Religious life. Although he had "no authority", Clerc thought it was important that he pass along these observations.

However, if the Brother Vicar-general allowed the pastor of St. Jean "to arbitrate" the issue, then it would be ungracious for a casual go-between to express a contrary opinion. "In the present circumstances, we do as best we can, as they did at the beginning of our Institute". And Jean-Baptist Clerc, who signed himself (as in the past) "Brother Lothaire" declared that he was Brother Frumence's "very humble and obedient inferior."[178]

At Petit College, the former Assistant's letter created something of a sensation. Perhaps his message presaged a return to the Institute? However, the negotiations regarding the school seemed to have gotten off on the wrong foot; and then they were interrupted -- which devastated the priest. He admitted that he was in error to have confided in Father Paul without taking the trouble to inform the Motherhouse. Nevertheless, he was annoyed with Clerc. On the 19th of June he wrote: "I plead with him to...examine before God the consequences of his intervention, since it would be the cause that children in my parish would be without Christian education".The pastor felt obliged to condemn "the one who should have championed the enterprise", and bring it to a successful issue, but who was the one who personally secured its defeat.[179].

Protests, regrets and promises finally overcame Lyon's resistance. A swarm of pupils streamed toward the ill-contrived hive. Brother Gerontian was its Director. He had been a teacher at St. Brieuc where, in 1791, he refused to take the schismatic oath. At the beginning of the Napoleonic era he assisted his brother, Étienne-Joseph Cayez, who had opened a residence school in Lisieux. Having remained celibate, he was able to rejoin his Brothers in Religion. Brother Frumence found him to be a faithful servant and a lieutenant equal to difficult missions. Father Constant was triumphant. The Community had been performing its task over several months when he wrote to Brother Vicar-general: "Things are going wonderfully; the Brothers you sent me are worthy of respect and are respected in Besançon. They behave with all the politeness and modesty that one could want. They have nearly 200 pupils, and they would have still more if the classrooms were larger. And the letter concluded by bubbling over in expressions of gratitude, and declarations of respect and "veneration".[180]

Jean-Baptist Clerc had faithfully acquitted himself of the task dictated by his history and his character. Perhaps, in so acting, he thought he was putting himself straight with his conscience. Here he was living quite close by to Brother Gerontian, whose Superior he once had been and who continued to admire and visit him. Would he rejoin him? With a crowning

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[178] Motherhouse Archives, Besancon file.

[179] Ibid

[180] Ibid., file cited, letter of February 10, 1807.

effort, he made up his mind only during the winter of 1808-1809. A draft of one of Brother Frumence's letters includes the following lines addressed to the Director of Besançon: "I am sending you an "Obedience" for dear Brother Lothaire, to the end that he join you". And the Superior "sent his love" to the old man who was returning home, while at the same time he bid him "be of good cheer".[181] At the beginning of January 1809, Brother Vicar-general was awaiting a formal request from Brother Lothaire before signing the "Obedience".[182] On the 6th of April 1809, surrounded by the Brothers of the Besanéon Community, Jean Baptist Clerc died, in his 70th year of wearing the Religious habit. "Strengthened by the Sacraments" which he had received "with much edification,"[183] he returned to be with his dear friend, Brother Solomon, and his Father, John Baptist de La Salle. On the 19th Brother Frumence sent Brother Gerontian the following brief comment on Brother Lothaire's funeral: "I was pleased to see that the Canons of your diocese did justice to the merits of the deceased... Requiescat in pace"!

Franche-Comte, the site of Brother Lothaire's birth and of his tomb, gave many of its sons to the Institute in the course of the "Ancien Regime". The people from that Department did not know the meaning of capitulation and they proved to be persevering and gritty Religious. A few of them survived into the beginning of the century. At Ornans we shall meet with the two Trimailles.

M. Teste, the Mayor of this principal town in the Canton of Doubs, had, since September 1806, been planning the opening of a primary school. He wanted it to be managed by the members of the Society headquartered at Petit College in Lyons. The first efforts toward this end met with failure. But a priest's counsel revived disappointed hopes.

On the 24th of June 1807 the Mayor wrote once again: "...Father Jeanney, Vicar of Ornans...has recommended to me M. Claude-Antoine Trimaille, of Chaux d'Arcon, in the District of Pontarlier...former Director of the Christian Brothers' school in Carcassonne...called Brother Irenée. I believe that this Religious is in a position to direct (the school)".[184]

On the 20th of July there followed a letter from the Brother, who had suddenly emerged from obscurity. Claude-Antoine Trimaille introduced himself to the Brother Vicar and left him in no uncertainty regarding his personality, his opinions and his friends in Chaux d'Arcon: "This letter is intended to offer my very humble compliments and my obedience, as well as those of my brother...I am Brother Irenée, Director of Charlemagne in Carcassonne at the time of the Revolution. I stayed in the city for seven years, at the home of a friend, before returning to my place of birth. This is the ninth year that I have lived with my (other) brother, instructing and educating children. The latter Trimaille, who was the father of a family and in whose home Claude-Antoine lived, is quite incidental to the story, as the letter-writer immediately clarifies:

"The brother mentioned to you at first is Brother Donat Joseph who, prior to 1789, was in the Community in Nancy. This dear man was, at that time, condemned to deportation with the priests, and for eighteen months he remained in prison on the Oleron Islands, when he received an order to return to his native Department, where he has since resided, making a living as best he can".

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[181] Motherhouse Archives, BE a, second notebook of drafts of letters (November 1808 and the following months).

[182] (Ibid., letter to Brother Gerontian).

[183] Ibid. Information concerning Brother Lothaire's death, sent to the Communities of the Institute by the Brother Vicar-general. "He seemed always", declares the circular letter, to have had a special devotion to the Most Blessed Sacrament of the altar".

[184] Motherhouse Archives. *Historique d'Ornans*, M. Teste's letter to Brother Frumence.

Once again we meet the captive of the "prison ships", Claude-François Trimaille; we have already followed him on his "way of the cross", his boarding the noisome jail that was the ship "The Two Partners" followed by his release in the city of Saintes.[185] Upon his return to Nancy, as the persecution abated, Brother Donat Joseph had been thinking about dedicating himself once again to education. In 1804, Brother Gonzales (Jean-Baptist Poirson) joined him in the capital of Lorraine, after the incidents which provoked the falling out between François René Gaudenne and Poirson. Together with a former Jesuit, Father Munier, in July the two friends attempted to reopen a school and sought from the city government the use of a site once occupied by their predecessors at St. George's Gate. The request was denied and they left the Department of Meurthe. It was at this time that Claude-François Trimaille returned to his birthplace, where he was welcomed by his family.[186].

In the meantime, another Christian Brother, a shadowy figure, appeared at Chaux Arcon: Jean Claude Lacroix, called Brother Anatoile (or Anatole). He had returned from Switzerland, from the school in Estavayer which, around 1799, had been serving him as a place of refuge.[187] He left, probably after the institution had closed down, in order to reside with his brother, who was the pastor of Chaux. Brothers Anatoile and Irenée, at the time of Brother Frumence's installation at Petit College, had agreed to submit to the Vicar-general's authority. They wrote to Lyons; but doubtless their letter got lost. Thereafter they no longer ventured to break their silence. At the time of Father Jeanney's intervention, Jean-Claude Lacroix had just died. He passed away "on Monday of the Rogation Days in 1807", according to Brother Irenée. "We dressed him in his Religious habit." In commemoration of his past role in the school at Pontarlier, the clergy of that city celebrated a funeral service.[188]

This, according to Claude Antoine Trimaille, is the story that preceded the foundation in Ornans. It touched Brother Frumence's heart and it augured well for the future of the institution. In September 1807 the people in Ornans readied lodgings for the Brothers in the former Ursaline convent; and their city counsel voted an annual salary of 600 francs for each of them. Brother Irenée and Brother Donat Joseph took on the faithful Gonzales as their associate. Later on, Lyons sent a young, very talented Religious, Brother Emanuel, to assist these veterans. The school opened on the 1st of November 1807.[189]

Jean-Baptist Poirson, and then the two Trimaille brothers, finished their beautiful and laborious careers in Ornans. We can imagine their mortal remains led by a cope-vested priest, burghers and workers in Sunday-best, and women in white bonnets, like those in Gustave Courbet's famous painting; and we can picture their burial by rugged gravediggers in the cemetery, with its peaceful perspectives under the redeeming crucifix. Such burials in this place are much more moving than "The Interment" so powerfully depicted by the artist: because they recall those tragic hours when the three disciples of De La Salle at Nancy, Carcassonne and at Auxonne, refused to betray the Church; and the frightful torments of the "prisoner ships" that brought Brother Donat Joseph to the threshold of martyrdom.

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[185] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 304-312.

[186] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for April 1912, pg. 146. Under the First Empire, St.Die was the only city in Lorraine that had a regular Community of Christian Brothers

[187] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 436-437.

[188] Motherhouse Archives, *Historique d'Ornans*, Brother Ireneus' letter to Brother Frumence, July 20, 1807.

[189] Ibid. Therefore the *Centenaire* mistakenly fixes July 1, 1806 as the beginning of this foundation.

From the Jura plateaux we move to Langres. The winds of the Revolution swirling among the city's ramparts, brought down the work that Canons Neret and Diderot had only just begun.[190] But the tenacious people of Langres were determined to rebuild. It was a novel operation: the reconstruction was in the beginning effected by the efforts of several distinguished citizens, friendly to the Institute and grieved by its destruction, but still unfamiliar with the steps being taken to restore it. Failing to obtain the immediate cooperation of Lyon, they worked exclusively through their own means, and single-handedly they set their own school into operation. Boldly they themselves attempted to train their own teachers whom the Congregation might subsequently adopt. Their "association for the Christian education of poor children" resembled the "School Boards" which in 1707 at Grenoble paved the way for the introduction of De La Salle's disciples. The spirit that moved the people in Langres made them even more like the Lyon apostle, Charles Démia. They meant to pay with their own persons, as well as with their pocketbooks. While, like their fellow citizens on the banks of the Rhone, they resumed a tradition that harkened back to the "Ancien Regime", their efforts exhibited a vigor and a generosity that suggests the "lay-movements" of our own day -- that broad cooperation of the simple faithful with the action of the clergy.

Their leader was a priest, Father Petit, a former Vicar-general of Bishop La Luzerne. But of the thirty-four associates there were twenty-two lay-people. And those who were principally responsible, "classroom inspectors", Philipin Percy and Delcy, Secretary, Besancenot, Treasurer, Girault, and five out of six "neighborhood supervisors" belonged to the upper or middle "bourgeoisie".[191] The preamble to their constitution read as follows: "Among the ravages of the Revolution one of the most deplorable is, without doubt, the destruction of the schools of Christian Doctrine...Several inhabitants have resolved to form among themselves a society that can provide the means to reestablish or to replace that valuable institution the loss of which is so keenly felt".

The articles explained the goal aimed at: in both the spiritual and the temporal orders it was a matter of preparing the soil and sewing the seed, while awaiting more qualified workers who, no doubt, would be the Christian Brothers.

"The spirit of the society will be a sensitive concern for the good education of children and a fraternal love among the members of the association.

The object of the association will be to train the poor children of the city in the principles of religion, in submission and fidelity to the Prince, and to teach them how to read, write and calculate.

To this end, it will be especially concerned with the restoration of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine. (Meanwhile), it will try to substitute for them with private teachers who shall be carefully supervised.

It will strive to awaken and keep alive parents' attention to turn their children away from evil, by vigilance and firmness, and to lead them to the good, by wise counsel and good example.

The associates will strive themselves to become, by their irreproachable morals and edifying conduct, models that parents and children can imitate".

There follows certain organizational details: the board, composed of "officers" whose titles we already know, determined expenses, chose teachers "with the consent of the local

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[190] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 515-517 and Vol. III, pp. 161-162 and 406-407.

[191] Motherhouse Archives, *Historique de Langres*.

authorities and the pastors", fixed salaries and decided on the number of children to be admitted to the schools. The president had to give an account of these measures to the General Assembly.

The inspectors took charge of the classes, saw to the observation of the "Regulation" -- which drew its prescriptions from the Christian Brothers' Conduct - and the free distribution of ink, pens, paper and books.

The supervisors in the six neighborhoods, each in his own sector, drew up a list of names and ages of the children to be instructed and submitted it to the assembly which met once a year.

In conclusion, the constitution touch upon the "general duties of associates", which included: 1) "to use the means that Providence (gave them) to obtain a Christian education for poor children"; 2) "to profess, on every occasion, a great attachment and a great respect for Christian Doctrine and to be faithful to religious duties..." Besides, in their thoughts and actions they were to be guided by this principle: "To have but one heart and one soul".

This marvelous code of Evangelical charity was granted all the official approbations. The Deputy-prefect of Langres, M. Berthod, included it in his Decree of the 19th of December 1806. And he commented upon it in the following "Whereases":

"Since, through the Revolution, the City of Langres has lost the valuable institution of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine...the children of poor families are without help with regard to education and elementary instruction;...this prolonged abandonment produces...a spirit of insubordination, independence and licence, of which we note the deplorable growth everyday...(It behooves us) to attack the evil at its root...by nourishing hearts in good principles, and by strengthening principles by good example...

Since the object...of the association is to bear the expenses of this charitable education...local authority, under the supervision of which it operates, must not only encourage it in its efforts, but give it all necessary latitude".

And, after having hailed, in the noble dedication of his constituents, "the renaissance of that antique public spirit which, at one time, prominently distinguished the City of Langres", the Deputy-prefect resolved, subject to approval by the Prefecture and the Imperial government, "by a special delegation, to invest the associates with all the powers (necessary) to control the institutions previously occupied by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, to inspect classes and teachers and to establish others..." He invited them, further, "to supervise in the same way...the tuition-free school for poor young girls, called the Providence school", as well as all primary schools maintained by private teachers.[192]

On the 12th of March 1807 the Prefect of the Upper Marne asked the Director-general of Public Education to prepare for the Emperor a report favorable to the Langres association. By the 15th of May all legal authorizations had been acquired.[193]

Father Petit and his colleagues were already at work. Since Brother Frumence had replied in the negative to their initial overtures, they enlisted a group of men of good will for their attempt --first,"a candidate with great prospects", and then "several of mature age, solid virtue, and exemplary piety" volunteered to teach.

There is a report, unsigned and dateless, but certainly written by the President of the association in the course of the year 1807,[194] The document is in Father Petit's handwriting. The time of the writing can only be situated between the approval of the Langres statutes and

[192] National Archives, F17, 12453.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Motherhouse Archives, JE g 7, Langres file.

the letter of January 15, 1808 that we shall presently examine which explains to Brother Vicar-general the plan upon which Father Petit hit: The teachers were "to live a Community life"; at the same time that they were fulfilling their educational function under the guidance of the association, they would be receiving religious direction. Genuine "Postulants" and, indeed, genuine "Novices", they would eventually become recruits for the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. "Tested for a suitable time", those who exhibited the "spirit of their state" would be in a position to receive the habit of the Congregation, or at least a title of affiliation.

Unfortunately, it was impracticable to think of sending them to be trained at the novitiate in Lyon. The schools needed them immediately. Besides, the budget of the Langres society could not tolerate expenses which, if a vocation failed, it might prove unproductive. It was only later on, once the best teachers had been identified, that the Superiors of the Institute would proceed to a series of invitations with the view to a further test at Petit College.

From that time, the association limited itself to obtaining from Brother Frumence a single professed Brother, thoroughly imbued with the doctrines and the traditions of the Institute. This Brother, placed at the head of the Langres Community, would assume the job and the responsibilities of a Director of formation. It was now a question of naming him: Father Petit and his friends inclined to one of three Brothers, "recollections of whom remained fresh" among their fellow-citizens: "Brothers Rupert, Leclerc and Merre".

But the first (Jean-François Ledieu) "did not seem ready to leave his residence school". (Indeed, we know that, in company with Ambrose Allard, called Brother Aimé, he directed the Puisieux school in the Pas-de-Calais;[195] and at no time would he ever rejoin his former confreres.) The second, whose religious name we do not know, seems to have resided in the Upper Marne; and he was "prevented by his great age."[196]

There remained only "M. Merre". Behind the inexact spelling given in the document, we recognize Jean-Baptist Mairez (Brother Jonas), former teacher at Langres, and Director in Soissons in 1791, in which year he emigrated to Belgium. Torn away from his pupils in Verviers by the French police in 1799 and dragged from prison to prison, from Liège to Vesoul, from Vesoul to Besançon, he was finally released on the 25th Ventose in the Year VIII.[197] In 1804 he was teaching in St. Omer with Brothers Theodart and Lysimachus.[198] Disappointed by the lack of organization in that Community, he resumed his independence. Recalling happier times, he was drawn once again to the eastern regions; and while he did not yet mount the steep roads of Langres, he did settle in the vicinity, and opened a school in the principal city of the Upper Marne. The people of Langres were to rue the day of that decision: for the Prefect of the Department told Father Petit that Mairez was "too important to the city of Chaumont" for anybody to snatch him away from there.

"The Association for Christian Education" was quite at a loss. In order to guarantee the future of its work, its only hope lies in the Brothers' "Superiors". While awaiting some alleviation from that quarter, it was preoccupied with its finances. The contributions from its members were not enough to support the schools and the teachers. It was important to get assistance from the City Council. A petition to this effect pointed out the Councillors' duty:
"The sacrifices, quite justly acclaimed, that you have made to give good teachers to the

[195] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 599.

[196] Ibid., pg. 407

[197] Ibid., pg. 431-435.

[198] Ibid., pg. 599.

children of well-to-do parents constitute so many guarantees that you would not refuse to come to the assistance of poor children. They, too, belong to the great family whose income you disburse". The expense to the city would be limited. It was being asked to include in the budget only a regular salary for the teachers. Such a "contribution" would facilitate the coming of the Brothers.

In the preceding century, Langres "had enjoyed their advantages only for a moment", but sufficiently in order to admire "the change" that these educators effected on their youth. Let them be recalled! They will have "the same results". The buildings, "constructed for them at great expense lie waiting, so to speak, for such a return". The spiritual edifice must be reborn: "It is for the civil power 'to place the cornerstone'; and "Charity" will crown the work.[199] Neither the Council nor the Motherhouse could remain insensitive to these accents of a beautiful soul.

Father Petit wracked his brain to supply, whether morally or materially, for the lack of funds and the need for an experienced leader. He himself undertook the formation of his personnel. It was a very difficult task. He realized that a priest, no matter how attentive he might wish to be to the demands of the Christian Brothers' Rule, did not possess the grace of state to train a Brother of the Christian Schools. Apart from the mold fashioned by the Founder, he could make only imperfect copies.

The confession is met with in the correspondence of the former Vicar-general of Langres. Brother Frumence, who was anxious to encourage this deserving man, honored him with a portrait of John Baptist De La Salle. In a letter of thanks, the recipient wrote:

"You wish, of course, to inspire me by such a wonderful example, but it only confuses and humiliates me...(I say) to you before God, I do not have what it takes to train Brothers. I have a respect for order, I love the Rule, and I am firm...in having it observed. But I do not have that religious spirit that is necessary to form Religious; and if I am left to myself, I shall have been useful in forming teachers who behave well and teach according to your methods; but they will not be Religious, men who are poor in spirit, humble of heart, mortified, self-sacrificing and willing to bear their cross".

Father Petit was perplexed by "many things", to his way of thinking, "too lofty...too austere" for human weakness: examen, accusations, frequent Communion, fasts and humiliations. And thus he insisted on the issue of obtaining an experienced Director, competent, and capable of putting consciences in rhythm with the Institute.[200] This candor and modesty deserved to be rewarded. However, the first quarter of 1808 had come and gone without a solution.

In fact, the figure of Jean-Baptist Mairez loomed large on the horizon. To please his friends in Langres and to bow to Brother Frumence's wishes, the former Brother Jonas consented to visit the new institution. Besides, there was nothing extraordinary in a journey of nine leagues. But what would be the teacher from Chaumont's decision? There was a time when his valor was up to any challenge; but now, his body bore the traces of sufferings endured for the faith. Would he, in a burst of energy, break the bonds that bound him? He was not decisively evasive; but, then, he bided his time; since disappointment and weariness had banked his fires.

In 1805 Brother Gerontian encouraged him to resume his position at Petit College; he also supplied him with writings relative to the restoration of the Institute. Brother Jonas did not think he was convinced. And on the 24th of October, he responded: "I thank you, my very

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[199] Motherhouse Archives, *Historique de Langres*, the "Association's petition to the Municipal Council." (1808)

[200] Motherhouse Archives, Langres file, letter of January 15, 1808.

dear Brother, for all the fine and edifying things and excellent documents as well as the counsel included in your letter; I commend you and congratulate you on your reunion with our dear confreres in Lyon..I wish that my health, circumstances and events would allow me to accept your invitation. But, according to the experience I had at St. Omer, if there is no corporation and no Regime, there is no Community. I beg you not to be offended at my refusal. I have no obligation in conscience to act in any other way. God knows all that my dedication to my holy vocation has caused me to suffer, and He knows my views in that connection. Divine Providence has placed me at Chaumont;... I shall make that my vocation, until the Lord orders otherwise...At that time, I shall be entirely at the disposition of my Superiors; and, may it please His goodness, my heart shall not be hardened".[201]

The author of this letter himself underlined the final words. He was guided by a somewhat narrow prudence, much more so than by a desire to husband his strength. He saw nothing more in the Society assembled in Lyon than a vague beginning; and he suspected the government's intentions regarding Religious Orders. That is the way people found him in 1808: his stay in Langres seems to have been a brief gesture, and without any consequences. He gave his advice to Father Petit with kindness and with a sort of openness conceded some slight mitigations to Lasallian customs. (The priest, a bit disturbed, wondered if the Brother Vicar-general authorized these minor alterations.) Father Petit quite gladly signed the report that the visitor was preparing to submit. He did not disguise his regret at not obtaining more from the visitor; but there was no doubt but what Brother Jonas had performed a valuable service for him:But he was unable to imagine the hope of seeing the Congregation restored; he looked on us as though we were readying materials for an edifice that would never get built. Assurances from the Motherhouse "would reenforce his zeal" and would prevent the people in Langres from discouragement.[202].

The time was coming when the Institute would enjoy fresh guarantees, when those who wavered could no longer allege excuses, and when, of all the works of popular education and religious formation entrusted to the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the institution whose direction Brother Jonas finally assumed would become, through the efforts of an exemplary leader, one of the best teacher-training centers ever inspired by the spirit of St. John Baptist de La Salle.

[201] Motherhouse Archives, HA p 1, Brothers Jonas' file.

[202] Letter cited, January 15, 1808

CHAPTER TWO

The Brothers in the Imperial University

Napoleon's attitude regarding the Brothers was regulated by the thinking that controlled his entire religious policy. The Emperor submitted neither his pride nor his passions to God; but, rather, regarded the Almighty as a collaborator with whom one does not improvidently dispense; the Deity was an aid to princes and judges, and (however irreverent the characterization may appear) a psychological and moral spur that human genius must learn to manipulate. However, it is important to be precise; neither in theory nor in practice did the author of the "Concordat", the monarch consecrated at Notre Dame and the despoiler and persecutor of the Pope, give grounds for the suspicion that , deep down in his soul, he was an atheist who took advantage of the credulity and the illusions of the masses. No matter how contaminated his mind was with the pseudo-philosophy of the 18th century and his heart with the disorders of his youth and mature years, he continued to be "religious" - i.e., touched by a sense of the divine and at least inclined to recall in moments of reflection or difficulty, beliefs bequeathed to him by his ancestors, which nurtured his early years. Professions of faith during his captivity at St. Helena, attenuated or contradicted as much as one pleases by sceptical quips, manifested neither a sudden change in his ideas nor an intention to delude public opinion nor the simpleminded desire to rescue his dynasty. Rather, they emerged at the term of a tortuous road, and as a light that illumines the darkness. It was, of course, a feeble light; but already in the days of triumphant ambition its rays had unexpectedly appeared against the darkened background.

The remarks that the Emperor made in August 1805 to Fourcroy and Fontanes[203] are typical. And they are all the more interesting to us in that they were inspired by a conversation on the subject of education. Looking directly at Forucroy, Napoleon is supposed to have said: "I must have pupils who are men. Now, perhaps you believe that a man can be a man without God? Where would such a man place his fulcrum with which to lift the world? Ever since 1793, I've been looking at "man-without-God". You don't govern such a man...you shoot him. I've had enough of that sort of man. Is that the sort of man you wish to see coming out of my high schools? No, no, to educate the man that we need I'll bet on God; because it's a question of creating, and apparently you have not yet found the creative power".

It was a trenchant, choppy speech, delivered while walking up and down, hands behind the back, with pauses during which Napoleon seemed to be making a run at an adversary. Its style vouches for its authenticity. Its meaning does not afford matter for doubt: the problem is not just to bring a control into play, but a "lever": - an instrument of control, to be sure, but also an instrument of direction, and of powerful, regular movement, aimed at just goals. However, in the imperial system religion retained the character of a superior means, rather than a transcendent principle. The despot recognized it: he did not submit docily to God; he put God on his team in order "to create" an ordered, pliant world that would forestall anarchy. These altogether too human concepts would prove inadequate: something loftier, less egotistical would be necessary to restore confidence. Besides, who would assume the responsibility for applying them? More often than not, bureaucrats steeped in Jacobin prejudices and professors who still cherished the "Encyclopedia". Such individuals were little

[203] Reported by Eugene Rendu in a book he wrote dedicated to the memory of his father, a friend and confidant of Fontanes (*M. Ambroise Rendu et l 'Université de France,* 1861, pp. 27-8).

concerned to abandon their theories: they did not resort to hypocrisy; they observed a silence inspired either by indifference of fear, even as certain gestures and certain turns of expression revealed the depths of their hostility. They would be required to guide young people who had been born into an era of irreligion, raised in an environment of scepticism, in a climate at once hedonistic and militaristic.

But when Caesar sought to become master of Rome, when his conflict with the Pope spread anxiety throughout the Church and his excommunication released Catholic consciences from allegiance to him, unbelievers thought it was a good show. However, the results that had been anticipated between 1801 and 1807 were lost.

At such times the French clergy felt the yoke most harshly and the civil power, become tyrannical, attempted to enlist it among the prefects and even the police. Henceforth, only one thing was required of the clergy: preach submission to the government and facilitate the collection of taxes and military conscription.

This tendency, worsening with time, had already been in evidence with the working out of the so-called "imperial catechism".[204] In itself there was nothing more reasonable than to attempt to attain uniform religious instruction in all dioceses. And Father Jauffret was able to write Cardinal Fesch on the 20th of October 1805: "If the Roman breviary had been adopted, at one time, by...all countries, *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, why should not the glory of God be found in a national breviary and missal?...I would say the same thing for the catechism. It would be quite interesting for all Frenchmen to know the same truths in the same way".[205]

The priestly group that corresponded and worked with the Archbishop of Lyon gave its active cooperation to the project. Father Astros, the nephew of the minister Portalis, took over the principal role in the writing, as he drew inspiration from similar works of Bossuet and Claude Fleury. But Bonaparte demanded a special chapter on the duties of citizens to heads of State; teaching regarding the fourth commandment took on a new importance and significance. Bishop Bernier eagerly enlisted his adulatory and expert pen. On the 15th of September 1803 he wrote Portalis a treatise composed of seven questions and the answers to them. Napoleon was still unhappy. He thought that it was necessary to emphasize his own providential mission.

After the Empire was proclaimed the Bishop of Orleans recast his essay, extended it and accentuated certain parts.[206] On the 30th of March 1806, the Cardinal-Legate Caprara, timid in the face of the monarch's demands, granted his approval without being authorized by the Holy See. And on the 4th of April, a decree, issued "in execution of article 39 of the Law of the 16th Germinal in the Year X (7th of April 1802),[207]"Organic' articles" secretly added to the Concordat. ordered the publication and exclusive use of the famous catechism.[208]

Lesson no.VII asked the children: "What are a Christian's duties regarding princes who govern them and that we, in particular, owe Napoleon, our Emperor'?

The response is as follows: "Christians owe the princes who govern them, and we, in particular, owe Napoleon, our Emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes enacted for the preservation and defense of the Empire and of its throne; we owe him furthermore fervent prayers for his salvation and for the spiritual and temporal

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[204] Cf. André Latreille, *Le Catéchisme impérial de 1806, études et documents pour servir a 'l'histoire des rapports de Napoléon et du clergé concordataire, 1935.*

[205] Latreille, op. cit., pg. 47.

[206] Latreille, op. cit., pp 49-50, 52-3, and Leflon, Vol. II, pp. 217-8.

[207] Latreille, op. cit., pp. 65-6.

[208]4

prosperity of the State".

There then follows a profuse explanation of the reasons why there are so many compelling obligations: "because. in the first place, God, who creates Empires and arranges them according to His will, in overwhelming our Emperor with gifts, whether for peace or for war, has established him as our Sovereign and has made him the minister of His power and His image on earth. To honor and serve our Emperor is, therefore, to honor and serve God Himself. Secondly, because Our Lord Jesus Christ, both by His teaching and by His example, has Himself taught us what we owe our Sovereign: He was born while obeying an edict of Caesar Augustus; He paid the prescribed taxes; and as He commanded to render God what belongs of God, so, too, He commanded to render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar".[209]

Scriptural reminders and references to the Gospels were not enough. It became crucial to remind the Church and the faithful of their "special reasons" for being grateful and for being "attached" to the founder of the fourth dynasty: He is the one whom God has raised up in difficult times in order to reestablish the public cult of the holy religion of our fathers and to be its protector. He has restored and preserved public order by his profound and energetic wisdom; he defends the State with his powerful arm; he has become the anointed of the Lord through the consecration he has received from the Sovereign Pontiff, the Head of the Universal Church".[210]

The "catechism for the use of the Churches of the French Empire", printed in Paris, and published by the widow Nyon, was especially edited in Lyon under Cardinal Fesch's initiative.[211] His Most Eminent Highness entrusted the work to the publisher Matthew Placid Rusand, a friend of the Christian Brothers. The Vicars-general of the Archdiocese promised Rusand to recommend the book "to pastors, professors and schoolteachers."[212]

Thus, the Christian Brothers found themselves among the messengers responsible for spreading the praises of Napoleon. Under the eye of the Archbishop, their benefactor, they were unable to evade the mandate. They were all the more disinclined to do so (in spite of a text that engages in exaggeration and compromises strict orthodoxy) in that their Institute had been accorded, from high places, indications of friendship and evident attentiveness. Christian Doctrine required "respect" and "obedience" for a civil authority, which had been up to then favorable to the divine law. While the "love" demanded by the imperial catechism remained outside the obligations of conscience, it was explained and justified in regard to the person of the Sovereign because of the extent and the brilliance of the services he rendered to the nation.

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One of the features of Napoleonic policy became clear with the publication of the writings of Father Astros, Bishop Bernier and their ecclesiastical or ministerial associates. The creation of the University manifested a line of action whose point of departure, if not its

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[209] Pity the children who had to memorize this bloated text!

[210] Latreille, pp. 80-1.

[211] With the same title, but with the addition of the word "Catholic" to the word "Churches". The book was printed by order of His Eminent Highness Cardinal Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, Vienne and Embrun, Primate of the French...for use in his Archdiocese.

[212] Latreille, pg. 97.

subsequent developments, had the same objective. And we have heard the monologue of 1805: the persisting point was to define the duties of subjects with regard to their prince, to fashion minds in the imperial mould, and to muster souls behind a theory of the State. As much for the common education of the people as for catechetical instruction, the Christian Brothers were saddled with an official mission. The nation and its leader were relying on them. We have mentioned the frightening recollections that Frenchmen retained of the revolutionary years at the opening of the 19th century. Orators and writers, politicians and churchmen spoke of the "chasms" that the nation has just managed to avoid and the threat of which that still yawned wide. Notions of authority, discipline, honesty and justice had become obscured. The corner−stones of the family and the city lay there in the vast devastation. In 1806 many Bishops in their instructions insisted on the need to restore filial respect.[213]

Educators were in instant demand. What was sought was competence and dedication; but it was the short supply of these commodities that was frightening. In a report dated February 1806, on "the organization of teaching personnel,"[214] Fourcroy admitted that "in spite of the efforts made to put the primary schools into operation, this important segment...was still less developed". According to him, obstacles arose from the poverty of the Communes, and the lack of lodging for teachers; but the principal cause centered on the shortage of competent teachers. Some administrators had achieved "the beginnings of success": they had appealed to former "Ignorantine Brothers". The Inquiry of the Year XIII (1804-1805) had revealed the existence of scattered members of this group. But it was "impossible for them to increase in numbers", unless they were assigned, as in the past, "a headquarters...in which to train" new teachers. The government would have to supply them with the means "to be revived". It would achieve such a goal if it obliged the Communes out of their revenues to pay "a fixed salary to elementary school teachers". There is no doubt but what city officials welcomed such a solution.

That rampant anti-Catholicism, the ancient enemy of Religious Congregations, should propose such a program and should just as clearly exploit its prospects for success revealed better than anything else the tendencies of public opinion. The Church would be compensating for the deficiencies of the State: it would be offering its militia, trained to the tasks and the methods of education, and assured (provided it was supported) of normal recruitment and prepared to supply maximum service in exchange for a minimum of material security.[215] While an educational renaissance was in the offing, credit for it was shared by the "Brothers" and "Sisters". They were answering to the appeals of the cities; and they were taking advantage of the freedom that seemed to be promised by the Law of Floreal in the Year X (April 1802).[216] Here and there, in civilian garb or, occasionally, in their Religious habits, they kept schools open or they reopened them, welcomed by the people, well-thought of by the majority of the Prefects, and, finally embraced by municipal councils.

The question arose as to whether the clergy would be entrusted, as it had been under the "Ancien Régime" with the task of selecting and supervising the teachers. In April 1805 the Bishop of Versailles asked the Minister of Cults for the restoration of the Edict of 1695; and Portalis declared that he favored such a move. Acting on the advice of Arch-Chancellor

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[213] Ibid., pg. 20.

[214] Des Cilleuls*, Histoire de l'Enseignement libre dans l'ordre primaire en France*, 1898, pp. 118-9; Chevalier, pp. 159-60.

[216] A. Aulard, *Napoleon Ier et le monopole universitaire. Origines et fonctionnement de l'Universite imperiale*, 1911, pg. 61.

Cambaceres, the Emperor refused to hand over such a formidable authority to the Church.[217] But the notion of using the former teaching Congregations as far as secondary education continued to occupy the thoughts of many. Thus, during the final days of the Consulate, Chaptal was planning the reestablishment of the Oratory. Subsequently, he contemplated the possibility of grouping together within a single society (subject, of course, to the government and accepting from it its rules and programs) the Oratorians, Doctriners, and the Benedictines of St. Maur. On that occasion, the opposition arose from Cambaceres' colleague Lebrun, who had no intention of cooperating in the resurrection "of some sort of monasticism".[218]

In this way the authorities groped toward State monopoly. Public education would be subject to Caesar: God would share in it, but only in a subsidiary role; His ministers would be admitted only as private individuals, at the various levels of an autonomous hierarchy, of an essentially lay administration, meanwhile borrowing the rigidity and the austerity of some of its discip−lines from clerical life. Secondary and higher education would thus escape the direct control of the Church. Religious bodies could hope for a place in primary education -- in dependence, of course, upon the civil arm.

Among Napoleon's advisers, Portalis and Nompere Champagny remained hostile to the monopoly; they believed, quite correctly, that it was an enemy to progress of studies, to the free play of the mind and oppressive of conscience. On the other hand, the opinion of the President of the Legislature, Fontanes, docily reflected the Emperor's views. This thoroughly respectable and quite sincere man (although something of a sycophant) wrote: "Sire, if we had to influence a society that was homogeneous and living according to ancient traditions,...the objection (raised) would be insuperable. But, after a revolution, upon emerging from anarchy, and in the presence of hostile factions, what is needed in education as in everything else is unity of opinion and of control. At least for a while, France needs a single University and a University with a single leader. "That's it", said the Emperor, "you understand my meaning."[219]

And while the principle of the new educational polity was now in place, its final charter was worked out only gradually. The proposed legislation that Fourcroy submitted to the Legislature in the Spring of 1806 was contained in three articles: 1) Under the name of "University", a group will be formed responsible, exclusively, for instruction and public education throughout the Empire.

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[217] A. Aulard, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

[218] Eugene Rendu, op. cit., pp. 23-5. In the previous volumes we have not been sufficiently fair to Jean-Antoine Chaptal who, as "State Counselor for Educational Administration" wrote "the Report and Bill" for Brumaire in the Year IX (October, 1800). This work contains the bases for the rational reorganization of education. Without bias, Chaptal demonstrated the advantage the "Corporations" responsible for education under the "Ancien Regime" offered. He emphasized the emptiness of the plans worked out during the Revolution and quite courageously sought, for every citizen, "the right to compete in spreading education". "By its very nature", he wrote, "every privilege is odious, but in education it is absurd". Such broad views ran counter to the tendencies that had already attained despotic proportions in the First Consulate, which had uncovered an ally, indeed an accomplice, in Fourcroy. Chaptal (Minister of the Interior from January 21 1801 to July 21 1804) was obliged to allow considerable leeway to the Director-general of Public Education. On the other hand, he certainly seconded Portalis' efforts in favor of Religious women and of the Christian Brothers in education, and at the same time contributed to the development of secondary residence schools. Later on, Champagny, his successor in the ministry, eagerly followed his lead. Chaptal, who, deep-down, continued to be influenced by Christianity, followed the work of religious pacification with a sympathetic eye. The behavior of this eminent public servant ultimately inspired admiration and respect. (See Jean Pigeire, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre de Chaptal* (1756-1832), Paris, 1932).

[219] Eugene Rendu, pg. 33; cited by Aulard, pg. 163.

2) Members of the teaching group will contract special, but temporary, civil obligations.

3) The legal form of the organization of the teaching group will be presented to the Legislature in its 1810 session.[220]

The Director of Public Education told the Assembly that "approval by way of experiment" would precede legal approval.[221] In the last analysis, people would have to be satisfied with the vote obtained on May 10, 1806, which gave the "University" its "birth certificate". Fourcroy's work, the efforts of the Privy Counsel and the Emperor's personal decision guaranteed to this Napoleonic creation an existence which, today, has endured into its second century.

High schools, residence and primary schools operated under the promptings and according to the directives received during the Consulate and at the beginning of the Empire. In the words of Ambrose Rendu, the Law of 1806 placed "public education more clearly and more determinately than ever in the hands of the State."[222] Everyday, more and more, Fourcroy's jurisdiction was asserted and expanded over private institutions. As to the teaching Congregations, their lot became neither better nor worse: like the Sisters of the Christian Schools of Lyons, they were "provisionally" authorized until their Rules could be examined by the Privy Counsel.[223] They were stripped of every hope, if not of governing themselves, at least of exercising their professional activities under the exclusive guidance of the Church.

De La Salle's Institute continued to occupy the attention of the legal experts. In the many editions and modifications of Fourcroy's legislation, there was an article that involved the Institute. In May 1806 it was article 102: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools will be credentialed and encouraged by the Rector-general, who will certify their Rules, and administer the oath to them, prescribe a special garb for them, and supervise their schools. The superiors of these congregations[224] may be members of the University".[225]

This was the language of the text that was under discussion on the 21st of May in the Privy Counsel and that inspired Napoleon's celebrated remarks: "It is being claimed that the primary schools operated by the "Ignorantine Brothers" could introduce a dangerous spirit into the University; it's being suggested that they be left outside (its) jurisdiction...I cannot understand this sort of fanaticism which inspires certain people against the "Ignorantine Brothers; it's a real prejudice. Everywhere, I am being asked to reestablish them; this general plea is a sufficient demonstration of their value".

To some of the sectarians' arguments the Emperor's replies were something less than informed (he was incapable of fathoming the mind of St. John Baptist de La Salle.), but they did satisfy common sense: "A proof (he said) that the Brothers' influence has always been feared was the obligation imposed upon them by their vows to reject all other knowledge except reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. This so-called proof is mere childishness; there was no other purpose in prescribing this vow than to make them better able to fulfill their task".[226]

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[220] Ambroise Rendu, *Essai sur l'Instruction publique*, Vol. I, pp. 199-20.

[221] Idem., ibid., Vol. I, pg. 213.

[222] Idem., ibid., Vol. III, pg. 272.

[223] Decree of May 14, 1806. (Chevalier, pp. 140-2.)

[224] "Congregations" is in the plural in the text; other "Brothers" apart from De La Salle's (thus, the small Parisian Society in the Faubourg St. Antoine) may have been thinking about "University" incorporation.

[225] The first edition presented to the Privy Counsel, following the collection of documents assembled by Counselor Regnault Saint-Jean Angely. (Chevalier, pp. 163-4)

[226] *Opinions de Napoleon sur divers sujets de politique et d'administration recueillies par un membre de son*

The arrangement respecting the Brothers, supported by a very able lawyer, survived without change and was voted in on the 4th of the following July, along with the other articles that had been adopted.[227]The title of “Headmaster" was substituted for “Rector-general”.

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In this way was carved out the route that had, ineluctably, to be followed. It was narrowly defined, along lines imperfectly understood by the Brothers and in areas that could easily excite their fears. It was crisscrossed by obstacles that they were never to surmount. Nevertheless, they knew it as something solidly built; and they still trusted its creator to spare them surprises and thought of themselves as under the guidance of a Bishop whose dedication and respected orthodoxy they had experienced.

The steadfast harmony between Portalis and Cardinal Fesch was of a nature to reassure Religious teachers. The Minister of Religion’s feelings for them inspired the report of the 10th Frimaire in the Year XII (3rd of December 1803. He continued to declare the same sentiments concerning teachers whom no “family ties divided” and who “had no other ambition than to educate informed and virtuous pupils.”[228] His instructions, dated the 3rd of April 1807 addressed to the Prefect of Puy-de-Dome, showed that he was inclined to think of the future “University” as very nearly a religious institution, working, together with Christian educators, in the formation of souls:

“I invoke the magnificent principle that His Majesty himself condescended to elaborate in the Privy Counsel...We understood that, in this context, there never would be public education as long as educators were not obliged to live a common life under some sort of discipline; as long as there was not a teachers’ institute where teachers themselves were trained; and, finally, as long as the people responsible for education were distracted by the concerns of a household, or others even less worthy...The problem in education is not merely the instruction of youth, but their formation...We instruct youth by providing young persons with knowledge; we form them by disposing them with regard to every sort of good, through good example and salutary habits. Just as in the sciences, we need to bind our ideas to signs, so in morality, we must bind our precepts and counsels to practice and action. It is particularly necessary to watch over oneself in order to be in a position usefully to watch over others. Now, the art of observing and watching over oneself seems to exist more securely among teachers who live under a common...discipline”.[229]

Since he ignored the objections to the monopoly, the loyal servant of the State seems to have been reconciled to it. His Gallicanism rather placidly accommodated itself to imperialist pretensions; but his lofty mind stood in fear of science without a conscience. He wanted the atmosphere characteristic of the antique colleges to reign within the walls of the “University”; and he sought teachers who regarded education as a sort of priesthood. Once they were welcomed into such a climate De La Salle’s disciples would have felt completely at home.

But would Portalis’ view prevail? He had aged prematurely, and, he was now in the final days of his career. He died on the 25th of August 1807. And the plans sketched five months

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Conseil d’Etat, (Pelet La Lozzere), 1833, pp. 173-4. Cited by Chevalier, pp. 164-5 and by Aulard, pp. 161-2.

[227]See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 533-535.

[228] Report of 15 Germinal in the Year XIII (April 7, 1808). See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 541.

[229] *Discours rapports et travaux de Portalis*, published in 1845. Cited by Chevalier, pp. 168-9.

earlier had become a legacy for posterity: how and when Portalis' ideas would find an executor.

His death left a great vacuum both in political circles and among groups in Paris and Lyons where the Brothers had met with excellent support. It nearly dealt a serious blow to the interests of the Institute. During this period the Fathers of the Faith, already challenged by the police in 1804, incurred new lawsuits. The Emperor considered their attitude and their intentions as suspect. He had never authorized their association, and he regarded their action and the freedom with which they promoted their causes as a challenge to his absolute power. The Fathers were "Ultramontanists" in the Jesuit tradition. Napoleon smashed them completely - as the Courts in the time of the Bourbons smashed the Jesuits. We are, of course, aware of the ties that bound Brother Gerbaud to Father Varin.[230] Besides, the Christian Brothers and the Fathers of the Faith worked side-by-side in the diocese of Lyon under the benevolent eye of the Cardinal-Archbishop, who employed both Religious groups in his colleges and schools. He probably thought of incorporating both of them into the "great University". And he thought that he had taken sufficient precautions as regards his imperial nephew.

Such safeguards, however, proved illusory. In October of 1807 Napoleon's anger exploded. There was a violent scene which ended with the command that the condemned society be immediately dissolved and that the institutions which the Fathers administered be closed.[231]

The Brothers felt the winds of the storm. Portalis' successor in the Ministry of Religion sent the following circular letter to several Prefects on the 24th of October: "I know that there exist in your Department (institutions) of public education directed by priests or churchmen belonging to Congregations unauthorized by the State, such as the Fathers of the Faith or the Brothers of Christian Doctrine...I am asking you, please, to give me, in this connection, all the information you might have on the scope of these institutions, their goals, their advantages and disadvantages, the number of individuals that compose them, the influence they exercise in their neighborhoods, the relations they maintain, either among themselves or with a superior-general, or with foreign ecclesiastical superiors, and finally concerning the financial resources that support them and the internal regulation that rules them and governs their pupils. In this inquiry the Minister expected his subordinates to be zealous, swift, prudent and impartial".[232]

Was this, then a reversal of policy on the part of the central government? Did approval, support and encouragement disappear because Joseph Fesch, the protector of both Father Varin and Brother Gerbaud, had suddenly fallen into disfavor? The circular-letter of the 24th of October, so different from the one that Fourcroy wrote on the 21st Frimaire in the Year XIII(13th of December 1805),[233] surprised some bureaucrats. The Prefect of the Seine-and-Marne spoke of his surprise in language which, while discreet, was also revealing: he seemed to hesitate, but then, in a brief, evasive passage, mentioned the Brothers as being (if he wasn't mistaken) the object of the investigation. Immediately thereafter he launched into a warm plea on their behalf.

Nowhere in his jurisdiction, he declared, "does there exist a non-authorized Congregation "unless the name 'Brothers of Christian Doctrine' means the 'Brothers of the Christian Schools'", who have charge of two schools in Meaux. "Their institution is a valuable asset to

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[230] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 473-475.

[231] A. Latreille, *Napoléon et le Saint-Siège, l'ambassade du cardinal Fesch à Rome,* 1935, pg. 555.

[232] A. Latreille, *Napoleon et le Saint-Siege, l'ambassade du cardinal Fesch a Rome,* 1935, pg. 555.

[233] National Archives, F19 6285.

the poor...(Their) financial resources lie in “subsidies from the city. The Prefect expressed only one desire: an “increased number" of these teachers. “Public morality would profit from it” and the elementary schools, (overall so woeful) “would respond infinitely better to the government’s purposes and to the desires of heads of families.[234]

People in high places must have found such replies edifying. But the backwash created by the imperial squall subsided very gradually. On the 17th of December the Minister of the Interior wrote to Fourcroy: “Since the Association of the Fathers of the Faith, which was dedicated to public education in the Department of the Rhone and its environs, has been suppressed, the City of Roanne (Loire) seeks authorization to entrust the direction of its primary schools to the Religious known under the name of Brothers of Christian Doctrine. I am asking you to send me your ideas on the opinion that might be adopted concerning the members of this Congregation and on the advantages and disadvantages that exist in entrusting them with functions which must belong only to persons who inspire the greatest confidence”.[235].

Some awkward ”precedents" were on the point of being established in governmental offices if the Christian Brothers’ file[236]or “Of Christian Doctrine”, since that imprecise name had become current at the time continued to be associated with that of the Fathers of the Faith. It was in this way that, during the 18th century, the prejudice against the Jesuits entailed in La Chalotais’, or rather in the bureaucratic, mind a bias against the Christian Brothers. However, the critical juncture had already passed. The demands of education - and the success that Religious of both sexes had with their pupils - silenced both latter-day Jacobins and impenitent “Philosophers”. It was the period during which several women’s Congregations were being recognized in a rather openhanded way. And favorable reports concerning them very often emanated from the Counselor of State, Regnault St. Jean Angely -the very man who, in 1805, had inflicted a bitter setback upon the efforts made by Cardinal Fesch to hasten the approval of the “Rules” of his protegés in Lyons.[237]

The year 1808 marked a decisive turning point. Fourcroy had been working unremittingly on the plans for the “University”. On the 5th of March the Privy Counsel went over them for the last time. The changes required by the Emperor did not affect the clause that involved the Brothers. In the rigorously articulated system the Institute preserved its role and gained the confirmation of its legal status in the most thoroughgoing way.

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By the Decree of the 17th of March 1808 “public education throughout the Empire” was (according to the principle proclaimed by the Law of the 10th of May 1806) “entrusted exclusively to the “University".

“No school, no educational institution of whatever sort may be opened outside the imperial University or without the authorization of its leader. No one may open a school nor teach publicly without being a member of the imperial University and graduated from one of its departments”.[238]

The “primary and elementary schools, wherein children learn to read, write and master the

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[234] National Archives, F19 6285.

[235] Ibid., F17 12453

[236] Chevalier, pg. 171. See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 572-579.

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[238] Arts. 1 and 2 of the decree; Chevalier, pp. 219-20; Duvergier, *Collection des lois, decrets,* etc., Vol. XVI, pp. 264 et sq. Article 5.

first notions of calculation"[239] fitted into this framework, which was as vast as the territorial limits of the nation, and, depended, according to their geographical position, upon one of the "academies" that had been set up throughout France and the conquered countries.

One of the important "sections" of the decree determined the "foundations of education". Here was expressed the spirit which inspired the most characteristic parts of the catechism of 1806. "All schools" (at every level) were to impose upon teachers and pupils the following program:1) The precepts of the Catholic Religion; 2) fidelity to the Emperor, to the imperial monarchy, the depositary of the peoples' happiness, and to the Napoleonic dynasty, the protector of French unity and of the liberal ideas proclaimed by the constitution; 3) Obedience to the teaching body, the object of which is uniformity of instruction and which strives to form citizens attached to their religion, their prince, their nation and their family, for the State.[240]

Patriotism, the very much acknowledged end of the new education, would not suffer the recalcitrant and was everywhere operative, albeit with uneven results. As for Catholicism, it was intended (in Napoleon's mind) for the lower classes. There, in any case, it went unchallenged. "I prefer (said Napoleon) to see children in the hands of a monk who knows nothing but his catechism than under the control of a quarter of these intellectuals who have no foundation for their morality".[241] Indeed, it was Napoleon's view that, ideally, elementary education should be completely handed over to members of Religious Congregations, if the State could find some way to instill into them a blind devotion to the State.[242] To obtain such a result it would, of course, be necessary to merge the Church with the nation, and pursue old-fashioned "Gallicanism" to its ultimate consequences. This was indeed what the Decree of 1808 was striving for when it imposed upon professors of Theology the obligation of teaching "the four propositions" included in the Declaration of 1682, the notorious and unfortunate document worked out by Bossuet.[243]

On this point resistance had to be anticipated: the clergy and the faithful had recently (between 1791 and 1801) supplied the heroic, bloody proof of their attachment to the Holy See; and the recent Concordat itself, acknowledging the Pope's power to rule on the lot the Bishops, had strengthened Rome's authority. And, lastly, when people appealed to De La Salle's disciples to teach the masses, they were closing off the roads that led to schism.

For the rest, what were being sought here were only remote objectives: threats which, later on, ran the risk of saddling people with a much heavier load. For the most part, they would contribute to alienate Catholics -- and among them, the Brothers -- from the imperial government and to inspire (in their secret conscience) the desire for its downfall. At the time of which we are speaking such a desire did not appear to be a factor. People whom the Revolution had persecuted had been invited to participate in government and they responded to the call without any hidden agenda.

What was being demanded? "Teachers sufficiently informed to communicate elementary and necessary knowledge easily and surely to everybody."[244] The Brothers belonged to this group. Before teacher-training programs were introduced into the Academies, and "into the

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[239] Article 38.

[240] Cited by Latreille, *Le Catechisme de 1806*, pg. 19.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Article 38 of the decree of March 17, 1808.

[243] Article 38 of the decree of March 17, 1808.

[244] Article 107.

colleges and secondary schools" (a plan which for so long was a dead letter),[245] the Brothers of the Christian Schools developed their novitiates, propagated and perfected their methods and showed that they were able to initiate future teachers into education.

The need for the Brothers was great. And so, with regard to them, all that was done was to repeat the text that had been drawn up in 1806. As article 109, its final formulation is as follows: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools will be credentialed and encouraged by the Rector-general, who will certify their Rules, administer the oath to them, prescribe a special garb for them, and supervise their schools. The superiors of these Congregations may be members of the University".

That did it. De La Salle's work, the vitality of which had thrust itself upon the world of Louis XIV, and whose foundations neither the Constituent Assembly nor the Legislative Assembly nor the Terror could destroy, and which, since 1803 had been revived in France, was assured of a future. As far as the Institute was concerned the "University" charter was a sort of "Concordat"; provisions of it were not altogether satisfactory; they bore the marks of despotism; and they gave rise to fear of State intrusion not only into the selection of teachers and class schedules, but also into religious practices and into the intimate life of the Community. Fortunately, as we shall see, in the beginning liberal interpretation prevailed. Subsequently, under other political administrations, awkward demands were resolved by accommodation. Depending upon the climate of the times, the University would tighten or relax its grip. Preferential treatment alternated with hostility, and the warmest praise was followed by the bitterest of criticism. Sometimes support for their traditions and methods would be proposed to the Brothers; and sometimes efforts would be made to force the Brothers to comply. Later on they obtained the right to open "free" schools that were independent of public education. Certainly, the inclusion of these schools into the Napoleonic system was to be a safeguard in some of the most serious crises. When sectarian laws excluded the Brothers from official teaching positions in France, article 109 of the Decree of 1808 preserved their legal status, their legal right to exist, to deprive them of which required the ultimate wickedness of 1904.

It was the Emperor's wish to establish a direct relation between the Religious-teachers as educators and the head of the "University", the Rector-general. The fortunes of the Brothers would depend in large part on the person whom Napoleon named to this post. Under the circumstances, it was no longer question of a simple bureaucrat from the Ministry of the Interior, someone such as the Director-general of Public Education might determine. The Rector-general possessed extensive powers: since he himself named his subordinates, and, within the framework of the Decree, organized and directed the huge administrative and educational bureaucracy. Within the "University Council" he decided the "rules and statutes" for all levels of instruction; and from that tribunal he pronounced sanctions against teachers and Principals of schools. Lower-level councils, set up in the headquarters of "Academies" through their Rectors, sent him reports of their discussions of the educational situation in their regions, abuses that may have crept into discipline, financial management, and into the form and spirit of the teaching. No serious decision escaped his control. Through "Academic" inspectors who visited the colleges, primary schools and all private institutions (henceforth subject to close scrutiny and to fiscal appropriations, and to his *missi dominici*, called "Inspectors-general") he kept a watchful eye on the entire French territory.[246] His autonomy was theoretically restricted only by the requirement that his annual report to the Emperor had to be made through the Ministry. In fact, however, the offices of the Ministry of the Interior

[245] Article 108.

[246] Titles IX, X and XI of the decree of March 17, 1808.

found other ways to cramp his style and to combat his influence, as we shall see presently. His best chance for success over rivals and those who envied him resided, after all, in the favor he enjoyed with the Prince.

It seemed inevitable that the post should go to Fourcroy. The crushing load of work assumed by the Director-general of Public Education, especially over the previous three years, seemed to merit rewarding. Napoleon, however, compelled by personal inclination and the "higher" politics, had prepared a painful surprise for the former member of the Convention, whom he passed over in favor of Fontanes.

Louis Fontanes, the son of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother, was, through Baptism and personal belief, a Roman Catholic. Born in 1757, he had from his youth acquired the reputation for being an elegant poet and a gentleman. Revolutionary extravagances had inspired his disgust, and persecution had matured his character. In the Year V (1796-97) the editor of a royalist journal ("The Memorial"), he was a victim of the *coup d'etat* of Fructidor (August 1797), although he still managed to elude deportation and took refuge in London. In England he became acquainted with an emigré whose vagrant, stormy, mournful existence was groping toward a return to the faith -- Francois René, Vicomte Chateaubriand. Of this man, Fontanes, a talent of a secondary order, took pride in detecting his greatness. Upon his return to France, after the 18th Brumaire, he was among those who had sided with the new government and among the acquaintances of several people who were close to Napoleon. Elsa Bonaparte was one of his patrons; and Lucien Bonaparte entered the group associated with the "Mercury", a political and literary journal in which Fontanes played a leading role. It was there that the ideas of Vicomte Louis de Bonald on the need for an alliance between the temporal and the spiritual powers first gained a hearing. When *The Genius of Christianity* appeared, it owed a large part of its success to the journalist who was a friend of the author. At the same time that he was assisting in spreading the reputation of Chateaubriand, Louis Fontanes was working for the religious pacification that was also being sought by the First Consul. Since, in the press, he had gained an extraordinary independence of expression, he provided Bonaparte with the best assurances of cooperation by advocating the Concordat.

Thus, we can account for his fortunes under the Empire, his presidency of the Legislative Counsel and the sympathetic attention he received from Napoleon, who had, so to speak, a soft spot for Fontanes. Not that he never incurred the imperial wrath: no man, no matter how well situated at court, could believe himself secure from that. But a powerful brain relaxes and rests more easily in the company of a delicate and sensitive spirit. Napoleon was less hardhearted than many imagine. Lacking a genuinely outgoing nature, he sought to express intermittent sensitivity and to create about his solitary splendor a halo of confidence and affection. He was prepared to appear generous, indeed, easygoing, with some of his old friends (who did not always deserve such persevering devotion) and with some people whom, however, he suspected of inclinations to, or acts of, betrayal. Fontanes would sometimes resist him, or quietly elude his overtures or manage to substitute his own views in the place of the Emperor's purposes. On bad days he abandoned the company of the faithful. His charm, however, worked on appetites and minds higher up than his own: against it Napoleon stood his ground no better than did Chateaubriand. Napoleon liked to smile at the poet, and, if it were necessary, forgive him.[247] He granted him a freedom that contemporaries considered surprising. Up to a certain point he had become reconciled with the friendship that the former journalist on the "Mercury" continued to maintain with Chateaubriand, who had become a determined adversary of the Emperor. After Fontanes' death, the famous author said of his colleague that he was able "to maintain the dignity of the written word" in a tyranny "that had

[247] Cf. Aulard, op. cit., pg. 221.

insisted upon servile silence."[248] Certainly, the praise was justified. Nevertheless, the "tyrant" had the distinction of having made the compliment possible.

On the 17th of March 1808 Napoleon, by passing over Fourcroy and selecting Fontanes, took a huge weight off Catholic consciences. In effect, he was saying that while the "University" did not belong to the Church, it would not teach errors that were contrary to the Church's teachings, and that the new institution would remain within the framework of the Concordat. It was an all too rosy promise, and disappointment was not long in coming. The Rector-general, however, would seek to remedy them.

His behavior toward the Christian Brothers had its expected calming effect. Louis de Bonald, who was hardly suspect of softness for tyranny or of a want of sympathy for the Brothers, wrote: "Bonaparte reestablished this valuable and modest institution. But, still too weak to walk alone, it was placed under the protection and safeguard of the imperial University. I was a witness to the touching and dignified welcome given to it by the head of the University".[249]

Indeed, scarcely in office, Fontanes spoke out unambiguously. One of the promoters of the school in Langres, Philpin Percy, early aroused Fontanes' concern. In order to win support from a man whose inclinations Percy seemed to have known quite well, he unhesitatingly identified himself as a well-disposed "Ignorantine". Fontanes replied:"Upon that institution I rest, if not the most splendid, at least the most secure, hopes for the new University. Gratefully, I shall take advantage of your insights and your advice. If I succeed in doing some good, it will not be without the colleagues with whom you have surrounded yourself...I am not misled by the (name) of "Ignorantine" that you have assumed. It becomes a spirit such as your own to be consoled for the misfortunes that have crisscrossed a distinguished career by doing good...and by raising up a better generation".[250]

Similar statements were made throughout 1809. To the Mayor of Orleans he wrote as follows: "I know the services the Brothers...have contributed to youth; I place too high a price what they can still do not to hasten to wish them all the goodwill of which I am capable.[251]
The Prefect of Finisterre professed a warm admiration for the Christian educators: Fontanes "quite sincerely" shared that opinion. "The duty imposed upon him by the Decree of the 17th of March 1808 (regarding the Brothers) was "consonant with the requests" that reached him "from all parts of the Empire."[252] When, in another letter, he promised to "take every means" with which the Emperor equipped him to further the work of the Institute,[253] these were not idle, empty words. Obstacles were strewn along the route, but the Rector-general would strive to remove them.

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In this task, the assistants were to play a role that did not contradict the wishes of the leader. The second in command in the "University" organization fell to Bishop Villaret, the former

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[248] Chateaubriand's letter published in the *Journal de Debats* of April 10, 1821. (Cited by Aulard, pg. 203).

[249] Article in *the Conservateur* for March 1819, cited by Chevalier, pg. 149.

[250] National Archives, F17 12453, partially cited by A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 695.

[251] Letter of April 3, 1809, Des Cilleuls, pg. 695.

[252] Des Cilleuls, pg. 695, letter dated June 23, 1809.

[253] National Archives, F17 12453, letter of March 31, 1809 to Brother Jonas.

Deputy for the Clergy in the Estates General of 1789, from the jurisdiction of Cleremont, who had refused to take the oath in 1791, Bishop of Amiens after the Concordat, and then transferred to the See of Casal in the Department of Marengo. His nomination to the post of Chancellor once again underscored Napoleon's objectives. The Bishop of Casal explained the purpose of this decision in the circular-letter he sent to his colleagues in the episcopacy on the 10th of May 1808.

"In entrusting the position (to him) His Majesty... no doubt had in view the faithful execution of the Decree which provided as the basis of public education the precepts of the Catholic Religion, and which prescribed to the members of the University obedience to the laws (aimed at the formation) of citizens who are dedicated to their religion, their country, their prince and their family.Bishop Villaret cultivated "the hope of making a contribution to such an excellent goal"; and he was relying upon the support of all the Bishops of the Empire. In a special way, he was expecting them "to inform (him) in detail concerning the merits of candidates" to be in charge of the instruction of youth.[254] And, of course, the Brothers had to be included in that important group".

Many replies were received, some of them quite detailed. The Archbishop of Bordeaux was delighted with the purposes exhibited by the government; the opening of several schools; and the setting in motion of a novitiate proved that Archbishop Aviau was carefully laying a foundation for the future of Christian education.[255] The Archbishop was confident in the possession of two former Brothers: one of whom taught 200 pupils in the principal city of his diocese. This was Jean-Baptist Delavainquier, the former Brother Lucain, a native of Tournai, with whose settling in Berry and whose devotion to his adopted region[256] we are familiar. The other went by the name of Brother Hubert. He was sixty-two years old and dealt with 150 pupils at St. Amand.[257] The Bishop of Arras spoke in glowing terms of the teachers in St. Omer. The Bishop of Metz stated that it was impossible to find better teachers than the disciples of De La Salle; his "region" would bless the man who obtained for it "a novitiate for these Religious". Furthermore, "Metz's position (was) unique" in bringing together "postulants of both languages, French and German". Up to then, Bishop Jauffret (the former Vicar-general to Cardinal Fesch) was prevented by a scruple: "Since he had cooperated, in the beginning, to obtain the Brothers' approval", he feared the Emperor's displeasure, if he now invited them into his diocese before their legal existence had been thoroughly defined.[258] The Bishop recalled the disappointments of 1805.[259]

As for the official patron of the Congregation, the Archbishop of Lyon, people quite correctly suspected that he would seize the occasion to emphasize the work accomplished in the last four years and to explain the way to expand it. In his view, the Institute "had not become outdated"; its primitive "fervor" lived. Schools and novitiate flourished under the leadership of Brother Frumence, "the really venerable man" whom the Cardinal had retrieved from Italy. Unfortunately, "the narrow confines of Petit College" did not permit the admission of a sufficient number of candidates. Archbishop Fesch was self-effacing

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[254] Chevalier, pp. 175-6.

[255] Ibid., loc. cit.

[256] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 288 and 420.

[257] Chevalier, pp. 176-7.

[258] Motherhouse Archives, AG2, no. 24. *Historique de Metz*. Ambroise Rendu, Vol. I, pg. 285.

[259] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 578

regarding credit for preserving the living "branch"; and, in the most courteous way, he handed the credit for major accomplishments over to the Bishop-Chancellor. The Brothers, "grown numerous" through the efforts of Bishop Villaret would mean "for the French people...the restoration of morality" and a reawakening of the ancestral faith.

However, it was important to take the steps necessary for the growth that appeared urgent. The "University" was contemplating supplying the Institute with two houses: the first one, which was huge, had the capacity to house "three to four hundred novices"; and the second would be capable of supporting "the sick and the aged who had faithfully served Religion and the State". For it seemed right to establish a quiet place of retreat for people who had so completely sacrificed themselves.

Furthermore, the public interest required that the Brothers be encouraged in their vocation and that an effort be made to support them in it. The Cardinal was contemplating some rather Draconian measures: refusal to admit "deserters" into seminaries or colleges, and forbidding fugitives "to teach in elementary or residence schools".

Finally, he put his finger on a particularly sensitive and painful point: the urgent need for an understanding between the Minister of the Interior and the Rector-general of the "University" with the view of promoting the opening of Christian schools. It was for the Minister, the supreme head of municipal governments, to present this essential work to the Communes as an obligation and especially not to strike from their budgets items that supported schools and teachers.[260] It was here that the central political authority had long since exercise its perniciously restrictive influence. And already upper-level bureaucrats, Fontanes's rivals, were carrying on the struggle on this battlefield, to the prejudice of the education of the common people.

The Bishop of Casal could not but lend an attentive ear to the cry of his Most Eminent Highness and to the voices of the entire episcopacy. The Church, the mother of schools, still indulged the hope that she would not be denied her tutelary role in the formation of minds, which is an indispensable part of the direction and the salvation of souls. She sought to find among the laity a respect for her authority, an understanding of her beneficent mission, unqualified sympathy, and agreement in the restoration of the faith and morality.. At the beginning of the "University" such expectations were not totally chimerical. France had suffered to much from her spiritual calamities for a reaction not to set it. The years of the Revolution had not erased the memory of so many Christian centuries: the Christian nation endured. Beneath the religious ignorance of so many people, there persisted a feeling for the ancient faith. What was needed was to stir up the still-burning embers. And, at the level of public education, as well as in the political and social orders, the wisest thinkers advocated the trusting cooperation of the State and the clergy.

Cardinal Fesch's letter of the 1st of October 1808 reached Paris at the moment during which the Emperor had just selected the members of the "University" Council. Some obstacles or hesitations had caused a delay. Fontanes grumbled about them in his letter to Philpin Percy. Several months were consumed in waiting for "important decisions" from the Emperor. Fourcroy relinquished his privileges painfully and the Rector-general declared that he had been given a title without functions.

Finally, there appeared the list of ten counsellors, named for life. Among them was Father Emery's name. That it was there at all was due to the initiative of Napoleon, who had an uncommon regard for the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in whom a profound faith, virtue and an unassailable orthodoxy was allied to moderation of character and independence and sureness of judgment. The Emperor had known of Jacques André Emery's behavior -- at

[260] Ambrose Rendu, Vol. I, pp. 179-83; Cf. Chevalier, pp. 178-9.

once correct, courageous and cautious -- at the time of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and during the vicissitudes of the French Church between 1792 and 1802. He was grateful to him for the defense he supplied the policies associated with the Concordat, the support he rounded up in the Church circles of the "Ancien Régime", and for the "Absolutions" he had obtained for priests who had taken the oath. Quite especially he recalled the Sulpician's effective intervention in the life of Joseph Fesch.[261] The Cardinal-Uncle's gratitude and friendship remained constant in regard to his "mediator"; and the nephew believed that the priest's surplice and soutane was in some sense more deserving than "the Roman purple."

And wishing to see at the side of the Rector-general and the Chancellor of the "University" a man who had succeeded in winning over public opinion, the Emperor thought of this figure marked by gravity, modesty and vigor. Once again Napoleon showed that he was respectful of eminent people as well as skillful in his appointments. When Fontanes had discussed with him the contenders he was going to propose, the Emperor was surprised: "How is it that Father Emery is not on your list? I cannot understand the Council without him."

The next day Archbishop Villaret went to Issy where Emery dwelt with his confreres and seminarians. The Archbishop met with some resistance: the man who was supposed to be honored thought of his responsibilities and his heavy obligations. He alleged his advanced years. At seventy years of age, the leadership of the Society of St. Sulpice seemed quite enough. However, having prayed over the matter, he made it clear that he would not be adamantly opposed. He wrote to Fontanes: "I should not have hesitated to reject the nomination were it not you who is at the head of the University. As long as (the Corporation must be directed) by a layman, I though it a special mark of God's Providence in this Empire that the Emperor's choice should have fallen to you. On the 19th of September 1808 he sent the following note as his final reply: "I sought counsel, and I thought about the head of the University, and my uneasiness about accepting was over."[262]

Who would be his colleagues? Bishop Bausset, the former Bishop of Alais, a member of the Chapter of St. Denis, and at one time an emigre-prelate, whose Gallican ideas restored him to favor; Louis de Bonald, the celebrated author of *The Theory of Political and Religious Power in Civil Society*, the most prominent of the Catholic intellectuals of his day, and the former Mayor of his native city, Millau, who was deeply opposed to the principles of the Revolution and quite independent with respect to the Napoleonic system; the well-known naturalist, George Cuvier, a Protestant, but who shared views contrary to dangerous innovations; Delamalle, a former attorney in the Courts of Paris and an important jurist, with a solidly established reputation; Nougarede Fayet, a probationary member of the Privy Counsel; two scientists who, like Cuvier, were members of the French Institute, the mathematician Legendre and the botanist Antoine Laurent Jussieu; Desrenaude, a writer; Gueroult, a former teacher at Harcourt College, Headmaster at the Lycée Charlemagne and the future Director of the Normal School.[263]

Only one of them, because of his past and because of his associations, was openly suspect: Desrenaude, who, for twenty years had followed in the steps of Talleyrand. In 1789 he was the Bishop of Autun's Vicar-general; and, like his master, he was a "Jurer", unfrocked and a skeptic. In order to support him and to command his respect Talleyrand, the Count of Benevento, had preserved sufficient prestige. He made a weird group with Emery and Bishop

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[261] Concerning Father Emery, See Vol. III of the present work, passim, but especially pp. 226-228, 442 and 522.

[262] Eugene Rendu, pp. 36-7.

[263] Aulard, pp. 228-9.

Bausset; but the Emperor was determined to make use of his services and skills. Talleyrand's associate had probably been the source of the inspiration, and continued to be the depositary of, the educational ideas that had once been submitted to the Constituent Assembly.[264] Napoleon would not have allowed that tremendous enterprise to remain a dead letter.

He left Fontanes free to seek out other solutions and to place his confidence elsewhere. In addition to the ten lifetime members, the "University" Council was to be open to a certain number of functionaries who were to be appointed from a renewable list of names. The Rector-general was to reserve these positions for deserving people, who belonged either to his own personal circle or to a group of experienced teachers. Three in the first category figured among his closest friends: Joseph Joubert, the astute moralist who was closely associated with Chateaubriand, Philibert Gueneau[265]. There was only one person who was notably 'suspect' because of his past and his ties to the past: Desrenaudes who for the previous twenty years followed the fortune of Talleyrand: first vicar of the bishop of Autun; an oath taker, defrocked, sceptical just like his leader. The prince of Bénévent had enough influence top sponsor and impose him. This was a strange companion to Émery, and to Mgr. de Bausset, but the Emperor insisted on making use of his services and his abilities. Talleyrand's collaborator had probably been the inspiration and was still the source for the pedagogical plans previously submitted to the Constituent Assembly.[266] Napoleon had not wished that this vast work remain forgotten.

He allowed Fontanes free to seek other solutions and place his confidence elsewhere. In addition to the ten life-members the University's Council should be open to a certain number of office bearers whose service was renewable. The Grand Master was going to reserve these posts to people of great merit who belonged either to the category of experienced professors or to his own entourage. Three of them were counted among his closest friends: Joseph Joubert, the fine moralist who was linked also with Chateaubriand; Philibert Guéneau de Mussy and Ambrose Rendu, two men from excellent families whose studies Fontanes had directed and whose literary and legal efforts he had encouraged. Guéneau and Rendu, who were inseparable friends, left the Polytechnical School together in February 1796 in order not to have to swear the oath of hatred for royalty. Their roots identified them with the conservative middle-class. Like Guéneau, Rendu had grown up in a climate that was completely Christian. Without embracing Jansenism in its heretical dimensions, he claimed Port Royal for its tradition of severity and of scrupulous, indeed inexorable, rectitude. These attachments, strengthened by education and reading, inclined him also toward the Gallicanism of the old-line magistrates. An Aguesseau or a Lamoignon would have recognized themselves in this heir to their tradition; and Portalis would have cast a sympathetic glance in his direction. Nevertheless, in serving the State with tireless zeal, Rendu took care (better than some of his models) not to do disservice to the Church. His Catholicism, practiced with exactitude, prevented him from committing the most serious mistakes. We shall see him become the defender of good causes and, in his later years, he became especially dedicated to the Christian Brothers.

During the period in which he followed Fontanes' lectures at "The Central School of the Four Nations", Fontanes took a liking to him. The Fructidor coup separated teacher and student, and a correspondence replaced the interrupted dialogue. And then, under the Consulate, as editor of the "Mercury", Fontanes brought Ambrose Rendu onto the editorial board of the journal. Philibert Guéneau came along to share the tasks of his fellow-

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[264] Philibert's brother, Frederick Gueneau Mussy, would later become the Director of Higher Normal Education. See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 181-185.

[266] ibid

disciple.[267]
When their teacher became the Rector-general of the imperial "University", a new and broader career opened up to the young men. Fontanes wrote to the Emperor: "They are in a sense the eyes and arms I need in order to see and rouse up the great machine you have placed in my care".[268] The Rector-general relied on their powerful capacities for work and on their dedication in every crisis. Ambrose Rendu concentrated on, and analyzed reports from the Inspectors-general and picked out their major conclusions. Assisted by Guéneau, and like him the executor of the "most secret" plans of the leader, Rendu organized the personnel of all higher education as well as that of the colleges.[269] Along with them and Joubert, twelve other ordinary counsellors shared the daily administrative work. "The great machine" was built, with all its gears, as thoroughly and as completely as the military, judicial and civil institutions with which, over a period of fifteen years, Bonaparte had endowed France.

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A series of decrees were added to the fundamental law of March 17th 1808. One of the most important of these was passed on the 17th of September of that same year. It strengthened further the position of the "University" by fixing the tax that educational institutions were obliged to contribute to it and by describing precisely how all teachers would henceforth be subject to the "University".

The financial support for the Rector-general came from a tax levied on the tuition of each pupil; this tax was computed on the basis of the number of children in school, without distinguishing resident pupils, partially resident pupils or day pupils, and without any reduction of the basic rate. It was an extremely awkward fiscal policy, which not even seminaries escaped. In practice, primary schools were exempt from the payment of the tax.[270] This relief provided a less anxious future for some of the most worthwhile institutions.

The Christian Brothers, then, were not among the taxpayers. But the monopoly held them in its tentacles just as firmly as the ordinary run of teachers and professors. Article 13 of the Decree of the 17th September placed "the actual agents" of education on notice to declare whether they intended to form part of the "University" corporation. Any school failing to opt on the side of the elect would be stripped of official recognition and would have to close on the 1st of January 1809.[271]

For the granting of rank a temporary and rather liberal system was arranged. According to the Decree, persons who had been working in public education for ten years would be granted a diploma corresponding to one's presumed competence. In this way most teachers were in fact dispensed from examinations, since the advantages of the text of the Decree were extended to the vast majority of applicants.[272] Regulations, however, dating from 1809, fixed the conditions under which "credentials" could be obtained: an academic commission was to supervise the tests; and then the head of the "University", after a verification of individual

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[267] Eugene Rendu, pp. 3-8 of his *M. Ambroise Rendu et l'Universite de France.*

[268] Ibid., pg. 35.
[269] Ibid., pg. 51.

[270] Aulard, pp. 177-9.

[271] Des Cilleuls, pp. 292-3.

[272] Aulard, pp. 174-5.

files both from an educational and moral point of view, would authorize Rectors to issue credentials or forbid the candidate access to the teaching profession. Furthermore, the credential was valid within limits of an "Academy" expressly so designated; in instances in which teachers moved or changed residences into other jurisdictions a "pass" was required.[273] Nothing special was provided in the case of "Religious" teachers. With regard to them, the language of article 109 of the March Decree was, until further notice, interpreted in the most favorable terms. Fontanes thought of the Brothers as too indispensable and his opinion of their ability was too high for him to make unreasonable demands upon them.

His circular-letter to the Prefects and his order dated the 13th of December 1808 set forth in the most precise way the principle of educational monopoly: ...Public education, throughout the Empire, belongs exclusively to the University; no school, no educational institution whatsoever can be opened, no one may teach publicly without the expressed permission of the Rector-general...This arrangement, absolutely and in every detail, obtains (at every instructional level) from university departments..to elementary schools...Thus, contrary arrangements established by earlier laws, and especially those of the Law of the 11th Floreal in the Year X (May 2 1802) are abolished.[274]

However, in the application of the system the Decree involved postponements, which were self-explanatory: institutions and residence schools were allowed to continue their classes. This temporary situation would be allowed to last until the Inspectors-general had completed their circuits and...supplied information of the kind that would permit the issuance of diplomas.[275].

The inquiry undertaken in every Department was to be, then, the prelude to some important decisions. It was to give rise to some devastating criticism "concerning the indisposition, the deterioration and the death" of elementary education in many Communes.[276] The places in which the Brothers "began to reopen their invaluable schools" seemed particularly privileged. Unfortunately, the number of such places remained quite small -- rare oases in a desert.

In Lyon, Inspectors-general Budan and Petitot were conscientiously engaged in a study of the work of the Christian Brothers. Their report on the 9th of April 1809 remained a model of its type. They wrote:This institution is directed by a Vicar-general and a Procurator, both selected from among the Brothers. Eighteen active teachers admit nearly three-thousand (sic) pupils into their schools.[277] The Community residence was responsible for "food and for the support of both novices and retired Brothers," a group which raises the total Religious personnel "to more than fifty". Only the Brothers in the elementary classes are paid "at the rate of 600 francs each." Sharing these minuscule funds with the others, their situation is "quite difficult. They are unable to support themselves without public charity."

"There is only one thing to be said concerning their activity and their success...People note that the children...of the people (who attend their classes) learn excellent religious principles, are distinguished for their modesty and gentleness, and know how to read, write and calculate well".

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[273] Des Cilleuls, pp. 348-9.

[274] Chevalier, pp. 217-8

[275] Municipal Archives of Rheims, copy of a notice printed in conformity with art. 3 of the Headmaster's decree

[276] Ambroise Rendu, Vol. II, pp. 413-4.

[277] This figure is correct only for the schools in Lyon, including those of the Sisters of St. Charles. According to all the documents supplied by the Departmental Archives of the Rhone and the Archives of the City of Lyon, the total for classes of boys was not very much above 1500 pupils.

The role played by "the school board" attracted the attention of the "University" people. This innovation, which originated in Lyon, offered certain advantages, which they emphasized. However, it did have certain drawbacks, which the report was satisfied merely to indicate. In this situation the Institute was in a subordinate capacity "to the School Board", which the "University" confronted as a local, autonomous system that it could not tolerate indefinitely.

"The Vicar-general has nothing but a limited influence over the organization and the running of the schools. Top supervision belongs to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. The former see to it that the children exactly fulfill their religious obligations and learn their religious principles from the imperial catechism. The civil authority, composed of the Mayor and a Board chosen from the most distinguished and wealthy persons in the city, enter into every detail of administration. There are always two Inspectors on duty; they frequently go through the schools, see to it that the children are properly dressed, question them on the subject of their studies, and, by encouraging them with small gifts, they draw attention to those among them who are doing well. At the end of the year, good pupils...are rewarded. They are then accepted into a general competition and the two best have their apprenticeship paid...This encouragement inspires the parents to support the teachers".

Budan and Petitot visited Brother Frumence at Petit College. Their conversation with the Superior of the Institute "confirmed" them in their good opinion. The praise they bestowed on excellent teachers was unbounded. Their inquiry regarding the "jury" survives: Fay Sathonay "insisted a great deal" in order to preserve a method of school administration that had been established through long experience. However, it goes without saying that the Rector and the Academy's Inspectors took "control" over the establishment. The Rector-general's representatives were not averse to accepting the views of the Mayor of Lyon, since, as they saw it, the "University" authorities should not get involved in details.[278]

These conclusions would not fail to get discussed. One important result emerged: the Brothers could rely on the complete support of Fontanes and his colleagues. Among the assurances of such support that was given them, we might mention immediately the decision taken on the 10th of October 1809. What was at stake was something which, taken by itself, was of little consequence: the Institute's interests were involved in qualifying for a legacy, although under the trusteeship of the "University". Three-hundred francs were left by a gentleman named "Couderc" to "the Christian Brothers' institution in Lyons". In his capacity as Rector-general, Fontanes accepted the money and authorized its direct payment to the Brothers, and he specified that, after deliberation by a higher Council, its use was in conformity with the will of the deceased.[279]

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During these days which were so decisive for the future of the Congregation, Brother Vicar-general could count his in blessings: the Law of the 18th of August 1792 had come to nothing; without any possible opposition, De La Salle's disciples recovered their place in society; the character, inclinations and public statements of Fontanes, the exchange of letters between Archbishop Villeret and the Bishops, Father Emery's membership on the "University" Counsel, the assured goodwill of Ambrose Rendu and Philibert Guéneau, the recommendations of the Inspectors-general -this was a cluster of good omens, of opportunities surpassing all expectations and of clear indications of the Divine pleasure.

[278] National Archives, F17 1365. Report published by Aulard, pp. 243-5.

[279] Motherhouse Archives, JF b1, Lyons' file.

Would people look back longingly to the previous centuries? The end of the 17th century had left the Holy Founder the victim of suspicion, frustration and the most stupid sort of hostility. The 18th century, as a prelude to its destructive fury, pitted the Superiors of the Institute against the unacceptable demands of bishops, the affronts of city governments and a quantity of bureaucrats, as well as the calumnies of Jansenists and the formidable assaults of a claque of "Philosophers".

But the light was beginning to shine brighter, and peace was about to prevail, so that productive work was becoming easier. Of course, it was a light mixed with shadows and a peace that had to be bought at the cost of concessions and capitulation. At the outset Brother Frumence wondered whether he would become a hostage or a slave in the hands of those accustomed to conquer. He had been preoccupied with two points: "the approval of the Rule" and the choice of a garb, both of which were within the jurisdiction of the Rector-general. Regarding the Rule, Brother Frumence had to arm himself against another setback. As to the Religious habit, he had only one suitable solution: a return to ancient custom, all of it, that is, except the flowing sleeves.[280]

He discussed his "concerns" with Brother Gerbaud and pleaded with him to intervene as quickly as possible with "worthy people who are interested in the Institute" that "no change" be introduced either into the Rule nor the habit prescribed by the Rule.[281] Out of a sense of obligation, he overcame his native timidity and went directly to Fontanes. A second letter from Brother Frumence, dated the 8th of May 1808, speaks of this project. It refers to "the joy experienced" in Lyons "at the favorable reception" Brother Gerbaud received from the Rector-general. The Superior agreed that "the sleeves on the mantle" seemed "useless". The conversation probably touched on other questions, especially the one having to do with military service. Brother Frumence wanted his young candidates to be exempt under the same conditions as seminarians. Certain of Brother Gerbaud's solid judgment and competence, the Superior gave Brother Gerbaud a very broad mandate; there was no matter "of concern to the Congregation" on which this good and faithful overseer might not take in hand; and he should "not fear" to overburden Petit College's budget with "postal charges" any time he thought it was necessary to inform the Vicar-general.[282]

Some time later, an anonymous friend of the Institute was made aware of the situation: letters from Paris "have reduced fears" and inspired the hope that nothing in the Rule would be changed. The Brothers "would resume their old habit, with the rabat and a sleeveless

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[280] At this time the Petit College Community seems to have retained the Roman collar and the sleeveless mantle. The rabat had not been finally readopted, although the Brothers in Toulouse were wearing it and the Brothers in Paris had also taken to it once again. It was at this time that Brother Vicar-general wrote to Cardinal Fesch: For greater conformity with our Founder, and desiring to dress in their ancient garb...as you may have been able to observe among them in Paris, our Brothers have appealed to me on this subject. Unaware of the intentions of the Rector-general in this connection, I have delayed my response. The reason which caused me to give up the habit was that in Rome, during the time of the Revolution, there was danger in wearing it. Having come to Lyon, our Brothers modelled themselves on me. Now that there seems no longer to be any danger, and that as (we are) also informed, our dear Brothers in Paris and several other cities have returned to the former garb, our dear Brothers in Lyon express their impatience to join them. Only the honor of Your Highness' advice will be able to settle us in this new direction. I await it from His habitual kindness. And it must delight the hearts of all of us. (Motherhouse Archives, Rough copies, Notebook no. 1, dateless). On September 2, 1808 a circular letter was sent to Brother Gerontian, Director of the Community in Besancon, inviting all the members of the Congregation to wear the rabat. (Ibid., Resumes, Notebook, no. 1.)

[281] Motherhouse Archives, BE a, Brother Frumence's Rough copies, Notebook no. 1, dateless.

[282] Ibid. Resumés of Brother Vicar-general's letters, notebook no. 1.

mantle". Cardinal Fesch knew what he was doing "when it came to the common good" of the Institute. He used his power to serve it, according to a profound conviction that obtained among those members of his diocese who occupied the Motherhouse. And "the Superior of Gros-Caillou" was actively cooperating with His Eminent Highness.[283]

The prospects had cleared to such an extent that in October of 1808 Brother Frumence invited several members of his Congregation -- Brothers Gerontian, Gerbaud, Pigmenion and Leufroy -- to state that they accepted their incorporation into the "University". Since public education had adopted the Catholic religion as its foundation, rejection would be difficult to explain.[284] The following year there was a new growth of confidence: at Lyon people dared to hope that the Rector-general would grant "a house near Paris" for the opening of a novitiate. And if Brother Gerbaud could develop his operation, he was encouraged to plan, first of all, for the opening of additional classes in Paris.[285]

The head of the Congregation was now reassuring his subordinates: Brother Lysimachus ought not to torture himself about the future. The times were favorable for fresh initiatives: let the Director of St.Omer act in cooperation with Brother Gerbaud in Paris; both of them should come to agreement "on the placement" of teachers, since, for the time being, Brother Vicar-general had given up that task, because he was so far away.[286]

Finally, positions seemed to him to be consolidating. In a letter dated the 2nd of November 1809 and addressed to Brother Pierre Martyr, Brother Frumence asserted in language filled with a great deal of energy that ...the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, forming part of the University...must not join the secular or paid teachers. He thought of himself as free from the formal control of the Inspectors. He wrote to Fontanes: "We deal exclusively with the Rector-general". The Rector-general, who was at the time examining the Rule of the Institute, promised to send (immediately after the approval of the Rule) their teaching credentials to the Brothers for whom they were required. Verbal permission had already been granted to the Brothers to teach without credentials.[287]

The yoke, then, seemed sweet and the way clear.

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However, there was no reason for thinking that everything was absolutely perfect. The enemy, ever on the alert to do harm, watched and was resolved to sew tares in the field. He had viewed Fourcroy's rejection as a bitter defeat. But the bias and suspicion generated by the Director-general of Public Education did not quickly disappear. At the Ministry of the Interior the word "Congregation" continued to be a "bugbear". It was a subject that frequently put the imperial bureaucrats on the alert. In March 1806 Fourcroy had specified that should the Brothers be authorized to teach in the Department of the Tarn, they should not form a Religious Community.[288] In 1807 he told the Prefect of the Meurthe that the opening of a "training school" was inopportune. Certainly, the teachers supervised by the Prefect could contribute their services -- on condition, however, that they be regarded "as simple

[283] Ibid.

[284] Ibid.

[285] Ibid., notebook no. 2, letter of March 2, 1809.

[286] Ibid. letter of April 30, 1809 to Brother Lysimachus.

[287] Ibid. Resumes of letters, notebook no. 3.

[288] National Archives, F17 1366, Fourcroy's report to the Minister.

teachers". The question of restoring them to their past revenues in Nancy was never raised.[289]

Fourcroy kept his office and his files until the end of 1808. Handing them over to Fontanes' representatives was not completed until the 30th of December.[290] For this transfer of documents the Headmaster delegated Ambrose Rendu, and the Minister of the Interior was represented by Fauchat, the head of his general secretariat. And even after he was stripped of his jurisdiction, he did not totally abandon the Ministry. Out of respect for his long service and his eminent reputation, Napoleon entrusted him with the responsibility of preparing the lists of candidates for government scholarships in secondary schools and of inspecting some institutions that were maintained in immediate dependence upon the Ministry, such as the Conservatory of Music.[291] These were quite modest assignments and not exactly glittering sinecures. This scarcely veiled disgrace delivered a deadly blow to this man who had been cast down from the height of his ambition. Suddenly, on the 16th of December 1809, he died.

During his last year on earth he continued to quest for revenge. His spirit, as very likely his advice, continued to inspire some of the bureaucracies. His influence was detectable in the undeclared warfare that pitted the Ministry of the Interior against the "University". It was most especially at stake in the Christian Schools, and it was the Brothers who ran the risk of becoming its victims.

During the period at which we have arrived occasions arose for reactionary efforts against policies that favored the Church. The prologue to all of this appeared to have been the dissolution of the Fathers of the Faith in 1807. Relations between Napoleon and the Pope became strained. A Caesar-like absolutism no longer admitted freedom for the spiritual power. It meant to reduce Pius VII to the role of the Chaplain-general in the French Empire. Besides, the Papal States came to be seen as an awkward enclave in an Italy subject to Napoleonic domination. If the "Continental System", devised against England, was to be put into operation, French troops had to invade central Italy. On the 2nd of February 1808 General Miollis occupied Rome. Moving toward annexation, obsession with the eternal capital of the Latin world occupied the imagination of the Corsican, who was contemplating the restoration of the inheritance of both Augustus and Charlemagne. He sought to be the sole master of the city of his dreams.[292]. On the 17th of May 1809 there was a decree that reunited Rome with the Empire; and on the 6th of July General Radet seized the person of the Pope. The venerable prisoner's "Calvary" took him first to Savonna and then to Fontainebleau.

Objections to the persecutor's orders dominated the attitudes of both the clergy and the faithful. Pius VII refused investiture to any bishops nominated by the Emperor; and, with some exceptions, bishops so designated abstained from exercising any jurisdiction of a canonical character in their new posts. Fesch, called upon by his nephew to the Archiepiscopal See of Paris, declined the honor as sacrilegious. Napoleon silenced dissatisfaction and attempted to smash any resistance. Fearing that he would be condemned if the Gospel were preached, he prohibited the preaching of "missions" in all dioceses. He revoked decrees that authorized the Vincentians, the Fathers of the Holy Spirit and the Foreign Mission Fathers to recruit new members. He forbad Father Frayssinous' sermons in the Church of St. Sulpice. While the Catholic religion retained its place within the State, nevertheless the Emperor no longer regarded it as anything more than a political instrument. As Remusat would later write: "it seemed as useless to discuss it as it was inappropriate to

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[289] Ibid. 1365, letter of March 6, 1807.

[290] Eugene Rendu, pg. 64.

[291] Eugene Rendu, pg. 65.

[292] See Louis Madelin's book *La Rome de Napoléon, la domination francaise à Rome de 1809 à 1814*, Plon, 1905

defend it."[293]

No matter how painful for believers the attacks on the Holy Father, and no matter how fraught with consequences the decisions of the imperial policy, nowhere were there any vehement objections. The France of 1809 had bowed submissively. Besides, the police was ever watchful; an all-powerful and victorious Emperor was still viewed with admiration, and gratitude for the author of the Concordat persisted. The glitter of fame and the memory of benefits received hid from view the specter of tyranny.

Concerning these grave problems, Brother Frumence's letters throughout this period are silent. His serenity should not surprise us: any specific allusion could have invited persecution. Only in the most guarded conversations was one in a position to unburden oneself. It seemed preferable to rely upon whatever goodwill remained, to marshal motives for optimism and to trust in the Pope's forbearance, the Bishops' patient action and in the influence, the assuaging effect and the accommodations of Cardinal Fesch. Should a final break come, heroism would reassert its claims.

Under the circumstances, what was especially wanted was to deal with certain threats and to endure the harassment and the chicanery that thwarted, without, however, interrupting, the Brothers' progress. They had quite simply to accept poverty, hard work, the struggle for tuition-free schools and the complaints that arose from some of their co-workers, some of whom the Brothers might try to console, while others had to be reminded of their duty. In order to preclude the persistent difficulties that arose in the area of recruitment and to prevent thin ranks from getting thinner, the Superior was besieged by innumerable cares, the principal one of which was, perhaps, "conscription". The Emperor rejected a common policy that would cover both young Brothers and seminarians. He granted exemptions only on an individual basis, upon the request of a bishop and with the consent of the Minister of War. Every year a list of conscripts -- novices or teaching Brothers -- had to be supplied and Cardinal Fesch's intervention had to be sought "with his Imperial and Royal Majesty".[294] With a somewhat anxious mind, but with a resolute will, and constantly sustained by prayer, Brother Frumence worked his furrow under skies that alternated between light and dark.

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We are already familiar with Fontanes' style in dealing with the Brothers up to 1809. Everything would have been quite clear had the Rector-general exercised free and supreme authority over the elementary schools. Unfortunately, he had to rely upon the Ministry of the Interior which was far less devoted than his own department to the success of religious education and to the spread of moral and intellectual culture among the masses. There, a quite different spirit prevailed: a narrow, shortsighted bureaucracy groped its way and attempted to prevent change; and financial considerations, which continued to nag in a most annoying way (and to which Napoleon devoted an attentiveness that was frequently too exclusive), became involved with the traditional biases of the middle-class. A more or less consistent, a more or less avowedly sectarian undercurrent characterized the entire system. A strict economy was imposed upon the public coffers, and expenditures, no matter how modest and perfectly justifiable, were forbidden to the Communes. In order to impede the development of primary schools, bureaucracies outdid one another in an effort to snatch control of the elementary schools from mayors and municipal counsels. In a policy of parsimony, a rivalry of

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[293] Georges Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la nation francaise*, pp. 546-8.

[294] National Archives, F17 12451, note regarding the exemption of the Christian Brothers. Motherhouse Archives, BE a. Rough copies of Brother Frumence's letters, Notebook no. 2, (letter concerning a decision handed down by the Emperor at Bayonne, on May 19, 1808 and Notebook no. 3 (Letter dated December 5, 1809, to Cardinal Fesch).

personalities, a struggle of influences and a centralized operation, the interests of souls were neglected and slighted; and there was very little concern for the role and the obligations of the teachers, for their financial situation and for their educational mission. And when it came to the Brothers, obstacles were strewn in the way of the practice of their Rule, the normal life of their Communities and the directives of the Superiors. In short, education had to deal with a totalitarian State in which survived the leftovers from the "Ancien Régime" and the stale smells of Jacobinism.

Almost immediately Lyon was under fire. And the only plausible reason for such a tactic was hostility to the city's bold and generous initiative, the desire to bring the too rapid progress of its program of popular education to a halt and to sow uncertainty in the Motherhouse of the Institute of the Christian Brothers. Premonitory symptoms of the attack went back as far as 1807. An imperial Decree, dated the 10th of March, enjoined Minister Champagny to report on "the so-called 'Catholic' primary schools in Lyon", on the expenditures resulting from their functioning at that city's expense, and on the means it would be necessary to take to reduce the cost of their operation. Until further inquiry, any future financial credit in favor of these schools was impounded. Furthermore, since a member of a Congregation directed these schools, the Minister must determine with his colleague in the Ministry of Religion to turn over the teachers' Rule to the Privy Counsel.[295] There is no doubt but what the Ministry of the Interior drew up this hostile decree. The people in Lyons had nothing to do but to obey. In the meeting of the Municipal Counsel of the 25th of July 1809 there was a reading of the document that was to be submitted to the bureaucrats in Paris. After a history of the schools over the past four-and-a-half years, the Mayor supplied a glimpse of the minimal yearly expenditures, which he set as 42,000 francs. He then repeated the composition and the duties of the "School Board" and situated in a favorable light the history, the activities and the dedication of the Brothers founded by John Baptist de La Salle and the Sisters who had been provided the city by Charles Démia. The simple presentation of the facts, he concluded, dispensed him from any reflection on the importance of such professional groups, or the need to support them in place.[296]

The Assembly welcomed these statements, and it hastened to recall that on the 11th Frimaire in the Year XII (47th of December 1803), Napoleon had approved the reestablishment of the Christian Brothers. It issued the following resolutions:

1) "That the legal existence of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine" (and of the Sisters of St. Charles) be clearly recognized.
2) That their schools' budgets be authorized, at least to the extent of 38,550 francs.
3) That by means of these funds, primary education continue to be absolutely tuition-free.
4) That the two Institutes train new teachers, provided that they never send them outside of Lyons without the Board's consent;
5) That the Cardinal-Archbishop keep them under his spiritual direction and the Mayor under his administrative dependence, with the cooperation of the Board especially assigned to the supervision of the schools. Gifts and legacies would be accepted by the head of the City of Lyons; all the properties would be managed by the Board, and all the educational regulations would be developed by this Board and signed by the Mayor-president.[297]

Thus, Lyon asserted its unalterable determination in favor of the Brothers and Sisters

[295] Chevalier, pg. 292; Centenaire, pg. 76.

[296] Municipal Archives of Lyon, D, 5th Register of Decisions.

[297] Municipal Archives of Lyon, D, 5th Register.

teaching in tuition-free schools, the merits of which they once more emphasized. Faithful, on the other hand, to age-old traditions and inspired by an irreducible parochialism, the city insisted on containing the Institute within the limits long-ago fashioned by Father Démia for his "Seminary" for teachers. It was impossible to anticipate a victory over the government. Fay Sathonay's report, sent to Paris along with the budget for 1808 remained for long months at the bottom of the Ministry's files. For the lack of authorized credit, the city no longer paid the Brothers. It meant harrowing distress for a Community that possessed no reserve funds and for which the regular salaries scarcely sufficed for daily needs. The Mayor and the Prefect seemed upset with the situation; both of them called for "the speediest steps" in order "to provide a living" for their teachers. It seemed inhuman to insist stubbornly on a refusal of funds. The Ministry agreed, but took refuge behind imperial decisions and sought to minimize its responsibilities by asking the Ministry of Religion to define "legal existence."[298]

However, time slipped by. The Decree of March 18th 1808 removed any pretense for hesitancy regarding the "legal existence" of the Institute. But Cretet, who had succeeded Champagny, continued to hold the people in Lyon in suspense. In order to force him out of his obstinacy Fesch had to intervene. But from the first, this was nothing but an especially dangerous tactic directed against the "University" and destined to damage the Brothers and destroy the educational system of the overly independent city. The plan revealed the touch of an expert, of an old hand of the bureaucracy -- a jurist accustomed to locate that special weapon in the legal arsenal that would cut to the quick an enemy who had been momentarily discomfited. The process, the points of view and even the date suggests that it was one of Fourcroy's adventures.

On the 11th of May 1808 the following letter, signed by the Minister of the Interior, was sent to the Prefect of the Rhone: Cardinal-Archbishop Fesch has just written me regarding the prohibition against paying the salaries of the Brothers and Sisters of Charity responsible for maintaining the charity schools in the city of Lyon, St. Étienne's's, etc. in his diocese...

The opening of the letter with its quite deliberate repetition of the terms "Brothers...of charity", "charity schools" gave a hint as to the area in which the attack was to be delivered. But, before this angle was fully exploited, a tactic of procrastination (in strict conformity with bureaucratic traditions), designed to wear down peoples' patience, was put into operation. Fresh demands were made for more documents and statistics.

The writer continued: In order to be in a position to fulfill the Cardinal-Archbishop's wishes and also to satisfy...the conditions of the Decree, which have postponed the allocation of funds for the schools, would you please inform me concerning the existing conditions of schools in your Department, both as to the children who attend them, whether as paying or as tuition-free pupils, as well as to the people who are associated with the schools and the expenses they entail.

Once these preliminaries were out of the way, it became time for some plain talk: By the way, let me take advantage of the present opportunity to inform you that the charity schools, attached to the general welfare system, can be considered as included within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Charity, the formation of which is pre−scribed by the Law of the 7th of Frimaire in the Year V (Nov. 28th 1796); and that these Bureaus might be invited to come together to discuss the need to establish, or to preserve in the places where they already exist, charity schools for the tuition-free instruction of poor children, the number of such schools, the number of teachers, the salaries to grant them and the other expenditures that might be involved, and the means of supporting them. Municipal councils should then issue their

[298] National Archives, F17 6285, confidential letter from the Minister of the Interior to the Minister of Religion, April 26, 1808.

resolutions with regard to such discussions and with regard to the finances for which city treasuries might contribute to the endowment of such schools. Since such a development seems to me to be the most appropriate in order to clear away the obstacles that the organization of these schools has encountered up to now, I suggest that you adopt it...

The trick worked. All that it took was a convenient definition: since the Brothers dispensed their instruction tuition-free, they were obviously performing a charitable work. Their "charitable" education entered into the category of the "assistance" that the law reserved for the indigent. These teachers, then, should fall under the jurisdiction of the Bureau created for that pur−pose. And, stripped of its jurisdiction, the City of Lyon would have to be satisfied to supply financial aid; and, with the stroke of a pen, the "School Board", which had been assuming the educational responsibilities, would be disbanded. In one and the same blow, the Ministry of the Interior would hold the "University" at bay.

In this way, the ground gets cleared. It would seem easy to block the progress of a Congregation that was becoming dangerously aggressive and set up rigid limits to the practice of "gratuity", the abuses of which were promoting foolish waste.

All that needed doing was to issue the final orders: You will inquire...whether the number of such schools might be limited to those related to the of the justice of the peace, for each sex; whether, being established only for children...indicated by the Charity Bureau, (those) from other families must be admitted only on the payment of a tuition-fee...whether the income from this tuition ought not to be paid into the fund for the poor in order...to contribute to the support of the schools and to that extent reduce the supplementary funds coming from the treasury of the Commune. From then on, while awaiting more detailed directives, it would be well to leave the indigent as well as the "people designated to direct and maintain" the schools to the Bureau in question.[299]

Prefect Herbouville forwarded the odd message to the Mayor's office in Lyon, where the amazement it created was vast. After only a month, on the 20th of June, a reply would arrive at the Prefecture. Fay Sathonay had entrusted the composition of this letter to one of his most trusted colleagues, the former mayor of the Southern Sector, Sain-Rousset. In 1803 this magistrate was among the principal workers in support of primary education.[300] The man who had resisted Collot Herbois and had protested in the Convention against the butchery of the Terror knew how to express the views of the city and to plead a just cause with dignity and vigor.

He did not disguise "how painful it was for him" to realize that the Minister "did not plan", even "provisionally" for the salaries of teachers "whose zeal and efforts were deserving of such praise".

"I observe", he wrote, "that every proposal amounts to a request for a set of explanations", the research into which will require "fresh and long delays". This ill will "grieves the heart" of the Mayor of Lyon. My own, Sir, is distressed. Rescue me, please, from my perplexity. (Through your mediation) I ask for justice at the hands of His Excellency in this matter.

The information sought had already been supplied in the report presented to the City Council on the 25th of July 1807 and forwarded to the Prefecture in August. Sain-Rousset, reverting to the language of that report, recalled that the Law of Floreal in the Year X (April-Mary 1802) assigned the naming of teachers to the officers in the Communes, and he rehearsed once again the distinguished services performed by the "School Board". He was surprised at the role that was being suggested for the Welfare Bureau, "the sole purpose of

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[299] Chevalier, pp. 193-4.

[300] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 497 and 571-572.

which, up to now" had been "to assist ...the poor in their material needs".

And, making a frontal attack upon the principal target, he objected to the shabby notion of tuition-free education that had been fabricated in Paris. The people in Lyon had a much more generous purpose: their goal went well beyond "a pure and simple act of charity". What the city planned with respect to the education of the very young was "to offer open handed assistance in an attractive school which devoted daily attention to (industrial) training", to "lighten the burden of many families whose livelihood depended upon day-labor, to aid them, and -- since their leisure and their means were slim -- to take their places in the all-too-heavy and too-engrossing tasks of education. In order to develop "social morality", the city-fathers wanted to "extend" primary education, and "place it within the reach of everybody" -- the "careless", the "excessively frugal", as well as the indigent. Gratuity, thus understood, was far preferable to "alms". What was at work here was a vast effort at farsightedness, a systematic struggle against intellectual and spiritual decay.

The entire system collapsed when children were discriminated against. "Schools would be deserted", if monetary demands, from which some were exempt, were made upon others. "Ignoring the advantages of education", many families would fear the costs of it. And some parents, "perhaps the greatest number of them," would spurn the hand that offered education to their sons and daughters in the guise of a "humiliating" charity.

"In place of a solidly planned institution", generously organized, "strengthening...a working class that so many events have demoralized", we should be reduced to a squalid arrangement that either "self-love" or "the spirit of thriftiness" would disdain, and that would be, moreover, powerless to obtain "the future well-being" of the common people.

The mission carried on by "the Brothers of Christian Doctrine and the Sisters of St. Charles" eluded these pitfalls. Explaining the merits of these Congregations, the official referred to their "longstanding experience". Further, the "city records" proclaim boldly the reasons that had motivated the selection of these teachers. It was important, in the first place, "that the seed of religious sentiment be sown...and be considered along with the beginnings" of knowledge that is necessary for human existence. From the "close correlation" between morality and the faith there would result "the persevering zeal of the teacher and the abiding docility of the pupils".

There then followed an observation the scope of which was rather modest, but whose attractiveness could not escape a vigilant administration: the salaries allotted the Brothers and Sisters would facilitate the most rapid and surest extension of the work in Lyon at the lowest possible cost. It belonged to "the wisdom of the government" to come to conclusions concerning the legal status of Religious Communities. As regards the City, its attitude remained unequivocal: these Communities were socially useful. The teachers, "with an acknowledged morality" and an unassailable professional competence, discharged every provision of their in−dividual commitments to the satisfaction of their employers. The lessons that they dispensed corresponded exactly to the programs and principles that Lyon wished practiced. They asked for nothing more than the payment of their salaries. Strict justice cannot hesitate with respect to the decision that has thrust itself upon us.[301]

To this sort of opposition, supported by such strong arguments, Cretet, in the long run, yielded. He stopped talking about placing the Brothers' schools under the Welfare Bureau -- at least in the Department of the Rhone. He sought to get even elsewhere, as we shall see. In order to settle the matter of salaries, he didn't even await Sain-Rousset's final appeal. On this point, Cardinal Fesch's gesture was probably enough to resolve the difficulty. On the 22nd of

[301] Departmental Archives of the Rhone, Series T. Document published by Chevalier, pp. 195-201. Cf. *Centenaire*, pp. 79-81.

June 1808, Fay Sathonay, with "satisfaction" told the members of the "Board": His Excellency, the Minister of the Interior, has lifted the suspension...My first effort has been to send your treasurer a money-order covering the current three-month period.[302]

However, the government continued a tight control over the purse-strings. Conformably to a circular-letter from Bigot Preameneu, the Minister of Religion, (who also sought a lot of information concerning the Brothers in Lyon),[303] Sain-Rousset resumed his task, which had become a sort of Penelope's shroud. This new "report", prepared on the 29th of August 1808,[304] after supplying the names and the employment of the Brothers residing at Petit College,[305]stated quite bluntly that the Community's "means of livelihood" remained quite precarious. Only twenty Brothers[306] out of thirty-eight (to which fifteen novices should be added) were subsidized by city funds. The teachers in the new school that had been opened in the St. Just neighborhood were personally deprived of finances for the lack of ministerial approval of the additional expenditures that the City Counsel was willing to assume. They had then been working gratis *pro Deo.* And the Lyon Assembly, despairing to change the central government's refusal, became reconciled to the inclusion in the 1809 budget of only those items so painfully approved by Cretet in 1807 and 1808.[307]

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After this partial success (and, yet, quite significant, since it confirmed the authority of the Commune in educational matters, a dispute was to arise between the city government and the Rector-general that bore exclusively on the role of the "School Board".

On the 31st of January 1809 Sain-Rousset drew Fontanes' attention to the way in which the city had always considered its educational system: The service offered the working class by the method ...adopted goes back prior to the Revolution; and it is the memory of past benefits that induces (the city) to reorganize an association known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools.Lyon had become the headquarters of these teachers. Under the direction of the Brother Vicar-general, young men were trained who, subsequently, would teach "in the various cities of the Empire". A special society presided over the "well-being" and the "progress" of the pupils: this was the "Board", whose existence, the writer of the letter had assumed, had not prevented a complete enforcement of the Decree of the 17th of March 1808.[308]

However, some disagreement with the "University" was inevitable. After the visits of Inspectors Buden and Petitot, the Mayor expressed his personal opinion to the Council: the moral weakness following "the commotion of the Revolution" required the supervision in the schools by these good citizens whose "zeal and insight" everybody in Lyon appreciated. Must that supervision disappear with the advent of the new system of public education? Fay

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[302] *Centenaire*, pg. 81.

[303] Circular letter dated July 30, 1808, addressed to the Prefects (Archives of the Department of the Rhone, T.S.); letter from the same source to Cardinal Fesch, August 9, 1808. (Motherhouse Archives, file 16, series F).

[304] Departmental Archives of the Rhone, T, 9.

[305] In this respect it conforms to the list of the preceding August 16, sent to the city government by Brother Frumence, and which we used on page 570 of Vol. III of the present work.

[306] The Brother Vicar-general (at 800 francs a year), the Brother Procurator, 16 teaching Brothers and 2 serving-Brothers at 600 francs each.

[307] Meeting of September 14, 1808; Municipal Archives of Lyon, D, 5th Register.

[308] Municipal Archives of Lyon, Letter Register, no. 187. Text given by Chevalier, pp. 224-5.

Sathonay attempted "to preserve the Board in its educational role."[309] On his motion, the municipal Assembly in its meeting of the 13th of May 1809 passed the following resolution:

Whereas, one of the provisions of article 109 of the constitutional Decree of the Imperial University states: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools shall be certified and encouraged by the Rector-general, who shall have the supervision of their schools; and

Whereas, in Lyon these schools admit more than 1,500 children, and supervision regarding the method of instruction, the conduct of the teachers toward their pupils and the employment of the funds granted by the city demand constant and regular attention, and supervisors burdened with other duties would be able to perform these functions with difficulty; and

Whereas, if it were possible to replace the Board in this connection we cannot fatter ourselves (to do so easily, seeing) the sort of assistance it lavishes on the pupils and the influence it exercises over a class of pupils specializing in the industrial professions -- an influence (justified by) the character of its components, their status in the city, the generous views that inspire them and the reputation for charity associated with them...

The representatives of the city ask that His Excellency, the Rector-general be good enough to recognize the importance of the Board of Christian primary schools, and rely upon it to supervise these schools, by conferring special powers upon it...[310]

For his part, the Prefect of the Rhone thought that this local institution deserved a lot of respect: those who contributed to its well-merited reputation "could be ex officio delegates of the University".[311]

Fontanes replied with his customary graciousness: "I applaud the motives" that dictated the Counsel's resolution; "and I have no doubt" of the very special interest in Christian education that it reveals.

The Rector-general shared that interest, but he preserved his freedom of action: the "University" "must select its delegates from within its own system". Rectors and Inspectors were nominated for the supervision of institutions of public instruction. Herbouville was, nevertheless, invited to explain.[312]

While Fontanes had not yet committed himself, it was not long before he received a letter that succeeded in forcing him to make up his mind. It came from Cardinal Fesch. His Most Eminent Highness adopted a position against the "School Board" and against the views of the city administration, and he did so with incisiveness, indeed, with asperity. The death in the course of 1808[313] of the Director of Christian Education, Father Paul, had certainly contributed to the change in the Cardinal's position concerning the "Board" in Lyons. But the reasons for his position, although apparently inspired by the prelate's well-known authoritarianism, were, in the judgment of candid minds, fully justified. In brief, he was concerned about preserving the independence of the Brothers' Institute, if not in relation to the "University", at least with respect to local ambitions. Fesch did not appear very objective in his dealings with his former colleagues and the faithful in his diocese. However, he had arrived at a very good idea of the role of the Brothers: and, in his desire to shield them from a

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[309] Municipal Archives of Lyon, D, 6th Register, Meeting for May 1, 1809.

[310] National Archives, F17 12453.

[311] Ibid., Prefect Herbouville's letter to Fontanes, May 29, 1809.

[312] Departmental Archives of the Rhone, T, 8, letter of June 9, 1809. Published by Chevalier, pp. 125-6.

[313] A note dated January 31, 1809, on the margin of the letter of the prefect of the Tarn-and-Garonne, seeking Brothers from the Prefect of the Rhone, informs us that "Father Paul died six months ago". (Departmental Archives of the Rhone, T, 8).

dangerous external control, he pledged his influence in support of their Rule, and he directed their action toward a future that was full of promise. From this point of view, the import of his letter to the Rector-general transcends the limits of the dispute regarding the "Board".

On the 19th of June 1809, he wrote: The Brothers of the Christian Schools' establishment in Lyon is not a municipal institution. It is the only novitiate house in France;[314] it is also the Motherhouse. The "Board", which has administered the primary schools, was never associated with the operation of that institution, for which it has done nothing. I founded it when I brought the Superiors of the Congregation from Rome and guided it through its Superior-general; it would have ceased to exist without the aid it received from pious individuals. If the "Board" had been involved in operating this institution, at every moment it would have been necessary to consult it for the opening of various schools set up in the diocese and elsewhere; we have seen it extend its ambition so far as to refuse the Superior-general the right to move his subordinates without its consent, under the pretext that only the best teachers should conduct the primary schools in Lyon.

My advice is that, since the city supports only the number of Brothers necessary for its own purposes, it has no right to command the entire Institute; it should limit its ambitions to the elementary schools that it supports and which, as Your Excellency believes should always remain in dependence upon the University delegates.

Not only the City of Lyon has no rights over the direction of the Institute; but it would even be dangerous to grant any such right to it; this growing Institute needs to be supported by people who are in the Imperial government, who are not moved merely by local interests; to put it in any other hands would be to expose it to imminent ruin.

The conclusion was as categorical as the judgment was final. As a result of being thus undermined, the resolutions of July 1807 and of the 13th of May 1809 collapsed. Having rather brutally cleared the ground, Fesch drew up his own plan, which, unfortunately, was never put into effect during the brief period of his ascendancy.

The Archbishop continued: It would be well if, at this time, we could come to the aid of the Institute: it needs a building large enough to house 150 novices;[315] and since the Brothers will be selected only from the poor class,[316]it is to be desired that the University administration might be able to create a fund to subsidize the initial costs of food and clothing. I estimate the fund that would be necessary at 50,000 francs. This would only be a loan, since it would be possible easily to restore this sum from the Communes that would be asking for the Brothers. I have a plan for taking this step as soon as I shall have obtained from the government a sufficiently large building to which to transfer the novitiate. In a few years this Institute would be in a position annually to open fifty schools.

On the question of the Congregation's headquarters, Fesch maintained his preference for his own Archiepiscopal city. However, he did not mean to practice a monopoly in favor of Lyon: his ideas turned out to be quite liberal, as well as eminently practical,[317]in his

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[314] The Cardinal purposely overlooked the novitiates in Toulouse and Bordeaux, which, doubtless, he thought of as imperfect beginnings.

[315] The Cardinal reduced the figures in his letter of October 1, 1808 to more modest proportions. (See above, pg. 115.)

[316] This is a gratuitous assumption and one which seems to reveal in its author ideas of a teaching vocation something rather less than supernatural. True, we may be here dealing with a simple argumentum *ad hominem*.

[317] And quite conformed to the principles of the Holy Founder, so courageous in withdrawing his disciples from certain types of dependence.

opposition to the extremely shortsighted views of the members of the City Council and the many distinguished citizens who supported the Christian Brothers.

Lyon is a central city and quite well suited for such an establishment, but as, in the present circumstances, this institution must be made more widely available, a single novitiate will not be enough. Care must be taken, however, to see that each school not undertake to train novices. This is an illusion that I have noted on several occasions since I have been in Paris and it would destroy the excellent foundation.

At the end of his letter the Cardinal quite frankly declared that he was a champion of the independence of the Christian Brothers and enthusiastically in favor of their search for tuition- free instruction: I think, too, that people ought not to meddle with the administration of their finances by asking to look into their books...nor require them to relax their Rule on any point whatsoever; but to be outspokenly opposed to mayors who wish to turn the schools into places for profit and advancement. At St. Stephen-en-Forez the Brothers were on the point of withdrawing because the mayor wanted to impose tui−tion on the pupils. And (at that moment) I had just written to Lyon to prevent their departure from Condrieu where the mayor had wanted to require them to admit children selected by himself: I ask that you put a stop to this harassment.[318]

Thus, Fontanes was rather thoroughly informed. Vainly did Fay Sathonay return to the lists and, in a letter (dated the 23rd of June) to the Prefect of the Rhone, recirculate his plea in favor of "twelve citizens selected from among the most distinguished" to direct the efforts of future craftsmen and workers. Their functions, he maintained, cannot be handed over "to another class of individuals". This excellent organization will simply disappear if responsibility for the schools passes "into other hands."[319]

On the 30th of June the Headmaster replied to the Cardinal: It is only justice that the Board exercise its supervision over only the Brothers...employed in the city schools...It must remain quite aloof from the government and the internal institutional order that Your Most Eminent Highness has shaped to serve as the hub of the Congregation. It is for you alone, My Lord, to supervise and direct that, and it is especially in that house that candidates who are destined to become Brothers of the Christian Schools must absorb its spirit and customs. I have been called upon, by the expressed commission given me by His Majesty, to encourage the Brothers, and you must not doubt my eagerness...to attain to that goal.

There was no problem regarding the spiritual direction of the Institute. Fontanes was far too deferential to the Emperor's uncle and far too respectful of the Catholic hierarchy to allow himself the least encroachment. It was for the Brothers to assume their responsibilities in this matter, to know their duties, and, if need be, to assert their rights. It remained to control their relations with the "University": a new edition of the "Rule" would provide a basis for agreements and necessary adaptations. The Rector-general had asked repeatedly for such a project.[320] Clearly, he exercised his control through the Inspectors. As for the "Board" in Lyons, its influence continued to decline and, as Fay Sathonay predicted, its authority was diminished and finally destroyed as the "University's" monopoly grew.

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On a smaller scale Toulouse experienced similar resistance at the hands of the Minister of

[318] National Archives, F17 12453.

[319] Ibid., letter quoted in part in Centenaire, pg. 92.

[320] National Archives, F17 12453.

the Interior and ran into the same obstacles as did Lyon. In the city budget for 1807 the government reduced the Brothers' allocation to 1,500 francs under the decidedly handy pretext that "since the Christian schools were charity schools, they were connected...with the general system of public welfare."[321] It was clear that the manoeuvre which was to develop on the banks of the Rhone had been initiated here.

The classes that had been planned for 1806 in the northern and southern sections of the city could not be opened.

This ill will roused regrets on the part of the local administration. The General Counsel of the Upper Garonne came out quite resolutely in favor of the Brothers: This Institute leaves only one thing to be desired: it is too small...There are only five (officially employed) Brothers in Toulouse. The number of pupils and Brothers would increase very quickly, if the Institute and the schools were larger."With all the power it could muster", the Assembly approved the city government of Toulouse's decision to seek authorization to open "four schools of 'Christian Doctrine'" and volunteered to pay all the expenses. The Assembly itself, in the name of the Department, declared that it was prepared "through sacrifices to cooperate" in the expansion of the Brothers' Institute.[322]

These resolutions turned out to be futile, since obstruction continued and was translated into a ruthless refusal of funds. The Decree of the 17th of March 1808 revived hope. The City Counsel did not wait very long before asking the Rector-general "to grant the city a school operated by the Brothers of the Christian Schools".[323]

But once again Cretet repeated the refrain: regarding charitable foundations, only the administration of the almshouses had jurisdiction! After this formal notice that the Prefect addressed to the Mayor on the 21st of May 1808, the Counsel met in extraordinary session on the 18th of June: it recalled in its deliberations, first of all, the repeated rejection of budgetary requests sent to Paris for the employment of eleven teachers. As for the dependence of the Brothers on almshouses, the Counsel submitted as fact: 1) that such a relationship never existed; 2) that charity schools properly so-called "were directed by people" dedicated to the service of the poor, "such as the excellent Sisters of Charity"; 3) that the Brothers of the Christian Schools possess the qualifications and exercise the functions of primary schools teachers; 4) that the recent Imperial Decree placed them "under the supervision and protection of His Excellency the Rector-general" and anticipated the admittance of their Superiors as members of the "University".

For all of these reasons the Assembly retained the language of the previous resolutions and deliberations.[324]

That gesture prevented the Institute's schools from being handed over to the control of the Welfare Bureau. But it did nothing to procure the necessary financing. Brother Bernardine and his colleagues lived mainly on the income from their small residence school, the modest tuition they had become reluctantly resigned to charge, and the sums with which the pastor of St. Étienne's had, in spite of his poverty, supplied them each year. But suddenly this last resource was lost to them. In July of 1808 the Director of the Community informed the

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[321] Lemandus, pp. 185-6. At about the same time, the Minister refused the Mayor of Castres to proceed with necessary reparations on the school building, "for the reason that the Association of Brothers has not yet been approved."

[322] 1807 session. Lemandus, pp. 186-7.

[323] Meeting of May 4, 1808; Lemandus, pg. 189.

[324] Archives of the District of Toulouse, copies of the official documents.

Mayor that "for fifteen months" he had not received the 1,500 francs from Father Bernadet. It had become impossible for the Director to continue his work. "If I have been patient", he said, "(it is because) I wanted to share in the marvelous zeal of the Commune". The extra personnel that he had been holding in readiness for future schools at St. Sernin's and St. Antoine's would, for the lack of money, be obliged to leave Toulouse.[325]

There seemed no way out of the situation. Only the Emperor personally would be able to sort things out. It happened that during that very month he was visiting the Departments in the Pyrenees, and Toulouse was being honored with one of his visitations. Two years earlier the Mayor of Rheims had gone as far as Strasbourg to plead the cause of the Christian schools with Napoleon.[326] He had received only an evasive reply. Would his colleague in Toulouse, M. Bellegarde, be more successful? Eloquently, we may suppose, he presented his difficulties and his misgivings. Nevertheless, tradition credits Brother Bernardine with the success of this enterprise. Taking advantage of a stop that was made by the imperial carriage, the old teacher, whom nothing daunted, got himself introduced to the Emperor. The reading of the petition (with a copy of which Brother Bernardine was provided), Napoleon's affection for the Brothers, and the respect that both the age and the appearance of the intrepid fighter and veteran of popular education inspired, were thought to have won the day.[327]

What remains certain in this account is the approval of a city budget that had been for so long and so obstinately undermined by Cretat's bureaucrats. On the 27th of July 1808 the Religious teachers were allotted the salaries that the Counsel of the Commune had up to that time been vainly trying to include among its annual expenditures. Beginning on the 1st of January 1809, the Brothers were able to establish schools that were totally tuition-free. And in 1810 the northern and southern sections of the city finally had their schools.[328]

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The Minister of the Interior had no intention of dwelling on the defeats inflicted upon him in the Departments of the Rhone and the Upper Garonne. To put his theories into practice, he found more accommodating spirits in Rheims. Doubtless, the reason for this victory, however modest and of rather limited repercussions, must be sought in the rather confused situation among the Brothers who were in the employ of the city. We know that their obedience to the Motherhouse was wanting both in candor and stability. As a consequence, they offered less resistance to the proposals of the civil arm; but they also proved incapable of providing the city with the educational fulcrum it needed. Since the Institute's tradition had here suffered severe impairment, the Mayor and his Council quickly bowed to ministerial wishes.

They thought neither to plead the very general character of the education dispensed to the children of the working class by the disciples of the famous Canon of Rheims, nor seriously to contest the interpretation given by Cretet's bureaucrats to the laws and decrees involving the Welfare Bureau. The Decree of the 27th Prairial in the Year IX (17th of May 1801) entrusted to that agency the administration of property belonging to former charitable

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[325] Letter of July 12, 1808; Lemandus, pp. 190-1.

[326] See above

[327] Lemandus, pg. 192.

[328] Archives of the District of Toulouse, *Historique de la Maison Saint-Aubin (Saint-Etienne)* by Brother Riotisme. The Brothers in Toulouse gave up their small residence school in 1811.

foundations.[329]

From this point of view, the Welfare service in De La Salle's native city was even less called upon to claim, or to take in charge, the control of the schools, in that at one time the Holy Founder's inheritance was in the hands of his family, which used it in accordance with his intentions.[330] Furthermore, the real estate and the funds set aside since 1803 for the primary education of young boys in Champagne derived exclusively from the generosity of the cities. To transfer these properties over to the endowment of "Welfare" was tantamount to making the latter a gift of other people's property.

Nevertheless, the Welfare Bureau in Rheims, having been sounded out by the Departmental administration, decided (in its meeting on the 19th of February 1808) to assume the responsibility for the tuition-free education reserved for the indigent. There would be twelve classes operating for boys. The teachers were to be selected "preferentially and as far as possible" from among the members of the Institute "dedicated to the education of the poor". The Bureau admitted that the city "offered" these teachers to it.[331]

On the 17th of the following March - the very day on which appeared the Decree granting the Brothers a place in the "University" - Mayor Tronsson-Leconte informed his Counsel of the new directives sent by the government. They were the same as those we have just examined in connection with the schools in Lyons and Toulouse. Sons of relatively well-to-do families would not be excluded from "charity schools", provided they pay for their instruction. The recruitment of teachers would remain the same as in the past. The Minister, however, dawdled as he quibbled over their name: he forbade that they be called "Brothers of the Christian Schools" on the pretext -- truly surprising for this late date -- that "His Majesty had not yet legislated concerning the reestablishment" of the Congregation. They were going to have to be called: "Members of institutions dedicated to the tuition-free education of the poor."[332]

In principle, the Mayor did not object. The City Counsel confined its remarks to the statement that "the Welfare Bureau's request" concerning the need for tuition-free schools was in agreement with the resolution long ago submitted to the Emperor by the Commune. The Council was particularly concerned to secure Tronsson-Lecomte's reimbursement for financial advances he had made "with his own money", in order to house the teachers in the former Carmelite convent. Ever desirous of extending education, the Counsel praised both the Mayor, who had provided for its growth, and the teachers who, with such perseverance and goodwill, seconded such initiatives. And, without any further comment, it voted the sums intended to pay off the expenditures on the first schools and for the annual grant to the charity schools.

The Minister of the Interior was "playing with other peoples' money". There was nothing to prevent him from granting the Welfare Bureau the building in which the Community, begun by Brother Vivien, was living: "In paying the cost of this acquisition, the city of Rheims (was) only supplying for the inadequacy of the Bureau's funds"; since the residence housed "a service whose purpose (was) to care for the poor", it became without more ado part and

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[329] Chevalier, pp. 185, 191, 201.

[330] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 60-65.

[331] Arnould, pp. 180-1.

[332] Ibid., pp. 178-85.

parcel of the patrimony of the poor.[333] Six months after this report the Decree of the 25th of January 1809 was issued. It definitely tied the schools in Rheims to the Welfare Service. Teachers would depend upon the Welfare Bureau, which was to select them "from among members of societies especially recognized" for their work in the tuition-free education of children from indigent families. Other pupils admitted to the same classrooms would have to pay a tuition (determined by the Prefect of the Marne) the income from which would subsidize the needs of institutions dedicated to charity education. All gifts and legacies given to tuition-free education would become the property of the Bureau. But it would be up to the representatives of the Commune to finance teachers' salaries and to maintain school buildings and furnishings. Since it was impossible absolutely to deny all the Rector-general's rights, he retained the task of "proposing" to the Minister's delegates "the number" of schools "and (their) regulations".[334]

These measures were put immediately into effect. The city government of Rheims, stripped of its property and deprived of its authority over the schools and the teachers it had organized, was reduced to function as the treasury for the Welfare Bureau.[335]

The Brothers' Community was about to experience another kind of subjugation. It was paying dearly for its bouts of "irregularity". In the course of the year 1808 Brother Vicar-general sought once again to reform these intractable members. Events surrounding the school at Orbais gave rise to a particularly painful disappointment. The school's foundress, Mme. Ruinart, belonged to a well-known family in Rheims that had very ancient ties with the Institute.[336]. Brother Gerbaud, to whom she appealed for assistance, sent her Brother Constantien as principal, in spite of the flight from Orleans to Rouen[337] that this man had just perpetrated, there was still reason to believe that he would turn out to be worthy of his past successes at St. Germain-en-Laye. At the outset, hopes were not disappointed. Brother Frumence wrote Brother Gerbaud that the Prefect of the Marne (who wanted to please Mme. Ruinart) was congratulating himself on the success of the project. But Brother Gerbaud had his doubts concerning Constantian's stability.[338] Actually, the vagrant had not succeeded in mending his ways: he ran out on his associate, the young Brother Salomon.[339]. On the 30th of July 1808 the Vicar-general gave up the idea of "sending him an obedience that would tie him down to a single spot" and left to Brother Gerbaud the task of making use of this very disconcerting member.[340]

On the following day he wrote to the foundress: "The distressing news of Brother Constantien's departure has created a vacancy...at Orbais. I should quite gladly give my consent that one of two Brothers from Rheims, Marc or Narcissus, fill it And I expect...that

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[333] Cretet's report to the emperor, July 11, 1808; Chevalier, pp. 208-11.

[334] Arnould, pp. 188-9; Chevalier, pp. 212-14.

[335] Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361.

[336] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 122-123

[337] See above, pp. 60 and 61.

[338] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence's Rough copies, Notebook no. 1.

[339] Pierre Masse, born in 1778, entered the Institute in 1804 and died in Paris on December 31, 1849

[340] Motherhouse Archives, Resumes of Brother Frumence's correspondence, Notebook no. 1, letter to Brother Constantien

on their part there will be no objection.[341]

The language suggests rather clearly the extent to which the Superior had to go to obtain the semblance of obedience. Yet, Brother Marc, Brother Bernardine's assistant at Carcassonne in 1790[342] was ever affectionate and respectful regarding Brother Frumence.

A native of Comte who had been transplanted to Champagne during the Revolution, Brother Marc had shared the fortunes of François René Gaudenne. The latter's departure for Paris and the internecine struggles within the Rheims Community had both troubled and discouraged Brother Marc. He made bitter comments about his colleagues: Brother Prince (Nicholas Guillot),[343] according to Marc, had "no talent"; he was insufferable in his own native city, where "his ways of doing things, of thinking and even of speaking" were embarrassing to everybody. Brother Narcissus (Jean-Baptist Boursin)[344] was "an unspeakable fanatic"; he dared to change children from one class to another with amazing casualness. There was also a Brother Denis who, although industrious, would never succeed in winning the hearts of his pupils.

Further, Brother Marc (Jean-Baptist Peray) was contemplating returning to his former Director, Brother Bernardine. He told Brother Vicar-general that he had requested Toulouse to prepare a place for him, if the school that had once been operated by the Congregation at Chalabre were to reopen its doors. Brother Bernardine had "replied shrewdly" that he should await events. Nonetheless, Brother Marc persisted in his plan: the house at Rheims did not suit him. He thought, indeed, that the atmosphere there had become increasingly dull.[345]

Meanwhile, the school at Orbais was insistently clamoring for a Director. In the end, neither Brother Marc nor Brother Narcissus went there. The authorities in Rheims would not stand for the loss of Brother Mark, who had become Brother Vivien's indispensable deputy; while Brother Narcissus regarded directives from the Motherhouse as without authority. On the 24th of August Brother Frumence vainly pleaded with him and reminded him that a Religious, to achieve peace of conscience, must submit to his Superior.[346] On the 5th of September he had to tell Mme. Ruinart of his sadness at the willfulness and evasiveness of a Community betrayed by anarchy. In the absence of Brother Narcissus, upon whom counsel had no effect, he was thinking of Brother Dizier[347] (Pierre Chamelot), another veteran and aide to Brother Vivien. But this man could not be dealt with without Brother Marc's consent. The Vicar-general knew, unfortunately, that by speaking "with authority" he would accomplish nothing; and, although he said he was prepared to send an "Obedience", still, he thought it "prudent" not to be abrupt with spirits that were so little disposed to do their duty.[348]

The following day revealed that his worst fears were justified. Brother Narcissus, like the

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[341] Motherhouse Archives, Resumes of Brother Frumence's correspondence, Notebook no. 1.

[342] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 27. Brother Marc (Jean- Baptist Perny) born in Besançon on December 19, 1750; entered the novitiate in Dole on May 19, 1768; pronounced perpetual vows in 1781.

[343] Born in Rheims, December 25, 1755, entered the Institute on October 25, 1779, professed in 1786.

[344] Born in Cagnicourt, diocese of Cambrai, on March 16, 1752; entered the Institute on April 4, 1775; professed in 1780.

[345] Motherhouse Archives, file FH p4, Brother Marc's letter to Brother Frumence.

[346] Ibid., Resumes, notebook no. 1.

[347] Born in Sillery (Marne), March 3, 1762; entered Maréville on January 30, 1786. He did not take final vows until 1827

[348] Motherhouse Archives, Resumés, notebook no. 1.

elder son in the Gospel, said “Yes, father”, but did not stir. And Brother Marc was determined not to lose the services of Brother Dizier. “There are Brothers,” wrote the Superior of the Institute... "who seem to recognize a superior, but who want to get their own way. That is why I thought that I would be doing extremely well if I didn’t get mixed up with the Brothers Community in Rheims at all. Patient with regard to Brother Marc, whose role seems to have been a particularly thankless one, Brother Frumence exhorted this unfortunate Director, torn between the regulations of Petit College in Lyons, the insubordination of his confreres and the demands of the civil authority, “to profit from his trials” and to realize as much good as possible in a city that was stifling his enthusiasm.[349]

Then, a long silence ensued. It was the era of the decree which bound the Christian schools in Rheims with the Welfare Bureau. Nobody bothered to keep the Motherhouse informed. When, the Motherhouse inquired into the situation of the Brothers, after it had learned (through letters from Paris) that Brother Vivien had clandestinely changed residences, the Director of St. Louis-en-l’Ile, Brother Marc, decided to tell all. “I was unaware of the imperial order”, the Vicar-general wrote him on the 1st of November 1809. Thus, the Bureau henceforth controlled the schools, and the Brothers, as individuals, made their own arrangements with the Bureau! “None of them may any longer leave his post”, except by getting permission from the administrators and by designating a well-qualified substitute. What purpose, then, could be served by sending “Obediences”? Brother Vivien himself, now that he had united his friends and employers, could ignore such an order. “That would be just one less difficulty for me”. Only the school in Rheims, separated as it was from the headquarters of the Congregation, would see to the selection and training of its personnel.[350]

And, on the 19th of November, there was a final letter addressed to Brother Gerbaud: “Concerning the Brothers in Rheims, I am not surprised at their extraordinary behavior: it’s a continuation of what they have been doing up to now...Brother Vivien left (St. Louis-en-l’Ile) without having drawn up an inventory and without having given a financial report... "The Superior found his consolation in the zeal of Brother Gerbaud (who would come to the aid of the derelict school) and in the competence of the new recruits -- the sole pledge for the future.[351] However, this quasi-testamentary letter, which breathed a quite understandable melancholy, spoke both of hope and of faith. Brother Frumence was to die without having resolved the unhappy situation in Champagne, and without having been able to absolve the dissidents. However, his sufferings and prayers would not be wasted. His confidant, Brother Gerbaud, would harvest the merit of them along with the entire inheritance of his courageous and patient predecessor.

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Nowhere did the disappointment inflicted upon the Brother Vicar-general and the underhanded struggle directed against the integral restoration of the Institute and against the legitimate demands of the Brothers achieve the same degree of severity as they did in Rheims. But, nearly everywhere they were continued on after the establishment of the “University” administration. The monotonous leitmotif was “gratuity and salaries”. The cities were quite satisfied with the cooperation of the Brothers: and they sought, as a rule, to facilitate the Brothers’ efforts. But endless difficulties were raised by the central government. There were no objections when it came to making use of the dedication of these fine teachers;

[349] Ibid., Rough draft, notebook no. 1.

[350] Ibid., Rough drafts, notebook, no. 3.

[351] Ibid., notebook no. 4.

but hostility appeared the moment the time came to remunerate that dedication and grant the teachers a minimal income. And when, in compliance with their vocation and Rule, they refused to charge tuition, they were deprived of their living. Here are only a few from among many examples. The Commune of St. Omer budgeted the funds necessary for the support of its teachers, who, according to the Municipal Counsel, in its meeting on June 18th 1807 "fulfill(ed) their task to the general satisfaction. They (were) completely dedicated to education, which they make their religious duty". They should be spared concern for their material well-being. If the calling they have consented to follow failed to assure them of the elementary means, it would be "more generous" to dismiss them. "Up to now they have been sustained by the mere hope of better things to come." The Mayor reminded the Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais that "His Majesty the Emperor honored (the teachers) with every kindness." The 3,000 francs yearly that the city voted to grant them represented an expenditure that was both modest and essential.[352]

There were the same arguments and the same resolutions in 1808 and 1809 and always, in higher places, the same refusal to understand. On the 4th of February 1809, "Brother Patin"[353] told Bishop La Tour Auverge of Arras that he was going "to have to give up the schools in St. Omer on account of gratuity and subsistence". The Brothers had been receiving only 300 francs each; and their Superior in Lyons notified them to withdraw, if the city did not renounce its policy of a school tuition.[354]

The Bishop immediately intervened. On the 12th of February he wrote the Prefect:[355] The eight Brothers invited to St. Omer rejected the Commune's proposal unless their schools were tuition-free and their salaries were raised to 600 francs each. In fact, since the fee charged the pupils was hardly ever collected, why maintain the requirement? And why pay such a ridiculously pitiful salary?

The municipal government continued to view the problem from the same point of view. It objected to the comparison contrived by the Ministry of the Interior according to which the Christian Brothers were likened to private school teachers who were also fathers of families and who could make a living both from their school work and from private lessons. The Christian Brothers wanted to teach free of charge. Since the Emperor championed them, and since he placed them under the protection of the "University", he certainly did not condemn their system. As for the citizens of St. Omer, they were all the more willing to see the "school-fee" abolished in that the city did not lack for funds to make up the difference.[356]

By the beginning of 1810 no progress had been made. Brother Lysimachus and his Community were living off promises rather than anything substantial. They continued to be -- at least theoretically -"mercenary" teachers, which incurred Brother Frumence's dying censure.[357]

At Orleans, Brother Liberius (Nicolas Cendre) received nothing but praise. "I observe with satisfaction", his Superior wrote him on the 6th of June 1808, "that your Community

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[352] National Archives, F17 12453.

[353] Brother Lysimachus (Jean-Baptist Patin).

[354] National Archives, F17 12453,

[355] Ibid.

[356] Meeting of the Municipal Council on February 24, 1809; Motherhouse Archives, HA q 20, St. Omer file.

[357] Brother Lysimachus' letter, dated January 10, 1810; Motherhouse Archives, Rough drafts, notebook no. 5.

continues to grow in men destined to glorify God". The Brother Director put his young colleagues in the way of corresponding with the Superior: "Two of them wrote me to ask for a change", because, as natives of that city, "they met with obstacles to their salvation", if they teach in their native place. Brother Frumence, not "too familiar with the ways things were in the Paris region", encouraged them to confide in Brother Gerbaud, his distinguished representative, to whom Brother Liberius was also sent in order to get himself a Sub-Director to lighten his load.[358]

Apart from the "substitute teacher", Victor Hadeau at the St. Euvertus' school, who was fifty-eight years of age, and Medard Cannois, a teacher in the upper-class at the Holy Cross school, who was thirty-four years of age, the Community in Orleans was composed exclusively of teachers whose ages went from sixteen to twenty-four years.[359] For the founder of this institution the work of spiritual and professional training, then, went hand-in-hand with administrative concerns and the instruction of a part of the pupils. This very find man, fortunately, found encouragement in Bishop Rousseau, Bishop Bernier's successor. This is why he asked Brother Frumence to testify to the Congregation's gratitude to the Bishop. On the 17th of June the Vicar-general acceded to this quite legitimate request: he suggested to the Bishop the idea of a novitiate in his diocese: -- an important project without which the scarcity of members would soon be felt.[360]

Brother Liberius, however, went on to broaden the scope of his activity. He moved on to open new classes at St. Marceau and succeeded in recruiting two more vocations. By January 1809 there was a total of twelve teaching Brothers (the largest number the Community was to attain).[361]

Brother Liberius especially insisted on (the most pressing anxiety of the moment) the practice of tuition-free education. On this point, he was opposed to any form of compromise -- a sentiment which became a sort of slogan. The people in Orleans seemed to have understood him, since the city government, on the 23rd of April, 1809, made the following requests of Fontanes: the application of the Institute's "ancient rules" as fully as "the wisdom of His Excellency" might deem prudent; and "absolutely tuition-free" instruction and education, according to the Brothers' rules "and the will of the government." Only a few families would be required to pay for books, pens and ink.[362].

In 1808 the City Counsel voted a salary of 500 francs for each of the teachers, or 6,000 francs for the twelve Brothers whose employment was anticipated at this time. Unfortunately, "His Majesty authorized a subsidy of only 4,800 francs". It was an "insufficient sum" considering that there was no other source of income for the teachers. The 1,000 francs set aside for the maintenance of the school buildings did not cover all of the urgent expenditures, since the success of the Brothers' teaching "had brought back into the class rooms a huge number of pupils". In this item of the budget, the Mayor proposed an increase of 500 francs. For the Brothers he sought once again the normal salary.[363] And, further, he influenced the Communal Assembly to give a favorable reception to Brother Liberius' plea regarding clothing for his personnel: the city would continue to supply "soutane, mantle, stockings and

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[358] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orle'ans, IR 191.

[359] Ibid.

[360] Motherhouse Archives, Resumes, notebook no. 1.

[361] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans, IR 191, letter quoted.

[362] Ibid. Note to the Headmaster

[363] Resolutions of the City Council, meeting for May 1, 1809.

shoes", as it did when the teaching group was first organized.[364] All of this turned out to be an empty gesture. The Ministry either rejected or postponed these budget items. Nicholas Cendre spent the last of his reserve cash to feed and clothe his men. He proclaimed his distress and contemplated resigning. Brother Frumence, he told Mayor Crignon-Desormeaux, ordered him to reduce the number of classes by half. On the other hand, the Superior refused to listen to talk about replacing Brother Liberius, who, willy-nilly, must "comply".[365]

Crignon could do nothing more than lavish fine words and pour out his sympathies. He was delighted at retaining the principal in the schools, whom his fellow-citizens revered. He asserted that he was striving with all his might for the success of a system which, surely, would not exist without the zeal, the effort and the expenditures of the generous Brother Cendre. But it was altogether necessary to bow to the Emperor's will, while preserving the hope of something of a diminution in its rigor. Regarding tuition-free education, the mayor's purposes had in no way changed. Even if the reimbursement for supplies and books, demanded of the pupils by the pastors, disturbed Brother Director's conscience, the city would assume the responsibility for these costs.[366] "I was delighted that my letter to your Mayor had its effect": on the 13th of June 1810, this was the final sign of concern transmitted by Brother Frumence to the Community in Orleans. He wished to be sure that the "charity" demanded by the pastors "from well-to-do parents contributed nothing to the (Brothers') upkeep". In their letters to the Motherhouse, the members of the St. Euvertus Community told of their complete satisfaction with, and filial love for, Brother Liberius. Nevertheless, the Superior knew that the younger members were lacking in fervor: a real novitiate was needed in order to produce a "spirit of recollection, silence, modesty ad piety". And counsel and help must come from Paris.[367]

In these lines from the Vicar-general's correspondence, we see the summary of work already accomplished and the program that he wanted still to complete. At the beginning of 1810 the Institute controlled a quite extensive field of action; and the goodwill of the Rector-general of the "University" gave the Brothers hope of keeping this domain and of gradually expanding its boundaries. After some quite understandable uneasiness, they ceased to think that it was against their vocation to accept an official role, since they were assigned to religious and moral instruction, and to the elementary education of the French people. They were banking, as we might say, on a final approval of their "Rule". After the solemn recognition of the Congregation, this legal registration of the Rule would consolidate their position in the Empire and doubtless supply them with the means of eluding the traps that were still being set to snare them or the bonds with which certain partisans of Jacobin totalitarianism wished to bind them. The struggle for tuition-free education might yet be car−ried on in better days. And perhaps legalized workers would be less easily refused a living wage.[368]

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[364] Orléans, IR 191, petition, dated May 1, 1809; Resolution of June 23.

[365] Ibid., Brother Cendre's letter, October 12, 1809.

[366] Ibid., Crignon-Desormeaux's reply, October 13.

[367] Ibid., Rough drafts, notebook no. 5.

[368] In 1809 Fontanes determined to intercede with Cretet to demand an end to budgetary vetoes. In a letter dated June 16, addressed to the Minister of the Interior, he spoke of his surprise at the delays imposed upon the opening of a school in Alencon, founded by the pastor of Notre Dame. In his reply, dated July 6, Cretet claimed that the school "had not yet been legally established". As a consequence, the Brothers were being treated "as private elementary schoolteachers" and provided with nothing but housing. The Minister continued: It is for

Their Superior, admitted into the “University” and supported by the civil arm as he was by the Church hierarchy, was in a better position to defend the rights of his subordinates, as well as the principles and the methods of the Holy Founder, to round up the last “strays” from revolutionary times, and, finally, to provide the Institute with that cohesiveness and discipline that did it so much credit during the 18th century. Individual virtue would develop in the cleansed atmosphere, while collective virtue, no longer meeting with obstacles and discontinuity, would weave a new network of tradition. In the reestablished novitiates, in regular Communities, the young would be inflamed with that “fervor” and would be fed on that spiritual food which, for twenty years, had become so scarce as to leave souls famished and shivering. Brother Frumence, who had brought his people out of exile and who, in the middle of the desert, had, not without difficulty, discovered living waters, once the table of the law was engraved, would die short of the promised land. But he had already named his Josua. Brother Vivien and Brother Liberius had listened to him say repeatedly: “Go to Brother Gerbaud!”

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you, Count..., to provide the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Alencon with a legal existence, by making it known that they have been certified as legal by you, and there probably will be no problem if in the budget of 1810 an appropriate salary is allocated to them...(Motherhouse Archives, JF j3, Alencon file) Article 10 of the decree of March 17, 1808 is here interpreted as though it granted the Christian Brothers only the possibility of official recognition. It was a delaying tactic by the opponents of the Religious educators.

CHAPTER THREE

The Final Acts and the Death of Brother Frumence

For the foreseeable future, nothing was changed in the powers and responsibilities of the Brother Vicar-general. His temporary title continued to be adapted to circumstances. Events were moving toward the close of the transitional period; but, while the end was in sight, it still had not yet been reached. In order for it to become possible to imagine a definitive organization of the Institute according to Rule, and to plan the election of a Superior, both men and events would require more time. With its slow start, the "University" tended to impede the Brothers. The Rector-general sought to clarify his powers and rescue them from misunderstanding and hindrance. He had also to become familiar with the lay of the land, to sort out his tasks and to classify and examine his Inspectors' reports on every school in the Empire. His prudence and flexibility, his intellectual skills and his wary expediency put him on his guard against anything that looked like haste or gruffness. He preferred to make promises and create a climate of confidence before moving on to making decisions.

This policy, justified by the difficulties of the undertaking, Fontanes put into practice in his relations with the Brothers. Article 109 of the Decree of 1808 prescribed that he "encourage" the Brothers. It was a quite painless obligation, one that was thoroughly consistent with the man's character, and, from the first moment of his administration, he never failed to fulfill it. He issued "credentials", endorsed "rules", regulated the supervision of institutions, resolved the rather sensitive question of the "oath" and performed other tasks that would be thought of as appropriate. In some of his letters[369] the Rector-general wrote rather glowingly of having a system "in the works." But, actually, there is no trace of any such thing.

He expected Brother Frumence to take the initiative by presenting an overall view of the Rule as understood by the Founder. This project was in process of being worked out. Begun in Rome in 1795 and transferred to Lyons after 1804, the study would continue without interruption until approbation and registration. The Vicar-general enjoyed all the rights of a Superior; his authority no longer raised objections, and his title earned him the esteem and the respect of the civilian arm, the support of the episcopacy and the staunchest adherence and most thoroughgoing obedience from the Brothers -except those in Rheims and the occasional wavering or dissident individual. Established experience marked him out as a man to lead the restoration to a successful issue. And, if God saw fit, his name, which was already familiar, and his personality, acceptable to the Emperor, Cardinal Fesch and Fontanes, would, of course, recommend themselves to the Brothers assembled in "Chapter".

Confident of the Congregation's future, Brother Frumence, from his quarters in Petit College, went on with the work of opening schools, issuing his orders and dispensing advice. In essence, he strove to train genuine disciples of De La Salle. We can imagine that the testamentary letter of his predecessor, Brother Agathon, was ever present to him: "Be careful to banish all novelties;preserve your vocation in all purity, simplicity and fervor. Never forget your duty to pass it on...in the condition you received it, or better...live in retreat, withdrawn from the world.[370] For Jean-Baptist Herbet, forty years of Religious life without faltering

[369] This is especially true of the one he wrote to the Mayor of Orleans on April 3, 1809. (Des Cilleuls, pg. 695).

[370] Letter dated August 23, 1797, to Brother Frumence. See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 359-364.

brought out the full meaning of these marvelous words. It was not for nothing that he studied at St. Yon in the vicinity of the tombs of the "Holy Founder and of the saintly Brother Irenée. He continued to be, as once at San Salvatore-in-Lauro, the servant of the Roman Catholic Church, the immediate delegate of the Pope to the leadership of Brothers' Institute. Although it was the Emperor who was counting on him to instruct and "teach morality" to the children of the common people, the Vicar-general accepted that program only on condition of complete orthodoxy, of first educating the teachers, and of preserving a Rule that was strictly observed.

With the view of identifying vocations, in 1808 he wrote to the pastors: "With the conviction that there are in many places persons inspired with a holy zeal for the glory of God, for souls and especially for the souls of children who were always dear to Our Lord, I am moved
to point out to you the needs of Christian education; in order that, if there are in your parishes persons of goodwill of the sort described, you might be good enough to inform them that there exists, in Lyons, an Institute ready to welcome them".

He then went on to specify the physical and moral qualities required of a future Christian Brother: "...a good constitution[371] and strength capable of supporting the challenge of teaching; an honest countenance and an aptitude for learning... an upright intention, "solid, companionable"; "great docility and simplicity; a real disposition for piety; talent for, and love of, the education of youth"; and, in self-sacrifice, a firm purpose to spread the Kingdom of God".[372]

At the time, many priests suggested candidates. The regions of the Upper Loire, Lyons and the Jura, turned out to be rather fruitful sources of vocations.[373]. From the Forez Plateau, between the Loire and the Dore, there came to Lyons, in November 1809, a young man who belonged to the robust and profoundly religious peasantry. He brought with him a letter of recommendation from the pastor of Apinac. Upon his arrival at Petit College, he made a favorable impression upon Brother Frumence, who told the priest who had sent the young man: "We have every reason to hope that (this postulant) will answer to both your expectations and to our own ...You can be certain that we shall neglect nothing. to support the views that you had in mind when you sent him to our Congregation.[374] The newcomer was called Matthew Bransiet.[375]

The former Brothers whose return to the Institute had met with insurmountable obstacles sought solace by obtaining "replacements". It was with this in mind that the former Brother Euphrasius, a M. Terriet, from Gy in the Upper Saone, sent two of his young relatives, who took the Religious habit and the names of Brother Agathon and Brother Zacheus. Brother Vicar-general encouraged the ex-Brother to continue this excellent work of recruitment: "The

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[371] In particular, he emphasized weakness of eyesight and of the chest, obvious deformities, insufficient height, which would constitute impediments. "The best age" was between sixteen and twenty-five years. The cost of maintenance and clothing was required of those who could afford it. "Military conscription should not be an obstacle; several candidates have been exempted; and that gives hope to others.

[372] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 1.

[373] Motherhouse Archives, Summaries, notebook no. 1, 1808, Brother Vicar-general's letters to various pastors, especially to those in Yssingeaux, Bains, St. Chamond, Arcon, Poligny and Arinthod

[374] Ibid., notebook no. 4, letter dated November 8, 1809, to the pastor of Apinac.

[375] The future Superior-general, Brother Philippe. For the origin of his vocation, cf., above, pg. 28.

Lord will not fail to bless (such a pure) intention".[376] Once the period of the novitiate was completed the Brothers were constantly aware that a fatherly concern, emanating from Petit College, watched over their conduct and progress. In all Communities, Directors were to "neglect nothing" so that their subordinates might acquire "the virtues proper to their vocation" as Christian educators, and "the knowledge necessary" for the instruction of others. The most experienced Brothers of the new generation would assist their junior colleagues to "become equipped" for the tasks imposed upon them. It was in this way that Brother Anacletus at St. Étienne's assisted Brother Felix of the Cross.[377]

The Superior closely followed Claude-Louis Constantin whose mind and precocious maturity of soul had certainly impressed him, and in whom, perhaps, he had the presentiment, in a still far-off future, of the promised heir and the guide for his chosen people. He awaited confidently the effects of Brother Anacletus' "fervor". Brother Frumence prayed that the young man might spend his years in the fulfillment of his duty and in his own uninterrupted sanctification.[378]

In the huge correspondence between the Vicar-general and M. and Mme. Dubois, his agents in Paris for the purchase of books, we become aware of a concern to rebuild the libraries in the Christian Brothers' Communities and to stock them with fine works of spirituality, theology and education. Orders for books in arithmetic alternate with orders for volumes of *Rodrigues*, *Lives of the Saints*, catechisms, "edifying stories", pamphlets for the use of the young, and Sulpician treatises.[379] Brother Frumence would not overlook the publications authored by his predecessors. He had a particularly high opinion of *The Twelve Virtues of a Good Master*. And he recommended that Brother Jean Chrysostom, Director of St. Bonnet-le-Chateau, have the young Brother Vincent "read it carefully".[380] He had M.Rusand, a publisher in Lyon, send twenty copies of it to Father Fuillet, the Superior of the Seminary in Chambery. Meanwhile, he was planning another printing of the book.[381]

Like the serious education of young Brothers in formation, the reassembling of dispersed Brothers continued to be among the Vicar-general's most important goals. He wrote to one of the "loiterers" that the Institute had been returned "to the same footing as in the past" and that many of the Brothers "professed prior to the Revolution" understood that it is important for them once again to become faithful to the commitments undertaken before God. "I leave you to conclude whether your are obliged to be reunited to your Institute...And since my own judgment alone might seem suspect to you, I suggest that you consult the Bishop of Metz...who is a virtuous and enlightened prelate".[382]

In conjunction with Archbishop Campion Cice of Aix, he attempted to return to the Institute one of the survivors of the General Chapter of 1787, Brother Ferreol.[383] The capital of

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[376] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 4, letter dated December 14, 1809.

[377] Ibid., Brother Frumence's letter to Brother Marcellinus, Director of the school in St. Etienne, November 12, 1809.

[378] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 4, letter to Brother Anacletus, December 26, 1809.

[379] Ibid., notebook no. 1, Summaries, notebooks no. 1 and no. 2, 1808 and 1809, passim.

[380] Ibid., notebook no. 4, letter dated November 8, 1809.

[381] Ibid., notebook no. 3, letter to M. Guillet, dated October 2, 1809.

[382] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 2, beginning of 1809.

[383] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 500.

Provence "ardently desired" to have a Christian Brothers' school. Earnestly, Brother Frumence wrote to Balthasar Jacob: "You said...that you were only waiting for (such) an opportunity to rejoin: it would be altogether marvelous for you to have consecrated your last days to train workers for the Gospel. Evaluating the old man on the strength of the reputation he once had, Brother Vicar was relying on him "to open a school" like the one in Bordeaux.[384] But the former Brother Ferreol was neither steadfast nor sincere. When he seemed prepared to make the step, it was without enthusiasm. If, at one moment he took a step forward, he was bound to take several steps backward. A few years later it was necessary to turn him down as being undesirable for the Institute.

In his relations with another "deserter", one who had taken the "oath" and who bore an obvious burden of guilt, Brother Frumence showed forbearance combined with a quite well founded distrust. Dominique Mamel, the former Brother Damian, immoderately illustrious in Bayeux,[385] asked to be readmitted into the Congregation in 1809. During the previous year,[386]
he had left Normandy tortured with remorse for his scandalous defection and for his activities during the Jacobin period. He left no address with the Sub-prefect who was to relate his departure to the Ministry of Religion. But quite likely he chose his native province of Lorraine as the place to which to retire. Past fifty years of age, he had separated from his wife "by mutual consent"; and his daughter, Aglae, entered the convent. M. Mamel himself told Brother Vicar-general of his decision. But to receive him at Petit College seemed quite unsafe: his presence, regardless of the prodigal's repentance, would be occasion for surprise and uneasiness. Without the least self-reproach and with a heart filled with forgiveness, Brother Frumence reasoned that Brother Damian's family situation continued to be too sensitive not to create a near absolute impediment to his return to the Religious life. The "unanimous feeling of the Directors in the schools" might, perhaps, authorize some sort of exception; but there was no doubt that, in the language of the reply, hope for such a consensus was not even to be contemplated.[387] The sinner would have to atone for his actions in penance and obscurity.

The integral reconciliation of Brother Berauld (Jean-Clément Proisy) whom, in 1793, fear forced into a series of false statements and into a sort of betrayal, appeared less difficult.[388] In August 1808 he was working in a distillery in Billy, in the Department of Allier. The Sub-prefect of La Palisse asked to have him interviewed, and in response to questions by the Mayor of Billy, the former teacher in Moulins replied that he had decided to leave for Lyon, since he regarded the restoration of his Congregation as "a blessing from His Imperial Majesty".[389] Sent by his Superior to Toulouse, he compensated for his momentary weakness in years of work and piety.

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[384] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 1 and Summaries, notebook no. 1, letters for March and May 1808.

[385] See Vol. III of the present work, passim (Cf. Index).

[386] Departmental Archives of Calvados, Series T, letters of the Sub-Prefect of Bayeux and Prefect Caffarelli, dated August 11 and 12, 1808.

[387] Motherhouse Archives, Summaries, notebook no. 2, letter dated May 2, 1809, "to Brother Damian."

[388] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 420-421.

[389] Departmental Archives of Allier, Series T, letters of the Sub-Prefect of La Palise to the Prefect of Allier, August 18 and 27, 1808; quoted by Brother Gustave of Mary in his book *Les Freres des Ecoles chretiennes de Moulins déportés aux iles de la Charent-Inférieure* , pp. 177-8.

At about the same time, Jean Rouzaud, General Delzons' protegé,[390] and former Director of the Community in Aurillac, heard a call from the people in Toulouse. At first, he appeared willing and actually received an "Obedience" from the Motherhouse. It had appeared as though his past services, his refusal to take the "oath" and the trials he had undergone guaranteed the sincerity of his return. Nevertheless, inexplicably, and in a sudden change of mind, he did not persevere in his purpose. Father Bernadet had been thinking about making him the successor to Brother Bernardine. But, then, on the 9th of December 1808 the Pastor of St. Étienne's Cathedral announced the disappointing new to Brother Frumence: Brother Florentine, after...having for a long period of time kept us holding our breath, has finally replied that I am not to count on him...[391] For nine years he holed up in his native city of Carcassonne; and, like other former Brothers, he was interested in the progress of the Institute, but kept putting off the moment of his return, until February 1818.[392]

It may well have been that, coming to grips with very human situations, with fears concerning the political future and qualms regarding the religious question, some isolated individuals might have forgotten about the efficacy of grace. The success of the gallant group actually engaged in action should have driven them out of their inertia. With Brother Florentine's failure to show up, one of Pierre Blanc's students, Joseph Bardou -- known as Brother Joseph of Mary[393] - assumed the direction of the school in Toulouse. He worked in the spirit of his mentor and along lines quite conformed to the directives of Petit College. Poverty, gratuity, discipline and a completely Lasallian spirituality were henceforth the qualities of the novitiate and the Community organized in the Upper Garonne. Brother Joseph de Marie remained Director of that institution for only two years when he was entrusted with a similar responsibility in Avignon: such a brief period of time was all that was needed for him to have had a profound influence on the Brothers and pupils and to leave with his fellow-citizens in Languedoc the memory of his marvelous zeal and eminent piety.

Each day the Institute was becoming increasingly cohesive. Most of its institutions received the most explicit directives from Brother Frumence regarding their relations with the civil authorities, the strict observance of the Rule, the work to be undertaken, and the right way to defend against proposals to collect tuition. Brothers, young and old alike, were showered with advice and encouragement, criticism and commands, in which appeared a will that never deviated from its purposes and the ardent affection of a father and leader. About New Years 1810, there were letters to the principal Brothers -- the Vicar-general's deputies in the cities of the Empire:Grenoble: Brother Alpheus;Besancon: Brother Gerontian; St. Etienne: Brother Marcellinus; Valence: Brother Gontran; Trevoux: Brother Pigmenion; Condrieu: Brother Servulus; Paris: Brother Gerbaud; Castres: Brother Cherubin; Villefranche: Brother Adelard; Bordeaux: Brother Paulinus; St. Chamond: Brother Paul de Jésus; Rive-de-Gire: Brother Pierre; Meaux: Brother Micheus; Soissons: Brother Faustus; Rethel: Brother Maximilian; Toulouse: Brother Joseph de Marie; Rogent-le-Rotrou: Brother Exuperian; St. Omer: Brother Lysimachus; Orleans: Brother Liberius; Chartres: Brother Joseph; Ajaccio: Brother Raymond;

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[390] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 289 and 426.

[391] Lemandus, pg. 194.

[392] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1922, pp. 264-6.

[393] Born in Castres on November 1, 1778; admitted by Brother Bernardine on August 14, 1803, Brother Joseph of Mary made his perpetual vows on June 5, 1807. (*Historique du novitiate de Toulouse*).

Crest: Brother Pierre Martyr.[394] On the 23rd of December 1809 he wrote to the Director of Grenoble, who was meeting with all sorts of obstacles in his apostolate:

"Place everything - your difficulties and those of your Brothers - at the foot of the Cross; pray to Our Lord that He might accept the sacrifices that He asks of you, and, then be quiet... Be quite aware that all men have their weaknesses and that Directors, by their pleasant and charitable manner, must (strive to) correct them, as our Divine Master did...This is the real way of seeing that duty is accomplished through love.

The Director in Meaux merited commendation for "the good order" of his school: "Indeed, the harvest is great", but what was needed was more hands for the harvest".[395] Brother Faustus had "filled" his Superior "with joy" by "revealing to him the graces the Lord (had) been pleased to bestow upon the reborn Community" in Soissons. It was important to thank Providence for "willing to use" the Brothers for "restoration of the losses to our religion". But, once again, this sublime mission was not to be accomplished except by inspiring the novices "with the spirit of De La Salle".[396]

The Brothers whom Frumence had known in Italy and who had remained there to continue his work were not the least of his concerns. They were, we know, passing through particularly painful times, whose difficulties we shall presently discuss. Brother Vicar could have no worries about the faith and courage of those marvelous men, Brothers Guillaume de Jésus, Charles Borromeo and Rieul. He wished for them an unruffled confidence, and he preserved a generous hope in the progress of their work. But he tended, rather, to moderate the activities that consumed them and to bind them more closely to the Institute that was in process of being restored in France.[397].

On the 8th of January 1810 he wrote to Brother Rieul: "Your small novitiate (in Orvieto), it seems to me, is in general well-stocked with good candidates... While I praise your zeal in translating (into Italian) the Life of our dear Founder,[398] nevertheless, the excessive assiduity, and especially the sleepless nights might have done considerable damage to your health. I suggest that you not work after night- prayer".

Without passing judgment on the circumstances in which Napoleon "reunited" the Papal States to "the Empire", the Superior required that "the dear Italian Brothers" know the French language, which the Director of novices had to teach to his young candidates. For Brother Rieul, it wasn't just a question of political necessity or of simple, however legitimate, patriotism; to the mind of his Superior, the unity of the Lasallian family, and the support for a principle and a tradition that went back to the Holy Founder certainly entered into consideration.

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An inventory of Brother Frumence's correspondence enables us to determine that by the end of 1809 more than twenty schools were dependent upon the Motherhouse. Listing for Brother Contest, the Director of Ferrara,[399] schools "opened during the past five years," the Vicar-

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[394] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook nos. 4 & 5. In 1809 Brother Frumence's New Year's greetings were also sent to the Communities in Alencon, Laon and Orbais. (Summaries, notebook no. 1)

[395] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 4, letter of December 20, 1809.

[396] Ibid., notebook no. 5, letter dated January 3, 1810.

[397] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, same notebook, passim

[398] Brother Rieul had undertaken the vast labor of providing an Italian translation of Canon Blain's two volumes

[399] Letter dated December 17, 1809. Drafts, notebook no. 4

general adds to the names mentioned in the preceding section, Ornans, Langres, Privas,[400] St. Galmier and St. Bonnet-le-Chateau. Further, his list seems to be limited to schools opened through the efforts, or with the immediate cooperation, of Petit College.

Seventy-one Brothers and novices made up the group in Lyons - a statistic quite inadequate to satisfy demands coming "from all over France". Semur, Chambery, Geneva, Aurillac, Brioude and Poitier[401] - to mention only a few of the cities -- made requests that could not be satisfied.

We return to the cities that were more fortunate. Philpin Percy, in his letter of the 21st of March 1808 to Count Fontanes, explained the situation in Langres following Father Petit's efforts. The "Association for Christian Education" remained, for the immediate future, without "Brothers" properly-so-called. In 1807 several "members of the Association were themselves sufficiently courageous to teach...and supervise the teachers, such as they were" hastily recruited. "During the vacation" it was decided to form a teaching personnel made up totally of Religious. Father Petit "moved into a dilapidated house". The "neighboring countryside" was to supply "young people whose morals were uncorrupted, sons of schoolmasters who already had some instruction, the elements...With Brother Frumence's consent", the priest put his candidates through "a brief novitiate", but one which, as Percy assures us, "was very demanding". This was the tiny group which, henceforth, was "affiliated to the Institute". Langres had "six Brothers"...they almost dared to say "six angels". Teachers and pupils received their training from the ecclesiastical superior. Five classes were opened to "three-hundred children - poor orphans". The "contrivance" worked marvelously well! The building had been repaired and furnished; and the Brothers wore the garments supplied by the "Association". The pupils were provided with books, paper, and pens, rewarded with prizes and put out to apprenticeship.[402] This was, perhaps, a somewhat embellished picture, since its purpose was to attract the Rector-general's attention.

M. Percy, in June 28th, was happy to acknowledge Fontanes's kindness. But language, however benevolent, never replaced a handsome subsidy. The previous year Regnault de St. Jean Angely, responsible for supervising Langres' municipal budget, "ruthlessly struck down" the 1,800 francs allocated to the schools by the Commune. Unless he changed his methods, the amount voted for 1809 (which the Counsel, cautiously, reduced by a third) would once again go unused. But without this refloating it would be impossible "to bring the ship into port."[403].

The Mayor, M. Guyot, went into action. He begged Fontanes to intercede with Regnault: "Although the city is not very wealthy, it needs" the Brothers; and it agrees to financial sacrifice in order to have "disciplined, educated young people".[404]

While these mundane negotiations were being pursued, Father Petit, together with Brother Frumence, sought a solution to a no less pressing problem, but one that had transcendent implications: Who would finally assume the direction of the novitiate and of the entire institution? We have recounted the story of the priest founder's quandary and the appeals made to Brother Jonas.[405] In June 1808 Brother Vicar-general invited John Baptist Mairez to

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[400] The school in Privas was, at the time, virtually founded. But a reading of the letters sent on January 15 to the Mayor and the pastor of that city reveal that there were some agreements that were still to be concluded before sending the three Brothers who were to make up the Community. (Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 5)

[401] Motherhouse Archives, Summaries, notebook no. 1.

[402] National Archives, F17 12453.

[403] Ibid., F17 12453

[404] Ibid., F17 12452, letter of August 2, 1808.

[405] See above, pp. ???

report to him concerning Langres. Father Petit, unfamiliar with the Institute, did not know how to direct a Community; it was expected that Brother Jonas would perform this service.[406]

His response did not arrive until the 17th of July. It was full of "information", but none of the anticipated assurances. According to the unofficial "Inspector", the schools in Langres "were doing rather well..., and the Brothers there (were) edifying and pious". During Holy Week Brother Jonas "spoke to each one of them individually". They seemed to him to have been "satisfied", and also, "quite formal, since they had some difficulty expressing themselves". One of them, fifty-five years of age and a former village schoolmaster, was "a virtuous man". The others, young men, "could go either way"; however, they were not wanting in attractive qualities. The financial future remained precarious.

J.B. Mairez avoided all allusions to his own intentions. However, in his comments upon the events of the day, he revealed his real thoughts. Concerning the "plan for a common education" in relation to the "University", he didn't see that "anything was quite decided" as regards the Brothers' Institute. On the other hand, he was worried, and not without reason, over the fate of the Pope: "Unfortunately, people are saying a lot of unpleasant things". And what did he think of the "palace" that Cardinal Archbishop Fesch was building in Paris? Obviously, the former victim of the Revolution showed very little enthusiasm for the imperial government. And the moment had not yet come for abandoning a posture of watchful waiting and wary restraint.

Besides, if the veteran teacher emerged from his retirement in Chaumont, would he find the needed support in Langres? Father Badot, the pastor in Chaumont (argued Brother Jonas obstinately) "doesn't care whether I leave and become Director" of the institution; he merely echoes the opinion in Chaumont; the Prefect of the Upper-Marne, the priest's close friend, doesn't hide the fact that he would be displeased to learn of Mairez's departure. The latter, after all, did not believe that his Congregation was "restored" to what it had been prior to 1792. He had once suffered so much for its sake that no one would suspect him now of tepidity. He would not knowingly commit his fragile health, not to speak of the last years of his life, to a new field of endeavor.[407].

Father Petit did not share the former Brother's dim view. A month after Brother Jonas' chilling letter, the priest was in Lyons and he spoke of his "pleasure" at the decree which established the "University" and "guaranteed the Congregation a legal existence". He "was pleased" to be able to greet Brother Frumence as the Superior, both "in the civil sense" and "in the spiritual sense", of the foundation in Langres. And, using the same arguments as in January, he insisted that a "real" Brother come and direct the present and future teachers of his schools.[408]

But where to find such a man, since the one best suited steadfastly refused the appointment? Brother Vicar, who had very much taken to heart the success of the enterprise, was thinking of the former Director of St. Yon, Nîmes and Toulouse, Brother Amand de Jésus (Nicolas Tupain). This man, who had been one of Brother Agathon's co-workers, had preserved a reputation among the Brothers for being an organizer, an educator and a distinguished Religious. For all these reasons, a letter from Petit College, dated the 2nd of September 1808, suggested him to the President of the "Association" in Langres.[409] Unfortunately, the letter

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[406] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 1, letter of June 23, 1808.

[407] Motherhouse Archives, HA p 1 Brother Jonas' file

[408] Ibid., Langres file, letter of August 20, 1808.

[409] Ibid., Drafts, notebook no. 1.

did not take into account the age and the infirmity of the venerable Brother, who wished nothing so much as to prepare to die in peace.

We know his thoughts from an application he made, at about the same time, to the Mayor of Toulouse for an affidavit that would enable him to receive the pension allocated by the imperial government for former members of Congregations dissolved in 1791 and 1792.

On the 22nd of October 1808 he asked the administration in Toulouse to ask Father Bernadet for the required certificate. Only the pastor of St. Stephen's could confirm the following statement, namely: "...that Nicholas Tupain, the former Brother Amand de Jésus, directed the Brothers of the Christian Schools in an institution situated in (the parish in question) from September 1788 until the 15th of August 1791, that he was removed from the direction of that institution by city officials, because he rejected the oath of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy...a year and eighteen days before.the suppression. of that institution; and that the said Nicholas Tupain, observing that his services were no longer required, (he went) to Dijon, his birthplace, where he lived from the 4th of September 1791 until the 2nd of June 1808 and that thereafter, he resided in Paris: a city to which he had been attracted by ties of blood and nature, (and that his deafness), his impaired vision, and (his) eighty-two years called for definitive retirement. Father Bernadet, the petitioner concluded, would recall the man who had once cooperated with his "charitable enterprise", and whom he had honored with his friendship. The civil authorities will be kind enough to authenticate his signature.[410]

With these words, a man upon whom our preceding volumes have sought to throw light[411] drops from sight. Brother Frumence, increasingly perplexed, turned to one of the people who had restored the schools in Chartres, Claude François Langlet.[412] This proved to have been wasted effort, since Brother Montain[413] was within a few months of dying.[414] "Brother Jonas's refusal" was on the point of discouraging the promoters' of the Langres' project: "If I had foreseen", the Brother Vicar-general confessed, "I would not have approved" of that foundation.[415]

And Father Petit appeared no less pessimistic: he "hesitated to enlarge an establishment that was faltering"; during a period when he had "to share his time between a stay in the country" and the demands made upon him by the project, "relaxation had set in among the teachers."[416]

When everything appears lost, Providence intervenes. In this instance, its instrument with Jean-Baptist Mairez was a man who himself had rejoined the Christian Brothers *in extremis*. Brother Lothaire had hardly returned to the Community in Besançon,[417] when he wrote to

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[410] Archives of the Capital of Toulouse, Series R. Document published by Brother Lemandus, pp. 61-2.

[411] See Vols. II and III of the present work, Indexes.

[412] Motherhouse Archives, Summaries, notebook no. 1, letter of November 2, 1808, to M. Philpin Percy.

[413] See Vol. III of the present work, Index.

[414] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 2, letter dated the end of 1808.

[415] Ibid., Langres' file, Father Petit's letter to Brother Frumence, January 4, 1809. May 11, 1809 (Motherhouse Archives, file HA p 6, notes on the school in Chartres)

[416] See above, pp. ???

[417] Motherhouse Archives, Langres' file.

Brother Jonas. His example and his exhortation succeeded in overcoming the inclinations that had resisted so many pleas. On the 31st of January 1809 the letter, so long awaited, arrived in Lyons from Chaumont:[418] Having finally returned to "obedience", the old warrior wanted very much to believe that from now on, "the government would support" the Institute. He only asked that the Superior ease the difficulties that might be raised by the Prefect, who was ever anxious to retain Brother Jonas at Chaumont. Certainly, there were other troubles, and other sorrows afflicted his soul, which he "wasn't overlooking". But, like his patron, Jonas the Prophet --whom, up to now, with his timidity and evasiveness he had been imitating too closely -- sacrificing himself, he hurled himself into the sea in order to calm the storm.

"Now, at last, my wishes, and those of our good Brothers, not to speak of Father Petit's, are realized!" On the 8th of February Brother Frumence set up this joyful cry, and an "Obedience" was sent to the new Director. Of course, under his direction "all would be well". If the responsibility to be faced was a heavy one, it would be lightened both by the goodwill of subordinates (who "long to know their duties") and by the welcome that Father Petit and his "Associates" were arranging for Brother Jonas.[419]

Skies were beginning to clear. After new representations by Mayor Guyot, the Rector-general of the "University" asked the Minister of State, on the 21st of March 1809, to sustain with a favorable report the budgetary requests of the City of Langres.[420] The city, when all was said and done, was authorized to supply its schools with an annual subsidy of 1,200 francs. The Commission for Almshouses was to add an equal sum from income and from endowment which at one time benefited a home for poor children, known as "the Factory". But it was not believed that this was a grab on the part of the Welfare Service for the teaching personnel.[421].

However, J.B. Mairez (who was not easily separated from Chaumont) took up his new duties in a rather gloomy frame of mind. Having arrived at his destination on "Holy Saturday", he "fired off" his impressions to the Vicar-general on the 12th of April: "The gentlemen in the 'Bureau of the Association' are trying to make themselves important." They thought to reduce the Director of the institution to the rank of a clerk. Father Petit became extremely upset when someone removed his bed from the house -- a moment of very human weakness that the author of the letter emphasized. "There are too many people to be satisfied here", he grumbled. "The young teachers are not very good". Fortunately, it was different with the "wise, virtuous and regular" Brother Joseph. A lay-teacher was in charge of the school district in St. Barbara's parish - "which is the cause of a lot of annoyance". There was, of course, a lack of money.[422]

"You seem to mistrust me", Brother Jonas, with a certain amount of feeling, was supposed to have told Father Petit.[423] However, there is nothing to support such a suspicion in the warm gratitude which, the day after Brother Jonas' letter, Father Petit expressed in a letter to the Motherhouse. It was a hymn of thanksgiving, fleshed out with praise for Brother Jonas: "Most Honored Brother, you have laid the corner stone of our structure. We now regard it as

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[418] "Dear Brother Lothaire has pointed out to me that it is worthy of my zeal to organize the institution begun in Langres...I do not wish to have to accuse myself of neglect or indifference in this regard. If, then, my very dear Brother, it is acceptable to you, you may send me a positive command".

[419] Ibid., Drafts, notebook, no. 2.

[420] National Archives, F17 12453.

[421] Ibid., August 16, 1809 meeting of the Commission for Almshouses

[422] Motherhouse Archives, Langres' file.

[423] Same letter, *in fine.*

securely founded. We look forward to it as something that will endure and we hope that it will produce the results which led us to start it. Brother Jonas...gives it all his enthusiasm, as well as all the wariness that we might expect from his piety and experience. He seems to me to be full of the spirit of his vocation and he will be sure to spread it among our pupils. He will supply for my failings and complete what I could only weakly begin".[424]

Supplying another refutation for those bitter words, the "Association for Christian Education", in a "report" presented to the City Council,[425] declared its intention to bow out completely. It believed that, "since the Brothers were reestablished", its own task was finished: it could not "manage the schools...without upsetting their good order". The only reward it sought was "the right to contribute to (the schools') support, and its "final wish" was that the payments contributed by its members should be for the advantage of the Brothers who replaced the secular teachers at St. Barbara's.

Brother Frumence had not yet learned of this honorable policy when he attempted to pacify Brother Jonas. "You expected obstacles", he wrote, "and you should (face) them with less anxiety...Your desire to complete" the mission you have been given "as best you can will, in the end, restore your peace". It was true that Father Petit did not know how to direct novices -- a sentiment in which the good priest concurred fully. Since candidates "are applying in great numbers", you should do your utmost "to maintain them" in their fervor; and we shall draw upon your novitiate, as upon a great breeding ground.[426]

To work, then, Jonas! His conscience as a Brother had to impose silence upon nature's objections. On May the 29th, rising to the level of his obligations, as Director of the Community in Langres, he wrote to the Minister to state his claims, to recall his curriculum vitae, to solicit financial assistance and to explain how easy it would be for the Institute to recruit and for schools to multiply in the Upper Marne.[427] And, then, with the Mayor's cooperation, he wrote to Fontanes.[428]

He also kept his Superior informed of events as they occurred: the "Bureau of the Association" had resigned its authority to the city government; and classes, employing two Brothers, were in session at St.Barbara's since Pentecost.

He admitted that he was rather pleased with his disciples. However, there were some reservations, some complaints, that he mingled with this or that evaluation: "We are dealing with the children of the Revolution, who are very different from what we were." The Community continued to need furniture and linen. The Mayor "promises a great deal, but gives very little". The pupils of the former teacher in the St. Barbara neighborhood harasses the Brothers with howls and insults; Brother Jonas had to put a stop to the commotion. And, sounding like a refrain throughout his correspondence, there recurs the question, unusual in May of 1809: Do you think that our "Corporation" will be restored?[429]

It was an obsession arising out of a longstanding anxiety, the reaction of a nervous temperament and of a man saddened by trials. However, a balance was beginning to emerge. A letter dated the 5th of September seems to have been written in a more contented frame of

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[424] Motherhouse Archives, Langres' file, Father Petit's letter to Brother Vicar-general, dated April 13, 1809.

[425] Letter dated April 26, 1809. Motherhouse Archives, *Historique des ecoles de Langres.*

[426] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 2, letter dated April 29, 1809.

[427] National Archives, F17 12453.

[428] Ibid., the Mayor's letter to the Headmaster of the "University", June 24, 1809.

[429] Motherhouse Archives, Langres' file, letter dated May 31, 1809.

mind. Grace of state and the determination to obey were producing their results. While Father Petit, intense and generous, failed in his efforts to train Brothers, his successor, in spite of his prepossessions and his sullenness, accomplished a commendable and thoroughly Lasallian job. As a professed member of the Institute, Jonas was a real son of the Founder.

Surely, of course, there was always room for improvement. During the vacation Brother Vicar-general sent Brother Gerontian to Langres for an on-the-spot investigation. This visitation inspired the comments that were sent to Brother Jonas from Petit College on the 28th of September:[430] Brother Gerontian "was delighted with the good order that reigned" in his confrere's Community; but he noted some irregularities of dress: the lack of the rabat, the "mantle" and the use of round hats "that seemed secular". Furthermore, with respect to spirituality, his report mentioned practices into which there had entered a kind of rigor that smacked of Jansenism: "The young Brothers rarely receive Holy Communion". These things "distressed" Brother Frumence, who feared for a piety that was without depth or enthusiasm.[431]Brother Frumence did not take up this subject in the letter of September 28; but he mentioned it to Brother Gerontian on October 2.[432]

The Superior's remonstration, however discreet, wounded the Director of Langres to the quick: and the mission that had been entrusted to Brother Gerontian assumed, in Brother Jonas' extremely sensitive judgment, the dimensions of an inquisitorial process. The explanations that the head of the Institute thought he had to supply on the 21st of October show the precautions a legitimate authority still had to take after seventeen years of confusion and disorder: Brother Frumence had no intention of "offending" his colleague, who should not consider Brother Gerontian's mission as a form of "espionage."

The Vicar-general wrote humbly: "I admit that I am very far from possessing the ability and the merit of our former venerable Superior. As a result, you must excuse me if I fail in some way in your regard. For the rest, all my ambition is no less than to serve each one...Fortunate, if I am able to succeed in that. For, you will agree, my dear Brother, men are very difficult to govern, especially as we emerge from the Revolution. I beg, earnestly, the assistance of your prayers, for which I have a great need".[433]

Such gentleness and forbearance disarmed the extremely irascible spirit of Brother Jonas, who was, however, upright and sufficiently well informed of his obligations. From then on, he was among the most faithful, devoted and clearheaded of the Brothers who had returned to the Institute. He had already prescribed "the habit of Rule" for his subordinates.[434] He abided by the "Obediences" which called several of the young Brothers to Lyon. [435] His novitiate grew and, supplied with "sensible" and docile young men, it became a model institution. Its future was assured, provided that the money did not run out. The Director confidently wrote once again to Fontanes: "By working under the auspices of the University, we hope to deserve its support and to be helped in our plans.[436] Thus, after a difficult launching, slow

[430] Ibid., Drafts, notebook no. 3.

[432] (Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 3.)

[433] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 3.

[434] Brother Frumence mentioned it to Brother Gerontian on October 23. (Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 3).

[435] Brother Frumence's letter to Brother Jonas, dated November 27, 1809 and Brother Jonas' letter to Brother Frumence, dated December 11. (Drafts, notebook no. 4 and Langres' file).

[436] National Archives, F17 12453, letter without a date, but certainly written at the end of 1809.

and sensitive manoeuvres, and several grievous blasts of wind, the "small barque" (Brother Frumence had once so designated the operation in Langres.) cleared the channel and, under the vigorous impetus of its pilot, reached the open sea without any further evasive action.

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The interest that attaches to the personality of Brother Jonas, and to a foundation so strange in its beginnings, although rather important in its immediate results, justifies the place accorded in this history to the schools in Langres. We shall review more rapidly the other new schools or contemporary restorations.

In July 1808 Father Lancelot, pastor of Rive-de-Gier, obtained three Christian Brothers. Under the direction of Brother Pierre, who had been transferred from Condrieu, classes opened on about All Saints day of the following year.[437] In Crest, Ph. Labretonniere, one of the members of the municipal counsel, assume the responsibility for conversations with the Motherhouse -- a mission which he conducted with skill. The sale of a former Franciscan convent earned the funds that would be assigned to Brother Vicar-general for the support of three novices. In order to purchase furnishings a collection was taken up; and, finally, a tax levied on six-hundred families, at the rate of three francs per household, provided an endowment for the teachers' salaries.[438] One of Brother Vivien's former associates in Rheims, Brother Pierre Martyr (Jean-Antoine Mignot),[439] who later on became a teacher in the schools in Grenoble, directed the new school, with Brother Nicolas,[440] and Brother John of the Cross as assistants. "These are three men of exemplary virtue", wrote Labretonniere in a thank-you letter (dated the 16th of May 1809), "and endowed with the skills of their vocation. They combine the qualities" which will guarantee the complete success of their teaching activity. From the very beginning, they enjoyed respect and universal confidence. The man who brought them into the Department of the Drome hoped that they would find the countryside to their liking.[441]

Brother Frumence could not bring himself to refuse a school to the pastor of St. Bonnet-le-Chateau, Father Rousset, who worked at recruitment for the Institute in his Canton in the Loire and paid for the cost of room and board for Matthieu Bransiet, one of the flock of his deanery. The school was in operation before the end of 1809. Early on, Jean Claude Rotival, who was thirty-three years of age, was sent as Director. Born in Lantignie, in the Beaujolais, on the 16th of December 1776 to a family which had given several of its members to the service of the Church, this fine Christian young man had lived an edifying life among his neighbors. He became a member of the Institute on the 27th of July 1807, when he came to be known as Brother Jean Chrysostom. After a probationary period in the schools in Lyons, he was for seven years principal of the school in St. Bonnet, where he revealed his remarkable talents as a teacher. Children, attracted by his radiant soul, came "to him to tell

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[437] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, Notebook no. 1, Brother Frumence's letter to Father Lancelot, July 1, 1808; and Centenaire, pg. 166.

[438] Motherhouse Archives, *Historique de Crest*, City Council resolutions for December 15, 1808.

[439] Born in Mouthe (Doubs) January 17, 1755; entered the Institute in 1779; professed in 1785. He died on July 3, 1837, with the Brothers in Paris.

[440] The future Assistant of the M.H. Brothers Anacletus and Philippe; entered the novitiate in Lyons on October 15, 1807, at the age of eighteen.

[441] Motherhouse Archives, JE a 6, Crest file.

him the faults they had committed in his absence". He exercised a similar influence over the Brothers. He knew how to lead and how to administer. And he was now about to take off on a great and useful career.[442]

Thus, in spite of Brother Jonas' prognosis, a new generation, unfamiliar with the brilliant epoch dominated by Brother Agathon, was prepared, by lowly tasks, to continue the work that was so soundly planned and, until the cataclysm, so marvelously realized by the best educators of the 18th century. It was especially the region of Lyons and Forez that produced these excellent candidates; that area presented a field favorable to the cultivation of vocations, since communities of Brothers tended to cluster around the Motherhouse. The talented young men were scarcely ever out of view of their mentors, for the new teachers' first efforts in the classroom had the benefit of their professors' immediate criticism and their continuous encouragement. This is why, in the principal centers of the Brothers' apostolate, where most of their teaching was done, i.e., the South (the Valley of the Rhone, the Upper Loire, and soon, for similar reasons, Languedoc and Guyenne) was gradually taking the place once occupied by the Brothers who issued from St. Yon and Maréville.

Dauphiny followed the evolution of Lyon, but at a slower, less decisive pace. Ties difficult to break (or, elsewhere, the weight of tradition) hampered normal progress -- at Montelimar and at Valence, for example.

In April 1791 the Brothers in Montelimar had slipped into the trap of the oath. Thereafter, they remained in the city. Summoned to the Communal school,[443] they enjoyed (according to the Deputy-prefect) complete respect. In 1807 they were once again referred to as "Brothers of the Christian Schools". And it was as such that the Prefect of the Drome considered them; and he obtained a favorable report for them from Fourcroy. And while the Director-general of Public Education "saw no difficulty" in confirming them in their job, it was doubtless because the teachers were not regarded as "members of a Religious Order."[444] Indeed, there is no evidence of formal (or, in any case, enduring) relations between the school in Montelimar and Petit College during this period of the First Empire.[445]

The situation of the Brothers in Valence seemed to have been more clear-cut, although it cannot be regarded as having been completely satisfactory. In a "report" made on the 6th of August 1808 by the city government at the request of the Departmental administration, four teachers are listed as active: Alexandre Boyer, Louis Barbier, Joseph Celse and Jean Molle, aged 83, 80, 75 and 70 respectively.[446] The first three, veteran Christian Brothers, have on several occasions attracted our attention; it is needless to repeat the curriculum vitae of

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[442] Relations mortuaires, Vol. II, pp. 364-69; Centenaire, pp. 99. Brother John Chrysostom was elected Assistant on September 2, 1830.

[443] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 96 and 594-595.

[444] National Archives, F17 1363, Prefect's letter to Fourcroy, January 16, 1807; Director-general of Public Education's report to the Minister of the Interior, May 19, 1807.

[445] Was the same thing true of the school in Auxerre, in the Yonne? Joubert wrote to Ambrose Rendu in November 1809: Five Brothers from the former St. Charles school, (i.e., five former Christian Brothers) were set up in this city, which they did not leave for a moment, even during the Revolution, and where they taught the children of the people in conformity with the exceptional methods of their Founder. (Quoted by Eugene Rendu, pg. 53). Quite probably, this is a reference to the so-called Brothers "of the Faubourg St. Antoine", founded by Father Tabourin, who taught school in Auxerre in the 18th century.

[446] Motherhouse Archives, JF a 6, Valence File.

Brother Evaristus (Alexandre Boyer), a patriarch of Christian education.[447] Brother Gontran (Louis Barbier), former Director of Montauban and Marseille, had come from Rome in 1791.[448] entered the Institute in May 1748 and pronounced his perpetual vows in 1753 in the diocese of Grenoble, he had rejoined his compatriot, Brother Evaristus in Valence. Brother Justinian de Maie (Joseph Celse) - also called "Brother Celse"[449] - in 1792 had been a member of the Community in Vans. Present in Lyons in 1803 and 1804,[450] he did not leave the Motherhouse without the consent of Brother Frumence. The contribution he made to the school in Valence would have been enough to reveal the bond established between this venerable Brother and the Superior of the Institute, even if we had not also possessed many letters.

There was the desire for an accord that was reenforced by mutual goodwill, and their goals were the same. But, agreement proved elusive, and the Brother Evaristus' subordination to Petit College was ambiguous. The big obstacle lay, here as elsewhere, with the vow of poverty and the practice of imposing tuition. Alexandre Boyer, a very popular person in his city-by-adoption, surrounded by his fellow-citizens, the city magistrates, the Prefect Mario Descorches[451] respected for his extraordinary old age, his success as an educator and his splendid dedication, had no intention of abdicating his independence or of renouncing his way of life. In his school pupils paid tuition, except for the 25% who were poor and exempt from tuition by the Law of Floreal, and 25 other pupils for whom he received an indemnification of 650 francs paid by the city.[452]

He lived easily with this *modus vivendi*; and he lent only a distracted ear to the exhortations which came his way from confreres who were more concerned about conformity with the

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[447] See Indices to Vols. II and III.

[448] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 160 and 334.

[449] A native of Crolles,[449]where he was born on August 12, 1728;

[450] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 256, 525, 569.

[451] Mario Louis Descorches, Marquis of Saint of Croix, was at one time distinguished for the ardor of his revolutionary opinions. In 1793, the Republic selected him as its ambassador to Constantinople. Beginning in 1800 he became Prefect of the Drome, where he administered with discretion. The Motherhouse Archives (File JF a 6) possessess one of his letters, addressed to the Mayor of Valence on October 28, 1808. It reveals that his natural sensitivity was offended by the use of the term "Ignorantine" and that he was extremely desirous of being of service to the Brothers of the Christian Schools, at the same time as he wished to impose respect for them: "You have been good enough, Sir, to provide a testimonial of good character for M. Joseph Celse, one of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of this city; I notice that it is certified that he was an "Ignorantine" Brother. You understand that this appellation is a term of contempt which, it seems to me, a public official ought never to use when referring to the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and that it is only people of the lower classes who could refer to them in such despicable langauge. I am more than persuaded, Sir, that you do not have any part in what is ecpressed in your testimonial; the sincerity of your sentiments is my guarantee for that; that appellation, doubtless, was the mistake of one of your employees who wrote the testimonial. I prefer to believe that he had no intention of ridiculing either the Brother or his Congregation, which has always contributed commendable service, by the purity of its conduct as well as by the zeal with which it provides the elements of learning to the children entrusted to it. I beg you, therefore, to be good enough to send another testimonial to M. Joseph Celse-Thelmond, called Brother Justinian, member of the aforementioned Congregation of Christian Schools. The Brothers have appealed to me in order to obtain a living, and I have been earnestly involved with their request. You surely share the interest that I have in (protecting) these honorable men. For your part, it is important to support my initiatives or actions by attractive testimonials, and I hope that you will lend your assistance with pleasure. I am returning the aforementioned testimonial. Accept, Sir, the pledge of my affectionate regards. (SIGNED): Mario Descorches."

[452] Motherhouse Archives, JF a 6, Valence file.

Rule. His friend (who was also a former associate of Brother Gontran at Marseilles and Rome) Brother Guillaume de Jésus deplored this attitude. In a letter to this vigilant guardian of the Brothers' traditions, Vicar-general wrote: "You do well, in your letters, to encourage Brothers Gontran and Evaristus. I agree with you that, being so close to the grave,[453].they should open their eyes to their duty. It is not that Brother Gontran is so headstrong in his opinions: the company he keeps encourages him.[454] In other words, Brother Evaristus' assistant was under the influence of his Director and the people connected with him.

In order not only to remove him from that influence, but as well to restore harmony to the Community in Grenoble (which suffered from internal dissension under the extremely relaxed direction of Brother Luke), Brother Frumence decided to send an "Obedience" to Brother Gontran to go to Grenoble in the Isere.[455].Brother Gontran complied with the order, but not without some distress. The Superior wrote to him on the 11th of June 1809: "You should think very little of having to leave Valence, since your presence in Grenoble has brought peace and union to that Community.[456] But in Valence, Brother Evaristus did not agree that he should be separated very long from his associate. In September he recalled him. The Motherhouse dealt gingerly with these old men: no opposition was raised to Brother Gontran's return to the Drome; and when the traveler arrived at his destination, Brother Vicar was quite prepared to say that he was "satisfied". Nevertheless, he could not hide his settled opinion: he "loathed" placing Brothers under Evaristus' authority, because, not only was a return to tuition-free instruction delayed, but so, too, were the integral restoration of the Religious habit and the Community exercises. Brother Gontran's real appointment remained Grenoble. While Brother Frumence consented temporarily to defer to the demands of an octogenarian Director, it was the merest toleration. Deep down it made him shudder; and he concluded with a sigh: "Well, we must place ourselves in the hands of Providence."[457]

The same tone reappears in a letter to Brother Justinian of Mary: "In luring you to Valence, our dear Brother Evaristus must owe you a great deal for all the help you have given him...Doubtless, he will not fail to prepare a very favorable arrangement for your old age". However, the dependence of Justinian (who was a professed Brother) on a Director who operated with a personal income and who ruled in his own institution as the unquestioned master was obviously not standard procedure. As it was important not "to rock the boat", Brother Justinian "was to continue his services" to the venerable old veteran; meanwhile persevering in his good intentions to live in monastic obedience. There was no ambiguity about the Superior's personal reflections: he was assuming that a survivor of times long past, a man who had been a Brother in the generalates of Brothers Timothy and Claude, would fade away quietly at the far limits of a human life. Wisdom and charity dictated that no one disturb his final days. His associates would surround him with their dedication "right up to the end."[458] What was needed was patience.

But in fact, Brother Evaristus, in his fiefdom in Valence, did not die until the 4th of

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[453] Brother Frumence was thinking of the great age of both the teachers and thought of them as being close to death

[454] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 2, beginning of 1809.

[455] Ibid., Brother Frumence's letter to one of the pastors in Grenoble, dateless, but from the same period

[456] Ibid., Resumes, notebook no. 2.

[457] Ibid., Drafts, notebook no. 3, letter dated September 28, to Brother Gontran, who returned to Grenoble the following year.

[458] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 3, letter dated 1809.

December 1819, at the age of ninety-five years.[459] For over three-quarters of a century nobody considered him as anything but a Christian Brother. As the former Director of the Charlemagne residence school and the one in Mirepoix, he wrapped himself in the splendor of a marvelous past. His behavior during the most tragic days of the Revolution was unassailable, his courageous fidelity to his vocation as an educator, the love shown him by his countless pupils in Valence, his talents and his unmistakable virtues, and his surprising and vigorous long life had singled him out for a lot well above the ordinary. In the eyes of the witnesses of his old age he assumed, and within the traditions of the Christian Brothers he retained, the look of a legendary figure. He was the majestic and kindly old man who welcomed "the great-grandsons of his first pupils" to stand around his desk; and who, tirelessly concerned for souls, "could not", in his ninety-fourth year, "keep himself" from teaching catechism.[460] He was a standard-bearer who attracts the attention of the crowd, and veteran who had won many battles and had merited citations of commendation. An army prides itself on such soldiers, and a leader hesitates or refuses to subject them to excessively severe commands.

The attitude that Brother Vicar-general adopted regarding Brother Evaristus was the same one he was inclined to invoke as he thought of employing Brother Julien in the work of the Institute. This would be Jean-Louis Joy who, at one time, trained the young Brothers at Maréville, and whom Brother Gerbaud described as "his respected and kindly novice-master".[461]He and his elder brother, François, had continued on in the residence school that they had opened in St. Hubert, across the Franco-Belgian frontier. They had been teaching there for the last seventeen years, as the Prefect of the Sambre-and-Meuse wrote to the Minister of Religion on the 27th of August 1808.[462] "They have outright ownership of the institution." The administrative reports add that the two brothers "had been solicited for Soissons, St. Germain-en-Laye, Langres and Meaux". Certainly, their reputation was far-flung; the brothers, especially the younger, had the look of model Christian educators; and the Institute acknowledged them and authorities in both the Church and the Empire wanted to have them in the many regions in which Brothers' schools were being organized. From all sides, "attractive offers" were being made to the Joly brothers. They preferred, however, to remain in the diocese of Namur: the Bishop declared in favor of their school and sought another for his episcopal city, where there was only a single "Sunday school" managed by laymen for "more than 1200 boys who wandered the streets". There was a "very fine building" in that city that would suit the Christian Brothers as a Community residence, to which a novitiate might be easily added.[463]

Such were the projects of which a brighter future would see the realization. Until further notice, St. Hubert's would remain the "cutting edge" of the Belgian foundations. In fact, it was not exactly tailored to the Rule. Brothers Julien and Agapet, of course, taught about 100 pupils tuition-free; but they also admitted pupils who paid tuition, income from whom

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[459] Less a few days. He was born in Grenoble on December 12, 1724; entered the Institute on November 10, 1740; and made his perpetual profession in 1743.

[460] Motherhouse Archives, Ms. Notice mortuaire, quoted in *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 123.

[461] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 515, Cf. also the Index of the same volume under Brother Julien and his brother, Agapet.

[462] National Archives, F19 6285.

[463] Letter from the Bishop of Namur to the Minister of Religion, September 27, 1808 (National Archives, F19 6285).

constituted the teachers' sole resource.[464]

Brother Vicar-general contemplated "rescuing" these very valuable men from this rather compromising position. Intently, he made inquiries with Brother Gerbaud concerning Brother Julien; he would have liked to have placed the former Director of novices at the head of one of the schools of the Institute; the property acquired by Jean-Louis Joly should not "be an obstacle" to his plan.[465] Neither the Director of Gros-Caillou, a grateful disciple, nor the Motherhouse, had any reservations concerning the uprightness and the goodwill of the men who operated St. Hubert's; and they were included on the list of members of the Congregation, with the enduring hope that they would definitively return.

Determined to arm himself with kindness when dealing with virtuous men who were merely constrained by circumstances but otherwise in perfect conformity with their monastic obligations, Brother Frumence refused to conspire with members whose behavior endangered the honor of the Congregation -which seemed to have been the case with Brother Vallery. Father François, pastor of Notre Dame in Alencon, had been employing this teacher since 1805,[466] under the direction of Brother Adorator (Jean-Simon Perrin), the former superior of the community in Rennes, who, at that time, had come from Brittany in Normandy.[467] Petit College in Lyons had agreed to normal relations with the school in Alencon: in January 1809 the two teachers received New Year's greet−ings from Brother Vicar. In April Father Francis sent word to Brother Frumence of Brother Adorator's death; the assistant teacher continued to instruct the children, with help from a married man. The pastor asked for another Brother and was unsparing in his praise for Brother Vallery.

But, then, Brother Gerbaud entered on the scene: he was aware of the suspicious past of the person to whom the school's founder had all too rapidly granted his confidence; and he said that Vallery must bear neither the name nor the habit of a Christian Brother. Father François was quick to register his surprise and his distress with the Superior,[468] who responded to the priest on the 7th of June 1809 that the man in question had been convicted of wicked conduct by the Vicars-general in Paris; and that nothing could be done except to banish him from the Institute.[469] And on the 21st of June,[470] the pastor of Notre Dame was asked "to abandon" his protege, if he wished to have the two Brothers that the Director of Gros-Caillou was promising him. His ego offended, the priest persisted in defending Vallery's cause. On the 22nd of July he wrote: "Am I so deprived of common sense as to entrust the education of 150 children to an amoral man?" And he asked Father Jalabert, a Vicar-general in Paris, to

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[464] National Archives, F19 6285, letter from the Prefect of the Sambre-and-Meuse and the report of July 10, 1811.

[465] Motherhouse Archives, Resumes, notebook no. 2, letter to Brother Gerbaud, dated March 2, 1809. Drafts, notebook no. 1, letter to the same, dateless.

[466] National Archives, F17 78105, letter from Father Francis to the Mayor of Alencon, May 31 1808 (copy in the Motherhouse Archives, JF j 3, Alencon file).

[467] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 247-248 and 596.

[468] Motherhouse Archives, JF j 3, Alencon file, letters fro Father Francis to Brother Vicar-general, April 19 and 29 of May, 1809.

[469] Ibid., Alencon file. Letters from Father Francis to Brother Vicar-general, June 14 and July 22, 1809, and to Brother Superior-general Gerbaud, September 24, 1810. Ibid., Resumes, notebook no. 2.

[470] Motherhouse Archives, Resumes, notebook no. 2, letter to Brother Gerbaud, dated March 30, 1809. Ibid.

familiarize Cardinal Fesch with the details. Meanwhile, he retained at his post the man whom he referred to as "poor Brother Vallery". This situation continued on into September of 1810. At that time, the debarred Brothers saw that he himself must take the initiative and withdrew.[471] Brother Gerbaud, who had instigated the affair, once again showed the acuteness of his judgment and the strength of his character: under his generalate, a regular Community would assume charge of the school in Alencon.

On other occasions, he helped Brother Frumence curb exaggerated fervor or premature projects. Brother François de Sales (Claude Cliquet), a teacher at Noyon during the Revolution,[472]. "promised a school to the pastor of the Cathedral in Amiens, Father Dumeny". It turned out to be an agreement "the consequences of which (the Brother) had not foreseen". The Superior commissioned Brother Gerbaud with the responsibility of straightening the matter out, and, if necessary, cancelling the agreement.[473]

In one final situation a peculiar discretion and delicate tact was needed. The place was Bordeaux, where the novitiate and the Community were following too closely in Father Chaminade's wake. It was important to treat the saintly priest with consideration and not to collide head-on with his Archbishop, whose noble and inflexible soul compelled respect, even from the omnipotent Empire.[474]Archbishop Aviau did not shrink from the most obvious show of independence; instead of introducing the famous "Imperial Catechism," he had the catechism by his 18th century predecessor, Archbishop Bazin Bezons, reprinted for his diocese; of course, it did not contain the chapter on the duties to the Emperor. Archbishop Aviau, however, with the priest's encouragement, could become a rather tactless patron. On the 24th of August 1809, he gave "the most honored Brother" Vicar-general some advice that very much resembled a command:

"The work that you have consented to found here continues, thank God, and grows; all of which gives rise to the loftiest hopes...May it please you, this steady growth of both the novitiate and of the number of schools, in a very large city, must inspire us with the desire for a Director of greater activity, abilities and resources for a larger administration than is offered by our dear, and in many ways, respectable, Brother Seraphin. As a consequence, the Archbishop went on to ask for an exchange between the Director in the Community of Bordeaux and Brother Cherubin, who was Director of the Community in Castres. "Father Chaminade, always dedicated with such an enlightened zeal" to the Brothers' Institute "fancies" this project "the realization of which would foster the tasks and the concerns of the Director of novices."[475]

What was really at stake was the possibility of granting wider scope to the spiritual director of Louis Lafargue and Joseph Darbignac. It is impossible to condemn the lofty purposes that inspired him to found a new Religious Order, the Brothers of Mary. And perhaps he was figuring on Brothers Elias and Paulinus to help him, since he had taught them and had played a large part in deciding their vocation. Brother Seraphin, sent from Lyons, "overlapped", so to speak, Father Chaminade's personal responsibilities. His contribution had a different spirit, a different direction, and, perhaps, as the Archbishop said, rather limited "abilities". Brother

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[471] And, thereafter, employed at the school in Soissons

[472] Ibid.

[473] Ibid.

[474] Ibid.

[475] Motherhouse Archives, File HA p 4.

Cherubin, "esteemed and loved in Bordeaux" (because, perhaps, of a residence there, prior to the Revolution), would share more easily in the views of the clergy of this major city. At precisely the same time the Christian Brothers' novitiate was to be moved outside the city: the "founder/priest" was directing a half-dozen young men on his St. Laurence estate, "on Rue Tondu."[476]

The situation couldn't help but worsen Brother Frumence's concerns. He had no intention of relaxing the ties that bound the Brothers in Bordeaux to Lyons; he sustained Brother Seraphin in his position as Director-general of the Community, and he considered him as his faithful representative in the southwest. On the 1st of January 1810, he wrote: "Dear Brother Paulinus tells me that, as soon as possible, you must move the novitiate into Father Chaminade's neighborhood. It is my understanding that this is being done with your approval, and that you continue to have the supervision of both Communities".[477] It is clear that the Superior feared that somebody was trying to remove Joseph Darbignac from his authority and the novices whom the former was training for the Religious life. It would be for Brother Gerbaud, at the beginning of his generalate, to take a radical step.

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In spite of certain external dangers, some distress and some internal restlessness, the Institute was proving its vitality. It had only to secure its progress by obtaining the approval of its Rule by the civil power.

In 1890 the question of "restoration" properly so-called was no longer raised. Like the Daughters of Charity, who were returned to legal status by the decision of the Consulate on the 24th Vendemiaire in the Year XI (October 19th 1802) and who, while recruiting and fully functioning, had been waiting for six years for their charter, the Christian Brothers were developing out in the open in virtue of the Law of the 3rd Messidor in the Year XII (June 22nd, 1804).[478] In their case, the Decree of the 17th of March 1808 also canceled the, perhaps, inadequately legal character of the earlier recognition.

Fontanes' words and actions forestalled any anxiety. But the Rector-general would be at greater liberty to assist the Brothers' schools and to defend them against direct assaults and insidious provocations after he had approved of the principles and goals of the Brothers themselves.

Brother Frumence revised, simplified and corrected the work initiated by Father Jauffret in 1804 - a work whose complexities, details and blunders contributed to hostility on the part of the Privy Counsel.[479] The work of reediting was completed in July of 1809; the cover-letter sent to M. Fontanes was dated the 16th:

"Sir, I have the privilege of forwarding to Your Excellency a copy of our statutes and the principal Rules which govern our schools. We have complete confidence that you will be pleased to grant them your support, so as to place us in a position of ever following them with fresh zeal and exactitude; in this way it will be comforting for us to be more closely united with that great institution, the University, over which you preside and which you direct with such distinction. I am, Sir, Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant. (Signed)

[476] Ibid., HB x, Bordeaux file.

[477] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook, no. 5.

[478] Chevalier, pg. 125.

[479] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 547-552 and 572-579.

Jean- Baptist Herbet, called Brother Frumence, Vicar-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[480]

The text of the regulations accompanying the letter bears the names of Brothers Frumence, Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine;[481] these were the names of the four Brothers who, in the absence of an elected "Regime", functioned as the society's supreme council. The sixty articles of the text, divided into six sections, include the principal prescriptions of the Common Rule and of the Rule of Government;[482] and in many cases their wording remains absolutely identical with the documents of 1705, 1718 and 1777.[483] St. John Baptist de La Salle, the former Superiors and General Chapters, in truth, dictated the law which their successors presented to Napoleon's bureaucrats and promised to observe within the framework of the imperial University. But since at that time it was exclusively a question of admission into the teaching personnel of contemporary France, emphasis was placed upon the educational system: more than two-thirds of the book refers to the system and the methods observed in the Brothers' schools.

The first article (like the Ms. of 1705) states: "The Institute is a society in which men profess to teach in tuition-free schools." Gratuity, as a fundamental obligation, was to be inscribed (in spite of prejudice, controversy and criticism) over the entrances to Brothers' schools.

Equally important, there stood out in plain view "Religion", the essential object of these educators, who (and all of this in the language of the Founder) teach children "to live good lives by instructing them in the Mysteries" of Revelation and by "inspiring them with the maxims" of the Gospel. "The spirit of this Institute is first of all a spirit of faith", article 2 hastens to add. "The spirit of faith" inspires the "zeal" with which the Brothers must be animated in relation to their pupils, whom they shall educate "in the fear of God" and in a horror of "evil."[484]

Articles 3 to 8 explain the normal mechanisms of government within the Institute, as the authors of the statutes meant to reestablish it, with the hierarchy and the harmonious collaboration of the Superior-general, the Assistants, the Directors and the Visitors. Article 9 reminds laymen that "no Brother may be a priest, aspire to the priestly state, wear the surplice, or perform any function in a church"; that "totally dedicated to their vocation", the Christian Brothers "live in silence, retirement and total fidelity to their duty".

Next, it was important to take up the question of the vows -- a particularly sensitive point so soon after the Revolution, since French law continued to oppose the restoration of monastic Orders. We have referred to the fact that the merest mention of the word "Congregation" frightened a man like Fourcroy, and, indeed, a man like Portalis.[485] We have seen with what keen vigilance both administrators and judges in a similar spirit strove to reintegrate the

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[480] National Archives, F17 78108. Text supplied by Chevalier, pg. 227 and by *Centenaire,* pg. 83.

[481] Jean-Baptist Herbet, Barthélemy Garnier, Jean-Baptist Die and Antoine Stablet.

[482] *Centenaire,* pg. 83.

[483] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 429-439, 446-451; Vol. II, 118-123, 455-458.

[484] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 445.

[485] Here, perhaps, so as not to run afoul of the linguistic usages of the academicians, who were heirs of the 18th century, the term "evil" was substituted for the term "sin" which was used in the Common Rule. For similar reasons – discretion, prudence – the last part of the sentence, "for everything that might lead them (the children) to lose their innocence" was suppressed after the word "horror."

Christian Brothers as a "society" or a "corporation" of lay-teachers simply. In this connection Fontanes was far more liberal: nevertheless, the Privy Counsel's reaction, as well as the Emperor's, was to be feared. Without stooping to caricature the religious character of the Institute, it was necessary to adopt language that was less implicating and to emphasize the fact that the Brothers' obligations differed from the solemn commitments sanctioned by ancient civil legislation and that the Constituent Assembly had claimed to suppress in 1790. Brother Frumence and his advisers did not agree to abandon the vows in perpetuity; and this is what they contrived to imply in language that was both honest and supple.

Such was the objective of the articles 10 to 13: "(The Brothers) are bound to their Institute by the three simple vows of religion, which at first[486] they take only for three years, as well for the vow of stability as for the vow of teaching children tuition-free. These vows last for as long as they are not dispensed. They can be dispensed from them by the Pope.

1. They are not admitted to take vows, not even triennial, after having been in the Institute for at least two years, and having been tested for a year in the novitiate and for the same length of time in school.
2. (...They will be admitted) as far as possible, at the age of sixteen or seventeen years; but in this case they renew their vows every year until they are twenty-five years of age past.

The language would still appear excessively bold in the eyes of the censorious, who dawdled over the text for months, analyzing it and scrutinizing its every detail. The whole problem was one of reconciling imperial legislation with the Brothers' unmistakable determination. As forcefully as Brother Pigmenion and his associates five years earlier, Brother Vicar-general defended the perpetuity of the vows of Religion as one of the foundations of the structure he was rebuilding. Circumstances permitted him and his responsibility obliged him not to repeat the useless gesture of Father Jauffret, who was satisfied to express a timid hope and mumble a limp argument.[487] Fontanes would have to understand that the Institute would be what it once was, or it would not be at all. In order not to destroy anything and in order to safe−guard the future, Fontanes made the decision to put an end to the dispute : the changes in the text that he would require would, indeed, tend only to liberate consciences.

Concerning the relations between Religious both with diocesan authorities and with civil administrations, one must never neglect the lessons of history. Indispensable obedience and indisputable autonomy are the two poles that need constantly to be reconciled. Were people about to see a repetition of the disagreements which caused De La Salle such profound suffering under Cardinal Noailles' episcopacy, and the Superiors-general such cruel anxieties during the 18th century? Would Prefects and Mayors throughout the Empire make the same mistakes as the Commissioners and the Communes under the "Ancien Regime"? Would Cardinal Fesch and his colleagues exhibit the same intransigence as Archbishop Saulx-Tavannes had once shown in Rouen?[488]. In conformity with the Bull of 1725, the Rule of 1777 specified with regard to ecclesiastical "Ordinaries": "The Brothers...open schools in dioceses into which they are admitted with the consent of the bishops and under their authority". The Superior's independence respecting the behavior of their subordinates and the organization and administration of their institutions was fully affirmed. It would be defended, in spite of conditions to the contrary, in the midst of the climate created by a political dictatorship. To its defense the gentle Brother Frumence brought a calm but persevering

[486] The emphases are ours.

[487] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 548-552.

[488] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 305-309

energy. Noiselessly, and without fanfare, he gradually led the Archbishop of Lyons to understand the true role of a "protector" as one who retains all his rights without encroaching upon the freedom of others. To the clergy Brother Vicar-general showed all imaginable submission, respect and gratitude; and, at the same time he "rendered unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's". Supplying the text he had inherited from the previous century with the key terms, he rewrote article 16 of the statutes as follows: "The Brothers do not set up in a diocese except with the consent of the Bishops, and they live under their authority as regards spiritual matters; and under the authority of the magistrates of the area as regards civil matters".

Since the "spirit", the form and the character of the Institute was thus defined in the book's introduction, it seems less necessary to comment upon the other five "sections", which relate to the conduct of schools. The material for them was supplied by the Common Rule and the famous book written by St. John Baptist de La Salle. Another proclamation in favor of tuition-free education, methods and goals in teaching, and, in particular, the Christian formation of pupils, the duties of affection, discretion, and example prescribed for the teachers relative to children summarize the contents of Section II. The matter of "Corrections" (The "stick", but not the "whip" had survived as a mode of punishment.) is dealt with in Section III. With Section IV there is a detailed schedule of school days, Sundays and Feasts, holidays and vacations.[489]" Finally, the role of the "Inspector of Schools" -- the man responsible for promoting activities, coordinating tasks in the schools within the same city -- and the traditional prohibition against the use of Latin, both in daily life as well as in the educational system, take their places in articles 58, 59 and 60 and summarize the material of Sections V and VI.

In drawing up this clear and very judicious synthesis, Brother Vicar-general crowned the work accomplished since his return to France. His accomplishments succeeded in taking on coherence and were consolidated through the formulation of principles. The Institute restored in bits and pieces after 1803, was no longer in danger of looking like the shapeless derelict of a unmasted vessel, unrigged and sailing nearly aimlessly with an improvised rudder. The crew knew its duty; and, in the exercise of a spirited command, the captain took upon himself the full scope of his responsibilities. They were about to rove the open sea in search of new lands, with their eyes fixed upon the "star" of the Founder -- "*Signum fidei*." God was their navigator and the powers of this world were invited to make their journey easier.

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Hardly had this voyage begun when the old captain succumbed at his post. He was not yet sixty-three years of age; but his physical strength had been on the decline for some time. He had no illusions about the state of his health, about which he spoke with serenity. In 1807 he felt "broken"; but toward the end of 1808 he was a little "stronger", without believing that he was really well. In a letter dating from this period, he wrote: "Let's not say it too loudly; maybe there's a cold at the door that will soon have me singing another tune[490]

The affliction was relentless. But whether on his feet or in bed, he worked right up to the last moment. On the 17th of January 1810 he wrote to Brother Gerbaud: "In spite of the illness that has kept me in bed over these past several days, I reply (to your letter) of the 5th instant." Always attentive to the activities of his aide, he congratulated him for having

[489] Vacation will be given throughout the month of September and at no other time, unless there is evident need with respect to the needs of the crops and the grape harvest and there is an expressed permission from the Superior of the Institute, who will indicate when vacation is to begin and end." (Art. 57)

[490]Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 2.

selected the excellent Brother Blimond as Director of Ile-Saint-Louis: “That Community, with all its problems, has many blessings, because it has the support” of Brother Gerbaud. A serene and unshakable faith inspired the watchword: “Come, my dear Brother, let us never grow tired of seeking the glory of God in spite of the obstacles.”[491]

This generosity, this solicitude for the Brothers, would be expressed once again, on the eve of his taking leave of this life. A Brother in Castres, Brother Antoine, like a reed, or like a wick that gives off a feeble flame, was wavering in his vocation. In order to relight it while there remained the semblance of hope, Brother Frumence spent his last ounce of strength. On the 21st of January, he wore himself out writing a rough copy of a very long letter; one the 23rd he wrote a fair copy of the same letter and put it in the mail:[492] Your precious letter of the 13th...gave me as much joy and satisfaction as its predecessor caused me pain...In spite of the discomfort (I have experienced) for more than twelve days, I gather all my energy to bless the Lord for having made you docile to my urgent exhortations”.

“With a great deal of affection, my dear Brother Antoine, I congratulate you for not having acted on the plans that you made during your first stirrings...You must have recognized God’s grace on this occasion. Correspond with that grace and be prepared to make the sacrifices that Divine Providence will demand of you.

I agree that you have been right to be discontented. I know...that a great deal of patience and virtue are necessary in order to support the little conflicts that cost nature so much, since God allows things to be this way in order to humiliate the greatest saints and to enable his servants to advance in the way of perfection.

Come, my dear Brother, be of good cheer! Let’s forget the past and place all our troubles at the foot of the Cross...In spite of the great attraction your freedom has for you and the aversion you have for certain practices...have no doubt that God has called you to (our) life. “It is not you”, He tells us in the Gospel, who choose, but it is I who have favored you with this grace, in order that you might bear fruit that will last to eternal life”. Remember that the Lord does not change, and He gives only one vocation to each man, not two; the certainty that you have your’s is the attraction you have for the education of poor youths, and the desire you felt three years ago to dedicate yourself to God. Do not let yourself be misled by the flattering hope that you will do the same thing in the world; since, by leaving the way of God...you will be exchanging a cross of straw for...a cross of iron.

...Overcome your aversions, offer them to God in union with Our Lord in the Garden of Olives and you will see that the spirit of darkness will flee far from you, and will allow you to enjoy the gentle rest that is the share of the humble and faithful souls.

Have patience a little bit longer, and I will do everything to make the Lord’s yoke gentle and pleasant. I am relying on your wisdom and prudence...Place yourself...under the protection of the Most Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the great St. Paul, whose conversion the Church celebrates on the 25th of this month...Finally,...do not neglect anything that might strengthen your vocation, (so that) you may be able to say on your deathbed: I have fought the good fight" ...

While this paternal entreaty proved powerless to prevent the Brother’s enfeebled will and wounded ego from succumbing to the temptation of aversion for his vocation, at least it touched Brother Antoine’s heart sufficiently keenly so that, once out of the Institute and married, he preserved this letter religiously and doubtless reread it with emotion and, perhaps, some melancholy, and he handed the letter down to his descendants. Thus, all Brother

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[491] Ibid., notebook no. 5.

[492] Ibid., Draft dated the 21st. Brother Lemandus, in his *Histoire des Freres du Toulouse* gives the text of the letter sent to Brother Antoine, which his descendants handed over to the Brothers in the Albi Community.

Frumence's subordinates, all the people who had access to Petit College, or who undertook to correspond with him, cultivated the impression of his refined goodness. Affection outlasted obedience for this former teacher in Castres, and that fact won us an opportunity of penetrating the soul of the Superior at the very moment he was preparing to receive his eternal reward.

The last letter of the stricken Superior, dated the 25th of January 1810, was to an old teacher in Dole, who had once been a member of the Institute and who continued to be known as Brother Vuillaume. He, along with "Brother Gregoire", were assigned in 1801 by the municipality in Dole[493] to teach primary classes in a city which, throughout the 18th century, had been among the most faithful to the Institute. He wanted to be thought of as a Christian Brother: however, he meant to place conditions on his return to the Institute, and especially, he wanted the Vicar-general to keep him in his present post. It was a quite human thing, and one that many former Brothers experienced; but it was also a sure sign of a vocation that was only partially revived. This lack of disinterestedness and of supernatural abandonment, this more or less concealed refusal to acknowledge the Superior's right delayed listing the school in Dole in the ranks of institutions readopted by the Motherhouse.

Nevertheless, Brother Vuillaume, faced with a quite justified ostracism, seems to have recognized the error of his ways. Quite crisply, Brother Frumence suggested to him that "third ways" were out of season. The mind of the Superior soared above conditions, moral pettiness and physical difficulties. He writes: "I see with...gratification, that you are prepared to be reunited to our society, with the sole view of procuring God's glory and the salvation of your soul. I beg you, my very dear Brother, do not put it off too long. To this end, we think it necessary that you come here to Lyon, to receive your mission, and, as you rebuild your spiritual forces, resume the yoke of obedience, and of complete renunciation and indifference for any given place or employment to which Providence might destine you. At that time we shall deal with whatever has to do with the school in Dole. I hope that you will have no reason to regret this generous sacrifice, since you know that God is so openhanded with his faithful servants that he is never outdone in generosity.[494] These word reached Brother Vuillaume almost as a voice from beyond the tomb. Less that forty-eight hours after sending this urgent letter, the worthy successor of St. John Baptist de La Salle died after suffering an asthmatic attack.

The personnel register bears the following notice: "On the 27th of January 1810, in our presence, I, the Mayor of Lyons, appeared the gentlemen, Antoine Stablet,[495]Brother Pierre Celestine and Alexis Ville,[496] two Brothers of the Christian Schools residing at Petit College, who stated that M. Jean-Baptist Herbet, 62 years of age, a native of Amiens, in the Department of the Somme, a Brother of the Christian Schools,[497] residing in Lyons, Petit College, died this morning at four o'clock.

The funeral, probably very simple, was held in the Cathedral. And the body was laid to rest on the hillside, under the protection of Our Lady of Fourvière. "On the 29th of January 1810 the body of Jean-Baptist Herbert (sic), known as Frumence, Vicar-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, deceased the day-before-yesterday, was buried in Loyasse cemetery.

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[493] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 447 (and below, pp. 218-220).

[494] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 5.

[495] Brother Luke.

[496] Actually, Brother Frumence' birthplace was near Amiens. See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 504.

[497] There is no mention of Brother Frumence's position in the Institute.

This certification bears the signatures of the "pastor of the primatial church", Father Glandin, who blessed the tomb, and of Nicholas Bez and Benedict Legrand, "both clerics in that church", who were present at the ceremony.[498]

The leading members of the Petit College Community announced their bereavement to the entire Institute. On the very day of the death, a circular letter was signed by Brother Bartholomew, Director of the Community in Lyons, by Brother Pierre Celestine, the Procurator, and by Brother Emery, master of novices. It read: "The dear deceased was afflicted with asthma, which greatly exercised his patience, having suffered from it a great deal since his return from Italy".[499] With the greatest attentiveness, we obtained for him whatever relief or remedy was possible; but in the end, the man, worn out after five or six years of this, succumbed. He suffocated in an instant, before anybody could bring help, and when the Brother who was caring for him had spoken to him and gave him what he himself had asked for...

A brief and trustworthy homage to the virtues of the Vicar-general accompanied the account of his last moments. Indeed, the good shepherd had given his life for his sheep: his departure from Rome, to which his faith, his prudence, his friendships and his habits might well have attached him, marked the beginning of much suffering and repeated difficulties. Bodily infirmities combined with spiritual preoccupations and afflictions of heart; he sacrificed his entire being "for the good of the Institute and for its restoration".

Exceedingly modest, he at first hesitated to take upon himself such a heavy load, to become, in an extraordinary period, the successor to St. John Baptist de La Salle and to raise up the countless and the ghastly ruins. Day after day, he cleared the ground, mopped up and propped up and rebuilt. He did so without undue haste, patiently, without stumbling and as much without presumption as without moral flabbiness. Mistrustful of himself, he abandoned himself to Divine Providence. Enlightened and supported by grace, he did not, indeed, manifest any transcending genius, but rather the intelligence and the competence demanded by the situation. His principal resource was to undertake nothing and to allow nothing that was not precisely within the traditions of the Christian Brothers. He had a profound knowledge of the Rule, and he followed it with a most upright conscience. He was a man who, while belonging to the past, never looked backwards, but continued to map out the route to be followed on the journey taken by the Founder.

He won over the sympathy of people in high places, attracted the Brothers, and furthered the influence of his Institute, especially by the exquisite quality of his soul. The authors of the circular-letter of the 27th of January 1810 characterize him well: "His gentleness, his zeal for the education and training of young Brothers, his piety and his charity for all constitute sufficient praise and are grounds for our sorrow.

They concluded by asking for him the prayers that the Institute reserves for its Superior-general.[500] Having served without an election or title, Brother Frumence's commission at the

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[498] Taken from the Register of Deaths between June 2 and November 23, 1810 (St. John's Cathedral). We are indebted for a copy of the death and burial notices to the kindness of Mr. Guillaumin, Director of the residence school of the Christian Brothers, called the "Lazarists Residence School", in Lyons. Our kind informant has also pointed out to us that the cemetery mentioned in the necrological register is not the actual Loyasse Cemetery, but the one occupied by the site of the Convent of the Sisters of Compassion, above Antiquaille, the same place where excavations were once begun to uncover the remains of a Roman theater. This old burial ground was deconsecrated in 1812. There is nothing to support the assertion that Brother Frumence's body had been exhumed at that time in order to be tranferred to a new plot.

[499] The climate in Lyons and the unhealthiness of Petit College had doubtless contributed to Brother Frumence's condition.

[500] Motherhouse Archives, C 5, Collection of letters. Cf. Centenaire, pg. 104. On February 4, 1810 Brother Joseph, Director of Chartres, wrote to Brother Liberius, Director in Orle'ans: Dear Brother Gerbaud asked me to

hands of the Popes and the work he accomplished preserve, both for history and (if we might dare presume upon God's judgment) for eternity, his place among the leaders of his Religious family.

send on to you the circular letter which announced the edifying death of our M.H. Brother Vicar-general. However, I presume that you received it immediately from Lyons. (Motherhouse Archives, C. 5)

CHAPTER FOUR

The Election of the Superior General and the Approval of the Rules

As in the darkest days of the Revolution, the Institute after Brother Frumence's death was without a regular government. Brothers Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine were nothing more than a provisional directory. As administrators in the Motherhouse, invested over several years with the Brother Vicar's confidence, and as daily collaborators in his initiatives, they deserved the respect and a most attentive audience from the members and the friends of the Congregation. Brother Barthélemy was in the prime of life and at the height of his powers. Brother Pierre Celestine, his senior by seventeen years, displayed a great deal of experience in his duties as Procurator. Brother Emery's position as Director of novices assured him of the most complete and legitimate influence over the young Brothers. He also enjoyed a universal reputation as (in the language of his necrological notice) "one of the most saintly Religious that (the Society) had produced since its venerable Founder". The splendor of his earlier years was recalled: After having taught in the upper classes, he taught mathematics in the residence schools in Rheims and St. Yon; he was a teacher...of student-Brothers in Melun and then Director of novices in Avignon.[501]. In his diaries, Brother Vivien pays him the tribute that his knowledge was a match for his prudence and his eminent wisdom.[502] His obedience was such that, when the school in Orvieto was opened, he was neither surprised nor inconvenienced at being asked to do the cooking.[503] His contemporaries also admired his "spirit of prayer" and his "sensitive charity."[504] The Motherhouse preserves some twenty notes of spiritual direction written by this man who was so powerful in word and work. In them he praises humility, silence, vigilance over the senses, fidelity to prayer and emphasizes devotion to Mary, the perfect catechism class and the assiduous reading of *The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher.*[505]

In such hands, Brother Frumence's heritage was in no danger of being squandered. Nevertheless, Brother Emery and his associates were only the executors of the late Vicar-general. There were extraordinary circumstances which imposed upon them a *de facto* mission which, normally, could not be indefinitely postponed. Without prior empowerment by Brothers elected for the purpose, there was no "Régime" which, when the post of Superior- general lacked an occupant, and during the vacancy of that office, acted with all the rights of a sovereign authority.

The trio of Brothers in Lyon was quite impressed with the precariousness of their situation. While they administered with either the expressed or tacit consent of the principal rebuilders of the Institute, and while they did not have to fear an immediate or open resistance in the

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[501] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 155-57. In order to recall at an important moment the sort of person Brother Emery was, we think that it is worthwhile to repeat here what we wrote on page 335 of Vol. III of the present work

[502] Cited in *Centenaire,* pp. 95-6.

[503] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 339.

[504] *Relations mortuaires*, ibid.

[505] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Emery file, BE p 1.

schools in France and Italy, they nevertheless saw the future compromised, should they delay in emerging from what was a provisional posture. Thus, immediately following the Vicar's death, the three Brothers wrote to Cardinal Fesch:

"Your Most Eminent Highness, since the Brothers of the Christian Schools have had, over the past five years of Brother Frumence's government, the advantage of your protection...(and) seeking it in a very special way at this moment, when death has just taken their dear leader from them...they hope that Your Eminence will facilitate the means to proceed, according to their customs, to the election of a new superior, without which their Society cannot long endure.[506]

Was an election possible? Would it be held soon? Would the Imperial government throw roadblocks in its way by making it less important than the approval of the Rules? On this latter score there had been no progress in six months. On the 22nd of September 1809 Fontanes sought counsel from the Minister of Religion. On the 4th of October Bigot Preameneu replied that, in order to "make up his mind", he would have to see all the articles of the regulation in detail.[507] The bureaucrats were in the midst of a struggle with the Pope. Ministers and academicians frowned at the mere mention of Rome's inalienable rights. The Brothers had recalled that it belonged to the Pope to dispense from vows - a sour note that had to be expunged by some staunchly Gallican gesture. And, since somewhat later on in the document there is talk of the bishops' authority, might not the "University" Counsel allow an addition that had been proposed by one of its sub-commissions? Article 10, which referred to the vows, would end with the words: "And on condition that the obedience referred to in Article 16 [508] will be subject to the principles found in the 1682 declaration of the French clergy.[509] The Headmaster and his colleagues were reluctant to require the Brothers to make such a formal retraction. But the problem remained up in the air; and nobody seemed in a hurry to resolve it.

In expressing his condolences to the people at Petit College, Cardinal Fesch avoided any precise commitment. He wrote from Paris on the 13th of February 1810:[510] "My Brothers, you could not have undergone a greater loss than the one you have just suffered...I cannot be a stranger to this event; my feelings for your Institute are those of a father, and, as the Archbishop of Lyons, the debt of gratitude contracted by this diocese with respect to that tireless worker (Brother Frumence) has become my own. He is now harvesting the reward of his labors and his virtues. God is paying him with interest for what he has done for Him; and his death must be, for those who knew him and especially for those who exercised the same charitable ministry as he did, a powerful motive to be renewed in the spirit of their vocation and to store up abundant merit for the day when virtue alone will count".

It was an unctuous panegyric. Joseph Fesch, doubtlessly sincere, lamented the Brother whom he loved, and who, both in Rome and in his archiepiscopal city, represented for him the type of the Christian Brother. However, he was silent concerning the important question that had been sharply put to him on the 28th of January by the superiors in the Motherhouse. A vague exhortation concluded the funeral homily: "Be convinced, my Brothers, of the

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[506] Archives of the Archdiocese of Lyons, Brothers' letter to Cardinal Fesch, dated January 28, 1810; quoted in *Centenaire*, pp. 104-5.

[507] National Archives, F17 98108; quoted by Chevalier, pg. 271.

[508] See above, pg ???

[509] National Archives, F17 78108; quoted by Chevalier, pp. 245-6.

[510] Archives of the Archdiocese of Lyons; quoted in *Centenaire*, pg. 105.

special interest with which you shall always inspire me."

Brothers Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine had to be satisfied with hope mixed with misgivings. "Weeping" (with Brother Gerbaud) the passing "of the most honored Brother Frumence", they declared: "Let us unite our resolves in order to beseech Him who probes hearts to make known to us who among us He has chosen to finish the work already begun".

Just as they were relying upon the intrepid Brother Gerbaud, so, too, they leaned heavily upon Brother Guillaume de Jésus who, at the moment, was the head of the Community in Rome. The task was to deploy as much resolution as possible "in order that no innovations be introduced" into the Congregation. The direction to be followed was indicated: if the political climate became favorable, Petit College would quickly assemble the Brothers Director "as article 3 of the Bull has it, to proceed to the selection of a Superior-general". From then on, Brother Gerbaud sought "to have sent on (to Lyons) the names of the Brothers Director of restored or reunited Communities in the eastern and western provinces,[511] along with the number of Brothers (professed or others) in those Communities". Thus, everything was in readiness for the Chapter.[512]

But then a new obstacle arose. Excessively close lipped in his response to the Institute, Cardinal Fesch had, on the other hand, made his Vicars-general responsible for an awkward mission. Without questioning his good faith, we can only suppose that he was claiming to defend the unity of the Society by imposing a superior on it - at least provisionally, and for as long as the Rector-general of the "University" had not accepted the Rules. The superior personally designated by His Most Eminent Highness was a member of the clergy![513] Brother Frumence's death was enough to have revealed an appetite for domination in the soul of the "Uncle Cardinal" -- the old plan to keep the Motherhouse (and therefore the Brothers throughout the Empire) under his thumb. At a difficult moment, the solution that immediately and irresistibly occurred to the Cardinal's mind was a desire to pursue a project he had begun in 1804. Furthermore, he was preoccupied to learn the degree of fidelity to be expected from the Institute with respect to both the Napoleonic dynasty and the French episcopacy.

The Community in Lyons was alarmed. Earlier its letter of the 16th of February to Brother Gerbaud showed that it was on its guard against this sort of offensive. It declared that it was always prepared to conform to the late Brother Frumence's principles and congratulated the Parisian Director for having shown similar determination; it would not deviate from this line of conduct.

On February 19, it published its reply to the Archbishop: "Since your Vicars-general have notified us of your intentions regarding our Constitutions and of the changes they wish to introduce into them, we take the liberty of pointing out to Your Most Eminent Highness that it is absolutely impossible for us to make any innovations. Furthermore, since being informed of the attitude of our confreres in this matter, we have reason to fear that, if this plan materializes, our Congregation would be on the verge of dissolution".

Once this *non possumus* was uttered, these exemplary Religious sought to give every satisfactory assurance to human authority. It was important that no one be suspicious of their political loyalty or of their obedience to the Church's hierarchy: "As to our dedication to the government and its illustrious leader, we are completely devoted to them and continually

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[511] The Brothers are here using the old terminology, officially in use since 1771.

[512] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 5, letter dated February 16, 1810.

[513] We are informed of this plan with complete certainty in a letter from the Brothers in Lyon sent to Brother Gerbaud on March 23, 1810. (See infra, pg. 204.)

inspire the same sentiments in that portion of youth that is entrusted to us.

"With respect to the submission that we owe Our Lords, the Bishops, it is an article of our Constitutions that we cannot be established in their dioceses except with the consent and in dependence upon them; and in particular, for Your Most Eminent Highness, our protector and benefactor, we cannot too often pray God".[514]

What more could be wished? The Brothers were stating an absolutely clear determination and, at the same time a humble respect. They sounded like De La Salle talking to Father Baudrand, or to Father La Chétardye or Cardinal Noailles. Strangers to worldly intrigues, persevering in their apostolic plans, and faithful (to the point of heroism) to their Rule as well as to the strictest orthodoxy, the Brothers, who represented at that moment a century of tradition, looked like the worthy sons of the saintly "Roman priest."

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Troubled and disappointed with their Archbishop, the Brothers turned to the Rector-general of the "University". One would have been surprised if they had postponed this step, if their initial reflex would not have thrown them into the arms of a priest, and if, in the face of the civil arm, they would not have been frustrated by a quite understandable timidity, by a persistent undercurrent of mistrust and by the counsel (of dubious impartiality) of their acquaintances in Lyons.

However, they were aware of Fontanes' attitude. He had rarely lost an opportunity to express his admiration for the Brothers of the Christian Schools. On January 31, 1810 he once again told Brother Jonas that his "encouragement" would not fail them and that he "would use every means in his power" to be useful to them.[515]

At first, the Brothers in Lyon were satisfied to leave to Brother Gerbaud the task of informing the Parisian authorities of Brother Frumence's death. On March 24 they finally decided to wait no longer. On that day, they sent a letter to the Director of Gros-Caillou intended for the Rector-general, and which we shall look at in a moment. With it they enclosed the following instructions, worked out on the 23rd.[516].

"You will see the content (of our request) and we ask you to present it yourself to His Excellency, M. Fontanes. We would have (acted) earlier, except that we were advised to delay. Now that things are being dragged out by His Eminence, who proposed to give us a priest as superior (to which we are opposed and we have asked for a Superior who would be elected according to our Constitutions), and fearing, therefore, that an overly long period of uncertainty in these matters may cause disorders and make room for false brethren (as you suggest exist where you are) to rouse up and disturb and perhaps to place us in great perplexity, you would please us by taking the pains and the trouble that you may think will contribute to speeding up the decision by which we might be authorized to proceed to the election of the Superior in conformity with our Constitutions.

If you cannot meet the people in question (i.e., the Headmaster and, doubtless, several members of the "University" Counsel) try to learn, through those who are close to them, what we wish (to know) and obtain. The situation appears extraordinary to us;[517] here, we are too

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[514] Motherhouse Archives, Drafts, notebook no. 5.

[515] National Archives, F17 12453.

[516] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2, Brother Gerbaud's file, Drafts, notebook no 1. Here we have to do with a new register, which follows upon Brother Frumence's drafts and contains, along with his successor's correspondence, a certain number of letters written by the provisional government of the Congregation

[517] Meaning that it eluded the ways and means of the Community in Lyon and that it required Brother Gerbaud's special initiative. The context supports this reading.

far removed; you can do more than we can, and we are convinced that you will leave no stone unturned in order to get us out of this, as well as many of our Brothers who long and sigh for the moment when they shall see the Institute take root and be out of danger".

The mission that had fallen to Brother Gerbaud would, indeed, prove to be necessary and urgent: it was in complete agreement with his own convictions. Besides, everything suggested that, extremely anxious over the sluggishness of events, fearing interventions of dubious inspiration and preoccupied with the threat of schism, Brother Gerbaud had urged his confreres in Lyons not to be satisfied with passive resistance. Nevertheless, the Congregation's provisional government called upon him to practice extreme "caution" respecting Cardinal Fesch, who was currently in Paris. His Most Eminent Highness' sentiments after the letter of February 19 remained unknown. The Cardinal was not to be informed of the step that was about to be ventured with the Rector-general; if it succeeded, His Eminence would most likely accept it as an accomplished fact.

The letter to Fontanes read as follows: "The marks of kindness with which you honored the Superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools inspires the confidence, as we announce to you our sadness at his passing, of asking you to continue that same kindness with respect to our Society, along with your consent in order that we may proceed, with all possible speed, according to our traditions, to the election of one of our number in order to succeed the late Brother Frumence. It is to be feared that a long interregnum may occasion disunity or some other disorder, and, in a word, may markedly retard the progress of the Society".[518]

The petition was judicious, competent and precise. Rather than waiting indefinitely for the approval of all the statutes, the Brothers were asking for a particular decision, made urgent by the unexpected death of their superior, who had, for the past five years, benefited from the official recognition of his authority. As to the origin and religious character of that authority, Brother Frumence's did not differ from his predecessors'. Why should anyone object if he were succeeded by another Brother? Such an article of the Rule contained nothing contrary to public law; rather, on the contrary, it was fully in agreement with the Decree of the 17th of March 1808. As a consequence, there could be no difficulty with its immediate approval. The remainder of the rules might undergo further scrutiny. However, if the Institute were to receive a new lease on life as the result of this preliminary step, why forbid it such a justifiable satisfaction?

Brothers Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine (it is important to know) continued to worry about Cardinal Fesch's attitude. He had shown such kindness to the Congregation, and he had embodied such lofty power that, in attempting to exclude him from the negotiations, there was the danger of serious perils besides incurring the charge of ingratitude. And this was unquestionably Father Emery's opinion. Consulted by the people in Lyons, the venerable Sulpician supplied some crucial information. On the 1st of April 1810 the Directors of Petit College wrote to Brother Gerbaud: "We have just learned from him (Father Emery) that we must apply to M. Rosand, His Eminence's attorney, in order to obtain a favorable reply to our petition regarding the election of the Superior-general. The Brothers, then, had decided to use a "go-between" who would place before Fesch the memorandum that the same mail had delivered to the Gros-Caillou Community.

This document is dated the eve of the 31st of March.[519] "The distinguished and kind protection with which His Most Eminent Highness has constantly honored our Congregation,

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[518] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2, Drafts, notebook no. 1. Cf. *Centenaire,* pg. 106. Chevalier (pg. 240) says that this letter was addressed to the Minister of the Interior. It can only be a copy that Fontanes had forwarded to Montalivet (Cretet's successor).

[519] Ibid.

the blessings with which he has gratified us has emboldened us, Sir, to ask you to... be the conveyor of our respectful gratitude and of our dedication to his august person.

While calling upon your concern in favor of our institutions, allow us to set before you the urgent necessity of being able...to designate a Superior- general who, according to the Rule established by our blessed (sic) Founder, M. de la Salle, must supervise the order and organization of our institutions, and, especially, the obedience without which we make futile efforts at maintaining our Institute at the degree of usefulness that the public has a right to expect of our goodwill.

The very great age of most of our Senior Brothers leads us to want to benefit from their experience and zeal in order to choose one from among them during the brief time that Providence accords them on this earth. It is the surest way of maintaining our Rule, without which we can no longer subsist: and we are waiting with a respectful eagerness to be authorized to make this selection".

The double reference to the Rule and the (prominent) mention of De La Salle were quite significant. They served as a barrier to the archiepiscopal train of thought. Would the scheme, which was taking shape, to entrust the generalate of the Institute to an older Brother, tend merely to bring about an early Chapter? Or, rather, did it represent a quite settled plan? Perhaps the Cardinal would more easily agree on some "Senior" Brother with whom he had maintained relations, either in Rome or in France. The sentence in the letter of February 16th 1810, in which there is an allusion is to Brother Guillaume de Jésus, and the further statements of Brother Gerbaud,[520] might lead us to imagine that the Christian Brothers were leaning toward the Director of San Salvatore in Lauro, who, at the time, was sixty-two years of age. He was among the most remarkable personalities in the Congregation. Brother Gerbaud, in his modesty, his desire to ease the ways for an electoral assembly and consolidate the union of the Institute, was quite happy to step aside in favor of Brother Frumence's successor in Rome. Providence saw fit to arrange matters differently: saving Brother Guillaume de Jésus for quieter times, it entrusted the difficult tasks first to the man who, with so much intelligence and courage, had initially insisted on the return of the Brother Vicar-general to France,[521] who reorganized the schools and Communities in the Central, Eastern and Western regions, and who, in all his undertakings, displayed marvelous qualities of leadership, and who, at that very moment was bearing the brunt of the negotiations.

To conciliate the Emperor's uncle and to spare him a grievous mistake, the Brothers proposed, as a last resort, a very ingenious solution. At the order of her son, the Emperor, Laetitita Bonaparte had been named "Protectress" of women's Congregations. Perhaps a similar title awarded to Joseph Fesch by the Brothers of the Christian Schools would satisfy His Eminence, while it might remove the threat of complete subjugation to him. The intermediary, M. Rosand, was to test the terrain without falling into an ambush: the Brothers were daring to bargain with "the powerful recommendations" of the intrusive counselor.

The memorandum suggested: "There remains a wish we have, which, if granted, would be the most signal favor for us and would efficaciously contribute both to edify and to encourage: that His Eminence the Cardinal-Archbishop, following the example of Her Highness the Imperial Mother, would deign to accept to be named the protector of our Congregation. We already regard him as our second founder; it would be quite flattering for us to be always under his auspices".

We should not be shocked by the meekness of the petition, nor, indeed, by the daring comparison between Fesch and St. John Baptist de La Salle. The circumstances required this

[520] ibid

[521] ibid

language, which appeared normal in the France of 1810. Besides, the Cardinal's role in the restoration of the Institute cannot be minimized. The Brothers had very good reasons for creating a special place for His Highness and for offering him a position of honor. It was the price that had to be paid for avoiding the cruelest sort of embarrassment; and, basically, their scheme would achieve the success anticipated for it.

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Without opposition from the Archbishop of Lyon, the Office of the Imperial "University" studied the letter of the 24th of March, which Brother Gerbaud had presented to Fontanes along with his commentary. A month went by, during which the affair seemed dead; on the contrary, however, it was maturing. Bureaucratic dilatoriness is frequently like courtship: difficulties disappear of themselves and discussions are brought to an end for no better reason than that there is a sudden onset of weariness -- a spectacularly simple solution materializes. We might also add that, for the good of Christian education, God, besought by the Brothers, in this instances revealed His hand.

The Brothers petition was submitted to Philibert Gueneau Mussy, "the head of the first division", on the 3rd of May 1810; the counselor had been asked "to be good enough to give his advice", which would determined the direction the reply would take.[522] Henceforth, the friends of the Institute could feel secure; they knew both the sympathy and the good judgment of the young bureaucrat, who had no hesitation in coming to a decision. Before the end of the week, his judgment had reached Fontane's desk; it was as follows:

"The Decree of the 17th of March 1808 places the Brothers of the Christian Schools under the special protection of the Headmaster; from that it can be concluded that the government recognizes the Brothers as forming a corporation, and that the Rector-general, while he may modify certain articles of their rules, must respect the rules' general arrangements. It seems to me, therefore, that His Excellency, as he expresses his regrets at the loss of Brother Frumence, must authorize the Society to replace him, following customary procedures.[523]

Condolences for the deceased and authorization to provide a successor for him were equally emphasized in the letter presented for Fontane's signature. The writer was satisfied to adopt Massy's language, while adding some appropriate amplifications: "With keen regret I have learned, Brother Director, of the death of Brother Frumence. It can only add to the interest I have in your Congregation. I authorize it, as you have asked, to proceed to the replacement of its Superior, in conformity with the formalities prescribed in the Statutes of the Christian Brothers. Please inform me of the results of your election".[524]

The terseness of the style is not to be interpreted here as coldness. Rather, there is a real kindness expressed that quite reflected the thought of the Rector-general. It clearly set aside the unfortunate solution that was earlier advocated by Fesch. It was up to the Brothers, and not to the Cardinal-Archbishop to select a new superior; and the election would be conducted in the same way as that of the previous Superiors-general. The reference to the "statutes" supplied all the satisfactory assurances required. There was no longer any doubt of a rather rapid approval.

The final sentence suggested that the government might be reserving the right to review the Chapter's decision.[525] However, there was no reason to entertain too lively fears on this

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[522] Chevalier, pp. 240-1.

[523] Ibid.

[524] National Archives, F17 78108. Quoted by Chevalier, pg. 242. Cf. Centenaire, pg. 106.

[525] Which had happened to the Vincentians.

score, since the Brothers knew that they were *personae gratissimae*. The ratification of their choice would raise no difficulties unless they elected a Brother who did not reside in France. That is why, henceforth, it seemed wise not to think of choosing Brother Guillaume de Jésus. A member known and esteemed by the "University" authorities must, preferentially, win the majority of votes.

Fontanes' letter, dated the 10th of May, was joyously receive at Petit College. On the 10th the Brothers Director announced its arrival to Brother Gerbaud. They wrote: "After God, it is to your efforts and your repeated initiatives that we owe the success of our petition. Together let us bless the Lord. Prayers of thanksgiving rose joyously to heaven. In any case, the excellent negotiator deserved grateful praise".

There followed a description of the work that had to be done quickly to bring the matter to a successful issue. Everywhere, the Motherhouse was asking for "the name, age, time of entry into the Institute, and years of profession of all active, professed Brothers", in order to prepare "a voters' list".[526]

A circular was sent immediately to each Community. The document received by the Brothers in Italy (who were always remembered by their transalpine confreres and always encouraged to form a single body and soul with them) was as follows: "Providence, Who watches over the preservation of our Society, has just given us a new proof of it by inspiring the Rector-general to allow us...to proceed to the election of our Superior-general, according to our Rule...We hasten to inform you of this good news, while asking you to send us immediately all the information[527]relative to the "professed Brothers who have 'school vows'[528] in Rome, Ferrara and Orvieto".[529] Lyon was counting, therefore, on the participation in the Chapter by at least one of the members of the Italian Communities. People on French soil had a rather feeble idea of the quite justifiable surprise and dissatisfaction that the Emperor's politics had created in the Papal States. In order to abstain from participation in the Chapter, the Roman Brothers (not without the appearance of reason) would allege the length and the expense of the journey.

From this side of the Alps replies poured in. There was the response of Brother Gerbaud's principal associate, Brother Tiburcius (Jean-Claude Collin), a most faithful Religious, who was the first in the Congregation to return to the Brothers' garb, and so dressed, he appeared in Paris during the Consular period.[530] Twenty-four hours after reading the circular of the 18th of May,[531] he wrote to Brother Barthélemy from his residence in St. Germain-en-Laye: "As you asked", know "that I was born on the 2nd of July 1749, that I was admitted into the Congregation on the 28th of May 1772, and that I made my profession in Rheims in September 1779."[532] Then the old teacher let his "enthusiasm" get the better of him: "Come on, my very dear Brother, and let's take advantage...of the beneficent view of His Majesty on High and of the one who governs us here below!" He ventured a bit of advice which (granted his friendly relations with the Director of Gros-Caillou) disclosed the name of his candidate

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[526] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1.

[527] Which had just been set forth in the letter to Brother Gerbaud

[528] Excluding, therefore, "serving-Brothers".

[529] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, letter of May 18, 1810.

[530] Relation mortuaires, Vol.I, pg. 57. Concerning Brother Tiburcius, see Vol. III of the present work, pp. 473 and 475.

[531] He received it on the 23rd and replied on the 24th. Motherhouse Archives, KG x 1, St. Germain-en-Laye file.

[532] The Entrance Registers confirm this information. Jean-Claude Collin was born in Vrecourt in the diocese of Toul. On Lucard's authority we have inadvertently made him nine years older (Cf. Vol. III of the present work, pp. 475.); the same author induced us to date Brother Tiburcius' entrance into the Institute as 1771.

for the highest post in the Institute: We should choose "a superior who is of all, and in a position to care for all"; as a consequence, he would have to be a man in the prime of life and widely known. Without that, "the system" won't work.

With the help of the information supplied by the Communities, the list of Brothers-elector was established at the beginning of June. This is an important document, which allows us finally to know the name and the number of professed Brothers in the Institute immediately after Brother Frumence's death.[533] At the top of list were the names of the "Directors of the principal houses,"[534] Brothers Barthélemy (Lyons), Gerbaud (Paris), Liberus (Orleans), Gontran (Grenoble), Seraphin (Bordeaux), Lysimachus (St. Omer), Marc (Rheims), Rieul (Orvieto), Leufroy (Laon), Esprit-de-Jesus (Ferrara), Jean Marcelinus (Saint-Etienne), Jonas (Langres), Joseph de Marie (Toulouse), Cherubin (Castres) and Guillaume de Jésus (Rome).[535]

Note, in passing, that in spite of dissidence in Rheims, the commission that was planning the Chapter, in the hope of a complete reconciliation, refused to exclude Brother Marc. Of these fifteen Brothers, Brother Joseph-Mariey, at thirty-two years of age, whose perpetual profession dated only from 1807, was the only one who belonged to the new generation; all the others belonged to the Institute before the "diaspora" of the Revolution. Except for Brother Esprit, the former secretary to Brother Vicar-general, they made their final vows before 1789;[536] their ages were spread out between forty-two and over eighty. The eldest was the octogenarian, Brother Gontran. They seemed, indeed, to be the depositaries of the tradition: Brother Joseph-Marie a disciple of, and successor to, Brother Bernardine, from all points of view deserved to take his place with the veterans, under whose leadership some 146 Christian Brothers fell into line. It was with these talented individuals that, essentially, the strength and the hopes of the Congregation rested.

After them came fifty professed Brothers who "possessed an active and a passive voice" -- which meant that they enjoyed both the right of electing and the necessary qualifications to stand for election. These were the "Senior Brothers", most of whom have been mentioned in the course of our history, either because of their important work, or as participants in a significant episode. They were Brothers:

Evaristus, Pigmenion, Esdras, Cesarius, Decorosus, Gregory, Justinian, Julien Pierre, Paphnutius, Julien of Mary, Hyacinthe, Gerontian, Jean-Louis, Donat, Prince,Arnold, Irenée, Gombeau, Paul, Bertauld, Charles-Borromeo, Martin, Tiburcius, François de Sales, Aignan, Luc, Micheus, Medard, Contest, Pierre Martyr, Jean-Damascene, Pierre, Celestine, Vivien, Dorotheus, Emery, Narcissus, Justinian de Marie, Adelard, Maximilian, Rosier, Hervé, Raymond, Edward de Marie, Paulian, Dizier, Antoine de Maie, Benjamin, Pius, Paul de Jésus, Elzeard. Seven of these had reached or surpassed their eighty-first birthday; and five of these had been perpetually professed for more than half-a-century. Eight were in their seventies. The youngest was nearing fifty years of age. A few, such as Brother Bertauld, had pursued different paths before reentering the Institute. Others (like Brothers Evaristus, Julien and Vivien) - certainly spiritually united with the Motherhouse - interpreted their religious

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[533] A copy of this list exists in the Motherhouse Archives, in Brother Felicissimus' file. (KH n 1)

[534] Which included at least six Brothers. Lyons made up a Community of thirty-six members, Paris (Gros-Caillou) eleven, Orleans thirteen, Bordeaux, St. Omer, Orvieto and Langres ten; Toulouse, Ferrara and Rheims nine; Grenoble eight; Laon and St. Etienne seven; Castres and Rome (San Salvatore) six.

[535] In the Indeces to Vols. III and IV of the present work there are references that will enable the reader to locate details concerning the identity of these fifteen Brothers and to gather biographical material.

[536] Brother Esprit of Jesus made his perpetual profession in 1795 in Rome.

obligations in a rather special way; but nobody could forget their virtuous and honorable past and the services they continued to render to Christian education. A Brother Paul at St. Denis in Paris, a Brother Luc in St. Malo, a Brother Maximilian in the Ardennes, a Brother Paul de Jésus in the Upper Loire, and a Brother Donat in the prison ships at Rochefort had once witnessed to their faith. Brother Pigmenion retained the distinguished role he filled in the restoration of the Institute. The small group of former associates of Brother Frumence in Italy (Brothers Contest, Emery, Benjamin, Esdras, Gregory,[537] Pierre (Paphnutius), Charles-Borromeo, Pius and Raymond represented him there) preserved, under the aegis of the Holy See, the spiritual legacy of De La Salle. It was a venerable battalion that had gradually swelled with the return of veterans who had known the sorrows and sufferings of the "diaspora".

Finally, there were an additional fifteen Brothers recently professed, who, like the veterans, were electors, but were not eligible to hold office. Among them were Brothers Servulus, a longtime member of the Congregation, persecuted during the "Terror" and then a worker in the restoration in Lyons, but who had made his final profession only within the past three years; Brother Marcel, the dedicated associate of Brother Bernardine in Carcassonne, Castres and Toulouse; Brother Joseph (Philibert Briere) who had been trained by the venerable teachers in the schools of Chartres; Brother Augustine (Pierre Cambert), the first recruit when the novitiate was opened in Lyons; Brother Felicimus who, like Brother Servulus, was associated with the Institute from before the Revolution, who had emigrated to Brussels in 1794 and had been Director of the Roman Community at Trinita-dei-Monti: and, although he was nearly in his forties in 1810, he had been professed for only six years. The others were Brothers Morand, Damasus, Joachim, Mathurin, Jerome, Ignace, Stanislaus, Philomen, Alpheus and Pierre. Many of these men had been recruited by Brother Pigmenion. The others, who had once been Brothers with temporary vows, made perpetual profession after their return to the Institute.

These three groups of eighty faithful Brothers made up the nucleus around which clustered young Brothers, serving-Brothers, assistant teachers who had not yet pronounced or renewed their vows, and (at Lyons, Langres, Toulouse and Bordeaux) novices directed by Brothers Emery, Jonas, Tharaise and Paulinus.[538] The Institute, at the time, may have included as many as three hundred men, although the exact number officially associated seems impossible to determine.[539]

A courageous and solid elite was sufficient to carry on the struggle, influence the masses and prepare the way for ultimate victory. Nobody was surprised by the optimism shown by the superiors in their circular letter of the 8th of June 1810. The following enthusiastic letter accompanied the voting list that was sent to the Communities:

"Our very dear Brothers: The happy moment, so much desired, has come; it is the moment for which our hearts have longed. Heaven, having so thoroughly heard our prayers, has changed our tears of sorrow into an ecstasy of wonder and joy. The spokesman for our august Emperor, His Excellency, the Senator and Rector-general of the Imperial University, in his

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[537] Not to be confused with the Brother Adelmmé, called Brother Gregory, who will put in an appearance later on. Cf. Below, pp. 218-220.

[538] The latter two (although responsible for important functions) are not mentioned on the list of those who were professed in June 1810. Brother Tharaise (Jean-Paul Gasc), born in Montauban on June 30, 1760, entered the Institute on October 7, 1777.

[539] Some schools were only on the way to reorganization; some Brothers continued to waver in their vocation; while the adherence of others was open to question. As we have already said, what was needed was total "restoration."

genuinely paternal solicitude, has just authorized us to elect a Superior-general, according to our Rule.

Our very dear Brothers, let us offer up everlasting thanksgiving to the Father of mercies and to the God of all consolations for such a noteworthy blessing, which crowns our desires, by offering us the means, increasingly, for strengthening our renaissant Society through the choice that we shall make of one of us to direct us in the practice of our duty".

Gratitude to God, then, was matched with tributes, quite generously bestowed, upon Napoleon and Fontanes.[540] At this triumphant moment for the Empire, at this most joyous instant for the Christian Brothers, light shown through the shadows, and the most well-founded fears seemed to have dissipated. It was an obviously transitory feeling of euphoria, a sudden soothing that human nature required in order to regain strength so as to be in a position to shoulder its usual burden of trials.

Entering into the indispensable details, Brothers Barthélemy, Emery and Pierre Celestine arranged to make up the ballots, with a "white model" which was sent to each one of the electors: and, as required by the Bull of 1725, it was necessary to select "thirty voters or delegates". Sealed letters containing the names of the candidates were to be sent to Lyons.

The election of the Superior-general and of the other members of the "Regime" would confirm the reestablishment of obedience. It was a serious, solemn and decisive step, and more so than ever was prayer necessary: "We beseech you to implore the Lord's help by having the Mass of the Holy Spirit celebrated, as prescribed by our Constitutions...The Brothers shall receive Holy Communion at that Mass, in order not to give (their) vote to any but men who act only (under the impulse from on High), so that we might have a General and Assistants who are according to God's will, who will lead us to Him, and that, henceforth, forming only one body, we, too, shall have only one heart and one soul".

It was important that the way of filling out the ballot did not lead to confusion: "As soon as the vote shall reach us i.e., on the 2nd of July, the Feast of the Visitation of the Most Blessed Virgin, the appointed day after the current date, we shall assemble the professed Brothers of this Community and several Directors from the neighborhood in Chapter, in order to proceed, with all possible precision, to the counting and checking of the votes...and (we) shall write to those who shall have been elected delegates...to come...to Lyons on a day that we shall indicate".

Individual and collective zeal would have plenty of room for action. "It will be necessary to make sacrifices", (sacrifices of time, money and comfort) "in order to revive Israel's inheritance", and no Brother, recalling his commitment, could refuse to assist. No one will betray (the Motherhouse hoped) "the cordial affection" of his "dedicated confreres."[541] If an eligible professed Brother, for reasons of health or age, felt unable to fulfill his mandate as a "capitulant", he should notify the election officers in Lyons, so that, by supplying a substitute, the Chapter might have its full complement.[542]

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According to the plan of Brother Barthélemy and his colleagues, the Assembly would hold its meetings during the course of the month of July. After so many petitions, it seemed unwise to give the government the impression of any sort of casualness or ill-timed tardiness.

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[540] The silence regarding Cardinal Fesch suggests rather clearly that the prelate's position had surprised and antagonized the Petit College Community.

[541] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1. Cf. *Centenaire*, pp. 107-8.

[542] Postscript to the circular of June 8, 1810.

However, the plan had not met with the approval of several influential Brothers. In particular, it collided with Brother Jonas who, on the 11th of July, spoke his mind in a letter which displayed his somewhat abrupt personality and rather crude candor, but which was not lacking in forceful argumentation.

Brother Jonas, who was Director in Langres, had just learned of the fast-approaching date set for the Chapter. He did not wish to avoid the convocation. “But”, he wrote, ...allow me to point out to you that you should, and perhaps you must, wait until vacation...Brothers who have classes to teach are dissatisfied with your haste; if you have reasons, you should have reported them to the Brothers. There are complaints, to the effect that you have no more authority in this matter than the other Brothers, and that you have not consulted anybody on the subject; people find your style arrogant... "

This sort of counsel illuminated the sensitive position of those who, with the common good in view, but of their own volition had assumed responsibility. The breeze of independence continued to blow in a number of Communities; and all the more strongly at that moment, in that Brothers Director did not seek to defend against it. Critics viewed their confreres at Petit College as equals who had adopted a superior tone. Self-love was in the ascendancy and faultfinding was rife.

“In these difficult times”, Brother Jonas advised his correspondents, “do not alienate people”. “Sadly”, he was aware of the hostile voices that were speaking out. With regard to the recalcitrant, any inflexibility of “behavior” could produce the most disastrous consequences. The “impossibility” of leaving school at the date set for the Chapter would serve as a pretext for staying away entirely.[543]

As the old schoolteacher hoped in concluding his letter, the Brothers in Lyon, without dwelling on its overly tart tone, thought that it was basically worthy of consideration. They were certain that it was “love for the renascent Society” that inspired their confrere in Langres.

And this is why, on the 15th of July, a new circular was sent to all the Brothers who had been elected to the General Chapter: “In response to the representations made by several...”, the professed Brothers at the Motherhouse, “numbering eleven, assembled”, agreed to postpone the opening of the Chapter until the 8th of September. The Directors were asked to grant vacation soon enough so that the capitulants might arrive at Petit College on the 6th of that month.[544]

The interregnum, as a consequence, was going to last more than half-a-year. Fortunately, Fontanes’ support removed any serious concerns. And the wisdom of the three Brothers in charge succeeded in maintaining the Congregation in peace.

Make no changes, undertake nothing, but work exactly in the spirit of Brother Frumence and rigorously watch over the observation of the Rule -- such were the watchwords. Brother Barthélemy’s and Brother Emery’s reticence on the question of admitting postulants and opening schools were extreme. In February 1810 they preferred to put off all forms of recruitment.[545]. Although, during the same period, they had sent three Brothers to Privas, the only reason for this move was that this new Community, in principle, owed its foundation to the late Brother Vicar-general.[546]

They left their colleagues in Toulouse the task of opening classes at the request of the City

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[543] Motherhouse Archives, Langres file.

[544] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1

[545] Ibid., notebook no. 5, letter of February 7, to the pastor of Yssingeaux

[546] Ibid., letter of February 16, to Brother Gerbaud.

Council in the St. Michel's and St. Sernin's quarters;[547] and to come to an agreement with the city for a permanent residence in a piece of property that Father Bernadet had ceded to his fellow-citizens, by a deed of bequest dated the 6th of February 1810, whereby they became "responsible for using it to house a sufficient number" of Brothers who teach poor children "the Catholic religion and the elements of reading and arithmetic."[548]

At Soissons, the eighty-two year old Director, Brother Faustus, "was coming to the end of a full and meritorious life". On the 1st of February 1810, Father Delaloge, Vicar-general for the diocese, announced the approaching end "to Brother Frumence", of whose death, at the time he wrote the letter, the priest was unaware; he wanted to realize some splendid project with a new Director of the Community. None of the Brothers in the existing arrangement seemed suited: Brother Aaron had only temporary vows; Brother François de Sales, "in spite of his talents and distinguished piety", was "an altogether too excitable and fiery individual". To "put the finishing touches on the work" of Brother Faustus, to transform the institution into a "seminary" for religious teachers, would require a Brother Jonas, who had been highly valued in Soissons prior to 1791. The Motherhouse did not comply with Father Delaloge's appeal; he managed as best he could with Brother François de Sales, who took over the direction of the school and would open a novitiate.[549]

The former Brothers residing in Dole continued to remain on the margin of the Congregation. The letter written to their "Dean", Brother Vuillaume, by Brother Vicar on the 25th of January 1810[550] had been preceded by slow and fruitless negotiations. In August 1808 Brother Gerontian had conducted an inquiry into this group; the unfavorable conclusions of that investigation lead Brother Frumence to refuse all "Obediences" to the teachers.[551] "They do not observe the Rule," the Superior wrote to the first deputy-mayor of the city; "each one lives and supports himself as he pleases", and they dressed like seculars.[552] Their submission seemed merely formal. In April of 1809, Gregory Ferjeux (the former Brother Adelme) received the following reprimand: "You fear poverty, that's obvious...But, in that case, where does Providence fit in, the Providence that you and I preach? Where is that "paternal hand" which, satisfied with your earlier generosity, (has helped you to have the necessaries and more)...I do not know that I have the power to dispense you (from your vows).[553]

In February the Institute's provisional government received Brother Vuillaume's reply to the final exhortation of the dying Superior, who had thought it would be necessary for the Dole group to undergo an extended period of testing: and now it would be "necessary to await the naming of a new Superior in order to prescribe the conditions" for a regular Community. Furthermore, "in this matter", Brother Vuillaume "was well aware of the late Superior's final wishes".[554]

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[547] Meeting of the City Council, January 31, 1810, Lémandus, pp. 196-7.

[548] Lémandus, pp. 202-3. By the decree of August 13, 1810, the City of Toulouse was authorized to accept the gift.

[549] Motherhouse Archives, KH e4, Soissons file.

[550] See above, pg. ???

[551] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence file, Resumes, notebook no. 1, letter dated August 6, 1808, to Brother Gerontian.

[552] Ibid., Drafts, notebook no. 2, letter of March 21, 1809.

[553] Ibid., Resumes, notebook no. 2, letter of April 13, 1809, and Drafts, notebook no. 2.

[554] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence file, Drafts, notebook no.5, letter of the Brothers in Lyons to

However, neither Brother Vuillaume nor his patron, the city government, considered themselves beaten. Faced with this persistence, the Brothers at Petit College, as the vigilant guardians of the Rule, resolved to speak with great firmness. On the 20th of March, they invited the Director of Dole to give evidence of his obedience by appearing in Lyons. Would he fear to behave as a "genuine son of De La Salle"? "More than ever before, the spiritual good" of the Congregation required a perfect abandonment to Providence. The fellow-citizens of the old teacher could only be "edified" at his dedication to his religious obligations.[555]

A few days later, Brothers Barthélemy and Emery gave the Director of Besancon "a piece of their mind": "Even if we had Brothers available, we should not expose them (to the mercy of a man who sets himself up as a leader) on his own authority...Where there is no submission there can be no union".[556]

Assuredly, the Motherhouse faced and accepted its responsibilities to their fullest extent. It did not cave in to the objections or the threats of the acting-mayor, M. Rigollier, who insisted on retaining Vuillaume and Gregory "whose skills, religious principles and exemplary virtues are beyond praise". The former, who had been "superior for thirteen years...should know his duty completely..." Had he not been professed in the very house in which Brother Vicar-general made his novitiate? It seemed superfluous to the magistrate "to seek to convert such a fine man, and read him lessons on morality". Since the turn of the century, Dole had rebuilt its tuition-free schools; and the Community residence had been "equipped with an attractive chapel" that was maintained by the efforts of Mme. Rigollier. The teachers declared that they were prepared to resume the wearing of the habit; and they "observed most of the Rule". Brother Vuillaume should not be required to go to Lyons: "His physician had forbidden it.".

If the city government did not obtain satisfaction, it would force the hand of the people in Lyon by appealing to Fontanes, "in whose influence" the acting-mayor "claimed to be confident".[557]

The effect of this lecture was to send a Brother Visitor who also questioned the teachers as to their intentions. The former Brother Adelme (called Brother Gregory) made promises to the Institute, which were enough for the Brothers in Lyon to "congratulate" him and to send him an "Obedience" as "Sub-director."[558] His companion, at least for the time being was not to resume his privileges as a professed Brother; and a definitive agreement was reserved to the judgment of a future Superior-general.[559]

Should one, quite incorrectly, accuse the executors of Brother Frumence's will of inflexibility and "arrogance", it would have to be pointed out that everywhere they adopted the same attitude as they had in Dole. As integral disciples of St.John Baptist de La Salle,

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Brother Vuillaume, February 9, 1810.

[555] Ibid., Brother Gerbaud file, notebook no. 1.

[556] Ibid., letter of March 27. In the same letter they refused Community prayers for the late Brother Noel who – as a member of the dissident house in Rheims – died "separated from the trunk."

[557] Motherhouse Archives, JE g11, Dole file, letter dated March 27, 1810.

[558] Ibid., Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1, letters of the Brothers in Lyons to M. Rigollier (April 14, 1810) and to Brother Gregory (April 21).

[559] The City Council thought the matter had made sufficient headway to celebrate the return of the Brothers, to restore them to their former classrooms on Rue St. Jacques, and – in its decision of May 12, 1810 – to increase the school budget. (*Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1927, pg. 112)

they would transmit intact the deposit entrusted to them.

On the 7th of March 1810 they wrote to Brother Gontran, who had, undoubtedly, been pleading Valence's cause: "You appreciate that" to send members to Brother Evaristus "we must be morally sure that they will be supported in the practices that are customary with us"; and that (to accede to his request) it is essential to receive a promise of total gratuity from the mayor.[560]

They refused the right of returning to the Congregation to a certain Brother Emebert-of-Jesus, a teacher in Guise, if he accepted the stipulations imposed by his city council, which were "absolutely contrary"to the Brothers' Rule. The petitioner's return, however, was conditioned upon a stay at the Motherhouse, and, if, he brought his young assistant with him, the latter would have to make a novitiate.[561]

Concerning the education given to the children of the poor, there is a letter from Brother Pigmenion that illuminates the ideas of the Brothers in Lyon. The city government in Trevoux feared that the simplest elementary intellectual culture might produce a population of alienated young people. Forty years of educational experience enabled the Director to reply categorically:

"The Brothers strive to make their pupils useful to society according to their condition, precisely by seeing to it that they do not change in this respect, unless they show marked dispositions to adopt another, higher condition, one more advantageous to the common good...Those who believe that our schools remove "hands" from agriculture and mechanics from the state are very much mistaken. And, besides, when a few of them succeed in getting commissions in the army or in becoming zealous ministers of the Lord, is it so awful that they obtained the beginnings of their wisdom in these religious schools? Everybody knows that the Christian spirit doesn't spoil anything, but that, on the contrary, it makes everything better: it allies modesty with gallantry, and peace with justice; it teaches that by serving society with honor and equity, salvation is found...

The Brothers, then, aim principally that their pupils become good Christians, because as long as they are that, they will always be quite useful to the State, whatever their vocation. Being animated by the spirit,...harming their neighbor, betraying their sovereign or deserting their flag will be quite foreign to them. They will shrink from nothing but sin, because Christianity inspires a courage that nothing frightens, a greatness of soul that nothing surprises, a constancy that nothing shakes, and a disinterestedness that nothing tempts".[562]

We listen here to the magnificently amplified echo of Brother Gerbaud's message to Madame de Trans.[563] With the best of arguments the Brothers defended the case for their pupils. It is a serious evil to forbid education to young people, when every precaution is taken so that absurd vanity, or the pride of "the half-educated" do not creep into the soul; when instruction does not separate the child from its family and (except with abundantly justified exceptions) from its perspectives, its surroundings and its familiar tasks; and when what the child is asking of religion is life and direction. The Christian school easily fits into the political and social organism, and continuously purifies it of the poisons of selfishness, envy, laziness and concupiscence. Under any orderly system, it forms excellent citizens.

These statements of principle, as well as the lesson of facts each day consolidated the

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[560] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence file, Drafts, notebook no. 5.

[561] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1, letter of May 13, 1810. The use of the religious habit was increasingly in conformity with the Rule: "We always wear the mantle", wrote Brother Barthélemy to Brother Leufroy on June 21, 1810, "and we never leave the house without it...(Ibid.)

[562] Letter of May 10, 1810; quoted in *Essai historique sur la Maison Mère*, pp. 149-50.

[563] . See above, pp. 48 and 52.

restoration of the Institute in the Napoleonic Empire, despite some local harassments, some misunderstandings with pastors,[564] and in spite of delays in the ultimate restoration.

While, for weeks on end, the organization as a whole awaited its finishing touch, at least it was fitted out as to its details. No stipulation was omitted from the explanation of the "conditions" necessary for the opening of a new school, as we discover in the letters from Petit College, especially one dated the 14th of June 1810 and sent to the pastor of Tarare. A twofold assistance was required, one from the clergy and the other from the civil magistrates; at least three Brothers were necessary to form a Community; the residence was to include the following rooms: parlor, refectory, kitchen, dormitory, "Common room", oratory or chapel, infirmary, cellar, woodshed, attic, yard, and a rather spacious garden with a water-well; there had to be two contiguous classrooms that were airy and well-lighted. The salary for each teacher was fixed at 600 francs, the minimum living wage, which was the only way of guaranteeing a respect for the indispensable tuition-free instruction. A single payment of 1,000 francs took care of traveling expenses and initial furnishings. The residence, as well as the school furnishings were supplied and maintained in perpetuity by the cities or the founders. No pupils were admitted who had not reached the age of seven years; the "writing class" was not to have more than sixty pupils; while the commercial class admitted as many as eighty. Finally, during the time of the foundation, the Motherhouse was to receive an outright indemnity for each Brother who was employed of 500 francs, which was to be earmarked for the maintenance of novitiates.[565]

From all points of view these were wise prescriptions. The problem was one of making possible the observance of the Rule and the success of education, of facilitating the recruitment of vocations, of not mistaking poverty for penury and of eliminating the practice of tuition, whether in the form of money or of kind. At a time when stingy civilian authorities and negligent promoters believed themselves rid of teachers when they offered them the most pitiful hovel for a residence and rid of the children of the poor when they piled them into squalid, ill-lighted and ill- ventilated classrooms, the Brothers, faithful to the prescriptions of St. John Baptist de La Salle, defended the honor of the educational profession, demanded consideration and concern for their pupils, and supported the claims of elementary hygiene; since to deny bodies enough space, light and comfort is to compromise both intellectual and moral health. This policy in 1810, which was consistent with that 1710 and contained in the basic handbook of the Christian Brothers' schools, paved the way for more modern notions, without, of course, anticipating all of them, but also without carrying them to excess.

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Since circumstances seemed to require a delay in the election of the Superior-general, the matter concerning the Rule could be settled first. Thus, in September, the Chapter would be faced with an absolutely clear situation and would quite consciously adopt decisions appropriate to the Congregation's progress. Brother Jonas' advice turn out to have been excellent, not only to facilitate agreement among the Brothers and the Superiors in Lyons, but also to synchronize solutions that were still pending.

Friends and supporters of the Brothers had not lost sight of these important requirements. M.

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[564] Thus, in July 1810 the pastor of Besancon complained to the Headmaster of a "relaxation" of the Brothers' zeal (National Archives, F17 12452); and also Father Champroux, pastor of Nogent-le-Rotrou, who was extremely incensed with the eventual departure of a young Brother Raymond, and who was determined to remain the judge of the merits and behavior of his teaching personnel. (Motherhouse Archives, JF g8, Nogent file).

[565] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2, Brother Gerbaud file.

M. Courbon, Monvielle and Rambaud-Montelos, administrators in the schools in Lyons, wrote to Fay Sathonay on the 11th of May that their duties were then calling them to Paris: "Our respected Brothers...are asking the Rector- general of the Imperial University for the approval of their Rules, into which he is at this moment inquiring. This possibility alone can spread their Institute and give it solidity by assuring the future of those who dedicate their lives to it. You know the usefulness of this respected Society (and you have given it many proofs of your concern for it). As the first magistrate of the city which must be its birthplace, you are asked to be so good as to second the efforts of one of their members who will present this letter to you...[566]

Fay Sathonay received the petition from the hands of Brother Gerbaud. Petit College sent it to the Director of Gros-Caillou, with the following cover-letter: 'We must strike while the iron is hot. We just received a visit from M. Romand, the Inspector- general of the University along with the headmaster of the high school in Lyons, one of our own Vicars- general and several other people...He assured us that the Vicar-general of the University was taking the liveliest interest in the growth of our Congregation, adding the most sweeping promises. He is a priest and a very worthy person, inclined to do good things".[567]

This was, indeed, weighty support: -- a request on the part of the Mayor of Lyon combined with the Inspector's report. And another clerical influence in university circles was obtained by the Christian Brothers, who had already enjoyed the active support of Father Emery. The Superior of St. Sulpice had great power (as we are aware) over Cardinal Fesch, who had decided to reenter the lists, and this time in order to press Fontanes in favor of the Institute. Partially in order simply to prevail, and partially, perhaps, in the recollection of his earlier advances that had been spurned, the Cardinal presented the facts in a rather gloomy light. To hear him tell it, one would think that the Institute was in a state of immanent decline. And he was contemplating a way of saving it that was not to the Brothers' liking: but he finally agreed to abide by their wishes; however, in that case he needed to get on with it! The existence of the Institute was at stake! To save it, he proposed that the Brothers make some very bold concessions. He personally undertook to inquire into what would admit of readjustment and to intervene in agreements. Into these debates he threw the weight of his name, his authority, his peremptory opinion and his appetites, which hardly anyone ever resisted.

His letter came a week after that of the superiors of Petit College. It was dated "Paris, the 19th of May 1810", and it must have coincided with the efforts of M.Sathonay and Brother Gerbaud:

"Headmaster: Some time ago the Brothers of the Christian Schools sent a copy of their Rules to you; and they were sent by Your Excellency to the Ministry of Religion; and there the matter has rested. It is of the greatest importance that this business be quickly settled. The Brothers have lost their Superior; and should their Society be any longer deprived of its leader, which, in every period is so necessary, but especially in the present circumstances, it would soon be betrayed to dissension which should infallibly cause its destruction. They have begun to lose hope of surviving; already Brothers in the various schools are refusing to follow the directives of the Senior Brothers. They are no longer accepting novices; they have no one to turn to, and already there is a sort of schism that is rife among them. Inspired with the desire of strengthening and encouraging anything that can be turned to the profit of public education, Your Excellency will be prepared to adopt whatever means to preserve a society that, by vocation and religion, is dedicated to the poor.

The only way I know and the one which I beseech Your Excellency to adopt, is to recall the

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[566] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, notebook no. 1.

[567] Ibid., letter of May 11, 1810.

matter of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to Your Excellency and for you to become familiar with their Rules as soon as possible, and if among them there are certain articles that do not agree with the law, to make the necessary changes. I have already consulted with the Brothers on this matter: they themselves refuse to alter their ancient regulations, but they would, I believe, concur in changes that would be suggested. If Your Excellency would be so kind as to send me the Rules with the corrections Your Excellency considers appropriate, I can give you my advice and tell Your Excellency just how far one may go without fearing opposition from the Brothers".[568]

On May the 24th Fontanes replied: "I shall eagerly adopt the proposals that Your Most Eminent Highness was kind enough to make to me concerning the Christian Brothers". He indicated his approval, given two weeks earlier, to the "preliminaries" to "the election of a new Superior" - an important point which Fesch seemed to have overlooked. "Immediately", he would take up the consideration of the Rules. And he would let the prelate know "the changes which seemed to him necessary in order to accommodate the Rules of this very useful association with French law.[569].

A sheet of paper attached to the draft of this letter (which the Headmaster's office had probably supplied by way of memorandum) contains the following lines: "Regarding the vows, (the Brothers) shall conform to the laws of the State; and the obedience promised the Pope shall be in conformity with the principles of the Gallican Church".[570]

It should be noted that here lie the heart of the debate. It would soon be a year since Brother Frumence had submitted the Rule, and the imperial bureaucrats were as yet at a standstill over questions of the monastic vows and the recognition of the rights of the Holy See. And obstruction came not so much from the "University" as from the Ministry of Religion. Bigot Preameneu was merely executing orders. At a time when, on Napoleon's orders, he was attempting to exclude Regular Orders and nationalize the Bishops, he had no intention of restoring a Religious association on the model of the "monks" in the "Ancien Regime", by giving free rein to the disciples of a man against whom Jansenists and Gallicans leagued together.

In the year 1810 "Ultramontanists" were particularly suspect. In June Father Emery and other Sulpicians had to depart the Major Seminary in Paris,[571] since they had been denounced by the police as dangerous followers of the Pope. Napoleon took a dim view of the clergy meddling in secondary education: he was displeased with Father Calonne's appointment to the post of principal of the College of Quimper. On the 15th of July he wrote to Montalivet, the Minister of the Interior: "Tell the Rector-general that he is to communicate with the Prefects, and not with the Bishops, and that he is not to make public education the business of cliques "and of religion.[572].The offices of the Ministry took this opportunity to gain another grip on Fontanes, who had been thought to be, at once, too independent of Montalivet and of being too much aligned with the Church.

They continued to supervise the Brothers closely and presented the city governments with a questionnaire on their tuition-free primary schools. The Mayor of Langres, who had just replied to it, sent a copy of his statements to the Rector-general. And as the feelings of the

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[568] Motherhouse Archives, BE a, Brother Frumence file, containing the original letter signed by J. Card. Fesch.

[569] Ibid., copy of Fontanes' reply

[570] Ibid.

[571] Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pg. 549.

[572] *Correspondance de Napoléon* Ier, Vol. XX, no. 16652; quoted by Aulard in his book*, Napoléon Ier et le monopole universitaire*, pg. 209

cities for the Brothers did not change, the Mayor took advantage of the circumstances to repeat the praises of the Brothers who "do an incalculable amount of good." In the course of a visit to the Upper Marne, the Inspector-general "seemed satisfied." The novitiate would prosper and Langres would share its precious advantages with the other cities of the Empire, if the "University" would supply the financial capital.[573]

In his response, Fontanes continued to appear ready to serve the Institute.[574] With his agility, he picked his way skillfully past the reefs. A successful outcome appeared so probable that the city Council in Lyon did not hesitate to enter into a long- term contract with the Christian Brothers. And in a decision on the 25th of July 1810, it authorized the Brothers "to live in Community in the buildings of Petit College", which the city left in their hands "for the entire time that the Brothers of the Christian Schools shall be responsible for operating tuition-free schools in Lyon."[575]

Finally, prior to the 15th of August, the Rules, approved and signed, arrived at the Motherhouse, accompanied by a note from Fontanes, dated the 6th. It read as follows: "I am pleased to send you a copy of the decree by which, in conformity with Article 109 of Decree of March 17 1808, I have certified your Rules. I have no doubt but what the Brothers will eagerly conform to the new arrangements indicated therein... "[576]

The official text, signed on the 4th by "the Senator and Rector-general in the law courts of the University", stipulated that the Brothers of the Christian Schools pledge: 1) to substitute for Article 10 the following text: "They shall be bound to their Institute by the three simple vows of religion, as well as by the vows of stability and teaching children tuition-free; with regard to their vows, they shall conform to what has been legislated in this matter by the laws of the Empire;

2) In Article 11, after the words They shall be admitted to making vows, eliminate the words even triennials; and in Article 13 (eliminate) everything following the words, the Brothers shall be admitted, as far as may be, at sixteen or seventeen years of age.[577]

Hence, what was ruled out of the text of 1809 had to do, on the one hand, with the duration of the vows, and, on the other, with the power of the Pope to dispense from the vows. Obviously, Fontanes, as a high-level imperial bureaucrat, was not going to contravene the law, nor adopt a stance in opposition to anti-Roman policy. In any case, he refrained from any direct reference to the "Four Articles" of 1682. This silence proved quite valuable. Furthermore, the principle of religious vows was not contested. Moreover, it would be up to the Brothers to put themselves right with their conscience. As Bishop Bernier used to say to the Ursulines in Beaugency, legal approval involves relations only with civil society and the government: conscience evades that authority.[578]

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With the receipt of the Decree of the 4th of August, the Brothers in Lyon informed the Rector-general that the documents concerning the Rules "would be faithfully delivered to the

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[573] National Archives, F17 12453, Mayor of Langres' letter to Fontanes, June 2, 1810.

[574] Ibid., Headmaster's reply, June 14.

[575] *Essai sur la Maison Mère,* pg. 149.

[576] Chevalier, pp. 243-4.

[577] Arnould, pp. 201-2.

[578] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 467.

Superior" immediately after his election; for they themselves lacked the mandate to pledge the Institute's adherence. They explained why they had left the authorization of May the 10th inoperative until now. The Chapter would no longer delay to assemble; and they would inform M. Fontanes "of the results."[579]

The Assembly began on the Feast of the Nativity of the Most Blessed Virgin, at 7o'clock in the morning at Petit College.[580] After Mass, the first act consisted in the examination of credentials. Of the fifteen Directors of principal institutions, only nine came to Lyons: – Brothers: Barthélemy, Gontran, Leufroy, Jonas, Cherubin of Jesus, Jean Marcelinus, Liberius, Gerbaud and Joseph de Marie. We know why Brothers Guillaume de Jésus, Esprit and Rieul, the Directors in the Italian Communities, were absent. The sensitive situation of Brother Marc, the Director of Rheims, prevented him from putting in an appearance. After having refused an appointment in June as delegate, Brother Lysimachus, the Director of St. Omer, had a change of heart in August; but since the commissioners appointed to count the votes had by that time replaced him on the list of capitulants, Brother Barthélemy had to extend his regrets for being unable to admit him.[581] As for Brother Seraphin, we do not know whether personal reasons or an intervention on the part of Father Chaminade detained him in Bordeaux.

In this group the following were designated substitutes: Brothers Pigmenion, Director of Trevoux, Paul de Jésus, Director of St. Chamond, Gerontian, Director of Bensancon, Pierre Martyr, Director of Crest, Adelard, Director of Villefranche, and Decorosus, Director of St. Privas -- all of them listed as eligible because they were "Senior Brothers".

The Chapter was completed by the election of fifteen professed Brothers. They were: Brothers Emery, Pierre Celestine, Julien of Mary, Paulian, Luc, Dorotheus, Bertauld, Edward de Marie, Antoine de Marie, Pierre, Tiburcius, François de Sales, Narcissus, Justinian and Prince. The last two took their seats as replacements, the former for Brother Micheus, who had died, and the latter for Brother Evaristus, who was too old to leave Valence. There was another Brother who played a role, so to speak, on the margin of the Chapter. He was Brother Ferreol - born in 1739 and perpetually professed in 1764 -- who had only recently returned to the Institute. The old man had been invited as a "Councillor" to sign several of the resolutions written into the capitulary register.

Brother Pigmenion who, since 1802, had been dedicated to the work in Lyons, had the honor of presiding at the Chapter. As the primary architect of the restoration, he richly deserved that no one forget his efforts. He had become the "Dean" of the "Congregation-returned-to-life". The opening of the Chapter, on the eighth day of September in 1810, followed by eight years the opening of the "Citizen Jacques Juge" school, on the Feast of the Finding of the True Cross, on the 3rd of May 1802. The "grain of mustard seed" of which Father Girard has spoken had emerged from the ground and had already grown into a vigorous plant.[582]

Quite correctly, the thirty delegates proclaimed themselves to be continuing the great Chapters of the 18th century, the representatives of all the members of the Religious family

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[579] National Archives, F17 12453, letter of August 15, 1810.

[580] Motherhouse Archives, CC Fm, no. 3 notebook containing the minutes of the General Chapters, beginning with the one in 1810.

[581] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1, letter from Petit College to Brother Lysimachus, August 15, 1810.

[582] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 492.

that had escaped the deluge and offered to God the sacrifice of thanksgiving.[583]"We make up", they declared, "the General Chapter and we represent the Body of the membership of the Institute". It seemed right immediately to select the man who, following the example of the patriarchs of old, would utter the prayer of the group before the altar and henceforth would fulfill the roles of father and leader in De La Salle's Institute. There was no difficulty about the choice. Of all the Brothers that the Communities had sent to Lyons, there was one who found his humble and cautious person the center of attention and who could guess the thoughts conjured up by his firm rejection of the schismatic oath, his constant fidelity to the Rule, his role at St. Germain-en-Laye and in Paris, his participation in Brother Frumence's recall from Italy, his directives to the institutions in the Paris region, and his numerous and very successful errands to the imperial government. In spite of his repugnance for appearing in the light, his natural timidity and his lack of imposing presence (more than compensated for, however, by his moral vigor and power of judgment) and in spite of the hope that he had cherished to give way before a veteran of the "Brother Agathon era," (Sebastian Thomas) Brother Gerbaud's election was a foregone conclusion. He had only just completed his fiftieth year and had been a member of the Institute since the 1st of May, 1778, and his perpetual profession dated from the 22nd of September 1786.

The naming of his three Assistants was a somewhat slower matter. It was understandable to weigh the virtue and the accomplishments of those Directors who, at the cost of such effort, restored the Brothers' schools - those "Senior Brothers" who only recently had been the courageous "Confessors of the Faith" and who now had become models for future generations. Several ballotings followed one upon the other. Finally, a selection was made from among those who had attained the largest number of votes. Brother Emery's name emerged for the position of "First Assistant". It was a well-deserved tribute to the devout master of novices. We shall not return to his career, his character nor his outstanding wisdom. Brother Jonas was then elected "Second Assistant"; his suffering, in exile and in a long captivity, earned him everyone's respect. At Langres he showed that he was capable of genuine leadership. It was difficult to hold against him his evasiveness and his pessimism, as, resolutely, he directed an institution of special importance and trained his young candidates to the tasks of Christian education. While he took somewhat too much delight in recalling the vicissitudes of his life, the risks he had run, his material losses and the dangers to life and limb to which he had been exposed as a faithful son of the Founder, and while he gleefully manifested the independence of his opinions and the mettlesomeness of his temper, nevertheless, his eccentricities and human weaknesses left his spirit of mortification, his zeal, the regularity of his prayer, and indeed (in his habitual behavior) his affable manner triumphant. Wherever he lived (at Soissons, Verviers or Chaumont) he won a reputation for being an excellent teacher, and he gained the respect of, and apologies from, the magistrates, the clergy and the public. Once his goals were fixed, his dedication knew no limits. He was so unsparing of himself that in a few years he fell ill in the line of duty. He died in 1815 of pleurisy contracted during the course of a visit to institutions under his care, when "drenched in his own sweat", this zealous septuagenarian refused to "change his clothes" in order to be on time to assist at the exercises with his Brothers. His last moments were consistent with the "fervor" of his soul.[584] In those days, when the old fighter had reached the summit of the mountain, he had the right to view with satisfaction the road traversed and take in at a glance (and ourselves along with him) the horizon spread out before him, the lingering shadows that

[583] (Motherhouse Archives, CCF m, report of the meeting for September 8, 1810)

[584] *Relations mortuaires,* Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

stood far off on the plain, and the intense and perfect light that shown from the sky. His successor in Langres was a man who was no less courageous, no less strict in the fulfillment of his duties,[585] Brother Paulian, who completed the work with the novices that had been so conscientiously begun. [586]

It remained to elect the "Third Assistant." It seemed right to offer this post to the Director of the Motherhouse, i.e., to Brother Barthélemy, who, for a year, had taken over from Brother Jean-François and who (for seven months) had assumed (along with Brothers Emery and Pierre Celestine) the burdens of the provisional government. Like his two colleagues in the new "Regime", "Brother Antipas" (so known after the Revolution, following his baptismal name) represented, in concert with the Superior-general, the most venerable traditions. Barthélemy Garnier, born on the 26th of November 1748, in the diocese of Viviers, received the Religious habit in Brother Florence's time, and took his final vows in the Institute at the beginning Brother Agathon's generalate. He had given proof of his stability and good judgment. Not without difficulty nor conflict did he realize the gap between Brother Frumence's work and the task that remained for Brother Gerbaud. He would experience the early results of his efforts. But because he died on the 14th of March 1812, he would miss the joy of glimpsing the fruitful future.

The high command was reestablished under conditions prescribed by the Rule and the Bull. The capitulants asked for nothing more: they left it to the new leadership to apply the statutes of 1809-1810 in the spirit of St. John Baptist de La Salle, while avoiding conflicts with the French Empire and without themselves saying anything concerning the scope of the "adjustments" demanded by the Rector-general.

"This Assembly passed no resolutions", declared the report; "it was satisfied with what was written". The circumstances under which the Chapter was called imposed a provident silence. Nevertheless, convinced that Fontanes, in spite of Article 109, would not stoop to the minutiae and the whimsies of dress, the Brothers stipulated that their "habit would remain unchanged, and as it had been prior to 1787, with the exception of the sleeves on the mantle". This elimination of a distinctive feature of the silhouette of the teacher in the Christian Brothers' schools would very quickly seem regrettable; and we shall see the "flying sleeves" reappear -- a souvenir of the beginnings in Champagne and an historical heritage.

In the second meeting on the 9th of September, a detailed regulation for the studies of "students or novices" was worked out. They were to receive lessons ("in common" or "privately") in arithmetic, spelling ("with explanations") and grammar; they were to learn the letter of the catechism and a commentary upon it. Every morning they "may receive training in the elements of hand−writing", rather than doing manual labor.

Like teaching Brothers, the novices were to have a weekly recreation outside the town as it was not possible for young persons coming from the countryside and used to the open air to be always hard at work without damaging their health.

Finally, concerned to offer the very best pedagogical training, the Chapter judged that "it was appropriate that each novice spend a week or two in school under the supervision of a teacher" to make sure that he was not lacking experience when the time came. This was certainly a long way from the scholasticates of the great period and the special classes where future teachers were prepared for teaching. The Congregation had neither the means nor the numbers of subjects needed for such broad beginnings. But it did not forget its principles. It continually placed its building blocks without losing sight of the new designs of the

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[585] See Vol. III of the present work, especially pg. 493.

[586] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1914, pg. 264.

architects.

There are a few short decisions found in the registers for 10th September: additions of the *Confiteor*, the Commandments of God and of the Church to morning prayer; invocation to *Mary Immaculate* to the litany of the most blessed Virgin; evidence of a scrupulous piety and Marian devotion such as always been the case in France.

There were two important phrases about the serving Brothers. Breaking the tradition from the previous century, the capitulants assimilated Brothers charged with temporal affairs with the school Brothers. The habit was the same for both as regards shaped and colour[587] and if a serving Brother obtained from the Superior General the permission to pronounce the vow to teach gratuitously he would be known as a school Brother.[588]

With these details the twelfth General Chapter of the Lasallian Congregation came to an end. In less than three days it had revived a glorious past and opened the door to its future. Once they had returned to their daily tasks, the apostles of Christian popular education amidst the crash of battles, followed by the fall of Napoleon, would hear the voice of the Lord Jesus through the clear faithful voice of their Superior General.

NOTE: A long footnote from Rigault considers whether Fesch's biographer (Abbé Lyonnet) in his second volume is correct in transcribing a supposed conversation between Cardinal Fesch and Brother Gerbaut when Fesch wished to attend a meeting with the Chapter. What is clear is that Brother Gerbaut defended the autonomy of the Chapter according to the Brothers' Rule, acknowledged the gratitude of the Institute for Fesch's patronage but was not prepared to admit the Cardinal IF he had made such a request.

[587] Formerly the serving Brothers habit was brown cf. Vol.1 p.538

[588] Archives Maison generalicc CCF procès-verbaux

CHAPTER FIVE

Brother Gerbaud's Role up to the Fall of the First Empire

Elevated to the heights, although in his humility he protested, Brother Gerbaud experienced neither anxiety nor dizziness. He had early contemplated the scope of his responsibilities; and he had determined for himself and indicated to his Brothers the goals to be pursued.

His first gesture, on the 9th of September, was to bid farewell to his beloved Gros-Caillou. He was leaving a great deal of himself there. It was there that the Fathers of the Faith and Madame de Trans had welcomed him; it was there also that he had found a religious climate that had at one time been known at St. Yon; and it there, too, that he had developed genuine disciples of St. John Baptist De La Salle and had worked brilliantly for the restoration of the Institute and for Christian education. It was there also that he had made friendships and had gained supporters. He wrote to the members of his administrative counsel: Messrs. Montmorency, Jeanson, La Rochefoucauld, Caraman, Hinisdal and Father Astros, -- the talented elite of the Faubourg St. Germain and of the Catholic community, a group of activists who, together with one of the Vicars-general in Paris (a future Archbishop of Toulouse) maintained the work of the charitable Marquise.

He wrote: "Since Providence has arranged things for me according to Its will, and not my own, I must adore Its decrees and submit myself to them. I nonetheless experience the burden It places upon me, and the sadness at having to be concerned with things other than Gros Caillou, so dear to my heart". As his successor, he chose the Director of the Community in Laon, the courageous Brother Leufroy, whose behavior throughout the Revolution won the respect of the city magistrates and the gratitude of families. "From every point of view, he is far better than I am", the overly-modest Brother Gerbaud was quick to declare. Moreover, he meant to allow school administrators complete freedom of action; should the occasion arise they need only let him know what they wanted.[589]

The Brothers' position in the Imperial "University" dictated Brother Gerbaud's attitude toward Count Fontanes. For three years he had maintained friendly and confidential relations with the Rector-general. He was aware of the support the Congregation received from this high-level bureaucrat, the assurances that it might well expect from his obvious goodwill, from the ingenuity he deployed to get around difficult corners, to shield against conflicts and to avoid the more serious blows. Fontanes acted as the bridge between France's past and the imperial regime, between Church circles and official circles. He practiced the art of cultivating Napoleon's favor without breaking with the adversaries of anti-Roman policies. Always he treated with caution the Emperor's sympathies for the Brothers. Such a useful and powerful ally was well worth more than passing consideration. The effects of his interventions augured well for the future, and they justified the unqualified adherence that the Superior-general granted to the Decree of the 4th of August 1810 and the tone of the letter signed on the 14th of September by Brothers Gerbaud, Emery and Jonas:

"Sir: Since the General Assembly of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, held in Lyons on the 8th instant, under Your Excellency's auspices, has elected me, although unworthy, Superior-general of the Institute of the Brothers, with a fresh outpouring of the heart and

[589] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Draft copies, notebook no. 1.

profound respect, I offer Your Excellency, in the name of the entire Congregation, the expression of gratitude with which we are all penetrated for the signal favor of your protection and the approval that Your Excellency has deigned to grant our Rule. May the prayers that we send up to Heaven for the preservation of Your Excellency's precious days demonstrate to him the sincerity of our gratitude and win for us the continuation of your kindnesses! It is with this flattering hope that we have the honor of being your very humble and obedient servants".[590].

Once this obligation in regard to the Rector-general was out of his way, the new head of the Institute wrote his first circular letter to his subordinates. It bore the date of the 18th of September.

After announcing the decisions of the Chapter (the quite explicit purpose that the thirty delegates expressed in Lyons to observe the entire Rule written by the Holy Founder and his heirs of the preceding century), Brother Gerbaud exhorted and, authoritatively importuned, the Christian Brothers to the study as well as the practice of their Rule. If they wished to share in the "merits and rewards of the saints" who gave themselves over to the "most perfect mortifications", they must yield to the duties of their state "for the love of God and of Our Lord".

The austere and intrepid Superior continued quite unambiguously: "The way, my very dear Brothers, is marked out for us. The footsteps of our predecessors are strewn with the most beautiful flowers; it is to them that we owe the excellent reception we meet with everywhere. We need only to follow as closely as possible: that was a truth that was keenly felt by the Chapter assembled under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Let us leave to our successors, in all its integrity, the deposit which has been transmitted to us... "

Following De La Salle's custom, a special command was given to the Brothers Director, to whom the "deposit" was primarily "entrusted." After all, they were "the pillars of the edifice", "the sentinels of God's house", "the substitutes for, and the cooperators with", the Régime. More than that, they were "the representatives of God Himself", His instruments "in the salvation of souls". "In your hands", he assured them, "resides the fate of the Congregation...through your example, your assiduous supervision and your regular correspondence with us, you will reestablish...the primitive spirit, that spirit of faith, zeal, simplicity, humility and sacrifice... "

The Brother Superior's voice resounded as formerly the voices of the fathers and masters of the Lasallian family. Out of necessity, and by temperament, Brother Frumence had confined himself to personal interviews and letters. His successor, invested by the election with all the privileges the Rule recognized in De La Salle's direct heir, considered his position to be a professorial one. Without further ado, he restored the tradition of great leaders. Again, he was laying claim to a peerless precedent: after thirteen years of nearly absolute silence, the name of the illustrious victim of revolutionary persecution rose to the lips of the faithful disciple, and the noble features which seemed to have been blurred in the memory were restored to the light of day. An entire page of the circular of the 18th of September 1810 demonstrated that the former teacher at St. Yon retained his dedication to the man who inspired his youth:

"You possess, my very dear Brothers, the letters of the late Most Honored Brother Agathon...; we cannot too much recommend the reading of them. The sentiments that they express are the very ones that we feel for you, to the fullest extent, without meaning to compare ourselves with that great man. Read those affectionate and paternal letters, then; it is not for us to analyze them; rather we should imitate them... Everything in them deserves attention and breathes the pure spirit of De La Salle. Therefore, it is with a holy avidity that we must obey the command given to us to read (these letters) in the refectory, after the

[590] National Archives, F17 12453

Chapter decrees;[591] and furthermore, to return to them often to reanimate our fervor. Directors who did not possess copies of the letters were instructed to obtain them from those among their confreres who were better supplied.[592]

Nothing so much as this reminded of the best of the past, as this evocation of an impressive presence, could touch the Brothers, who, having remained on French soil, had at one time been associated with the sufferings of the last Superior-general. The well deserved tribute that Brother Gerbaud paid him could bring hoped-for dividends.

Such was the case (we tend to believe) with Joseph Nicolas Bienaimé (Brother Philippe Joseph). We last met this fine teacher in Elbeuf in 1805;[593] formerly he had been the associate of Sebastian Thomas in the capitol city of Normandy. His origins, his principles, his behavior and his marvelous character are well known to us. There were few Brothers more worthy to work for the restoration of the Institute. The Director of Gros Caillou had sought his assistance. However, Nicholas Bienaimé refused to leave his flourishing school in Elbeuf. It should be noted that in 1786 he had taken only temporary vows,[594] which, under the circumstances, were not renewed.

But his mature years did not belie the promise of his youthful vocation. This brother of a "Confessor of the Faith"[595] remained sensitive to God's call. It came to him again in such a clear fashion that the mere idea of resistance did not enter his mind. The Superior-general, who had remained a close friend, informed him of his accession and, of course, talked to him of shared experiences and called his attention to schools "that held out their arms to him".

Twelve days after Brother Gerbaud's election, the following letter was sent from Elbeuf:[596] "My most honored Brother, may the Lord...be blessed forever and grant you the graces you need to rule our holy Institute well, or rather that it may be He who rules through you. It seems that Divine Providence wants me at Nogent-le-Rotrou, since, in a letter you wrote me a few years ago (and which I have saved), you described that school to me and urged me as well as you could, with your accustomed eagerness, to assume the direction of the place. You offer it to me again today[597] ...If God wants me to be in Nogent, I must place myself under obedience to you. Leaving this place grieves me, and so does the journey. I must leave my school in Elbeuf unattended as it were and under the direction and in the hands of, two young men who are still only children, and of whom I am not sure.

Effortlessly returning to the practice of obedience, Brother Philippe Joseph sought authorization "to travel by public conveyance", since "he did not feel strong enough to walk". He wanted to know whether, in his new home, he should be provided "with a robe and a rabat", so that he "might appear in the garb of a Brother".

He concludes: "I wanted you to have this letter so that you could hear from me and that (I might) hear from you the steps I ought to take. It was for his Superior to instruct him in the "adorable will" of the Divine Master.[598]

In closing, he "extended his best wishes to Brother Gerbaud, Brother Emery and the rest."

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[591] The Chapter of 1787. The Capitulants of 1810 were referring to the decisions of this chapter.

[592] Motherhouse Archives. Circulars included in the collection Pensées du Vénérable de La Salle.

[593] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 592 and the Index to that volume under the name "Philippe Joseph."

[594] Brother Philippe Joseph ws not perpetually professed until 1817. Cf. Relations mortuaires, Vol. I, pp. 261-2.

[595] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 313-316.

[596] Motherhouse Archives, JF g 8, Nogent-le-Rotrou file, letter to Brother Gerbaud, signed "Brother Philippe Joseph, called Nicolas Bienaimé."

[597] Brother Jean Louis, Director of Nogent, had just died on September 3.

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The school in Nogent-le-Rotrou would, indeed, grow under the thrust given it by this model Director. Would such a lofty example find its imitators? It would not be Brother Gerbaud's fault if there were those who balked.

Like his predecessor, he sought to awaken vocations that had long since lay dormant. On the 2nd of October 1810 a letter attempted to dislodge five former Brothers out of retirement. They were Brothers Florentine of Jesus, Franéois of Paula, Castor, Honorat and the Brother François Borgia (Jean-Jacques Jagadin) who, along with Brother Lysimachus, in Touraine, had lightened the last days of Brother Agathon.[599]

It was a most energetic appeal: the captain "whom an evident order of Providence" had called to the helm "counselled" the stragglers lounging on the shore that "De La Salle's vessel awaited them". His "paternal voice invited (them) to reboard quickly in order to procure the glory of God, (their own) salvation, that of the children they teach, and the Brothers'" whose "edification" is their duty.

The Superior continued: "We have forty schools on the same footing ...as in the Institute's most prosperous days. If, then, up to now you have been saying: I did not leave (my vocation), it left me, you can no longer use that argument. The same holy vocation is offered to you, in all its regularity and with every means of sanctification. Indeed, the Chapter had just confirmed the "Propositions" of 1787. And every disciple of the Founder should recall that his vows required him to obey the General Assembly of the Congregation.

When Father Emery, after reading the Brothers' Rule, returned the text to the Director of Gros-Caillou, he "spoke in the following terms": "These, my very dear Brother, are the genuine Rules according to which the Brothers of our day will sanctify themselves, as did the Brothers of the past. Would "Senior Brothers" whose entrance dated from the previous century remain deaf to such categorical appeals? Would they continue "to defer" their return to their "Religious colors?"[600].

Unfortunately, the five Brothers in question were silent. Undaunted, Brother Gerbaud turned to others, and this time he had some success. George Dufieu (Brother Theodoritus) who, as a member of the Community in Grenoble in 1792, refused to take the "Constitutional Oath,"[601] withdrew to La Mure, where he had been occupied with the recruitment of new teachers. The Superior wrote to him on the 16th of November 1810: "Accept my sincere thanks. But what am I saying? You and I are working for the same "good mother", the Society of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. I shall not thank you for that. But I shall invite you, with all the affection of my heart, to return as soon as possible in order t share the precious tradition of which we are both the beneficiaries. Yes, come, rejoin your confreres, and crown your fruitful career...We need veterans to guide the young, who, thank God, are numerous; ordinarily, we have twenty-five to thirty of them who make their novitiate under the direction of the venerable Brother Emery, the First Assistant...Sell, liquidate your possessions; and give the proceeds to the poor old men in our house in Lyons... "[602]

Doubtless, Georges Dufieu experienced the sadness of the rich young man in the Gospel. The goods of this world had a hold on a man who at one time had courageously followed the more difficult commandments. He was content to remain a private collaborator, a fellow-worker who resisted complete dependency. Brother Jean of Matha, who was being sought after as bursar in Avignon, proved more self-sacrificing. Brother Gerbaud, who had "entered

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[599] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 353-356.

[600] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1

[601] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 256.

[602] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2.

the Institute the same year as he had" pleaded with him: he knew the "religion" and the "fervor" of his good friend.[603] He had certainly not expected too much of this man, but Brother Jean of Matha resumed his position in the Avignon Community and remained there until his death in 1825.[604]

Should anything less be expected of Brother Godefroy upon whom the pastor of Notre Dame in Alencon had doled out funds for Brother Adorator's legacy.[605] Since this city's school had become more secure after Brother Valery's departure, the Motherhouse wished to employ the former Brother there, where he had been living on his small pension. "Resume your post", he was encouraged on the 11th of September 1810, "with the simplicity of a son of De La Salle". And relentlessly, taking aim at Godefroy's conscience, the Superior-general added: "Don't you fear to be found a property-owner at the moment of death? *May your money perish with you!* doesn't that maxim of the Desert Fathers cause you to tremble"?[606] Unfortunately, the pastor seemed to have been of another mind. Brother Gerbaud, who in a variety of ways was upset with Father François, was contemplating the transfer of the new Director of Alencon, Brother Melessus, to Nogent-le-Rotrou. He wrote to the latter concerning his associate: "It is up to Brother Godefroy to decide whether he wishes to be bound to his vocation. I thought he was far more virtuous; this is the sort of thing that still makes me shudder concerning the Revolution, which did greater damage to souls than to bodies".[607]However, the Superior's efforts triumphed over the obstacles. The school survived. And twenty-two years later there was a Brother Godefroy (probably the man mentioned here) who, in his eighties, died in Lyons.[608]

We are surprised to read, for the 21st of December 1810, a fierce denunciation of Brother Jean Damascene (Jean-Louis Martinet), an old friend of Brother Agathon's and only recently listed among those who were eligible for the General Chapter. He had disappointed his confreres' hopes. Brother Gerbaud wrote to him: "As for myself, I tell you that I do not understand how a God-fearing, virtuous Brother, in a word, a worthy son of De La Salle, an heir of his zeal and of his spirit of detachment, poverty, humility and obedience, and of his desire for everything that is good, I do not understand, I repeat, how (such a person) can remain outside the Congregation that is being reborn, at the risk of being considered an apostate in the eyes of God, of the angels and of men (in case he should die outside the holy vocation to which he has been called)...The compliment I made on the sincerity of your letter was not intended to be flattering... "[609]

The storm visited upon the former Director of Rethel spared the man who had begun the school in Toulouse, Brother Amand of Jesus (who, sheltered in Paris by a charitable niece, was "really in no position to do anything")[610] and still younger men whom serious difficulties prevented their abandonment of secular life. With some of these latter, Brother Gerbaud, who was not narrow-minded, maintained quite cordial relations. Such a one was M. Lude, "a

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603 Ibid., letter dated November 25, 1810.

604 *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I.

605 Motherhouse Archives, Alencon file; see above, pp. ???

606 Ibid., Brother Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

607 Ibid., letter dated January 7, 1811.

608 *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, 1833.

609 Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

610 Ibid., same letter.

former Brother in Rouen", who was party to the Superior's wishes to return the Congregation to the capital city of Normandy.

Such were the precious memories associated with this city that the Motherhouse declared that it was prepared "to send as many Brothers (there) as might be needed" -- provided that what the Brothers were asked to do raised no difficulties. "Our dear Father's tomb is there, where, with a common enthusiasm, our hearts long to be." M. Lude was asked to negotiate with the Rector of the Academy.[611] He did not heed the instructions from Lyons that the date of his return should not be indefinitely postponed, and he seems not to have been very much impressed with the keenest wishes of the Brothers.

In his urgent exhortations Brother Gerbaud was thinking above all of the individual salvation of the men who were growing old in the half-idle retirement that was, in fact, only remotely consistent with their vows. He was also concerned to fill the vacant spots that death had begun to make in the teaching-teams that were succumbing to the burden of work. Brother Marcellinus, the Director of St. Étienne's, died on the 3rd of May 1811,[612] at the age of sixty-four. On the 7th of March 1812 the announcement came from Laon of the death of Brother Martin of Jesus, the clockmaker at Maréville, and thereafter at Melun and the "Rossignolerie". Having rejoined the Community in Rheims after the Revolution, he had left that city for the capital of the Aisne, where the Brothers "lived according to their ancient customs". He edified the Brothers by his "devotion to duty".[613] Brother Leufroy, the former Director of that Community, followed closely upon his late confrere. Transferred, as we have seen, to Gros-Caillou, he was nearly seventy-nine years old when, on the 3rd of December 1812, he finished a career characterized by acts of courage, by imprisonment in August of 1792 and by an ever "kindly" zeal.[614]. Brother Rosier, elderly and infirm, fell on the steps of St. Apolinarus church on the 8th of December 1813, on his way to Mass and fractured his skull.[615]

Finally, Brother Gerontian who, earlier, had been Director of Besancon, and whose services in Auray continued to be remembered, died on the 19th of December of the same year, while breathing as his last prayer the words pronounced every evening in the Institute: *Maria mater gratiae.*[616].

Brothers returning to the Institute (a process that would continue throughout the entire period of the Empire) brought to Lyons the survivors of a past that was already blurred in the memory -- the venerable remnants who were finally reattached to the structure so completely that they seemed never to have left it. One of these had set up a solitary and distinguished presence in his native Upper Loire, in the Deves Mountains: Jean-Pierre Martel (Brother Corentine of Mary), an exact observer of the Rule when he was teaching schoolboys in Vergezac.[617] He used the little money that the alms of his fellow-citizens had given him to turn the home in which he was born into a church. On the 19th of November 1807, in the

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[611] Ibid., notebook no. 2, letter dated November 23, 1810.

[612] Motherhouse Archives, file C 5, letter sent to the Communities from Lyons on May 5.

[613] Motherhouse Archives, File C 5, letter from Lyons to the Communities, May 5, Brother Arnold's counsel. Concerning Brother Martin of Jesus, see the Index to Vol. III of the present work. The Historique du district de Reims is in error by year concerning his death.

[614] Motherhouse Archives, C 5, the letter of Brother Benezet, Thomas and Corentine of Gros Caillou, December 7, 1812

[615] Ibid., December 11, 1813.

[616] Ibid., December 31

[617] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 425.

presence of Mme. Ducast, notary in Puy, he signed the follow generous deed of conveyance: "Jean-Pierre Martel, former Brother of the Christian Schools, moved by religious and devotional convictions, and in consideration of the fact that the church in which divine services are held in the St.Remy Commune is far removed from the majority of the villages which make up the mission, and which, by their situation in the middle of nearly inaccessible mountains, cannot attend (the services) during bad weather...has voluntarily made a gift to the above Commune, represented by M. Jean Tallobre, Mayor of the place and a resident of Vergezac, of a part of a building for the purposes (of worship)...rebuilt through the efforts and at the expense of the donor. An imperial decree, dated from Bayonne the 16th of June 1808 authorized the city to take possession of the building".[618]

The residents of the hamlet sought to keep this hermit among them as a sort of talisman. They planned a tomb for him in the altar.[619] But Brother Corentine had no intention of bequeathing his body to them. Persisting in a plan that required patience and selflessness on his part, he trained three pupils (Jean-Louis Veseyre, Jean Enjoloy and Jean-Antoine Vial) to be teachers: -- with such success that Vial entered the Brothers of the Christian Schools as Brother Attalius.[620] The other two succeeded Brother Corentine as teachers in Vergesac.[621] Once his duties to the people in Velay were satisfied, he bid goodbye to his church and his school; and in 1814 we find him the porter at Petit College in Lyons. There remained to him some eight years in which to witness, as he awaited death, that, both in conduct and in intention, he had never ceased to be Christian Brothers.

Men like Jean-Pierre Martel, however, were little more than shadows at dusk. New generations were looming in the dawning light; and it was there henceforth that Brother Gerbaud would direct his efforts. Like Brother Frumence earlier, he saw the rapid rise of "stars". On the 11th of October 1810 the Superior- general sent one of his successors, Brother Anacletus, to direct the Community in St. Chamond he promised him a role that would be "noble, important and difficult": "One doesn't become a Director for the pleasure of it, but rather for the glory of God, the greater perfection of one's soul and that of one's confreres... We are responsible for that (to the Sovereign Judge).[622]

Three months later he praised the young teacher in the following terms: "You have my respect and my friendship to the highest degree. I beseech Our Lord...that you may be as much in His Sacred Heart as you are in my own miserable heart, which rejoices in the thought that you are a worthy son of De La Salle, that you desire nothing so much as to advance in the perfection of your holy vocation and that every day you make new progress in the knowledge and love of Our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ".[623]

Sons who receive such extraordinary encouragement from their father would know how -- better than their elders at the outset of the century -- to maintain the Congregation on the right path.

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[618] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1912, pp. 43-4.

[619] This proposal, however, had not gained the consent of the Prefect of the Upper Loire in 1812. (*Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes*, for January 1912, pp. 43-44.)

[620] He died as the treasurer of the Motherhouse in 1858. (Essai, pg. 134)

[621] Bulletin cited, pg. 41.

[622] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, Draft copies, notebook, no. 2.

[623] Ibid., notebook no. 3.

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Immediately after the Chapter of 1810, some of the older men continued to worry about the future of the Christian Brothers. The changes introduced into the text of the Rule by Fontanes disconcerted and deeply grieved them.

Brother Cherubin was vocal on the subject. On the 19th of December 1810 he wrote to Brother Gerbaud from Castres: "I am deeply troubled that while Brother Barthélemy has written us to bless the Lord (for) the approval of our Rule, we see that (in fact) it has been distorted".

To his way of thinking "the fundamental and essential article" has disappeared. The reference to the laws of the State, i.e., the infamous "organic articles"seemed to him to be more than questionable. "The Holy Father had something to say" in that matter. The Society cannot operate as a real Congregation. The Superior's correspondent went so far as to define the Institute as "an entity without substance, a tree without roots."[624]

Spiritedly, peremptorily, the reply came back from Lyons: "You complain that our Rule has been mutilated, damaged, defaced. What do you mean? I don't understand. Is there somebody bothering you, putting obstacles in the way of your regularity?...The purpose of our reorganization is to make our last days flow like our first days...in the peace and joy of the Holy Spirit, by faithfully observing the Holy Rule and the vows of a Religious Congregation which, as Archbishop Fesch writes...cannot exist unless it is alike throughout in its integrity".[625]

This is also what His Excellency the Rector-general of the University says...Here are his words: "You can be certain that I shall not approve any proposal that would be contrary to the rules of your Order".

What more do you wish, my dear Brother, except complete correspondence on our part with the signal graces and favors that the Most High deigns to grant us profusely through the agency of a government as wise and as enlightened as it is inclined to favor De La Salle's work and his Congregation...[626]

At the time, the optimism was justified. Brother Gerbaud felt that he was completely supported by Paris. In spite of measures that struck at the Sulpicians, Father Emery, personally respected and surrounded by Napoleon's attentions, retained both prestige and influence in official circles, which he exerted constantly on Fontanes on behalf of the Brothers. He could be expected to remove possible difficulties. His "zeal" (as he himself told the Superior-general) had been exhibited in the matter of the Rule.

For several weeks Petit College had been in possession of the following communication:"...I am responsible for making a report to the University Counsel (regarding your Rule). I am greatly concerned that its approval suffer no interference, and, in reality, there shouldn't be any. I am delighted to have been able, by way of the explanations I have give, to help forestall them. No one more than me respects your Congregation, and I regard it as a special mark of Providence that it is associated to the University. For the future Father Emery's "good offices" were secured. He esteemed highly the former Director of Gros-Caillou and rejoiced at his election to the Generalate.[627]

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[624] Ibid., file Kh h6.

[625] Brother Gerbaud's emphasis.

[626] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, letter dated November 30, 1810.

[627] Letter dated October 13, 1810, to Brother Gerbaud; referred to by Chevalier, pp. 264-5 and in *Centenaire*,

A note on the 30th of November 1810 brought fresh assurances. Confirming the proofs given by the Rector-general in favor of complete support for the Brothers' Rule, Fontanes added: "Under all circumstances you find me ever prepared to serve you, the more so in that to serve you is to serve religion. I observe with pleasure that in the University Council the name of the Brothers of the Christian Schools never comes up without commendation for their teaching and their schools..."[628]

Unfortunately, this wise and powerful protector was soon to depart the scene. During the last months of his life, shadows gathered on the horizon and had begun to dampen enthusiasm. Imperial tyranny was being practiced against the Pope, and one wondered how far this thing could go in a Catholic country. Stripped of his States and a prisoner in Savone, Pius VII refused to concur in the canonical investiture of priests whom Napoleon wished to elevate to the episcopacy. Paris was looking for ways to circumvent the Holy Father. On the 27th of March 1811 an "ecclesiastical commission" was assembled at the Tuileries along with the leading figures in the Empire. Father Emery spoke with the energy of a prophet in the presence of one of Israel's kings. In order to show that the Emperor had contradicted himself, the Sulpician cited passages from the Catechism of 1806, from the Declaration of 1782 and from Bossuet's statement on the opportuneness of the temporal power of the Roman Pontiffs. He provided a rapid glimpse into the dangers the immediate future might hold: "You are aware, Sire, of the fortunes of war. If you were to leave a young son,...the Pope, who has always been the support of the weak, would come to his assistance.He concluded by asserting that Pius VII would never agree to transfer the right of investing Bishop to provincial councils".

Napoleon listened in silence. In his heart he marveled at this old man who clearly and with the greatest serenity, was reminding him of his duties and instructing him on the limits of earthly power. "Father Emery", he later admitted, "knew what he was talking about!"[629] But in a few days, he would no longer have to look upon the face of the man of God. At the age of eighty, the Superior of St.Sulpice died, on the 28th of April 1811. At his funeral, Father Frayssinous ventured the remark: "They are burying the French clergy!"[630]

Actually, the spirit of Jacques-André Emery continued to inspire the most courageous members of the Church. At the National Council, which was held during the following June, Bishop Boulogne, of Troyes, who preached the opening sermon, testified to the fidelity of pastors to the See of Peter, "which might be transferred, but never destroyed". And Cardinal Fesch himself, who presided over the Assembly, induced his colleagues to corroborate this solemn assertion with an oath. Such resistance exasperated the Emperor, who adjourned the Counsel and threw the Bishops of Gand, Tournai and Troyes into prison in Vincennes. True, the Minister of Religion, Bigot Preaumeneu, wrung from the majority of the Bishops, whose back was to the wall, the unwise promise that canonical investiture would be accorded to the Bishops who had been nominated, provided the vacancies in the Sees looked like they might last more than six months. However, the measure was still subject to Pius VII's approval.[631]

In 1812 and 1813 the conflict had assumed the most grievous proportions, with the transfer of the Pope to Fontainebleau and the guile and violence contrived by Napoleon in order to

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pp. 84-5.

[628] Chevalier, pg. 247; *Centenaire,* pg. 85.

[629] Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la nation francaise*, pg. 551.

[630] Ibid., loc. cit.

[631] Ibid., op. cit., pp. 551-2.

extort from his captive a new Concordat that would place the Church in total dependence upon the Emperor. It was at this point that Catholic opinion finally awakened: complaints were heard in seminaries, presbyteries and religious associations. The police searched out and imprisoned priests who were suspected of an over-ardent attachment to "ultramontanist" doctrines and of indifference toward the Empire. In the eyes of a great number of faithful Christians, who had at one time rallied to the "fourth dynasty", Bonaparte had become (as he had been to the old "Royalists") nothing more than an usurper and, indeed, a sort of anti-Christ.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools provided an instance of such an evolution. At this period, their Superior was no longer referring to "a wise and enlightened government". However, at no time did his political attitude diminish his obedience to the Holy See nor his love for the person of the Pope. On the 7th of January 1811, and therefore four months after his election, he repeated the traditional gesture of heads of the Institute when he addressed a petition to Pius VII: "Brother Gerbaud, Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, humbly prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, asks his apostolic blessing for the entire Congregation and, for the special grace that it might please Your Holiness to renew the indulgence that Your illustrious predecessors have associated with the taking of the habit in this Institute. The petitioner unites his prayers with those of his confreres for the preservation of Your Holiness".

This request was sent to Savone; but in order to be sure that it reached the Pope, Brother Gerbaud was obliged to seek the intervention of the Prefect of the Department of Montenotte, the "Imperial Commissioner" to the Holy Father.[632]

Overall, ideas and feelings at Petit College in Lyons agreed with the line of religious conduct observed by Cardinal Fesch who, having turned down the See of Paris, at the Council of 1811 adopted the orthodox resolutions mentioned above, only to meet with his nephew's outright disfavor. From that time forward he abandoned Paris in order to dedicate his efforts to his diocese. In 1812 he sent the Pope a testimony of his abiding fidelity. His letter, intercepted by the Emperor's agents, cost him a princely pension, a very sensitive point with such a parsimonious man. Nevertheless, his conscience rose superior to the loss of money and was cleansed in the work of the apostolate. His ambition disappointed and his self-love outraged, his greedy search for the good things of this life gave way to a more lively piety and a more exact idea of his episcopal duties. Joseph Fesch pursued his tasks as an excellent administrator; he lived very close to his priests; and he rose to an understanding of the aspirations and the needs of his flock. The Brothers, whom he visited in a fatherly and familiar way, were not the last to benefit from these happy dispositions. And since His Eminent Highness, in spite of Napoleon's anger, had not abdicated the influence he exercised in imperial circles, had not relaxed family ties, political friendships nor his associations with the dynasty, he continued to be able to make frequent and effective interventions on behalf of the Brothers' Congregation.

Father Lyonnet assures us that "a quantity of documents bearing the seal of the office of Chaplain-general" proves this concern: Fontanes' goodwill with regard to the Brothers was thought to have been, for the most part, traceable to the Cardinal constant intercession.[633] And Brother Gerbaud's letters tend to support Fesch's biographer.

On Good Friday in 1811 the Superior-general wrote to his Archbishop: "Upon my arrival in Lyon after a long journey, I was given a letter from Your Most Eminent Highness, dated the

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[632] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

[633] Lyonnet, Vol. II, pg. 133.

2nd of April, which consoled me and all my confreres. I saw in it the attitude of a prince of the Church and of the Empire who does indeed want to be the permanent protector of a poor and (obscure), but useful, Congregation...[634]

On the 11th of July there was another hymn of praise: "Every day brings us a new act of kindness..." And the cheerful debtor went on to cite examples: His Eminence "...had been of powerful assistance to the Brothers at (l'ile) St. Louis, in Paris. He has been good enough to write the Rector-general...concerning the institution that was being sought at St. Malo. He has just obtained...exemptions (from military service) for the young Brothers".[635]

Thus, the Brothers were encircled by a wall of influence, of good and competent services up to the end of the first Empire. Certainly, however, it was not a case of unequivocal freedom for the Brothers. A narrow interpretation of laws and decrees, the sudden hostility of a bureaucrat, intemperate power and changes in the winds of political power always had to be feared. On the debit side of the ledger for the Brothers, Napoleon and his cohorts noted past associations both with the Fathers of the Faith and with the Royalist set in the Faubourg St. Germain, the total lack of enthusiasm for Gallican principles, and a basic fondness for priests and bishops who were in disfavor at court. Extreme caution was necessary in speech and in correspondence. The police were ever watchful, as was the Minister of Religion who assumed something more than supervisorial rights over the members of Congregations. On the 22nd of April 1811 Bigot Preameneu pointed out to Fontanes: "The Brothers...who, as educators, depend upon the University, also depend upon my department." He wanted to know details concerning the "personnel" and the "resources" of their Communities.[636]. The minister's principal concern seems to have been to prevent the reestablishment of an "Order" that was exempt from diocesan jurisdiction, governed by its own superiors and subject only to the Pope. The same mentality would be observed well beyond 1814. There was nothing to say if the Brothers were satisfied to form a "Corporation". They were too valuable, too irreplaceable, for anybody to quarrel too much with them over their internal organization. During the period of direst despotism, the regulations regarding the Brothers might be summarized as follows: foster the opening of their schools, provided that it costs very little to the public treasury; forbid them any but the most elementary instruction; do not be excessively concerned with their manner of life, their monastic practices nor their vows, since it has been clearly defined that they shall not defend any opinions contrary to the Emperor's orders.

On the whole, time passed without too many serious problems. The future would become threatening only if conflict between Pope and Emperor dragged on, and if Napoleon, drunk with his new victories, stubbornly propelled France into schism and unleashed against the Church the massed hounds of Voltairism and Jacobinism.

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But already there were some highly placed persons who questioned the government's future. In the first place, there were the traitors, like Talleyrand and Fouché, who, behind the scenes, planned its collapse; then, there were the lukewarm and the disillusioned who, while not forsaking immediate loyalties, contrived to evade the savagery of their master, controlled the exits, and, at the right moment, would not scruple to defect. Fontanes was numbered among the latter group. As head of the "University", he avoided cooperating too closely with the most tyrannical goals, and he strove to hold himself aloof from the religious struggles. In part through prudence and in part through indifference he postponed detailed decisions and

634 Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

635 . Ibid.

636 National Archives, F17 12455

preferred merely to wait and see.

This arrangement benefited the Christian Brothers and enabled them to get through the critical period between 1811 and 1814. They seemed to have been well informed concerning Fontanes' tendencies and always talked about him in grateful terms. The Superior-general pointed to Fontanes' "acts of kindness" and his "bounty".[637] He was right to be delighted when, as a "special mission", it devolved upon Father Frayssinous to take in hand the Institute's interests and supervise the selection of teachers in the primary schools operated by the Christian Brothers.[638] The Decree of 1808 provided that the Brothers receive a "diploma" and be "administered the oath". Such stipulations might have become complicated. In all probability the oath would take on political overtones and -- in the difficult circumstance in which Catholics were situated -- ran the risk of reawakening the anxieties of 1791-1800. A University degree issued to an individual might well give rise to direct relations between individual Brothers and the civil administration, to the prejudice of the Rule of the Institute. Would it not have been possible for some Brothers, recently returned to their vows and scarcely restored to monastic discipline, to be tempted to act independently of the Superior-general and to comply more easily with the wishes of academic Rectors and city magistrates than with an "Obedience" sent from the Motherhouse?

There was no need to think of solving these problems in detail and definitively. Until further notice, they were matters for tact, mutual restraint and cautious agreement. The matter of the oath did not come up -- so as to produce a sharp conflict -- except in the former Papal States. This incident, which is connected with the history of the Christian Brothers in Italy, we shall recount later on.[639] Brother Gerbaud's skill and the Rector- general gentleness kept it from producing its worst consequences.

The zeal of some of the academic people was in evidence with regard to the question of the "diploma" -- a question that inspired the Superior both to object and to present his own position. The Mayor's office in Ajaccio, probably encouraged by one of the Inspectors, threatened to withdraw the Brothers' "food allotment" until they obtained their "diplomas". Alerted by Brother Director, Joseph de Marie, Brother Gerbaud, on the 28th of July 1811, asked Cardinal Fesch "...to declare...that the Brothers of the Christian Schools, constituting a "Corporation" approved by the government, have a single general diploma, which consists in the inspection of their Rule by the Rector-general.[640] He always adhered with great energy to this assertion. And the procedure ordinarily followed by Fontanes did not contradict it. The authorization to open a school came from Paris. Moreover, the naming of teachers was more often than not subject to the approval of the head of the "University" or his delegate. Ambrose Rendu has drawn our attention to Father Frayssinous' letters of the 7th of September 1811, granting the right to teach to two Brothers, and in a letter of the 15th of November, to four more Brothers.[641] It should be noted that this correspondence is addressed to Petit College, and not to the individual Brothers involved. In other words, it subscribed to the selection made by the Superior-general. Such, surely, was the case when the Inspector in the Paris Academy received word to notify "Messrs. Masse, Fournier, le Quello and Legrand" that they might take up their duties in the elementary schools in Meaux. In religion these men

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[637] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3, letter to the Headmaster, May 19, 1811.

[638] Ambrose Rendu, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 422-3.

[639] See below, Part III, chap. iii.

[640] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

[641] Rendu, Vol. II, pg. 423.

were Brothers Saloman, Marcien, Aaron and Dabert.[642] They remained in complete dependence upon their Congregation. Personally, they possessed neither "certificate" nor "diploma". But, because they belonged to public education, they had to be listed on the roster of the Academy.

The same sort of accommodation obtained also between the imperial "University" and the small association of which we wrote in our previous volume:[643] the "Brothers of the Christian Schools of the Faubourg St. Antoine", known for their Jansenist tendencies. They were reorganizing at the time, in their fashion, without vows and dressed in laymen's attire. Their Superior, Julien Leboucher, sought authorization for those of his colleagues who taught class in the French-Theatre, Observatory and Botanical Garden neighborhoods (of Paris). The "University" Counsel gave its approval; and Father Frayssinous notified these teachers of the Rector-general's decision.[644] Apart from any question concerning professional qualifications and individual tenure in the teaching body, there was the problem of conforming to Article 56 of the Decree of the 15th of November 1811: "Anyone who teaches publicly and maintains a school without authorization will, on the petition of the imperial attorney-general, be turned over to the police court and be subject to a fine...Without detriment to further punishment should one have been guilty of conducting the instruction in a manner contrary to the public order and the common good. This was a strict interpretation of the monopoly.[645] And it was here that the principal peril for the Christian school resided. But the legal competency of the teacher was assumed, if he had been employed by one of the Congregations whose Superior, in virtue of the Decrees of the 17th of March 1808, was a "member of the University".

Far from hindering either the progress or the cohesiveness of the Institute, Fontanes turned a deaf ear to certain refractory elements that demanded to retain the direction of a school in spite of Brother Gerbaud. Étienne Cros, come from the novitiate in Toulouse where he had been singularly honored by receiving the name of "Brother Bernardine", in 1813 taught in the Parisian Faubourg of St. Marcel. Scheming and ambitious, he tried to reinstate Nicholas Vuyart's manoeuvres of the previous century,[646] and carve out an independent fiefdom for himself. The Superior called upon Cros, who had no vocation, to vacate the post. Cros appealed to the Rector-general and his petition took the form of a grave accusation: his letter, dated the 13th of September 1813, declared that he had been invited to take perpetual vows. His response was that such a step was illegal. Brother Gerbaud, on his way through Paris, was supposed to have rebuked him severely, saying to him "out of the hearing of the others": "You're too fond of the government to remain with us". The matter might have taken a nasty turn. Fortunately, Fontanes had observed it as a principle not to inject himself into the internal affairs of Congregations. If, he thought, Brother Bernardine had no respect for the authority of his Religious Superior, he would have to withdraw from the Congregation, and, as a consequence, relinquish his direction of the St. Marcel school. It was an equitable and

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642 National Archives, F17 12455, letter from the Headmaster to Inspector Chambry, dated November 11, 1811.

643 See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 32-34.

644 National Archives, F17 12455; cited by Chevalier, pp. 296-7.

645 Articles 191 and 192 of the same decree ascribe the supervision of the schools to the Prefects, Deputy-Prefects and Mayors. It was an instance of the omnipresent "double-powers". The Minister of the Interior was responsible for reconciling the rights of his bureaucrats with those of the "University".

646 See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 197-201,

common-sensed solution, which clearly displayed the mind of the high-level bureaucrat.[647]

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He wished never to pay attention to any but the serious tributes rendered by his subordinates to the work of the Brothers. In the *Annals of Education* published by François Guizot in 1811, "admiration" was expressed for the results obtained by the Brothers in Langres. The eulogy, which included a reference to the "prayers" and "hymns" for the use of the pupils, was especially valuable for having been the witness of a young Protestant academic who had been called upon to play such an important role in the intellectual and political life of his country. In 1812, Tedenant, the Rector of the Academy in Nimes, stressed with the Rector-general the need to increase the number of schools directed by the Christian Brothers. He wrote in his report. "A school organized by four Brothers is sufficient to teach more than three hundred children, while that number would absorb the efforts of at least eight ordinary teachers. They teach the pupils...morals and religion, while most of the other teachers think it beneath them to talk about the catechism or bring their pupils to Mass on Sundays and Feasts".[648]

Nevertheless, limits were set to the scope of this instruction. In the first place, the Decree of the 15th of December 1811 reduced programs in the primary schools to reading, writing and arithmetic. It enjoined the Inspectors of the Academy to supervise this system rigorously.[649]. To attempt to provide the people with a broader education went contrary to the ideas and interests of the predominant middle-class. The effort to instruct the "ignorant" was handed over to the "Ignorantine" Brothers, provided that no attempt was made to transcend the humblest level of human knowledge. As a consequence, it was impossible to plan for the reopening of the former residence schools. Between the elementary school and the high school or college there was no place for those institutions so intelligently planned by St. John Baptist de La Salle and his disciples in the 18th century, which provided France with industrial groups, business men, navigators, surveyors and bookkeepers, who had good minds and Christian hearts. In its decision of the 17th of July 1812 the "University" Counsel denied to the heads of "elementary schools" the right to admit resident pupils, with exceptions that were sparingly allowed by the Rector-general.[650]. One of Brother Gerbaud's letters to the Marquise de Trans suggests, however, that the friends of the Institute in the beginning expected better at the hands of the "University": "They are offering us the prospects of spectacular pensions", the Superior-general wrote on December 10, 1810. He himself, however, did not think the time was ripe. "We wish", he continued, "to remain within our own sphere and, indeed, at the lowest level, since, in troublesome times, that is the most secure, the only wise, way." [651]And thereby collapsed the modest efforts begun in various places: -- a request by the Brothers in Toulouse, presented by Father Bernadet and warmly welcomed by Bishop Primat proved stillborn.[652]

Elsewhere, the handful of resident pupils that were tolerated were provided nothing (apart

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[647] National Archives, F17 12455. The conflict ended with the ousting of Étienne Cros. Cf. Chevalier, pg. 295.

[648] Quoted by Aulard, *Napoléon Ier et le monopole universitaire,* pg. 247.

[649] Ibid., pg. 265

[650] Des Cilleuls, pg. 295

[651] (Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no.3.)

[652] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. Lémandus, pg. 218.

from room and board) except the usual educational fare afforded day-pupils. Moreover, since it was obvious that the funding of a Religious Community was a relatively expensive proposition, the Christian Brothers could grow only by means of municipal subsidies and the generosity of individual citizens; they could only be expected to penetrate into the more important cities and some of the privileged towns.[653]. For the lack of normal schools in which, according to their Founder's plan, they would have trained lay-teachers for the countryside, they would soon be leaving rather vast areas to be shared by the newer societies organized on their own model, but whose rules had been reconciled with the idea of a broader distribution of personnel and had bowed before local customs and requirements. Around and about the Christian Brothers there could be observed, during the following period, springing up and spreading out, the spiritual sons of Father Chaminade, of Jean-Marie Lamennais, Gabriel Deshayes, Marcellin Champagne, André Coindre and of other saintly priests, imitators of the Canon of Rheims and, with appropriate variations, perpetuators of his educational efforts.[654]

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There was one article of the Rule that especially required the cooperation of the civil arm; that was "gratuity", to which the Superior-general, like his predecessor in Lyons, meant to give the full force of law. His letters are filled with suggestions, reminders and, indeed, with ultimatums on this subject. On the 10th of October 1810 he wrote to Brother Decorosus that classes in Privas would reopen only if the children had nothing to pay, and he immediately carried his point to the mayor. On the 18th he supported the Brothers who refused to leave for Castres, where the Director seemed over-docile to a misguided city government: "Gratuity", he wrote to M. Lastours, "is one of our first obligations".[655] The magistrate and his counsel yielded: "More than four-hundred pupils are being taught tuition-free; the generosity of the good citizens supports the institution", as the preamble to a resolution dated the 8th of May 1811 puts it.[656]. In the preceding November, Brother Paulian, who had succeeded Brother Jonas in the operation of the school in Langres, revealed that in this city the Brothers' "Rule" suffered some mitigation. Brother Gerbaud replied that he was "quite surprised"; and a quick correction was applied.[657].

In Orleans the Community's financial situation was a constant plague for Brother Liberius. One had to speak up, loud and clear, and the head of the Congregation was not shy in this respect with Mayor Crignon-Desormeaux, who, on the 17th of October 1810, defended himself in the eyes of his correspondent. In a copious account, he reviewed the efforts deployed by his city, underscored the results obtained, and laid down the principles in terms of which he found himself in agreement with the Institute.

It was an agreement that he very much wanted and he said so:"Education must be tuition-free. The Brothers must receive exclusively from the cities the funds necessary for their subsistence". But it was still necessary to obtain the imperial authorization: since the Emperor

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653 See Canon Adrien Garnier's book: *Au temps de l'Empire et de la Restauration, l'Église et l'éducation du peuple*, Paris, 1933.

654 Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, letter of November 8, 1810

655 See Canon Adrien Garnier's book: *Au temps de l'Empire et de la Restauration, l'Église et l'éducation du peuple*, Paris, 1933.

656 Archives of the District of Rodez, *Historique des écoles de Castres*

657 Tedenat's report, quoted by Aulard, pg. 248

“has reserved for himself the decision regarding sums set aside...for (primary) education”. “His Majesty has ordered that there shall be twelve Brothers in Orleans, that, in 1810, the city shall grant 4,800 francs for their support (plus 1,000 francs) for their clothing and other necessary supplies”.The “sacrifices” assumed by the city “guaranteed its desire” to support “integrally” its Religious teaching personnel. The remodelling of the buildings on Rue St. Euvertus lent weight to the assertion that here the Brothers had one of their “finest institutions.”

“Housed, fed and clothed, (they) will no longer have...to ask for anything. They will admit all the children that the schools will hold, tuition-free and without restrictions. The mayor was to decide the number of admissions, “in such a way as not to overwork” the young teachers “with tasks beyond their strength” and so as “not to compromise their health” in fetid classrooms.

But the municipal authority did not abide by this basic arrangement. While the easy circumstances of parents was not a reason for excluding pupils from the Brothers’ schools, still the supplying of paper, pens, ink and books continued to be at the expense of families that could pay.

For the period, such a *modus vivendi* seemed on the whole rather generous. Elementary schools, exempt from tuition properly so-called, did not, as those in Rheims did, give the impression of almshouse annexes. On the other hand, Crignon-Desormeaux demanded that there be no teacher transfer that would involve the shutting down of a “neighborhood” school, whether permanently or temporarily.[658]

In the end, however, there was the problem of dooming the Brothers to teaching tuition-free, but at their own expense. To support, come what may, a Community of twelve Brothers on an annual income that had been reduced by the Emperor to 4,800 francs meant sinking into the debt and misery in which Nicolas Cendre had struggled for so long. In a report addressed to the Mayor of Orleans, dated the 17th of December 1810, the impoverished Director explained his situation.[659]

The City Council had been fully aware of it. Thus, at the discussion of the budget in 1812, it proposed, in conformity with decisions it had made earlier, to settle the overall subsidy for the Brothers at 6,000 francs: “If there are cities in the Empire where a man who dedicates his time to tuition-free education...can live...on 400 francs (read the report for the meeting of the 31st of May 1811), it is impossible that such a sum should be sufficient (in the environs of Paris).[660]

The Minister of the Interior obstinately held out against the increase. From then on, Brother Liberius was on the horns of a dilemma: either to die of hunger or send some of his colleagues back to Lyons. Obviously, he decided in favor of the latter, and he so advised Crignon-Desormeaux. The Superior-general could do nothing but approve of this decision. Indeed, he wished that the all-too-patient Director (who had reopened the school in Orleans) had taken the step before his resources were entirely exhausted. In his letter of the 30th of July 1811, he concluded: “Finally, but better late than never. Courage, my dear Brother, and remain as firm as a rock. Nothing will happen but what is pleasing to God.[661]

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[658] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, IR 191. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 250-1.

[659] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, IR 191.

[660] Minutes of the resolutions of the City Council of Orléans.

[661] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

Unfortunately, Brother Liberius was between the hammer and the anvil. Along with M. Champeaux, the Rector of the Academy, Crignon thought he was going to present the Rector-general of the "University" with an "order" that would oblige all the Brothers to remain in place at whatever cost. His correspondence is filled with artless assertions. To Fontanes he wrote: "The Director (of the schools) alleges that the funds allotted by the government...bear no relation to his needs. I do not know the extent to which these complaints are well-founded; but I note with exceeding displeasure that my constituents shall be deprived of a school from which they have received important benefits. The goal was "to compel the school-Brothers in such a way that they would never be able to give up" their schools.

Eight months after this letter was written, the "regulation for Christian schools" had taken shape. The municipal and "University" magistrates, availing themselves of the rights granted them by the Decrees of March 1808 and November 1811, enacted the most detailed measures: five schools were still entrusted to the members of the Congregation of the Christian Brothers;[662] each one consisted of two classes, the first with sixty pupils between seven and nine years of age; the second with fifty pupils, between nine and twelve years of age. Children who "showed a good attitude toward study" would, with the approval of their parents, "be kept in school (longer) and instructed and trained in the art of teaching". Admitted to the schools were only those candidates who, having reached school age, were provided with a permit from the mayor, signed by the Rector. There could be no dismissal without the Academy's approval.

With tuition-free instruction once again in force (except for supplies for the sons of well-to-do families) and without there being the least question of a just salary for the teachers, the bureaucrats racked their brains to lash the galley-slaves to their benches:"The Brothers may not freely leave a school without having first informed the Rector and the mayor one year in advance...In case of a change...the Superior Vicar-general (sic) will be asked never to remove a Brother from a school in Orleans until he has been replaced by a Brother who is a good teacher. Indeed, the teaching personnel was not to be reduced either in quality nor in quantity. Furthermore, the Director was to keep very detailed accounts of the sums paid out by the city treasury.[663].

This draconian decree certainly went beyond the purposes of Fontanes who never wanted to rush things and preferred to allow time to do its work and let experience accumulate. But how to discourage M. Champeaux's zeal? And how does one defend oneself against a mayor who stands up for the rights of his fellow-citizens and who abides by the wishes of the imperial government? The Rector-general thought that he shouldn't get mixed up in money matters; it was important for him to support city officials who favored the progress of popular education; and Crignon-Desormeaux was forever extolling the "understanding", the "usefulness" and the excellent management of the Christian Brothers' Communities.[664] The head of the "University" allowed, then, the Orleans' regulation to be put into effect "temporarily", until such a time (which was so far off that it never came) as a "general regulation" would be promulgated for all Christian schools.[665]

Meanwhile, Brother Liberius died on the job. At the cost of unparalleled efforts and in the midst of the most cruel financial difficulties, he continued his classes, in conformity with the

[662] These were: Holy Cross, St. Euvertus, St. Paul, St. Patern, and St. Laurence.

[663] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, IR 191, Rule of the Christian Schools, March 1812; copy certified by M. Champeaux

[664] Letter, quoted, October 17, 1810, to Brother Gerbaud.

[665] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, IR 191, M. Champeaux's letter to Crignon-Desormeaux, March 18, 1812.

city's and the Academy's injunctions. Without there being any change in the situation of the Brothers at St. Euvertus, the Napoleonic regime skidded to destruction. On the 28th of February 1814, on the eve of the great collapse, Nicolas Cendre died, in his sixties, crushed by responsibilities and work rather than by age, and the Superior-general, on the 5th of March, read the following funeral eulogy in his memory: "He was the Director and the man who restored the school in Orleans, in the midst of a quantity of obstacles and sacrifices, having spent ten thousand francs of his personal resources there, which won all hearts to him.[666]

The principle of tuition-free education, for which he had suffered so much was at least triumphant. Brother Gerbaud's inflexible personality imposed itself on every authority. In order to reveal the machinations of the Mayor of Condrieu, who was a fierce partisan of school tuition, Cardinal Fesch personally wrote to the Rector-general, who, on the 17th of December 1810 replied: "I shall approve of no measure that is opposed to the Brothers' Rule. I have written to the Prefect of the Rhone that this Congregation is a society in which profession is made of maintaining tuition-free schools. I have also recommended to the Rector in Lyons to see whether...the Brothers are not being harassed for the tuition-free performance of their functions.[667]

François Sathonay immediately supplied Fontanes with the clearest evidence: in Lyon "one never fails" to declare that "...all pupils are admitted to the Catholic schools tuition-free; the first reason (for this) is that they belong to a class that is not very well-off; the second is that by asking some of them for a tuition from which the others are exempt, there would result from such a distinction a cause both for pride and for humiliation that would be exceedingly prejudicial to the education of the pupils".[668]

Vainly did the Prefect plead the cause of the Mayor of Condrieu whom a Decree of the 26th of March 1806 had authorized to open a pay-school. This Decree, replied the Rector-general, is "contrary to the Christian Brothers' Rule". In approving the Rule for these schools, the "University" had contracted "an obligation to support it integrally."[669]

But in that case, came the objection of numerous bureaucrats, only the poorest children should be allowed to attend the Brothers' schools. Hence, the Prefect of the Rhone proposed that the teaching personnel in Condrieu be reduced to two Brothers, a solution that Fontanes rejected. And on the 3rd of December 1811, when the Rector of the Academy in Douai (describing it as a "just complaint") sent Fontanes a letter from a teacher under his jurisdiction who protested against the Community in St. Omer which admitted the sons of businessmen as pupils, Gueneau Mussy, asked to look into the matter, came up with the following conclusions:

"It's an opinion, a prejudice, if you will, to make the Brothers' schools unavailable to the children of the rich. But I do not believe that we should pass a law to that effect. If the Brothers have created an order and a discipline in their schools such that the well-to-do do not fear to see their children there mixing with the poor, we must congratulate the good Brothers and not harass them under the pretext that other teachers are unable to compete with them. All that can be demanded of them is that they teach no private classes, that they collect

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[666] National Archives, F17 12453. On the same day there were Fontanes' letters to the Prefect and the Rector. (Ibid. and Departmental Archives of the Rhone, Series T, "University" dispersements, file no. 1).

[667] National Archives F17 12453, December 27, 1810, Prefect's letter to the Headmaster; February 15, 1811, Fontanes' reply.

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no tuition from any of their rich or poor pupils for their own private profit, and that they confine themselves rigorously to elementary education. After all, since the Christian schools are maintained at the expense of the Communes, and since well-to-do landlords provided the largest part of this expense, I do not see why they don't get some benefit from their sacrifices.[670]

Indeed, Brother Gerbaud, availing himself of Fontanes' influence with Napoleon, frankly and with complete confidence, told the Rector-general why the Brothers' salary could not be less than 600 francs annually: "The gentlemen in the Privy Counsel responsible for the Communes' finances might believe that we should...be compensated by gifts or salaries provided by our pupils; but Your Excellency, aware of the scope of our commitments and of our faithfulness in fulfilling them, will be so kind as to emphasize with His Majesty...the disinterestedness and the...poverty that constitute the spirit of our profession".[671]

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It was not enough that the "University" guaranteed respect for the Brothers' Rule and the free use of the educational methods traditional among them. Its assistance was also required to promote the Congregation's recruitment, and to remove obstacles to the regular and continuous functioning of the teaching profession. In this connection, the calling-up of men endlessly occasioned by the state-of-war tended to created many difficulties. "Conscription", the formidable "Damocles' Sword" hanging over youth, could arrest the momentum of many vocations and deprive education and the Religious life of teachers who were just beginning or already trained. The same concern had haunted Brother Frumence. Driven, as we have seen, to seeking out individual exemptions, each year the Vicar-general repeated manoeuvres which, sometimes came perilously close to failure. One might have thought that "University" incorporation and the position achieved by the Brothers in public education would have enabled them to obtain as a right what earlier Napoleon had meant to give only as a privilege. On the other hand, the times seemed hardly propitious for total exemption from this cruel and fearful muster: the Empire was pursuing its struggle against England and extended it from the Elbe to Gibraltar. The number of soldiers under mobilization and the number of conquered countries that had to be kept under the yoke were immense. And the "Continental blockade," the Spanish expedition, the stirrings in the German world and the as-yet obscure designs of the Russians spread a pall of uncertainty over the future.

Nevertheless, Fontanes took the chance of placing the matter before the member of the Privy Counsel who was the Director of Conscription. He, however, had to refer it to the Emperor himself. From December 1810 to July 1811 everything was in suspense. During these months Brother Gerbaud had at his disposal none but the ponderous and uncertain procedures available to his predecessor. Napoleon sought the advice of the Privy Council. That enlightened magistracy thought that France would be running no great risk by preserving a few young men in academic gown or Religious habit, whom the arbitrariness of a conscription lottery might otherwise cast into a military barracks: "teachers, tutors, masters-of-studies and Brothers of the Christian Schools" might, at the request of the Rector-general of the "University", be assimilated to students in the School of Advanced Studies as regards their military service; that is, they would receive an exemption in exchange for six

[670] National Archives, F17 12453, February 3, 1812. The headmaster copied the language of this report in his reply to the Rector on the 15th of the following February.

[671] Letter of September 1, 1812, quoted by Chevalier, pg. 281, following Ambrose Rendu.

uninterrupted years in the service of public education".[672]

So pressing were the Conqueror's demands and the machine that devoured men snatched up its prey with such rapidity that, in spite of promised guarantees, many hapless individuals were led to the slaughter. In 1812 Brother Superior-general wrote: "We have two young Brothers in the army; one of them had made his vows...he was taken from our Community in Meaux...Another has just been snatched from our novitiate in Lyons".[673]

In these circumstances unseasonable zealots and people of ill will had done their work. Elsewhere misunderstandings seem to have been at the bottom of the trouble. Thus, at the end of 1813, in a letter to Fontanes, the Rector of the Academy in Douai explained: "In spite of my entreaties, I am unable to get the Directors of the Christian Brothers to keep me informed of the arrivals and departures of Brothers who are subject to conscription. He complained bitterly about "those so carefully guarded communications". Transfers to which the Academy was not a party were taking place; and, in his unhappiness, the Rector spoke of "deceit" and of intolerable "abuses". He asked that steps be taken so as "to bind" the Christian Brothers, "the teaching branch", more closely "to the trunk to which it seems that it should belong".

The Director of the Community in St. Omer, who was especially under fire, feared, of course, that on the strength of statements made regarding the ten year liability to military service, the "University" might attempt to position itself between young Brothers and the Institute's Superiors, to proceed itself to the selection and transfer of its members, and to determine the employment and professional careers of each Religious educator. The regulation drawn up for Orleans by M. Chapeaux was grounds enough for such suspicions. When a Religious Congregation is introduced into a lay administration, friction and conflict are almost inevitable; such a situation had to be expected, especially during a period of trial and adjustment, and under a regime that was increasingly absolutist as well as less and less well disposed toward the Church.

From the "University" Council Father Frayssinous received the mission of "recommending to the Superior-general the greatest exactitude" in reporting to the Rectors any transfer that might occur in the schools. The Rector-general himself wrote to Brother Gerbaud to the effect that the Institute's schools could not presume to evade the control of the heads of the educational system.[674]

These events, occurring during the last days of the Empire, were without consequence in the tragic situation into which the nation was about to be plunged. It does not seem to have been of such a nature to change our estimate of Fontanes' attitude toward the Brothers.

Regarding military service, how was it possible for an intel −lectual and a civilian bureaucrat to retain his freedom of action? While in a more peaceful arena his power was frequently resisted and contradicted by the Interior Ministry, there was all the more reason to believe that his activities were attenuated in the midst of the exigencies of war that were advanced by the Emperor's more immediate collaborators. On this dangerous ground he could do nothing but exercise a great deal of prudence and, throwing in his lot with an authoritarian ideology, display a particularly strict vigilance, indeed, the sort of severity that was somewhat foreign to his temperament.

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[672] Des Cilleuls, pp. 359-60; Chevalier, pp. 254-255.

[673] Quoted by Chevalier, pg. 258, following Ambrose Rendu, Vol. II, pg. 432.

[674] National Archives, F17 12453: Rector of Douai's letter to Fontanes, November 25, 1813; Central Commission of the "University's" view, December 13; Headmaster's letter to Brother Superior-general, December 28.

But he was his old self once again in the negotiations that had to do with novitiates. Even more than conscription, the extreme poverty of these institutions made the Superior-general apprehensive about the future. The property that had been confiscated in 1791 and 1792 had not been restored. It was no longer possible, as it had been in the past, to receive without charge the remarkable candidates that were the pride of the Congregation but who were without visible means of support. It was impossible to restore *in toto*, as they had existed in the days of Brother Agathon, the practices of Religious and educational formation, preparatory studies, satellite schools, libraries and scientific laboratories. It was necessary that Postulants pay a nominal sum for room-and-board, to require a rather modest dowry,[675] to depend upon the gifts of benefactors, and to refuse to open new schools except in exchange for sums of money paid for the support of a number of novices equal to the number of teaching Brothers that had been sent to the city in question.[676]Article 6 of the "Prospectus" of 1810 reads as follows:

Housing was inadequate. In Lyons, Petit College provided neither grounds nor buildings suited to the good health of young people, nor quiet for their meditation nor freedom for their work. The project so long cherished by Joseph Fesch[677] was still unrealized. Brother Gerbaud had asked Madame de Trans to find "a small house" for the novices in Paris; indeed, his fondest hope rested with the Gros Caillou school.[678].

Unfortunately, there were no suitable sites in the capitol. In 1810 the novices had to be split up between St. Omer and Soissons. Their successors, who were maintained in the Department of the Aisne, did not return to Paris until 1818, after a stay in Laon; while the St. Omer novices did not reappear in the Faubourg St. Martin until 1822.[679]*Essai sur la Maison Mére,* pg. 169. At the time, the Institute's growth was distressingly low. In April 1813 there were only thirty-four candidates in formation at the Motherhouse, twenty-four at St. Omer and ten each in Toulouse, Langres and Soissons.[680]

It was, however, crucial to the "University" to encourage educational vocations, were it only by means of financial assistance. Only the Brothers' novitiates were providing the schools with trained teachers, instructed in the dignity and the duties of their calling, and capable of

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[675] According to one of Brother Gerbaud's letters, the dowry, in September 1810, included: 6 shirts; 6 pocket handkerchiefs; 6 cotton nightcaps; 6 pair of cloth drawers; 4-6 towels; several pairs of stockings; two pairs of shoes; one "round, top hat". (Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook, no. 1)

[676] Since the Institute has no income, we ask a compensation of 500 francs for each Brother, in order to be able to recruit more students. (Copy in the Archives of the Department of the Loiret, Orleans, IR 191 – "certified to be conformed to statutes approved by the government".) The compensation contemplated was the equivalent of one year's room-and-board for a novice. But it happened that Petit College admitted postulants for 400 and even 300 francs or accepted the equivalent "in kind" (wheat, wine, or other foodstuffs).

[677] See above, pg. 141.

[678] Letter of September 14, 1810

[679] Chevalier, pg. 265. St. John Baptist Vianny, the Curé of Ars, nearly sought entrance to the novitiate at Petit College. One of his childhood friends, Brother Gerard, who had entered the Institute at this time (and was to make his perpetual profession in 1818) left the following account of a gesture that was without consequences: Vianny, a student for the priesthood with Father Balay, the pastor of Eculy, came to the seminary in Lyons to be examined for admission to Holy Orders. Because he was too deficient, he was refused...He told me that he would return and apply to become a Brother. On the following day he wrote me not to talk about this matter, and that the pastor wanted him to continue his studies. (*Essai,* pg. 139)

[680] In a letter from Brother Gerbaud to Father Dusaunier, former pastor of Ambroise, June 24, 1810 (Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 1).

supplying children with a sound religious education and elementary instruction systematically presented. We should note that these activities of the Congregation were at least quite well adapted to justify the Rector-general's keen interest and special generosity.

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A list prepared in June of 1810[681] reveals the books used at that time in the classrooms: *Duties of a Christian*, the famous work by St. John Baptist de La Salle, was used both as a "Reader" and for catechism; reprints and reeditions were multiplied pretty nearly limitlessly throughout the 19th century;[682] the first of these emerged during that very year from the presses of Desclassan and Navarre in Toulouse and from Ancelle in Evreau;[683] they were followed in 1811 by an edition that originated in Rouen from Megard, and in 1812 in a publication issued by Mame in Paris. Another work of the Founder and of the Institute, *The Rules of Christian Civility*, with much psychology and tasty comment, placed politeness at the service of evangelical charity. Immediately after the Revolution, this code of good manners that had come down from ancient France still did not seem to have become obsolete; it spread from Rouen into the cities of the Empire. In 1812 Evreux and Paris both offered this text to schoolboys who, to the gratification of their families, deciphered its antique typography. The educational library also included the Psalter, a Missal, Hymnal, Catechism,[684] and a "Speller". The Brothers added for their own instruction, *The Explanation of the Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher.*

They also supplied their Communities with important volumes. In the inventory prepared on the 15th of October 1811 by Brother Tiburtius, Director of St. Germain-en-Laye, we note seventy titles and along with *The Life of M. de La Salle* and the Rule, there was the Catechism of the Council of Trent, *Considerations on the Principal Activities of a Christian* by Father Crasset, Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*, Montesquieu' *Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans,* and, then, for immediate instruction, *Treatise on Arithmetic,* autographed by Brother Agathon and an *Abridged Method for Teaching Geometry*.[685]The revered Brother Tiburtius concludes his inventory with the following lines addressed to Brother Remy, to whom he had just transferred his powers: "May my kind successor support the school and further it for the greater glory of God and the well-being of the Community. Since he possesses the virtue, the skill and the talents required, not only to succeed me but to make of St. Germain a nursery of genuine children of De La Salle, he is in a position to do a great deal of good."[686]

Some, not satisfied with collecting printed materials that would help them in the

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[682] For details see the catalogue in the National Library under "John Baptist de La Salle." Similarly for *Civility*, the *The Conduct of Schools*, and the *Collection of Various Short Treatises*. Concerning these writings, consult Vol. I of the present work, Part III.

[683] In fact, they were preceded by an edition of 1805 by Gauzy, a publisher in Castres. A copy of this early reprint is contained in the Archives of the District of Rodez.

[684] In Toulouse the catechism was the Nantes catechism by Mesnard, approved by Bishop Gilles Beauvau. The children in Languedoc also read *Histoires choisies or Livres d'exemples tirés de l'Écriture, des Pères et des auteurs ecclésiastiques,* 1786 edition. (Lémandus, pp. 158-9) The Community in Castres had the book by the Founder, dated 1734, entitled *Du culte extérieur et public* "with instructions and prayers for Holy Mass".

[685] (Motherhouse Archives, KG x 1, St. Germain-en-Laye file.)

[686] Motherhouse Archives, no. 194. This small volume, written throughout in the handwriting of Francois René Gaudenne, bears on back of the cover the title "*Christian Prayer*."

performance of their professional duties, used the leisure of their holidays (or their evenings) to tran−scribe, translate or summarize passages intended for their own benefit or for that of their confreres. Lately, Brother Rieul had done an Italian translation of Canon Blain's two volumes;[687] Brother Vivien, whose eventful life was filled with all sorts of occupations, composed his thoughts to compile on parchment prayers "for the Way of the Cross", "for Christian behavior", a Litany of the Passion, and "Fifteen Prayers of St. Bridgit"; he set his manuscript in a beautiful Empire binding, dated the 8th of August 1810.[688] In his solitude in the Ardenne, Brother Julien recalled having lived for "nearly thirty years" with the novices of his Congregation; he wished "to leave some evidence of his affection" for those people from whom the Revolution had separated him; and, as good as his word and in spite of the peculiarity of his role at St. Hubert, in 1813 he presented the teachers of the young Brothers in formation ("with the permission of the Dear Brother Superior-general") twenty pages of "advice", supported by biblical quotations.[689]

However, it was Brother Gerbaud's task to provide for the distribution of the important work: namely, *The Conduct of Schools*. The new edition assembled by Brother Agathon in 1788-89,[690]
had survived among the papers that were preserved from destruction. Having analyzed this edition, we would have to say that he had rather thoroughly reworked the original text, and added parts on the training of teachers, the inspection of schools and some interesting sections having to do with residence schools that had lain in the shadows for a century. Such a document no longer accorded with the situation that was opening up to the Brothers after 1804. Besides, the Superior-general, not incorrectly, thought that the restoration of the Brothers demanded a complete return to their beginnings. And so, it was the edition of 1720 that served as the groundwork for his project.

The *Conduct,* anticipated by the Brothers "with a holy impatience", was published in Lyons in 1811 by Mistral. It retained its original title,[691] its motto borrowed from St. Paul's First Epistle to Timothy and embellished with the portrait of the "Founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", an engraving by Bosq, based on the painting by Du Phily.
In his preface, Brother Gerbaud wrote:

"Here...is the sublime *Conduct*, the object of every expert's veneration; we present it to you in all the simplicity of its original text...It had been proposed to correct its somewhat archaic style, but, restrained by the fear of impairing its energy, its unction, or its wisdom..., we have respected its turn of phrase and have altered nothing in it".[692]

Nevertheless, some additions seemed useful: -- "fragments of old notebooks found in our archives...lectures by our Senior Brothers that should be received as pure water from the same spring" as the Founder's teachings.[693] Thus, the First Part (Concerning Exercises) opens with "What a Brother should think of his vocation": "(The man) whom God has called to the

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[688] Motherhouse Archives, EJ a file.

[689] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 599-611.

[690] *Conduite des Écoles chrétiennes*, *divisée en deux parties, composée par Messire de La Salle, prêtre, docteur en théologie et instituteur des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*. The copy in the National Library bears the l'exlibris: *Ex bibliotheca Seminarii Sancti Sulpitii Parisiensis.*

[691] Preface to the 1811 edition, pg. 6.

[692] Preface, pp. 6 & 7.

[693] Conduct, 1811 edition, pg. 15.

Institute... must have nothing on his mind except God and His greater glory, his salvation and that of the children entrusted to him; he shall be persuaded that the one thing necessary for him is his own sanctification; and that upon the fidelity with which he works will depend the help (he needs) for the education (of his pupils)".[694]

This preliminary chapter continues with the suggestion of the "means ...of teaching well": prayer, equability of behavior, silence, good example, vigilance over oneself and one's pupils, "no particular friendships" when it comes to minds and souls, rigorous practice of gratuity, uniformity of instruction, total conformity to the injunctions of the Founder, and assiduity in the accomplishment of the daily task.[695]

We then meet once again with the complete layout of the 1720 edition, going from the "entrance" into the classroom to the "dismissal" of the children, with details supplied concerning lessons, prayers, Mass and catechism. Similarly, the Second Part, "*Concerning the Means of Maintaining Order in Schools",* repeats as a whole and in most of its details the 18th century text. The only noteworthy departures have to do with the chapter on "Corrections". In this connection, Brother Gerbaud totally adopts Brother Agathon's positions. Determined, like him, to introduce into education the new "gentleness of manner", he substitutes systems of "bad marks" and "penances" in place of corporal punishment. The chastisement of former times, he writes, "has been the cross...of the best among us".[696]

However, he was not so daring as completely to suppress the cane: but with him it became "a simple piece of leather, about one foot long and about an inch thick, split at one end into two equal parts". And he hoped that, "with divine protection" and with the goodness of his "dearly beloved confreres", the Brothers will not use this instrument of torture except in cases of dire necessity. His eloquence was move to still the hand that was all too hasty to strike: "Does not the name of "Brother" of itself assume a sense of gentleness, humility, tenderness and mercy?...Haven't your hearts, my very dear Brothers, something to say to that child who implores your clemency when he addresses you as *My Brother*![697]

"Privileges" might be used by pupils as "ransom"; there was a sort of treasury upon which, after the manner of Catholic "indulgences", a pupil might draw in order to obtain the remission of punishment due for faults that were subject to pardon. The system doesn't work if the breach committed reveals a basic ill-will. On the other hand, it is necessarily invoked when the teacher notices that some pupils charged with misbehavior would prefer to endure any "penance" whatever rather than sacrifice a "privilege."[698].

With Chapter Ten of Part Two, "*Concerning the Structure and the Uniformity of Schools and the Furnishings they should have",* the reprint of the *Conduct* that had been published by Brother Timothy came to an end. The Third Part, which the 1720 edition promised but did not provide, now completes the work. It dates from the beginnings of the Society, affirms the

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[695] Ibid., pp. 16-22.

[696] Ibid., pg. 7.

[697] Ibid., pp. 8 & 9. On April 30, 1812 the Superior-general wrote to Brother Abdon, Director of St. Omer: "The less there is of corporeal punishment in your school the more will good order prevail. Warnings, reproofs, threats and reprimands may be used, and very rarely the rod across the hand, but never anything more. It is degrading to slap. It disturbs one's peace of mind...And on April 22, 1818 he wrote to Brother Maurillian, Director of Cambrai:I would prefer that you could leave (the rod) alone, like a huge dog, sleeping in the back yard". (Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, Collections of letters written to Brother Abdon (1810-22) and Brother Maurillian (1818-22).

[698] Conduct, 1811 edition, pp. 230-4

author of the 1811 preface, following the author of the 1788 revision:[699] "It is a collection of precepts and customs...constantly taught and followed". In the past, it was available only to Directors of novices and of schools. Now it was printed in order to provide against the inexactitude of handwritten copies.[700]

It was composed of two chapters of unequal importance. The first is entitled "*Concerning the Director of Young Teachers*". It details the duties of this position, the principles that it is well to inculcate in the minds of future teachers, and the faults that one should especially notice in them. The other chapter, which is much briefer, provides "*the Inspector of Schools*" with a job description: supervision of teachers, supervision of pupils, "changes in the various sequences of lessons", i.e., the classification of schoolchildren according to their progress in reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling and catechism. In brief, Brother Gerbaud developed the suggestions contained in the Avignon document *("The Rule for Directors of new Teachers")* and, in what had to do with the role of the Inspector, closely followed the Parisian manuscript, an edition that is generally dated about 1706.[701] Brother Agathon had earlier devoted himself to this work, which his successor used. For reasons of logical order, he had grouped these pages, as yet unpublished, at the beginning of his major reformulation. In 1811 it was thought preferable to transport them to the end of the book, because what especially wanted emphasizing were the two parts of the Conduct that had been in force for ninety years.[702]

The new Superior-general asked the Brothers to grant a respectful welcome to this fundamental document, as though it were the "Bible" of the Institute. They were expected to read it for "instruction", and not just for "amusement", and still less "to criticize it."[703]
Thus, he expected that the youngest among them should be on their guard against their customary tendencies, and that the Founder's legacy should not seem to them to be a curious relic, but the venerable expression of a spirit which would guide them and their successors. He was grateful for having been able to bring "this first fruit of his zeal" to maturity. To the publication of the Conduct of Schools he proposed to add, later on, carefully analyzed re-editions of other books written by De La Salle. He would have time for nothing more than the *Collection*, which the changes of 1783 had stripped of its character of a modest *vade mecum,* and which reappeared in 1811 in the form that has continued to be appreciated by veteran Brothers.[704]

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Brother Gerbaud, then, needed only a few months in order to give proof of his effectiveness. The Brothers understood what their Superior expected of their educational zeal. Recruits to the novitiates were precisely aware of the purpose of their studies. Actually, the program was not very extensive, and the training was rather summary. Schools had to be manned as quickly as possible. And young Brothers left Lyons, Langres and Toulouse, in the enthusiasm of their calling and in the most splendid bursts of obedience and self-sacrifice, but with a

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699 See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 602-603.

700 Conduct, 1811 edition, preface to Part III, pg. 289.

701 See Vol. I of the present work, Part I, pp. 563-565.

702 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 602 and 603.

703 *Conduct*, 1811 edition, pg. 10.

704 *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 152.

somewhat shallow supply of knowledge. Fortunately, their education was capped by experience, and, for most of them, love of the duties of their calling made up for individual shortcomings. The hardest working, the best endowed among them became superb Directors who, by constant application, the grasp of the overall operation, and by a methodical approach to their tasks worked wonders and influenced both their colleagues and their pupils with energetic conviction with the stamp of their own sturdy talents and their moral earnestness.

In the situation in which elementary education existed at the beginning of the 19th century, there were no teachers to rival the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Apart from the tiny Society that was in the process of regrouping its forces, there existed scarcely none with a professional formation. Of all the Departments in the Empire in 1810, only the Upper Rhine had opened a normal school and set aside 6,000 francs a year to support scholarship students. It wasn't until 1820 that this example was followed by the Moselle and the Meuse.[705]

The "University" was planning to organize courses in the high schools and colleges for prospective teachers. But it also sought to have the Brothers accept such candidates into their houses of formation -- the solution proposed in 1812 by the Rector of the Academy in Orleans.[706] This was an evident proof of the respect in which the Brothers' pedagogy was held. The best arrangement, the one that would immediately supply the most generous results, would have involved the granting of subsidies to the Congregation novitiates. Fontanes came to that conclusion in June of 1811. In response to the Rector-general's proposals, Brother Gerbaud replied with the following overview:

"It is certain that well-directed novitiates will always be quite valuable...Young people will there gain knowledge and virtuous principles that will put them in a position to succeed, whether in an ecclesiastical vocation, or with the Brothers or by taking up with a private institution. For we must not conceal the fact that many will not persevere (in a Religious vocation).

Our institutions in Lyons, Paris and Toulouse would have to be enlarged. Their dormitories, especially, left something to be desired; but the gardens offered students the relaxation and the clear air that are so necessary for them".

From that time on, novices in Lyons, Toulouse, Paris, Langres and St. Omer were allotted scholarship funds.

Finally, the Superior raised a question that was close to his heart and that he quite correctly introduced into a plan that was intended to promote the progress of his Institute. In his view, "University" assistance should be extended to the aged and infirm Brothers. Many families would oppose their sons' aspiring to the vocation of a Christian educator when they contemplated the last days of retired teachers. One had to face the fact that "the spirit of faith rarely outweighs the strongest natural feelings". Even the most genuine vocation can falter in the fear of ending up in old age in severe poverty.[707] In this connection, unfortunately, the imperial bureaucracy exhibited a singular narrowness of mind: one objected that "the University could not provide gratuitous assistance", nor, as a consequence, employ their finances "for the relief of the aged and the sick".[708] Brother Gerbaud's arguments had not succeeded in influencing an insensitive administration. The Senior Brothers who had

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[705] E. Gossot, *Essai critique sur l'enseignement primaire, pg. 83.*

[706] Des Cilleuls, pp. 347-8. See above, pg. 260

[707] Brother Gerbaud's letter to Fontanes, June 26, 1811. National Archives, F17 12455. Quoted by Chevalier, pp. 262-4.

[708] Report of the head of the IInd Division, Ed. des Vignes, to the Headmaster, June 17, 1811; same references.

reassembled at Petit College had been for a long time reduced to the meagre income they had won during the Revolution -- the pitiful annuity allotted by the government to Religious who had been dispersed in 1791; and some of them may have been completely dependent upon the Superior-general.

On the 22nd of February 1812 Gueneau Mussy and Father Frayssinous informed Brother Gerbaud of a subsidy of 22,000 francs for the novices. The sum was to be divided among fifty beneficiaries, who would have to be included on the "matriculation lists". Further, the "University" was not "committing itself" for more than a year.

A spokesman for the Rector-general added: "We do not believe, however, that we are over-stating it when we assure you that if this first test answers to our expectations, the Council will be prepared to make further sacrifices. Fontanes continued in his intention to respect the Brothers' Rule and the freedom enjoyed by the "internal" government of the "Corporation". "His Excellency wish(ed) to extend the good" that the Brothers had achieved, without "changing anything" of their procedures and customs.[709].

The new financial arrangement was a relief to the Directors of novices. The lists that had been requested were drawn up between March and May of 1812. The one from Langres was supported by the most laudatory testimonials of the Mayor, the Deputy-prefect and the Inspectors of the Academy.[710] In this way, 4,000 francs were paid out to Brother Paulian, who took advantage of the new wealth to admit a few "supernumeraries" and, "encouraged" by other gifts, he enlarged the chapel, built new "cells" and remodelled "the common-room and the recreation room."[711].

Why were there not the same results at Lyons, St. Omer, Toulouse and Soissons? Were the disappointments experienced by Brother Gerbaud the product of political reversals, the disorders born of the absence of the Emperor, who had left on his dreadful Russian adventure, and of the military conspiracy which, led by General Malet, succeeded in distracting official circles? More simply, we suspect, if not the hostility, at least the fussiness of the bureaucracy and its appetite for red-tape. In the words of the "Head of the Second Section" of the "University" administration, the "documentation" supplied by the Brothers contained "irregularities". The papers were returned to Petit College, but no satisfactory replies were forthcoming within the prescribed time-limit. As a result, apart from the subsidy granted the novitiate in Langres, only 250 francs were allotted to a Parisian novice! Funds for the year 1812, therefore, up to the amount of 20,750 francs went undisbursed.[712] And, thus, we come to the middle of April 1813, to the commotion of a new military campaign, in the midst of the calling up of military conscripts in the twenty-years of age group, to "Marie-Louise", to the eve of "Lutzen" and a few days prior to "Leipzig". While the early sounds of the collapse were in evidence, the offices continued serenely to turn out their reports; neither time, nor transactions in progress, nor emergencies seemed to matter. Vignes suggested to Fontanes that he place the business of the novitiates in the hands of Mussy: the faithful assistant to the Rector-general "would be able to get together personally with the Superior-general during his stay in Lyons".[713] The time seemed ill-chosen. Nevertheless, the

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[709] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, *Reorganization of the Institute*

[710] National Archives, F17 12453, an entire file concerning subsidies.

[711] Ibid., letter from Brother Paulian, Director of the novitiate in Langres, to M. Fontanes, December 16, 1812

[712] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, copy of the Ed.des Vignes report to the Headmaster, dated April 13, 1813. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 264-5.

[713] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, copy of the Ed. des Vignes report to the Headmaster, dated April 13, 1813.

bureaucrat's suggestion pointed to an unalterable concern for the Brothers. Purse-strings were loosened only with difficulty; and many were the people in the "University" who did their best to make the Brothers feel the weight of their authority. The Brothers found themselves in the grasp of a cluster of dictatorial laws, bureaucratic rivalries and financial procedures, from which they would not succeed in freeing themselves as long as the Empire endured. And it's clear that, like many a Frenchman, they welcomed the hour of its fall with a sigh of relief. They would never forget, however, what they owed to Fontanes.

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The tact of the distinguished official and that of his associates, Mussy, Rendu and Frayssinous, left Brother Gerbaud every latitude to govern the Christian Brothers. Since, concerning the civil authorities, the Superior (at least for the time being) retained a rather easy mind, his own efforts centered upon making the Institute totally worthy of people's confidence and capable of restoring the traditions of its glorious past. An account in 1822, dedicated to the memory of this distinguished Superior did not conceal the setbacks and sufferings that the enterprise provoked for him: "Nearly all the schools...had been reopened by Senior Brothers, as order had been restored...These Brothers, while (characterized) by good qualities, had brought back with them from the world certain practices that were hardly compatible with the perfection of the Religious life...A sort of independence had to be replaced by subjection and submission, and poverty had to replace the small properties that each of them had possessed before reentering..."Such reforms were not effected without "conflict" and "collision."[714] Among the younger Brothers, there were those who regarded teaching as a port in a storm: the Brother's robe appeared preferable to the soldier's uniform, since it rescued them from the perils of war, or it enabled them to avoid flight into some isolated village or mountain fastness, where so many "draft-dodgers" hid out between 1804 and 1814. It was necessary to test such dubious vocations, refine their motives, or else make up one's mind to dismiss them. Many of them, whose presence meant trouble for the Communities and inconvenience for the schools, left to themselves, were in no hurry to leave until after Napoleon's fall.[715]

In order to inspect the Congregation's situation at close quarters and become acquainted with each of its members personally, Brother Gerbaud decided to visit each of the Communities that were "in Obedience" to Petit College. It meant travelling throughout France - the Rhone Valley, Franch-Comte, the Alps, the Massif Central, the Garonne Valley, from Toulouse to Bordeaux, the Center of the country, from Orleans to Champagne (with a necessary stop in Paris), and then to a corner of Normandy, the coast at Boulogne and Calais, the St. Omer region and, beyond the former frontier, into the Belgian Ardenne. Only the Communities in Italy, which were still too far away, were excluded from an itinerary that was actually too ambitious. According to an estimate provided by the Superior himself in his letters of the period,[716] he visited more than forty Communities. At the time the Brothers officially numbered 274; and the 203 Brothers em−ployed in the schools were each of them teaching and average of between 60 and 80 children.[717]

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[714] Ibid., *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 21-2.

[715] Motherhouse Archives, *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pg. 22.

[716] See above, pg. ???. In a letter dated November 16, 1810, addressed to Brother Theodoritus, Brother Gerbaud speaks of 43 houses.

[717] Canon Garnier, op. cit., pg. 10, according to 1811 statistics. The total comes to approximately 12-13,000

Thus, like St. John Baptist de La Salle and his disciple, Brother Irenée, the apostolic voyager took off alone and travelled on foot. According to his necrological notice, "...frequently he spent the day without entering an inn, making do for food with some bread and cheese that he carried in his sack, (and drinking) water from the stream.[718]In his three-cornered hat and his mantle, he attracted the attention of passersby; but to come upon this rather puny man, with his sort of washed-out look, one would scarcely suspect the role he played in his Congregation and in the imperial "University". Unobtrusively, he arrived at the residences of his confreres. Once again, in the pages of his "Obituary"[719] we read that, on a holiday, he found the Community he was visiting deserted; he left his walking stick at the door and went off to pray in the neighboring church, where the Brothers eventually found him.

The tour lasted seven months. Since it concluded in Holy Week of 1811,[720] it probably began a few days after his election to the generalate. There is reason to believe that, prior to October, the superior met Mayor Crignon-Desormeaux in Orleans.[721]He had headed, therefore, immediately from Lyons northward, saving the regions situated closest to Petit College for the return-leg of the journey. The "Retreat" made by the Brothers of Chartres in Paris in 1810 perhaps coincided with his visit to Paris: (on that occasion) "we became acquainted with the Parisian Brothers and others", writes Brother Joseph, the Director of the school in Chartres; "it seems" (he continues) "that from that moment, everything became normal".[722] The same effect was produced by Brother Gerbaud's stay at St. Hubert's in Belgium, with his former master of novices, Brother Julien. It is assumed, with high probability, that the latter, happy to welcome his erstwhile disciple who had become his Superior, at that time resumed the wearing of the habit of the Institute, along with his entire Community.[723]shows that he lived under the enduring and beneficent influence of that meeting.

All that hardship and all that wise conversation, and the direct example given to the Brothers of the Congregation could not have gone on without realizing important results. Henceforth, the Superior's letters would retain for the Brothers the echo of his voice and would prolong, so to speak, his peremptory gesture and the influence of his character. He himself would have been able to sort out the strengths and the weaknesses of each Director, professed Brother and postulant, and estimate precisely the value and the future possibilities of functioning institutions, and adapt his discourse and his commands to souls and to the variety of circumstances.

Old and new schools alike would feel the effect of this powerful contact. Directors could be selected on the basis of firsthand knowledge; mistakes could be corrected; and initiatives could be sustained.

The school in Annonay, in the Ardache, was the first to be created in this generalate. It was

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pupils. The figure 24,000, given a few lines earlier by the same author is out of all possible relation to the teaching personnel and suggests a slip of the pen.

[718] Relations mortuaires, Vol. I, pg. 21.

[719] Ibid., loc. cit.

[720] According to the Superior-general's letter to Cardinal Fesch quoted above, pg. ???

[721] Crignon-Desormeaux, in his letter of October 17, 1810 (above, pg. ???), speaks of his recent interview with Brother Gerbaud

[722] Motherhouse Archives, FG j, Chartres file, Brother Joseph's notes.

[723] Felix Hutin, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 54-5. His brief note dated 1813[723]See above, pg. ???

confided to Brother Servulus who, toward the end of the Revolution,[724]had been teaching school in the Upper Vivarais and whose services had been sought in 1805 from Brother Frumence by the pastor and dean, Father Picancel.[725] Negotiations were concluded only in October of 1810. The people in Annonay were fully satisfied, and the Institute received assurances respecting all guarantees by sending a man who was the embodiment of the Lasallian ideal.[726]

Brother Paul de Jésus was named to restore and reform the school in Valence. The protestations of obedience repeated by the aged Brother Evaristus immediately after the Chapter,[727]had touched Brother Gerbaud. St. Chamond lost, and the Drome gained, Étienne Borie whose indomitable courage and spirit of discipline and humility were everywhere recognized.[728] Writing to him on the 12th of October 1810, Brother Gerbaud set forth his expectations: "What guides us is the limitless confidence that we have in you. You know that for a very long time the poor Community in Valence has been languishing...It is a precious institution, but a shaky one, unless prompt assistance is applied; only you can (help). Brother Paul had been satisfied with his position of Sub-director; but he had been intended to replace the elderly and ill Brother Evaristus - on condition, of course, that the classes in Valence became "totally tuition-free". If not, the school would be promptly given to "another Director". But Brother Gerbaud did not have too many options. Not without a certain severity, his letter concludes: "What we lack are Brothers of your calibre."[729]

Eight days later, Brother Evaristus, along with his new associate and Brother Justinian de Marie, addressed the following petition to the Prefect, the Baron Descorches: The Brothers of the Christian Schools, reassembling in order to resume the direction of the city's schools, "dare hope...that you would be kind enough to provide them with subsistence", in order to enable them to admit pupils tuition-free; since their Rule, approved by the civil authority, "expressly forbids" them to teach paying pupils.[730] The Prefect was quick to subscribe, in principle, to the wishes of the Brothers who "inspired (him) with so much solicitude and respect". Unfortunately, however, the government had just cut his budget.[731] In that case, declared the Superior-general, classes would be open only to the extent that salaries would be paid. Let Brother Evaristus not be deluded with empty promises: "The older we get, my very dear Brother, the greater reputation we have...and the more, too, are we obliged to give example...and we shall be responsible for it before God".[732]

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[724] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 425.

[725] Motherhouse Archives, JF z4, Annonay file, letter of June 22, 1805.

[726] Centenaire, pg. 101.

[727] Motherhouse Archives, File BE b2, Brother Evaristus' letters to the Superor-general, September 13 & 26, 1810.

[728] See Index to Vol. II of the present work, "Paul de Jésus", Brother.

[729] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2.

[730] Motherhouse Archives, JF a 6, Valence file, petition dated October 19, 1810, signed by three Brothers.

[731] Ibid., letter from the Prefect of the Drôme "to M. Evaristus, Dean of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Valence", October 25, 1810.

[732] Ibid., Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, letter of October 29, 1810 to Brother Evaristus.

Neither was the Director of Ajaccio spared rebuke. He had incurred criticism for admitting resident pupils into a school that had no permission to have them. "Why do you do what the Rule forbids?"[733] But the exceptional Brother Raymond, the linchpin in the Institute's growth in Corsica, could count both on Brother Gerbaud's approval and Cardinal Fesch's support when he instructed the young islanders in the catechism and the French language. And His Most Eminent Highness did not want anybody "to betray the purposes of the government", which was thoroughly determined to conduct an openly nationalistic education throughout the island.[734]

Elsewhere, the Superior of the Institute had to listen to petitions and complaints. As a replacement for the late Brother Micheus in Meaux, he appointed Brother Hervé (Pierre Nicolas Hibst), one of Brother Vivien's associates in Rheims. Brother Hervé did not appear to be up to what was required of him. His colleague, Brother Felix and a benefactor and former business man in Meaux, Jacques Étienne Petit, reported Hervé to Brother Gerbaud as a man without authority and education, incapable of conducting class, careless of the most elementary good manners, and indifferent to the good order and well-being of the Community. What a contrast to the distinguished Brother Micheus (Nicolas Lombard) who was "so pious and zealous to speak about heavenly things"! Petit respectfully evoked recollection of this Brother of whom Brother Gerbaud was so fond;[735] and at the same time he recalled to the former Director of Gros Caillous the work so successfully carried on throughout the Paris region: could the new Superior-general ignore one of the schools he had initiated? Something had to be done, and quickly.[736]

But there were other failures with which to conjure. Brother Lysimachus was powerless to resist the politicians in St. Omer, the Rector of the Academy in Douai as well as a number of clerics. The letters he received from Lyons alternated between reproach and encouragement: "Let us not create difficulties where none exist. I have sent you a prospectus that you are to follow in planning your school; if you don't, it will have to be closed down...In order to resolve the difficulties with the Rector, observe the Rule...If you do not remain at St. Omer...we will give you a fine Directorship, where you will be able to exercise your zeal...I suggest that you not allow strangers to give our holy habit to young people who have not made a novitiate. All we need to discredit our vocation is that sort of charade. Brother Gerbaud wanted this man who had been Brother Agathon's faithful companion to immerse himself once again in the atmosphere of Petit College - the joy, charity and peace that reigned in the Motherhouse, where seventy Brothers and novices lived "as (with) one heart and one soul". And, for the edification of the Director, wavering and impulsive, he quoted a verse from the Psalms: [737]

A file in the National Archives proves that Brother Lysimachus moved heaven and earth to

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[733] Ibid., notebook no. 3, letter of May 2, 1811.

[734] Archives of the Archbishopric of Lyons, Cardinal Fesch's correspondence, letter dated October 24, 1810 to Brother Raymond.

[735] Brother Michaeus, born in Bréhéville, was, according to one of the letters we have seen, a relative of Brother Gerbaud.

[736] Motherhouse Archives, KG v 1, Meaux file, J.E. Petit's letters dated September 25 and December 28, 1810, and January 13, 1811; and Brother Felix's, dated November 8, 1810.

[737] *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum, habitare fratres in unum*.[737]Ibid., Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, letters dated October 12 and November 13, 1810.

obtain what his Superior wanted: the Mayor of St. Omer, the Rector-general of the "University", the Minister of the Interior, the Director of the Commune's accounts, and the Rector of Douai exchanged letters between 1810 and 1812 concerning the Brothers who were "reduced to the ultimate extremes of material need' and were on the verge of "abandoning the reins of elementary education,"because the government refused them "suitable financial support". Fontanes demanded justice; the ministries alleged that the Brothers in St. Omer had not yet "been recognized as such". The Rector also pleaded their cause: alerted by the Brother Assistant Jonas, he emphasized the advantages presented by the novitiate. Words proved to be as useless as efforts were powerless: matters fell into a rut in which - until the end of the Napoleonic period - so many decent people got bogged down for the want of help at the hands of the supreme dispenser of the nations' wealth.[738]

For reasons of a different sort, the St. Denis school also had worries in store for Brother Gerbaud. In 1808 Brother Frumence had congratulated himself on the reopening of this institution that was almost as old as the Institute itself.[739] The Brother who, in 1793, had saved the relics of the Apostles of Lutece, the courageous Brother Paul,[740] resumed his post not far from the famous church. But M. Mouhaud, whom he took on as his assistant, assumed the title of Director; he was a married man who dressed as a Brother. The Superior-general objected openly to this intolerable usurpation. He blamed Brother Paul for the situation and complained about it to Fontanes. Nouhaud, whose "competency" the Superior respected, would have to step down - short of which St. Denis would never be included among the Institute's schools, since the Institute no longer intended to tolerate "outsiders", who had neither novitiate nor vows. "If there ever had been a time when such arrangements were justified, it was now necessary to return to the pure Lasallian tradition. By "joining" the Gros Caillou Community Brother Paul would be cleansed of every suspicion and error. And, to fill out the personnel, he would be teamed up "with two superb Brothers, worthy of public confidence."[741]

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We leave now these rather restless regions. While continuing to follow a chronological order as far as possible, we shall allow our attention to come to rest on areas which, to Brother Gerbaud's great joy, were composed completely of "regular" Communities. In November 1810 the Brothers were called to the capitol of Savoy (which, at this date, was under French rule) by Bishop Charles Augustus Forbin-Janson, a suffragan of Lyon in Chambery, a future bishop of Nancy, a future missionary and founder of the Society of the Holy Infancy. Three Brothers opened a school founded on funds provided by Canon La Palme, later Bishop of Aoste: this was the modest beginning of one of the Congregation's

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[738] National Archives, F17 12453, letters from the above-mentioned bureaucrats, November 28, 1810, January 17, 1811, May 2 & 25, 1811, and May 15 & 31, 1812.

[739] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence file, Resumes, notebook no. 1, letter of November 10, 1808, to Brother Paul.

[740] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 410

[741] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, Drafts, notebook no. 1, Brother Gerbaud's letter to the Mayor of St. Denis, September 24, 1810; National archives, F17 12453, Brother Gerbaud's letter to Fontanes, November 4, 1810; Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, Brother Gerbaud's letter to Brother Leufroy, Director of Gros Caillou, November 19, 1810.

glorious provinces, where, twenty-seven years later, there were fifty-five Brothers distributed over fifteen Communities.[742]. Then, the men who were restoring the Institute turned their attention to Avignon, the region where, for a century, their predecessors worked so intensely and where some of them had spilled their blood. Brother Joseph de Marie left his Community in Toulouse in order to resume, in the former headquarters of the "southern province", the work of men like Stanislaus, Timothé and Florence. He had the reputation of being a worthy successor to these great figures out of the past. On the 9th of December 1810 his Superior sent him an "Obedience", and the schools opened "during the new year".[743]

Without further delay we move into Brittany. Father Gabriel Deshayes, Rector of Auray, sought to invite the Brothers. He himself was conspicuous both for his priestly virtues as well as for his educational skills. A deacon in 1792, he was ordained to the priesthood outside of France, during the Terror, by Bishop Treguier, who had taken refuge on the Isle of Jersey. Immediately thereafter he had flung himself back into the turmoil in order to exercise his ministry in favor of his fellow-citizens in Brittany. For nine years he wandered the countryside that had risen up in revolt against Jacobin tyranny. Sometimes disguised as a farmhand or a miller, sometimes as a policeman, he eluded capture by his composure, boldness and energy. Not even when peace was restored to the Church did his zeal slacken: Bishop Pancemont of Vannes, in 1805 appointed him to the parish in Auray. Father Deshayse continued to be primarily an evangelizer and an organizer in his native Morbihan. Then, one day he got together with Jean-Marie Lamennais to found the *Brothers of Christian Instruction,* also called the "*Ploermel Brothers*". Shortly thereafter, in the Vendée, as Superior-general of the Society of Mary and the Sisters of Wisdom, and as the "Founder-of-record" of the *Brothers of St. Gabriel,* he succeeded to and extended the heritage of the Blessed Grignion de Montfort.

During the First Empire he planned to secure the services of some of the Brothers in Lyons in order to advance the cause of popular education. In June 1808 he sought Brothers from Brother Frumence, who was, regretfully, unable to satisfy his request. There was a futile intervention on the part of Pancemont's successor, Bishop Bausset Roquefort, who once, as the exiled Bishop of Frejus, had enjoyed the hospitality of Brother Eulogius in Ferrara: Brittany, he was informed from Petit College, was too far away,[744] and vocations were too few. But finally the growth of the Institute enabled the new Superior to supply "three missionaries" to the persistent Father Deshayes.

These men, Brother Gerbaud declared in his letter of the 5th of November 1810, "will waste not time...Their seats have already been reserved on the stagecoach". They would embark at Moulins, go down the Allier and then the Loire, as far as Nantes. They were commended to the "kindness" of the pastor, to his "good counsels", and to his "prayers and holy sacrifices".

Their Superior introduced them individually: "There is Brother Gerontius, the Director, who is forty-eight years of age, an upright and God-fearing man, who is also a writer; he is retiring and requires solitude, in the company of his Brothers,[745] according to our Rule...There is

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[742] Revista lasalliana for June 1937. *Inizi scolastici dei Fratelli in Piemonte*, and issue for September 1937, *L'attiività internazionale del Fratel Marin*

[743] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

[744] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence file, Resumes, notebook no. 1, letter of June 23, 1808 to Father Deshayes; Drafts, no. 2, letter to the Bishop of Vannes, February 27, 1809; Resumes, no. 2, letter to Father Deshayes, May 20, 1809.

[745] Above (pg. 244) we mentioned the edifying death of Brother Gerontian in 1813.

Brother Boniface, eighteen years of age, a tender child of God, whose beautiful soul is like the driven snow; but he teaches like an angel, and you will be very happy with him;...Brother Matthieu, who is twenty-three years old, (is assigned) for temporal affairs and as a teaching substitute in case of need; he has a great deal of goodwill and common sense.[746]

The pastor of Auray must certainly have wanted to open a novitiate in the town, since, agreeing with him, the Superior of the Institute added: "I hope that these three Brothers...will become the fathers of spiritual offspring...(and) that your candidates will see in them models for their holy emulation".This was the first step along roads that had opened up to the priest's plans, and it was a step that the Brothers would take with him. In the very near future, Father Deshayes would make his way in the company of young disciples who were personally committed to him.

He had ambitious plans: he wanted to care for deaf-mutes, as well as to restore the school of navigation that had at one time flourished at Vannes under the direction of Brothers Agathon and Aibert.[747]. Brother Gerbaud had written: "I admire the Rector's zeal[748] ...But we must consider the nature of our vocation. We maintain only Christian and tuition-free schools. Furthermore, it was impossible in a single novitiate year to train specialized teachers.[749]

On the 1st of January 1811 classes began under conditions determined by the Superior of the Brothers. However, Father Deshayes did obtain a fourth Brother in the task of securing instruction for a couple of hundred young Bretons. In the holy city of Auray, saturated with the blood of martyrs and reechoing to the sounds of prayers and hymns, the Director (Brother Gerontian) and Brother Boniface (the "angel") worked wonders. The eighteen-year old teacher found the time, between classes, to study mathematics. Thus, in spite of expectations to the contrary on the part of the Motherhouse, Boniface, a man from the mountains, taught the sons of sailors the mathematical principles of coastal navigation. He wrote his course out in the form of a treatise, and it became the first work from the pen of a man who was tireless in the service of youth and of the entire Congregation.

But his dedication was not confined to science. Later on (through a change of names that is not unprecedented in the Institute) as Brother Philippe, he paved the way to the massive apostolate of his mature years by raising his pupils' souls to God. As he taught arithmetic and spelling and led his tiny flock to Mass, his prayer hovered over this or that child and his instincts as a Brother sought out vocations. In Auray, between 1811 and 1816, this supernatural action brought nearly forty pupils to the priesthood and the cloister.

Such were the beginnings of a marvelous life under the aegis of Brother Gerbaud and Gabriel Deshayes. The priest who, at the time, was at the height of his powers of wisdom and experience, and the young Matthieu Bransiet, freshly emerged from the novitiate, occupied the same ground, identified with each other as close kindred spirits and had set out for common goals. Alluding to the veneration that the precocious teacher was already inspiring, Father Deshayes described Brother Boniface as "a youth possessed of the wisdom of age". And he confided to Brother Gerontius: "I wouldn't be surprised but what he will become the Superior of your Congregation."[750] When the prophesy was fulfilled, Father Deshayes

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[746] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 2, letter to the pastor of Auray.

[747] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 442-443 and 507

[748] The reference is not to the Rector of the Academy, but to the pastor himself, who, according to usage in Brittany, is called "Rector."

[749] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3, letter of December 6, 1810, to Brother Gerontian.

[750] The Most Honored Brother Philippe's obituary notice and various biographies. Cf. G. Rigault, *Un grand*

himself was guiding several Religious Congrega−tions. In the recalling the bonds that united the Rector of Auray and the youth who had been translated from his hamlet of Chaturange into far-off Brittany, the Brothers of St. Gabriel and the Christian Brothers could find special reasons for friendly cooperation.

Like ”St. Anne’s land", Lisieux, in neighboring Normandy, destined to become sacred soil, invited the sons of De La Salle. The school founded by Bishop Condorcet had vanished in 1791. At the beginning of the 19th century two former Brothers attempted to reopen it. One of them, Louis Joseph Cayez, was the Brother Gerontius whom we met in Lyons and in Besancon and from whom we have just parted company on the site of his last assignment. The other was Gerontian’s younger brother, Étienne Cayez who, because he was married, was unable to restore the Institute to the region of Auge.[751] Nevertheless, the people in Lisieux desired that the building that had once been furnished by their bishop be returned to its traditional purpose. And it was along these lines that the City Council decided on the 16th of February 1805.[752] On the 19th of April 1805 the Prefect of Calvados wrote to Fourcroy that the house had never been sold; and that the city’s request seemed to him to be “quite justified”.[753]

The Administration for Public Property hesitated to relinquish confiscated property. Besides, it had set up the Sisters of Providence in Rue Bouteiller, and these occupants did not leave the place until 1808. But as soon as this began to happened, Mayor Nasse returned to the charge. “Hopes” for the school were expressed by Brother Gerbaud, who was at the time the Director of the Brothers in Paris. Later, Nasse’s successor, Thillaye-Duboullay made repeated demands with the imperial bureaucracies. As usual, he ran up against financial objections. The 3,000 francs voted in 1809 seemed an exorbitant sum to people in high places. With the President of the Civil Court, Lebret Desert, consenting to advance the money out of his own pocket, agreement was finally reached. The Brothers promised to set out for Lisieux: the Superior-general placed them under the direction of Brother Blimond who, as a teacher at St. Germain-en-Laye, had won his complete confidence. After some delay, the refurbishing of the building was completed and the school was opened on the 18th of January 1811. Two-hundred children descended upon it.

They benefited from the “heroic virtue” of André Gosset, a Director who was quickly loved and admired in a city in which he would reside for more than nineteen years, until his death on the 9th of March 1830. He was a Brother after the Superior’s own heart, a man who lived and died with “the reputation of a saint.”[754]

éducateur apostolique, le Frère Philippe, Paris, 1932.

[751] On the school at Lisieux during the Revolution, see the Index to Vol. III of the present work.

[752] City Archives of Lisieux, D, 32, meeting presided over by Deputy Lerebours.

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[754] City Archives of Lisieux, D, #33 and #65. Relations mortuaires, Vol. I, pp. 160-1. Archives of the District of Caen; Historique de la maison de Lisieux. Departmental Archives of Calvados, Series T. This file, over the signature of Deputy-Prefect Le Cordier, supplies an “account of the Brothers of the Christian Schools” in Lisieux as of June 14, 1811: there were five functioning teachers: Brother Blimond (André Gosset) 51 years of age, Francois Jullien, Victor Vidal, Pierre Francois Satin, Pierre Nicolas Riant, aged respectively, 29, 21, 29 and 17 years. “On the authority of the Rector-general of the “University", they resided in their old house...They each received a subsidy of 600 francs...paid by the city". At the time, 250 pupils “were being taught tuition-free”.
Brother Blimond, born in St. Blimond in the diocese of Amiens, on March 6, 1760, entered the novitiate at St. Yon on January 26, 1782 and made his perpetual profession on September 22, 1786.

Among the schools that the Institute organized prior to 1814, we might mention at this point the one in Aurillac: in April 1811 the Superior named Brother Odo (Pierre Jourde), "a very fine and experienced Religious," to restore in this city the work that had been destroyed in 1783. The fifty-year old teacher would be teaching, in Cantal, the sons of former pupils.[755]

The schools in Gray and Vesoul opened during the same year, 1811.[756] In Metz, Bishop Jauffret sought to fulfill the wishes of his predecessor, Bishop Bienaimé, as well as his own by calling upon the Brothers of whom he, along with Cardinal Fesch, had been both counselor and protector during his days in Lyons. A gift from Father Claudin, the pastor of St. Baudin's, (authorized by the imperial decree of the 20th of August 1812) enabled the Community to take over the site of the former Holy Cross church, and, for the support of the teachers, supplied an income from forest lands.[757] However, several years past before a final agreement was reached.

More rapidly the Brothers (whose zeal served the two places well throughout the entire 18th century) were returned to Boulogne and Calais, two cities dear to St. John Baptist de La Salle. Blessed Brother Solomon's native city prepared a residence for the Brothers in October of 1811; and on the 5th of November, General Lachaise, Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais, ordered that eight Brothers conduct the three elementary schools, beginning on the 1st of January 1812. Fontanes instructed him explicitly that the education had to be absolutely tuition-free. A team of young Brothers between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four years, conducted by Brother Assistant Jonas, arrived presently. The Rector-general approved the selection.[758] And the Superior-general's delegate conferred the direction of the school on Brother Joseph, an excellent teacher from Chartres.[759]

Calais was next in line. Here again the question of tuition-free instruction raised a number of difficulties; by the Decree of the 6th of February 1812 the Emperor had allocated only 1,200 francs on the city's budget for the salaries of three teachers. The Director of Public Accounts was, on this occasion, the first to speak in a way that conformed to the Brothers' Rule. First Fontanes, and then the City Counsel, fell in with the opinion. The Brothers, however, arrived before the necessary funds were approved. Their Director was Brother Lysimachus, who, on orders from Brother Gerbaud, had been delivered from his difficulties at St. Omer only to find himself plunged into the irritating problems of school-tuition in Calais! So many pupils enrolled that it was immediately necessary to increase the number of teachers to five. Of the Director's associates (who had just completed their novitiate), all but one came from the region; he was Brother Adelinus, a native of Chalidrey, in the Upper Marne. Their serious formation would lighten the load of the venerable Director. All went well, except for the lack

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[755] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3, Superior-general's letter to M. Bellet, Principal of Aurillac College, April 25, 1811. Brother Odo, born in Brestillac, in the diocese of Le Puy, on August 1, 1760, entered the Institute on May 5, 1780, and took his final vows on May 5, 1787. For his curriculum vitae after the Revolution, see the Index to Vol. III of the present work.

[756] National Archives, F17 12452.

[757] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1930, pp. 264-7.

[758] National Archives, F17 12453, Prefect's decree, letters from General Lachaise, the Rector of the Academy, the Rector-general, list of the Brothers in Boulogne, November 1811-February 1812. The Superior-general was to visit this Community in August 1813. (National Archives, F17 12454, Brother Gerbaud's letter to Fontanes, August 21, 1813.)

[759] *Centenaire*, pg. 102.

of money; but on that subject there was a great deal of talk at the beginning of 1814! The Superior-general was threatening to withdraw the Brothers. The city was worried, and, for the fourth time adopted budgetary measures which, no doubt, the government would have insisted on declaring null and void, if, during the month of March, the collapse of the Empire had not been immanent.[760].

During the preceding year circumstances enabled the school in Montpellier to reopen. Bishop Nicholas Fournier, a Sulpician, collected the funds and obtained the cooperation of the Mayor, M. Dax d'Axat; and Brother Elias, from Bordeaux, was appointed, along with two assistants, by Petit College to inaugurate the institution, on the 25th of August 1813.[761]

Thus is summed up the work of the reopening of the schools during the first period of the new generalate. Some projects remained in limbo: thus, in Macon, where a member of the City Counsel, Adjutant-general Puthod-Maison Rouge, had been setting his sights on a project that was to involve Fontanes;[762] in Namur, where the initiative seems to have come from the Rector of the "University" himself, but too late to succeed before Belgium had escaped Napoleon's domination;[763] and, finally, in Geneva, where the pastor, Father Vaurin, a zealous apostle, wore himself out, over a period of three years, in the hope of bringing the valuable assistance of the Christian Brothers into the heart of "the Rome of Protestantism". In January 1811 Brother Gerbaud only asked to lend him a hand; the Bishop of Chambery and Geneva strove diligently on behalf of the success of the venture; and Cardinal Fesch had declared that he was thoroughly behind it. In October of 1813 three Brothers set out from Lyons for Geneva, and Fontanes forwarded the necessary authorizations. However, there was a surprising development: Baron Capelle, the Prefect, who had initially favored the project, resisted the opening of the Community. He wrote to Cardinal Fesch that he wished "to avoid embittering his constituents". The presence of a teaching Congregation would create difficulties with the Calvinists and would meet with the "insuperable" hostility of the city government. Indeed, outcries were heard with the news that the Brothers had arrived at Father Vaurin's presbytery on the 31st of October. And the Mayor told Baron Capelle that could not answer for public order unless the intruders retired forth with. After having celebrated the Feast of All Saints with their host, the Brothers, on the 2nd of November, departed the city that had once been off limits to St. François de Sales.

The political and military situations also accounted for the change in the Prefect's attitude. As an aftermath of the defeat at Leipzig and on the eve of an invasion, turmoil reigned on the shores of Lake Geneva, as in other countries annexed to the French Empire. While, in a "confidential letter" addressed on the 15th of November to the Headmaster of the "University", Capelle had too violently accused Father Vaurin of "thoughtlessness", he himself had acted with incontrovertible prudence. Cardinal Fesch yielded gracefully, and Fontanes wrote to Bishop Forbin-Janson and to the Rector of the Geneva Academy that "grave reasons" had induced him "for the time being" to withdraw the authorization he had granted.[764]

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[760] National Archives, F17 12453, letter from the Director of Accounting for the Commune, report to the Rector-general, Imperial decree, Fontanes' letters to the Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais, list of names of the Brothers in Calais, January 1812 to March 1814

[761] Le Mercier, *Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes à Montpellier*, 1931, pp. 6-8.

[762] National Archives, F17 12453, Puthod's letter, dated July 18, 1812 and Fontanes' reply, dated August 17.

[763] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 240-5, letter from the Rector of the Academy of Liége to the Mayor of Namur, October 29, 1813.

[764] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3, letter of February 3, 1811, to the pastor of Geneva.

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It remains for us to speak of Brother Superior-general's relations with the several principal centers of the Congregation and to explain how he attempted to solve outstanding problems.

Concerning Lyon, there was nothing special. The Board for Elementary Education, having been forced (in the face of the "University's" opposition) to abandon its extensive privileges, nevertheless, continued to dispense finances and support to both teachers and pupils. In 1813 it replaced the beams in the school-buildings, sought grants from the city, and complained about the employment of teachers who were too young, although it lauded the "exactitude" and the intelligence of the Brother Visitor[765]. Professional education, so sensibly arranged, was maintained with the support of a wealthy middle-class and a group of businessmen who remained conscious of their obligations to the common people. A sum of 800 francs continued to appear in the budget for "the apprenticeship of the most deserving pupils."[766] However, the opening of new schools and the selection of teachers were placed in the hands of the Prefect and the "University". In 1811 the Headmaster approved the opening of a new school at the Guillo−tiere. Count Bondy, Prefect in the Department of the Rhone, nominated Brother Alpheus as its Director, who was assisted by Brothers Ferdinand and Luke.[767]

In Paris the growth of the Christian Brothers continued after the Director of Gros-Caillou was elected to the generalate. At the beginning of 1811,[768] the Brothers replaced the lay-teachers in District VII. It was in this connection that there was founded the Community of St. Nicolas-aux-Champs which had at first been set up on Rue Fontaines-du-Temple. Its first Director was the young Brother Lievin, a gifted Religious and an admirable person who knew how to reach youthful hearts and lead men in the ways of spirituality.[769]

The Ile St. Louis was less successful. Brother Vivien's abrupt departure had sewn the seeds of confusion. To restore order, the Superior-general had relied upon Brother Ferreol who, immediately after the Chapter of 1810, had proposed to return to the Religious life. This veteran's attitude and his promises inspired Brother Gerbaud with a bias in his favor. The head of the Institute wrote to Brother Evaristus: "I am sending (Brother Ferreol) to Paris; (where I shall be placing him) at the head of eight or nine young Brothers, who are expecting nothing but a sterling old man to train them...[770] Unfortunately, seven months later the

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National Archives, F17 12453, correspondence of M. Vuarin, of the Bishop of Chambery, of the Headmaster of the "University", of the Prefect of the Leman, of Cardinal Fesch, October 4 to December 16, 1813. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1932, pp. 117-19.

[765] Motherhouse Archives, JF b1, Lyons' file, meeting of the School Board, July 6, 1813, presided over by the Mayor, M. Albon, successor to the late M. Sathonay. Rambaud Montclos' report on the condition of the primary schools

[766] *Centenaire*, pg. 90.

[767] Departmental Archives of the Rhone, T, 9, Letters: Guillotiere's (February 18, 1811) and that of "the Deputy-Prefect for the District of the principal city" (June 15) to Count Bondy. In the same archive (T, Register 53) there are lists of the Brothers who were teaching in Lyons, St. Stephen, Trevoux, St. Chamond, and Rive-de-Gier. In St. Étienne's we note the presence of Antoine Topin (Brother Contest), who had formerly been in Italy.

[768] School for the "Homme-armé" section (now the 4th "arrondissement") with the authorization of the Rector-general on February 6, 1811. (Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 102).

[769] Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1921, pp. 213-8.

[770] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, letter quoted, October 11, 1810.

disappointment was complete. On the 6th of May 1811, the following fearful letter was mailed to the man whose adventures exposed the Community of Ile St. Louis to disaster: "Sadly, I tell you, my very dear Brother, that in spite of respect for your age and your achievements, we can no longer have confidence in your administration ...With one voice, all complain of you, and the results speak louder still; the best members (of your Community) are leaving; and the others are asking for a transfer. The institution is falling into ruin through the access (your weakness) accords to seculars. If there were a single counsel I had to give you, it would be...that you think of nothing but seriously prepare to meet your Maker... [771]

An order was given to Brother Ferreol to return to Lyons "in order to present his accounts to 'the Regime'." The Superior was unable to view with "equanimity" either the anarchy in the Community or "the loss of a human soul". Nevertheless, he wished to avoid scandal. The old man's "infirmities" were reason enough to justify his removal.[772] Rather than obeying, however, Brother Ferreol protested and grew angry. "You have lost the Religious spirit", his Superior concluded sadly. It would be better if Balthasar Jacob withdrew from the Congregation. It was an unfortunate end for a former Capitulant of the Chapter of 1787 and a Brother who had shown himself to such advantage during the Constitutional schism; but defects of character, a spirit of intrigue, avarice and pride had drawn him into rebellion.There was nothing to do but to leave him to God's judgment.

This matter was the source of deep concern for Brother Gerbaud. But a Superior finds this sort of trial a part of his job; and in the full awareness of his responsibilities, he must accept it without flinching. The man who had been directing the Institute since 1810 would never evade his duty. Whether regarding his own subordinates or when dealing with the powerful of this world, Brother Gerbaud never hesitated to speak his mind. He belonged to that most courageous tribe of reformers and seekers after justice.

We witnessed his expulsion of Stephen Cros from the St. Marcel school.[773] As in the Founder's time, the Christian Brothers cleansed themselves of undesirable elements and rid themselves of dead wood. By this means they achieved a degree of progress in Paris that recalled their past glories. The parochial clergy, charitable associations and welfare bureaus entrusted the children of the poor to the Institute.[774]The Community of St. Nicholas-in-the-Fields was under the auspices of the Welfare Bureau of the former viie "Arrondissement." Similarly, the school in the former xiie "Arrondissement" owed its beginnings to the Bureau of "Gardens and Plants".[775] Apart from the institutions already mentioned, it directed schools belonging to the parishes of St. Eustachius and St. Roch, the school on Rue Vieille-du-Temple and the one in the Bonne Nouvelle neighborhood. At the end of the First Empire thirteen Parisian schools, served by four Communities, were in the hands of the Brothers.[776]

Efforts toward reform, readjustment and enlightenment were extended into the neighboring regions. Meanwhile, there was reason for intervention at St. Denis. And at Guise Brother

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[771] Ibid., original letter.

[772] Ibid., notebook no. 3, letter dated May 11, 1811 to Brother Ferreol.

[773] .[773]"I have heard tell", the Superior wrote in a letter dated May 6: "...that it is not only as of yesterday that you have had a taste for disturbance, and that during the Revolution you were the cause of anguish to the venerable Brother Florence."

[774] See above, pg. 255.

[775] (Brother Gerbaud's letter to the President of the latter Bureau, August 10, 1811, Motherhouse Archives, notebook no. 3).

[776] Chevalier, p. 294-5.

Gerbaud suppressed a pseudo-Community of which Jean-Philippe Duroisel (the former Brother Zeneas) had proclaimed himself Director in 1810 without approval from Lyons. On the 28th of the following November, "in the name of Jesus Christ whose livery" this wretched man "had profaned, and in the name of the government", which reserved the Congregation's habit exclusively for the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and in virtue of his powers as Superior-general, Brother Gerbaud besought the mayor of the small Picardy town to call upon Duroisel and his associates to lay aside the Brothers' habit. Ten months later the dissident trio fled; and Brother Agathon's infamous fellow-countryman, once banished in disgrace from St. Germain-en-Laye and then from Soissons, had finally given up the teaching profession.[777]

It is a painful story, but one of only secondary importance. More delicate decisions and more substantial issues lay claim to our attention in Rheims, where Brother Gerbaud discovered the cross that weighed so heavily upon the shoulders of his predecessor. The school in Rheims had long since comprised a strange mixture of professed Brothers and seculars, of Brothers in open rebellion and other Brothers prepared to recognize the authority of the Superior, but who wondered about what line of action to take in order to avoid the collapse of the school.[778]

The independence of these Brothers was observable in their dress -- "a closefitting robe, a small, extremely neat collar and a round hat"; the traditional Brothers' mantle had not made its reappearance in Rheims. There, Brothers lived quite freely, under a Director who hardly ever expected to be obeyed and where there was neither prayer nor spiritual reading. Each one worked in his own room, and each one went out, just as he pleased. The only time they seemed to assemble was for meals, and even then, it was a sort of restaurant, where many were served dishes according to their tastes.

Arguments arose about everything; as a result, there were animosities, cliques and departures. New faces appeared suddenly. It is easy to imagine, under these circumstances, the difficulties and the surprises of recruitment.

That in the very "cradle" of the Institute a renascent Congregation should end up by producing such a distressing aberration, the spiritual heir of St. John Baptist de La Salle could not tolerate. Hardly had the succession fallen to him than he wrote the Brothers in Rheims. "It would contribute in every way to the improvement" of their Community, he wrote to Brother Dizier on the 11th of December 1810, if agreement could be reached on the question of the salary to be paid by the city officials and on the question of tuition-free education. On the same day, he assured Brother Mark that "Brothers Vivien and Oliver shared in the feelings of affection and devotedness" with which his soul was filled for "whoever wishes to be genuinely" a disciple of the Founder. The longed-for reunion would be effected if the heads of the Community came to Petit College to reflect and submit.[779]

His hopes seem to have been riding principally on Brother Dizier (Pierre Chamelot), from whom he had received a letter in October that was filled with a spirit of faith and obedience.[780]

And the pastor of Rethel, who had expressed a desire of inviting this Brother to direct his parochial school, received the following reply: "You could not have chosen a more deserving Brother". But it would have been proper for Brother Dizier to seek an order from Lyons.

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[777] Auguste Matton, Histoire de la ville de Guise, Vol. II, pp. 374-7.

[778] The entire account of the "Rheims schism" is taken from the notes of Brother Calixtus, who was one of Brother Philip's Assistants. (Motherhouse Archives, Brother Gerbaud file)

[779] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

[780] Ibid., notebook no. 2. Brother Superior-general 's reply to Brothers Dizier and Nicolas, October 24, 1810.

Meanwhile, Brother Gerbaud could only “pray” that “the Lord might give Brother Dizier a heart that was open” to the good priest’s invitation.[781]

There had been no change in the situation when, in February 1811, in the course of his long apostolic journey, Brother Gerbaud stopped at Rheims. Two months later, in a letter to the Deputy-prefect Le Roy, he summarized his impressions of that visit: Brother Dizier accompanied him to the office of the Imperial bureaucrat who gave evidence of “an ardent lively and enlightened” zeal...“for the well-being of his constituents”. “You are sufficiently aware, Sir, (declared Brother Gerbaud) to appreciate the advantages of a corporate body standing above individual teachers... "The problem, then, was to restore the stray sheep to “the sheepfold” as quickly as possible.[782]

But the sheep, no matter what the appearance of goodwill, proved basically recalcitrant.[783] The Brothers in Rheims limited their concerns to seeking the “affiliation with the University”; to which Fontanes replied in October 1811 that there was no obstacle, provided that their schools, conformably with the Brothers’ Rule, were tuition-free.[784] But, in December, on a plea made by the Inspector of Becquey Academy, an “extraordinary commission of the University Counsel” no longer objected to the admission of “paying pupils” as long as tuition did not directly benefit the Brothers![785] Thus, the dispute continued full blown.

During the following year there was a new effort at reconciliation, the terms of which were defined in the most exact way by Brother Jonas, who had been the Institute’s official representa−tive. Having studied the dimensions of the problem on site, the Assistant appealed to the Rector of the Academy on the 21st of June 1812. He recalled the Brothers’ unfortunate subordination to the Welfare Office, “which recognized them and, then, unilaterally, dismissed them”. The Superior-general’s powers were thus ignored and the Community continued to exist on the margin of the Institute.

As an inevitable consequence of “irregularity”, abuses grew apace: dress was not strictly uniform; and the Brothers retained the personal use of money; “personal interests divided them”. Tuition-paying pupils became the object of quite unjust preferences; and the greed of some of the teachers went so far as to extract from the wealthiest families a tuition that was in excess of fixed rates. While the Director’s conduct was beyond suspicion, on the other hand an accusing finger must be pointed at most of his associates, who were not very “edifying” whether within the Community or “in public”.

There was a remedy to hand: rescind the Decree of the 26th of January 1809,[786] and once the Brothers were withdrawn from the influence of the Welfare Bureau, allow Brother Assistant to restore order in accordance with the principles of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; restore to the Superior-general “the right to dismiss or transfer members” who had

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[781] Ibid., letter to the pastor of Rethel, October 20, 1810.

[782] Ibid., notebook no. 3, letter to M. Le Roy, Deputy-Prefect of Rheims, April 1811.

[783] In the same letter he wrote: “It grieves me to note that dear Brother Marc wanders away as far as he is able from the return he pretends to wish.”

[784] Municipal Archives of Rheims, no. 361, copy of a letter from the Headmaster, dated October 11, 1811, transmitted to the Mayor by Inspector Becquey.

[785] Opinion of the Extraordinary Commission, December 24, 1811. text provided by Chevalier, pg. 275.

[786] See above, pg. 147. The decree is dated the 26th and not the 25th.

not made a novitiate and “who were behaving badly”; and, finally, establish absolutely tuition-free education by raising the annual salary of each of the Brothers from 500 to 600 francs.[787]

These were three simple and quite legitimate demands. The Headmaster of the High School, whom Brother Jonas had asked to relay these suggestions to Fontanes, regarded them as being in perfect agreement with “the ideas expressed by Inspectors Noel and Roger" on the occasion of a visitation they had made to the city’s elementary schools. “Several times in the past”, he added, “parents who thought that my competence extended to the Brothers came to complain about the manner in which tuition” was imposed, as the basis for “discrimination” and of “privileges” clearly at odds with the “spirit” of the Institute.[788]

But it was too much to hope for the repeal of the Imperial decree. The City Counsel of Rheims, the Welfare Bureau, the Inspector of the Academy who supplied the report all combined to protect the status quo. The “University” refused to enter into a conflict (the outcome of which could not be doubted) with the Minister of the Interior. On the 9th of July Fontanes replied to the Headmaster, M. Delamarre, that “Brother Jonas‘ observations will be taken into consideration” later when the Rector-general took up the question of “the organization of the Christian Schools”. Thus, under the veil of an imperturbable civility, the proposals were shelved. As for school tuition, people in high places stood by the decree of 1809. Since “the income” from tuition continued to “be used for the needs” of the schools in Rheims and “was deducted from funds allocated for that purpose”, the Brothers must be considered free of all imputation of guilt. As it concerned them personally, instruction retained its tuition-free character.[789] Against this sophism, found time and again throughout the 18th century in the writings of public officials, the Institute was defenseless. On the whole, Brothers Marc and Vivien and their associates, victimized by the stroke of a pen and hemmed in by force of habit, seduced by their own dissension and disobedience respecting the Motherhouse, were unable to free themselves from the “schism” and break out of their wretched isolation until the moment a new political regime, at the urging of the Superior-general, would release them.

The setback at Rheims was not without its brighter side. It proved incapable of dampening the energy of Brother Gerbaud, who had already transferred his efforts to another sector of the arena. At Bordeaux he met with no cavilling or jealous administration, but with Churchmen who, without abandoning their own ideas, acknowledged the value of the decisions taken at Petit College and respected the rights of the Christian Brothers.

In 1810 the growth of the schools in Bordeaux gave rise to rather optimistic expectations. The Community was composed of a Brother Director, nine teaching Brothers, a serving-Brother and twelve novices.[790] The Archbishop and Father Chaminade liked the Community, supported it and supervised its religious observances. But they had a tendency to practice a restrictive influence over the teaching personnel and to use it solely for the diocese by controlling employment and reluctantly cooperating with the rotation of teachers.

In the not too distant past they had experienced Brother Vicar-general’s resistance.[791] And

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[787] Motherhouse Archives, Ha p1, Brother Jonas’ file. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 275-7, and Essai sur la Maison Mère, pp. 159-60.

[788] Letter dated June 22, 1812; text provided by Chevalier, pp. 277-8.

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[790] Motherhouse Archives, Ha p 6 file, notes on the Brothers in Bordeaux (1810).

[791] See above, pp. 185-187.

with his successor, they had quite correctly suspected that resistance would be on the increase. Thus, Joseph Chaminade thought it necessary to present the situation in a light that was as favorable as possible to his role as spiritual director. He had been somewhat tardy in congratulating the new General after the latter's election on the 8th of September; and on the 19th of December, during one of Brother Paulin's illnesses, he sent his apologies. And while "he was taking the liberty of writing to him directly", without waiting for the post to be collected by the Director of novices, the reason for it was the "sensitivity of the situation", and because he knew about the letters sent by Brother Gerbaud.

He rehearsed the story of the beginnings of his apostolate, the vocation of the "two young men" (his disciples), the opening of "eight schools" and the reestablishment of a novitiate in his country-house -- "real solitude, surrounded by walls", equipped with a chapel, which operated like a boundary between the buildings reserved for the Brothers and a special area for the priest.

It was easy to read between the lines that he had not for a moment abandoned his concern for those twelve novices grouped about him, the tiny flock whose slim numbers was always traceable to the scantiness of the space. He protested, however, that "the Archbishop, Father Boyer (the Vicar-general) and himself wanted nothing more than the success of the holy Institute"; that they meant "to have it serve to support religion, without changing anything in its forms and customs".[792]

The purport of this letter was perfectly well understood in Lyons. On the 30th of December the Superior wrote Brother Paulin: "I have no doubt concerning the Archbishop zeal for the advantage of his diocese, following the lofty reputation that he enjoys. I am in no way surprised at the extent of his sacrifices in favor of educating the people of his diocese.But that is no reason for "taking the Institute captive". It is well that a pastor "have eyes only" for his own flock. But those who share his ministry must look out for "the interests of the body to which they belong". Archbishop Aviau sought preferential treatment for founding "permanent institutions" within his jurisdiction: well and good, provided, of course, that the Superior-general is consulted and concurs.

Otherwise, the Brothers in Bordeaux could not lay claim to the name of "Christian Brother". Their Director had given his adherence to the decisions of the General Chapter.[793] But now Brother Gerbaud was commenting on the "snail's pace" of events. And moreover, the lack of room, the fact that the novices were being trained in an institution not controlled by Lyons, and the individuals who manipulated the Community in Bordeaux were, all of them, not very reassuring circumstances.

In fact, they inspired a bold, irrevocable decision. The Superior -general concluded: "Supported by the advice of my Counsel, I am moving the novitiate to Toulouse". Brother Paulin was to "go there" with those of his novices "who wished to belong to the Brothers of the Christian Schools", and whom he thought were worthy of such a distinction. In order that he might deal "tactfully with deserving persons" toward whom the Director of novices thought he had "obligations", the letter contained no formal "Obedience". The Brother was to forward his "arrangements" to Petit College and, if he could do so "discreetly", let the superiors know his plans for departure.[794]

The die was cast. During the next twenty-four hours Father Chaminade was sent the tersest

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[792] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4, copy of G.J. Chaminade's letter to Brother Gerbaud.

[793] Which, let it be recalled, he did not attend.(See above, pg. 229.)

[794] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3.

of explanations: “When the Institute had not been completely reestablished...the steps you took ...were necessary”. From now on, they seem ...not only superfluous and harmful to the good order of the Society, but destructive of the Corporation that the government has been seeking to revive...I promise to send you fully formed Brothers. In view of the sacrifices you have made...I release you...from the compensation (customary in such cases).

“What we need are quarters that can house at least thirty novices, where, in seclusion, they can have Holy Mass every day:” -- an arrangement that is incompatible with the presences of “seculars”. A house of formation is set up according to Rule and is not restricted exclusively by the demands of an ecclesiastical constituency. The Motherhouse had no other desire than generously to supply the diocese of Bordeaux, and it would shoulder that task without Father Chaminade “troubling himself to situate personnel” and to provide for vacancies.

However, Brother Gerbaud was not neglectful of the respect due his venerable correspondent. Softening the severity of his tone, with the view of paying a proper tribute to the man who began the school in Bordeaux, he expressed his complete confidence in the thoroughly virtuous and noble inspiration of this hero of a tragic era, whose purity of intention shown through most brilliantly. No one could cast aspersions on his completely apostolic zeal, or be surprised that he strove to benefit the city and the diocese that he had formerly evangelized at the peril of his life. Indeed, he himself would think it right that the head of a Congregation “was alert to protect an inheritance” received from God.[795]

Archbishop Aviau was the first to yield to this persuasive argument. “He was grieved by the departure of Brother Paulin and his novices”, wrote the Superior-general to Brother Joseph of Mary, the former Director in Toulouse, who had been transferred to Avignon. But the Archbishop was magnanimous. He was prepared to offer further subsidies and roomier quarters. To please Brother Gerbaud, he was quite ready to admit that Toulouse was superior to Bordeaux. In the former, from sea to sea and from the Pyrenees to the Massif Central, recruitment was better. Lyons was relying upon the advice and influence of Brother Joseph of Mary, who was sufficiently well posted to keep the Motherhouse informed regarding the foundation in Toulouse. On the same day -- January 19th 1811 -- his successor in the Upper Garonne, Brother Bertauld, was also sounded out.[796]

In March Brother Assistant Jonas arrived to arrange the details of the transfer with Brother Paulin who, getting a headstart and, with the approval of the Superior, leaving the people in Bordeaux with Brother Seurin for a while in May, took up quarters, along with the young men from Languedoc, in the suburban neighborhood of St. Nicolas. Finally, in September the seven or eight novices in Bordeaux, who had persevered in the Institute, were reunited with their former novice master in Toulouse; room was found for them in Father Bernadet’s house in the St. Étienne’s neighborhood.[797].

The rest, siding with Father Chaminade, were to become the nucleus of the Society of Mary. On their own, the Christian Brothers’ schools in Archbishop Aviau’s diocese were to achieve a remarkable success. An official report dated the 8th of May 1811 mentions more than 800 children admitted tuition-free to the schools of St. Eulalia, St. Michel, St. Jean and the school on Rue des Tanneries.[798] On the 16th of December 1812 the Rector of the Bordeaux Academy informed M. Fontanes of a vote in the City Council that increased the Brothers’ salaries and which decided in favor of opening a new school in the Chartrons

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[795] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, notebook no. 3, letter of December 31, 1810, to Father Chaminade, “Honorary Canon, in Bordeaux.”

[796] Ibid.

[797] Archives of the District of Toulouse, *Historique du noviciat*

[798] Motherhouse Archives, HB x*, Historique du Bordeaux.*

neighborhood.[799]

A few weeks earlier there had begun in this city the work of an extraordinary teacher. Antoine Guillaume Goudet, born in Castelnaudary on the 24th of June 1791,[800]in childhood had received an excellent education at the hands of a Benedictine priest and former Director of Soreze College. In 1807 he became a novice under Brother Bernardine and, as Brother Alphonsus, taught in Bordeaux until November of 1812. The Superior-general then appointed him Sub-director of the Community in Bordeaux. The twenty-one year old teacher was to continue marvelously the tradition of Brother Elias. In 1817 he was made Director and for well over half-a-century he was one of the most distinguished persons in the Southwestern region. His energetic and delicate facial features, his penetrating look that was at once gentle and possessed of a sort of magnetic power, his subtle, quick and expansive intelligence, his nearly infallible good sense, courageous determination and his loving and generous heart influenced sixty graduating classes in an extraordinary way. We meet with Brother Alphonsus as the leader in every undertaking and in every progressive step that had to do with elementary instruction and educational and religious training. It is appropriate that his name comes to our attention at this moment. when the growth of the schools in Bordeaux was in the ascendancy, and when, under Brother Gerbaud's influence, the reorganization of the Christian Brothers was being completed. With men of this calibre, candidates faithful to the direction of Brother Bernardine, to the orders of a resolute leader and the unimpaired Rule of the Founder, the future was in good hands.[801]

After having been transferred to Toulouse, the novitiate was to make splendid progress, which was a joy and a consolation to the venerable Father Bernadet who, in 1815 could breathe a serene *Nunc dimittis*.[802] Brother Paulin, worn-out before his time, (he died on the 6th of May 1813), was succeeded on the 1st of December 1812 by one of his students from Bordeaux, Brother Apollinarus (Antoine Cere), whose twenty-two year career had been marked by a large number of schools and select vocations.[803] One of his assistants, Brother Baptist, on the occasion of a visit to Toulouse by Pius VII in 1814, approached the Papal coach, and the sign of the cross, traced on the forehead of "the simple Christian Brother" by the saintly Pope (who had just been released from his chains in Fontainebleau and was returning to his "States"), in the midst of the crowd's fervor and prostrations, would bring blessings upon the young Brother,[804] on the schools in Languedoc and on the entire Institute, which was beginning to blossom forth in its Second Spring.

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[799] National Archives, F17 12452.

[800] Son of Jean Goudet and Marie Gauthier, he came from middle class stock and had grown up in a patriarchal and Christian home.

[801] On Brother Alphonsus, see *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October, 1923, pp. 311-18, and *Choix de notices nécrologiques de Frères des Écoles chrétiennes,* First Series, 1933, pp. 225-38.

[802] Father Bernadet died on May 26, 1815 after forty years of pastoral ministry (Archives of the District of Toulouse, *Centenaire de la maison Saint-Aubin).*

[803] Same archives, *Historique du novitiat.*

[804] Brother Baptist did not die until June 28, 1890, at the age of 94 years, of which 78 were spent in Religion, 66 years of profession and 69 years as a Director. Dean of the Institute in every respect and equipped, as he used to say jokingly, "with all the 'gold braid'". (*Historique de novitiat de Toulouse*)

PART TWO

THE “UNIVERSITY” MONOPOLY and ROYAL PROTECTION

CHAPTER ONE

The Institute in the Early Years of the Bourbon Restoration

On the 13th of April, 1814 - two days after Napoleon's abdication - two days after Easter, Brother Gerbaud, in a circular letter, addressed his Brothers: "Let us bless the Lord...He has snatched us from the jaws of death and restored us to life, along with the liberation of our Holy Father the Pope and his restoration and that of our legitimate king. In conformity with the thirty-ninth article and the decree of the Chapter of 1787, we shall add the *Domine, salvum fac Regem* to the evening prayer said in the schools".[805]

French Catholics eagerly celebrated the restoration of the monarchy. The treatment inflicted by Napoleon on Pius VII, the sad state of the Church throughout the Empire since the occupation of Rome, the protracted vacancies in so many episcopal Sees, and the confinement of several members of the hierarchy so gripped the hearts of the faithful that the benefits of the Concordat had seemed forgotten. A general persecution was feared: there were already premonitions during the preparations for the Russian campaign. A total victory for the despot over the European continent might have, according to well informed people, given the signal for Draconian measures against the clergy. Religious Orders, Confraternities, and against all persons suspected of adherence to the Holy See, or of open or secret resistance to Cesarian tyranny. The disasters of the winter of 1812 had in part averted the vengeance that was about to fall. However, the Emperor was pretty nearly insensitive to the awful lesson. During the following year his attitude to his prisoner at Fontainebleau gave rise to fresh alarms, and, for believing hearts, intensified their disaffection, indeed, their disgust for a regime which reawakened the memories of the schism of 1791, the Jacobin laws and the anti-Roman politics of the Directory.

We can understand, then, the relief occasioned by the events of 1814. The hope for a period of peace outweighed the gloom produced by invasion, foreign occupation and territorial dismemberment. Moreover, patriotism took comfort in the rumor of Tzar Alexander's kind assurances, and at the thought of living among Frenchmen liberated from Napoleonic oppression and military conscription, freed from the haunting nightmares of perpetual slaughter, in a country reduced to its traditional frontiers. The return of the Bourbons soothed consciences. In Louis XVIII, the heir of St. Louis, people hailed "the elder son of the Church". Perhaps the ancient alliance of "throne and altar" would be reborn. For our great-grandparents this prescription was still important. They had been the witnesses to the common collapse of both monarchial and religious edifices that had been erected through thirteen centuries of the Christianity. In their eyes Louis XVI's death was a genuine martyrdom. With great sorrow, and in obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff, in 1801, they divorced their faith from their royalist sympathies. The errors of the Imperial system, and then the overthrow of the man whom they had become accustomed to regard as a "usurper" restored them to their natural bent. They believed that the "restoration" of an order consonant with the Divine Will, of a civilization based upon the Gospel, would not be grounded, would

[805] Motherhouse Archives, C 5. file. An ms. announcement, preserved in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris (Quélen documents), states that the order to recite the *Domine, salvum* was given by the Brother Superior-general on April 6. Brother Gerbaud had thus anticipated events. The date of the circular letter is beyond question: "Lyons, Easter Tuesday, April 13, 1814" reads the copy sent to the Brothers in Orléans. It nevertheless remains possible that the prayer for the king had been recited earlier at Petit College.

not be complete, without the restoration of the Capetian dynasty.

By the date to which we have arrived, Brother Gerbaud was unable to envisage any other future. In spite of Fontanes' support, he feared a dependence that was incompatible with his duties. And while, among "University" people, he met with approval and valuable assistance, he did not feel at home in a climate steeped in either Gallicanism or Voltairism. He was not lacking for troubles or disappointments: some Rectors of the Academy insisted on imposing the rather heavy load of their unreasonable demands upon the Brothers and on behaving like masters who jealously supervised the particular activity under their command. Of course, Bonaparte had shown his goodwill toward the Christian Brothers, who owed their legal existence to him. But he meant to control them according to his own lights and to use them just as he had used the clergy and every elite, whether spiritual or terrestrial, and every moral force in the nation. He made them a part of the complex web of his work. Small material assistance, indeed, an all-pervasive niggardliness, accompanied his patronage. He restored none of the property confiscated by the Revolution.

The Superior expected better at the hands of the king. Looking back to the days of his youth, he contemplated with emotion and affection the ever-present image of the France he knew between 1760 and 1789: the garden and the chapel at St. Yon, the Motherhouse at Melun - prosperous Communities and schools swarming with pupils and supplied with every means necessary to do the work of educating. And the past that people were boasting about resurrecting took on a singularly attractive coloration. These were bold, eager hopes. It appeared to many, no matter how experienced, no matter how realistic, that it was possible to cancel out the traces of twenty-five years of chaos. The new government found itself bombarded with appeals and plans. It was informed by "an account concerning the Institute of the Brothers:"[806]which recalled the origin of the Congregation, as well as its rejection of the schismatic oath and the confiscation of its "property, income and capital". The recovery of some part of this wealth would finance the support of the elderly, the ill, novices and Religious who were temporarily without employment. But the memorandum stressed principally the solemn confirmation of the "Letters patent" of Louis XV - the only right to which the Brothers henceforth wished to lay claim, apart from the Bull of 1725. Thus, they would live "exclusively under the authority of the bishops and the magistrates"; since they were "prepared" to sacrifice their health, their modest talents and the their lives for the complete restoration of the Institute which breathes nothing but piety and zeal for the common good.[807]

The goal that could not be disguised was to obtain the repeal of Article 109 of the Decree of the 17th of March 1808, immediately to break free from the tutelage of the "University", and to return to the century of Brother Timothé and Brother Agathon, in order to win back all its

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[806] The one that we pointed out above, pg. ???, note #1. The original document, with some corrections and write-overs, has been deposited in the Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file.

[807] This announcement is followed by the "list of schools in 1814." As a document of prime importance, it is as follows: Lyons 56 Brothers, La Guillotière 3, Trévoux 3, Villefranche 4, Beynost 4...(69, 2,140), Rive-de-Gier 3, St. Galmier 4, St. Bonnet 3, St. Etienne 3, St. Chamond 4...(22, 1,500), Condrieu 3, Annonay 3, Valence 5, Crest 3, Privas 3, Dôle 5...(22, 1,400), Avignon 6, Grenoble 11, Chambéry 4, Besancon 4, Ornans 5...(30, 1,480), Vesoul 3, Gray 4, Langres 20, St. Dié 4, Rethel 5, Laon 6...(42, 1,360), St. Hubert 3, Soissons 6, Meaux 5, Rheims 8, Amiens 5...(27, 880), St. Omer 12, Calais 6, Boulogne 8, St. Germain-en-Laye 5...(31, 1,500), Paris: Gros Caillou 12, Ile-St. Louis 10, St. Nicholas 5, St. Médard 4...(31, 1,500), Chartres 4, Orléans 11, Nogent-le-Rotrou 4, Lisieux 5...(24, 1,300), Alencon 3, Auray 6, Bordeaux 12, Toulouse 22, Castres 8...(51, 2,460), Montpellier 5, Aurillac 4...(9, 440), Orvieto 8, Rome: San Salvatore 8, Trinita, 5, Ajaccio 5...(26, 1,800) — Total Brothers = 384 – Total Pupils = 17,760. The 384 Christian Brothers of this period, then were divide up among 55 institutions (including Rheims, which had not yet been "regularized").

ancient rights. Enthusiastically, they decked themselves out in the "*fleur-de-lys*", and radically they sought to cast aside the Imperial livery, once so submissively assumed, indeed, with a rather happy heart, but which now lay heavily upon the shoulders and seemed insupportable the moment the hope arose to be rid of it. At Lyons, in the diocese of Cardinal Fesch (the downfall of whose nephew forced him into exile) the clergy was eager to withdraw from schools and parishes the famous catechism of 1806. On the 28th of July 1814, the Vicars-general Courbon and Renaud wrote to Father Montesquiou, Minister of the Interior:"The altered readings (contained in) that book are no longer taught...Our circulars and pastoral letters recall the faithful to true principles and obedience to the legitimate sovereign".

However, the Archbishop's authority continued to be invoked. The two priests did not hesitate to vouch for the prelate's opinions: "He was always displeased with the national catechism;...He improved (pages) which incited His Excellency's just condemnation".[808] Fesch, henceforth, was nothing but a fallen power, a distant shadow. Would the Brothers unloose the bonds of gratitude that bound them to the Cardinal? For all his concerns, sometimes tactless, sometimes surely embarrassing, but in the last analysis consoling, would they not give him at least the credit that the Vicars-general did not deny him -- his priestly zeal and his relative independence of "the tyrant?" In the Brothers' Community in *San Salvatore in Lauro* he was once referred to in rather ungracious terms.[809]"You should know", wrote Brother Rieul to Brother Joseph on November 28, 1815, "that the Cardinal Fesch has returned to Rome, but he cut a poor figure; although he has not been demoted."[810] As for the Brothers in France, for several years they were silent concerning their former protector; but, along with his portrait and letters, they preserved the memory of his acts of kindness. The Cardinal was so little aware of their real feelings that he himself never ceased loving them and interesting himself in their lot. When, finally, he retired to Rome (without, however, resigning his title as Archbishop of Lyons), he gave the Brothers the proof of his undying attachment to them. With his own funds he supported the Community in Ajaccio. He wrote to the Brothers in Corsica: "I have asked Father Braccini to pay your salaries, as in the passed, and, indeed, to pay them in advance ...As long as I shall live and shall have bread to eat, I shall share it with our dear Brothers...who do God's work".[811] Six months after this moving declaration a deed signed in the presence of the notary in the French embassy in Rome ensured the Brothers in the school in Ajaccio the ownership of a house and the income from various trusts diverted from Joseph Fesch's personal fortune. And a royal ordinance authorized the Mayor of the city and "the school's superior" to accept the grant from the exile.[812]

Thus, in the storm that engulfed the ambitions of the Bonapartes there surfaced, like debris, a princely act of charity and a thoroughly apostolic act of dedication.[813]). But the future of the Congregation bid it seek shelter and find safety far from the reefs. Brother Gerbaud was

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[808] Latreille, op. cit., pg. 199.

[809] (Motherhouse Archives, KH n 1, Register of Brother Rieul's correspondence).

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[811] Chevalier, pg. 368, Cardinal's letter to the Brothers in Ajaccio, December 16, 1815.

[812] National Archives, F17 12451, deed of gift, dated June 8, 1816, and the royal order of July 30, 1817. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 167-68.

[813] In February 1829, Brother Rieul, the Superior-general's "Vicar" in Italy, wrote to Brother Guillaume de Jésus: "I have not failed to present your respects to His Eminence Cardinal Fesch. He was quite insistent that I send his greetings to you". (Motherhouse Archives, KHn1 File, letter of February 11, 1829

resolved, and quite correctly, to be an outstanding subject of the French king. The tradition of the Institute concurred with his personal conviction in order to urge a step from which he expected great results. At his command, a delegation appeared at the Tuileries Palace to pay the respects of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to Louis XVIII.

The delegation was led by the distinguished Brother Charles Borromeo. The *curriculum vitae* of this former teacher in the residence school in Marseille (who had also been a *maestrino* in Ferrara and an auxiliary of Brother Guillaume de Jésus at Trinita-dei-Monti), this native of Nimes, who had been invariably courageous during persecution and exile, and faithful to his vocation since 1778 and to his vows since 1785, this Roman by adoption who had been welcomed by Pope Pius VI, dictated Étienne Laurent for this confidential mission.[814] In August 1814 the Superior-general sent him as "Visitor" to the schools in the Paris region. He then wrote to Brother Medard of Jesus, the Director of Orleans, to be very attentive to Brother Charles' suggestions and to be penetrated "with the spirit" of the man who was distinguished among the genuine disciples of De La Salle and of Our Lord, to prepare the Community of St. Euvertus to listen attentively, in "a retreat" to the advice that the Visitor would give concerning the manner of meditating and of using the *Collection of Various Short Treatises*.[815]

In September, the Congregation's representative made his way to Paris. He was joined by Brother Raimond, Director of Chartres, Brother Maximilian, the man who had reopened the school in Rethel and by two young men, Brothers Salomon and René. The Marquise de Trans and her family, who continued to enjoy Brother Gerbaud's friendship, contrived an easy access for the delegation into official circles. And on the 12th, "at about 11:30 in the morning" there were three-cornered hats and white rabats" introduced into the "Marshalls' Hall" by the Chief Almoner, Bishop Talleyrand-Perigord. We can imagine this small group in the palace where, only yesterday, Napoleon had reigned: the decor contrasted with the modest posture and the garb of the five Brothers. Their gaze fell upon the walls which depicted the splendors of the monarchy, the humiliations and agonies of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the collapse of the throne on the 10th of August and the imperial holidays... As the moment for the solemn meeting approached, their hearts were moved.

To Brother Raimond we owe the account of these moments, which, a week later, he sent to his confreres in Orleans: "The Archbishop of Rheims[816]. placed us up front... The king, having arrived, with a look filled with kindness, turned to us and greeted us". Immediately, Brother Maximilian, with great charm and energy, delivered the following brief address: "Sire, in the name of our Superior-general...we have the honor of offering Your Majesty the humble homage...of our respectful affection, beseeching Your Majesty to accept our meagre services for the good education of youth and to deign to grant us Your Majesty's royal protection (and) to permit the property that belonged to us before the Revolution, and which has not been sold, to be returned to us. We pray that God will protect Your Majesty against Your Majesty's enemies and that after having had your reign on earth, He will crown you in heaven." At that moment, Brother Charles gave the petition to the king. The king (who usually liked to talk profusely and to adorn his speech with literary allusions) was satisfied with a very simple reply, but one adapted to the minds of his audience: "My dear Brothers, it

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[814] On Brother Charles Borromeo (Étienne Laurent, born on February 17, 1760 at St. Charles, in the diocese of Nîmes) see Index to volume III of the present work.

[815] Motherhouse Archives, C5, letter of August 24, 1814.

[816] Archbishop of Rheims before the Revolution, Alexander Talleyrand-Périgord refused to resign at the time of the Concordat, and he preserved his title, although his Archiepiscopal See had not yet been reconstituted

is enough for me to know that you teach youth well in order (to assure you) that you have my protection. Pray for me to the "good God"; I commend myself to your prayers".[817]

Whenever the circumstances dictated it, Louis XVIII, who was a sceptic, like to play the role of his "Most Christian Majesty". Nevertheless, he abstained from making any rash commitments. However kind, his words remained vague. Apart from the devout tone, Napoleon would not have commended the petitioners in any other way, and he would have observed a stony silence regarding their claims. But Brother Charles Borromeo and his friends, blissful for having approached the "sacred person" of the sovereign, emerged from this fleeting audience repeating the three harmless sentences as though they augured well for the future.

Brother Gerbaud didn't think very much of them. He particularly wanted "the ratification" of the old "Letters patent". To this end, in a circular dated the 5th of the following September, he invited all the Directors to adopt the most active measures with "pastors and church superiors, as well as magistrates". At the same time, in order to give evidence of a faithful and spontaneous cooperation in an important place, he informed the Institute of a plan which will call for our attention later on: the sending of a community of Brothers to Bourbon Island, a "cherished colony" returned to France by the English, and "dear" to the "august" prince.[818]

In a few weeks forty-five schools had obtained the most laudatory and convincing "testimonials: in Lyons, Valence, Orleans, Chartres, Lisieux, Toulouse, Besancon, Bordeaux, Paris, and in many other cities, Archbishops, Bishops, Pastors, Prefects and Mayors recommended the Congregation to the royalty and witnessed to it zeal, its educational successes and its spirit of moderation and obedience.[819] At a time when "legitimacy" prevailed, what a quantity of excellent guarantees! Old partisans and servants of the Bourbon dynasty, former Imperialists, recently vilified - all of them with a single voice celebrated De La Salle's disciples, survivors of antique France and a legacy of the 17th century to the contemporary world. Perhaps it was the moment for the authorities to validate this Society's ancient deeds, and, as fully as possible, to restore to it the use of its inheritance, and that it be placed again on its initial foundations.

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On the whole, however, the religious history of the reign was to justify Joseph de Maistre's judgment: "Louis XVIII was merely sitting on Napoleon's throne".[820]As far as the Congregations were concerned, Gallican principles and bureaucratic procedures had lost practically none of their power: - it is always important to restrict freedom of association, to contain the growth of Regular Religious Orders which seek to place themselves in direct dependence upon Rome; and the reestablishment of mortmain must be prevented.

Sold to individuals or included in State lands, the property that Brother Agathon inventoried in 1790[821] would not be returned into the hands of his successors: not even, as we shall see, St. Yon, the most sorely missed portion of the patrimony, the "house of the relics". Elsewhere, in the course of the century, entailed acquisitions[822] would allow the revival of

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817 .[817]Motherhouse Archives, C5, Brother Raymond's letter to Brother Médard, Chartres, September 19, 1814

818 Motherhouse Archives, C5.

819 Ibid., HA p7. In all 68 certificates were issued by various authorities.

820 Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise*, pg. 533.

821 See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 4-6.

822 We should, however, recall that Father Bernadet's gift would guarantee the Brothers the use of their original

hearth and home on the ancient sites. Everything else became barracks, hospitals, prisons, shops and stores; the high school in Angers - henceforth a “royal college" - found the *Rossignolerie* to be a perfect collection of school buildings, gardens, fields and chapel. What public administration would not draw up twenty pretexts for maintaining its constituents or its own services in such judiciously appointed quarters, that it had picked up so cheaply?

Régimes pass, bureaucrats survive. In succeeding the Emperor, the king’s government inherited the “University”. Perhaps the new rulers would abolish this artfully contrived machine that so many people had praised as a marvelous instrument of control. Perhaps, too, it might even dare to promote freedom of education. The expression made evil sounds in the ears of the ghosts of the “Ancien Régime”. “Freedom”! Revolutionaries “had committed so many crimes in that name”![823]

In the first place, the episcopacy was fearful of it. As one of our great contemporary historians, Pierre La Gorce, has noted,[824] the French Church “has known only two conditions: privilege”, since the Middle Ages; and “persecution” from 1791 until the Concordat, and, once again, during the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor. Its leaders, in addition to the fact that a great number of them were still imbued with Gallicanism, could only dream of a political system in which religion regained its preeminence and of an educational system inspired, guided and regulated by the depositaries of the faith, by the guardians of Christian morals. They felt no repugnance for monopoly as long as public instruction was removed from the control of the adversaries of Catholicism.

The “University” framework, therefore, seemed to offer advantages. Some of its features might be changed, and it might be given a better spirit. These goals did not demand abolishing from the law the Decree of 1808, the text of which, as those who surrounded Louis XVIII thought, was reconcilable with orthodox teaching. While many high-school teachers and many college tutors continued to be notoriously suspect of Jacobin leanings and “Philosophical” opinions, and while the attitude and the behavior of young students, trained and carelessly supervised by these teachers, constantly seduced by the glamor of the military, enemies of every moral constraint, and oscillating between hypocrisy and rebellion, gave rise to the gravest concerns, people deluded themselves into believing that these young people could be reformed by adding the exhortations and directions of a priest to strict administrative discipline. In June, July and October of 1814, then, statutes “provisionally” retained the former Imperial “University”, on the subject of which the Charter “granted” the French people remained silent.[825]

Fontanes retained his post. In the Senate, he was among the artisans of the Napoleonic downfall. Because of his antecedents and his connections and because of his activities, he was *persona grata* in royalist circles; he supplied pledges to the Bourbons and solemnly promised to make his subordinates bow to lofty principles. His assistants, Rendu, Gueneau Mussy, Frayssinous, and, in the “University” Counsel, the presence of a Bausset, a Bonald and even of a Cuvier, the agents of the Restoration found completely reassuring. Apart from the Chancellor/Bishop, several members of the clergy were included at various levels of the

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residence. In Rheims, in 1880, the Brothers were able to recover the house on Rue Contrai along with a portion of the buildings construction around 1765 – a little of the soil where their Founder had assembled his disciples in 1682. (*Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 21)

[823] So, as we know, spoke Madame Roland on the scaffold. In the first place, the episcopacy was fearful of it. As one of our great contemporaries has noted.

[824] Pierre De La Gorce, *La Restauration Charles X*, 1928, pg. 15.

[825] Idem., op. cit., pp. 11-12. Canon Adrien Garnier, *Frayssinous, son rôle dan l’Université sous la Restauration,* 1925, p. 19-20.

hierarchy, so carefully set up by the Rector-general: Rectors, Inspectors, Headmasters, Vice-principals, teachers in the upper classes.[826] Here, again, the tinge of Gallicanism which characterized practicing Catholics or perfectly respectable churchmen and won them favors in the past could not offend the new rulers.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools would not, then, elude the control of academic authority. They would have to give up the certainty, if not the tenacious hope, of a revival of the "Letters patent" of 1725. According to the monarch's own proclamations, Louis XVIII's reign might very well have begun in 1795: it was the decisions of the "Usurper" that continued to guarantee the existence of the Institute. The Minister of the Interior, the head of the "University", the Rectors, Prefects, Mayors and city Counsels enjoyed, with respect to the teachers employed in education, the same powers as in the past. In July 1814 the Rector-general intervened to assure the Brothers in Calais an increase in salary. In August the Rector in Douai submitted to the Rector-general the name of a fifth Brother for the same school in Calais.[827] In January 1815, since the Mayor of Caen had, on his own authority, set up the Brothers' house, Fontanes specified that the Brothers were not to begin teaching without "University" approval.[828].

A variety of influences -- suggestions from the episcopacy, the doctrinaire Liberalism of a Royer-Collard or of a Guizot, individual intrigues, and the determination on some matters to adopt views contrary to the fallen government -- two weeks later induced the order that suppressed the Rector-general's job: the Academies were renamed "Universities", but their autonomy was circumscribed by the supervision and the directives of a "Royal Council of Public Education". The principle of the monopoly survived. But, on the whole, it was little more than a Platonic gesture: the anticipated organization never came into existence.[829]

In the strict dependence in which the Brothers remained in relation to the civil authorities and local administration, they ran up against difficulties that the Empire had not spared them. More frequently than not, they were at logger-heads with the same individuals. In Orleans, Antoine Edward Crignon-Desormeaux, having flattered Napoleon, was now declaring himself a royalist from 'way back - "for sixteen years" faithful to the "king, his master and legitimate prince"; and, to hear him tell it, he had kept in touch with everything that had happened in that "fine city".[830] He was about to obtain confirmation to an hereditary title of Baron that would bestow upon him, as the official resolution would put it, "letters patent dated the 9th of September 1810."[831] Whether Baron of the Empire or magistrate of the royalty, he did not alter his way of dealing with the Christian Brothers. Facing a financial situation which inevitably worsened, Brother Medard, successor to Brother Liberius, prepared to reduce the number of Brothers. Crignon met this decision with ill grace; and, in a letter dated the 17th of October 1814, he dealt rather roughly with the embattled Director, without omitting the clearest allusions to ancient lapses:"Your institution has always

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[826] At the beginning of the reign of Louis XVIII the Rector in Orléans was called Father Bellissen; one of the Inspectors was Father Duparc, and the Headmaster of the Royal college was Father Bégat. (*Annuaire du département du Loiret pour 1816).*

[827] .[827]National Archives, F17 12453, Fontanes' letter to the Minister of the Interior, July 20, 1814.

[828] Ibid., Rector's letter to the Headmaster, August 8, 1814. Ibid., F17 12452, Rector of Caen's letter to the Headmaster, January 11 and Fontanes' reply, January 31, 1815

[829] Order of February 17, 1815: A. Garnier, op. cit., pp. 20-22.

[830] Lottin, *Recherches historiques sur la ville d'Orléans,* Vol. III, pg. 383.

[831] Idem., ibid., pp. 373-4.

employed twelve individuals...According to the regulations approved by the Rector-general, no Brother, not even the Superior, may leave his post without the expressed permission of His Excellency or of the Rector of the University...You yourself have no right to regulate the number of teaching Brothers; that is for the authority of the Rector-general to settle. Brother Medard's thoughtless initiative "must occasion incalculable chaos".[832] The same sort of quarrel arose with Baron Talleyrand, the Prefect of the Loiret. His humble petitioner attempted to explain the genesis of the affair to him. And the account shows how cavalierly the bureaucracy dealt with the Brothers: "At the end of August our Brother Visitor met with the Mayor of Orleans to explain that it was impossible for us to live...on a salary of 400 francs...and that...our Superior-general would withdraw some Brothers in order that the others might be able to subsist...The Mayor replied that they had been making the same threats for four years, and nothing has come of it; and that if the superiors withdraw Brothers, he knows very well how to obtain an order from the king that would bring them back in four days".

Brother Gerbaud had taken refuge in a ruse and awaited a more just solution from Crignon-Desormeaux. The Prefect was asked not to take action himself in his state of surprise and displeasure: "We no longer have any credit (with our suppliers); no institution in our Congregation is in a position to help us; our Superior-general does not receive (a larger subsidy) than his subordinates".

And Brother Medard concluded in language shaded by a rather spirited melancholy: "After having witnessed our school reopen during Buonaparte's (sic) reign, we shall not have the grief of seeing it destroyed under a monarch who prefers the name of "Father of his people" to that of "Conqueror"...[833]

A priest, Francois Noel Alexandre Dubois, entered the lists in support of the victims' rights. Nonjuring in 1791, at no time did he ever lack courage; quite recently, his fellow-citizens admired his presence at the bedsides of the victims of typhus, when an epidemic spread through the city's hospitals. His knowledge scarcely yielded place to his courage and charity: as archivist in the Mayor's office in Orleans, he had gathered materials for the history of the siege of 1429; the discovery of a very important document was attributed to him: - the French translation of Joan of Arc's interrogation during the trial in Rouen And this is why, for a moment, we are brushing aside the dust which, for a century, has covered his venerable features. In 1814, Father Dubois had published a pamphlet on the education of youth.[834].

In it he showed that he was quite hostile to the "University", which he accused of being incapable of providing its pupils with religious training; and he drew a gloomy picture of pupils leaving the high schools "without obedience, without morals, eaten up by ambition and breathing nothing but warfare". After having demanded the destruction of the Napoleonic edifice, he expected the king to set up freely functioning colleges, administered by the local authorities, but whose faculties would be made up in large part of priests. In the primary schools he provided that the teachers would be nominated by the Bishops and appointed by

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[832] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, IR 191

[833] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, letter to Baron Talleyrand, November 8, 1814.

[834] *De la nécessité de réorganiser l'éducation de la jeunesse,* Orléans, 1814, brochure, in-octavo, of 27 pages . Besides, he is the author of Orleans *Flora or A Method for Recognizing the Plants in the Interior of France.* In the field of education, he could easily cross swords with the best. He taught mathematics and natural history in the seminary before the Revolution; since then, the residence school that he directed on Rose Street prospered, and Father Dubois admitted to it, tuition-free, many sons of workers. A theological Canon, a zealous, if not brilliant, preacher he was a person who deserved to be heard. And heard he was, not only in his birthplace when he pleaded in favor of Brother Medard's Community, but on other occasions, before a wider public when De La Salle's Institute was once again involved.[834]

the Prefects.

The Brothers, who around the year 1760, had taught the future Canon, remained especially dear to Father Dubois; and their successors harvested the fruits of that gratitude. The "Report" presented to Baron Talleyrand recalled the work and the struggles of "Brother Cendre", the debts that piled up at St. Euvertus' school for the want of regular subsidies, the votes of the Municipal Counsel, the Mayor's promises that had been nullified by the hostility of the ministerial offices and the battered policy of tuition-free instruction. Vainly had religious teachers invoked their most solemn obligation and demonstrated that their schools would know neither excellence nor good order if they were reserved exclusively for pupils coming from the poorest families. As a consequence of an odd prejudice, many pastors were opposed to extending Christian education as practiced by the Brothers. Zeal which merited nothing but applause and gratitude were met by criticism and accusation. The former Director "died of grief". Let the Prefect give an exact account of the situation, inform the Minister of the Interior and make sure that the indispensable funds are never again refused.[835]

Orleans was quick to acknowledge the cogency of this position. Its City Council, meeting on the 2nd of January 1815, spoke bitterly of the previous government which was "very little concerned for the education of the people", and for which every utility was subordinated to the exigencies of war and to the training of soldiers. It pronounced itself prepared to make up the deficit in the Brothers' school and thereafter pay the teachers 600 francs in annual wages.[836]

But in Paris people persisted in dismal and niggardly calculations. The Director-general of the administration of the Communes claimed that proposed sum was excessive; and that even the funds allotted for 1814 would leave a surplus, if only eight Brothers were employed.[837] And in order to save the schools, the Mayor would in a short time be reduced to plead with the pastors for their assistance. Once again it would be necessary for Brother Medard to solicit Count Rochplatte, Crignon-Desoreaux's successor in 1816, for the small supplement finally promised by the city.[838]

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We wouldn't dare delay over these trifles if we didn't think that they revealed a state of mind. As the administration floundered, as the royal power, in a variety of situations, offended the national feeling without basically changing the law, and without renewing the political climate, Napoleon was preparing to leave Elba. The news of his landing on the French coast, of course, troubled the Christian Brothers, who saw the gates of Grenoble and of Lyons thrown open to the Emperor. And in these cities perhaps there was reason to fear persecution and reprisals after the enthusiastic welcome the Brothers had given the Bourbons. The triumphant return of the Eagle to the *Tuileries* put them face to face with a reality that required prudence and silence. At the Motherhouse, however, they would be once again reassured by Cardinal Fesch's support. And, pursuing their mission in tranquility, they had only to await events.

If, in spite of Europe, the sensational developments of March 1815 brought about an

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[835] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, report of Father Dubois, theological Canon of the Church in Orléans, to Baron Talleyrand. The document bears the Prefect's stamp, dated February 1, 1815; but the municipal deliberation (and Brother Médard's prior letter) proves that it was written and well known during the first quarter of 1814.

[836] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, IR 191, from the minutes of the Municipal Council.

[837] Ibid. Prefect's letter to the Mayor, February 25, 1815.

[838] Ibid., Brother Director's letter to the Count Rocheplatte, July 11, 1816.

enduring change, perhaps the revolutionary parties would gain a new lease on life. Perhaps Bonaparte, rejected by every conservative influence, would, more so than ever, recall his Jacobin roots. The naming of Carnot, the former member of the Committee for Public Safety, to the Ministry of the Interior, seemed significant, whatever the history of the man himself. The position, shortly after Fontanes' permanent retirement, gave the former member of the Convention the upper hand in education. In this connection, the report prepared for the Emperor on the 27th of April 1815 was likely to stir up some anxiety.

What was at stake was an educational system the consequences and the repercussions of which we shall soon learn. For the moment, we shall be satisfied to suggest its most distant origins in a preliminary sketch. In 1747 there existed, in the Parisian almshouse called "Pitié" a school for orphans in which, under the direction of a M. Herbault, children, divided into seven classes, received (in the last six) their instruction, not from the teachers personally, but from the more advanced pupils. This method was also in force in Pawlet's "Military School" and in the alms−house, called "Cent-fille" or "Miséricorde". It had fallen into disuse by the time that Francois Neufchateau, who was a member of the Directory, had examined it in one of his books. [839]

In 1815, it had returned to France from England under the name of the "monitorial system" and was advocated by psychologists and sociologists whose intentions were certainly upright, however narrow, as happens with most innovators. Among them, there was M. Gerando, M. Laborde, M. Lasteyrie, M. Jomard and a Father Gaultier. They got a hearing from Carnot. Prompted by their teachings, the Minister told the Sovereign: "Everywhere in political economy the great art is to do the most with the fewest means. This was the principle that directed the many philanthropists whom one might look upon as the creators...of primary education: they wanted to train the largest number of children at the least possible cost and with the aid of the smallest number of teachers...(They) made the children teachers of one another, for their moral behavior as well as for their intellectual instruction, by rapid communication and by the nearly electrical transmission of the orders issued by a single teacher".[840]

"Philanthropy", then, in defiance of genuine history, laid claim to the distinction of having "created" the way to teach the common people. Besides, it claimed to spread elementary knowledge at the least cost, and this consideration touched too closely upon Imperial parsimony not to be kept in mind. Finally, proposing to train teachers, it pretended to open a path independent of the ones on which up to then, whether one liked it or not, one had to follow the Religious Orders.

The text of the Decree which accompanied the report, and which Napoleon immediately signed, specified moreover the direction of the reform was to take: "The methods...employed in France" in elementary education, it read, are not as effective as they might be; it is about time that we bring "this phase of our education up to the level of contemporary learning". The Minister of the Interior, then, shall gather around him "people who have a right to be consulted"; he shall determine and direct a test of the best methods; and, in the capitol, he shall begin a model school, intended to fulfill the role of a normal school; after which, he shall study measures appropriate for spreading the system adopted to the departments.[841]

The confidence that had once been conferred upon the Brothers of the Christian Schools

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[839] "Practical Method for teaching reading to children in primary schools", Paris 1798. The information given above is taken from Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 120.

[840] Chevalier, pg. 308.

[841] Idem., pg. 309.

seemed to have been nullified and their efforts and successes neglected. John Baptist de La Salle had been shunted off into the shadows, while "highly" regarded "contemporary learning" scanned the horizon to uncover other precursors and other geniuses. And those whom the prevailing wisdom turned up as alone necessary in that waste land upon which the Minister gaze had fallen, those who became members of the Committee for Primary Instruction, were advocates of "mutual education".

The peril, however, was not a pressing one. Discussions were still at the stage of principles, of plans and of tentative experimentation. We are in the month of May, 1815: battalions were about to move into the Belgian campaign. Just like the "Supplementary Decree to the Laws of the Empire", every decision taken at that time wavered provisionally as it was about to vanish, like an ephemeral vapor, in the dense fog of disaster.

For the Lasallian Institute neither did the sun hide nor did the heavens fall. Even the passing moment itself provided opportunities for action. The Brother Superior-general does not seem to have interrupted his visitations to the various houses during the period of the "Hundred Days".[842] Napoleon did not dream of reneging on his approval of the Year XII, nor on his former declarations to the Privy Counsel, nor on his organic decree of 1808. Indeed, he accorded the clearest extension to the legal personality enjoyed by the Society of Brothers on the 22nd of May 1815, when he authorized the direct acceptance of a small legacy of 1,000 francs that a M. Fages designated for the institution in Toulouse.[843]. The conversations that Brother Medard pursued with the Imperial Mayor, Marshall Grand-Jean, three days before Waterloo, left no suspicion of any serious friction or any disagreement more critical than therecent polemic provoked by Crignon-Desormeaux.[844]

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Nevertheless, Catholics and royalists lived anxiously during the "three months" of the Imperial reign. And Brother Gerbaud welcomed the second Restoration as warmly as he did the first. A new circular, on the 20th of July 1815, carried the witness of this satisfaction to the Communities. The Superior of the Institute wrote:[845] "Blessed forever be the Lord our God, Who has had pity upon us and has once again saved us by restoring to us His Most Christian Majesty, the King!" As some people thought they felt the breeze of persecution, the vanquished Emperor surrendered to England. The Church's enemies, yesterday on the point of seizing the levers of power, hung their heads and let their arms fall limply in the confusion of a ghastly catastrophe. Louis XVIII's return, thwarting the plans of the most relentless militarists, preserved national unity, as far as possible limited the consequences of Napoleonic folly, and gave the nation the chance of making a comeback. The "thanksgiving" prescribed by the head of the Congregation for his Brothers was therefore amply justified. The additional note that the old monarch, returned from Gand, "would not only permit but would give an example of the exercise of holy religion in all its purity" was somewhat naive and illusory. The king's behavior was always inspired more by political considerations and by the opportunities of the moment than by any personal or deeply rooted faith. In his quite human wisdom, he had also reflected, during his most recent exile, on the dangers of an excessively enthusiastic reaction, a more or less total reestablishment of the "Ancien Régime". He was reconciled to a desire for peace, to a basic egoism, to a time of life that was

[842] Brother Assistant Jonas' two letters, of May 10 and 14, 1815 support the belief that Brother Gerbaud was traveling at the time. (Motherhouse Archives, HA p1 file)

[843] Chevalier, pg. 366

[844] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans IR 191, letter of June 15, 1815.

[845] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2 file

making its way toward death, so as to deal cautiously with men and with situations. Only reluctantly and briefly did he yield to an entourage that contemplated vengeance and the passions of the "Star Chamber". At the religious level, the prince, ever respectful regarding the external forms of worship, deferential to bishops and kind to "his" clergy, clung to Gallican traditions and avoided furnishing pledges to the most ardent and (it must be said) clumsiest advocates of the throne and the altar.[846] As a consequence, many among the Christian faithful awoke to find themselves deceived after the dream of July 1815: reality seemed to them to be very far way, indeed, from the ideal they thought they had attained.

On behalf of the government, the Brothers of the Christian Schools would one day find themselves once again exposed to troubles, pettiness and vexations; they would see, united against them, the "Liberals" of the period with anti-religious tendencies and the jurists with dictatorial preoccupations. Nevertheless, the king's good will would not forever be lacking to them: at rather difficult times, if not especially critical one, they would successfully call for support from the French church, the royal family, and, as a last resort, from "His better informed Majesty".

After the final fall of the Empire, the Brothers had to be grateful to Providence. Their Superior exhorted them to "be renewed" in the fervent practice of their monastic and professional obligations: and they were asked to bring to their teaching a great concern for precision and progress. The calling of a General Chapter in order to define achievements and to resume momentum would seem to have been in order: however, circumstances dictated caution. But, from now on, "the obstacles" which stood in the way of vow ceremonies were "by the divine mercy removed". Wherever fear of the political future had suspended them, the "renewal" of vows were being planned.[847]

Brother Gerbaud, who repeatedly prescribed the recitation of the prayer *Domine salvum*, recounted with delight to Brother Nicholas, the Director of Vesoul, the demonstration of "two-hundred-and-fifty" school children in Bordeaux. Brandishing white flags, the young royalists "led by one of them", ran through the city to the cheers of the crowd. Their teachers had sanctioned it, without, however, becoming involved in the action and, much less, forcing it: they were on their guard, writes the author, lest they "stir up" the hatred and the bitterness of those who were "ill disposed."[848]

To be united with "simple people" crying out "Long live the king!", to be pleased with the good fortune of the moment and to trust in the future, the leader who was responsible for the destiny of Institute saw nothing in any of this except what was perfectly honorable. But he also wished that people would forget the times in which disagreement raged: there should no longer be any talk about the "Civil Constitution", the source of so many, and of such long enduring and of such slowly curable wounds among the French clergy. The Pope had become reconciled with penitent schismatics; and the king had asked for the union of all his subjects around his throne; it was against their wishes to perpetuate old quarrels, and to show coolness and distrust to clerics returned to the bosom of the Roman Church. In another of the Superior's letters to Brother Nicolas on the 6th of November 1815, he wrote: "Now that by the Grace of God the Revolution is over we must no longer pay any attention as to whether priests took or did not take (the oath). It must be enough for us that they have the consent of

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[846] See Pierre De La Gorce's book*, Louis XVIII*, 1926, pg. 313.

[847] Circular, cited, dated July 20, 1815.

[848] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2 file, collection of Brother Gerbaud's letters to Brother Nicolas, letter of August 3, 1815.

their legitimate Superiors to communicate with them".[849].

These were moments of delightful peace and of vast hopes. It was only afterwards that people would recognize the persistence of human error. The era of Revolution was not over. There was only a moment's respite; and duty consisted of availing oneself of the breathing space and of working with Christ for as long as the daylight lasted. Or so thought Brother Gerbaud; and he wrote to well disposed persons, to pastors and city magistrates, who might assist in the more rapid recruitment to the Lasallian Institute.

Such was the purpose of a letter, printed in Lyons in November of 1815, which the Superior intended especially for distinguished persons in the cities and rural areas.[850] These people were not unaware of the "great good" that "Christian and tuition-free schools" could achieve in the domain of "regenerating" piety and morality. The Brothers "devote themselves to this valuable work according to rules that are as gentle as they are sanctifying"; they enjoy the approval of the Holy See and of "duly registered letters patent, in order to constitute a Religious Corporation within the State", in possession "of all civil rights".

Many "virtuous young men, raised in the fear of the Lord by Christian parents" would be delighted to be informed about this Congregation. The Superior's correspondents could direct them, and so contribute to the salvation of souls, to the common good, and to the consolation of the youthful multitude who are seeking "the bread of the word" of the Gospel.

It would be easy to assume that this document was written at the height of the 18th century. In it the Institute appears as it existed between 1725 and 1792, under Roman auspices, guaranteed by royal decrees in the court registries of Rouen, Paris and Toulouse; there is complete autonomy, direct relations with religious and civil authorities and the stress is placed upon the supernatural vocation of the Brother. There is not a word about the "University". Here, the Superiors sweeps it away; and he considers as cancelled, not only revolutionary legislation but the entire series of measures adopted concerning the Christian Brothers since the Year XII.

The "Prospectus" joined to this November circular expresses in identical language the deliberate intention of complete emancipation. The printed sheet that Brother Gerbaud used dates from the Imperial period; in it he changed nothing that had to do with the definition of the Society whose end was "the education" of youth, "especially the poor", with the qualities demanded of "teaching Brothers" and of "serving Brothers" and with the stipulation of the novitiate.

But two "inserts" covered over paragraphs the purpose of which had become obsolete: the one which referred to the exemption from conscription granted by the Emperor; and the other, which was quite significant - and was for the use of Napoleonic bureaucrats - in which it was specified that Brothers "would pronounce their final vows in conformity with the law". In its place, we read, first of all: "Approved by the Holy See and licensed by the king, this Institute constitutes a legal corporation within the State, where it enjoys all civil rights; then, there follow the most explicit statements concerning the commitments that are assumed in the Congregation: "The period of probation is for two years - namely, a year of novitiate and a year in a school or in temporal employment; after which Brothers are admitted to pronounce triennial vows, if they wish to do so;[851], and at twenty-five years of age completed (and ordinarily five years of Community), if the vocation suits them, and vice-versa,[852] they

[849] Ibid., Gerbaud file, letters to Brother Nicolas

[850] .[850]Copy dated November 11, 1815, in the Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans IR 191.

[851] I.e., if it suited the Society to keep them.

[852] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, IR 191,

pronounce perpetual vows.[853]

The Superior-general's initiative evinced some daring and a very broad faith in governmental decisions. However, the decree, signed on the preceding August 15th by Louis XVIII did not basically alter the administration of public education. It revoked the organization of the seventeen "Universities" provided prior to the "One Hundred Days"; it flatly abolished the positions of Headmaster, Chancellor and Treasurer, which had given the teaching body in the system of 1808 its appearance of a lofty and powerful force among the nation's fundamental institutions and its comparative independence with respect to the Ministries. The Counsel that worked with Fontanes lost its name and most of its members. Reduced to five bureaucrats (President Royer-Collard and his assistants, Cuvier, Sylvester de Sacy, Father Frayssinous and Gueneau Mussy), it was assigned the powers that once belonged to the supreme authority and to the principal officials of national Education; and with the modest title of "Commission for Public Instruction, it was subordinated to the "secretary of the Ministry of State in the Department of the Interior."[854] While this plan did indeed give notice of a decision to dethrone the "University", to diminish its important and its role, on the other hand it was careful not to tamper with the monopoly, upon which it conferred a character that was even more clearly political. The will of the Minister, supported both by the king and the Legislature would be exerted without the counterweight of the power that Napoleon in 1808 had invested directly in the Headmaster.

The Decree of August 15th 1815, while it affirmed, however "provisionally", the institution created by the Empire, contributed only a palliative to the adversaries of the great "lay Congregation". What was provisional retained every chance of being enduring. The government, lacking fixed principles or new ideas in educational matters, once again embraced the Napoleonic inheritance. It was only too happy to convert the advantages of that system to its own profit, instead of venting criticism on their forms and their sources. Much more than the system, it mistrusted the men responsible for directing it. It would attempt, by expelling a few suspects, a few malcontents, from professorial chairs and by increasing the quota of chaplains, principals and clerical censors, to change the tone of the colleges, and to "monarchize" and "Romanize" university circles. It was a thankless and endless task, and the Restoration would be consumed by it.

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After the rude attacks that the Christian faith had come under during the 18th century, the Revolutionary crisis, the semi-Pelagianism of many persons during the period of wars and the Imperial luxury left the country in a rather sad religious and moral state. Of course, there was no question of a profound "de-Christianization" such as we are, unfortunately, aware of today. The Church had remained in a firm position over vast areas of France, belief was protected, and the rule of morality was observed in numerous homes, both middle class and rural. However, the worm had gotten into the fruit, decomposition grew apace and more or less visibly depending upon the province or the social milieu. A recent study of the diocese of Chartres (which Louis XVIII's government would restore) shows that the *Beauce* had already been widely contaminated by indifference, with men abandoning the use of the Sacraments to women and children and a rather crude materialism foisting itself on well-to-do farmers.[855]

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[853] In the 19th century, prior to the strict application of Canon Law, some Brother remained in the Institute without vows after their first commitment had expired; they were called "employed novices". It was the source of abuses which the Superiors attempted to diminish, and, with the help of the Holy See, they ultimately succeeded in extirpating completely.

[854] Chevalier, pp. 595-6.

[855] Ernest Sevrin, La pratique des sacrements et des observances au diocèse de Chartres sous l'épiscopat de Mgr

And where the "Constitutional schism" had assembled most of its adherent (and this ordinarily happened in dioceses and in the vicinity of monasteries where the secular or regular clergy had, prior to 1789, failed in its mission) one might grieve over the rapid spread of spiritual dissolution. In the big cities, and especially in Paris, the ruin effected by "Philosophy" was never restored. Followers of the *Encyclopedia*, of Voltaire and of "Jean-Jacques" perseveringly undermined the defenses. Propaganda spread from the educated classes to the common people. "Of the 2,200,000 books (as Goyau notes)[856] which from 1817 to 1824, dogged the Catholic mind", editions of writers of the former century occupied an important place. They formed part of the libraries in mansions as well as on the sideboards where the craftsman set his books; since the selection of texts, the format and the price of books varied according to the education and the pocketbook of the reader; there was the "Voltaire of the great estates", the "commercial Voltaire", the "Voltaire of the unemployed" and the "spirit of Voltaire in bottles."[857]

Among the collegians, irreligion did not take a back seat to blasphemy and sacrilege. Young teachers provided the example, and old tutors only couched their rationalism in rhetorical admonitions. Outside of schools operated by Religious Congregations, elementary education also resolutely eluded dogma, including the *Savoyard Vicar's* brief profession of faith. In the final days of the Empire Napoleon was assured that atheism had wormed its way in among the teachers.

A half-century earlier the nobility and the upper middle-class had paved the way for this daring. The anxiety of 1793, the suffering and distress of immigration and the spectacle of a world in tumult had brought some of them back to God. These were conversions no less sincere, and more logical in their consequences than Chateaubriand's. But many noblemen and intellectuals, who no longer flaunted their incredulity and who forsook their former flippant language, were satisfied to regard Catholicism as a moral force. As such, they honored and defended it, and they reintegrated the Church into human society. But they continued to lack a religious sense. Their "calm indifference contrasted with the external zeal" they exhibited[858] in the political arena in favor of legislation that conformed to the interests and wishes of the clergy, or in the parishes in which they resided, for the maintenance of worship and the action of the pastor. "The great servants of the altar scarcely ever approach it", wrote the impish and "anticlerical" Paul Louis Courier.[859]

With shadings and with discretion, this was (as we have seen) the attitude of "his Most Christian Majesty". His "State religion" complied with his stylish epicureanism of a man of letters, who was able easily to speak in the Latin verses of *Horace*; and it painlessly incorporated the concept of "usurper" when the question arose of dealing with "the organic articles" appended to the Concordat.

Magistrates and bureaucrats indulged analogous ideas. In consequence of the traditions of the Ancien Regime, they would consider it a quite simple matter, in a few years, to decree the passage of a Papal Bull promulgating the existence of a Jubilee Year.[860] Their mistrust

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Clausel de Montals, in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, July-September, 1939.

[856] G Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise*, pg. 554.

[857] Ibid

[858] P. De La Gorce, *Louis XVIII*, pg. 312.

[859] Ibid.

[860] Goyau, op. cit., pp. 554-5.

scarcely ever slackened regarding monastic Orders and Congregations. We must never forget the hostile vigilance of Aldermen, Superintendents and lawyers was practiced on “monks” throughout our history, that the government and the courts of Louis XV preceded the Constituent Assembly and the Legislative Assembly along the road of brutal suppression. Our jurists, ever infatuated with the omnipotence of the State, took a dim view of the right of association; their prejudices were alerted and their objections multiplied, when the members of a “confessional” group, bound to one another by conscientious commitments, were the first to benefit from such a “dangerous” freedom. Even female Congregations, nursing and teaching Sister as well as contemplatives, would find very little favor in the Legislature when there was a bill to empower them to acquire and own a collective fortune.[861] It would be idle to insist on all the conditions that the reestablishment or the creation of male Religious societies inspire -- especially if their membership, in general, is dedicated to a priestly ministry.

Rather than the fidgets, it was a backlash of passion that greeted the return of the Jesuits to France. In June 1814, Father Cloriviere,[862] who joined the Society in 1805 (residing in Russia after the abolition of the Jesuits in Catholic nations) received from his confreres the mission of forming a new group, under cover of the restoration of the “Most Christian Monarchy". He promptly assembled a large group of novices (some seventy), most of whom were already priests and had formed part of the Fathers of the Faith.[863] Hardly had this action been effected than, through the Bull *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, Pius VII restored to the disciples of St. Ignatius Loyola their right to exist everywhere in the world.[864]

The king of France could not dream of legally sanctioning such a revival. The best friends of the Society of Jesus agreed that nothing would be more impolitic. They sought and obtained for the Fathers a precarious, but sufficient, freedom: “Quietly mind your own business and nobody will bother you.” This was the meaning of the reply that Louis XVIII ordered one of his chap−lains to convey to Father Cloriviere.

But while the king may not have wished the Fathers any evil, it was not the same thing for journalists, pamphleteers and lawyers who had gathered up all the rancour of the Jansenists and at the same time the anti-Christian hatred of Voltaire. In falling upon the Jesuits, the “Liberal” party and the secret societies (the Carbonari and Freemasons) meant to attack the Church. They “hurled the word “Jesuit" as pabulum for the common people":[865] and the people saw the “man in black” as the partisan of feudal privilege, the “exploiter” of the poor and the oppressor of conscience. And so that every Catholic might seem like a more or less disguised “Loyola”, an inquisitor, a bitter sectarian, prepared, indeed, for any perjury or crime that might establish the
domination of “fanaticism”, all that was needed were clumsy lies and coarse calumnies, ceaselessly peddled. A part of the press provided the models for an art that was really not very difficult. “Jesuits” -- and, therefore, intended pejoratively -- meant young men who,

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[861] P. De La Gorce, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

[862] Concerning Father Cloivière, see Vol. III of the present work, pp. ???. Cf. also *Compagnie de Jésus en France*, de 1814 à 1914 by Father Burnichon, in three volumes, Paris, 1914-1919.

[863] Goyau, op. cit., pp. 559-60.

[864] Bull dated August 7, 1814.

[865] P. De La Gorce, op. cit., pg. 29.

under the direction of Father Ronsin, were trained to piety and apostolic action, "members of a Congregation" who were accused of urging one another toward distinctions and prebends, and of seizing public administrations.[866] Jesuits also meant the missionaries who, for sixteen years, assumed the task of restoring thousands of souls to Christ, and, hailed or spurned, of plowing the Kingdom from end to end, sometime risking the criticism of the wise, when their preaching ventured beyond the Gospel, but in the long run faithful servants of the truth.[867] Jesuits, too, were the Brothers of the Christian schools whose teaching embarrassed unworthy shepherds of the masses and who, for the rest, made no pretense of denying their traditional arrangement with the militant "Company", nor their gratitude to the former Fathers of the Faith.

The combined encyclopedist and revolutionary spirit persisted in a virulent condition, therefore, in the France of 1815-1830. Joseph de Maistre warned Catholics of this in his "Introduction" to the book he wrote entitled *Concerning the Pope*.[868] The crowning misfortune for them would be to believe that the revolution is over...The revolutionary spirit is, beyond any comparison, stronger and more dangerous than it was a few years ago. The mighty Usurper merely uses it for his own purposes. He has learned how, with his iron fist, to curb it and to reduce it to being nothing more than a sort of monopoly to profit the crown. But since "*justice and peace have kissed"*, the evil genius has quit fearing; and rather than fidgeting in an isolated homestead, he has once again produced a general ferment over an immense area.[869]In other words, we venture to say that, introduced into the rigid structure of the Empire, opposite tendencies got neutralized. Neither good nor evil achieved their ultimate effects. The constitutional monarchy that Louis XVIII initiated put an end to this sort of paralysis. But the free play that it provided minds, up to a point, assisted the forces of destruction as well as the forces of conservation.

Some grew fat on the dynamism that had been feared for an entire century. They resumed a movement that had accelerated after the slowdown experienced following the excesses of the Terror, the orgy of the "Goddess of reason" and the baseness of the Directory. Others grew thin and nervous during the Regency, and then under the influence of Jansenism, "Philosophy" and a "humanism" which induced the older clergy to become too exclusively preoccupied with the peoples' material interests, to extol the "natural virtues" and to neglect dogmatic preaching in favor of moral exhortation. The fulness of the faith and the heroism of holiness had been recovered in the face of the guillotine and along the road to exile. However, dispersal, death and destruction in sanctuary and in seminary -- without including the defection of the tepid and the lax -- had created a void that had not been filled. Clerical recruitment and training had suffered from the long interruption of studies and from the religious neglect to which youth had been abandoned. From 1801 to 1815 only six thousand Frenchmen became priests, while in the past, in the course of a single year, there would have been the same number of ordinations. Theological studies were unimpressive: "no over-all views, no coherence, no harmony", Jean Marie and Felicity Lamennais wrote in 1814.[870]

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[866] On the Congregation, see Geoffrey Grandmaison's book, *Burnichon*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 115-33 and Goyau's *Evaluations*, op. cit., pp. 550-61; and P. De La Gorce, op. cit., pp. 52-6.

[867] Goyau, op. cit., ppp. 560-1.

[868] This address is dated: May, 1817.

[869] Du Pape 1843 edition, pg. x.

[870] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 553.

Once again, let us listen to Joseph de Maistre: "Countless causes weakened the priesthood. It had been despoiled, exiled and massacred by the Revolution. The former athletes of the sacred militia had gone to their graves and young recruits came forward to take their places; but the recruits were inevitably few, since the enemy, with the most deadly efficiency, had cut off their supply...How much time would they need to obtain the instruction (required) for combat?...And when once they had gotten it, would they have enough leisure to use it? The daily apostolate was demanding, absorbing and crushing. It was not easy to foresee the day when the clergy, restored to serenity and sufficiently numerous to operate together the various parts of its immense ministry, might once again surprise us with its learning as by the holiness of its morals, the action of its zeal and the lavishness of its successes...[871]

Nevertheless, the work itself of the great Christian philosopher ruled out total pessimism; and it heralded the time when the Popes would be characterized by such titles as "civilization's sovereign agents", "protectors of civil liberty", "destroyers of slavery" and "enemies of despotism".[872] Gradually De Maistre's influence would imbue the best and the most thoughtful believers, help them out of the diffidence in which they huddled against the changes in the world and the Gallican habits and biases of people like Bossuet, La Luzerne and Frayssinous.[873] Other thinkers, with less concern for the future and with a genius of a less brilliant quality and less urgent, such as Bonald, or having a less balanced temperament or a less reliable doctrine, like the Lamennais of the *Essay Concerning Indifference*, would struggle effectively for the victory of religion. Parallel to the activity of the writers there continued the work of apostolic foundations, of practical reforms and of spiritual re-education, begun, in spite of obstacles, during the First Empire. Here we find once again the Society of Jesus, the "Congregation" and the missionaries; and at this level we get ready to rejoin the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In Lyons, which remained their center, these modest workers lived in a climate that was favorable to fruitful undertakings and to the blossoming of holiness: "Christianity in Lyons became once again the vanguard, as in 2nd century Gaul."[874]

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Whether one thinks of the poverty of mind and of conscience or the doleful condition of material existence, we must reflect at this time upon the Gospel words *misereor super turbam.* Economists and apostles of charity are unanimous in pointing out the ravages of "pauperism", the growth of begging, in lamenting the loosening of ties among the people as the result of very inadequate salaries, the sordid appearance of dwellings and the promiscuity involved in the crowding of these hovels, the physical and moral degradation that such a social condition inevitable occasions, and that was deepened by the real slavery of men, women and children who, in factories and shops, were subjected to painful and monotonous work prolonged over periods of twelve to fourteen hours a day.[875] It was the sons of these

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[871] *Du Pape*, preliminary address, pp. i and ii.

[872] Ibid., Conlcusions, pg. 491.

[873] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 556.

[874] Idem., ibid., pp. 558-9. In that city John Baptist Vianney, Marcellinus Champagnat and John Claude Colin were ordained to the priesthood. And presently Pauline Jaricot would there organize (a mission that promised extraordinary developments) the "Propagation of the Faith".

[875] Cochin, De l'extension de la mendicité, Paris, 1829. Duchatellier, *Essai sur les salaires et les prix de*

poor people who had to be taught; and it was a thankless task to call to, and to keep in, school these young barbarians with their foggy notions -- stunted creatures gnawed by hunger, victims for whom the industrial machine lay in wait and whom it would snap up when they reached their twelfth year, if not before!

In Paris, the Welfare Bureaux which distributed assistance to 86,000 individuals in 1818 and 200,000 in 1821,[876] extended their role through the "Charity schools", several of which, as we have seen, were in the hands of the Brothers. Corporal alms and food for the spirit come simultaneously for the indigent. But the former could only mitigate distress and social injustice. The latter, while in Christian institutions it was of honest quality, it remained quite inadequate quantitatively. After a period of intellectual anarchy followed by a series of aborted efforts, thousands of teachers could not be drawn out of thin air. The attempts made during the Consulate and the Empire lacked powerful stimulus and persevering support. In the France of 1821 there the State, and enjoys therein all civil rights were only 28,000 primary schools; and of the 39,000 Communes, only 15,000 had schools.[877] Furthermore, many of the teachers in the villages scarcely seemed trustworthy; their instruction, which had gotten stuck in the old "individual method", never went beyond the most elementary reading and crude writing, which was quite innocent of grammar and spelling, of which they themselves were ignorant. The moral and religious culture of some of them and, sometimes, their behavior in a very coarse community, left too much to be desired for there to have been, as far as they were concerned, any question of genuine education; their classes, in dingy and airless rooms and in the midst of dirt and disorder inspired the casual visitor with nothing but surprise, pity and repugnance.

At the time of the Restoration 58% of the men conscripted into the military were illiterate. To this ignorance, many persons of rank in chateaux or in the countryside were not only cheerfully resigned, but they would have eagerly wished that it were more widespread. Father Guairard, the Inspector-general of the "University" in 1819 reported the opinion that there were "regions where people still said that it was dangerous to teach the children of the masses to read and write". It was useless, he added, "should one reply that the first schools were founded by monasteries" and that our kings had promoted education. Wherever such opinions reigned "perhaps more than time and patience would be necessary to uproot them."[878]

De La Salle's disciples were not the last to struggle against illiteracy. Without going back to their 18th century quarrels, we need only recall Brother Gerbaud's conflict in 1807.[879] The Institute's ideas and those of its leader also fell in with the principal current of thought that

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consommation de 1202 à 1830, Paris, 1830. Bigot Morogues, *De la misère des ouvriers et de la marche à a suivre pour y remédier,* 1832. Velleneuve-Bargemont*, Économie politique chrétienne*, 1834. These references and others like them are provided by S. Charléty in his *Histoire de France contemporaine*, published under the direction of Ernest Lavisse, Vol. IV, *la Restauration*, Paris, 1921, pp. 314-18. Regarding anything of a religious and, indeed, of a political, nature this work demands numerous qualifications and corrections.

[876] Charléty, op. cit., pg. 314.

[877] Charléty, op. cit., pg. 319. The statistics and the commentary that we have added are supported by a "Table of elementary education" drawn up in 1837 by L. Lorain, a Deputy of Minister Guizot. We shall return to this important document in our next volume. In 1807, the Sub-Prefect Gaillac (Tarn) wrote that, out of 85 Communes in his District 69 had neither public nor private schools. "Three-quarters of the population is left in total ignorance". (Quoted by Brother Ildefonse-Gabriel in his book *Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes et leurs successeurs à Gaillac,* 1938, pg. 5)

[878] National Archives, F17 5947. Report cited by A Garnier, Frayssinous, pg. 474.

[879] See above, pp. ???

was forming in favor of popular education. It was now thirty years since Education was favored by the dedication of Pestalozzi whose didactic method, however quite imperfect, and his recourse to intuition along with observation of the external world had raised a keen interest in Switzerland; he had as rival in Germany Bernard Overberg, catechist, seminary director, founder of a normal school and a zealous man of action who advocated the frequent use of Socratic questioning and excited his fellow-countrymen in the progress of studies. Then came Father Gregory Girard, the Franciscan in Fribourg, a rather adventurous philosopher, but faithful to penetrate childrens' minds with spiritual light and the promoter of an education that was based upon an extensive knowledge of the mother tongue; and the Thuringian, Froebel who - in order to guarantee the free exercise of the activities of body and mind in "play" where youngsters seek to satisfy their desire to create, invent and produce -- thought up the ingenious idea of the "kindergarten".

These were the most celebrated educators in central Europe between 1780 and 1850. Overberg died in 1826 and Pestalozzi in 1827. Girard, who enjoyed a robust long life, and Froebel who belonged to the younger generation, survived them, up to the middle of the 19th century. Their work, taken together, had neither the scope nor the cohesiveness of St. John Baptist de La Salle's. It had some skillful insights, a quite discerning psychology and some new ideas that gave it an indisputable value. It added to the principles already known, to the method that had been solidly established by the French educator, a admixture of realism, a variety of concrete applications which, on the whole, deserved to be respected.[880]

But, in the course of the years the history of which we are tracing it was neither to Germany nor to Switzerland that French innovators were looking with respect to elementary education. Nor is it altogether exact to call them "innovators". They persisted in being hypnotized by the system unobtrusively introduced by Herbault and by Pawlet and which had just earned, on the other side of the Channel, a noisy (no less than ephemeral) reputation.

Because he had seen it employed in India, the Reverend Mr. Bell became the ardent advocate of the system. It assured him priority in England where the "monitorial system" would locate a second apostle in the person of Lancaster, a member of the famous denomination of Quakers. Henceforward, in Great Britain, Ireland, America and in France people would refer to "Lancastrian education".

In what, indeed, does it consist? As the term monitorial suggests, it means the instruction of one child by another. A large number of pupils, of all ages, are brought together in the same room; there may be as many as a thousand in a hall of 50 + 25 meters. Near the entrance there rises a platform surmounted by a desk, where the teacher places himself. From there toward the other end of the room there stretch large tables in parallel lines, separated by a passage to facilitate circulation. Blackboards hang from the walls; in front of each of them there is a free space which may be marked off may be a semicircular handrail. The pupils work at their tables or at the blackboards, according to the directions of the program. They move from one place to another at the command of the teacher. But the latter, who must previously have trained certain select pupils, does not himself give the lesson: he supervises, advises and intervenes here and there. The immediate leader for a given group of children, or "squad", is the young "monitor". He repeats what he himself has learned, the alphabet, the speller, a page of reading, or arithmetic operations; he questions his classmates and prompts their memory or their reasoning. In each "circle", made up of pupils of pretty nearly the same age and the same level of instruction, the method does not differ essentially from the one that we have known for a long time: it remains the "simultaneous method". Together, beginners spell out

[880] See *Manuel d'Histoire de la Pédagogie* written by a Brother of the Christian Schools, J. Herment (Brother Ménodore, from Malonne), Namur, 1923, pp. 380-430.

words in front of a blackboard, and then they write the letters they have deciphered on their slates.[881]In the Lancastrian schools crayons and slates replaced paper and pen. The youngest children had to be satisfied with tracing out their letters in sand spread out on the floor. Or a child attempts to read aloud; and if he makes a mistake, another, to whom the first pupil yields, takes his place. And each mistake, each failure to know, is accompanied by this little scenario.

To the coming-and-going around the "Monitor" there follow the rhythmic movements that accompany the change of lessons. The order given by the schoolteacher, conveyed by the general "Monitor", gives rise to a procession of squads moving to the cadenced beat of feet and the clapping of hands. And then the "circles" are reformed for what are ordinarily brief spaces of time.

The system takes into account the children's natural impatience, their need for physical activity and their appetite for a collective effort and for some gregarious demonstration. It seems also to comply with a psychological law by associating writing with beginning reading, at least initially. The conviction that it embodies of setting initiative in motion is inspired by a principle the value of which is not absolutely deniable: pupils must take responsibility for the success of study and for the good order of the class; they have something to say in the designation of their instructors; and they are even consulted about the punishment incurred by their classmates; a panel of "Monitors" examines the cases of which it has been informed by the teacher; and he must get used to the idea of handing down decisions which do not violate justice.

The most telling criticism to which the "Monitorial System" is opened was that it so singularly restricted the teacher's influence, and that it abandoned the majority of pupils into inexpert hands. The following remarks, written by supporters of the system, imply, in fact, a condemnation: "The entire detailed, thankless and demanding part (of teaching) is done by the children...and the teacher is rather an administrator...than a tutor of the class; a mob of small collaborators spare him the difficulty of his task... "[882]One must ever be on guard against procedures that flatter human indolence. To direct hundreds of pupils from some distant and exalted position presents in itself a problem that admits of no easy solution; some quite courageous teachers might nevertheless try their hand at it. But most, more or less concerned to provide a hasty preparation for their twenty or thirty "Monitors" and then rest upon their easily earned laurels, "would lose their skills" as teachers. Only too often were they, as their encomists urged them, indifferent guardians. What sort of education should we expect from this sort of teaching personnel?[883]

Instruction nonetheless remained at the lowest level. The "Monitors" ...once they had delivered a single active and intelligible instruction, gradually got into the negligent habits and began to operate like the gears in a machine.[884]Too young to understand the importance of their role, they left their small comrades confusedly stumbling through the lesson written on the blackboard, and tracing out, by way of letters, crude sticks; and they dictated, without explanation, calculations which quickly eluded passive memories. Apart from other defects which did not attach essentially to the system -- and upon which we shall presently dwell -- the "Monitorial" system, imprudently and indiscriminately generalized, lead directly to the most resounding failure.

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[882] Report of a general meeting of the Societry for Elmentary Instruction, January 10, 1816. Cited by Chevallier, pp. 377-8.

[883] Emile Gossot, *Essai critique sur l'enseignement primarie*, pg. 28.

[884] Idem., ibid., pg. 29.

In its new or rejuvenated guise it offered a certain attractiveness. Besides, it seemed to cut the most inextricable Gordian knot: at a time when there was a lack of teachers, schools and money, it allowed starting classes with a teaching corps reduced to the minimum, in sites whose very size discouraged growth and with makeshift and relatively inexpensive materials.

These were all so many considerations advanced by individuals who, henceforth, were assured of Lazare Carnot's support and of an initial pledge for the future by the Decree of the 27th of April 1815. The royal restoration did not cause any interruption in their plans. Since, during the "Hundred Days", they composed the Committee for Primary Instruction, they were also on the Council created for the same purposes by the Prefect of the Seine, Count Chabrol and which, for eighteen years running held its meetings in the City Hall.[885] Furthermore, they founded a "Society for Elementary Teaching", an enterprise that especially set itself the task of propagandizing in favor of the "Monitorial" method.

On the 9th of August 1815 Jomard announced to his colleagues that a model school would probably be set up in the former chapel of a suppressed college.[886] While awaiting that takeover, twenty children, selected by the Prefect, were invited to a flat on Rue St. Jean Beauvais, to do their lessons with a Professor Martin who had brought back from London a Lancastrian Speller.[887] The site was to be formally inaugurated on the 1st of September.

M. Chabrol and his friends were concerned to give the new school a religious tone. The Prefectural decree of the 5th of December ordered that classes begin "with the prayers customary" among "the Brothers of the Christian Schools": every Sunday the teacher was to take the pupils to Mass.[888]. Actually, it was impossible to discover any opposition in principle between Catholicism and "Monitorial" teaching. Unhesitatingly Father Gregory Girard used the English system in Switzerland; and Anne-Marie Javouhey, the Foundress of the Sisters of St. Joseph, authorized her Sisters to learn the method for teaching poor little girls in Paris.[889] Elsewhere, there were priests who became comfortable with the same system: in 1817 the Prefect of Isere pointed out to the Ministry of the Interior the parish of Rives, whose pastor, in agreement with the Mayor, supported a Lancastrian school and obtained valuable results;[890] the Rector of the Academy of Angers indicated the example of the pastor of St. Florent, who furnished his teacher with the means of introducing himself to the marvelous machine.[891]

On the whole, though, the clergy adopted a mistrustful attitude. They saw it as a British import, and therefore, Protestant: the mere name of the Quaker, the putative author of the "Monitorial" school, was cause enough for legitimate alarm. It did not seem possible for it not to bear the marks of its author's origins and convictions. The spirit of heresy might very

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[885] The eleven members of this "Council for elementary instruction" were appointed on November 3, 1815. They did not all belong to the Lancastrian group. Along side Jomard, Lasteyrie, Laborde, Gérando, and Gaultier, the Prefect left room for people who supported the Brothers, La Rochfoucauld-Doudeauville and Mathieu Montmorency. Also included on the Council were La Rouchefoucauld-Liancourt, Pastoret, Delessert, Camet Bonnardiére. (Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 105)

[886] The so-called "Lisieux College", a foundation of the old University of Paris. Its buildings had been handed over to the War Ministry.

[887] Chevalier, pp. 310-11.

[888] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents

[889] Canon Garnier, *L'Église et l'éducation du peuple*, pg. 243.

[890] National Archives, F17 9667, report of September 22, 1817, cited by Garnier, Frayssinous, pg. 465.

[891] Ibid., F17 5947, Rector's report, June 1817, cited by Garnier, pg. 466.

well slip into a method which claimed to lift schoolboys up to the role of leaders, liberate them from detailed supervision and habituate them to a certain independence of judgment.

Lancaster's proselytism obviously had to be feared. Unless care were taken, it would be introduced through text books, especially suspicious commentaries on the "Gospels". The Society which Jomard, Gerando and Laborde guided, did not take sufficient precautions against such propaganda. If no one had the right to challenge the orthodoxy of the founders, the Society would meet its most zealous allies among the "Liberals", i.e., (to anyone who really knew the meaning of words and who remembered the language of a man like Carnot) among the declared or disguised adversaries of dogma and religious discipline. To wrest the soul of the child from the Church, that, it soon became clear (under the disinterested zeal and with the unwise, if not deliberate, cooperation, of the civil arm) was the goal of the relentless Lancastrians.[892]Modern "secularists" do not shrink at viewing the mutual school, understood after the fashion of the Restoration's liberals, as the ancestor of their "godless school": S. Charléty, who insists – contrary to the plain facts – on the "total success" of this pedagogy "in cities as well as in the country−side", adds, with all the candor of an advocate rather than with the serenity of an historian, that: It was crucial for the liberals that there existed in the Commune, across the way from an ultra-royalist presbytery and church whence issued the threat of torments inflicted in Hell upon people who purchased national property, a school and a teacher who were not the former's natural and necessary ally.[893]

At the end of 1815 Parisian clerics were showing signs of worry. Father Astros, Vicar-general, observed that there were non-Catholics at the head of the new schools. His colleague, Jalabert, heard complaints from the pastors in Paris: while prayer was prescribed in the schools created under "foreign" inspiration, religious instruction did not form part of the program. Since the See was vacant, diocesan administrators wrote a report to the king, the conclusions of which were as follows: do not approve any remittances nor grant any special subsidies to the promoters of the "Monitorial" method; appropriate all assistance designated for elementary education to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. "A single word" from the Prince "will deliver a serious blow" to "dangerous institutions".

From a purely educational point of view the errors of the system were emphasized: too much hurry in the courses of study and too much commotion in the organization of the classes. But the principal defect continued to be the lack of a religious spirit: silence regarding the essential questions - man's duties to God and to the Church - disposed young minds to doubt. The matter seemed sufficiently serious to call an archdiocesan plenary assembly, from which there followed, on the 29th of December, Father Astros' final report, which was quite detailed and closely reasoned. Certainly, he acknowledged, the Lancastrian method "in itself was in no way contrary to sound doctrine and good morals". Upon being questioned, the Count Laborde showed that it was simply a matter of entrusting to the more advanced pupils the instruction of the others. Nevertheless, to accustom children to command, to delegate them with a magisterial authority, and make them the judges of their classmates seemed to go contrary to the "antique education" and transform every schoolhouse into a "Republic". The thought of the future of the country struck terror into the Vicar-general, if the French people, already refractory to obedience, received such an education. Finally, the counsel of Father Pointer, Vicar-apostolic in London, gave rise to mistrust of the Quakers and their intrigues.

Father Astros did not issue a final condemnation; what he contemplated were minor

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[892] Ibid., F17 5947, Rector's report, June 1817, cited by Garnier, pg. 466.

[893] (Op. cit., pp. 136-7)

alterations along religious and, in a way, political lines. Twenty-two members of the Paris Welfare Bureau were less temperate. Under the ominous slogan, *Temeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, they vigorously objected to "the Lancastrian instructional method" and, unambiguously, declared it clearly inferior to that of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, "established in France for more than a century."[894]

One of these, Father Dubois-Bergeron, a devoted friend of the Lasallian Institute, enlarged upon the Bureau's reasons in a brochure published in January 1816.[895]. "This innovation", he wrote of the "Monitorial" method, "would, by anticipation, deprive our august monarch from reigning over the upcoming generation". Dubois-Bergeron's essay contains the entire arsenal of both primary and secondary arguments, which we have been attempting to summarize here and which, over the years, has fed the polemic to satiety.[896]

The publication, *The Friend of Religion*, in turn took up the cudgels on the 2nd of March to denounce Jomard, Laborde, Gerando and their acolytes for reflecting ironically on its fears concerning the peasantry's ignorance and for drawing the satiric sketch of teachers being rushed into every province, of monitors being sent "by mail" and of lessons that move at "a gallop". How could a Society, "scarcely heard of" and "begun during an interregnum", dare to monopolize "all of elementary education"?[897]

The practically unanimous opinion in Catholic circles and the parallel, immediately drawn up between the Lancastrian and the Lasallian schools, suffice for us to assume Brother Gerbaud's thought. Those among the advocates of the "Monitorial" system who were not inspired by a sectarian zeal had been eagerly desirous that the disciples of the saintly and brilliant educator would themselves consent to the use of the new mode of instruction. They found a sort of anticipation of it in parts of the *Conduct of Schools*: they saw the young "officers" in the Brothers' class−rooms as called to cooperate with the teacher; they supervised their classmates and coached them in the recitation of their lessons before the Brother arrived in class. And throughout the course of the day they seemed to fulfill the role of Monitors, "Prompters" and heads of groups.[898] If one broadened this role, after the manner of the "Decurians" in the former Jesuit colleges and of the "Master of novices" in the school rules of Father Démia, one would be drawing close to the Anglo-−Saxon idea and obtain, it would appear, a happy fusion of the two methods.[899] The pedagogical skill, the traditions and the dedica−tion of the Brothers would guarantee the results of education so structured, in which the role of the scholars' activities would become more flexible and where religion would preserve its preeminence and its all powerful influence.

These were tempting, or rather, specious views, for they did not take reality into account. What was being asked of the Brothers, beginning in 1815, went well beyond an updating of

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[894] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents, Father Astros' letters to the Court Chaplain, November 30 and December 5, 1815; Father Jalabert's letters to the same and to Father Quélen, December 13, 24 and 26; comments of the Vicars-general (dateless); reports to the king and to the Court Chaplain; "reflections" signed by members of the Welfare Bureaus. (dateless)

[895] *Des nouvelles écoles à la Lancaster, comparées avec l'enseignement des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*, 1st edition, January 1816; a third edition "revised, corrected and expanded", appeared in October 1817

[896] Chevalier made copious use of them (op. cit., pp. 373-8). In Herment, op. cit., pp. 376-7, there is a more objective analysis of Bell's and Lancaster's system.

[897] *Collection of L'Ami de la Religion*, no. 163, March 2, 1816. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 379-83.

[898] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. ???

[899] Ambrose Rendu explained these ideas in 1817 in his *Essai sur l'instruction publique*. (See infra, pp. ???)

their pedagogy. They were expected to adopt an entirely new system: a Decree of the Prefect of the Seine on the 21st of November, "invited" them (along with the Madames of St. Maur) "to become familiar" with the new plan so as to introduce it into their classes. But the Brothers were educators who were too well informed not to see at once what a step backward "Monitorial" instruction - with its single teacher, its monitors nearly entirely left to themselves, its hasty programs, and its sketchy material - represented over their own traditions, consecrated and tested by a century of success. A teacher responsible for several hundred, indeed as many as a thousand, pupils, even with the best will in the world, would succeed with only the greatest difficulty in exercising a genuinely educational influence. He might not lighten his load by distributing it on the shoulders of children, but he would become discouraged or succumb under the burden.

The Superior-general, then, rejected M. Chabrol's proposals. He meant to maintain the simultaneous method within its customary framework: at least two classes, each one directed by a competent teacher, whom the most intelligent and industrious pupils would assist, of course, but with a strict and unremitting control. Moreover, the Rule did not allow a Brother to be alone; the application of Lancastrian principles would lead to a scattering of the Brothers and the destruction of Communities. The Institute was not to be sacrificed to rash and chimerical experiments.

The future would fully justify Brother Gerbaud; the "Monitorial" school, after a period during which it was fashionable, disappeared as the result of progress in the science of pedagogy, the growth both in the number and the competence of teachers, and the greater complexity of studies. Its teaching procedures, its rhythmic and noisy "gyrations" would eventually invite laughter. Modern educators have preserved nothing of it except a cautious appeal to the child's spontaneity, a margin to be left to the vivacity of children at this age and a more precise measure of their capacity for attention.

But as long as antireligious passion and political prejudice shared in this quarrel, the "English" system was employed as a weapon against the Church. As in our own time, education became a closed arena in which the contenders claimed the minds of youth for prize. The Christian school and the "Monitorial" school were set up in competition with each other in places in which the population required essential instruction, and where "Liberal" and Royalist, Catholic and adversary of religious dogma contended for pre-eminence. Unfortunately, children became associated in adult rivalries; and they traded insults and blows.[900] The Brothers experienced ridicule, insult, campaigns of denigration and calumny. Quite rightly uneasy about Lancastrian tendencies, they rejected adaptations that Louis XVIII's Ministers contemplated; and they very nearly fell victim to the ill humor stirred up in high places by this rejection.

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Their position in the State had not changed since the second royal Restoration. The monarchy, whose pure and simple confirmation of their former "Letters patent" they solicited, had not treated them any differently than had Napoleon. To tell the truth, the king was completely at a loss to determine, as his predecessors had done, a Congregation's legal status. The effort he made to this end, by way of the Ordinance of the 10th of June 1814, aroused the courts' criticism; they refused to allow that a constitutional monarch could, on his own initiative, create within a civil society, *sui generis* associations which would entail obligations in conscience for their members and the renunciation of personal property. In the final analysis, the Law of the 2nd of January 1817 forbad the exercise of any such

[900] See Garnier, Frayssinous, pg. 464.

prerogative.[901]

While in this matter Brother Gerbaud's wishes went unfulfilled, a plan for the organization of private education was being worked out which would once again tie the Institute to the "University". Ambrose Rendu was among its authors. We know of this man's friendship for the Brothers; up to this point, it had remained in the background, overshadowed by the efforts of Gueneau Mussy and Father Frayssinous; but it now inspired him to the sort of patronage that he practiced throughout his entire career. The Superiors-general, in the days to come, paid him the tribute of a very well-deserved gratitude. But this fine Christian gentleman never forgot that he was a lawyer and an academic; and in defending principles that were deeply anchored in his mind, he did not hesitate to place himself in contradiction to men who were dear to his heart.[902] We can witness fully this tendency in the drawing up of the Ordinance which would bear the date of the 29th of February 1816. After a meeting with M. Gerando, he notes: "We agree on the need to strengthen religious influence...We must convince the clergy that the University sincerely and ardently wishes the regeneration of minds by faith... "[903]

The preamble to the document has Louis XVIII saying: "...Persuaded that one of the greatest advantages that we can procure for our subjects is an education that is suited to their respective stations; that such an education, especially when it is based upon genuine religious and moral principles, is not only one of the most fruitful sources of public prosperity, but it contributes to the good order of society..., We ordain... "

And the king goes on to form "in each Canton a Committee...to awaken and encourage" elementary education.[904] Every Commune must be able to open a school; and the children of the indigent will be allowed to attend totally tuition-free.[905]

The Pastor/dean was to occupy the first seat in the Cantonal Council, on which was also included the Justice of the Peace and the Principal of the College.[906] And with the latter, the "University" was restored; and it was to lose none of its rights.

The Rector of the Academy designated three or four of the other members in charge of the supervision of the schools.[907]. He was therefore assured of a docile majority. No teaching can−didate could teach without submitting to an examination before one of the Rector's

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[901] A. Des Cilleuls, op. cit., pg. 351.

[902] Eugene Rendu, op. cit., pg. 112.

[903] Idem., op. cit., pg. 109.

[904] Art. 1 of the order of February 29, 1816.

[905] Art. The lower degree was "granted to those who knew well enough how to read, write and figure in order to teach." However, every Rector had to anticipate a postponement during which, even for this extremely "elementary" certificate, it would be necessary to learn the "best methods" of teaching. At the second degree were listed candidates who were good spellers and calligraphers and calculators and who were in a position to provide simul−taneous instruction comparable to that of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. (Our emphasis upon words which will call for comment.) The higest degree was reserved for teachers who passed an examination in French Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography and Surveying, "and other knowledge useful in primary education". A circular sent to the Rectors specified that elements of Holy Scripture (Old and New Testament) were included in this "useful knowledge". It adds (something that suggests the determination to contain the instruction given to the people within strict limits): Since it is to be feared that too many (Higher Certificates) might be harmful to schools and colleges, you should seek to admit no one thereto without having consulted with the Commission (for Public Instruction) and without having obtained its consent. (Ambrose Rendu, Essai cited, Vol. III, pp. 17-24.).

[906] Art. 2.

[907] Art. 3

delegates and without being equipped (apart from the certificate of good conduct issued jointly by the pastor and the mayor) a "certificate of competence."[908]

This certificate, which comprised three levels that corresponded to the greater or less extent of the knowledge of the recipients,[909]. was obtained at academic headquarters. But before "practicing in any particular place" a final formality was required: -- "the Rector's special authorization", accompanied by the consent of the Prefect.[910]

The rights granted "to persons or associations" who found or perpetuate a school could not be regarded as the first-fruits of the freedom to teach: simple "presentation" of the candidate selected, for whom the Rector's authorization remains necessary; the "economic administration" of the institution; a focussing on the "internal regime" in the form of "a notice to the Committee of Supervision".[911] It was forbidden to employ novel methods or to promulgate special regulations: the Commission of Public Instruction, a dependency of the government, dictated what was appropriate to teach and prescribed the manner in which one taught.[912]

If, in a Commune, the mayor and the pastor agreed in the appointment of a teacher, the "University" would be content to ratify this choice, on condition of a professional examination and the guarantee of unquestionable morality. But in case there was disagreement, recourse had to be had to arbitration by the Rector, advised by the Cantonal Committee.[913]

Finally, a teacher might ask to open a school on his own personal responsibility. He would submit his proposal to the local supervisors of primary education, who would determine "whether the Commune was already sufficiently supplied with teachers". Armed with this information the academic authority would decide.[914]. And since, on the other hand, the same authority reserved the power to revoke the *licentia docendi*,[915] we see that the latitude enjoyed by the private individual in this arrangement was rather precarious.

The monopoly existed under the conditions in which the Decree of the 17th of March 1808 created it. It was thus that the Brothers were invited to work in the Napoleonic system. There was to be no substitution of one right for another: the installation that the Ordinance conferred upon them added nothing to the approval of the Year XII and the arrangements of Article 109. The king was restricted to observing the existence of the Lasallian educators, without specifying whether they obtained it legally from Louis XV or from the "Usurper". And he even took considerable care to avoid the litigious, the suspect term, "Congregation". Frustrated by legalists' objections, by 18th century traditions and revolutionary assemblies, he slipped, so to speak, the Institute into the organization of primary education, just as the Emperor had introduced into the middle of the "University": Article 36 declared: "Every religious or charitable association, such as the Christian Schools, may be allowed to supply teachers to the Communes which shall ask for them". It was a brief and unobtrusive

[908] Art. 10.
[909] Art. 11
[910] Art. 13.

[911] Arts. 18 and 19.

[912] Arts. 30 and 31.

[913] Arts. 20 and 21.
[914] Art. 24
[915] Art. 25.

reference, yet sufficient so that there could be no doubt as to the official recognition of the members who were grouped around Brother Gerbaud. Besides, Article 11 had mentioned their name more explicitly, in relation to the competency of the "second degree"; since by stipulating that the intermediate certificate would be bestowed upon teachers who can instruct pupils like the "Brothers of the Christian Schools", the government seemed to be presenting the disciples of De La Salle as official models and their Society as a moral person benefiting from an established position.[916].

Other Religious Orders obtained the same rights. And thus there developed, within the framework conceived by the great Educator in Rheims, the foundations of people like Chaminade, Colin, Champagnat, André Coindre, Querbes, Jean-Marie de La Mennais, Gabriel Deshayes, Dom Freschard and Mertian.[917] Eleven "groups of men" were successively provided with royal approbation,[918] and, in different provinces and with original variations, they would expand, along side of or in the place of the Christian Brothers, the educational apostolate which had always so distinguished the French church.

The "University" situated them, like other teachers, under its law. It granted them no privileges in working out the details of "rules" and "methods". It "subjected them to the supervision" of its Rectors and its Inspectors.[919] However, would they allow their members into the schools without demanding of each of them the proof of his professional "competence" and without interfering in the appointments and transfers decided upon by their Religious Superiors? The Ordinance did not directly face the problem. In order to resolve it in a way that was most favorable to the wishes of the members of the Congregations it was fitting to refer back to the procedure generally followed by Count Fontanes; it was necessary to interpret the stipulations of the Ordinance of 1816 which contemplated direct contracts between the Communes and the "Associations", represented obviously by their Superiors.[920]

The good-feeling, dictated moreover by the immediate needs of popular education, seemed to be the order of the day. To whom to appeal to teach French youngsters from the working and peasant classes, when teacher recruitment progressed so slowly and with such difficulty, when it was impossible to foresee permanent normal schools spread throughout the country, and when cities were not obliged to budget funds for the support of teachers and schools?

Regarding educational formation. the Ordinance required merely that, in the principal centers of population, "the gathering of several classes, under a single teacher and several assistants" facilitate the training of "a certain number of young persons in the art of teaching."[921] The entire expenditure assumed by the "royal treasury" for the primary schools consisted in an annual "fund" of 50,000 francs; the Commission for Public Education was to use it "either to have (suitable) books written or printed", "...or temporarily to set up model schools in regions where good methods" were still unknown; "or to recompense" the most competent and zealous "teachers".[922]

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[916] On the other hand, article 11 and the commentary which followed it tended to keep the Brothers in the category of teachers to whom the Higher Certificate was refused or, at least granted quite stingily and reluctantly

[917] See Canon Garnier's book, already cited, *L'Église et l'éducation du peuple*.

[918] Des Cilleuls, op. cit., pg. 352.

[919] Arts. 36 and 38 of the order of February 29, 1816.

[920] Art. 36.

[921] Art. 39.

[922] Art. 35. Cf. Garnier, Frayssinous, pg. 450.

In the distribution of this meagre aid, Religious "associations", and especially their novitiates, were not forgotten. Further, Departments were authorized to come to their assistance.[923]

Such, with the best of intentions but with serious deficiencies, on the strength of promising assumptions but upon a narrow foundation and in a spirit of political domination, was the new law on elementary education.

After the limitless optimism of April 1814 and July 1815, the Brothers of the Christian Schools saw the prospects on a wide horizon closing in upon them. They continued to be a "society" of teachers, merely acknowledged by that name, isolated in the most elementary kind of teaching, under the thumb of the "University". Definitively stripped of their ancient patrimony, given very modest salaries and shaky subsidies, they could not plan on a rapid extension of their work. The Imperial system, that had promoted their restoration, had moderated their initiative and had compromised their progress. And it had come to seem to them to be all the more burdensome as they had fostered the hope of breaking free from it. In July 1816 they still assumed that the "provisional" "University", held over for both of Louis XVIII's restorations, would soon disappear; a commission had been in the process of forming, under the presidency of Cardinal Bausset, "to take up" planning for the reorganization of public education. But in September the dissolution of the "Star Chamber" brought to a halt the work of the Commissioners who were committed to the ultra-royalist party.[924] During the following years a rather heavy yoke was imposed: the preference accorded the "Monitorial" school involved, for the other side, hostility, worry and demands which came close to tyrannizing over the Christian school.

The Brothers, however, retained the best grounds for confidence and hope. The Bishops, the majority of the clergy,[925]There were some curious biases. Catholic families, important influences in Legitimist circles and among intellectuals and, indeed, at the very heart of the "University" itself assured them of support. The royal government, which they served with a faithful heart, could not really assume the guise of a persecutor. After the storm, more unpleasant than dangerous, there would open up a season of golden fruit and joyful peace.

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[923] Art. 37.

[924] Chevalier, pp. 336-8.

[925] (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans IR 191, précis pour *les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*, May 10, 1816.) In Orléans, the revered Father Mérault severely criticized the Brothers' financial management, which, with no less vigor, Canon Dubois rallied to defend; he subjected the accounts of the St. Euvertus school to the Vicar-general's scrutiny. Father Mérault is supposed to have replied that he "didn't read numbers".

CHAPTER TWO

The Defense of the Methods and the Autonomy of the Christian Brothers

One would prefer not to have to return to the question of the "Monitorial school". Unfortunately, it is the ever recurring obstacle on the terrain over which we must travel. We have already investigated its forms and causes. It remains for us to view it in so far as it was reenforced, so to speak, through the activities of the public authorities, at the same time that it came under assault at the hands of the friends of the Institute. As far as the Brothers' progress was concerned, the "Monitorial school" was a stumbling block: it created numerous problems for them, and it became the occasion of frustrating conflicts. Without pausing any longer than necessary over incidents of secondary importance, over contingencies the traces of which have long since sunk into oblivion or over discussions to which no one today attaches any concern, we shall attempt to sort out logical coherences and the lesson of events. A government which proposed to take its stand with religious faith and support Christian institutions suddenly altered its course against the most deserving and valuable educators by too hotly taking sides in favor of an ingenious, facile system, but of dubious value. Through a lack of foresight, of prudent toleration, of discretion in the exercise of command, the civil arm launched its administrators and magistrates along paths on which their casual allies could only be the most persistent and most dangerous adversaries of the Church and of the political regime. It consented to apply pres−sure and to employ constraint after badly timed exhortations had failed. Interpreting texts in the most rigorous way, it seemed to pursue a vindication that would end up in subjugation. Finally, with the help of some thought (and, as one is led to believe, with the king's personal intervention), it decided upon a disguised retreat, an honorable compromise. However, the blows exchanged during the battle delighted the bitterest advocates the educational monopoly and -- together with them or among them -- the rationalists and the Voltairians. These battles -- actually, merely skirmishes -- supplied useful positions for those who contemplated more ambitious offensives; they served as a prelude to the war waged at another time around the school.[926]

In order to contribute to the spread of elementary education, the excellent gentleman Ambrose Rendu and his older brother, who was Secretary-general of the Prefecture of the Seine, in 1816, had the City of Paris adopt the Lancastrian school that had been earlier opened on Rue St. Jean de Beauvais.[927] These Catholics specified that the "Monitorial school" was to observe a regulation worked out together with the diocesan clergy; that the pastors were to visit it; and that no excessive competition would be tolerated with the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Communes and parishes where the latter operated a number of classes: these prescriptions appeared with the ministerial signature on the 27th of June. Thus far, nothing more was intended than a limited, cautious experiment with the new method.[928]

On the 30th of August a circular, published by the Bureau of the Interior revealed greater

[926] Eug.Rendu, op.cit.p.118
123 ibid
[928] Gossot, op. cit., pg. 31.

hardihood. It extolled the famous importation "translated into French" by good men who had "appropriated it to the genius of our language". It attributed to the system "the double advantage of economy and completeness". The Prefects had received "three copies of a practical textbook" published by the Society for Elementary Education. They were urged to support teachers who used the book. Nevertheless, every "exclusive preference" was rejected: it would be unseemly to indicate the least bias against the defenders of the older system of education.[929]

The bureaucrats felt where the wind was coming from. The Prefect of the Rhone, Count Chabrol Crouzol, who had read between the lines, wrote to Brother Gerbaud on the 17th of September: "I beseech you, please, to introduce the Monitorial method into your schools". According to him, such an innovation, in the hands of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, "intelligent" men, would produce the best possible results.[930]

A General Chapter, whose purposes and efforts we shall presently describe, was being held at the time at Petit College. The Superior, informed about the Prefectural injunction, responded to Chabrol Crouzol:"...The Assembly has recognized, unanimously, that this system is incompatible with our regulations ...Not only do we not see religion dominating, but perceive in it a direct opposition to our principles, a complete subversion of our rules, without which, however, we cannot function as a Religious body".

The Brothers, furthermore, were not striving for a monopoly: "Very far from wishing to enter into competition", throughout the nation, with the Lancastrians, they thought neither to exclude nor to supplant these rivals. Brother Gerbaud wrote: "Whether there are schools, or any other sort of institution, apart from our own does not offend us. As long as we are allowed to work in (schools) according to our rules, in peace and union with everybody, we shall remain, as in the past, the most humble, the most obedient and the most dedicated of citizens".[931]

This categorical *non possumus* appeared at the outset to have sufficed. The government representatives did not look as though they would insist. And the head of the Congregation wrote immed−iately to his subordinates that, while the Chapter might have been fearing a severe blow for "De La Salle's tiny barque", God had speedily dissipated the danger.[932].

It would have been a mistake, however, to have believed that it was out of the storm area. Ten months later, the propaganda of those whom Brother Gerbaud called "worldlings" gained a typical victory. Through the Decree of the 22nd of July 1817 the Minister supplied them with the most efficacious assistance: "a model school for 'Monitorial' instruction" was to be established, by his orders, within each of the Academies of Caen, Rouen, Orleans, Metz, Nancy, Dijon, Bourges, Clermont, Cahors, Montpellier, Aix and Pau; teachers would be selected from among the students in education courses in Paris or in similar courses throughout the provinces; in the absence of such candidates, each Rector would nominate an "intelligent" teacher who was to come to Paris to complete his apprenticeship. A fund of 20,000 francs were to subsidize the initial expenses of this program. Furthermore, in twenty-four Departments the procedures of the new pedagogy would be the topic for special lectures given by a well-disposed teacher, whose zeal would be recompensed by an "honorarium".[933]

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[929] Chevalier, pp. 381-2.

[930] Idem., pg. 386.

[931] Letter of September 30, 1816.

[932] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, circular of October 1, 1816

[933] Gossot, op. cit., pp. 34-5. The cartoonist Nicholas Charlet, the son of a poor family, a decent fellow

Certainly, the official world put its money on the Lancastrian scenario. The French Academy initiated a competition and announced a prize for the “best poem" on the subject of “Monitorial” instruction.[934] The journal The Monitor in its issue for the 13th of January 1818 published an apology for the “modest asylums” to which children, who “up to then fled school in horror”, rushed joyously; where the most complete order prevailed in the midst of numbers and movement...individual activity at the center of general harmony, and where the sentiments of honor and duty animated the young guides who were chosen for the instruction of their classmates.[935]

The defenders of Christian education did not await this rhapsody in order to raise their voices. After Dubois-Bergeron, his namesake, the Canon in Orleans, returned to the scene: “In order to inform the French”, in order to forestall “tiresome entreaties” with which the Brothers have become “overwhelmed”, he posed the following question: Is it advantageous, is it possible for the Christian Brothers’ schools to adopt Lancastrian methods? Of course, the answer was ‘no’

A “Catholic, father of a family, and member of a Cantonal committee", in a “letter to Count Chabrol Volvic, Prefect of the Seine, summoned both the Institute and the innovators “before the tribunal of public opinion". He accused the “apostles” of the English system of “perpetuating the spirit of the Revolution” and of “sowing the seeds of atheism and heresy in the capital.”[936]

The article in *The Monitor*, which turned out to have been inspired by the government, gave rise to fresh outcries. Once again, it was Father Dubois who hurled the loudest rejoinder: the advocates of the “Monitorial" method present it as a “tool”, not as a doctrine. This is an error or a lie, declared their adversary: since the genuine goal of the Lancastrians has “nothing to do with the education of children”; it is clearly political, according to the avowals found in the *Journal of Education*; they seek to impress republican ideas upon youth; which, besides, is being prepared for a call to arms that the ‘royal peace’ is proving to be pointless. The good Father appeared to tremble once again at the distant roll of drums, at the song of the volunteers of 1792 and at the murmurings, always easily perceptible, of the “Veterans” and the “soldiers-at-half-pay”. And, then, returning to the customary reflections of the botanist that he was, he concluded with the following apologue: “One of his friends” had sent to him from England “trees of a new species”. In the beginning the plants produced “a lot of leaves and a few flowers”. But the roots were bad. The horticulturist, who at first had been enthusiastic, saw his ill-starred experiments miscarry. He finally abandoned them, in order to turn his attention to “indigenous trees of excellent quality”. And he obtained abundant fruit, which he continues to harvest.[937]

We can well believe that the parable delighted the Brothers. The satisfaction they felt in reading the tireless publicist’s pamphlets was expressed in the correspondence of Brother Alphonsus, the young Director in Bordeaux. On the 27th of September 1817 he asked Brother

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absolutely docile to the dictates of the liberal party, sketched the “Ignorantines” in front of an empty school, while far off in the distance irreverent urchins fled, crying “Long live the “Monitorial!”

[934] This prize was granted (in 1820 only) to X.B. Saintine, who had attempted to celebrate the precursor Herbault “but in execrable verse”. (Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 120)

[935] Cited by Chevalier, pp. 400-1.

[936] “Important question: Can the Christian Brothers adopt the teaching method known as the Lancastrian Method...etc. by Father Dubois, Theological Canon of the Church in Orléans, Orléans, Darnault-Maurant, July 1817. Paris, Le Cllère, August 1817.

[937] “Reply of the Brothers’ Defenders...to a long article ...published in the Monitor for January 13, 1818”, Orléans, Darnault-Maurant, April 1818.

Medard to send him a copy of "The Important Question", the second brochure printed in Orleans.[938] Father Dubois, without charge, yielded up several copies, which (Brother Alphonsus assured) had gained a most unqualified success. "The saintly Archbishop" Aviau continued to be quite satisfied with it. The Prefect took cover behind a silence that explained his plight. And the Mayor and his associates were "quite disillusioned": the "first magistrate" took the trouble to go to the community to declare his determination to "increase the number" of Christian schools.[939]

De La Salle's disciples, happy with such forceful approbation and grateful for the arguments that supported their cause, now more than ever intended never to abandon the Founder's method. Even a former Brother, who for twenty-five years had remained on the periphery of the Institute, in this instance professed his solidarity with his confreres of earlier times: The ex-Brother Lucain, an old teacher in Bourges sent the Superior-general a copy of an instruction from the Rector of the Academy urging him to become acquainted with the "Monitorial" method; but he had no "appetite" to become a pupil of Lancaster.[940]

This attitude, which conformed to that of more faithful Brothers, could only gratify Brother Gerbaud. In the eighty schools which at that time depended upon the Motherhouse, unanimity appeared pretty nearly complete. The head of the Congregation relied upon the Directors, his right hand men, "to prevent, with God's help, the English "gadget" from prevailing over God's work".[941]

Further, as a most manifest testimony to the Brothers' gratitude and of the "veneration" they intended to preserve for the future (according to Brother Alphonsus' language) to the memory of the "Theological Canon" of the Church in Orleans, a letter from Lyons, dated the 29th of May 1818, selected Father Dubois as the Institute's spokesman. A publication from the Department of the Loiret claimed that the Superior-general had "finally" yielded to the government's wishes. The retort had to be given all appropriate publicity. Let the priest with the spirited pen deigned to take charge!

"I would be singularly misusing my powers", Brother Gerbaud wrote him, "and I would be guilty before God", if I induced my Brothers "to infringe upon the method from which our rules forbid us to deviate. It excites the wonder of those who know it." In the cities in which the two types of school (Christian and "Monitorial" schools) coexist, our classes "are (as) filled" as they are in the places where the Brothers are the only teachers. That would seem to prove that "public confidence" always goes along with Brothers' education. They will never consent to deceive the hopes of families nor fail the most obvious needs of the nation.[942]

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This appeal to public opinion sounded unpleasantly on the ears of the Minister of the Interior. Joseph-Louis-Joachim Laine could not be taken for a sectarian. Since the Revolution, his behavior vindicated everything that could be adduced in favor of his basic generosity, his patriotism and nobility of soul. As a young lawyer before the bar in Bordeaux,

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[938] Motherhouse Archives, File C5.

[939] Letter of February 8, 1818, cited by Chevalier, pp. 418-20.

[940] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters written by the Superior-general to Brother Abdon, Sub-Director and then Director in Boulogne, Director and Visitor in St. Omer; the letter is without a date, but relates to the year 1818.

[941] Text provided by Hutin, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 389-90. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 428-9. Several newspapers of the period published this letter, in particular *L'Ami de la Religion*, for July 11, 1818.

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he had subscribed to the principles of 1789. But he was not among the partisans of the Terror. And after the fall of Robespierre, as an administrator in the Department of the Gironde, he endeavored to restrain religious persecution. Resigning is 1796, he built up a prominent position for himself through his forensic eloquence; and he was also remarkable at that time for how accessible he became to the poor.

His major political role began in 1813, when, as Vice-president of the Legislature (to which he had belonged since 1808), Laine dared to tell the Emperor the truth concerning the situation of France and the feelings of the French people. This courage, followed by his outspoken anti-Bonapartism, and his action for peace and for a royal restoration, had opened up to him broad avenues of honors and power. Prefect of the Gironde and a member of the Commission responsible for drawing up the Charter, in 1815 he became the president of the "Star Chamber" -- the moderate President of tumultuous and emotional Assembly. Again, Louis XVIII thought a great deal of him; and on the 7th of May 1816 he gave him the portefolio of the Interior Ministry. Laine was to dissolve the Chamber where he had once directed debates.

Overall, his ideas and methods agreed with the king's. He was friendly with the clergy; and he improved the material lot of priests in the ministerial services, who had been so poorly remunerated in their unpretentious parishes under the Empire. He established about a thousand scholarships for impecunious seminarians, and he reorganized the Royal Chapter of St. Denis and authorized the Society of Missionary Priests for the evangelization of cities and countryside. For himself as well as for the king a too conspicuous patronage appeared to be both inconvenient and dangerous.

Actually, he was a Gallican, in the tradition of the 'Ancien Régime'. When the Concordat of 1817 was negotiated with the view of reconstituting several archbishoprics and a number of dioceses that had been suppressed in 1801, the Minister of the Interior sided with the adversaries of a treaty concluded without the participation of the Legislative Chambers. As a Secretary of State might have done during the reign of Louis XIV, he feared "encroachments" by the Holy See. In an "account of reasons", which commented upon the covenant, he protested rather warmly against "the language of the Roman Secretariat": it wounded his political sensitivities, and, in the final analysis, it induced him to place obstacles in the way of executing the new Concordat.[943]

Laine persevered to the end of his life in this attitude. Obliged to leave his post in December 1818 under censure which cost him, at the hands of conservative legitimists, the electoral victories of the "Liberal" party, he drifted in the direction of the opposition, while preserving the friendship of the king, who, in 1833 named him a Peer of France and a Vicomte. He criticized Charles X's religious arrangements and, in 1825, declared his opposition to '*mortmain'* property and did not disguise his mistrust of the Jesuits. Finally, in 1830, the former servant of the Bourbon dynasty, the man who worked for the Restoration of the throne, was won over to Louis Philippe's government.

A man of integrity, conscientious and propelled by the best of intentions, he continued to be totally imbued with a juridical and statist mentality. Apart from a certain narrowness of mind, his principal defects were a lack of flexibility and an excessive excitability. Under the stress of emotion, he was, off and on, a magnificent orator; on which occasions, he would grip his audience, while, at the same time, he no longer seemed to be master of himself. Such stirring ardor was able to inflame and exalt enthusiasm; but it was ill-suited to occasions which required quiet inquiry, wisdom and deliberation. With Laine reflexes replaced reflexion. Benjamin Constant went so far as to claim[944] that the impressionable minister, intoxicated by

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[943] The diocesan statute did not materialize until 1822 and then only on a narrower base than in 1817

[944] In an 1820 brochure: "*Motifs qui ont dicté la loi des élections."*

his own words, indulged in a sort of fanaticism. His will, all of a piece, grew stubborn under the influence of his over-excited emotions. Then his exaltation would collapse, and he would exhibit a weariness which easily became indolence and provide a clear field to the suggestions of the entourage and to the proposals of subordinates.[945]

We meet with this personality, or rather with this temperament, in the man's relations with the Lasallian Institute, in his infatuation with the "Monitorial" method, and in the matter of the "certificates". Laine's decisions would be suddenly hurried, asserted fiercely and irrevocably and then would complicate and entangle difficulties, so that it would take the king, or Decazes, to sort them out.

The Minister of the Interior was sincere when he said that he was well disposed toward the Brothers of the Christian Schools. He secured the vote for the Law of the 24th of December 1716, granting Religious institutions the right to receive gifts by deed between living persons or by will-and-testament: however the text specified that Congregations, in order to benefit from such grants, had to be empowered by the government through a prior recognition.[946] The law thus framed remained subject to severe qualifications.

We have seen that, in this domain, the constitutional monarchy followed rather closely the line traced out by the Empire; and that, similarly, the educational monopoly seemed to the former to have been an untouchable conquest. In a meeting on the 25th of February 1817, after a speech by Royer-Collard, the Chamber of Deputies voted for the support of the tax whence the "University" got the biggest part of its resources.

At the end of January 1818 a discussion of a bill on recruitment into the army presented Laine with a way of defining his behavior with regard to religious educators. The question arose as to what categories of citizen to extend exemption from military service. The article included in the bill dispensed only students in the Graduate School of Education.

Ruinart Brimont, Deputy for Rheims, member of a family friendly with the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle,[947] asked the same exemption for the Brothers. The Minister of the Interior, in his response, declared that he did not wish that he be thought only lukewarmly sympathetic to the constituents of the gentleman from Champagne: "That institution", he said, referring to the Lasallian "Society" - "has been favored by the government as far as it has been possible and equally with "Monitorial" instruction".

The statement was only partially true. The Brothers were a long way from receiving a subsidy that corresponded with the one which, at that time, promoted Lancastrian propaganda. Father Dubois, remarking on Laine's assertion, quite rightly pointed out that public funds supported neither the Superior-general and his Counsel nor aged and infirm Brothers, who were deprived of all Communal stipends. A recent gratuity of 400 francs granted to the school in Nantes simply suggested a slight effort at greater justice.[948]

Ever anxious to deny to the Institute its character as a "Congregation" (such as it possessed between 1725 and 1792) the Minister ventured to propose that the Brothers did not pronounce "perpetual vows". This amounted to minimizing the value of official approbation; and it meant casting some doubt upon the duration of the commitments contracted in the service of education.

However, it would be necessary to determine the Minister's opinion concerning the

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[945] Michaud, Biographie universelle, article on Laine (by Durozoir. De La Gorce, Louis XVIII, pp. 64-5.

[946] Vicomte Guichen, *La France morale et religieuse à la fin de la Restauration*, Paris, 1912, pg. 38.

[947] See above, pg. ???

[948] Dubois, Réponse des défenseurs des Frères, 1818, pg. 6.

permanence and the number of teaching vocations. But he confined himself to adducing that the proposed exemptions seemed to him to have been "quite considerable", compared to the number of Brothers employed. He suggested that the number be limited to the Brothers who came out of the "*Normal School in Lyon*".

M. Villele, the Deputy from Toulouse, objected to the special privilege enjoyed by the novices at Petit College; after all, Toulouse, also, had a house of formation; and other cities were in the same situation. M. Laine's vague explanations gave rise to the suggestion that the army would be losing many recruits; but, in fact, the exemptions would be to the advantage of only a small number of Religious who, having reached the age of military service, had dedicated themselves to the teacher's calling.

Royer-Collard appeared more impartial than Laine, his superior in the hierarchy. His position as President of the Royal Commission that supervised the destinies of the "University" guaranteed that his intervention would carry considerable weight. The following amendment was the work of the celebrated "ideologue":Other members of public education will also be exempt when they shall have contracted with the Higher Council of Public Education a commitment to serve for ten years. This arrangement is applicable to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

Royer-Collard's draft created a number of crises during the meetings. The most ardent friends of the Brothers -- and, at the top of the list, Vicomte de Bonald, the Deputy from Millau -- feared the ineluctable involvement of the Institute in the ranks of the "University". Indeed, it was a crucial question; and M. Barante underscored it in order to gain complete success for the official position: "We do not agree on the facts (he said); wo do not know whether the Brothers belong to the University or whether they do not belong to it. We must know in what direction they are going".

The Chamber, excited as it was, split into the defenders and the adversaries of religious education. The former seized the opportunity to pay tribute to the Institute whose dedication and fruitful work no one could contest. The others, who drew their objections from the recent controversies arising out of the "Monitorial" method, brought prejudice, mistrust and vehement emotion into the debate. M. Barante's keynote speech won over and secured the majority. When the purpose of Royer-Collard's amendment was clearly seen, its adoption became inevitable. The Brothers were put back into the situation that the Empire had defined for them in 1811: they were to obtain exemption from military service, not as Religious, but as members of the "University" Corporation. Article 15 of the Law of March 10th 1818 maintained the principles and the qualifications decreed the day after the debate, during the meeting of the 1st of February.[949]

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While the new system of recruitment (about which had arisen for teachers the question of decennial commitment) was being worked out, Brother Gerbaud was besieged by other problems. Laine had indicated his disappointment with the Superior's refusal to introduce the "Monitorial" method into Christian education. In order to force the Brothers' hand, he contemplated the tightening of the "University"'s hold on each one of them. The matter of the "Certificates" was to be combined with the Lancastrian quarrel.

In order to understand this age old story today, we must abandoned our modern habits and recall that contemporaries of the Restoration had not endured, as we have, the consequences of a long experience. As early as the publication date of Alexis Chevalier's book in 1887, Brother Superior-general Joseph strove to dissociate his Congregation from certain propositions, advanced by the faithful but impetuous author, "concerning the legal battles" of

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a past age and “concerning the legal origins of the University”: “family traditions, become an unvarying rule among the Brothers of the Christian Schools” bid him, he said, to “place the Institute outside” discussions agitated in the past and long since buried in the dust of dead generations. Calmly and with complete good sense, he explained the reasons which dictated the behavior of his distant predecessor: from the moment that the Institute ...was recognized as a Congregation responsible for maintaining schools according to its program and its control, every attempt aimed at disturbing its organization, relaxing the bonds of its internal discipline or changing its method, must naturally have incited resistance... "

Once he had set forth these necessary admonitions, the Thirteenth Superior-general immediately acknowledged that “time, by introducing into our laws arrangements applicable to all citizens, (had) changed the situation which justified” Brother Gerbaud’s attitude. Under the reign of French equality, Religious educators faced examinations and obtained diplomas which the State required of all teachers. The cohesiveness of the Institute did not suffer from individual successes; the unity of leader and members remained intact, because successive governments - prior to the persecution at the hands of the Third Republic - took care not to interfere in the internal life of the Institute, to distort the action of the Rule, to throw itself athwart the obedience a Brother, without prejudice to his civic obligations and of his duties to the Church, promised by vow to his superiors.

We may well wonder whether the Minister of the Interior, the University Council and the Rectors of the Academy were in a position, between 1816 and 1819, to exercise respect for that disciplinary fidelity and that freedom of action that every responsible power demands. Their exigencies, their stubbornness in extolling methods contrary to the Founder’s principles inspired fear of the worst deviations. By granting diplomas as they pleased and under the pretext of licences granted or refused according to the needs of their own system, perhaps they might seek to provoke pride, pander to the spirit of independence and produce a sort of schism. It was enough for Brother Gerbaud to know the origins of ministerial decisions in order to experience well-founded suspicions. After having conceived the hope of escaping the yoke of the “University”, he felt it fall more heavily upon his shoulders and under particularly painful circumstances. That, supported by powerful friends and encouraged by public opinion, he should attempt to protect his rights, we should not only not be surprised, we should regard it as grounds for felicitations. And while he found an Ambrose Rendu and other persons of upright intentions among his opponents, we can only account for these discrepancies by liberty of judgment and by the movement of consciences that are situated at special viewing points and under an appropriate illumination.

What needs to be added, according to Brother Joseph, was that the thought of eluding criticism and of disguising “professional inadequacies” in no way entered into the Superior’s considerations. Throughout the 19th century “the facts” would speak “incontrovertibly”: the Brothers’ teaching bore comparison with that of their rivals; and from prior to 1830 it translated into results that were not insignificant. And when, immediately after the July Revolution their education was obliged to admit of “University” approval, the immediate success of the young Brothers, the initiatives rapidly taken by the Superiors and by the General Chapters, and the progress that a Guizot stressed in his commendations succeeded in convincing impartial minds concerning the genuineness of earlier resolutions.[950]

Neither the instrumental decrees of July and September 1808, nor the Imperial decisions concerning Religious Communities, nor the statutes approved for teaching Congregations prescribed individual certificates for Directors of schools nor for their assistants prior to the

[950] Chevalier, letter/preface by the M.H. Brother Joseph, pp. v-vii.

assumption of responsibilities.[951] In truth, as we have already indicated,[952] the Headmaster had by name authorized several Christian Brothers to teach in cities designated by the Rectors. There was no question expressly of diplomas. While the zeal of bureaucrats demanded them, Brother Gerbaud objected: it is impossible to read anything clearer, in this connection, than his request to Cardinal Fesch in 1811 regarding the teachers in Ajaccio.[953]

Since the restoration of the Bourbons, legal texts involving teachers associations remained silent on the question.[954] As for the Ordinance of the 29th of February 1816, although it was as explicit as anyone might wish for most teachers whose direct selection depended upon Mayors, Pastors or benefactors (or who themselves sought permission to open a school) in Articles 36 and 38 provided merely a general authorization for "Religious and charitable associations" and, for their members, some "supervision" performed by representatives of public education.[955]

Of course, we might have expected greater precision. Empty formulas provoked the administration to broaden its powers unreasonably by interpreting the context of the document in predictable directions. And this one was going to be quickly decided. In the course of 1817, the University Counsel legislated that in the granting of certificates and in the authorization to teach no exception could be admitted.[956] In November the Rector of the Academy obliged the Brothers in Metz to pass the examination - at least formally.

When he was informed of the fact, the Superior-general blamed the Rector's subordinates, who were exculpated in the presence of the higher official in Metz for not accepting the Brothers' diplomas. M. Tocqueville, Prefect of the Moselle, wrote a report to the Minister. Angrily, Laine ordered the refractory parties to be summoned to the Prefecture: "If they refuse to understand the language of justice and moderation", it will be made clear to them "that the government possesses, through its courts, a legal means of forcing them to conform to the demands of the law". He would not retreat before "a distressing, but inevitable, scandal".[957]

Indeed, after a few months' preparation, the plan of campaign, in its major lines, was in readiness.[958] Cantonal committees were to see to it that all teachers were licensed. The obligation extended to members of Religious associations. The Brothers of the Christian Schools, however, were to be exempt from the examination "unless there were quite serious reasons for calling their competence into question". Except in such cases, they were to be granted the diploma upon simple demand. But no one would allow them to ignore this law and order formality.

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[951] Des Cilleuls, pg. 353.

[952] Rendu certified that, when the "University" began, the Brothers "had repeatedly performed acts of prompt and total obedience".[952]Ambrose Rendu, op. cit., Vol. I, pg. vi.

[953] See above, pp. ???

[954] Des Cilleules, loc. cit.

[955] See above, pp. ???

[956] Des Cilleuls, pg. 354.

[957] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents, copy of Laine's letter, dated June 16, 1818, certified by M. de Tocqueville. Cf. in Chevalier, pg. 430, letter by the same to Royer-Collard, also dated June 16 and nearly identical.

[958] During the transitional period some Brothers, yielding to pressure from academic authorities, attempted to obain certificates. Ambrose Rendu counted about thirty such between 1817 and 1818.

These were the terms of the decree that Royer-Collard signed on the 3rd if July 1818 and that he passed on to each of the Rectors.[959] Brother Gerbaud had anticipated its publication, entrusted to the care of the authorities in Lyons. On the 7th of this month, he wrote to the Minister of the Interior:

" ...Article 109 of the Decree regarding the University was fulfilled to the satisfaction of the Headmaster. ...His Excellency understood that there was to be only a single diploma for a Congregation, and it must be granted as such. It is the one of which Your Excellency has received an authentic copy and in virtue of which, along with the king's ordinances, we enjoy legal existence...

"To oblige each Brother (to obtain) an individual diploma would be to divide the members from their leader and to destroy, in France, the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[960]

The problem was posed in the simplest and clearest way. This time, in order to give his position an indisputable foundation, the Superior now invoked the Imperial Decree of 1808. Furthermore, he considered it as corroborated by the ordinances, which might take the place of the definitely outdated Letters patent. As for knowing whether a certificate would or would not be granted without taking an examination, the incidental aspect of the question allowed one not to linger over it.

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M. Laine's retort disclosed an increasingly unyielding ill-will. The statesman thought he had a way of frustrating or slowing down the progress of an institution which so vigorously defended its vital autonomy.

In 1804 the selection of Lyons as the Institute's headquarters was explained by circumstances only: the reorganization of a regular Community on the banks of the Saone and the role assumed by Cardinal Fesch in the renaissance of the Congregation and in the return of Brother Frumence.

But in residing so far away from the capitol the Brothers experienced rather serious inconveniences. They were deprived of direct and constant relations with the government, and with the heads of the "University". They were in danger of being perpetually regarded as a provincial Congregation and of secondary importance. In the past their Founder had transported his work from Rheims to the Parisian parish of St. Sulpice; eighty-three years later his successors returned the Institute to Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame-des-Champs, just before the purchase of the Ursaline convent in Melun made easy the handier and more secure selection of a residence near the metropolis. The reasons for these movements argued once again, and with increasing force, that the stay in Lyons be not allowed to drag on.

Ease and promptness in the arrangement of outstanding business demanded that the Superiors themselves visit influential persons, investigate on the spot the best ways of smoothing over obstacles and know the mentality that prevailed in official circles. In a nation which, even more so than during the Ancien Regime, thought and acted within the walls of Paris, a prolonged absence from the political, intellectual and religious center amounted to a measurable diminution in prestige, propaganda and influence.

The field was being left free for adversaries and rivals, who did not fail to exploit the situation. An anonymous pamphlet, published in support of the Brothers at the beginning of

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[959] Chevalier, pp. 431-2.

[960] Idem., pp. 433 and 434 and Hutin, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 409-10. S. Charléty, op. cit., pg. 136 believes that this letter was addressed to Decazes. And he attributes the measures taken to force the Brothers to submit to Laine's successor. It's an example of how a professor of the Sorbonne and an historian reputed to be serious reports the facts when there is question of religion.

1818[961] showed the progress that "Monitorial" education had made and how the Christian Brothers might remedy that situation, unless unintentionally impeded.

..."The Brothers are not numerous enough to be everywhere. I agree...But there is a very easy way of increasing their numbers:...let the Administration of the Seine not be so indifferent to their affairs; for years they have been looking for a house in Paris where they wish to open a novitiate...There are still a lot of former convents; nearly all of them have been repaired...not for the Brothers; "Monitorial" education always has preference.

The projected novitiate must have initiated the transfer of the Motherhouse. This very much seems to have been the initial reason for the "appeals" begun immediately after the fall of the Empire, when Brother Gerbaud found himself freed from the extremely heavy mortgage that constituted, for the Congregation's future, the influence of Joseph Fesch. It was also implied in the designs of the pastors and the mayors in Paris who, during Minister Laine's time, urged the Superior to reside in their part of the world.

They pointed out to him a huge building that the hospital services were contemplating selling, the former institution of the "Holy Name", founded by St. Vincent de Paul, secularized by the Convention,[962] and under the Directory turned into the rest home of Surgeon Dubois, on 165 Faubourg St. Martin. Philippe Dubois had just moved to the Faubourg St. Denis.

Father Marduel, the pastor of St. Roch, applied to the king so that "the Dubois house" -- a beautiful estate for which subdivision had to be avoided - be placed at the Brothers' disposal. The Superior-general was to reside there, his Assistants, a swarm of novices as well as junior-novices: what was being planned for these youths was a preparatory school that would essentially supply teachers for the rural parishes. And, finally, in an annexed building, people were thinking of opening a "prison", like the ones at Maréville and St. Yon

The purchase, valued at 100,000 francs, would fall upon the city: "a slight indemnification", said Father Marduel, for the two millions in capital of which the Institute was despoiled.[963]

The competent commission of the general Counsel, upon first being informed, was immediately interested in the project. With all the necessary precautions so as not to offend the Lancastrian party, so favored in high places, the commission pleaded the cause of the Brothers of the Christian Schools: "Things are not completely equal", remarked the reporter, between them and the teachers in the "Monitorial" schools. "The former only have a few detachments...a few missionaries" in Paris; whereas the latter had their house of formation, maintained at the City's expense. "Such an advantage" impartial minds found striking.

This was why the Counsel accepted its commissioners' point of view and issued the hope that in continuing "to support...all elementary methods", the Administration would immediately take steps designed to realize greater justice for the Christian Brothers.[964]

In this way the question was viewed in its proper light. But the Minister of the Interior went on to alter the facts to comply with his own inflexible system. Dogmatically, he approved the speed which the Prefect deployed in hastening the conveyance of the hospital building. Except, he added, "it is altogether desirable that on this occasion, and when a favor[965] is

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961 "*Un mot sur l'enseignement mutuel, en réponse au Moniteur du 13 janvier*", Paris, Le Normant, 1818. (Cited by Chevalier, pp. 402-4)

962 It was called Home for the Aged, in the Faubourg du Nord.

963 Petition to the king, June 12, 1818: *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pp. 162-3, and Chevalier, pp. 405-8.

964 General Council of the Seine, meeting of June 25, 1818; report of the Improvement Commission and the vote of the Assembly. Essai, pg. 165; Chevalier, pp. 411-4.

965 National Archives, F17 12455, letter of June 29, 1818. Cited by Chevalier, pp. 407-410 and *Essai sur la*

granted to the Brothers, they should agree to the adoption of the “Monitorial" method as a condition, and then “there would be advantages on both sides”.

This oversubtle statement contained an ultimatum. The author of the “minutes” had written more candidly: “There is a condition...that it is important to go along with the favor we are talking about granting...and it is...the adoption of the “Monitorial” method. Laine had prescribed the stylistic “revision”; but the bases of his resolutions had not changed. M. Chabrol had been given the order “to insist” with the members of the Religious Society in Lyons, “in the interests of children, morality, religion and of the Brothers themselves”. And he was to inform his bureau head as to how the negotiations turned out.[966] In urbane, indeed laudatory, language, an effort was made to blackmail Brother Gerbaud. In the midst of all of this, there arrived at the Ministry the letter of the 7th of July which burned all the bridges. I would never do anything to damage the teaching methods left us by our Founder, the intrepid Superior had written to his correspondent in Orleans, five weeks earlier. The diplomas that people wish to confer upon my Brothers, he told the government, are “incompatible" with the Rule and with the rights conferred upon me by the Decree of 1808.

It sounded like an echo of *Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*! that had once been pronounced concerning the Jesuits. Laine, however, had not been contemplating such wicked things against the Brothers that Pombal, Aranda or Choiseul had against the Society of Jesus. Without meaning to kill off the Institute, he was seeking total submission. To Brother Gerbaud’s refusal he had determined to oppose bureaucratic severity as a prelude to eventual legal action.

On the 15th of July members of his department submitted for his signature a new letter to the Prefect of the Seine. The subject once again was the “Dubois house”. It was written, certainly, before the post had arrived from Lyons. It confined itself to recalling details, and to acknowledging officially Count Chabrol for his “zeal”; he was praised, indeed, for extending his support “to all schools”, provided that “religion and morality” was at the heart of them. “Be good enough”, the writer concluded, “to let me know where the central school of the Institute of the Brothers in Paris is in all of this”.

It was at precisely this hour that the Minister read the Superior’s intransigent declaration. He refused to accept defeat. And, with a shaky hand, he completed the last sentence with a line that indicates a significant hesitation: “...which there is no need to hurry to create before I consult with you”.[967]

The hopes of the Christian Brothers were thus postponed *sine die*. Without losing heart, Brother Gerbaud and the members of his Counsel embraced no illusions. They took the decision to arrange provisionally for the life of a few novices who had been brought together at that time at Gros-Caillou. Brother Eloi, who had been Assistant since 1816, wrote from Orleans to Brother Thomas, Director of the Parisian house, on the 27th of July 1818, that, in the midst of the “convulsive tumult” of the people on the other side, he was trusting in Providence. He thought that the Brothers would have to give up the idea of moving in to new quarters. Further, so that candidates in formation might not lack “air”, the renting of a “somewhat considerable” site, “in the ‘faubourgs’ and near a church” would be essential. In the worst case, one would have to make do in an empty room “behind the existing garden”. However, the lease would not be for more than a year; since the “storm”, please God, will not

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Maison Mère, pp. 163-4.

[966] National Archives, F17 12455. Cited by Chevalier, pp. 415-6

[967] Trans. Note: Brother Eloi actually refers to Laine as “M. Cadet” and thereby indulges in an untranslatable play on words.

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In his ever smiling optimism, Brother Eloi concluded: “Let us unite our prayers so that the Lord might change M. Laine’s[968] heart as He once changed the heart of Assuerius, when he was about to destroy God’s people.[969]

And certainly ”Assuerius’“ threats raged more impetuously than genuinely fearful. Neither Mardochai nor Aman would appear upon the scaffold with a rope around their necks. The assaults directed against the faithful “Hebrews" would be limited to the mobilization of bureaucratic swords, the kepis of the Commissioners of Police and the caps of royal prosecutors, to a volley of stamped paper, in a war of pens in which the Brothers’ allies would confront bureaucrats and “University” people armed in the name of the educational monopoly and the “Monitorial” method.

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No sooner were the angry attitudes in the Ministry of the Interior known than the Court and the clergy were in a state of readiness. At the end of July, the Duke of Angouleme, Louis XVIII’s nephew and a no less ardent Christian than his father, and the Count of Artois presented Laine with a “note” concerning the rights of teaching Brothers. The document conceded to the “University” the power of general supervision; but it denied the authority to “appoint and remove” teachers who belonged to “Congregations.”[970] Another report, certainly the product of a similar source, maintained “that a Corporation acknowledged and established” by royal authority could not be “interdicted and paralyzed” through the intervention of a secondary authority residing in the Commission for Public Instruction. “It would be odious (to be) more severe with these pious and useful Brothers under the reign of ‘the eldest son’ of the Church than under ‘the reign of impiety’.[971]

Bishops, recently nominated on the strength of the projected Concordat, also wished to draw up a supporting statement. They appealed to the king himself. It was an insistent appeal --the fears of religious figures expressed in pathetic language; and, in a fourth document there was talk of nothing less than “saving a holy Congregation from destruction”.[972] And, then, the Chaplain-general of France, Cardinal Alexander Perigord,[973] entered the arena with a fifteen page letter, which was also intended for the king. He had received “a most distressing” notice “from the Director-general of the Brothers”. The Minister had granted the “University” an abusive increase of power. Are people attempting “to de-Catholicize France”? The only existing “barrier” would crumble if De La Salle’s Institute is not maintained. All that would remain for Christian educators is a refuge beyond the borders, if, in spite of their services and

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[968] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of Brother Gerbaud’s and Brother Eloi’s letters to Brother Thomas, Director of Gros Caillou.

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[970] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 436-40.

[971] Same Archives. Laine responded to the Duke on July 28 that the certificate was “indispensable for uniting” all members of the profession “to a legal center”, but that for the Brothers it would continue to be a mere formality. (National Archives, F17 12355; Cf. Chevalier, pp. 441-2)

[972] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents, nondated draft documents.

[973] Alexander Angelique Talleyrand-Périgord, born in Paris in 1736; coadjutor and then Archbishop of Rheims (1777). He refused to submit his resignation to the Pope in 1802, and did not leave the Archbishop’s residence until 1816. In 1817 he was named a Cardinal by Pius VII.

their popularity, persecution in all its rigor prevails. In the offensives whether against missionaries or against the Brothers, it is religion that is directly the target. The former Archbishop of Rheims concluded: "What an enormous responsibility you assume, Sire, if (religion) is destroyed in your kingdom, for the lack of elementary education with which to perpetuate it and to engrave it upon hearts".[974]

It was clear that voices were rising. Of course, it was important to strike hard so that the repercussions would travel far. One prelate, still more dedicated to the Christian Brothers than Archbishop Perigord, Cardinal La Luzerne, who, as Bishop of Langres, had welcomed the Brothers with open arms in 1786,[975] hit the right note in a letter to Brother Gerbaud on the 3rd of September 1818: "The king, as we know, is quite attached to your Congregation. The Minister of the Interior, while quite enthusiastic for the Lancastrian method, esteems and respects you. He merely wants you to adopt his favorite method, which is impossible for you. I would like to be able to say as much for a lot of other people, but you have the distinction of having for enemies all the enemies of religion".[976]

In order to expose "the enemies of religion" and to inform the opinion of unprejudiced people, the learned pastor of the French church published, in the course of the second half of the year, two pamphlets "on the Christian Schools."[977] He argued logically and he concluded with perspicacity and unruffled fairness.

"Is" what is being asked of the Brothers in imposing the certificate upon them "a simple act of submission"? "Either the diploma could not be refused to any of them; and, in that case the measure seems uselessly expensive and restrictive". Or somebody is concealing "ulterior motives", which makes the measure "suspect" and risks embroiling it in "disastrous" consequences. What are the reasons for quarreling with the Brothers' methods? It's been nearly a century-and-a-half since they have been used with the most unremitting success. The Administration "should", at least, "maintain a balance between the old and the new schools". It should "no longer urge" general counsels and city counsels to vote funds for "Monitorial" education in preference to the simultaneous method. Experience will decide genuine superiority.

And when the campaign was expanded, "sometimes violent, sometimes insidious", against the "indispensable Congregation of St. Yon", the Cardinal sent up a cry of alarm: a too hasty desire to guarantee victory to the Lancastrian system would lead men whose good faith and moderation are beyond question to lend assistance to "fanatics" who are pursuing "the abolition of religion among the popular class".[978]

To these pertinent remarks Count Laborde had no objections except the agreement in principle reached, in 1816, between the society of which he had been one of the promoters and the Archbishopric of Paris concerning the religious regulation in the schools of the capital. As far as educational results were concerned, he would be satisfied that they were convincing if there existed an apprenticeship in "linear drawing" in some of the schools supported by distinguished benefactors.[979]

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[974] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, letter of July 25, 1818, signed by Alexander, Cardinal Périgord

[975] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. ???

[976] Chevalier, pg. 451.

[977] The first with 16 pages, the second with 8, both with the same title, indicated in the text.

[978] La Luzerne, passim. Cf. Garnier, *L'Église et l'éducation du peuple*, pp. 14-15 and Chevalier, pp. 449-50.

[979] A. De Laborde, Observations sur un écrit de M. le cardinal de la Luzerne, 1818.

Father Dubois replied to Laborde.[980] An anonymous author, who professed to be “a sincere man and a good citizen" responded to Father Dubois.[981] Thus, without interruption, blows were exchanged; and thus newspapers, booklets and pamphlets fed the fire of passion, and, beneath the quarrel about certificates and the “Monitorial” method, there was uncovered that stake of the highest importance: the future of Christian education.

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Then came the first measures of mistrust and coercion from the Ministry, to the accompaniment of public protest. There was to be no exemption from military service, announced the official “instruction” on the 7th of August 1818, for teaching Religious who do not give satisfactory proof of a diploma. The War Offices were invited to allow military service to be replaced by educational service.[982] The efficacy of such a threat rested with the young Brothers. Further, it was decided to check the deeds to Brothers’ property. In this connection a vast inquiry was undertaken throughout the Departments. And in many places it revealed the quandary of civil bureaucrats who did not want to annoy their superiors in the administrative hierarchy but nevertheless wished to defend an invaluable Institute.

To the Prefect of the Upper Marne who, on M. Laine’s orders, asked whether the novitiate was “authorized”, the Sub-prefect in Langres reported that he found “neither a special decree nor an individual authorization”; but, since the Congregation is “recognized” in its headquarters in Lyons, he assumed that its branch in Langres enjoyed certain rights. Furthermore, does not the government each year approve the expenses for Christian schools contained in the city budget? And in 1817 a royal ordinance allowed the Brother Director to accept a gift.[983].

M. Gounon, the Mayor of Toulouse, wrote to the Prefect of the Upper Garonne: “About seven-and-a-half years ago the Bordeaux novitiate...was transferred (here) without any explicit permission from any higher authority...Charitable people came to its assistance...The Director claimed governmental support in order to continue such a useful enterprise" ...[984]

The Prefect of the Doubs and the Prefect of the Jura described the regular operation of classes, the former to Besancon and the latter to Ornans. And the Prefect of the Doubs thought that “simultaneous teaching” was extremely good.[985]

This was also the opinion of cities and of the public in the Loiret. M. Rochay, the Mayor of Orleans’ associate, had received from the Prefect, Count Choiseul, a “report” -printed under the supervision of the Ministry - concerning the foundation, the number and the growth of “Monitorial” schools. He returned it with the comment “zero”, considering, as he pointed out,

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[980] *Réflexions d’un catholique sur les nouvelles prétentions de l’Instruction publique à l’égard des Frères…,* Paris, Testu, without a date.

[981] *Réflexions d’un honnête homme et d’un bon citoyen sur les Réflexions d’un catholique*, etc. Paris, Colas, 1818.

[982] Des Cilleuls, pp. 360-2.

[983] National Archives, F17 12453, letter of August 27, 1818

[984] Letter of November 11, 1818, cited by Lémandus, pp. 237-8.

[985] National Archives, F17 12452, letters of October 7, 1818.

that the primary schools "are ministered to by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine."[986] These men were getting ready to open a school in Pithiviers, which was benefiting by the legacy of the late pastor Renard: "It now becomes impossible", the Deputy- prefect ventured to assert, to think of setting up "a competing school". The Renard foundation will be "too prominently import−ant" for one not to operate it according to the wishes of the testator.[987]

Et nunc…erudimini, qui judicatis terram. His intermediaries' responses must have instructed the Minister. More than the information once supplied to Fourcroy and to Fontanes, the reading of these reports, on file in the National Archives, speak to us about the spread and the popularity of the Brothers' Institute. The teaching met the needs of families, attendance grew, and the children exhibited an excellent spirit.

But Laine was hypnotized by a single point: would he, or would he not obtain Brother Gerbaud's capitulation? An occasion seemed to have occurred - an opening in the fortress.

Father Saulnier, Sulpician and Superior of the Major Seminary in Autun, gave this city a house which was to be used as a Christian school. The Mayor, Bernard Billardet, assured Petit College in Lyons that "every obstacle had been removed";[988] and teachers had to be sent at once. To initiate the new Community the Congregation's government had designated a man with whom we have long since been familiar: Brother Vivien; elsewhere we shall describe his commendable and definitive return to the Lasallian fold. At the time, he was directing the school in Ornans, when his Superior wrote to him on the 20th of September 1818:

"Father Saulnier...will be for you, for us, a second De La Salle. Be children worthy of such a good father. The Bishop and the Mayor share his sentiments. Expect to be received in Autun...with the cordiality and the affection in Our Lord that you find at the Motherhouse...Have everything ready in accordance with the unalloyed Rule...and, then, ask us for two good collaborators... "[989]

The welcome given by the people in Autun confirmed these predictions. And, good example bearing fruit, Macon and Chalon-sur-Saone also sought Brothers. "Go to Chalon, to M. Royer, the very worthy Mayor of that city", the Superior ordered Brother Vivien on the 10th of October. "With the prospectus in hand, look at the site, the garden and the classrooms... "[990]. At the same time, the Prefect of Saone-and-Loire announced to the Minister the impending diffusion of the Christian Brothers from one end of the Department to the other.[991] Laine specified that he require, before classes became operative, the issuance of certificates and the Rector's authorization.[992]

The bureaucrat's zeal failed him or he declined to understand. A month after the ministerial injunction, he confessed that the school in Autun had been opened without its three teachers having their diplomas. In order to shift the responsibility, he alleged that military recruitment

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[986] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 219, letter of October 12, 1818.

[987] Ibid., letter of October 13, 1818, to Count Choiseul.

[988] Letter of August 29, 1818; Chevalier, pp. 453-4.

[989] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Vivien.

[990] Ibid

[991] National Archives, F17 12453, letter of October 7, 1818.

[992] Ibid., letter of October 24.

activities had detained him at headquarters.[993]

Laine was angry. The Prefect was overwhelmed by most blistering censure: “You ignore regulations; and you think that all you have to do is to tell me that your journey...prevented you from paying any great attention to business other (than the Army’s). I regret that a single object makes (you) lose sight of (the rest of your obligations) ...Public education is an essential aspect. It is not a matter of indifference whether those who are responsible for it obey or do not obey the general laws of the State”.[994]

We are now in December 1818, and the crisis had reach a climax. The Brothers‘ resistance was about to be qualified as rebellion, the school in Autun was to be closed and the three-hundred children who attended it were to be thrown on the streets.

Up to this point, in spite of the rumbling storm, Brother Gerbaud did not exhibit any very keen emotion. On the 21st of October he told Brother Nicolas: “They have quite pointlessly pressed us on all sides in favor of the new methods and for the diplomas; but, rather than thinking about suppressing us, we are being asked for everywhere”. Of course, Brother Nicolas had taken literally ”a new essay by Father Dubois -Bergeron that begins with the exclamation: The Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools is about to be destroyed in France¡‘ It’s “the howling of a lawyer", the Superior remarked simply. “The noise that terrifies you, my dear Brother, is without foundation; but even if it had, our peace should not be shaken.”[995]

The last sentence expressed complete confidence in God. In the order of human foresight, security was based upon M. Laine’s procrastination and retreat. At the end of September, philosophically, he had shelved the business of the novitiate in Toulouse: “The (unauthorized) institution has existed for eight or ten years; by this time there is nothing to decide; we must let the matter go... "[996] Similarly, he resigned himself to do nothing about the novitiate in Langres, in spite of the lack of legal approval. He merely recommended to the Prefects that they “supervise lessons and courses” and avoid measures which might lead to new encroachments.[997]

Overall, the unrest endured, in a heavy atmosphere, under clouds that ended up by spreading over the sky. Without fearing a devastating thunderbolt, one could not nevertheless attend, free- spirited, to the work of each day, or, still less, prepare a program that required sunny weather. Since the barometer fluctuated, and since, in consulting it, many groups felt a sort of anxiety, a “desolation” of which a letter from Lyon to “the Archbishop of Sens, Chaplain to Her Royal Highness[998] made mention, it was essential to be forearmed against possible calamities. Brother Gerbaud, therefore, resolved to write to the king in order to explain the situation in all its details, to define the Congregation’s attitude and to describe clearly concerning educational methods, legal obligations, the operation of novitiates, and exemption from military service - a collection of *desiderata.*

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These are the purposes of the voluminous and crucial document which bears the title:

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[993] Ibid., letter of November 28.

[994] Ibid., letter of December 5, 1818

[995] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Nicolas.

[996] Letter to Baron Saint-Chamans, Prefect of the Upper-Garonne; cited by Lémandus, p. 239.

[997] National Archives, F17 12453, letter to the Prefect of the Upper Marne, October 28, 1818.

[998] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen documents, letter of September 27 (1818) signed “L. de S...”

“Report addressed to king Louis XVIII, on the 13th of November 1818".[999] The Superior knew how to ply an argument, give power and clarity to his style and persuade his audience, whether he was facing pupils, Brothers or the great ones of this world. Earlier, several times in the course of these accounts there were opportunities to point out this natural talent which had been cultivated by study, reflexion and by fidelity to methodical and deep searching mental prayer. The text that we are now ready to examine is at the top of the list of Brother Gerbaud’s personal writings.

He begins with a brief, but indispensable reminder of the Institute’s history, starting with its origins up to its most recent legal approval: “Sire, humbly prostrate at the foot of the throne, the Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools discloses that the Congregation, temporarily interrupted in the performance of its functions by the Revolution, over the past seventeen years has devoted itself, in security and in the regular order of its establishment, as it had done for the nearly one-hundred-and-fifty years past, to the tuition-free education of poor children.

“Its way of teaching has always been the one which its Founder prescribed for it, that the Holy See has approved, that kings, your predecessors, have authorized it to follow, and that you yourself have, through your Ordinance of the 29th of February 1816, deigned to place in the rank of methods to be models proposed to teachers...

This introduction leads up to a resume of the debate that was ever open on the question of the “Monitorial” method. “It has been asserted that the Brothers should prefer” that system “in order not to incur the Government’s disapproval”.

“Responsible before God and His Church, before the Most Christian King and his Catholic subjects, before all our Brothers and our successors for maintaining, in its integrity, the Rule of our Congregation, I must...respond to the demands which have been made... I shall submit, then, and I shall do so with all the more confidence to Your Majesty, that the principal point of our Rule obliges me...to educate children tuition-free−...and the way in which it prescribes it, that all our other obligations relate to that one and are imposed on us only as means to help us to perform it well; and finally that the vows, which are dispensable only with the Pope’s consent, place a seal upon our promises...

At this point the authors indicates a certain falling off in his ministerial emphasis. He adds: “However, I am not at all reassured concerning our new endeavors.−..I owe this admission to Your Majesty; it breaks my heart, but my hope resides totally upon the paternal goodness of the Monarch; he will not permit that the disciples of the venerable Father De La Salle should be obliged to abandon their...functions, in order to seek shelter outside the kingdom.

“From requirements regarding method, the authorities had been led, by a quasi-irresistible slide, to enjoining the teaching Brothers “individually, to receive...certificates”. And they had demanded proof of official authorization for Brothers’ novitiates.

In the oratory of conciliation (“May it please God that none of the King’s subjects...prove so bold as to suspect” the wisdom of his prince!) Brother Gerbaud ventured to comment upon “the spirit and the letter” of the Ordinance relative to “primary schools”.

“Upon a careful reading of the first thirty-five articles”, he saw “only provisions applicable to teachers taken individually”. He alluded, especially, to Articles 10 and 24.[1000]

The inquiry then bears more lengthily (as is understandable) upon the situation visited upon “Religious and charitable associations”. Handing down Articles 36, 37 and 38,[1001] Louis

[999] National Archives, F17 12453, original signed “F. Gerbaud”. We are indebted to Brother Archivist Donat Charles for the transcription of the entire letter.

[1000] See above, pp. ???

[1001] See pp. 350 and 351.

XVIII's "piety...rose to considerations quite comforting" to the Catholic faith. "He desired that his subjects", as sons of the Church, "be able to obtain for their children" the means to protect them from "corruption". This was why the Brothers were allowed to supply teachers to the Communes. In this regard what was sufficient was the aggregate authorization granted to the Institute, the approval accorded the Rule and the educational methods by the Commission whose headquarters were in Paris, and finally the willingness to accept supervision at the hands of the civic authorities.

No special mention is made of obligatory diplomas for each teacher in the Institute. "Your Majesty" (Brother Gerbaud writes unhesitatingly) "believes ...that obedience to the Superior... validates the mission" of his subordinates. Bureaucrats agreed, furthermore, in acknowledging in principle, that the head of the Institute is always the judge of the professional competence of those whom he employs. Brothers of themselves do not found schools; they need the cooperation of the local authority...; they only go where they are called. It is therefore not up to them to seek permission from Rectors...; it is for the city magistrates...to put things right.

And at this point there is repeated the categorical statement found in the letter to Laine: To demand that the Brothers have certificates is to seek to destroy the Congregation...A plan (of such a nature) has never entered into the mind of the Most Christian King.

The "University" had alleged the docile behavior of several Brothers. This was an argument *ad hominem* that needed to be reduced to the negligible importance it really possessed. "I know that a small number...have yielded..." This gesture "now inspired the remorse" of unintentional dissidents: it was "unwise, thoughtless, and pointless"; it occurred without the participation of the Superior. There was not one of them who had not disowned the act and who has not protested in the presence of the King conclusions that are being drawn from such an unfortunate error.

The Institute regarded the certificates that had already been issued as non-existent. And as for the formalities to be fulfilled for the maintenance and the eventual development of novitiates a *modus vivendi* had to be reached. Brother Gerbaud had not received any direct information concerning administrative demands; nevertheless, he meant to conform "to the spirit of Article 37".

He gladly supplied the necessary explanations. Future Christian Brothers were trained in the novitiates of their Society "in the practice of the Rule, and the routines of the Method"; it was a place for acquiring basic knowledge. "The testing time lasted, usually, fifteen to eighteen months"; but it was shortened for especially talented candidates. Once this preliminary formation was completed, young teachers, to whom the lowest classes were given, profited from the experience and the direction of their confreres. They taught only seven hours a day; the rest of their efforts was devoted not only to prayer but to professional advancement.

The novitiates in Lyons, Langres, Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand, Paris, and St. Omer enjoyed - in the Superior's opinion -- lawfully the right to exist. There were others that were opened as the result of local needs. Would that His Majesty might deign to recognize them! From now on, the head of the Congregation would prefer that, in order to open institutions of this sort, he be free "to come to an agreement" with the Chaplain-general of Frances, the Bishops or diocesan chapters and with the cities. After reaching agreement, the plan would go to the Prefectures in order to obtain governmental consent.

So much for the essential questions. But since by its very nature the letter was at once both a request and a very general address, Brother Gerbaud was to seize the opportunity to defend his Institute against complaints that were not just on the lips of adversaries.

The establishment of a Brothers' Community was expensive. And among the expenditures

incurred, the “auxiliary” had become “more onerous that the principal”. Was it any wonder, then, that the Brothers “professed abandonment to Providence”?

The costs of a foundation, the Superior replied, included nothing superfluous. At least three Brothers had to live together: two to teach classes, and the third to take care of temporal matters, and, on occasion, to fill in for a confrere who had fallen ill. The annual sum of eighteen thousand francs represented a modest *per capita* salary.

Furnishings, clothing and travel expenses, as a matter of fact, came to twelve-hundred francs for each Brother. At the time and especially if the number of specialists increased with the success of the school, it was necessary to deal in important sums of money if expectations were to be met. Nevertheless, personal effects were anything but luxurious; the linen, at average cost, was of value only for its sturdiness; and, to our great-grandparents accustomed to count shirts by the dozens, there was not very much of it. Once the coachman was paid and various purchases settled, this sort of expenditure was not renewable.

There remained a final expenditure: the novitiate room -and- board that every city or founder paid to the Congregation, at 600 francs the head. In theory, there was a sort of exchange: so many Brothers sent to a new school for so many novices whose upkeep had to be assumed. Actually, it happened that a city or the founder of a school supported in some one of the houses of formation three candidates or more. Ordinarily, the indemnity, without altering the contract, “was applied to the novitiates or to the support of Brothers” who trained the future educators.

Among many administrators, this laying under contribution of communal funds provoked a shrug of surprise or a fit of temper. They exclaimed: The Brothers are insatiable! Can’t they at least organize their novitiates without asking for other people’s assistance? Do they receive all postulants *gratis*? Not all, but a large number, whose poverty was never to become a reason for being excluded. How many young men, trained in virtue at the same time that they were raised in difficult circumstances, became first rate recruits for Christian education! To preserve these vocations material assistance was indispensable.

Then the question took a new direction; since the Brothers lead such a “frugal life”, they saved a great deal. Why didn’t they create a reserve fund? Because the little that was left from their salaries as teachers, after debts had been paid, went “for the support of the elderly and the infirm”. It was the “sacred” obligation that the Institute assumed all by itself.

As a result, there was no need to suspect the disciples of the saintly Canon of Rheims of infidelity to the principles of their Founder. Like him, they practiced poverty, asking for nothing but “what was absolutely necessary”, trusting in Providence in the person of “Christian administrators”, “ministers of religion” and benefactors “of every state and rank who, in imitation of the Prince and the royal family”, were distinguished, by their generosity, for being God’s “representatives” in relation to the Institute.

All of this information supplied with an intense concern for logic and honesty, all of these minute details make up a vast and captivating picture of the Institute in 1818, of its activities, its resources, of its “fears and its “hopes” at a time when the patient work of Brother Gerbaud, succeeding to the initial efforts of Brother Frumence, had reassembled as completely as possible the ruins created by the revolutionary cyclone. Thus “The report to the King”, beyond the circumstances that called it forth, preserves its value for general history. In it the Superior is revealed as openly aware of his responsibilities, in full possession of a plan of action, determined to pursue unswervingly the age-old task, in total union with his Brothers and in collaboration with the secular arm.

The obstacles he met did not appear to him to be insurmountable: they retained a quite relative importance in comparison with the difficulties put up with by St. John Baptist de La Salle, the persecution of 1792-1800 and, indeed, with the persistent annoyances during the Empire. In the judgment of wise and impartial men, Louis XVIII might have warded of the

approaching peril. Through his arbitration people expected the impending pacification.

To conclude the task of enlightening the King, Brother Gerbaud summarized the subject matter of his report under four headings. There will be justice if the Christian Brothers are allowed to teach according to their methods, and to live according to regulations which propose "nothing contrary to morals or the laws"; if obedience to their Superior empowers them to open schools and to take up the job that it assigns to each of them: if novitiates already begun are maintained, as well in Poitiers, Caen, Nantes, Toulouse and Avignon as in Lyons, Paris and St. Omer, and if the concurrence of the Superior with ecclesiastical and municipal authorities suffices to decide the founding of similar establishments; and, finally -- a petition introduced in the last lines of the report, but a corollary to what precedes -- if the government grants exemptions from military service upon the presentation of a "certificate" from the Motherhouse and upon a commitment to "persevere" for ten years "in the Institute".

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The King took his time to study the document. He didn't like to hurry decisions, and he tolerated poorly constraints upon his will or upon his natural tendency to intrigue, political compromise or that inactivity which seemed to him to facilitate the conciliation of points of view, while it spared his own ease. If we can believe a letter from the Mayor of Alencon to the Prefect of the Orne, the King was supposed to have said that the Brothers were not to be disturbed "in the performance of their task."[1002] It was a benign remark and similar to the kindly and somewhat evasive language of 1814. It also expressed the reticence of a constitutional monarch, whose opinions and counsels retained all their importance, without his taking a stand, "until further information is available", against the rigorously determined system of a minister and against a complex of measures that he had been told were legal. The field was still open to M. Laine's initiative in the matter of the diplomas. While Louis XVIII uttered a wish -- rather than an order -- that was capable of narrowing the limits of that field, it was only reason for acting quickly, for striking hard, for arousing fear and for obtaining, in a few well-chosen locations, advantageous and impressive solutions.

For his part, however, Brother Gerbaud needed something to follow up on his sensational breakthrough of the 13th of November. He delegated his Assistant, Brother Eloi, to Paris. The mission required serenity, prudence, sound judgment and an acute but happy person; and it fitted this ambassador admirably. During his layover in Orleans, this former disciple of Father Chaminade, quite justly become Petit College's confidential emissary received instructions from the Superior: he "was to present his respects to Father Dubois, the Theological Canon and seek his advice before doing anything with regard to the King. Why didn't Brother Gerbaud go himself to plead his Congregation's cause orally with the King? Was he up to the task? According to him, Brother Eloi's talents were superior to his own. But he added a reason that was much more cogent: "restlessness was beginning show" among the Christian Brothers; to restore a lot of the Directors to reason, the commander-in-chief had to increase his customary labors as correspondent; since, from everywhere, there were "raining down" letters which demanded swift response.[1003]

At the time the Superior-general was writing the situation was worsening in the Saone-and-Loire. Prior to being reprimanded by the Minister of the Interior, the Prefect had ordered the Mayors of Chalon and Autun to threaten the sponsors of schools in both cities: they would be

[1002] National Archives, F17 12452, letter of December 16, 1818.

[1003] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, "Collection of private letters", letter to Brother Eloi, December 5, 1818.

"infallibly closed", if the Brothers persisted in their disobedience. True, the Rector preached "gentleness".[1004] But people wondered how to get out of the impasse honorably and noiselessly.

Actually, on the same day - the 5th of December 1818 - on orders from the King's Attorney-general. Brother Vivien was forced to send his pupils home.[1005]Autun was distraught. Within twenty-four hours the Bishop alerted the Chaplain-general of France: "My Lord, is everything lost? Must we despair of recovering some good (from among) the debris of the Revolution? Must we abandon the hope of providing the children of the people with a morality of which they find neither lesson nor example among most of their parents?" An account of events followed this emotional exordium. For a month the new teachers had been achieving "wonders". And now they are condemned to suspending their work. May the Cardinal "bring to His Majesty's attention the cries" of youth. May the "Primate of France use his good offices to further the urgent 'moral revival' of the kingdom."[1006].

The Mayor pleaded with the Brothers not to leave the city,[1007] which their Director had courageously resolved to do; and for which Brother Gerbaud congratulated him. For as long as the "interdiction" lasted the Community in Autun fell back into "a profound retreat". Its prayers moved Heaven and aroused the Lord "who slept at the back end of the troubled barque".[1008].

Was it only a storm in a teacup? M. Laine would have liked to have persuaded the Episcopacy along those lines. The saintly Bishop of Digne, Bishop Miollis,[1009] with vigorous protests bombarded the Minister of the Interior, who pretended to be surprised: "The government's only desire" comes to this: to put "Monitorial" education in the hands of the Brothers and to have them adapt this "instrument, completed by their own sound teachings".[1010] And in this way, once again, the grounds of the quarrel showed through.

As for the charges set forth by the Bishop of Autun - of which Laine was informed by the King - they grieved the statesman, even though, according to him, they were based upon improbable arguments. More than ever, the government supported the Christian Brothers. Difficulties arose only out of a misunderstanding. The "legislature" had spoken (a somewhat audacious assertion, since the ministry was only casting about for an interpretation of an order issued by the executive power). The Brothers refused to understand! It was up to the Bishop to open their minds![1011]

Several legal experts then made it their business to provide the Motherhouse with another sort of insight. They were in entire agreement with Brother Gerbaud's attitude and they

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[1004] National Archives, F17 12453, Prefect's letter to the Minister, December 5, 1818.

[1005] Ibid., letter of the same to Laine, December 12. The Prefect boasts that he "hardly deserved the language of discontent" expressed in the ministerial letter of the 5th.

[1006] National Archives, F17 12453, Bishop of Autun's letter to His Excellency the Cardinal Court Chaplain of France, December 5, 1818

[1007] Mayor of Autun's letter to the Superior-general, December 10, cited by Chevalier, pp. 455-6.

[1008] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Vivien, letter of December 11, 1818

[1009] Brother of the General who, on Napoleon's orders, seized the Papal States. In in novel, *Les Misérables*, Victor Hugo depicted Bishop Miollis in the guise of "Bishop Myriel".

[1010] National Archives, F17, 12451, Minister's letter to the Bishop of Digne, December 17, 1818.

[1011] National Archives, F17 12453, Minister's letter to the Bishop of Auton, December 19, 1818.

confirmed his statements regarding the use of the Superior-general's authority and his comments upon the Ordinance of 1816; they even went so far as to claim that the education supplied by De La Salle's Institute must enjoy special rights over against and apart from the "University". This "legal opinion", written by a Deputy for the Sarthe, M. Piet, and which had won the adherence of twenty-four members of the Parisian Bar, was profoundly influenced by the political ideas of its author, one of the champions of the ultra-royalist party. Sound and convincing on the whole, it was of a nature to offend academics and, as consequence, perpetuate a dangerous debate.[1012].

In his report of the 13th of November, the Superior proved to be more circumspect and wiser. He alone was in a position to take up the unfinished business, and he prepared to do so with Brother Eloi as his spokesman. The Bishop of Autun had himself recommended this procedure on the 29th of December 1818 in his reply to the Minister. Quite correctly surprised that the Ministry would conduct its attack against a "single institution or a particular school" necessarily dependent upon Lyons, the headquarters, he urged the public arm to negotiate in a most open and direct way with Brother Gerbaud. Were it conceded that an institution belonging to his Episcopal city "stood in willful violation against a clear, exact and well-known law", the solution went well beyond the jurisdiction of a diocese and, along with the cooperation of the Church of France, demanded the agreement between the government and the individual who alone bore responsibility.[1013]

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A change in the Ministry would contribute to the reestablishment of peace. When the preceding letter reached Paris, the man who held the portfolio in the Ministry of the Interior was Elie Decazes. He was thirty-eight years old and had at one time been Fouche's heir in the national Police; he had become, through the "paternal" affection shown him by Louis XVIII,[1014] the principal inspiration for the politics of the kingdom.[1015]Even before he filled the role of President of the Council. Like Laine, who was also a native of Guyenne, he came from a middle-class family.[1016] After a start in Imperial circles, first of all as adviser to the King of Holland, Louis Bonaparte, and then with the duty of "Appointments secretary" to "Madame-Mother", he be−came a royalist through rational conviction, in order usefully to serve his country. His origins and his tendencies disposed him toward "Liberalism".[1017] But passion did not direct him. He was a good judge of men, and, as a realist, he accommodated himself to events, less concerned to philosophize than to govern.

He does not seem to have known the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Perhaps, indeed, he showed greater indifference, greater mistrust, than his predecessor in the Ministry. On the contrary, his sympathies were with "Monitorial" education: the city of Libourne was indebted

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[1012] Chevalier, pp. 457-64 extensively reprints this document which, in essential points, contributes nothing new to the argument. He dates it at December 26, 1818. Our analysis of the "report to the king" appears to us to be adequate, without insisting more than is reasonable on a text that is something less than satisfactory

[1013] National Archives, F17 12453.

[1014] The king called Decazes "My son".

[1015] He was born on September 28, 1780 in St. Martin-de-Laye.

[1016] P. De La Gorce, Louis XVIII, pg. 153.

[1017] Laborde, *Observations sur un écrit de M. le cardinal de la Luzerne*, 1818.

to him for a Lancastrian school, which he financed with his own funds.[1018] Hence, when he assumed power, the Institute was neither satisfied nor relieved. What was there to expect - thought Brother Gerbaud's friends - from a careerist whose past offered very few guarantees? He would have to be observed at work. Laine, with his lofty opinions and his unselfish soul clung stubbornly to an unfortunate line of action; whereas Decazes acted only in response to his political needs. But, just so, in the circumstance, it would not be long before the good side of his character would be revealed. In less than six weeks the matter of the certificates would be brought to an acceptable conclusion.

While this was being worked out, Prefects, Rectors and King's Attorneys-general continued to follow the directives of the Ministry of the Interior and of the Commission for Public Education. The Christian Brothers' school in Chalon-sur-Saone was closed on the 6th of January 1819. And Mayor Royer described the "extremely painful" impression that that step produced among his constituents: "many of the children cried"; many parents, worried about their offsprings' vagrancy, anxiously questioned the city magistrates: are the dear Brothers to be sent away "for good?"[1019]

The City Council wished to call a meeting in order officially to state its complaints and its "protests". Since the Prefect had not authorized this extraordinary session,[1020] Royer appealed to Decazes: he could not, in the near future, open a "Monitorial" school; besides, the promoters of that system refused to think in terms of complete tuition-free instruction. The severity practiced on the Religious teachers, therefore, fell "upon the two or three hundred indigent families" whose small sons wandered idly and exposed to every occasion of misbehavior. At the same time as immorality, irreligion grew apace; the "appearances of disfavor" which the manoeuvres that had been employed cast upon the Church emboldened some individuals to insult priests. Did not this cause the Commune of Chalon "the unjust and unnecessary hardship" of involving it in a process that was absolutely foreign to its will and its intentions?[1021].

The reply from Paris brought no hope. Since the Brothers failed in their "duty", there was no alternative but to close their schools. It was essential to replace them by "Monitorial" schools; and then everything would turn out for the better.[1022]

There is nothing more disheartening than a bureaucrat among his filing cases. "Paper can endure anything", as the Empress Catherine told Diderot. We become aware of this in Poitiers as well as in Saone-and-Loire.

The saintly Brother Servulus and his assistants, Brothers Onesimus, Fructueux and Athanasius, began teaching classes in Poitiers on the 21st of December 1818 without any show or ceremony, because of the taut situation. More than two hundred pupils showed up, and they came, most of them, (according to Brother Fructueux) from the ranks "of the Lancastrian (school), our very sick cousin".[1023]

[1018] National Archives, F17 12453, Mayor's letter to the Prefect, January 8, 1819.

[1019] Ibid., Prefect's letter to the Minister of the Interior, January 9.

[1020] Ibid., letter of January 11

[1021] Ibid., Minister's letter to the Prefect, January, 1819.

[1022] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file, Brother Fructueux's letter to Brother Médard of Jesus, February 5, 1819.

[1023] Ibid., summary text by the bailiff (attached to Brother Fructueux's letter of the 5th of February). Cf. Chevalier, pp. 481-2.

On the 9th of January the Process-server Louis Avril appeared armed with a court order: "The so-called St. Yon Brothers, hereinafter named, have opened..−.a primary school on Rue *Hospice civile,* without the authorization of the Rector of the Academy−...they have repeatedly refused to recognize the authority of the Head of Public Education; every effort...made to get them to submit to the law has been fruitless. As a consequence, Brothers Onesimus, Servulus, Fructueux and Athanasius were summoned immediately to close down their classrooms. Allege as they might the call they had received from the clergy, the General Counsel, and an association of "respectable" citizens and discuss the meaning of Imperial and royal pronouncements -- if, as they declared they would, persist in giving public lessons in reading, writing and arithmetic, the full severity of the law would be visited upon them.[1024]

There were the same threats in Provence. The Minister wrote to the Prefect of Bouches-du-Rhone: "You ask me whether the Brothers, recently established in Arles,[1025] and those who are going to be introduced into Marseille and Aix strictly speaking require the authorization of the Rector. There was no question: it would have been a mistake to attempt to hide behind the favorable vote of a Municipal Counsel. The decisions of such assemblies are operative only to the extent to which they conform to the laws and ordinances relative to public instruction.[1026].

Nevertheless, many academics and many members of the magistrature were reluctant to prosecute. While complaining about the Brothers who failed to come and greet him, the Rector of Aix, M. Eymar, admitted that to close the school would shock the city.[1027] The Prefect of Herault who, according to his own testimony, was rather badly disposed toward the Brothers whom he called "a Jesuit vanguard", declared that the Attorney-general was not to take legal action against the Community in Lodeve without detailed orders from the Keeper of the Seals. Indeed, the enthusiastic administrator of the Department deplored the intervention of the courts in these matters. What presented "no difficulty under Bonaparte" became a nuisance "during a period in which every official was an arguer."[1028]

The Chief Justice, M. de Serres, who was a famous orator and legal expert, was also inclined "to argue". In any case, he delayed sending instructions to Montpellier.[1029] If one met with resistance in government circles, we can imagine the obstacles raised by the Bishops. Following the Bishop of Autun, his colleague in Lower Languedoc saw the cogency of the Brothers' position.[1030] And then there was Bishop Miollis, who, once again, declaring that he was "deeply grieved", amazed the public when he wrote: "People have made up their minds about resolutions that the famous prisoner of St. Helena never intended to make, regardless of his pretensions and his frequent assaults upon true principles.[1031]

[1024] July 1, 1818.

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[1026] Minister of the Interior's letter, January 8, 1819, in Chevalier, pg. 477

[1027] National Archives, F17 12451, M. Eymar's letter to the Commission for Public Instruction, January 26, 1819.

[1028] National Archives, F17 12454, letter from M. de Selles, Prefect of the Hérault, to M. Decazes, January 8, 1819.

[1029] Ibid., M. de Serres' letter to his colleague, Decazes, February 5, 1819.

[1030] Ibid., Bishop's letter to Decazes, end of January 1819.

[1031] Ibid., F17 12451, letter to Decazes, January 1819.

Jean-Marie Pardessus, a master of French Law, chimed in with the clergy and with the most independent among the magistrates. He denied the legal worth of the Decree of 1811, invoked by some district attorneys in order to suppress schools.[1032] And his word deserved all the more consideration in that no one any longer ventured to hail the Brothers into court, the way Laine had.

While this oracle stayed the action of the men of the law, the pens of formidable writers crossed swords with ministerial capriciousness. Lamennais arose to the top ranks of the fighters. In 1814 he attacked most violently the "University" monopoly A priest in 1816, in the following year he gained universal renown with his *Essay on Indifference*, which Joseph de Maistre[1033] called "a bolt of lightning in a leaden sky". His pamphlet in 1819 on *The Attacks Directed against the Brothers of the Christian Schools*[1034] also seemed to have been the rumblings of a storm. Regarding the certificates, Lamennais added nothing to Cardinal La Luzerne's arguments. But from his own depths he drew emphases that were both ironic and avenging. He denounced bureaucratic "despotism" and he badgered and railed against his ancient enemy, the "University". According to him, its purpose was nothing less than the extinction of the Christian instruction, which was the work of De La Salle: "we are threatened with witnessing the disappearance from France as we know it one of the most beautiful institutions with which we have been endowed by the 17th century...Soon the people will seek in vain among us for those men, the object of its respect because of the austere gravity of their morals, and of its love because of their goodness and their humble dedication to one of the most touching works of mercy".

And then, following his favorite strategy, the polemicist, with a pitiless fury, pursued the offensive as far as he could into the enemy camp. The "University", he proclaimed, has nothing but an illegal existence: the Decree of 1808 and the Ordinance of the 15th of August 1815 were incapable of founding an enduring edifice. Lamennais would acknowledge nothing but the Charter, which declared: "all Frenchmen equal before the law. But where is the law which forbids teaching reading and writing, teaching Latin, Greek, Arithmetic or Geometry? Until that law exists, the efforts (of the academics) to occupy schools is an obvious violation of the Charter...We must know: not only the Brothers, but any Frenchman may, under the present state of our legislation...open as many schools as he pleases without anybody having the right to put obstacles in his way.[1035].

The scathing defender freedom and the future inspiration of campaigns by Lacordaire and by Montalembert stood revealed. With his brother, Father Jean-Marie, who was also an advocate of the Christian Brothers, he inveighed against the partisans of the Lancastrian schools.[1036] And, against the monopoly, he found himself in agreement with certain men of the "Left" who, like Benjamin Constant, refused to listen to anything about public education when it was dominated by a "reactionary" government.[1037]

[1032] For this "consultation" on January 12, 1819 see Chevalier, pp. 483-9.

[1033] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 557.

[1034] Published first of all in the Conservateur. Cf. Chevalier, pg. 471 and Garnier, pg. 16.

[1035] However, in a "note" the author admits the right of supervision by the government. And, in his own text, he has to agree that "University's compensation" was fixed by law. In such circumstances we perceive the sometimes sophistical processes of a great writer carried away by temperament and eloquence

[1036] Father J.M. Lamennais in the same year published a brochure that "resounded" in opposition to "mutual instruction". (Garnier, op. cit., pg. 49)

[1037] Benjamin Constant had definitely opted for a position on this question in an article in *Mercure de France* in October 1817. (La Gorce, Charles X, pg. 14)

More ponderously, but also more judiciously and closer to his times and, consequently, less fertile for the future, Louis Bonald contributed fresh forces. The article he submitted to the newspaper, *The Conservative,* blamed Carnot, who introduced the English system, and it censured the latter right down to tendencies that are not devoid of interest -- the cultivation of the sense of responsibility in children, the efforts at collaboration between teachers and pupils, the part reserved for the needs of physical activity and of intellectual mobility of youth. In the popular schools he condemned the diversity of education and competition between teachers. He at least acquiesced in doing justice to Bonaparte who, "stirring up the ashes" of the edifice that had been earlier constructed by the celebrated Canon of Rheims, he uncovered therein the living "spark" of Christianity. And he undertook a handsome commendation of the Religious teacher, the consummate disciple of Jesus, and faithful (in his equitable affection for all childlike souls) to the *Sinite parvulos venire ad me*.[1038] To avert, and then to resist, the impact of this intrepid and fiery chivalry, Ambrose Rendu had set himself up as the champion of the "University". It was a delicate and difficult task for this devout Christian who wished neither to curtail the role of religion nor to set himself up as an adversary of the Brothers. Indeed, he was Inspector-general, to which title he added that of "Deputy Procurator-general to the King in the Court of Paris"; and he was about to fulfill (and he would do so until 1850) the functions of Public Minister to the Counsel, over which Cuvier would presently preside.[1039]

His duty seemed clear to him. He strove, at once, to cross swords in favor of the monopoly and "to save the Institute" from certain peril. It was thus that he had defined the purpose of his *Essay on Public Education and Especially on Primary Education*, the three volumes of which appeared successively, between January and March of 1819.[1040] Rendu had selected a double motto, which in itself was significant: Louis XVIII's words addressed in 1814, the first, to the Christian Brothers: "I know how you teach youth; continue and be assured of my support"; and the other to Fontanes: "I know the good that the University has accomplished and what it can do...May it continue to spread light with the same zeal". As a consequence, the author had adopted the position of the prudent monarch.

From the copious considerations, the historical retrospectives and the fund of documentation accumulated in these painstaking pages, we shall draw attention to the points that have to do essentially with our subject. Ambrose Rendu's "admiration" of the Christian Brothers' talents and pedagogical virtues is quite emphatically expressed. With such a loyal friend inside the Public Education Commission Brother Gerbaud could have no fear of irrevocable defeat. But he certainly did object to risky window-dressing that was capable of concealing the real character of the work. The academic, striving to reconcile everything and, in his synthesis, to assign a place to the most diverse elements, was determined "to prove that the method of the Christian Schools was the principle and the model of the method employed in "Monitorial" education."[1041] He refers, as we have said,[1042] to a few disciplinary and educational

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[1038] L. Bonald, *Concerning Mutual Education and the Brothers of the Christian Schools*, collection of the Conservateur, Vol. II, 1819. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 473-4.

[1039] Eugene Rendu, op. cit., pg. 96.

[1040] Paris, Printer A. Egron, 3 volumes in-octavo. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 466-70 and Garnier, *l'Église,* etc., pp. 15-16, Frayssinous, pg. 460.

[1041] See above, pg. ???

procedures that were used by the great 17th century Founder. These comparisons and arguments are insufficient to prove that Pawlet or Lancaster simply "completed" De La Salle's doctrine in matters of "form" and "detail". For four years the question had appeared to have been decisively settled.

On the question of individual certificates, Rendu, like his superiors Laine and Royer-Collard, enlarged upon the topic as a Gallican, an ideologue and a legalist. He pleaded the concessions, however short-lived, of several Brothers. Not without intensity, he objected "...to any sort of a corporation that existed only by and for the State (to enjoy) the shocking privilege of conforming or not conforming to the law...at the good pleasure of a Superior! He laid claim, for the "public power", to the right "of disallowing any meeting, any Community, or any assembly, including even those which have none but legitimate purposes", before an inquiry into their "utility" and their "appropriateness" for either the entire nation, or for a "Canton" or for a "Commune".

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In these words the entire tradition of the "Ancien Regime" during the period of the absolute monarchy is expressed. The revolutionary and imperial system simply forced that tradition to its ultimate consequences, and the Restoration government never dreamed of giving it up. For the future, people had better not entertain any illusions. While striving to dissipate them, Ambrose Rendu, it must be admitted, did not lose hold on any of the causes that were dear to him. He disclosed the element of fantasy in some of Lemennais' theories that were especially alien to the realities of 1819. The uninhibited writer might very well build the city of his dreams; and the politician and the jurist warned his contemporaries not to be seduced, and not to compromise achieved goods by laying claim to an impossible felicity. He searched out the ground where men-of-good-will met. And if at first he lost his way, if, at the least, he hesitated to select the most promising paths, his good faith, his plainly professed inclinations, and his sympathetic purposes paved the way for reliable directions.

The Essay on Public Education was thus a preface and would contribute, in spite of its erroneous views, to accommodations which, sooner than people thought, would be realized. Brother Eloi, residing in Paris since December of 1818, had not been idle. He had gotten in touch with important figures in the religious world, the Chaplain-general of France, Cardinal La Luzerne, Cardinal Bausset, M. Bonald, and, among the clerics in the "University" circles, with Fathers Elicagaray and Frayssinous. He discovered important assistance in Hyacinthe Quelen, Cardinal Fesch's former protegé, the Chaplain-general's Vicar-general since October of 1817 and Auxiliary (with the title of Bishop of Samosate) to Cardinal Perigord, Archbishop-elect of Paris.[1043] Bishop Quelen, who had assumed the spiritual direction of the schools subject to the Chaplain-general, had long been interested in the Brothers of the Christian Schools. This is abundantly proved by the letter deposited in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris;[1044]. we have already used this source throughout the present chapter; and we shall draw upon it now for an analysis regarding "the acquisition of certificates".

The Brothers, according to this brief document, were to receive the licences in question "exclusively at the hands of their Superior-general, who would combine an 'Obedience' with the Certificate"; he would maintain no relations with the Rectors of the Academy except

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[1042] ibid

[1043] Since the Concordat of 1817 had not been approved by the Chambers, the Cardinal had to postpone taking over the Archiepis−copal See until 1819.

[1044] The "Quélen documents", whose regular location is permanent, has been recently acquired through the efforts of Father Beyssac; and we are indebted to the kindness of the archivist for this information

when these official visited the classes.

Those who advised the Institute thought that this was a good solution. Indeed, it preserved the authority of the Superior, who was called upon to dispose of each certificate as he thought necessary and conformed to the rules of Religious discipline. And it was further specified that changes of teachers would be effected only at his command.[1045]

Once Brother Gerbaud's consent was obtained and the text was tidied up, the Brother Assistant's mission became singularly effortless. Henceforth, everything converged towards its successful conclusion: the geniality of the ambassador, the support of the clergy, the understanding the Institute discovered in the strongholds of the "University" and the embarrassment that the situation in Autun, Poitiers, Aix and Lodeve created for the Minister of the Interior. In Louis XVIII's entourage what was sought, what alone they asked to speed up was an end to the conflict. The Duke and the Duchess of Angouleme had on several occasions given evidence to the Brothers of their concern. And since the King was handed a way of satisfying Brother Gerbaud, he would gladly comply with the petitions in the "report".

Decazes had informed him of Brother Eloi's most recent undertaking: the Superior's representative had just submitted the note hammered out in the Archbishop's office to Decazes. Its conclusion seemed acceptable; except that, in order to say nothing that would compromise the royal authority and so as not to place the government in a posture of humiliating capitulation, the agreement to which the monarch subscribed would be surrounded by comments expressed in rather severe and haughty language and accompanied by a practically coercive reminder of the official doctrine.

This explains the letter that the "Reverend Brother Gerbaud" received from the Minister. It is dated the 7th of February 1819.[1046] "My dear Brother, keenly distressed at the opposition (into which members of your Society were lead *vis-a-vis* the public powers), I address myself to you in order to bring about the cessation of that opposition, because it is on your authority that they base their resistance which is so foreign to the spirit of their Institution.

It was impossible further to tolerate such disorder. It was necessary that, like all other members of the teaching body, the Brother obey the "University". The struggle "(had) already caused too much scandal". The head of the Congregation possessed the "insight" and had borne witness to the Prince of the "dedication" that the circumstances required. And his delegate had won the confidence of Elie Decazes.

The latter, explicitly mandated by Louis XVIII, notified Lyons of the following decisions: "Since no school can exist nor open otherwise than in the way prescribed by the Ordinance of th 29th of February 1816, every Brother who was actually teaching or who would be called upon to teach must appear before the Rector of the Academy in order to obtain his certificate and the authorization he requires.

This was the principle reasserted in the most uncompromising language. Then would be inserted the accommodations which would tend exactly to the goal sought by Bishop Quelan; and their stipulations would echo, one after the other, the suggestions contained in the episcopal plan.

"In consideration of the obedience of each Brother, the Rector will grant" the necessary documentation, "without" a professional "examination" and without the intervention of the Cantonal committees. The diploma "will be sent to the Superior-general who will retain it and rescind it if the Brother leaves the Congregation". Young Brothers, at the conclusion of their novitiate, were to obtain this certificate upon petitioning the competent "University" authority.

[1045] Chevalier, pp. 490-1.

[1046] Chevalier gives the text, pp. 491-4.

When the Motherhouse decided upon a personnel change, "it would be sufficient for the new 'Obedience'" to refer to the initial diploma. In such circumstances, the authorization to teach was not to be the occasion of any administrative procedure.

On essentials, therefore, Brother Gerbaud was certain of having carried his point. In its final paragraphs, the Minister's letter eagerly emphasized this total triumph. At the same time that "the king and the law" were satisfied, the Institute of the Brothers was to remained completely subordinated to its legitimate superior. The "centralization" demanded by its "unity" of the Institute would not only suffer no limitation, but, with the agreement and the cooperation of the civil arm, it would acquire greater "strength". Every school opening and every transfer of a Brother would depend upon the Superior's will.

As Decazes noted, the Brothers could not ignore the favor, the "special support", that the sovereign had shown them. And their gratitude had to be expected. Aside from him, however, the Minister ventured to entertain a doubt: if, wrote de Serres, "submission" does not translate into "visible arrangements" any school already opened without legal authorization would be closed, within a month's time. And concerning schools that were in the process of being organized, the government was prepared to close them immediately.[1047]

The stale odor of hostility clung to the air. It was breathed deep in the provinces; and it infiltrated between the walls of Petit College in Lyons. Once again, and without waiting for the end of the negotiations, Brother Gerbaud set out for the capital with a somewhat heavy heart. Perhaps by coming personally to Paris he would succeed in dispelling the more tenacious prejudices.

As a matter of fact, it turned out to be a gesture of decisive importance. Decazes was to appreciate its sincerity and honesty. Two days after he had disclosed the king's intentions and the day after his surly note to the Keeper of the Seals, he welcomed the Superior. The interview produced the results that had been hoped and every misunderstanding was cleared away. On the afternoon of the 9th of February the Minister sent the distinguished Brother a copy of the message that had been signed the evening before, the purport of which he had transmitted to him that very morning. He added the following lines: "According to the assurances you have given me, that your Brothers would immediately receive an order to obtain certificates...,I have hastened to write to the Commission for Public Education to call off the legal suits directed against the schools".[1048]

The Monitor for the 21st of February called it a happy conclusion: "the friends of religion and of the State" rejoice over it.[1049] In a circular dated the 26th Brother Gerbaud ordered his Communities to recite "an Our Father, a Hail, Mary and a Glory be... until Easter, in thanksgiving."[1050] On the 16th of March the Minister announced to his Prefects in the language of a victory bulletin, of course, the agreement reached with the Institute of the Brothers "whose zeal and service de−serve so much respect."[1051]

The Superior-general had sought the approval of his actions from the Holy See. He received it in May. Rome entrusted the transmission of the message to Father Sambucy, the French Canon-secretary of the Sacred College: the Holy Father praised and encouraged the Christian Brothers and would always support their Institute "as the source of spotless teaching" and a

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[1047] National Archives, F17 12454, letter of February 8, 1819.

[1048] Chevalier, pp. 494-5.

[1049] Idem., pp. 496-7.

[1050] Idem., pg. 497.

[1051] National Archives, F17 12452. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 498-9.

certain "pledge of sound morality".[1052] The intermediary who had been selected was relatively insignificant; but that was a discretion dictated by the fractiousness of an aroused Gallican. Pius VII, nevertheless, supplied John Baptist de La Salle's successor with a proof of affection to which the consciousness and fidelity of the Christian Brothers were particularly sensitive.[1053]With the approval of the Archbishop's office in Lyons, Brother Gerbaud had this letter printed (note attached to the transcription of the original, C5 file).

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The relaxation reached in the relations between the Institute and the "University" immediately promoted the settlement of a another crucial bit of business: Decazes wrote to Brother Superior on the 13th of February, that "in order that he might give a new proof of his ever-present desire" to be of service to the "pious" Institute, he had authorized the Prefect of the Seine to grant the Brothers of the Christian Schools "possession of the Dubois house."[1054]

Following Laine's violent slamming on the breaks, a bottleneck beyond remedy might have been feared. The banker Jacques Laffite, future Minister in the July Government, a politician as well as a lucrative business tycoon, schemed to secure the property. According to him, he would set up an institution in the place for apprentices and orphans, which would have a much more obvious advantage than a Religious novitiate.[1055]. Decazes sought the advice of the Count of Chambrol, who, with wisdom and prudence, advanced objections and recalled that the City Council had not intended "the former health center" for an "enterprise" of that sort.[1056] This reply reached the Minister a few hours before he wrote to Brother Gerbaud. It is clear that his decision did not suffer from bureaucratic delays.

On the 2nd of March the Superior thanked the Minister. From this time on he looked forward to the settlement of the novices and elderly Brothers. But as for the transfer of the "Regime" he uttered only a "perhaps".[1057] In brief, in this connection, he was waiting upon governmental and business investments.

On the 27th of April, the decision of the Councillors-general of the Seine's[1058] brought him initial assurances. After re-writing the "resolution" pronounced in 1818, the assembly "took into account that the city of Paris must attach a great value" to the creation of an institution from which not only Parisian school children would benefit but those throughout the entire kingdom. As a consequence, it asked that the Prefect "be authorized to obtain from the administration of Almshouses, for the benefit of the city, the house situated at no. 165 Rue Faubourg St. Martin", that this property, with its annexes, "be granted to the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", as the headquarters of that society. The Brothers were to pay no rent; they were to have the use of the buildings and free spaces "for as long as" their collective and legal existence shall endure on the spot; but the city, the owner, would recover the disposal of the sites "in case the Brothers should cease to occupy them for

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[1052] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file, Father Sambucy's letter to Brother Gerbaud, May 18, 1819.

[1053] Chevalier, pg. 496.

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[1055] National Archives F17 12455 Laffitte's letter to Decazes, January 30, 1819. Cf. Chevalier, pg. 489

[1056] National Archives, loc. cit., and Chevalier, pp. 502-3, Chabrol's letter to Decazes, February 13.

[1057] Chevalier, pg. 506 and *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 166.

[1058] The General Council of this Department, in some of its activities, functioned as the Municipal Council of the City of Paris, which was the case in this instance.

whatever reason whatsoever". This use entailed the charge of all taxes as well as all costs for upkeep, reparations, fixtures, alterations and reconstructions.[1059]

On May 1st Decazes allotted the Institute the slender assistance of 10,000 francs for the summary fitting out of a novitiate.[1060] Brother Thomas, Brother Gerbaud's nephew, was transported from the Gros Caillou Community to the Faubourg St. Martin, since the Almshouses did not object to taking possession prior to a regular acquisition. He described to Brother Medard "the five sections of the building", the "small hall" built by one "of the premier actors of Paris", the "superb English garden"; the overall grounds extended for more than five acres. And there circulated here such a "clean air" that, from the very first days people were aware, among the youngsters who had come from the Community on the "Left bank", of a much better physical condition.[1061]

The presence of this small group was a commitment to the future. It was a fortunate beginning, in which the capital's representatives rejoiced: "We possess", they declared on the 14th of August, "the precious nursery of teachers" that is in a position to provide poor children both invaluable instruction and the principles without which no human society can prosper.[1062] A year-and-a-half would go by, however, before they would get beyond this first stage. Doubtless, the desire of the Council-general had not been integrally accomplished. The Parisian Assembly repeated that the Institute, in the person of its superiors, did not have to consider itself as "relegated to Lyons". Why did they delay in leaving Petit College?

There was a dearth of money. And, then, there was a reluctance to break with a past of which the Brothers were fond and to leave the sanctuary of Fourvière which had sheltered with its blessings the restoration of work of the Christian Brothers. They dreaded the sorrow, the protestations of the people in Lyons, those marvelous auxiliaries of "the first hour", a people of active faith and generous charity and so worthy of sensitive gratitude. Certainly, they were not unaware of conversations going on in high places; but they persisted in the hope that as long as they kept the Superior within their walls, silence would continue concerning the irrevocable decision.[1063]

But, finally, a decision had to be made. On the 22nd of January 1821 a passport was written to the Lyons City Hall. It "asked the civil and military authorities to allow free circulation" as far as Paris "to M. Sebastian Thomas, Brother Gerbaud", and it bore the signature of one of his assistants.[1064] It would, therefore, be inexact to imagine a sort of clandestine flight. But, quite certainly, the members of the "Regime" wished to evade demonstrations of sorrow, complaint and, indeed, of those official sentiments might have embarrassed their somewhat skittish sense of modesty. Among the traditions that St. John Baptist de La Salle had

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[1059] Chevalier, pp. 507-8 and *Essai*, pp. 167-8. The wording of the provisions is absolutely crucial for understanding the negotiations, arguments and lawsuits of which the Institute's "Motherhouse" has been the centerpiece throughout the last century and up to 1905.

[1060] *Essai*, pg. 168 and *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1910, pg. 238.

[1061] Letter dated May 21, 1819, cited in the *Essai*, pg. 165.

Report of the Improvement Commission in the meeting of August 14, 1819; Chevalier, pg. 300; *Essai,* pg. 169

[1063] *Essai, loc. cit.*

[1064] The "description" supplies the following details: Age, sixty years; height, 66 ms; hair, brown; receding hair line; brows, brown; eyes, grey; nose, average; mouth, average; beard, brown; chin, round; face, fully oval; complexion, florid. (Motherhouse Archives, BEb4 file)

bequeathed to his sons, one constantly meets with that habit of confounding, as far as possible (we dare to add: more than their friends would like to have it) the appearance and the personality of the Institute in the anonymous crowd of the humble and the forgotten.

On the eve of the journey, the Superior climbed, we can believe, the hill upon which were celebrated the great Marian feasts. Not without melancholy, he surveyed the roofs that pressed around the bottom of Fourvière, the old Jesuit house, Brother Frumence's asylum, the room where recent Chapters were held, the archiepiscopal palace where Cardinal Fesch welcomed his schoolteachers, and, among the churches on the banks of the Saone, the powerful facade of the Cathedral. Perhaps, the temporary administrators of the diocese, Fathers Courbon, Renaud and Bochard and the Prefect of the Rhone, Count Lezay-Marnesia, had reserved a final audience for him?

A few weeks after Brother Gerbaud's arrival in the institution in the Faubourg St. Martin, M. Lezay, one of the most remarkable of the Empire and Restoration officials, wrote to the new Mother−house; he was concerned to know whether the novitiate in Lyon still existed, in spite of the change of residence and the development that would bring the Institute into the capital.

The Superior hastened to reassure him: "No, Count, please God, the novitiate in Paris will not jeopardize the one in Lyon". The Brother's heart was filled with the city, in which, for ten years, the population, the clergy and the civil powers surrounded him with respect and made his task lighter. Regarding his children in that region he retained an "essential and tender" concern and a profound gratitude for benefits received.[1065] At the head of his dear Lyon Community, he left one of his most respected auxiliaries, born in the region, capable of cooperating with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, quick to understand and share the feelings of his fellow-citizens, and a worthy guide of souls: Jean-Claude Rotival, Brother Chrysostom would assume at Petit College the direction of the novices, the senior and the teaching Brothers, until his election to the post of Assistant at the Chapter in September 1830.[1066]

We shall now follow the Superior in his new residence where, joyously, he followed in the footsteps of St. Vincent de Paul who, between 1653 and 1660 there catechized the poor.[1067] He restored to Christ the foundation of the great apostle of the Gospel and of divine love. This "Hospital of the Name of Jesus" which the revolutionaries secularized would be called (now that it sheltered the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle, the distant heirs of Father Nicolas Barré) "The Holy Child Jesus House". It will be recalled that this was the name of the Motherhouse in Melun.[1068] Once again, Brother Gerbaud took his place as Brother Agathon's faithful successor and the restorer of a most glorious past.

For twenty-six years the Superiors-general would live their lives of work and prayer in the Faubourg St. Martin. Their personal apartment was situated in the upper section of the building, which extended along the line of the chapel[1069] and the main Community residence; a large courtyard and building annexes warded off external noises from the seat of the Congregation. In the rear there stretched out (a genuine country area) a garden that paths

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[1065] Archives of the Department of the Rhône, Vol. VIII, Brother Gerbaud's letter to the Prefect, March 21, 1821. Cf. Essai, pg. 172. The Régime moved to Paris on January 28 (Ibid., pg. 169).

[1066] Essai, pg. 170. For what happened to Petit College in the course of the 19th century, see Vols. III (pp. ???) and V (pp. ???) of the present work.

[1067] *Essai*, pg. 171.

[1068] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. ???, and Vol. III, pp. ???

[1069] Which, in the beginning was a simple oratory; the huge chapel in the classical style was erected in 1836.(*Essai*, pg. 186)

cutting at right angles and flower-beds and regular thickets would transform "in the French style". There, without sensibly diminishing it, it was possible to build the annexes demanded by the ever-growing number of novices, and, later on, at the far end of the grounds, a covered "gallery", 84 metres long. At the time, the neighborhood troubled neither meditation nor monastic recreation. At its flood-tide, the ocean of Parisian population only began to touch the limits of this plain; and when it was about to overwhelm the latter, the Christian Brothers were to emigrate to more favorable quarters.[1070]

This, then, was the headquarters of the Institute in that part of Paris in which De La Salle moved, in the chill wind of persecution, from Rue Princesse to the village of Vaugirard, from the former convent of the Annunciandines to Rue Charonne, to Rue St.Honoré and finally to the Sèvres Gate; where at one time Brother Solomon, turned in as an enemy of the people and the law, suffered martyrdom in the prison of the Carmelites; where Brother Agathon, shut up in the Luxembourg, awaited death on the scaffold.[1071] It was to this place that events brought a new Superior, and, this time, the great city was welcoming and generous. Its officials had proclaimed the necessity of Christian education, showered the Brothers with eulogies and "blessings",[1072] guaranteeing them the use of city property. How many fervent Brothers saw this reversal as the action of Providence?[1073]

The royal Ordinance of the 30th of May, in fact, credited the Institute with the quality of public usefulness. It ratified the resolution of the Council-general of the Seine and approved all subsequent measures. The language which authorized the Almshouses to sell the Dubois House for 115,000 francs and the Prefect to purchase it in the name of the city of Paris and place it, free of cost, at the disposition of the Institute of the Brothers repeated the provisions stipulated in 1819.[1074]

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While the government accorded the Christian teachers substantial satisfaction, and while the school in Autun, after Brother Gerbaud's and M. Decazes' interview, opened its doors, and while certificates were granted without difficulty by the Rector of Aix to the teachers in Provence, (with "congratulations" by the Rector in Douai to the Brothers in the Departments of the Nord and of the Pas-de-Calais), and while the school in Pithiviers, to the great delight of the Mayor, received every "University" and Prefectural approval,[1075] the bias in favor of "Monitorial" teaching were very far indeed from disappearing overnight. In order to avoid the tedium and the digressions associated with this much overworked subject, we shall be content to point out the Lancastrian propaganda in Orleans conducted between 1819 and 1820 by

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[1070] The *Essai historique sur la Maison Mére* (pg. 185) gives the design and a perspective view of the Holy Child Jesus House, according to a drawing by Pierre Fumet, a Junior Novice in 1837 (who became Brother Pierre Celestine in the Congregation). It represents the institution, in any case, as it existed during Louis-Philippe's reign, after the addition of a variety of buildings.

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[1072] Report cited, dated August 14, 1819.

[1073] *Essai,* pg. 174.

[1074] Ibid., pp. ??? and Chevalier, pp. 549-50. Starting in 1822, an annual subsidy of 6,300 francs, allotted by the Minister of the Interior, partially defrayed the cost of furnishings and thereafter contributed funds to the Régime which, while not ample, were at least reliable

[1075] Chevalier, pp. 511-13, for Autun, Aix, Arles, Marseille and for the text of the laudatory letter addressed on April 19, 1819 to Brother Superior-general by M. Taranget, Rector of the Douai Academy. For Pithiviers, Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 869, the Mayor's correspondence with the Sub-Prefect, February-March 1819.

Father Duparc, Inspector of the Academy and Laurent, a teacher in the royal college, backed -- somewhat against the grain, to be sure -- by the Prefect, who sought, through his intervention and his financial assistance, to restrain the "liberal" tendencies of those who received money from him.[1076] We might add a letter, dated the 5th of October 1819, recommending the creation of a "Monitorial" school, because "less burdensome" than any other and capable of "supplying the same advantages" as a Christian Brothers' school.[1077] In spite of the defects of programs and disappointments with results, a good number of experiments were begun or continued during the last ten years of the Restoration. The Department of the Cote-d'Or in 1820 included fourteen "Monitorials", the principal ones being in Dijon, Auxonne, Beaune and Semur.[1078] The "Elementary Normal School" continued to operate in Paris; and Count Simeon, who replaced Decazes as Minister of the Interior drew his subordinates' attention to it as being capable of providing good teachers.[1079]

There were still people who longed for an alliance between the Institute and the advocates of the new system. The Councillors-general of the Indre, concerned for Christian education, wanted the Pope to be entreated to modify, to that end, the Institute's "statutes!"[1080]

At the same time that these ill-supported preferences began to appear in official quarters -- and that the "University" succumbed to a particular attraction for the tiny society of Jansenist and Gallican Brothers in the Foubourg St. Antoine because of their "total submission to the law"[1081] - some ill-willed persons attempted to reduce the number of diplomas and licences to teach required by Brother Gerbaud. In May of 1819, the Rector of Douai granted them to twenty-six novices in St. Omer; which was followed by an objection from the Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais, who thought it was dangerous to aid "proselytism" among the Christian Brothers and warned his minister about the serious decrease in "military recruitment"! The question of the "ten-year commitment" had indeed begun to complicate the question of the diplomas. The offices in the Ministry of the Interior thought that perhaps it was necessary to look at things more closely before admitting young people among the personnel of public education. Exemption from military service must remain a privilege and not be obtained as a right. If, in order to benefit from it, it was enough to enjoy the mere "denomination of Brother", then this sort of Religious "would shirk his responsibilities to the State, with impunity", and obtain a deplorable "autonomy". Count Simeon seemed apprehensive, and consulted with the Royer-Collard Commission, which announced that the diploma and the

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[1076] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans IR 191, circular of the *Commission for Mutual Education*, March 12, 1819; T, 219, "confidential" letter of the Prefect to the Minister, November 6, 1820, Minister's replies, December 9, 1820 and July 11, 1821. The circular examined in the text employs a curious argument in order to justify the rapid course of studies in Lancastrian schools: In the country which competes with France (i.e., England) manufacture employs children at a very young age: in Manchester, for example, there is scarcely a child of seven years of age whose feeble hands are not useful to the well-being of its parents, for the growth of commerce and the public prosperity. Thus, simple people looked upon this shocking exploitation of children as something quite natural!

[1077] National Archives, F17 12452.

[1078] Ibid., F17 12453, Prefect's letter to the Minister, August 16, 1820.

[1079] Ministerial circular of January 16, 1821, in Chevalier, pg. 536.

[1080] National Archives, F17 12452, taken from the deliberations of the General Council of the Indre, August 21, 1821.

[1081] Chevalier, pp. 514-24.

exemption could not be conferred upon any but teachers who had employment.[1082]

It remained to be seen in what form the "ten year committment" would be entered into. Exclusively "in the presence of the University Counsel", said the Minister of War.[1083] Were the powers of the Superior-general about to be ignored ? But in the end, an elegant solution was found. A letter on the 5th of February 1820, signed by Sylvester Sacy, Georges Cuvier and Gueneau Mussy invited Brother Gerbaud, each year, to prepare a complete list of novices of military age, whom he believed to be "useful in education"; and to it he was to add the commitment made by each of the individuals involved "to the University, to perform the duties (of teacher) for ten years".[1084] The Minister adopted the arrangement in a circular intended for the departmental administrations.[1085] Actually, the formula prescribed for the young Brothers was qualified by the words: "I promise to persevere for ten years in the teaching profession."[1086]

If the candidate left the Congregation before that time, he would become personal−ly responsible to the military authorities. In such cases the Minister of War was a good deal less severe than the heads of the "University", to whom he left the task of pursuing teachers who, having violated their contract, and had passed the age of military service, faced the possibility of prison as a punishment.[1087]

The year 1820 marked a turning point in national politics. A few months earlier, the election - as Deputy for the Isère - of the ex-Father Gregoire, former Constitutional Bishop and Member of the National Convention, revealed to the government the threatening growth of the parties of "the Left". The assassination of Louis XVIII's nephew, the Duke of Berry, roused up royalist feelings against people who had come to terms with Liberalism. The aged monarch, in the face of familial pleading, was forced to dismiss his favorite, Elie Decazes. An electoral law, drawn up by the new head of the Ministry, the Duke of Richelieu, would presently assure "the Right" of a heavy majority in the Chamber. And, as reaction began to grow, Richelieu was replaced in December of 1821 by Villele who stayed in power until 1827.

For the Institute it was a period of peace. Its privilege (certificates issued upon the simple presentation of an "Obedience") was strengthened by an extension which was also granted to other teaching Congregations.[1088] At the head of the "University" there were effected changes, which were the initial symptoms of directives that had a very distinctive religious bearing. After the resignation of President Royer-Collard, who had been replaced by Cuvier in September 1819, the Ordinance of the 22nd of July 1820 introduced into the Commission for Public Education Ambrose Rendu, Fathers Nicolle and Poisson, to go along with Gueneau Mussy, Sylvester Sacy and Father Elicagaray. While, in October, Laine reappeared upon the

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[1082] National Archives, F17 12453, file having to do with the novices at St. Omer, May-July 1819.

[1083] Ibid., Prefect of the Pas-de-Calais' letter to the Minister of the Interior, September 27, 1819.

[1084] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file.

[1085] Circular dated June 30, 1820, in Chevalier, pp. 598-9.

[1086] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file.

[1087] Des Cilleuls, pp. 362-3.

[1088] The order of April 3, 1820 likened, in this respect, "female schoolteachers...belonging to a legally recognized Congregation" to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. (Chevalier, pg. 597). The same thing was true in 1822 for the followers of Father Jean Lamennais. (Ibid., pg. 553)

scene as the successor of Georges Cuvier, who had returned to the ranks, it was hardly anything more than an interim appointment. On the 1st of November the Commission was given its definitive name of "Royal Council", and its President, designated on the 21st of December, Count Corbière, brought to the task, along with the glitter of his political reputation, his quite fixed views of a man of the extreme "Right". This selection of a distinguished personality, with an ever-growing influence anticipated the restoration of the Headmastership: what was sought was a leader capable of giving the education of youth the principles that were clamored for both by the legitimist party and the higher clergy. The "University" remained a tool of domination, but, for the future, it would be in the hands of those had shown it the greatest diffidence

Thus, the portion of educational activity yielded, under State control, to Catholic initiative tended to grow. On the 27th of February 1821, Corbière inspired an Ordinance which conferred the rights "of full-functioning colleges" and, as a consequence, of equality with Royal and Communal colleges, upon certain private schools whose Christian orientation and educational success had justified family preferences.[1089] Father Nicolle had become Rector of the Academy of Paris.[1090]

Concerning the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the statements made by the President of the Royal Counsel gave every hope and every assurance. The contract concluded with Decazes was complied with without reservation. No discussion any longer arose regarding the issuance of diplomas nor regarding exemptions from military service. The Institute enjoyed, not only official respect - mingled with prejudice, as in Laine's day -and a rather chilly good will tinged with a certain arrogance - as at the outset of Decazes' ministry - but also the warmest sort of sympathy. Corbière spoke unhesitatingly of "reciprocal obligations" between the "University" and the Institute.[1091]

In October 1821 a Christian Brothers' advocate, Brother Eloi's very authoritative and very wise counselor, Bishop Quelen, was installed in the Archiepiscopal See of Paris. His influence was felt in the Tuileries; and his relations with the government had become imbued with cordiality. On the 14th of December Villele had seized the reins of State; and his inseparable companion, Corbière, had become Minister of the Interior.

The change was completed the following year. The position of Headmaster was revived on the 1st of June 1822 in favor of Denis Antoine Frayssinous. The entire past of this prelate guaranteed his behavior with respect to the Brothers. Even before his ordination, the young cleric joined the Company of St. Sulpice, which had been so dear to De La Salle's disciples. Ordained to the priesthood in 1789, he remained firm in his orthodoxy. From 1795 to 1800 he was employed, in spite of the dangers of persecution, in a parochial ministry in Curieres, a small village in the Diocese of Rodez. And when Father Emery restored his seminary, he selected Frayssinous to teach dogma. Beginning in 1803 the "conferences" he gave in Paris, at the Sulpician church, initiated his reputation as an orator. The Ministry of Police prohibited them in 1809; but Fontanes welcomed Fouché's victim, gave him a role in the Imperial "University", with the title of "Academic Inspector", and entrusted him -- as we are already aware -- with the care of the Institute of the Christian Schools.[1092]

[1089] Canon Garnier, Frayssinous, pp. 31-2. Chevalier, pg. 535. La Gorce, Louis XVIII, pg. 200.

[1090] La Gorce, Charles X, pp. 16-17. Garnier, op. cit., pg. 33.

[1091] Meeting of the Chamber of Deputies June 11 and 12, 1821. Chevalier, pp. 546-7.

[1092] Garnier, Frayssinous, pp. 1-12.

Louis XVIII restored to the pulpit of St. Sulpice the priestly academician, who, at the time was in the maturity of his age and talent. The Brothers, nevertheless, continued to inspire concern in their friend. Perhaps there was certain similarity of temperament, of judgment and of character between many of the Brothers of the period and this Rouerguate from the landowning classes, the man with robust facial features, whose marked traits - the mouth severe and broadly sketched, the majestic forehead extending over a bald cranium in a frame of wavy hair- presented a mixture of joviality and nobility, of peace and energy.[1093] It was the face of a Bishop out of the "Ancien Régime", the good shepherd for all ages. And it was the soul of an ancient and solid race, such as we still meet with in this region of enrooted tradition, persistent faith that blossoms out easily in clerical and monastic vocations.

Like his neighbor from Millau, Louis Bonald -- with whom he must have consorted a great deal and whom he saw on the bench with Fontanes - Frayssinous accorded an important place in his preoccupations and in the enunciation of his teachings to education. In 1811 Napoleon named him to the committee responsible for a report on Holland's primary schools.[1094] In February 1819 his lecture on education was a sort of preface to the program of the future Headmaster.

The religion with which one must gain admittance to the child does not consist, he had remarked, in purely external gestures or in vague and sterile knowledge, but in fixed beliefs, in formed habits, in good practices faith−fully observed, in respect for the holy laws of the Gospel, in submission to the authority of those who are appointed to its divine teaching.

With him the new methods did not collide with preconceived ideas. He did not spurn them, horrified; but he explained why he did not, like his contemporaries, go crazy over them: "As to the mechanics of education, it is foreign to my subject: I shall simply say that I am not simple- minded enough to believe that the happiness of the human species must result from the (way)...more slowly or more rapidly, of learning the letters of the alphabet".

It could only be if one hadn't known him that one would have rank him among the benighted, the narrow, the timorous and the haughty who condemned simple people to ignorance. His policy consisted in an indisputable union of education and Christian formation: "Let people be as educated as one would wish, but above all, let them belong to their religion. To try to make them more enlightened without trying to make them more religious is to fall into one of the greatest faults that can be committed, to the misfortune of society".

"Religion is very far indeed from being the enemy of the education of the people". This assertion introduces the name of the successors both of St. John Baptist de La Salle and of St. Vincent de Paul. Having earlier recalled, with expressions of lively sorrow, the teaching bodies and the celebrated schools destroyed by the Revolution, the orator insists here on "those modest teachers...the Brothers of the Christian Schools", on "those societies of the Daughters of Charity, who...in the cities and in the countrysides, dedicated themselves to the education of the children of the most indigent and abandoned classes."[1095]

"The King's preacher" and Joan of Arc's panegyrist in Orleans,[1096] Father Frayssinous,

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[1093] In Canon Garnier's book, see the frontispiece. Denis Frayssinous was born in Vayssière, Cadayrac parish, on May 9, 1765.

[1094] Garnier, op. cit., pg. 488.

[1095] Garnier, op. cit., pp. 94-5.

[1096] May 8, 1819. Register of the Mayor's decrees, January 1818-December 1827, in the Municipal Archives of Orléans.

whether in the capital or in the provinces, scarcely interrupted the series of his oratorical successes. He was included in the number of distinguished personalities among the French clergy. His situation in the Church and in the State marked him for an important post when the monarchy sought out the man who possessed the episcopacy's confidence and could claim the intellectual world fir his audience. His tact and his moderation, the interest he manifested in youth and his experience with souls were understood as precious qualities and recommendations. What he preserved of traditional Gallicanism in his opinions could not have harmed him with the teachers of his time. For the rest, the Holy See did not value him lightly; Pius VII named him Bishop *in partibus of Hermopolis* in the Consistory of the 19th of April 1822. And the honors of the world being joined to the fullness of the priesthood, the French Academy reserved one of his chairs for Bishop Frayssinous. The election took place on the 27th of June.[1097]

Between the two dates, the Bishop of Hermopolis began his functions as Headmaster of the "University". He would continue to exercise them until the 26th of August 1824; and, then, with a new title of Minister of Church Affairs and of Public Education he retained them during the final years of Villele's government.

The royalty expected of him that, under the plan of the intangible monopoly, he would "Catholicize" Napoleon's creation and "cover it with '*fleur-de-lys'*. It was a singularly arduous mission: recall the extent to which the tendencies of the pupils in the Lycees and their teachers, the sentiments of the middle-class raised in the cult of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Voltaire and nearly the sole beneficiary of the "conquests" of the Revolution proclaimed themselves opposed to religious belief and loyal−ty to the elder branch of the Bourbons. Frayssinous had undertaken this task (definitely assured of the most bitter setbacks) with the best will in the world, with some illusions, and also "with much more moderation and prudence than the intransigent and bellicose Lamennais", for example, "might have wished." He had to incur the blame of those who, like Canon Dubois, demanded the suppression of the "University", "the tree with the bad fruit", pruned by Corbière, but to no purpose;[1098] [1099] and, on the other hand, struggle with the Liberals whom external pressures, steps elaborated to establish a State religion or an official philosophy of education made more inflexible in their hostile attitudes and inspired to a more boisterous and cagey propaganda.[1100]

The arrangements set up between 1822 and 1828 by the Prelate/Headmaster, however, fostered the development of Christian Brothers' schools. Justice had finally been accorded to the Brothers' methods; and the autonomy of the Congregation, now respected, allowed the Superiors-general to provide as fully as possible for the recruitment of young candidates and for the growth of the Religious life. The irritating disputes concerning tuition-free schooling quite fortunately came to an end. When some cities were still worried about imposing "certificates of need" on the Institute's pupils, Ambrose Rendu announced, in a report to the Royal Counsel, that "the Brothers' principal end was to give a Christian education to children, without any distinction between poor and rich."[1101] Principles had changed: men

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[1097] Garnier, op. cit., pg. 14-15.

[1098] [1098]Idem., pg. viii and ix, letter-preface by De La Brière. Cf. La Gorce, Charles X, pg. 20

[1099] Dubois, Plan d'instruction publique, cited by Garnier, pg. 92.

[1100] See, at the beginning of Canon Garnier's book, Léon Bérard's letter to the author.

[1101] Report of September 13, 1822, in Alfred Des Cilleuls, pp. 131-2.

had shaken themselves free of their ultimate prejudices. New faces appeared, stamped with gentleness and graciousness. After Sylvester Sacy's resignation and Father Elicagaray's death, Bishop Frayssinous called upon Maussion, the former Rector of the Academy in Amiens, to join him, along with Father Clausel Coussergues,[1102] who included among his qualifications - with theology Faculties, College chaplaincies and ecclesiastical secondary schools -- everything involving the ties between the Brothers and the "University."[1103] Commendations, encouragement and -what was more - subsidies, less stingily doled out than previously, assisted in the foundation of Christian Brothers' Communities. From the point of view of the works accomplished by Brother Gerbaud and then by his successor, we shall pause to take a look at this peaceful and productive period.

[1102] Order of December 30, 1822; Garnier, pg. 101.
[1103] Ibid.

PART THREE

The men and the works of the Institute up to 1830

Chapter One

Brother Gerbaud and his Collaborators in France and in the Missions

Now that we know the political, social and educational setting into which the activity of the Brothers of the Christian Schools was introduced after their Restoration, it becomes important to study that activity itself. We propose to penetrate more deeply into the life of the Institute; and by listening to the words addressed by its leader to his associates and by observing the features and the gestures of the men, we shall better understand their achievements. These will conduct us, not only once again into many areas of France to meet -- along with the teachers in primary education -- their friends and their pupils, but beyond the Congregation's birthplace, into the distant lands in which the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle would try their hand at the missionary apostolate. Then, after relating their labors in the kingdom of Louis XVIII and Charles X, their courageous undertakings, their meritorious and more or less successful attempts on shores where the future held in store for them the most brilliant successes and the finest rewards, we shall follow them beyond our frontiers, into the two nations that welcomed them, the one in the early years of the 18th century, and the other, first of all during the Revolutionary exile and thereafter during the period in which the Europe of the Congress of Vienna was being organized: we refer to Italy, which retained the Brothers under Papal protection, and Belgium, joyful to entrust to them the Catholic souls of its children, but arrested in its enthusiasm until 1830 by the mistrust and the persecuting decisions of a Calvinist King of the Low-Countries and his Josephist or frankly anti-Roman ministers.

This account will extend to the end of Brother Gerbaud's life and to the rather brief period of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, his successor's generalate. And it will bring to a close the volume dedicated to what is rightly called the "Restoration" of the Institute: -- a restoration that goes back to agreements made between Brother Frumence, Cardinal Fesch and Napoleon I, whose decisive achievements were realized during the political period that bore the same name, and which seemed solidified and indestructible, even while in Paris the Bourbon throne was collapsing and violent waves, associated with the French upheaval, broke over several of our Western neighboring States.

The labors of the seventh Superior-general laid the groundwork for a vast structure. The eighth continued the task, with a little less difficulty, during a vigorous and peaceful old age and with an even-handed wisdom, according to the mind of the Holy Founder. These modest Brothers loved silence and obscurity; and, satisfied to devote themselves exclusively to this world's littlest and poorest, they entertained no human ambition. In all their undertakings they sought the inspiration of Him Who subverts the powerful and Who exalts the humble. A part of the brilliance that lights up the more familiar features of a man like Brother Philippe, the heir to an inheritance promised a magnificent development, should project a retrospective splendor on the faces of his two predecessors.

Brother Gerbaud had wanted to step aside in 1816. He gave grounds for anticipating an immediate resignation, by convoking a Chapter with the circular of May 13th. He wrote that "since he had excepted the responsibility of Superior only temporarily" and "for the lack of others", he "groaned under the burden". Of course, his tasks had become more numerous in the service of a "renaissant Institute". But, more than ever -- according to him -- he felt his

"weakness giving way."[1104]

Results thus far attained belied such humility. Twenty-four "principal Communities" fell into line on the list prepared for the election of Capitulants: Lyon, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Boulogne, Paris Gros Caillou and Paris St. Louis, Avignon, Ajaccio, Auray, Calais, Dole, Lisieux, Meaux, Montpellier, Orvieto, Soissons and Valence. Their Directors were, on the whole, active and faithful auxiliaries of the Superior: they were Brothers Guillaume de Jésus, Servulus, Augustine, Apollinarus, Seraphin, Benezet, Maximilien, Rieul, Jean Chrysostom, Paulian, Medard de Jésus, Cherubin, Joseph, Joseph of Mary of Avignon and his namesake in Ajaccio; Gratian, Salomon, Gregory, Blimond, Bertauld, Eloi, Benedict, François de Sales, and Evaristus. This was a host of veterans, with whom was mixed a half-dozen of very young Brothers who had entered the Institute during Brother Frumence's vicariate and who were at least the equals of their elders in solidity of character and Religious spirit.

Some of the great "Senior" Brothers of the Imperial period had accomplished their earthly mission: Brother Assistant Barthélemy died in 1812; and then Brothers Esdras, Gontran, Jonas and Sylverus died. But there came to Lyons for the plenary assembly Brother Eunuce, who had been a Christian Brother since 1746, and Brothers Dorotheus, Adelard, Pigmenion, Raymond, Tiburcius, Lysimachus, Esprit, Paul of Jesus, Celestine, Pierre, Charles Borromeo, Pierre Martyr and Contest. Given a mandate by the professed Brothers, these men, along with Brother Emmanuel (Jean-Joseph Brenez, born in Comte in 1785, whose perpetual vows were made in 1811), filled up the number of thirty members provided by the Bulle, with Brother Superior-general and the Brothers Director Guillaume de Jésus, Servulus, Augustine, Seraphin, Maximilien, Rieul, Jean Chrysostom, Paulian, Cherubin, Joseph, Joseph of Mary (Bardou), Salomon, Blimond, Bertauld and Eloi.[1105]

These individuals genuinely gave the Institute its appearance of times gone by. Their principles and their behavior situated them under the Founder's *signum fidei*; in agreement with Brother Gerbaud, their resolutions tended to the complete observation of the Rule. For six years unremitting progress marked the return to the unity of exercises, methods, practices and customs; heroic perseverance had swept up men who had previously been vacillating and weighed down by habits adopted from secular life. In the "Upper Room" of Petit College, the Spirit of the Lord would breathe and produce a total coalescence whence would issue the brazen mass to sound the Gospel.

Before this Pentecost was accomplished, the master craftsman sought Rome's blessing. On his petition, Pope Pius VII, on the 1st of June 1816, ratified the indulgences and graces granted for a century to the Society of Christian educators by Benedict XIII, Clement XII, Benedict XIV, Clement XIII, Clement XIV and Pius VI.

The Superior wrote to the Brothers: "While announcing to you the outpouring of the Church's treasures abundantly shed upon us since the origin of our Institute...I ask your pardon for myself... " And, then, like the penitent whose scrupulous conscience calls attention to the least human failing. the sensitive father, merciful to others, accuses himself of the "bad example" he thought he had given his sons, "sufferings" he had inflicted upon them "during the brief but stormy space of an administration...that was beyond his strength"! He adds: "When God shall have examined my life, what shall I reply? I have greater need than any other" to be purified by the merits of Jesus Christ. He then enumerates in detail the privileges

[1104] Motherhouse Archives, CCFm file, notebook containing General Chapter minutes, September 8 to May 16, 1853.

[1105] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file, major houses of the Institute in May 1816; senior Brothers who had at least 15 years in Community; notice of the death of Brothers Esdras (January 9, 1815) Jonas (January 20), Gontran (January 23), Sylverus (February 20); list of delegates to the Chapter of 1816.

that the Holy See had just renewed, beginning with the one that was attached to the "Live Jesus in our hearts!", the prelude and conclusion to so many daily activities in a Brother's day. He hopes that these pious practices may continue to engage the Brothers' attention! So as to avoid repetitions, he refers to one of Brother Agathon's "Forewords", and once again hides behind the authority of his unforgettable predecessor.[11061107]

On the Feast of the Nativity of the Most Blessed Virgin -- the anniversary of Gerbaud's own election in 1810 -- the Capitualants of 1816 assembled. "Of his own free will, after consulting with his confessor", and in consideration of his "infirmities, both physical and spiritual", Brother Gerbaud announced his resignation. It collided, as one might well expect, with the Assembly's unanimous opposition, and, like De La Salle in 1694, Gerbaud became resigned to stay on out of obedience. Then Brother Emery's "responsibilities as Assistant were extended", and he was given as colleagues Brothers Guillaume de Jésus and Eloi.[1108] These were three appointments that had to answer to the wishes of the Superior-general.

We know what he thought of the man who began the schools in Bordeaux; he had previously entrusted him with the care of the Communities in Auch and then the one in Montpellier; he was always ready to have recourse "to his zeal, skill and prudence" to his "agile, ingratiating spirit" and to the physical vigor of the indefatigable traveler for important negotiations and for the founding of many schools.

Brother Eloi was not just an organizer and diplomat. While he got people "to love his very gentle virtue", while he "bore joyously the yoke of the Lord", and, with a smile, bowed before "every demand" of duty and of vocation, this constant temper, this supreme facility sprung from an ever living, ever fresh piety.[1109] We seize the flavor of it in some "notes on the Rule", in which the Brother Assistant's more customary conferences were, no doubt, summarized.[1110]

Accurately, with good sense and soundness of observation, and in a personal, concrete style there are reflections on such subjects as the recreation of the Brothers, their schoolwork, their relations with officials, benefactors and parents, their practices of mortification, their behavior when ill, their vow of poverty, and their Eucharistic faith.

The writer exalts the wisdom and the "holiness" of the Brothers' Rules, which, he says, God has inspired as He did the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. Both "bear the same stamp". This wonder, however, did not stand in the way of a certain independence of judgment: in particular, there is expressed a desire to substitute personal rooms for dormitories, "for propriety's sake" and to protect against epidemics.

Plainly but delicately remarks are made concerning good manners, which sometimes left something to be desired among school teachers, of the care of clothing and of the order and cleanliness of the house. Indiscreet penances incite criticism: "Our Rule, followed with exactitude, in a good discipline" for the tongue, the eyes and the heart.

Until hearty old age, the former soldier of '95 retained that directness, that amiable and frank simplicity: thirty years later, when the members of the Regime, with the view of governing more easily the Communities beyond the Alps, began the study of Italian, Brother Eloi joked with his colleague, Brother Abdon, about "Piedmontese", confessing that as far as

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1106 Motherhouse Archives, CCFm file.

1107 Relations mortuaire, 1.II, pp.4 and following pages.

1108 At the outset votes were split between Brother Eloi and Brother Charles Borromeo.

1109 Relations mortuaires, Vol. II, pp. 1 et sq.

1110 Motherhouse Archives, Brother Eloi file, BE p1.

he was concerned, the language of Dante was as foreign as "Greek."[1111]" And, in the course of an exceptional winter, "when they were passing the Seine in a coach", the freezing septuagenarian exclaimed: "Hooray for the stove! I always keep it company."[1112] This certainly does not lessen the merits of "the little servant", as he was called, patient, hard working and revered by his Congregation for a long courageous and self-effacing life.

We have caught glimpses of Brother Guillaume de Jésus in his youth as "instructor in navigation" at the residence school in Marseille, in his days as an exile in Ferrara and in his task as colleague, and thereafter as successor, to Brother Frumence in San Salvatore in Lauro.[1113] We shall get to know him better after his election to the Generalate. In 1803, Brother Paul of Jesus called him "his senior in Religion, in ability and in virtue."[1114] Brother Gerbaud, who bestowed upon him three quite knowledgeable encomiums in a letter to Fontanes,[1115] would have liked that his confreres preferred William to himself for the highest office. He had recalled him from Rome under conditions we shall investigate presently;[1116] and he selected him as Director of the Motherhouse. And while, to his profound regret, he was unable to persuade the Chapter to replace him in 1816 with Brother Guillaume, at least he was able to keep the latter with him; he relied quite frequently upon the experience, and the intellectual and moral strength of this affable, refined, majestic "patriarch" who, on the eve of his seventieth year bore himself with the vigor of a man of forty, and, in that maturity without decline, personified the most magnificent and most spirited tradition of the "Southern Province" and of the entire Institute.

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The deliberations of the 15th General Chapter were explained and commented upon in two of the Superior's circulars, dated the 1st of October and the 10th of December 1816.[1117] The first of these began with a prayer of thanksgiving for the benefits with which Providence had gratified the Brothers of the Christian Schools. That was followed by a personal grievance, since the Assembly had not allowed "the urgent reasons" which had moved Brother Gerbaud "to return to his (natural) element", obscurity. "May it please God", that the Congregation have no "cause to regret the opportunity" it had to elect "a more worthy leader"!

The Capitulants were contend to adjust some of the details of the daily regulation. Numerous "glosses" appeared to them to have been superfluous: De La Salle's Rule was cast in language that was too clear to require explanation. It was enough to recall - and this was what the delegates of 1816 had in mind - to some of their less edifying confreres: the use of "tobacco", "coaches" and "suitcases" were forbidden, and travel without the superiors' permission was forbidden; there was a recommendation to avoid the hasty recitation of vocal

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[1111] "All the other Assistants are up to their necks in Italian: they recreate in that idiom." Letter of March 14, 1845, Motherhouse Archives, Brother Eloi file.

[1112] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Eloi file.

[1113] Concerning Brother Guillaume de Jésus see Vols. II and III of the present work, Indexes.

[1114] Brother Frumence's letter, January 13, 1803, Vol. III of the present work, pg. ???

[1115] See below, pg. ???

[1116] See below, pp. ???

[1117] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, BEb2, and C5 file.

prayer, and too easy access to people of the world, including pupils before and after class. The Brothers, conscious of their responsibilities, must "set up a barrier to dissipation and chatter". Thank heavens, most strove to deserve the trust which, everywhere, was lavished on true disciples of the Founder.

An important decision was reserved for the judgment of the Holy See. And, once Rome's response had come, the December 10th circular informed the members of the Institute concerning it. The issue involved the resumption of the habit in "its earlier form and primitive integrity". "Some of the young Brothers" had taken "an aversion" to it, alleging that on the day that they took the habit they received neither sleeves on their mantle nor, indeed, a white rabat. However, they promised to submit to the Pope's wishes.

Hence, on September 25th the Superior-general wrote a report to Pius VII on this question, while affirming "the most complete obedience" on the part of his 350 colleagues, who knew the texts in the very handwriting of their Founder,[1118] during the years in which the St. Sulpice schools were founded; they could not do otherwise than remain faithful to his guiding thought by entreating the Pope for an adequate solution.[1119] "You have worked carefully to correct the abuses which, in the unfortunate circumstances of past times, have intruded into your Congregation", declared the letter in Latin, "given at St. Mary Major" on the 16th of November and signed by the Secretary, Raphael Mazio. The Holy Father "completely subscribed to" the Chapter's "plan", "since he has nothing more at heart than to see ancient observance flourish anew in the Orders". Dress must, therefore, "absolutely" return "to what it was" as prescribed by John Baptist de La Salle, and as thereafter determined by Benedict XIII in the Bull of 1725.[1120].

Moreover, Brother Gerbaud invited his spiritual family, through an increased progress, to manifest the most exact recognition of His Holiness. The traditional "hanging sleeves", the characteristic sign of the Brother of the Christian Schools, immediately reappeared in the Community at Petit College and in the streets of Lyon. They were sewed "to the mantles" for the "first consignment" of habits to the Communities.[1121] This external conformity to the image of the earliest Brothers in a certain sense proclaimed the perfect likeness of the current Brothers with their models of 1689. Among the heirs of the same father neither attitude, nor language, nor customs nor virtues must differ, in spite of the lapse of time and anticipated alterations of place. In everything there was to be "evangelical simplicity", which the Superior especially sought in the writing of letters. When the Brothers wrote to him, "let them not wear themselves out with compliments". Letters should, of course, be candid; (to insist on this point might prove insulting); but, besides, they should by clear, distinct and concise; and they should not mix matters of conscience with an explanation of temporal affairs.[1122]

This sort of counsel, coming from Brother Gerbaud, should not be surprising; after all, he was a native of Lorraine and a mathematician with a slight inclination to loquacity; or better still, he was brought up in the school of a saint who was sparing of word but robust and

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[1118] At the Chapter "an old notebook", written by La Salle, had been read. The context of the December 10 circular shows that this "notebook" was nothing less than the "Memoir on the Habit" prepared in 1689 or 1690 for Father Baudran, pastor of St. Sulpice. (See Vol. I of the present work, pp. ???)

[1119] Motherhouse Archives, KHn 1, Brother Rieul's notebook; Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November 1907, pg. 344.

[1120] Ibid., C5 file; Cf. Lémandus, op. cit., pp. 244-5

[1121] Circular of December 10, 1816.

[1122] Ibid.

unadorned in style and who reached into the depths without pausing at the glitter on the surface.

The education that he had once received in the novitiate and which controlled the whole of Sebastian Thomas' life was the one he wished to give to his young Brothers. In each Lasallian Community he sought the assiduous reading of the Founder's *Meditations* and his *Method of Mental Prayer.*[1123] He placed before the Brothers the pure and lofty qualities of the priest whose every action was to regulate their conscience.

This was especially the purpose of the circular of the 17th of April 1819, which was written for the centenary of the death of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[1124] "Our dear father took nearly forty years to shape a Congregation of about three hundred Brothers...But what Brothers and what Communities! Let us try not to degenerate...Let us honor his memory by the imitation of his virtues. For a hundred years, he has been rejoicing in an infinite recompense (which) he will enjoy eternally. That will be ours also, if, like him, we live in such a way that death, since it can take nothing from us, has everything to give us. With such a hope, how can we possibly fail in fervor?... "[1125]

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The year 1816 had marked the union of the Christian Brothers with the Superior-general and with the Pope. However, the stray sheep in Rheims still put off rejoining the fold. At their center, Brother Vivien continued to operate on his personal income. He had admitted to "have earned a whole lot of money". In 1804 he had quite generously contributed with his gifts to setting up the Vicar-general in Petit College. But he thought it necessary to keep some income.[1126]

In spite of his irregular position, he continued to communicate with the headquarters in Lyons. Indulgently Brother Gerbaud welcomed his letters in the hope of an ultimate return. He took note, besides, of the signs of such an outcome and, behind the witness of a persistent affection, he perceived the old soldier's homesickness and the increasingly strong action of grace. "The revered Brother Emery, as well as myself, are edified with the excellent views you express", he wrote to the teacher in Rheims on the 27th of July 1816. Advice was slipped in discreetly, by way of an allusion to some past statements: "Let us avoid giving grounds for rumor...Let us always war upon the devil, as you said twelve years ago, and as you certainly say so now, since you are always a soldier of Jesus Christ, and a quite worthy and vigorous one, at that."[1127]

At the time of the preparation for the Chapter the electoral commission did not think that it was in a position to cross off Francois-René Gaudenne's name from the list of "Seniors". But, doubtless because of his dissidence, he had not received the votes necessary to make him a delegate; the tellers did not inform him of this defeat. He appeared offended on this account, and complained to Brother Gerbaud, who replied that he professed the sincerest "regard" for Brother Vivien. But the decision was taken without him.[1128]

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[1124] 4

[1125] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file. Cf. *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 152.

[1126] Ibid., HA p1, Brother Vivien file, Brother Vivien's letter to Brother Guillaume de Jésus March 1, 1821.

[1127] Ibid., Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Vivien.

[1128] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, letter of June 13, 1817, dated from St. Omer. See *also Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1933, pg. 227.

The return letter from Rheims, moreover, bore joyous news. It turned out to be "edifying". The independent Brother Vivien appeared ready to capitulate to Lyons; he would hand over "the precious relics" to the Superior as well as the portraits that he had saved from neglect and destruction.[1129]

Definitely, events were taking shape; and results were about to follow thick and fast. In a letter dated the 24th of July 1817 the Superior-general wrote to his correspondent: "I would like to think that all the members of your Community" share the wishes you express "so candidly". Since Brother Vivien made "the first gesture", this must have meant that he was not intentionally schismatic. Stamped, so to speak, with the seal of De La Salle, how could he be resigned "to a rupture which deprived him of (incomparable) advantages...of unity in an Institute approved by the Holy See"? Let him make his way, then, to the Motherhouse, after having sought (during a stay in Paris) the counsel of Brother Servulus "on the way of ordering and putting the finishing touches on all matters" concerning Rheims.

A postscript on the 7th of August contains, along with thanks for sending the reliquaries and the paintings, a very clear instruction: "Together with Brothers Corentine and Nicolas,[1130] the founder of the school in Champagne was to busy himself with "extricating himself from servitude", to win "the freedom of the sons of God."[1131]

From that time forward, the long awaited reunion seemed quite immanent. In order to bring it about, the Mayor of Rheims, Ponsardin, delegated three members of his Council, Runiart Brimont, Assy-Villain, and Maillefer-Ruinart;[1132] and Brother Gerbaud was represented by Brother Eloi.

The very skillful ambassador, more successful than Brother Jonas' in his day, had clear sailing. "Your gentlemen couldn't have been more cooperative", remarked the head of the Institute in his letter to Brother Vivien on the 4th of September. "They are not like the Emperor's people;[1133]these are Christian officials..." In spite of everything, however, it was crucial to be on one's guard against "smooth talk". To serve "religion and the State", that is for the Institute, as for citizens and for the teachers in Rheims, the appointed purpose. Men of good will will "follow" Francois René Gaudenne. As for "those who love themselves", they shall be left to the reflexions of their own consciences.[1134]

An understanding was reached between the administrative Commission of the Welfare Bureau, the City Council and the Brother Assistant on the 21st of October and the 2nd of November 1817. The Bureau, without prejudice, however, to the duties of the Cantonal committee, retained the supervision of the schools. The latter were to be strictly tuition-free;

[1129] This was a collection subsequently given to the Parisian institution called "The Sanctuary". See Vol. III of the present work, pg. ???, note #1.

[1130] Brother Vivien's associates in Rheims for fourteen years. These are not the same as Brother Corentine, of Vergézac, and Brother Nicolas, the future Assistant

[1131] Motherhouse Archives, collection cited; Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1933, pg. 227.

[1132] Ponsardin's letter to Brother Gerbaud, August 16, 1817; Chevalier, pg. 283. We are already aware of M. Ruinart Brimont's intervention in favor of the Brothers in the Chamber of Deputies during the following year. See above, pg. ???. Maillefer-Ruinart belonged to the same circle and the same family whose names have been associated with the history of the Lasallian Congregation.

[1133] We should point out, however, that Ponsardin, Tronsson-Lecomté successor, exercised his municipal functions under the Empire

[1134] Motherhouse Archives, collection cited, Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1933, pg. 266.

and, by preferential right, children of poor families were to be admitted to them, while others might enter only as room was available. The selection of the teachers belonged to the Superior-general of the Brothers, who would consent to change incompetent or disagreeable personnel. Each full-time teacher was guaranteed a salary of 600 francs. If, later on, the Congregation decided to withdraw from public education in the Commune, a year's notice would have to be given.[1135]

M. Laine, at the moment deeply involved in the Lancastrian controversy, approved the agreement rather grudgingly: "What an examination of the file shows me", wrote the Minister of the Interior to the Prefect of the Marne on the 30th of January 1818, "is especially that the Brothers' benefits are being increased...The schools were already in principle tuition-free." Except for further expenses, "there is very little change in any of this". But "since the city sees an advantage in it", the government will raise no objection.[1136]

And thus was concluded, in a most comforting way, the "schism" whose events and duration had weighed so painfully upon the hearts of faithful Brothers. Only a single member of the Rheims Community permanently eluded the solution.[1137] The others accepted "Obediences" that dispersed them into several Communities. During the first days of November, Brother Vivien was named Director of the school in Ornans.[1138] On the 11th of May 1818 the young Brother Philippe who, previously Director in Rethel, had come to Rheims to pronounce his perpetual vows in the presence of Brother Eloi, took charge of the reorganized institution; the understanding and wisdom of this twenty six year old professed Brother marked him out to confirm the peace. According to one of Brother Gerbaud's recent promises,[1139] a novitiate, whose nucleus was made up of recruits earlier assembled in Laon, was added to the school in the Founder's native city.

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The Institute had hardly regained its strength when, in a fine burst of confidence, a great desire to dedicate itself and stirred to heroic sacrifice, it agreed to employ some of its members in the work of the overseas missions. During the 18th century, discussions in view of a foundation in Canada, and then the adoption of St. Victor's College in Martinique witness to the "universal" vocation of the sons of De La Salle.[1140] The school in the Antilles disappeared in the political strife and the colonial calamities of the Revolution.[1141] "New France" was to wait until 1837 for the disembarkation on the shores of the St. Lawrence of the teachers who had been so long sought.

It appeared that the period of peace opened up after the fall of Napoleon facilitated the development of Catholicism in the eastern Atlantic, just as it had returned the Bourbons to France, security to the Apostolate and a way of reconstituting the ruins of French African and

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[1135] Arnould, op. cit., pp. 207-13; Chevalier, pp. 283-4; *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 161.

[1136] Arnould, pp. 213-5.

[1137] Chevalier, pp. 285-6.

[1138] Motherhouse archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Vivien, "Obedience" dated November 2, 1817. A Brother Raimond, who had also belonged to the Rheims group, became Sub-Director at Metz. Brother Dizier was to be sent to Montargis and Brother Nicolas to St. Denis.

[1139] Letter of August 7, 1817 to Brother Vivien.

[1140] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. ???

[1141] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. ???

American territories.

With total detachment from human views, the preaching of French priests, exiled by the persecutions of 1791, encountered a vast field in the United States. The young nation, which had shaken off the yoke of England, had been trying its hand, in good faith, at the implementation of freedom of religion. There Sulpicians, Vincentians, Jesuits and their emulators among the diocesan clergy had assumed the role of evangelizers. And there, too, the episcopacy had, in communion with the Holy See, organized behind the names of Bishops like Cheverus, Marechal, Brute Remur, Flaget and Dubourg.[1142]

To the latter fell the initiative of calling upon the Brothers of the Christian Schools. On his way through Paris in September 1815, the Bishop had undertaken the first steps. And immediately he sought Rome's intervention. On the 20th of September the Pope himself wrote to Brother Gerbaud: "Dear Son: Our Venerable Brother Guillaume Dubourg, recently named by Us to be Bishop of New Orleans and consecrated in the Holy City (the capital of the Christian world) ardently desires to take some of your members with him in order to educate the youth of his diocese, which has such a great need for them. As for Ourselves who, because of our responsibilities, must be preoccupied with the spiritual good of souls, and of those especially who are provided least assistance, We desire to promote the zeal of this excellent prelate. We urgently recommend this matter to you; We beseech you to entrust some Brothers to this pastor, if there are those among them whom you think suited to this task and ready to devote themselves in the abovementioned regions. The work meets with Our approval, and We ask God -- Who will certainly think it meritorious -- to fill you with His gifts".[1143]

Four months later, the Superior general, who had meanwhile sounded out his Brothers, gave an affirmative answer to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. Pius VII sent him his congratulations on the 1st of June 1816. The three members selected were by name, Brothers Aubin, Antoninus and Fulgentius. They were obliged to wait a year for Bishop Dubourg to return to his diocese. On June 20th 1817 Brother Guillaume de Jésus wrote to Brother Gerbaud of the arrival in Bordeaux of the future missionaries. The Director of the Community introduced them to the Prelate who greeted them warmly. They renewed their triennial vows, and they were a little anxious as to how they would proceed for future and perpetual vows, once they had arrived in America.[1144]

The departure took place on the 3rd of July,[1145] on the frigate *Caravane*. Reaching the Port of Annapolis on the 4th of September, the travelers received hospitality at the hands of a

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[1142] Baunard, *Un siècle de l'Église de France* (1800-1900), Paris, 1901, pp. 428-30. Concerning Bishop Bruté Rémur, see Vol. III of the present work, pg. ??? Bishop Cheverus of Boston (in 1808) was transfered in 1824 to the French See of Montauban, and then he became Archbishop of Bordeaux in 1826. Bishop Dubourg, Founder of the "University-college" of St. Mary's in Baltimore in 1799, Director-general of the American Missions, Vicar-apostolic of New Orleans (1812), he succeeded Bishop Cheverus in the diocese of Montauban and when he died, he was Archbishop of Besancon. (L'épiscopat francais depuis le Concordat jusqu'à la Séparation (1802-1905), Paris, 1907).

[1143] Motherhouse Archives, ID k1, the New Orleans and Guiana file, copy of a letter in Latin "given at St. Mary Major, on December 20, 1815." The original is in the Vatican Archives, register of Pius VII's letters for the years 1815-1818, Vol. I, folio 62. Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November 1907, pg. 370, French translation (bearing the date December 30(?), 1815.

[1144] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file. The Superior-general at the time was visiting Communities: without ever reaching him, the letter went from Paris to Laon, to Chartres, to Alencon to St. Omer, to Cambrai from where it was readdressed to Lyons (as the post marks and the various addresses testify).

[1145] Date supplied by one of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' notes. (Motherhouse Archives, BEb5)

Baltimore Catholic, Charles Carroll of Carrolton, a former governor of Maryland and the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence of 1776.[1146] They then navigated the Ohio and the Mississippi in order to get to St. Louis.

It was here that began the difficulties that occasioned the defeat of the enterprise. During the stay in Bordeaux, Bishop Dubourg had anticipated a temporary "separation" for the three Brothers; he promised, however, to restore them as soon as possible to the Rule of their Institute.[1147] Neither himself nor the Superiors had planned precisely for the future. Personal rivalries, it seems, stood in the way of an immediate foundation in New Orleans.[1148] After an all too brief attempt at St. Genevieve, some 100 kilometres from St. Louis, each of the teachers was living a totally isolated existence.

Brother Guillaume de Jésus consigned to his papers the following note: "Brother Antoninus had gotten married; Brother Aubin may have followed suit; we don't know what has become of him. They were not professed, no more than was Brother Fulgentius who got a job as a sort of "parish clerk".[1149]

In 1854 Brother Patrick, Director at the time of St. Louis College, St. Louis, Missouri, received a visit from a "middle aged gentleman" who asked permission "to make a retreat" in the Community, and he finally identified himself: he was the former Brother Aubin. He recounted the story of the break up that occurred in 1822: of his two confreres, one set out, on the Bishop's orders, for New Orleans; the other remained at St. Genevieve. He himself went to teach school in Barreus. "We did not write, or scarcely wrote, to the Superior-general, because of the distance", the visitor told Brother Patrick. "It was as though I had to become secularized...And I learned, afterwards, that my New Orleans confrere...had entered into the business world". There was no further news of the third man.

The former Brother Aubin had preserved his "*Office book",* his "*Manual of Piety*" and a copy of the *Collection of Various Short Subjects*. He finished his retreat, and, then, having return home at the request of his family, he died there.

The business man in New Orleans (we do not know exactly whether it was Antoninus or Fulgentius) amassed a huge fortune in a company that navigated the Mississippi. He was reputed to have distributed his fortune to charitable works and merited the highest reputation among his fellow citizens. We are assured that he desired to be buried in his religious habit.[1150]

Such an epilogue inspires a sympathy and a forbearance for the three exiles, which rule out harsh condemnations. They felt lost in the immensity of Louisiana. And even though they had found there Catholic clergy and French compatriots, they were neither understood nor supported. Guidance, cohesiveness, and even numbers -- all the elements, it must be declared, that might have defined success, were missing. Better planned and better managed, the mission might, of course, have helped to maintain the language and the memories of the mother country in this land which bore the name of Louis XIV and which Bonaparte in 1803 had yielded to the United States for a few millions of francs. However, for the Church's

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[1146] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1926, pp. 139-40.

[1147] Letter cited, of Brother Guillaume de Jésus to Brother Gerbaud, June 20, 1817.

[1148] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for August 1926, pg. 140.

[1149] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5, note cited.

[1150] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1926, pg. 141, according to the testimony of Brothers Patrick and Barbas. Cf. the Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for November 1907, pp. 370-1.

conquests - and for the reputation of the Institute - Brother Gerbaud's gesture of obedience toward the Holy See and the initial willingness to sacrifice manifested by Brothers Aubin, Antoninus and Fulgentius cannot possibly appear empty. On soil on which the first seed was unable to germinate other workers would come later on, dressed in the same garb and bearing the same message as the unfortunate pioneers of 1816. They would harvest in a marvelous abundance - and their successors still harvest -- the fruit of which the Bishop of New Orleans and his all too feeble team dreamed throughout their long crossing.[1151]

Similar disappointments, although less bitter, awaited the Brothers in the Indian Ocean. In this instance, official representatives of France made demands upon their apostolate. Louis XVIII saw to it that the treaties of 1814 returned the Island of Réunion to him. His dynasty was very fond of this "pearl" of Africa: its governor, Bouvet Lozier, had plans for enhancing its value both materially and spiritually. He sought the cooperation of Religious Orders and of the clergy: the Vincentians, the Priests of the Foreign Missions, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. At the same time,the episcopate placed at the disposal of the colonial administration Fathers Pastre, Minot, Fiard, Guilloteau and Ducrouy. Father Pastre, as Prefect-Apostolic, was to play an important role in the evangelization of the Creoles and the Blacks.[1152]

The fire thus kindled inflamed the soul of Brother Gerbaud. Toward the summer of 1816 the Superior-general imparted this ardor to his followers. "Renew your zeal, my very dear Brothers, you who wish to go over seas to announce the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Yes, reawaken that pure, selfless, humble and magnanimous zeal: because if the salt loses its savor, what good is it? Far from us be those narrow or dull hearts, which lack courage and generosity. This was the enthusiastic introduction, and the presentation of the problem continued on in the same tone: "We have to select six fervent Brothers, or ones who wish to become so, six Francis Xaviers, six apostles, since, without ourselves possessing that august and valiant character, we have the great distinction of initiating the project. Oh! my very dear Brothers, who will give us the heart of an Augustine, hearts burning with holy love, in order to go and set Bourbon Island afire and everything else in between in the long journey to be traversed...Such are the hearts that we must bring to this mission, with the generous resolution to die, if needs be, whether at sea or through whatever means Providence may select...We must begin by becoming martyrs in intention...We must make ourselves worthy of God and be on our guard against being lax...We must take up the arms of faith. Let the New Testament, the *Imitation* and the *Collection*, along with the Rosary, be our most precious...our only companions

This was written at a time during which the author wanted to resign the generalate. He had already been imagining a sensational way of putting an end to his career -- opening the road, through the example of a veteran of Christian education, to young people to extend the work of St. John Baptist de La Salle to the ends of the earth! "Do not be surprised (he told them) if I include myself on that list (of missionaries)...Once free of my burden, I am ready to fly on the wings of obedience, with the support of the king, of his Ministers, and of Father Astros, the distinguished confessor of the faith, the Vicar of the Church in Paris".[1153]Father Astros at

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[1151] Bishop Flaget of Kentucky also thought about inviting the Brothers. According to a letter of November 20, 1817, written by his Vicar-general, Mgr. Davia, he would like to have them educate the young people in his diocese not only in elementary studies and catechism but also in agriculture and in the various trades. It was probably the setback experienced in Louisiana which thwarted this projected. (*Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November 1907, pg. 370)

[1152] Bishop Chassagnon, *Le Frère Scubilion*, Paris, 1902, pp. 38-9. Concerning the development of the French apostolate after 1815, see G Goyau's book, *Mission et Missionaires*, Paris, 1931, Chap. vii.

[1153] . Cf. the quotations from it given in *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pp. 156-7.

the time was administering the Archdiocese in his capacity as Vicar-general. The circular mentioned above is included in the C5 file in the Motherhouse Archives with no other date than the year

Thus, with the eye of a prophet, Brother Gerbaud glimpsed the Promised Land. Personal illusions were mixed up with a sort of foresight -- the usual price for the inner light among leaders of men. In their hopes they anticipate the sluggish future; and in mind, they realize immediately a work that will be achieved only with the process of time. But they must die on Mt. Nebo.

Moreover, the Superior-general was aware that France continued to be the principal field of action. On the 27th of August 1816, he replied to Brother Nicolas, Director of Vesoul, who wished to leave for the missions: "If Providence retains you...at your present post, be convinced that it is for His greater glory...Nevertheless, I do not lose sight of your good will. Like the worthy Brother Adrian and fifty more, you will be temporarily confined to the interior of our dear native land, which has as much need of Francis Xaviers as...India, China and Japan.[1154]

The remarkable eagerness that the circular on the Island of Réunion aroused gladdened the Superior's heart. The Brothers embraced exile, the perils of the sea and the risks of an undertaking in the Antipodes "pretty nearly unanimously", which he qualified as "an authentic witness to the Faith". On the 18th of September six Brothers set out for Rochefort, where they were to embark. Let the rivals of their generosity be patient! At the time, the mission contemplated for Louisiana disclosed the most glorious prospects. The voice of the Pope was heard; and the entire Congregation was prepared to obey him,[1155] whether in Africa or in the New World.

On Pentecost, the 18th of May 1817, the warship *Golo* came along side at St. Denis, on the north coast of the Island. Brothers Benezet, Savinian, Florent and Jacques set foot on the shore.[1156] A letter from Count Bouchage, Minister of the Navy, introduced them to the Governor; it prescribed respect for the Brothers' rules, in order "to guarantee to the colony every advantage" from such a valuable Society.[1157]

Unfortunately, this was something that Bouvet's successor, Laffite Courteil did not understand. Instead of keeping the group together at St. Denis for the time necessary to gain experience and acclimation, he yielded to the entreaties of the pastors and divided the teachers, two by two, over three locations.

At St. Pierre, after a series of shabby harassments, Brothers Stanislaus and Jacques became discouraged; and they seized upon the first opportunity to return to France. The effort at St. Paul began more auspiciously: Father Pastre noted on the following September the presence of seventy pupils and the success of the "pious teachers" who were appreciated and "loved" by the population. But one of them, Brother Servinian, took off in 1820. His confrere, Adrian, found himself alone with about a hundred children to teach. Persecuted by the Mayor, after a few months, he withdrew to St. Denis.

There he was reunited with Brother Benezet who had also been abandoned by his

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[1154] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Nicolas.

[1155] Ibid., circular of October 1, 1816.

[1156] Chassagnon, op. cit., pg. 39.

[1157] Idem., op. cit., loc. cit.

companion, Brother Florent, who had left Reunion in 1818;[1158] his missionary vocation had thrust him toward the priesthood. After a probationary period in the Seminary on Rue du Bac, "he did marvelously" (according to Brother Guillaume de Jésus)[1159] among the followers of François Pallu and La Motte-Lambert.[1160] But five years after the dazzling debut there were only two teachers on the scene, obliged to fill every role, from catechist and instructor in reading, arithmetic and grammar to councillors and evangelizers of pupils of various origins and ages, of indolent character, with habitually lively but capricious minds, and with a quite incomplete Christian formation. The task was a crushing one, and the future seemed endangered. In 1824 Brother Adrian decided to go to Paris to plead the Island's case and to ask the Institute for reinforcements. Brother Benezet moved to St. Benoit, where he set up a school in a hay-barn and took on a young Creole as his assistant.[1161] This remarkable perseverance, in isolation, and at more than 9,000 miles from the mother-country,[1162] not only preserved the honor of the flag but paved the way for future successes.

So painful was the setback in Louisiana and so distressing seemed the situation in the African island in 1820 that Brother Gerbaud henceforth hesitated to expose the Brothers to new adventures. When, in May of that year, the Minister of the Navy, Portal, asked him to supply three teachers for French Guyana, he replied: "Apart from the fact that we simply do not have any personnel..., our Brothers have an extreme horror for the colonies, and especially for Cayenne, where Catholic priests have suffered so much".[1163] It is clear that the tone had become singularly altered since 1816. Gloom over defections and the memory of the treatment accorded the pioneers on the banks of the Mississippi and on the shores of the Indian Ocean weighed heavily upon the Superior-general. Besides, the mere name of "Guyana" at the time of the Restoration evoked "the dry guillotine" of the Directory, the deportations that followed upon the coup d'Etat of "Fructidor", the climate and the sufferings that killed so many victims of Revolutionary hatred and vengeance.

"Ill founded" fears, the Minister of the Interior called them. And it seemed to him quite unfortunate to refuse the colonies "the assistance of respectable Brothers."[1164] The government initiated an intervention on the part of Father Bertout, Superior of the Holy Spirit Seminary, with the Brothers' Superior. According to this missionary, there was a great deal of exaggeration concerning the insalubrity of Cayenne and the poor living conditions in this

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[1158] Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 44-5.

[1159] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5, Brother Guillaume de Jésus' notebooks, note concering the Brothers sent to Reunion in 1817. At the same time that he mentions the apostolic curriculum vitae of Brother Florent, the author of the note, who at the time was Superior-general of the Institute, informs us that Brother Jacques had gotten married, and that Brother Savinian had left the Institute in June of 1824. Sad examples of infidelity to special graces...

[1160] It was the initiatives of these two contemporaries of Louis XIV were at the source of the Society of the Priests of the Foreign Missions.

[1161] Chassagnon, pp. 44-5.

[1162] We should recall that at this time the only contact between France and Reunion was by sea around the Cape of Good Hope.

[1163] Motherhouse Archives, ID k1, Guiana file, letters of the Minister of Colonies and of the Interior to Brother Gerbaud, May 3 and 15, 1820. The Superior-general reply, May 29.

[1164] Motherhouse Archives, ID k1, Guiana file, Minister of the Interior's letter, July 19.

country of luxuriant fertility.[1165] Brother Gerbaud yielded only in part: he continued to emphasize the lack of numbers in his Congregation, and noting the requests for being recalled that he had received, he suggested that the group of Brothers on the Island of Réunion be transferred to Guyana.

Negotiations were suspended until February of 1822. A new Minister of the Navy, the Marquis Cleremont-Tonnerre, reopened the file at the request of the colonial administrator involved. He did not intend to withdraw the Brothers who were performing their thankless task in Africa. On the contrary, he hoped that they would get assistance. But a work of equal importance was imperative in South America.[1166]

Progress toward a solution was being made. During March funds were legislated for the cost of the voyage, outfitting, furniture and for the contractual compensation to be allotted to the Institute.[1167] The Superior-general agreed to the departure of three volunteers. And, once again, he had to locate them. The earlier enthusiasm was nowhere to be found. And, there was no doubt but what the circular of the 15th of June 1822 -- a few weeks before Brother Gerbaud's death -- did not appear to be of a nature to reawaken fervor:

"If some of our dear Brothers have the courage to go to Guiana should inform us immediately, after they have thought it over in the presence of God. What is more, this country is very hot, and the voyage will be long and tedious... "[1168].

It would be for Brother Guillaume de Jésus at the beginning of his generalate to accommodate the colony.

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Until further notice the supervision of schools and Communities in France occupied most of the Superiors' attention. Before taking an overall look at the institutions begun between 1815 and 1822, we shall attempt to become more familiar with the "human" elements that Brother Gerbaud had at his disposal -- veteran teachers and elite personnel supplied by the upcoming generations. Some of the people already mentioned need to have their pictures completed, with alterations, if need be, and with a final, precise distribution of lights and shadows. Other figures -- and several among them are destined to grow and to become more clearly defined in the course of the history -- need to be sketched in such a way as to anticipate the prominence they shall attain. In this way, as we hope, the Institute will appear, with its characteristics, its virtues and its means for the apostolate, at a moment when its Providential destiny, with respect to the 19th century, was being settled within the living reality whether of its more distinguished members or of workers more humble in their labors, but all endowed, in varying degrees both with educational gifts and with an energy which strained -- or which soared magnificently -- toward Lasallian holiness.

And, first of all, a goodbye to the old men called to their reward: Brother Cesarius, one of Brother Bernardine's "associates" in Toulouse died in the Community in Castres on the 13th of May 1817; Brother Paul who, for fifty seven years dedicated himself to the children at St. Denis of France; Brother Julian of Mary who passed away in August of 1818 at Petit College in Lyons, which had been his refuge after the Revolution; Brother Eunuce died nearly on the same day and also in Lyons, -- "visitor and inspector of schools", after a career filled

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[1165] Ibid., Father Bertout's letter to the Brother Superior-general, July 7, 1820.

[1166] Ibid., letter of February 13, 1822 to Brother Gerbaud.

[1167] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, correspondence between the Superior-general and the Minister, March 8 and 20, 1822.

[1168] Ibid., C5 file

astonishingly with “wisdom”, “prudence”, “fervor” and “unction”, a man of the 18th century at its best for his exquisite “civility” and the graciousness of his conversation. These were four octogenarians; and, on the 4th of December 1819, their Dean, Brother Evaristus, died in Valence at the age of 94, eighty of which were passed in the service of the schools; a few months earlier he was still teaching catechism in the city in which he had taught the great-grandchildren of his first pupils, who attended his funeral with emotion.

Gaps were also opened up in the ranks of the veterans of the younger generation -- representatives (as was the case with the eldest of them) of the Institute that Brother Agathon had governed: Brother Pius, Brothers Hyacinth and Decorosus, Gallican and Seraphin of Mary, and Brother Maximilian, transferred from Rethel to St. Louis-en-L’ile, who died on a day to be remembered -- the one hundredth anniversary of the blessed death of De La Salle himself; Brother Gregory, the teacher in Dole; Brother Pierre Celestine, Director of Aurillac, and earlier Procurator at the Motherhouse who, in this latter capacity, was a member of the provisional government of the Congregation during the interregnum of 1810. They all departed the scene in 1821. They were preceded to the grave by Brother Frumence’s fine auxiliary, the “holy Brother” Charles Borromeo whom “the spirit of God” certainly “enlightened”; the novices in Nantes were the beneficiaries of his final efforts, the ever vigorous and decidedly traditionalist (in the best sense) direction of the *maestrino* of Ferrara.[1169]

And there were two survivors: Brother Adelard, who had once again become a most faithful servant -- to such an extent that, from Villefranche-sur-Saône, the Superior-general had sent him to open a school in Cleremont-Ferrand and thereafter to direct the school in Grenoble;[1170].

and Brother Lysimachus, unfortunately weakened in body and mind, reduced to the duties of cook in the Community at Rive-de-Gier where he had arrived one evening in October 1816 in the dump cart of a compassionate hauler of coal. The former Director of Calais and Boulogne, crippled with rheumatism, had “to go down on his knees” to light a fire.[1171] Obedience and humility with him were indestructible; but such a comedown for so great a man indeed wrung a cry of pity.

Brother Florentine of Jesus, who did not give proof of the same sort of steadfastness, was to arrange an honorable return to the Lasallian family. Having refused, in 1808, an “obedience” to be Director in Toulouse, he continued -- without Religious vows and without any direct ties to the Institute -- to teach in his beloved city of Carcassonne. A planned Brothers’ foundation presented him with the opportunity of returning: “I studied (the plan)”, announced the Mayor, “with M. Rouzaud...who in heart belongs to that worthy Congregation”. Indeed, M. Rouzaud displayed such a very great zeal that, in the final analysis, he decided to take his place alongside his former confreres. Those around him pleaded with him to wait: the success of the new school did not seem certain unless the old teacher, thoroughly respected and “quite influential” appeared at the head of the list of those who were sponsoring it. Or, if he must resume the Religious habit, let him become immediately the Director of the Community! Brother Gerbaud could not agree to such a highly irregular solution. But he invited Brother Florentine to Lyons. The Mayor of Carcassonne could no longer insist; and on the 12th of February 1818, he informed the Superior-general of Jean Rouzaud’s departure.

After a few months of retreat, Florentine was given a position of trust. He was to form a new center of studies and recruitment in Marseille. He was ready in November, at a time when the awkward matter of the certificates in the Academy of Aix was getting complicated. During its

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[1169] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file, notice of deaths (1817-1821) sent to the Community in Orléans.

[1170] Centenaire, pg. 64

[1171] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, letter from Brother Lysimachus to Brother Gerbaud, October 5, 1816.

critical phase, he was living in the residence of Father Bonnefoux, the pastor of the parish of St. Laurence which, in 1711 and 1712 had welcomed De La Salle. This would be the final stage for Brother Florentine of Jesus. A laborer of the eleventh hour, in the evening of life, he had presided over the recommencement of the Marseille establishment. And then, mingling with those who had labored throughout the day, he was to receive the reward that was liberally and mercifully portioned out by the Master of the vineyard. He preceded Brothers Maximilian and Evaristus into eternity. On the 5th of April 1819 there was drawn up the death notice of "Jean Rouzaud, Visitor of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", dead on the eve of Palm Sunday, in St. Laurence, in his 74th year.[1172]

We should have liked to have inscribed among the same ranks as his Carcassonne confrere the solitary in Bourges, Jean-Baptist Delwincker, Brother Lucan. Did this 'confessor of the faith', industrious teacher and rock-bottom Christian deserve the crown promised to the holy Founder's disciples? He ardently desired it; his every movement and his entire correspondence are evidence for it. In 1808 he asked the Municipal Council of his adopted city for "the means of assembling several of his Brothers, in order to dedicate himself with them to tuition-free education". The Assembly singled him out for praise, but it "postponed" its reply to a time when "communal income was greater."[1173] Ten years went by. M. Delwincker had continued his "private elementary school, under the direction of the Academy, awaiting teachers from his Congregation to be called to Brouges". He had been educating some one hundred children, following the methods which had assured his predecessors in the previous century their popularity in Berry. The poor were welcomed free of charge.[1174]

Brother Lucan had preserved the memory of the Brothers, not only by his class work, but with a severe, if not Religious, costume and by his "way of life."[1175]. As a fragment of the edifice that had been destroyed, he had always considered himself as a sort of foundational stone for a reconstruction. The people in Berry bustled about to collect the necessary funds.[1176] And their fellow-citizen sighed: "I'm tired of being alone. I'm like a fish out of water". He besought the head of the Institute: "Send one of your Assistants to settle with the City of Bourges!" He signed: "Your most humble and most obedient Brother Lucan, of the Christian Schools."[1177]

He had already been engaged in the work of vocations.[1178] Ingenuously, he proposed to establish a novitiate near his residence. It was not as though it were post-Revolutionary times when that sort of latitude was granted. The only suitable solution, declared Brother Gerbaud, was to recall Jean-Baptist Delwincker to Petit College.

[1172] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for July 1922, pp. 2656; *Historique de la province méridionale*, Vol. II, pg. 298.

[1173] Motherhouse Archives, KG 18, Bourges file, copy of register 11 of the *Muncipal Archives of Bourges*, minutes of the Council, dated October 31, 1808.

[1174] National Archives F17 12452, letter from the Prefect of the Cher to the *Minister of the Interior*, February 18, 1818.

[1175] Ibid

[1176] Ibid., letter from the same to the same, October 13, 1818.

[1177] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, Brother Lucain's letter to Brother Gerbaud, November 22, 1818.

[1178] Ibid., Brother Lucain's letter of June 14 and 16, 1819.

But this solution encountered the most explicit opposition from the Chancery. The Vicar-general, Father Gossot, wrote to the Superior on the 29th of July 1819: I do not believe that you are insisting that Brother Lucan leave us. “He has not ceased being a member of your Institute.” His “edifying behavior” and his unalterable intentions are proof of this assertion, if we are to believe the Church authorities. For the rest, this excellent Religious, “who understands nothing but obedience”, was prepared to appear in Lyons. Father Gassot detained him. “As Vicar-general of Bourges for forty-three years”, he had no intention that people should misunderstand his feelings about a Congregation that was so highly appreciated in the archdiocese.[1179]

The President of the General Council of Cher, M. Bengy Puyvallee intervened in favor of Brother Lucan, so “virtuous” and so beloved and for whom it would be important to associate two colleagues in order to form a first rate community.[1180] Clearly, these were the suggestions of a man of the would, who did not understand the Rule.

Brother Lucan defended himself in very fair language, but he was pleading a cause that he knew was lost. “As for myself”, he reminded Brother Gerbaud on the 14th of September,
it is nearly twelve years since I was to see you at Gros-Caillou, with M. Dubois:[1181] you asked me whether the Brothers were re-established in Brouges; I told you that they were not, that I was the only one left and that the Archbishop and the Vicars-general had forbidden me to leave the diocese...; and quite frequently they repeated to me that I should not depart Bourges. He then recalled the days in 1792 when his refusal to take the oath landed him in jail. After liberation, he continued to teach. Daily, either before or after school, he performed his religious obligations. Both the families and the clergy wanted him to resume the habit he had once worn: but stood by his resolution not to satisfy them -- much as he regretted it -- as long as he was by himself.[1182].

The following month, conversations between the civil administration and the Motherhouse were halted. The Superior was inflexible; and municipal councillors and general councillors as well as the Prefect vented their dissatisfaction. Why, they asked, so many conditions, so many postponements, when the whole matter might be settled with a minimum of personnel and at a minimum of expense?[1183] Obviously, they had a great deal of difficulty in accepting Brother Gerbaud’s arguments. And their attitude was understandable. But a Congregation cannot subject its rules to the convenience of persons or groups. Exceptions once made would lead to fantastic abuses.

The task of weighing Jean-Baptist Delwincker’s behavior we shall leave to the Sovereign Judge. But he remained a man deserving of commendation and respect; and it would be unjust to efface his name from the history of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, where, during the French Revolution, he occupied such a glorious place. His file supplies us, for the entire period of the Empire and the Restoration, with abundant and, in our view, extremely instructive documentation. Brother Lucan (the Belgian who was too faithful to Berry, his adoptive city) sits like a vagrant, rather than a prodigal son, at the doorstep of the house of St.

[1179] Ibid.

[1180] Ibid., letter of August 20, to Brother Gerbaud.

[1181] The former Brother Boniface.

[1182] Motherhouse Archives, file cited

[1183] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen, “Note concerning what the administrative authorities in Bourges did in order to bring the Brothers of Christian Doctrine there”, November 30, 1819. The last text to which this document refers is a letter from Brother Gerbaud, dated the 21st of the preceding October.

John Baptist de La Salle. We do not have the heart to chase him away.

With Brother Vivien, we definitely come back to the circle of sons whose conversion rejoiced the father of the family. The eldest son of the line (the depositary of the integral inheritance) had performed repeated acts of kindness with respect to the Superior with whom he had been reunited. He scrupulously classified the friendly letters addressed him by the Superior. While the former teacher in Rheims was directing the school in Ornans, he was exhorted "not to go without the necessities" and to care for his "precious health."[1184]. There is "no doubt" but what, through his "concern", young people in Comte would advance "in civilization and in knowledge"; and that "the merest idea" of losing such an eminent Director would "cast a pall" upon the Commune. He "would restore" that school, just as he has striven for the safety of the Brothers in Champagne. Brother Gerbaud went so far as to recommend the sort of food with which best to support the strength of the gallant group in Ornans.[1185]

However he had not forgotten that Vivien was easily disposed to be concerned with earthly matters. And he suggested to him thoughts of a more supernatural order: the love of God and of Our Lord, the true philosopher's stone, alone has the power to allay our troubles and to transform them to the purest gold for eternity and, even now, at least into silver for this life.[1186]

If Brother Vivien "gathered roses in the midst of thorns", may Providence be blest! But he must not take too much delight in his garden or his farmyard, nor transform himself into a Jura "farmer". "He is a Religious, a profession that is too honorable for dissatisfaction".[1187]

His "change" to Autun, in the tumultuous days of October 1818, was to put the vigorous sexagenarian in a position to manifest his valor and his faith. He was given two handpicked associates, with whom he had to organize a Community of genuine "angels". The task to be accomplished seemed "so holy and sanctifying, so glorifying for God and so useful to the Church and the State!" The Brother Director was to find that it gave him a new lease on life.[1188]

Actually, he turned out to be energetic and moderate in the midst of persecution. Forced to close the school, he taught catechism in the church, faultlessly employed the talents of the young Brother Abias, turned to his own uses the docile dispositions of his youthful audience and directed both of his colleagues "according to the spirit and the rule" of De La Salle.[1189]

Once the storm had passed, it was expected that he would transmit to the upcoming generations the inheritance of "regularity, of simple and charitable humility" garnered from the early days of the Institute.[1190] And so little had he deceived Brother Gerbaud's hopes that on February 21st 1820, he won the following important acknowledgment: "However much I may be an enemy to flattery, I cannot conceal from you the joy you give my old heart for (your) good and worthy administration. ...We might have moved you from this Directorship

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[1184] Motherhouse Archives, collection of Brother Gerbaud's letters to Brother Vivien, letter of November 25, 1817

[1185] Ibid., letter of January 16, 1818.

[1186] Ibid.

[1187] Ibid., letter of May 1, 1818

[1188] Ibid., letter of November 18, 1818.

[1189] Ibid., letters of 8 & 16, January, 1819.

[1190] Ibid., letter of March 30, 1819.

to a more important one, except that consideration (due to M. Saulnier, the benefactor) retained you (in a city) in which, God willing, your memory will be held in benediction

The Superior had touched upon the strings of a particularly throbbing sensitivity. Self-esteem still lurked in depths of Francois René Gaudenne's soul; and he was restless to obtain some gratification from the Motherhouse through gestures of material generosity. Delicately there came the reminder: "De La Salle's spirit, the spirit of faith, of retreat, silence, meditation and of union with our Savior is infinitely preferable to any present...The encouragement you give your confreres in the performance of their duty is better than a gift... "[1191].

Brother Vivien's lofty qualities had more and more abundantly compensated for his minor imperfections. He continued to be such a remarkable organizer that his Superior was prepared to entrust him with new projects. At the beginning of 1821 we find the former Director of Autun once again in the South of France; he was waiting in Valence for the right moment to reopen the school in Montelimar. But, as a Parisian by birth, and at such a great distance, he felt completely uprooted. He asked Brother Assistant Guillaume de Jésus for a change as quickly as possible.[1192].

It was a "natural" reaction; but Brother Gerbaud thought only of controlling it; he ordered Vivien to call to Montelimar the associates with whom Brother Chrysostom was to provide him and to fall into line with them "under the Rule's guidance...as far as human weakness is capable of it". The victim's cry was heard all the way to the Motherhouse: "Lord, what a sacrifice!" And, like an echo, came the reply, prolonged by the comment: "Yes, my dear Brother, a sacrifice in this valley of tears; but joy in eternal beatitude."[1193]

The Superior "grieved" for Brother Vivien and his "vexations"; but he "was edified" by his determination to obey. A "fervent retreat" in Avignon strengthened the heart of the reluctant Southerner and lightened his load.[1194] And, then, in 1822, the pioneer ever on the move went to take charge of the school in Forcalquier, which was the result of the generosity of Bishop Miollis.[1195] Nor was that the end of a fruitful and, on the whole, marvelous career, which closed only in extreme old age, in the Community in the Faubourg St. Martin on the 14th of September 1842.[1196]

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On a day in November 1817 when Brother Gerbaud experienced a harsh disappointment, he wrote to a young friend, the future Assistant, Brother Nicolas: "For regularity, I depend upon the distinguished disciples of the venerable Brother Emery, and not upon Directors who have emerged from the confusion of the Revolution".[1197]

Concerning several of these older teachers the Chapter of 1816 had, indeed, uttered its

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[1191] Ibid., letter of February 21, 1820.

[1192] Ibid., letter of July 31, 1820. Ibid., HA p 1, Brother Vivien file

[1193] Ibid., HA p 1, collection cited, letter of May 5, 1821.

[1194] Ibid., HA p 1, letter of August 4, 1821

[1195] National Archives, F17 12451.

[1196] Concerning Brother Vivien see the article published in the *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1933. We have completed and corrected these biographical notes with the help of documents in Rome and Paris.

[1197] Motherhouse Archives, collection of Brother Nicolas' letters cited, November 3, 1817.

reservations and its complaints. It is important, however, not to exaggerate nor to hurry to judgment stripped of all qualifications. What we have already said on this matter seems to us to be sufficient. Many shortcomings were understandable in terms of events; and none of them, even the most serious, ever compromised the Institute's future. Mediocrity and individual misfor−tunes were swallowed up in the mass of eager courage and radiant virtue. While there were times when gold was transformed into lead, still, the master-workman knew how to remove the tarnish and to turn out robust alloys.

But, unquestionably, youth was made of finer metal. And Toulouse, Bordeaux, Langres, and Paris as well as the region around Lyons contributed their quota of choice candidates to Brother Gerbaud.

Pierre Gambert, Brother Augustine (from Pierrelatte in the Dauphine), whom we have seen, as the restored Congregation's first novice, under Brother Pigmenion in 1802,[1198] never disappointed the hopes of his mentors. He was the Director of the Community in Bordeaux from 1812 to 1817. He then opened the school in Nimes and, in 1822, became the Inspector of Schools in Lyons. He is represented as severe in appearance and temperament, dedicated with all his heart to the catechetical apostolate and an exemplary observer of the least prescriptions of the Rule. At the end of Brother Gerbaud's generalate, he was already more than forty years old; but he still had half-a-century to go, since after having taken his seat in all the General Chapters from 1816 to 1861, he didn't die until 1871, at the age of nearly one hundred years.[1199]

Joseph Bardou who, as Brother Joseph of Mary, was an associate of, and then successor to, Brother Bernardine, practiced "gentleness", the "love of poverty" and the purest charity "to an eminent degree" in the school in Avignon, starting in 1810. The Institute lost him in 1829, at the height of his powers.[1200]

There was another man from Languedoc, Brother Alphonsus by name, a hasty sketch of whom we have traced out above.[1201] At twenty-seven years of age he was Director-general of Christian Brothers' schools in Bordeaux, Visitor of the Communities in operation in that Department and in the adjacent regions. Aquitaine claimed him and thereafter retained him, where he was an adopted fellow citizen of Laine and Decazes, among the political leaders; and shared, among those who inspired his religious faith, he shared the same diocese with Archbishop Aviau.

Among the "distinguished disciples of Brother Emery" (novices at Petit College) we have on several occasions mentioned Brother Jean Chrysostom who, in 1816, directed the eleven Brothers at St. Etienne-en-Forez and, in 1821, at the time the Motherhouse was transferred from Lyons to Paris, assumed, in the institution maintained near Fourvière, a position of prime importance. One of his juniors, Brother Aggeus, a native of St.Etienne who had entered the novitiate in 1821, and, after having taught in Brittany, directed "the Almshouse" in Lyon until 1820; but his key contribution unfolded over a period of thirty years in Clermont-Ferrand, where he left the memory of his talents as a Director and of his vast kindness.[1202]

Jean-Marie Dumont, childhood friend and playmate of the future "Curé of Ars" progressed, like Jean-Marie Vianney, in the ways of holiness. He remained the humble Brother Gerard.

[1198] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. ???

[1199] *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, Vol. I, pp 434 et sq.

[1200] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pg. 145.

[1201] Pg. ???

[1202] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. II, pp. 172 et sq.

We meet him in Nantes in 1817 contributing, as Sub-Director, to the splendid beginnings of the schools in the Lower Loire.[1203]

Brother Nicolas, who was so specially appreciated by the Superior-general, belonged to a group of Brother Emery's disciples that was contemporary with Brother Jean Chrysostom. An eighteen year old novice, when Jean Chrysostom, a late vocation, was nearly thirty, he was to be reunited with his Petit College companion in 1837 under Brother Superior-general Philippe. But prior to that date, he taught in the schools in Lyons, Crest and the Ile-St. Louis. With total success, he opened the school in Vesoul. He returned to Paris from the Upper Saône as Director of the famous Community of St. Nicolas. And, finally, he functioned as the Congregation's Procurator-general. A native of Marseille, he was less distinguished for his external qualities than for an upright conscience in the accomplishment of obscure and monotonous duties. It was this silent modesty that pleased Brother Gerbaud.[1204]

We do not pretend to exhaust the list of Brothers who, as their day dawned, gave reason to anticipate their splendid destinies. That would be to indulge in somewhat arid enumerations and in the repetition of identical encomiums. Other names will surface in the course of our history. We shall, nevertheless, draw attention immediately to Brother Honoré (Jean-Baptist de Bray), the son of an excellent family from Combles in Picardy from which the priesthood, the army and the magistrature had recruited. He began in 1814 in the schools in St. Omer, and in 1818 he founded the school in Aire-sur-la-Lys and in 1819 the school in Lille. He became Visitor of the District of Artois.[1205]

We catch a glimpse also of a rising star, of the incomparable *socius* and *alter ego* of Brother Philippe, Jean-Francois Nicolas Leduc, the pride of the Beauce and of the teachers in Chartres. Born on the 25th of April 1797 in the Marian diocese in which the Brothers have always served, the child in 1808 frequented the Christian School that had been reopened by the Christian Brothers. The latter, remarked the precocious disposition of their pupil for the Religious life, and a year later, admitted him to some of their Community exercises. At the time they called him "Brother Jean de la Croix". In October of 1810, the Brother Superior-general talked to the boy in the Community at Chartres, called him "Brother Luc" and advised him to enter the novitiate at Gros Caillou. Nicolas Leduc, as a consequence, left for the Parisian establishment in order to perfect his soul. There, on the Feast of Pentecost in 1811 he took the habit and received his name (henceforth permanent and assured of a well deserved fame) of Brother Calixtus. After his educational beginnings in the parishes of St. Germain-des-Pres and St. Sulpice, on Ferou Street, he was reunited with his former teacher, Brother Joseph (Jean- Michel-Philippe Briere) in Laon. He was nineteen years old and taught in the school in Soissons when, for the first time, he met the man who would occupy such a great part in his life: Brother Philippe, his senior by five years, had been given hospitality by the Community in Soissons, as he travelled from Auray to Rethel on foot, as was the ancient custom of the sons of De La Salle. In the great Superior's necrological notice, Brother Calixtus discretely draws attention to that moment in which was awakened a friendship that endured for more than half a century. The two men did not live together again in Community until the generalate of Brother Anacletus, whose Assistants they were. They would continue to work together, in the "Régime" after Matthieu Bransiet's election to the highest position in the Institute. It was then that they shared confidences; and Brother Calixtus' affectionate high spirits combined with the Superior-general's seriousness; their administrative skills, their

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[1203] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1933, pp. 80-2.

[1204] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. III, pp. 196-204 and *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1921, pg. 219.

[1205] *Choix de notice*, Vol. II, pg. 102 et sq.

opinions and their resolves had the same focus. And the Assistant's humility succeeded in ascribing to his friend and leader the credit for all successful ventures.[1206]

To this man of the future Brother Gerbaud sent an "Obedience" in 1819 that dispatched him to Rambouillet. He regarded him as among his most cherished young men at Gros Caillou. And what a fruitful source of vocations was this bit of land in the Faubourg St. Germain, arranged and cultivated with so much love by Sebastian Thomas between 1803 and 1810! There the future Superior shaped the delicate heart, patient and gentle, of a Brother Lievin, the young Delepove, who, about 1809, in moving language, testified his gratitude to his family's benefactor, who was also the promotor of his vocation.[1207] Beloved pupil of Brother Gerbaud, Brother Lievin was made Director of the Community of St. Nicolas-de-Champ. It was proof of an extraordinary confidence in an exceptional talent, in a person who immediately soared to the heights. Earth was unable to detain him. In September of 1818, the young Director, stricken with tuberculosis, was obliged to take a rest cure in St. Omer. And there he died on the 6th of December at the age of twenty-eight years. Many people in St. Omer came to pay their respects to the mortal remains of this Brother whom they regarded as a genuine saint.[1208]

At Gros Caillou, the wise and skillful founder's succession, after passing into the hands of Brother Leufroy, fell to Brother Gerbaud's own nephew, who was a disciple of his uncle. Jean Pichon, who in Religion took the name of "Thomas", the family patronymic on his mother's side, had grown up in the ancestral household at Breheville in Lorrain. He entered the Institute on the 6th of September 1808 at the age of eighteen years. He made perpetual vows in 1815 and two years later he assumed the direction of a school that had been created under the auspices of the Marquise de Trans.

The worthy lady had not discontinued her efforts on behalf of the Community. Described as "fond mother" by her guest and protegé of the days of the Consulate, she lived until April 1820. Upon her death, the Superior-general reccommended to the prayers of the Institute a woman who "left the world the example of every virtue."[1209]. The Marquise's resources, become diminished, did not allow here to assure the room and the conveniences necessary for the Brothers' difficult task. The novitiate, overly cramped, was, as we have seen, broken up -- a part in St. Omer and another part in Soissons.[1210] Only a few novices returned to Paris in 1818, at the time the question was raised concerning the transference of the Motherhouse to the Faubourg St. Martin.

In the course of the preceding years, the material conditions of other Brothers preoccupied Brother Gerbaud. "Take care of your health, my dear boy", he wrote to his nephew on the 18th of March 1817. "...Cheer up your Brothers, who are nearly all ill...; serve simple, (strengthening) food. There should be a lot of outings in the open spaces, good public readings and good songs in fraternal gatherings...There should be great cleanliness and attention to repairs in the house and in the garden". Thus, concerns for physical well being

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[1206] *Notices nécrologiques,* 1874-1875.

[1207] Motherhouse Archives, BE b2. Brother Gerbaud file.

[1208] Motherhouse Archives, C3 file, Brother Emilien's letter dated December 7, 1818, announcing Brother Lievin's death to the Communities.

[1209] Ibid., same file, Brother Gerbaud's circular letter of April 17, 1820. The Brothers were to recite the Office of the Dead (nine lessons) for the deceased along with the *De profundis* for three days after each meal; they were to receive Communion at a Mass that they were to have said for the repose of his soul

[1210] See above, pg. ???

were interspersed with spiritual concerns. And they were protracted by administrative counsels addressed to Brother Thomas: he should not tolerate "murmuring" among his inferiors nor should he allow "speaking without permission". Another letter, dated the 29th of the following September, urges him to "reinspire his faith" by reading and having read the *Guide For Sinners,* a book by Father Granada, which offered readers considerations similar to Father Rodriguez' treatises. Silence was important. But it was also necessary for the Director never to dispense himself from any period of recreation and that he renounce the habit of staying up late. There was a double obligation here: for his own good health and for the well being of his Community.

Jean Pichon, at thirty years of age, questioned his experience and his competence. He was cheered by the reception of the following message: "He who does not desire the last place, says the *Imitation*, is ill-equipped to fill the first place. You see, then, that (in your humility) you have at least one of the qualities required for a leader. Pray that God might give you the ones you do not have.[1211]

We conclude this survey of the Superior-general's young collaborators and correspondents with a former novice in Langres. A native of Bannes in the Upper Marne and a member of a Christian family by the name of Dangien,[1212] Brother Abdon, recruited in 1807 by Father Petit for the school in Langres, in the seventeenth year of his age, turned out to be a fine teacher and Religious. Brother Jonas, who was so difficult and so sharp in his judgments, was unable to ignore such an auxiliary. And Brother Gerbaud, who had been alerted to the youth's classroom success, chose him a few years later to reorganize the Boulogne Community, which up to then had been poorly managed. Soon, at the promptings of the new Director, "all that changed".

It was the same for the neighboring institution in St. Omer. "The Brothers' morale needed help, while the confidence of the clergy and of the civil authority "had been rather shaken". Brother Abdon's prudence and energy accomplished marvels. He was "endowed...with a power to move the most sluggish wills". Quickly, his reputation spread through the whole of Northern France. Lille, Cambrai, Arras, Douai and Dunkerque, as well as other cities, longed to have the Brothers. The novitiate in St. Omer was crowded with postulants. There, Brother Abdon's students stood out "by the reliability of their virtue and their penchant for the order and the regularity" with which he had infused their conscience. As a "pillar" of his Congregation, he upheld the prestige of his Religious family, not only in Artois and in Flanders, but also in Normandy and in Brittany. Prior to being elected Assistant by the Chapter of 1830,[1213] he had become the Visitor of these Provinces.

In an official document, dated December 1847,[1214] the man, described in enduringly youthful terms although he was in his forties at the time, appears as follows: his complexion was tanned through his apostolic journeys; his hair was still brown; he had fine open features; nose and lips sharply outlined, and grey eyes that one felt were vigilant and lively under arching brows – the eyes of an intelligent Langrois but with a luminescence of soul that was denied to his countryman, Diderot. He was of middle height with that excellent build that belongs to the robust natives of the high plateau.

Morally, he was industrious and ascetical. "Moderate the ardor of your penances", Brother

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[1211] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Thomas.

[1212] Ibid., BE p1, Brother Abdon file.

[1213] Relations mortuaires Vol. III, pp. 300-18.

[1214] Motherhouse Archives, BE p1, passport from M. Dangien, Abdon-Sennen, to go from Lyons to Nice, December 2, 1847.

Gerbaud told him, “you’ve got a long time to live.”[1215] Elsewhere, we find the explicit advise: avoid excessive work. “Try to find people who can take your place...without ever losing a relish or an enthusiasm for the school”.[1216]

The leader had measured his superb lieutenant at his worth. And he thanked him for the “edification” that he himself had received at the hands of the fervent Community on the occasion of his stay at St. Omer in 1817. He readily confessed to a immense desire once again to see Brother Abdon, who had “charmed” him by his diligence.[1217] A Christian Brother, professed and a model Director, in “De La Salle’s unassuming barque, he was a pilot whose “great gifts" and singular merit intruded upon the timid.[1218]

Over and above all this, he had a generous and compassionate heart. The Director of St. Omer had struck up an acquaintanceship with a former member of the Congregation, Charles Lepine, who had been a personal associate of Brother Solomon in 1792.[1219] M. Lepine, since 1797, had been a teacher in the region of his birth, and he had married without ever becoming estranged from his former confreres. He had totally gained Brother Abdon’s friendship and through his special mediation had won the approval of the Superior-general, who discussed the former Brother Berthier affably and familiarly with his colleague from the Pas-de-Calais. “Greet him on my behalf, and tell him that I thank him for his zeal” in favor of the Institute", he wrote on the 19th of June 1817. The kind gentleman’s son gave signs of a religious vocation: “I look upon the dear boy as indemnity owed by his father to (the Holy Founder’s) family”; this was the language of the letter of the 18th of March 1818. Young Lepine, indeed, entered the novitiate and was given the name of Brother Berthier. A few days later the Superior met him at Gros Caillou and declared that the newcomer was “as good a Brother as his daddy, in good health and happy.”[1220] In November 1822 that father had become a widower and was reunited with his son in the fold of the Good Shepherd. It was a triumph for Brother Abdon. By this time Brother Gerbaud had been three months dead. Charles Lepine acknowledging his kindnesses, sought and obtained the distinction of henceforth bearing the Religious name of the illustrious deceased.[1221]

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In following the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the course of their life’s work, we have paused at a good number of cities in which their dedication has been practiced. We do not

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[1215] Ibid., Gerbaud file, colledtion of letters to Brother Abdon, letter of August 29, 1818.

[1216] Ibid., letter on the Feast of the Assumption (1818?).

[1217] Ibid., letter of July 15, 1818.

[1218] Ibid., letter cited for the Feast of the Assumption (1818?).

[1219] Concerning Brother Berthier (Charles Lépine) see the Index to Vol. III of the present work.

[1220] Motherhouse Archives, collection cited, letters of June 19, 1817, March 18 & 25, (1818?).

[1221] The new Brother Gerbaud died on March 21, 1823, while Director of the school of St. Louis-en-l’Ile. Another of his exclaustrated confreres, M. Dubois, the former Brother Boniface, while not following his example after becoming a widower, performed many services for the Brothers in Paris. In 1820, along with the pastor of St. Sulpice, he sought out a house for them in the Faubourg St. Germain. He confered with Brother Paulian in order to establish the novitiate in the Faubourg St. Martin and, in this connection, met with the pastor of St. Roch, Father Marduel. He insisted with the Superior-general in order to set the Regime up in the Holy Child Jesus House. (Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, M. Dubois’ letter to Brother Gerbaud, August 15, 1820)
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believe, therefore, that it is necessary to enter into the inordinately unvarying details of each one of the foundations. Such considerations concern the authors of local monographs and are generally of interest only to the usual readers, former students of the schools and citizens wedded, as is quite proper, to the memories and the glories of their native region. It will be enough if we simply indicate a few of the principle institutions of the Brothers either by way of examples or because of the enterprise which brought them into existence. We shall then present some overall statistics to sum up the work of Brother Gerbaud.

We shall pause, first of all, at the Parisian establishment called "The Refuge". This was the first penal institution entrusted to the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle, the successors to the administrators and instructors at St. Yon, Maréville and Angers, during the 19th century. Its opening went back to the beginning of the reign of Louis XVIII. It was called forth by magistrates, clergy and upper level bureaucrats concerned to snatch youthful criminals from the promiscuity of prisons.

Conceived as a correctional institution and apprenticeship school, it was located in the former Dominican Convent on Gres Rue St. Jacques. The opening was decided upon for March of 1817 and the formal inauguration, in the presence of political and judicial personalities, took place on Thursday of Easter Week. The newspaper *Friend of Religion* and the King in its number for April 12th declared: "Of all the arrangements made, the most praiseworthy (was having given the care of the children to) these good and modest Brothers...who appear designed...for every worthwhile work and who in earlier days directed institutions of a somewhat similar sort".

Baron Pasquier and Father Arnoux, who had promoted the experiment, had some difficulty in obtaining Brother Gerbaud's consent for it. For a while they were facing the prospect of getting no more help than an hour of class daily along with catechetical instruction by the Brothers at St. Sulpice and St. Germain-des-Près. The Superior-general balked at assuming responsibility for an institution that no doubt had illustrious precedents but was foreign to the essential goals of the Institute. He finally decided to assign Brother Servulus to the "Refuge" in the company of three associates.

This distinguished Brother – still at the height of his powers –could be counted upon to guide aright the poor boys placed under his direction. They had been chosen by the Chancellor of France from among reformable convicts. Restrictions on space as well as on personnel limited the number of admissions to about twenty, and the figure, subsequently, never rose above forty. Interior discipline and instruction was the task of the four Brothers; while overseers directed the shops – carpenter, cabinet-making, shoe-making, joining, bronze mounting and chasing. Overall, between 1817 and 1838, 260 young men were submitted to this correctional system of education. Several of them, with the permission of the Brother Director, stayed on after their sentences had expired in order to complete their apprenticeship. The results, aided of course by selection, were considered to have been as satisfactory as the environment and the inevitable groping about in a region strewn with traps would permit.[1222]

The "Refuge", first under Brother Servulus' direction and thereafter under Brother Aggeus', distinguished itself among the most diligent and fervent in the region of Paris. According to a catalogue preserved in Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, the Institute assigned 43 Brothers to the capital in 1818, which were divided into six groups (the "Refuge", St. Louis-en-l'Ile, St. Nicholas, St. Medard, St. Roch and Gros Caillou) and, apart from the penal institution, served thirteen parishes. Various associations invited them and supported them: charitable societies, welfare bureaus, district mayoralties, and city councils. The objective of most of these politicians and men of action tended more and more toward setting up a

[1222] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1911, pp. 250-6.

Brothers' school in each one of the Parisian neighborhoods.[1223]

With the beginning of foundations in the Provinces we have always noticed the existence either of an initiative on the part of an individual or the cooperative action by civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Bishop Jauffret, who had returned to his diocese in Metz (after having served the diocese of Aix from 1811 to 1814, with the powers of "Capitular administrator") –resumed his efforts to introduce into his diocese the Brothers whom he had known in Lyons. He wrote Brother Gerbaud on the 4th of April 1816: "I dare represent myself
as (one) who, during difficult days, worked for your restoration... Metz will furnish you abundant postulants. You will be happy with our Lorrainians. The Mayor, M. Turmel added his entreaties to the episcopal demands. When the first detachment of teachers arrived on the 11th of November 1817, a pastoral letter acclaimed the opening of two schools. On the first day of classes the Brothers escorted 400 pupils to the Cathedral, whose huge bell – called "the Mutte" – resounded vigorously. Bishop Jauffret said the Mass of the Holy Spirit in the presence of the clergy, the people and the magistrates.[1224]

During the same year, in Nantes, leading Catholics put together a civil Society with the view of purchasing and possessing a building in which the Brothers were to hold tuition-free classes and, perhaps, a novitiate.[1225] Father Bodinier, the Vicar-general and former victim of revolutionary persecution, had been administering the diocese since the death of Bishop Duvoisin; he took in hand the conversations with the Motherhouse; and, on the 24th of December 1817, he formally announced their success. Very quickly the popularity of the Brothers became substantial: "their teaching and their holy life has won over everybody". The Brothers "never say anything that is insulting." Charles Bodinier concluded that this was the sort of teacher that "should be situated everywhere!"[1226].

A certain M. Dagnan assumed the largest part of the expenses for opening the school in Auch. The gift was approved by a royal ordinance and supplemented by a vote of the city councillors. The Prefect of Gers informed the Minister of the Interior of the school's operation at the beginning of 1818.[1227].

A few months later, the pastor/dean of Montaris intoned the *Veni Creator* in order to introduce Brother Dizier. One hundred and twenty children were assembled in the Church; and praise of "Christian princes" provided the theme for the sermon; which the Mayor repeated as he went from one classroom to the other; for here the first subscriber was His Royal Highness the Duke of Angoulème.[1228]

Religious and tuition-free education in Douai found an advocate in the person of the wealthy M. Deforest, who, in 1816, had come to an agreement with the "regular teachers." Intending to "secure" his work, he contemplated replacing them with Brothers. For this purpose, he drew up a highly detailed plan in which everything was anticipated: the crucial role of the

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[1223] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen. Chevalier, pp. 315-17 and 425; Des Cilleuls, pg. 134; Fosseyeux, p. 110-11. The number of teachers differs slightly (43, 44, 49) according to the statistics. But Fosseyeux is certainly in error when he suggests 61 Borothers at St. Louis-en-l'lle alone. Overall there were 20 schools, frequented by more than 3,000 pupils.

[1224] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1920, pp. 247-8.

[1225] Chevalier, pg. 351.

[1226] Father Bodinier's letter to the Prefect of the Lower Loire; text reported by Brother Charles of Mary, of Nantes

[1227] National Archives, F17 12352

[1228] Motherhouse Archives, C5 file, Brother Dizier's letter to Brother Médard, April 16, 1818.

founder, school age, the allotment of prizes, apprenticeship grants, the supervision of former pupils, support and monetary assistance to be set aside for the best of them, marriage endowments, professional foundation, i.e., for the priesthood, when young men, upon leaving the Seminary "settle in for advanced theological studies" or devote themselves to the education of their younger countrymen.

On the 24th of March 1818 M.Deforest submitted these regulations of the "Béguinage School" for government approval. He obtained a royal ordinance, the publication of which was postponed by the Minister of the Interior because of the matter of "the certificates."[1229] Compiegne, however, was able at this time to welcome the Brothers and gather around them about 200 pupils with the support of Father Duchemin and the Municipal Council.[1230] Immediately the people in Puy-en-Velay restored to the Institute the old Gouteyron estate close by their basilica; and Brother Dominique, the Director, came to renew the tradition in this "Marian" city that his confrere Brother Paul of Jesus had departed in 1803 on orders from Brother Frumence.[1231] At the request of M. Hedde, the great benefactor and guide to Christian teachers, Mayor O'Farrell undertook the initiative for this restoration.[1232]

A no less successful restoration in 1819 occurred in Rodez, where Brothers Eucher, Honnete and Owen were reintroduced into the very place in which their predecessors had instructed the young people of Rodez in 1789.[1233]

And at the same period there was a fresh start in Rouen. Twenty seven years had passed since the great exodus. A more agreeable city government opened up to St. La Salle's heir the buildings on Rue Grand-Maulevier as well as the St. Maclou atrium. It remained to recover St.Yon, the "paternal residence." Unfortunately, the public authorities had transformed it into the Departmental asylum for the insane. In order to keep vigil at the sacred tomb, the Superior-general offered to put his Brothers to work in the service of the sick. The bid proved unavailing. He then suggested that the place be used as an elementary normal school. Negotiations were begun which, as we shall see, concluded with the establishment of a remarkable and prosperous institution. But it was located in the Priory of St. Lo. The men of the Restoration would never understand the Brothers' poignant sorrow at being forever deprived of the dearest portion of their patrimony.

We have spoken of the decision taken in Autun by the Sulpician, Father Saulnier, Superior of the Seminary and of the noble deportment of M. Royer, the Mayor of Chalon-sur-Saône, during the crisis inspired by the ministerial demands. Everything subsided after the agreement between Brother Gerbaud and M. Decazes.

Marcelin Pleynet, a citizen of Bas-en-Basset, assisted by Mayor Dupizet of Lachomette, founded in that village in the Upper Loire a school to which flocked 170 pupils and which nurtured some excellent vocations.[1234] The Bishop of Arras proclaimed himself "the principal agent" of the private and official efforts which brought to leading city of his diocese the

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[1229] Ibid., F17 12453. statutes, dated March 18, 1818 and M. Deforests letter to the Minister.

[1230] Ibid., F17 12451, note concerning the school in Compiègne.

[1231] Ibid., F17 12452 and *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1934, pp. 40-3.

[1232] *Archives of the District of Puy.*

[1233] Archives of the District of Rodez.

[1234] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November 1907, pg 387, and for April, pp. 108 & 109.

teachers whom St. Omer, Calais and Boulogne had already won back.[1235] And in Angers, the good Bishop Montault des Isle, seconded by the pastor of Trinity, Father Gruget, bought the Butte St. Laurence building for the Congregation, in which they fitted out four classrooms, and with their own money paid the teachers' salaries.[1236] [1237]

The foundation of the Community in Bayonne appeared like an episode in the religious recovery of the region in the aftermath of Jacobinism and unbelief. Father Rauzan had recently roused up souls in the course of a notable "Mission". A remarkable zeal inspired the clergy and the elite members of society. It was then that M. Lormand, "the generous capitalist", endowed the poor with several millions of francs and assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the Cathedral. He was among the benefactors of the Brothers. The Christian school was set up in the cloister of Notre Dame: the pupils were able to play among arcades that dated from the 15th century; and Brother Celerin's "chair" stood under the arches.[1238]

Another great name was that Father Jean-Jacques Martin, pastor of St. Alphonsus parish in Beziers, who was a former deputy to the Estates General in 1789. He invited the Brothers in 1818 and two years later received them into his own residence. The project turned out to be so important and its evolution influenced the Institute's future in such a distinctive way that we shall wait so as to return to it a little later on; and then we shall study it carefully at a more favorable moment, under Brother Guillaume de Jésus's generalate.

A solemn reparation and a ringing triumph awaited the sons of the Canon of Rheims in Troyes, the capital of Champagne. During the era of Minister Laine the City Council had adopted Lancastrian education. Disappointment followed and, despite "liberal" objections, the opening of a Christian school was resolved upon. A building that their 18th century predecessors had occupied on Rue St. Pierre Cloister was set aside for the Brothers' use. On the 30th of December 1821 Bishop Stephen Antony Boulogne declared in his Cathedral: "We must welcome them...we owe it (to them) all the more so because the godless and the worldly distrust them...and make them the target of their ridicule and their blasphemy; the schools conducted by these Brothers are authentically French, monarchic and national and as holy in their origin as...they are tested through long experience and guaranteed by continual success.
The tribute bestowed by the celebrated author and intrepid prelate upon his childhood teachers in Avignon deeply touched Brother Gerbaud and orchestrated, so to speak, the Institute's progress among the people in Troyes

Finally, Versailles witnessed the integral restoration of the institution that had been over turned during the turmoil and rebuilt, a few years later, by means of funds from a fortune, with very little left over. The Bourbon family made it a point of pride personally to contribute to the return of the "white rabats" to the city of Louis XIV. The King, the Duke and the Duchess of Angouleme and the Duchess of Berry supplied the lead money. The inaugural ceremonies took place in St. Louis Church on the 10th of June, 1822.[1239]

[1235] National Archives, F17 12453. And Archives of the District of Puy.

[1236] Ibid., F17 12453, Bishop's letter to the Minister of the Interior, June 12, 1819.

[1237] Chevalier, pp. 534-5.

[1238] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* fpr Kamiaru 1910, pp 29-31.

[1239] .[1239]Chevalier, pp. 568-78. A. Garnier, *l'Église et l'éducation du peuple*, pp. 19 & 20. The Bishop of Boulogne, born in 1747 in Avignon, a pupil of the Brothers in that city, already a celebrated preacher before the Revolution, between 1795 and 1804 a brilliant journalist, and beginning in 1809 Bishop of Troyes, distinguished himself by his energetic resistance to Napoléon. He was imprisoned in 1811. After the collapse of the Empire,

Until the eve of Brother Gerbaud's death, then, the Institute pursued its course at a rapid rate. Indeed, too rapid, as the Superior believed, its recruiting possibilities and the requisite preparation of its candidates. A letter he wrote on the 11th of May, 1818, states: "More than a hundred cities are asking for us; and just as in a famine people do not give one time to bake the bread, so it is with our novices. They're willing to take them "raw."[1240]

Forty-seven French cities and villages had one or more Brothers' Communities in 1814.[1241] The figure went to seventy-three four years later.[1242][1243] In the final days of the generalate there were 163 institutions, including those in Italy, Belgium and Reunion.[1244] The Brothers who were less than 400 in number when the Empire fell were close to a thousand in 1822, without counting the novices. Not only were they opening new centers, but they were reinforcing personnel and increasing the number of classes in such cities and Paris and Bordeaux. They had, by-and-large, recovered the positions of 1791, while occupying the Lyons region much more thoroughly. They were teaching about 50,000 children.

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The great problem remained that of the call and the formation of future teachers. What was wanted, rather than many novitiates, was to establish them in sufficient numbers in selected

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his return to his diocese assumed the proportions of a triumph. After 1817, Pius VII gave him the title of "Archbishop-Bishop." (*Eipiscopat francais de 1802 to 1905.*)

[1240] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1924, pp. 225-6 and Chevalier, pg. 526.

[1241] Motherhouse Archives, collection of Brother Nicolas' letters.

[1242] See the table on page ??? We have removed Chambéry, which had been returned to Sardina by the treaties of 1815.

[1243] In his Essai (Vol. I, pp. 187-90) Ambrose Rendu supplies a table of schools according to "Academies," as follows: Aix...2 – Arles, Forcalquier, Amiens...5 – Amiens, Beauvais, Laon (1 novitiate, 2 schools), Soissons Compiègne, Angers...0, Besancon...5 – Besancon, Dole, Gray, Vesoul, Ornans, Bordeaux...1 – (1 novititae, 3 schools), Caen...3 – Caen, Lisieux, Alencon, Cahors...1 – (Auch), Cleremont...3 – Clermont, Aurillac, Riom, Dijon...2 – Dijon Langres (1 novitiate), Douai...6 – Calais, Boulogne, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omar (1 novitiate) Béthune, Bourges...2 – Bourges, St. Amand (a) We should note, however, that these two schools had not yet been reunited to the Institute. On the other hand, schools neglected by Rend should be added: Chartres, Meaux, Nogent-le-Rotrou, Rethel, St. Germain-en-Laye, Crest and Ajaccio were in full operation 1814. Grenoble...2 – Grenoble, Valence, Lyons...12 – Lyon (headquarters), Villefranche, Condrieu, Trévoux, Beynost, Belley, Roanne, Rive-de-Gier, St. Etienne, St. Chamond, St. Galmier, St. Bonnet, Metz...3 – Metz, Charleville, Rethel, Montpellier...1, Nancy...1 (St. Dié), Nîmes...5 – Avignon (1 novitiate), Privas, Annonay, Beaucaire, Nîmes, Orléans...2 – Orléans, Montargis, Paris...3 – Paris, Rheims (1 novitiate), Fontainebleau, Pau...0, Poitiers...1 – (Tenneray), Rennes...4 – Rennes, Nantes, Vannes, Auray, Rouen...0, Strasbourg...0, Toulouse...3 – Toulouse, Castres, Albi.

[1244] Motherhouse Archives, C5, list of the schools of the Institute in 1822. The total of 310 schools given by the Essai sur las Maison-Mère for 1821 is quite exaggerated. Following, in alphabetical order are the names of the French cities (prepared with the help of information supplied by Chevalier, file C5 and the National Archives, F7 12451 et sq.) which, were in existence up to Brother Gerbaud's death, and must be added to the preceding list: Abbevile, Aix Alès, Angers, Arras Aubenas, Autun, Auxerre; Bar-sur-Seine, Bas-en-Basset, Bastia, Bayeux, Bayonne Bazas, Beaune, Béziers, Blaye, Blois, Bourges; Calvi, Careassonne, Carpentras, Cateau-Cambrésis, Chalon-sur-Saône, Châteaudun, Corté; Douai, Dunkerque; Étampes; Gignac; La Rochelle, Langeac, Le Mans, le Puy, Lille, Lodève, Lons-le-Saulnier; Mâcon, Mantes, Marseille, Millau, Mirepoix, Montauban, Montbrison, Montdidier, Montélimar, Moulins; Nancy, Narbonne, Nevers, Noyon; Orange; Pithiviers, Poiters; Rasbasten, Rambouillet, Rodez, Romans, Rouen; St. Brieuc, St. Denis-en-France, Sartène, Seure; Tarare, Tartas, Toulon, Tours, Troyes; Uzès; Versailles.

sites, large enough, well managed, independent of schools and provided with adequate direction and funds. Thus, it would be possible to obtain serious vocations; one could examine the postulants' aptitude at one's leisure; one could foster minds and souls; and one could give example, instruction and the practices indispensable to the mission and perseverance young Brothers.

In 1818 these conditions were realized at Petit College in Lyons, in Toulouse, Avignon, Langres and St. Omer; and things augured well for their realization in the new novitiate in Rheims. From the novitiate in Languedoc would issue candidates of the first rank, such as Brother Cicilian (Jacques Darnaud) who was destined for a fruitful career in Bollene, Aix, Poitiers and Rouen,[1245] or, a little bit later, Brother Jurson, Brother Alphonse's remarkable associate in Bordeaux, the lively southerner, quick to assimilate the counsels of his elders and to seize the occasion to dedicate himself to useful projects.[1246]

In St. Omer Brother Gerbaud noticed a relative "decline" after the delusions of the Imperial period. He entrusted Brother Abdon and his assistant, the "angelic Brother Honorat" to correct the situation. "It would be necessary to reapportion the burdens", he wrote the Director on the 18th of March 1818, "and relentlessly dismiss" the lazy and the tepid. Some school promoters, in order to obtain teachers as quickly as possible, proposed candidates rather blindly. If evidence showed ill will or a lack of correspondence with divine grace one should not hesitate immediately to make a clean sweep. The Superior-general did not intend to supply Brothers except in exchange for excellent recruits.[1247]

Hard pressed, indeed, to staff his new schools, Brother Abdon appealed for the cooperation of the most zealous priests in the dioceses of Arras and Cambrai. The best team-member in this vocation work was a man named Father Flageolet, pastor of Calonne, who had returned from exile after the Revolution. Annually spiritual director of the Brothers' retreat in St. Omer, Father Flageolet understood quite thoroughly the goals and methods of the Institute. To him was credited that model novice and future apostle, Brother Jean Aumonier, Henr Corniaux, son of an innkeeper in Calonne, a proud Christian who, in the days of Jacobinism hung the crucifix in the ballroom of his hotel. In April 1818 Brother Abdon welcomed the fifteen year old youth.[1248] And, for St. Omer, it was the point of departure for fresh progress.

At about the same time Lyons had, on an average, between fifty and sixty young men in formation; Rheims had about thirty; and Langres about twenty.[1249] With similar figures for Toulouse and less for some of the other novitiates, the hope of the Institute rested on scarcely two hundred youths.

The Communities in Fontainebleau, Vannes and Caen still had a small group of novices each, a couple of dozen at the most.[1250] The same thing was true of Ajaccio. The government was relying upon the Brothers to gallicize Corsica; and this motive explains the opening of schools in Bastia, Calvi, Corte and Sartene successively. It was imagined that there were vocations on the island. Not only were attempts made to polish some of the pupils in the

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[1245] Leémandus, pp. 254-6 and Choix de notices, Vol. III, pp. 151 et sq.

[1246] Choix de notices, Vol. II, pp. 9-12.

[1247] Motherhouse Archives, collection of letters to Brother Abdon.

[1248] *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pp. 7 et sq.

[1249] Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris, Quélen, 1818 note.

[1250] Ibid., Quélen and *Historique du District du Normandie*.

capital of the island, but the Minister of the Interior ordered that islanders rounded up through the efforts the Prefect be sent to the Brothers in Lyons.[1251] These entirely political decisions produced – as one might have expected – paltry results. The young Corsicans, flattered at first by the prospects of a journey to the Continent and the furtherance of their education at the expense of the public treasury, became homesick at the Motherhouse. Several of them created difficulties for Brother Gerbaud. They had to be repatriated, which became the occasion of a huge correspondence between the ministerial bureaus and the Departmental services.[1252] Without abandoning the Congregation's teaching and the influence of teachers capable of "refining" the crude customs of the clans, the Royal Council on Public Education in 1820 acknowledged the "impossibility" of maintaining any appreciable quota of candidates in the novitiates. For the schools on the island it contemplated levying "postulants" from among those in Toulon and Marseille.[1253]

The Auvergne offered the Institute something in return. The plan for a novitiate in this region had been outlined in 1816. At the time the Superior wrote to a magistrate that there is every reason to believe was in Puy-du-Dome: "Yes, Mayor, what we lack are vocations. But, I beg you to appeal to the Bishop and the Prefect and the pastors to obtain for us good country boys who have imbibed the fear and the love of the Lord with their mothers' milk, tough boys who have endured the hardships of innocent labor in the fields, in the humble inheritance of their ancestors. They're the ones who suit us, rather than those dainty little gentlemen in the cities or the seminaries whose rejects they are".[1254]

The proposal consisted in opening a novitiate at the same time as a school in Clermont-Ferrand. The Departmental Assembly voted a modest credit account on the 19th of June 1818, and a committee launched a public subscription. Confident, furthermore, in the support of the city government, Brother Gerbaud, before the end of the year set up Brothers Adelard, Pigmenion, Ambrose and Epiphanius on the Bienassis estate.[1255] The institution began to assume its full growth in 1820 with Brother Aggeus, the former Director of the "Refuge" in Paris; and in 1824 he gave it a permanent home in a former Jacobin monastery.[1256] His kindly solicitude must have been principally practiced with respect to the novices; the seventeenth of which to sign up was Pierre Romançon, born in Thuret, in Limagne, on the 13th of June 1805. At fourteen years of age he was a pupil of the Brothers in Riom, where he manifested a desire to enter his teachers' Congregation. There he would become the saintly Brother Benilde, the cause for whose canonization has long since been introduced in Rome and will no doubt end successfully.[1257]

[1251] Motherhouse Archives, BE b4 file, letter of the Minister to the Prefect of Corsica, April 28, 1818.

[1252] Ibid., and National Archives, F17 12451, schools in Corsica.

[1253] Ibid., report of November 25, 1820, signed by Ambrose Rendu, Baron Cuvier and Poisson.

[1254] Ibid., F17 12452; this letter, of December 21, 1816 seems indeed to reply to that of Baron Aubière, Mayor of Clermont (of the preceding 15th) quoted in the *Historique of the District of Clermont-Ferrand* (District Archives). M.d' Aubiére, Mayor of Clermont from 1818 to 1822, became a priest and Canon of the Cathedral. *(Historique du District.)*

[1255] Property which previously had belonged to Florin Périer, brother-in-law of Blaise Pascal. The castle has disappeared to make room for a Michelin factory.

[1256] Historique, cited.

[1257] See the biography of "Venerable Brother Benilde (1805-1862)" published by the Procure généal of the Institute, 1926.

Brother Paulian, Brother Jonas' successor, continued to direct the novitiate in Langres. A Brother from the previous century, reunited with the Petit College group in 1806, he did not influence by reason of extraordinary talent, but, in the words of his brief funeral homily, "he particularly loved his vocation, was in total possession of its spirit and zealously fulfilled its obligations."[1258] To him we owe the reprinting – known as the "Langres edition" – of The *Explanation of the Method of Mental Prayer* and the Founder's *Meditations*. Equipped with these books and supplied with established experience, prior to 1791, at the head of the novitiate in Avignon, he was forming sound Religious. In 1819 he departed for the institution in the Faubourg St. Martin, bringing with him nine of his pupils, who, with their fellow-disciples from Gros Caillou, made up the nucleus of the great establishment then planned in the capital and which was to be attached to the Motherhouse. However, the last novices in the Upper Marne did not assemble in the new center until sometime in the course of 1821, after Brother Paulian's death.[1259] Finally, when the General Chapter of 1822 was about to assemble, the formation of young Brothers in France was taking place in Paris (Holy Child Jesus House), Rheims, St. Omer, Clermont-Ferrand, Lyons, Toulouse, Avignon, and Ajaccio: eight novitiates in all, three for the regions which the documents of the period continued to call by the traditional name of "Northern Province", and five for the "Southern Province."[1260]). Brother Gerbaud had planned well for the future: suppressing the beginnings of organizations which his predecessor, for the lack of material means and administrative freedom, had to tolerate, he created centers of cohesion, vast and powerful zones of influence, and he secured, throughout the Institute, the most fruitful sort of competition consistent with a unity of views and behavior.

[1258] Motherhouse Archives, C5, table of 1822. The Italian novitiate in Orvieto is included. Caen is not on this list. However, its novitate lasted until 1826. (*Historique du District de Normandie).*

[1259] *Relation mortuaire*, Vol. I, pp. 16-17; *Centenaire de la restauration de l'Institut,* pp. 96-7; *Essai sur la Maison Mére,* pp. 169-76.

[1260] Motherhouse Archives, C5, table dated 1822. The Italian novitiate in Orvieto is included in it. Caen is not on this list. However, its novitiate lasted until 1826 (*Historique du District de Normandie*

Recruitment, however, required something more. Early to discern vocations, and then, in order to foster them and bring them to bloom, to select the salutary soil and to choose, from among many, a few teachers of exceptional virtue, extraordinary kindness and sound science who are able gradually to transform youths into Religious, this was the concern of every founder of a Congregation in the Church. The problem becomes more acute when what must be realized is the complex ideal of the schoolteacher who aims at spiritual perfection, the educator who joins to the qualities and talents of his profession the life of the monk and the ascetic.

St. John Baptist de La Salle had gathered about him a few pious and gifted youths destined to become his Institute's nursery. This "Junior Novitiate", begun in Rheims in 1687, was transplanted to Paris three years later.[1261] It failed to survive the crisis the Institute experienced between 1690 and 1715. Eighteenth century conditions were such that they were unable to promote the revival of that sort of institution. And after one last effort in 1726, the attempt was abandoned. If, at the outbreak of the Revolution, the Brothers of the Christian Schools numbered no more than 800 – with a maximum of 500 having perpetual vows – perhaps we must see the explanation of this rather unimpressive growth in the lack of schools preparatory to Religious formation properly so-called.

The Chapter of 1816 asked that a new effort along these lines be attempted. It met with the support of a distinguished priest, Father Teysseyre, a former pupil and a former professor at the Polytechnic, who, called to the priesthood, enjoyed a vast authority in the Society of St. Sulpice. Father Teysseyre, in his zeal for Christian education, obtained scholarship money from the Chaplain-general intended for Brothers' novitiates. But this was only the beginning of his plans. He proposed to Brother Gerbaud the resurrection of the transient institution that had once existed in Rheims and again on Rue Princesse.[1262]

The Superior-general was quite prepared to back this initiative. Even the premature death of his councillor in 1818 did not interrupt inquiry into the plan. On the 8th of August 1820 Brother Eloi wrote from Clermont-Ferrand to Brother Nicolas, the Director of the Parisian Community of St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields: "Before receiving your letter, I heard from our Most Honored (Brother) about the setting up of a Junior Novitiate. I asked him to put our good friend Thomas in charge of the reparations of the premisses, and he immediately appointed an excellent Director and a good Sub-Director. Young postulants are waiting in the provinces.[1263]

The "premises" that Brother Thomas was commissioned to prepare was in a new house in the Faubourg St. Martin. It suited admirably. Pupils for the Institute would come together there, remarked the Brother Assistant, under the patronage of the Holy Child Jesus;[1264] and there they would live under the supervision of Superiors, after the Régime had left Lyon for Paris.

Thus, everything seemed to be going well. But, still, fifteen years would go by before the first Junior novices set foot in the house. No doubt, there was a lack of funds. The vacuum created by Father Teysseyre's death was especially felt as the project was about to go into execution. Even the scholarship monies from the Chaplain-general were no longer paid. And

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[1261] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. ???

[1262] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1910, pp. 237-8, according to Paguelle Follenay, Vie de M. Teysseyre, pp. 308-9.

[1263] Motherhouse Archives, collection of letters to Brother Nicolas. Cf. Bulletin cited, pg. 238.

[1264] Same letter, dated August 8, 1820.

other forms of cooperation were interrupted. It would belong to Brother Philippe, Assistant to Brother Superior Anacletus to seek out the funds and, in this area as in others, to complete Brother Gerbaud's great work.

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In the works that had already been begun by De La Salle, novitiates and primary schools had indeed been the essential parts of the structure. But the inspired architect had expanded his harmonious and logically arranged constructions. Seminaries for country schoolteachers, Sunday schools and residence schools formed part of the plan of an Institute dedicated to the spread of Christian education to the people and, as much by reason of their origin as by reason of their occupation, to the social classes closest to the worker and the craftsman.

Of these earlier developments, one of them collapsed almost before it got started, and the others fell into ruin after periods of successful adaptation and widespread prosperity. Could any of them be revived? The teachers' "seminary" seemed no less necessary at the end of the 19th century than during the lifetime of the Founder. To shoulder everywhere the responsibility for elementary education was foreign to the Brothers agenda, to their apostolic possibilities and to the obligations of their Rule. But might they not arrange to train according to their educational practices young men capable of supporting them and of −replacing them in the smaller parishes and in rural settlements?

The ordinance of 1816 provided that certain more important schools should offer instruction to the more talented of their students, as aspirants "to the teaching art". By further specifying that certificates of the "second degree" would be granted to teachers who employed the methods of the Lasallian Institute, the law seemed to encourage an attempt, not indeed at a genuine "normal school", but at special courses entrusted to Brothers in the principal urban centers.

Actually, experiments were limited to inadequate preliminary steps. In April 1817 the Rector of the Academy in Rennes informed the *Higher Commission for Public Education* of the good will with which the Brothers in Auray dedicated themselves to the apprenticeship of several Bretons who, without having a Religious vocation, wished to teach in villages. The Commission compensated this effort with a subsidy of 200 francs.[1265]

The Rector in Nancy expressed more lavish and bolder views, but he does not seem to have translated them into satisfactory realization. He wrote that if schools of the Institute were multiplied in the Meurthe and the Meuse, he had thought of using them as normal schools. Such a system had earned his preference over the one that consisted in sending future teachers to classes in Communal Colleges. Where a Brothers' Community existed the spirit of the ordinance would be observed by issuing a certificate of competence to those candidates only who had been suitably trained by the Brothers. He himself had adopted a similar measure for the Saint Die district.[1266]

Two years later, the Council-general of the Somme voted a subsidy of 6,000 francs for the establishment of a "novitiate" that the Brothers of the Christian Schools would direct for the use of parochial teacher/clerics. A university diploma was to ratify the studies. The program had shift its base, after Father Affre, the all-powerful Vicar-general of the diocese of Amiens, had founded the "association of Brothers of St. Joseph" for the countrysides. Father Affre,

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[1265] National Archives, F17 12456, taken from the register of the Commission's deliberations, April 19, 1817. Cf. Des Cilleuls, pg. 357.

[1266] Letter from the Rector, M. Lassaulx, to the *Commission on Public Instruction*, July 1, 1817. Chevalier, pp. 558-9.

however, stipulated that his constituents model themselves on the principles contained in De La Salle's writings.[1267] There was a similar, but more successful, effort in Lyons in 1821. The Prefect of the Rhone was Lezay-Marnesia who, as Prefect of the Lower Rhine under the Empire, had founded the first normal school in Strasbourg. On November 14th he sent the following petition to Brother Gerbaud: "The Council-general of my Department, at its last meeting, was concerned with improving primary education", which is so neglected in small villages. The invaluable Institute which you direct can obviously locate only in the major cities; but at least "it supplies a way of propagating a method the superiority of which cannot be contested". And this is why the Assembly expressed the following hope that M. Lezay described as of "capital" interest: to obtain from the Brothers' Superior the admission of student-teachers to Petit College. A refusal would keenly disappoint the Prefectural administration.

On the 1st of December Brother Gerbaud replied that he had authorized the Brother Director in Lyon, without formality, to make classes available to the young men recommended the higher official. The latter had been working together with the Rector of the Academy: sixteen candidates were selected and followed the Brothers' courses during the second trimester of 1822. The Council-general, satisfied with the results, maintained for 1823 the funds that had been previously set aside for the modest expenses of the operation.[1268]

In brief, there were too few official persons who took this high road. Men of the Restoration did not think of popular education as sufficiently important to organize it on a vast scale or to be worth the necessary expense. As for the Superior of the Institute, while he gladly cooperated with the wishes of people like Lezay or Lassaulx, the penury of his institutions and the harsh tasks imposed upon his auxiliaries obliged him to be extremely cautious.

He was equally reserved when he was asked to open a "Sunday school": – "an excellent work that De La Salle had (undertaken) with great success", as Brother Eloi acknowledged in his letter of the 8th of August 1820 to the Director of St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields.[1269] The Regime "had not lost sight of it", although it had not made an immediate decision. The teachers that would have to be used in the instruction of adolescents and adults were far too few in the primary schools. And the Brother Assistant made scarcely more than a vague promise by suggesting that "the halls of the 'Little Fathers' house" might become suitable one day for the new beginnings of an institution out of the past.

The door was only half-opened to the future. At the right time Brother Anacletus and Brother Philippe would push it wide open. The "Sunday school" would reappear, not, indeed, in its primitive style, but such as the 18th century had already known it: – benefitting, first of all, the illiterate and the latecomers and responding as well, through professional courses and instruction in drawing, to the wishes of the auditors. It would become a "night school".

In this way, it would complement the humble elementary school education. Ambrose Rendu remarked in 1821: "A large portion of society strives harder than ever to obtain a kind of instruction that is broader than primary education... but more specialized than that given in the colleges and better adapted to their real needs, to their habits and their personal interests".[1270]

[1267] Garnier, Frayssinous, pp. 456-7.

[1268] Departmental Archives of the Rhône, T, 8, correspondence concerning the events of November 14, 1821-29 August, 1822. *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pp. 153-4.

[1269] Letter cited above.

[1270] *Système d'instruction approprié aux besoins des classes de la société qui se livrent aux professions*

And the busy academician, during this period, was contributing to the establishment of commercial studies in Limoges, Toulouse and Havre, to a “special school" in Marseille and to classes in “the physical sciences and the arts” in Mulhouse.[1271]

Such an urgent movement had to lead also to the reopening of the Brothers’ residence schools. Here, once again, Brother Gerbaud could not anticipate the right moment, nor did he wish to do so. Not that he had forgotten the success obtained by these schools in the past, nor that he needed to await solicitations from the outside. The latter had begun to appear from the very instant the Institute was reborn. There were many families that would have loved to have secured for their sons a Christian residency, along with a sound and practical education. Toulouse had had a foretaste of this with Brother Bernardine. Other cities which,under the “Ancien Regime”, had experienced the prosperity of the Congregation’s great institutions, such as St. Omer and Nantes, happily looked forward to the renewal of such successful enterprises. But there was a lack of personnel. Until further notice, it was necessary to cling to the “primary schools..., the first and most necessary object” of the Brothers’ work, as one of the Superior’s letters to Brother Abdon concluded, on the 28th of October 1815.[1272] And doubtless it was not without a certain reluctance that the former teacher in the residence school at St. Yon, a most perceptive educator nurtured on a vigorous French culture decided to restrict the apostolic lot of the Brothers. A sense of expediency no less than a resolve to accomplish the humblest tasks after the manner of De La Salle inspired the class program set forth in the circular that appeared on the 1st of the preceding July: recitation of catechism and prayers at the beginning of the day; and then, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and dictation of model “contracts”; daily Mass for pupils, the Brother’s “reflection”, “prayers” for benefactors both living and dead; singing of hymns, explanation of Christian doctrine, examination of conscience designed for children; after five o‘clock in the evening, “dismissal in silence and in order, urging them" in gentle language “to say the Rosary in ranks in order to place themselves under the protection of the Most Blessed Virgin.[1273] This is what was prescribed for the teacher during the school year and had to be carried out in conformity with the prescriptions of the Lasallian *Conduct* with punctuality, wisdom, a supernatural spirit and without “too much wear and tear".

Brother Gerbaud meant to spare the powers of his collaborators, old hands who were dedicated in spite of age and infirmities, in the declining years of a life crossed by persecution, tossed in the melancholy of exile, in the suffering of prison cells, and in the distress of loneliness and of a livelihood earned from hand to mouth; young recruits whom their Directors frequently were in difficulties to support on the shabby funds allocated by the Communes; and whose health ran many risks and deteriorated, on more than one mission, until death,[1274] because of unhealthy lodgings and classrooms that founders, indifferent to hygiene, had poorly planned and were filled with noxious air after long sessions of work.

As long as the Institute did not have large groups at its command, members to reinforce and replace, it undertook nothing that went beyond the boundaries of its essential functions. In

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industrielles et manufacturières, brochure, in-octavo, 1821.

[1271] Eugene Rendu, *Ambroise Rendu et l’Université de France*, pp. 116-7.

[1272] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, collection of letters to Brother Abdon.

[1273] Ibid., BE b2 file, circular in ms.

[1274] From 1818 to 1822 there were forty-five deaths among the novices and young Brothers, among whom there was the Director of the school in Bas-en-Bsset, Brother Raphael who was twenty six years old and the Director of Beynost, Brother Louis Gonzaga, who was only forty-five. (Motherhouse Archives, C5 file).

Vesoul, Brother Nicolas sought to unite former pupils in a pious association under the patronage of the Sacred Heart. He submitted the association's "contract" to the Superior-general and the Assistants. At Petit College people called it "very edifying". But they also preferred that the Brothers in the Upper Saône not get involved in extra-professional obligations. "They should abide by what is written" in the Rule and the *Conduct.*[1275] In his fear of overwork for the Brothers, the Superior-general went so far as to recommend "the sacrifice of a little work in order to obtain that gentle calm that makes a Brother's life like a river flowing with milk and honey". It would be a good thing to "simplify recitations", to observe a restful silence while the pupils were preparing their reading assignment and to adopt the practice of "having them count in turn". They were all counsels that one might not be able to lay down as general rules of pedagogy, but which were meant to lighten the burden of a teacher constantly on the firing-line.[1276]

The Superior's idea continued to be one of sustaining the Brothers in their modest role and of eliminating from their educational program excessively ambitious goals and obsession with personal success. Like Brother Agathon, whose shrewd principles he recalled, Brother Gerbaud loathed "public ceremonies" intended to place a few carefully prepared pupils in the limelight, apart from, and perhaps to the detriment of, their comrades. There was, then, to be no "ostentation": let the examinations, whether in the "presence or absence of the authorities" bear exclusively upon the material of (primary) education", without questions or bits of supererogation. To neglect these counsels was "to get involved in ravines from which there was scarcely any exit" – it was (to the scandal of "many young Brothers", who were easily disturbed and easily "provoked") to make the descent into "charlatanism."[1277]

Inflexible wherever the fundamental rule of the Institute were involved and when relaxation appeared to turn up in any Community, intrepid in the face of government and "University, the Superior-general exhibited prudence with regard to innovation. He constantly sought to realize a harmony between his own directives and the means at the Institute's disposal. But in his spirit there was nothing cowardly nor narrow. Doors closed upon hope or upon progress was no part of his doing.Thus, the remote preliminaries to the founding of a residence school in Beziers dates from the years 1818-1820. Father Jean-Jacques Martin, on the 4th of September 1818, bought a house for 15,000 francs, in which he was to settle the Brothers. "I wish", he wrote, "to give it outright to the Congregation". The Bishop of the diocese, the Mayor and the City Council "approved his plan.[1278] A rather large building was developed behind the constructions that had been fitted out in 1814 by the enterprising cleric for the *Madames of St. Maur*, who had been made responsible for the Christian education of young girls in Beziers. It faced the quiet and shady St. Aphrodisas' Square, near the church dedicated to the city's apostle, in the old quarter dominated by the sacred fortress, the Cathedral of St. Nazarius.

Father Martin possessed the energy and the influence necessary to achieve his purposes. For half a century the man's towering personality thrust itself upon the region. Born in Beziers in 1740, the son of a master-baker, he was educated by the Jesuits and brought up on philosophy and theology in Toulouse, and, in 1764, during the third year of his priesthood, he became

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[1275] Motherhouse Archives, collection of letters to Brother Nicolas.

[1276] Ibid., BE b5 file, letter to Brother Maurillian, Director of Cambrai, June 4, 1819.

[1277] Ibid., C5, taken from a circular, dated June 8, 1819.

[1278] ."[1278]Motherhouse Archives, JE j1, Béziers file, Father Martin's letter to Brother Gerbaud, September 26, 1818

pastor of a parish of which he remained at the head until his death. On the 27th of March 1789 the clergy selected him as one of its representatives in the Estates General. Martin, at first allied with Gregoire and Maury, parted company with the former, but remained the most cherished colleague of the latter in the National Assembly during the debates on the Civil Constitution of the French Church. He adhered to Bishop Boisgelin's *Explanation of Principles*,[1279] rejected the schismatic oath and, in a statement marked by urgent, vigorous logic and sound science, he refuted the sophistry of the Gallican canonist, Camus. The dedication of a *Sister of St. Vincent de Paul* and the complicity of a revolutionary agent saved his life in 1793. Under disguise, he made his way to Italy, was reunited with Maury at Montefiascone, and rejoined his countrymen before the Concordat. The church of St. Aphrodisias, bought back at his own expense, was restored to the devotion, and recovered the relics, of its patron. There the pastor spent himself in preaching, in good example and in charitable works. Our Lady's chapel preserves his tomb, with its beautiful epitaph; and, at the foot of the entrance, stands his bust commissioned by the City Council in 1852 from David d'Angers.[1280] The features are austere and powerful and remind one of the oil painting that hangs in the parlor in the Brothers' residence school of the Immaculate Conception: the forehead is large and clear, the nose large and fleshy, heavy black eyebrows, the lips stubborn and unsmiling; there are the marks of a leader, the uprightness and majesty of a priest, theologian and a confessor of the faith.

It is fitting that we pause over the man who, having introduced the Brothers into his native city, by his resoluteness and his generosity opened up to them a more far-reaching career. *Arcessivit scholae christianae fratres*, reads the stone on his grave. Indeed, there were repeated invitations. Jean-Jacques Martin returned to the charge on the 17th of August 1819; the building intended for the school and the Community was ready; and Brother Gerbaud's deputy would find hospitality with the pastor of St. Aphrodisias.[1281]

Fourteen months later, Brothers Emmanuel, Theodulphe and Eutichius arrived at Montpellier. Their installation was celebrated "with pomp" on the 23rd of the following November. It "amazed" them, and the founder's plans seemed wholly agreeable to them. "One-hundred-and-fifty persons – teachers and pupils – were accommodated on the premises. And the entire city looked forward to a not-too-distant establishment of a residence school.[1282].

Father Martin confirmed the population's "enthusiasm". The children, naturally lively and impulsive, but good and intelligent, respond to the attention paid to them, devoted to their teachers and have already given proof of studiousness, obedience and respect. It was essential immediately to increase the number of Brothers. And, in this connection, the priest moved in the direction of explaining his ultimate goals: People have come from all our neighboring villages to visit the institution, and, with the greatest satisfaction, they have seen that...I have provided and adapted a superb site for a large residence school...But admissions must be postponed until the Superior-general's decision.

The Prefect, who was quite favorably impressed, encouraged the founder to push his

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[1279] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 49-56.

[1280] Auguste, Fabrégat, *Biographie des hommes illustres de Béziers*, 1865.

[1281] Motherhouse Archives, JE j1, letter to Brother Gerbaud.

[1282] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, Father Martin's letter to Brother Gerbaud, December 21, 1820. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 580-2.

initiatives to the limit. An anticipated endowment would not be paid unless the residence school was added to the tuition-free classes. “The good requires it”. The sons of prominent people admitted by the Brothers and equipped with Christian instruction “would reawaken religion in the large villages and in the countryside.”[1283]

These arguments persuaded Brother Gerbaud. “Yes, do indeed prepare the site”, he wrote as a note to himself at the bottom of a letter received at the Motherhouse, in preparation for a reply which would be sent on the 30th of December 1820.

Thus, the Superior was no longer “far from authorizing a residence school”. Father Martin was quite pleased with himself. “Everything is in readiness” for a magnificent institution. “The two dormitories have room for at least a hundred beds”. And the rest was in keeping with the dormitories. Father Martin recapitulated and clarified his statements and his earlier arguments.[1284] And he returned to them once again on the 4th of April 1821: We are surrounded...by wealthy and heavily populated Communes. Their inhabitants are perplexed concerning the education of their sons for whom they do not intend Latin. If the Institute lacked available teachers, a single Brother was enough to set the future in motion.[1285] In order to evaluate the situation, let one of the survivors of past residence schools prepare a report! But hurry! You are dealing with an old man of eighty years whose infirmities force him to make use of “the arm of (his) vicar”, but who, before dying, would like to ensure the organization and the prosperity of an important project.[1286]

Neither the old man nor Brother Gerbaud would see it realized here below. One of them would have the distinction of having conceived the work and of having laid the foundation for it upon the domain of his apostolic priesthood; the name of the other man deserves to be associated with that of the pastor of St. Aphrodisias. Jean-Jacques Martin seems to have been the real founder of the residence school in Beziers and, as a consequence, the primary artisan of the magnificent fulfillment pursued by the Institute in the course of the 19th century. By his good will, his unquestionable awareness of Lasallian possibilities and of indispensable new beginnings, the Superior is inscribed, modestly but quite correctly, at the head of the list of Religious educators – the Theoticus’ and the Libanos’ – who, having been through Beziers and its solid initiation, would extend to thousands of children, even more fully than their predecessors at St. Yon, the benefit of a quite vigorous Christian education and instruction that was original, flexible, concrete and adapted to the needs of an entire strata of society.

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On the 21st of December the head of the Congregation began the sixty-second year of his age. “He is getting old”, Brother Emery wrote a few months later to Brother Abdon and “some precautions” are necessary. He travelled less frequently; “the work increases”, and the Regime must hold council meetings very frequently.[1287]

This sort of cloistered life encouraged non-stop meditation. The rapid approach of old age directed his soul with redoubled insistence to things of eternity. At Eastertime 1822 he greeted his “most beloved” nephew, Brother Thomas, with the triple Alleluia: “Yes, my son, as long as we are pilgrims, strangers and captives in this foreign land, we shall have to suffer

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[1284] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, letter of January 12, 1821.

[1285] Ibid., letter of January 21, 1821.

[1286] Ibid., letter of December 21, 1820, January 12, and April 4, 1821.

[1287] Motherhouse Archives, BE p1, Brother Emery file, letter of March 24, 1821.

both internally and externally. Everything that we now have of perfection is quite imperfect, but when the time of perfection shall have come, then everything imperfect shall be abolished".[1288]

He encouraged his disciples quite urgently to break of their last earthly ties and follow him toward the heights, without a backward glance. Brother Dizier, "first master of residents" at the "Refuge" should not delay in binding himself to the Institute for life: The beautiful (word) perpetual (the Superior told him in a letter dated the 28th of May) marvelously expresses your inviolable love for God.[1289].

The circular dated the 26th of June was consecrated to the "last ends", as though Brother Gerbaud had an intimation of death. "We should prepare ourselves for the final judgment that we shall have to undergo; we should think of it in all our undertakings. We should teach nothing except in the light of those insights that herald the end...of the world. Of what importance the place assigned to each of us in the Institute? Only "fidelity to God's grace" can reassure us. We should know how "to enter through the narrow gate which leads to life" And the theme of mental prayer concludes with the liturgical words: "O God! Come to my aid! O Lord! hasten to help me!" [1290].

On the lips of the Superior the entreaty assumed quite personal, touching accents. A few days latter he was felled by a stroke. Laid low on the 12th of July, on the 15th he received the last Sacraments. He was to survive another month. During his illness, wrote the Brothers Assistant, he received Communion three times. The painful death struggle continued, while he was fully conscious. Frequently kissing his crucifix, the dying man drew inspiration in his prayers from Holy Scripture "of which he was complete master". He was always pious, austere and mortified, and "tenderly" devout toward Mary. "Thus, he continued to invoke" the compassionate Mother, with complete abandonment to the divine mercy and without the worry and the fear which sometimes seizes the purest souls. "Having lived holily", he died as he had lived. He gave his blessing to the Brothers who surrounded him. And he died on the 10th of August 1822 at 4:45 in the afternoon.

"A difficult but glorious career" concluded a letter signed on the 13th of August by Brothers Emery, Eloi and Guillaume de Jésus.[1291]. Sebastian Thomas' life, from Breheville to his installation as Superior-general in the Faubourg St. Martin, had known all the joys and the trials of a Religious vocation, of teaching and of directing and governing souls. In Rouen he had been a fastidious disciple of De La Salle, a cool and unshakable son of the Roman Catholic Church during the Revolution. St. Germain-en-Laye returned him to his mission of educator. Madame de Trans' hospitality and the advice of the Fathers of the Faith in the beloved halls of Gros Caillou enabled him to participate actively and effectively in the restoration of the Institute, in the recruitment of young Brothers and in the opening of schools in the Paris region. His relatively brief generalate was so crowded that in order to give an exact idea of it we have had to devote nearly half of the present volume to it. With respect to educational achievements, and especially with respect to spiritual reform, it ranks immediately along side that of Brother Agathon, the master and acknowledged model of the first Superior to be elected in conformity with the Rule since the Chapter of 1777. Brother Vicar-general Frumence had sown in an anguished soil, still overrun with brambles and littered with debris; Brother Gerbaud vigorously pursued the ground-clearing to the bitter end; and he watched over the crops, over the separation of the good grain from the tares and

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[1288] Ibid., collection of letter to Brother Thomas, April 26, 1822.

[1289] Ibid., Gerbaud file, collection of private letters

[1290] Ibid., C5 file and Register of the General Chapters

[1291]2

the bringing-in of the harvest.

The mortal remains of the seventh successor of St. John Baptist de al Salle were laid to rest in Paris, in the *Père Lachaise* Cemetery. It is a modest tomb, in a rather out-of-the-way corner of the vast necropolis where a network of foliage enfolds headstones and marble statues. Beyond the "Monument to the Dead" and the chapel that summons the passer-by and the curious as well as the saddened to prayer, one seeks out a plot of ground "granted in perpetuity" to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. At no great distance from celebrities, humanly speaking, more acclaimed for national or world-wide reputation, frequently of dubious quality, destined, many of them, to be engulfed in neglect, there are gathered twenty-four of the Institute's dead, whose bodies peacefully await the resurrection in the same sepulchre. It is dominated by a cross poised upon the globe of the earth at the top of a truncated column. Below the underlined names of the Most Honored Brothers Gerbaud 190 and Anacletus we read *Requescant in pace*! Among their contemporaries and successors who were reunited with them here, there are – as the brief inscriptions on the stone inform us – Brothers whose acquaintance we have already made: Emery, Eloi, John Chrysostom, Nicholas, Abdon, Thomas, Jean Aumonier and Calixtus: faithful associates who, we are confident, have entered into the possession of beatitude. The list, including Assistants, Visitors, Secretaries-general, extends well into the twentieth century. In spite of the lack of detailed epitaphs, it bears a touching, glowing witness to noble lives, superb work and to fraternal cooperation and union that endured suffering and temporal adversity.

CHAPTER II

Brother Guillaume de Jésus Superior-General

It seems unnecessary to dwell over long on the period of French history that followed upon Brother Gerbaud's death and preceded the "July Revolution". The political arrangements set up by Minister Villele lasted until 1828. The advent of Charles X, in September of 1824, reinforced the tendencies and emphasized the resolves of the men in power. After an inordinately frivolous youth, the new king had, for a number of years, returned to the most unfeigned practice of his religion. He took his stand with the Church, and he chose to give his authority the endorsement of a consecration, performed in the Cathedral of Rheims in accordance with full ancient rites. An old man, he retained the courtesy and the charm of earlier times; and in order to make himself popular, he relied upon his excellent memory, his way with words and his ease of access. And, in fact, with an indulgence that turned into enthusiasm, Parisians welcomed this appealing monarch, ever youthful and careful, with his greetings, to rouse cheers when he made his formal entrances into the capital from St. Cloud.[1292]

Since he luxuriated easily in the joy of reigning, and he had more heart than head, his optimistic dreams were not dispelled by reality. However, the opposition of the "liberal" party and the intrigues of secret societies were of a sort to create misgivings. Anti-Christian propaganda was brisk, and editions of Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot were sold in greater numbers than ever; and other leaders of "Philosophism", like Holbach, Dupuis and Volney, as in the previous century, found avid readers. In order to ridicule and slander "the faithful" Moliere's *Tartuffe* was sold for three pennies. A writer with a very narrow range but immense zest, the songwriter Beranger, responded to the public taste; an insidious enemy of Catholicism and of the monarchy and the spokesman for an unbelieving and frivolous middle class, he mocked rather than blasphemed, and in mediocre verse he extolled a quite convenient morality and an easy-going God. How many Frenchmen – without thinking – hummed chorus' of the *God of the Good Guys* or *The King of Yvetot*![1293]

The same people might have subscribed to the *Constitutional,* a journal edited by Étienne, Gay, Jouy and Tissot, writers who had placed their talents at the service of vulgar opinion and a mean sectarianism. The irreligious article was one of the specialties the public found fetching: it omitted neither revolting allusions nor the crudest lies. It skillfully interlarded hypocritical emotions with unsupported accusation, a few bits of the truth with accounts fabricated from the whole clothe. The *Constitutional* became a force to be reckoned with: sued in the courts in November 1825 and defended by two eloquent attorneys, Dupin the Elder and Merihou, it encountered sympathetic judges who acquitted it.[1294]

Attacks against the "clerical party" and against all believers, vilified en masse as "Jesuits", were on the increase. The spirit of hatred and revolt ran the streets; and it lay in waiting

[1292] De La Gorce, *Charles X*, pp. 103.

[1293] Idem., op. cit., pp. 58–59.

[1294] Idem., op. cit., pp. 60-6.

permanently in the colleges,[1295] where sacrilege and cynicism were associated with acts of unruliness. At this point the situation appeared hardly any better than it was in 1815 except that there was less need for use of armed force.[1296] Everything augured turmoil; and a man like Lamennais prepared for it. In order, in the midst of it – and he would often say, by means of it – to procure the triumph of the faith, he henceforth placed his hopes in a world in which the Church would enjoy perfect freedom, without privilege and without official support. Relieved of the ties which bound it to the civil arm, with all of the faithful closely united about the Papacy, it would advance toward the most benevolent of spiritual dominions.[1297]

The Bourbon monarchy had no intention of bestowing credibility on such novel and risky ideas; and the French clergy was in no way prepared to commit itself to that route. On the contrary, the alliance between "throne and altar" had become progressively closer. People had persisted in expecting laws to reform minds and to put into place a State Catholicism that would finally bind consciences.

This way of looking at things, on the 8th of April 1824, inspired an ordinance due to the efforts of Bishop Frayssinous. The bishops obtained the supervision of elementary education, to which they had laid claim at the beginning of the Restoration. In schools endowed either by the Communes or by the associations and in which tuition-free admissions were put on reserve, teachers were to function with the consent of a committee presided over by the head of the diocese or by his representative. To this half-clerical, half-lay organism (composed of the Mayor of the Commune, two distinguished citizens named by the Prefect and two clerics) was granted a power of control that went as far as dismissal. In non-endowed schools, episcopal action was still more widely involved both for the selection and for the exclusion of teachers. Nothing was changed as far as the "Brothers of St. Yon and other regularly formed Congregations" were concerned: the authority recognized in the bishops opened up to them an access to teaching positions throughout the entire establishment.[1298]

The French Church was positively delighted with this reversion to the 'Ancien Régime'. It looked forward to "the most propitious results regarding the relationship of religion with good morals". Archbishop Bausset-Roquefort, of Aix, who made this declaration, wanted to organize popular education according to the principles of his "most illustrious predecessors" of the 17th and 18th centuries: to assist him in this task, we was depending upon the disciples of De La Salle, so worthy of the clergy's "trust" and that of Christian souls.[1299] In Bayonne, Bishop Astros took the necessary steps to appoint only good Catholics for all the teaching posts that he expected to fill.[1300] The Cardinal of Clermont-Tonnerre, Archbishop of Toulouse, directed his pastors to keep him informed concerning active teachers.[1301]

After this first break-through, the subordination of the "University" to religious authority was to continue. Earlier, on the very day on which the ordinance was published, Bishop

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[1295] Garnier, Frayssinous, pp. 354-355.

[1296] Idem, op. cit., pp. 354-5.

[1297] Lamennais, *De la religion consideré dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil,* 1825.

[1298] Chevalier, pp. 564-5; Guichen, pp. 245-6; Garnier (Frayssinous), pg. 492.

[1299] Garnier, op. cit., pg. 500.

[1300] Idem, op. cit, pp. 498-9.

[1301] Idem, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

Frayssinous affixed to his duties of headmaster the title and functions of Rector of the Academy of Paris, so that he might the better control the teachers in the capital and maintain the most direct and instant contact with the major centers of studies.[1302] This was a significant innovation: a single individual henceforth directing both the nation's educators and its religious pastors. From the same bureau in which was based a member of the hierarchy who, as usual, was headmaster of the "University", there issued directives which involved both the French Church and the Corporation that was established by the Imperial decree of 1808.

From the point of view of ideals, there was no difficulty. The truth is one; and the Church has a mission to teach. We can understand, then, how satisfied Pope Leo XII was with the role that had devolved upon Bishop Frayssinous and that it had augured well for the results to be anticipated.[1303]

But the times were not exactly open to the success of such an enterprise. Minds were too divided for intellectual and moral unity to be renewed anywhere other than at the surface of society and under the power of compulsion. Opposition parties set up a hue and cry and attempted to rouse public opinion.

The "University" tolerated ecclesiastical tutelage with difficulty. In a letter dated the 26th of October, the Rector of Clermont-Ferrand appealed for an explanation of the educational jurisdiction of bishops. The Minister's unequivocal reply was obviously not calculated to please the civic bureaucrats, whose authority had been obstructed and whose position had been questioned: "Catholic primary schools" were subject to the hierarchy; no teacher might lay claim to preserve his position without the agreement of the head of the diocese. Any other interpretation of the April ordinance is contrary to the royal will.[1304]

Frayssinous met with rather spirited protests: the Rector of Dijon regarded it as "at least very rude" that the Bishop of Langres "officially sent him a written statement" in which it was asserted that the "enabling certificates" issued by the Academy "proved nothing" and that high ranking officials in the "University" were "powerless" to discern the religious competence of teachers.

The bureaus of *Public Instruction* racked their brains pacify this furor. They gave assurances that "the prelate's intention" could not possibly have been to challenge the Rector's adherence to the faith.[1305] But the scare remained.

Until further notice, people yielded and kept quiet. In compliance with Ministerial directives, former privileges enjoyed by Lancastrian education were withdrawn. Gradually forsaken by the administration and generally helpless to sustain itself by its own powers and vindicate its earlier vogue, it fell into a rather rapid decline.

In Orleans the society of subscribers who had supported the system was dissolved in 1820. But the Prefect of the Loiret, out of reasons of political impartiality, believed that the mutual school had to be preserved. This was a view not shared by people in high places: the Minister made the granting of a subsidy dependent upon the cooperation of the municipality, which, however, had always, been hostile to an initiative having suspicious origins. In vain did people ponder the problem of changing the city's attitude.[1306]

Petitot, the Director of Public Instruction, and Charpit Courville, his successor in 1825,

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[1302] Lémandus, pp. 285-88.

[1303] Guichen, pg. 9.

[1304] National Archives, F17 12352.

[1305] Ibid., F17 12453, Rector's letter to the Minister, dated the 14th of December 1824 and the reply dated the 30th of December.

[1306]Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T 219, Prefect's letters to the Minister of the Interior on the 12th of February and the 6th of March 1823.

supported Bishop Frayssinous' action. The most zealous of their representatives confirmed them in the conviction that very few results would survive from the Lancastrian method. Simultaneous instruction provided much more desirable effects. "Some rural teachers", wrote the Rector of Limoges, "have adopted it, more or less faithfully...The probable collapse of 'mutual instruction' will be retrievable", we may well believe, by the success of the Christian Schools.[1307]

On the 10th of November 1825 Bishop Frayssinous stated that, for the past three years governmental assistance had nowhere been sought for Lancastrian schools, except in Corsica, where the effort had been continuing in thirty Cantonal schools. On the other had, the Minister had assisted in the suppression of three centers of "mutual instruction": in St. Omer, where the Director had refused to conduct his pupils to religious services; in Boulogne and in Angers, because of the disagreement that the system roused among citizens. Elsewhere, it was families who, by manifesting their suspicions of Lancastrian teachers, brought about the disappearance of scholastic institutions that be so highly extolled in 1818

The Brothers – and their emulators among the new teaching Congregations – won over the ground lost by M. Laine's former proteges. Many General Councils called for their appointment in the Departments, voted funds in order to obtain them or, at least, hoped for teachers inspired by the same spirit and trained according to a similar discipline. We cite, among others, the Assemblies of the Herault, Upper Saone, Landes, Finisterre, Indre, Lower Loire, Lower Seine, Meuse, Maine-and-Loire, Lower Pyrenees, Bouches-du-Rhone and Yonne.[1308]

While, during the years in which Villèle ruled, biases persisted against monastic Orders,[1309] this obstacle presented no difficulties for Religious dedicated to the education of the people. The Superior of the Brothers' Institute could, without contradiction, state as a fact – in a letter dated the 27th of July 1826 to the Minister of Church Affairs – the survival of the "Letters patent granted in 1724 by Louis XV."[1310] In his view, the decree of 1808 simply recognized the existence of a society that had been illegally dissolved after the 10th of August 1792 and, to the knowledge of the civic arm, restored when the revolutionary persecution came to an end, and spontaneously admitted to the ranks of teaching corporation by every ordinance promulgated since 1814. "His Majesty Louis XVIII did not think" that it was necessary to legalize it again, since the determinations of the king, his ancestor seemed "quite satisfactory" to him.[1311]

The climate was favorable for the full flowering of similar societies. In 1821 Gabriel Deshayes left Auray for St. Laurence-on-Sevre and took over the direction of the *Fathers of the Society of Mary* and the *Sisters of Wisdom* – two of Blessed Grignion de Montfort's groups – and founded the "*Charitable Association of the Brothers of Christian Instruction*" – called "the *Holy Spirit Brothers*"[1312] who, with the ordinance of the 17th of September 1823,

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[1307] Garnier, Frayssinous, pg. 466.

[1308] .[1308]Idem., Frayssinous, pp. 542-4. See also Bled, *Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes à Saint-Ome*r, 1906, pp. 67-8.

[1309] The Law of the 24th of May 1825: for an Order to start up, it required a law; and the authorities were opposed to the restoration of Orders for men. (La Gorce, Charles X, pg. 47.)

[1310] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for October 1924, pp. 294-5. See below pg. ???, note #2 for the language of an "enabling certificate" granted to Brother Odillard in 1829. It contains a very clear reference to the Letters patent of Louis XV, albeit imprecisely dated.

[1311] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for October 1924, pp. 294-5.

[1312] Later on called "the Brothers of St. Gabriel."

were empowered to act within France.[1313] The very modest beginnings of the "*Brothers of the Holy Family"* with Gabriel Taborin date from 1825 in the Belley region.[1314] In the Upper Saone Father Chaminade opened a normal school where future "rural" teachers received a sound religious training.[1315] [1316]

The stimulus given to Christian education continued on to the end of Charles X's reign. Indeed, it did not suffer from the "liberal" reaction in 1828 during the formation of the Marignac ministry. It was not without regret that the Brothers witnessed the departure of Bishop Frayssinous who, first of all, had to relinquish Public Instruction to Vatimesnil and, a few weeks later, he was replaced in the ministry of Church Affairs by Bishop Feutrier of Beauvais. Steps taken against the Jesuits, the closing of colleges founded by the Society, alarmed Catholic opinion. But once this sacrifice had been made, neither the king nor his ministers were willing to supply any further substantial pledges to the Church's adversaries.

Doubtless, the ordinance of the 21st of April 1828, reviving the arrangements of 1816, restricted the clerical party in the supervision of primary schools: of the nine members that henceforth were to go to compose the committees in the principal city of the Districts, only three were to be selected by the bishop of the diocese; and "University" authority was to be the last court of appeal, following the "information" provided it by the committees. The hierarchy, disappointed in the exercise of one of its privileges, revealed its unhappiness. However, because it still had the power to designate the president of each committee, it retained a broad influence.[1317]

The report preceding the text of the ordinance expressed the wish that ecclesiastical collaboration be "efficacious". And it emphasized the primordial importance of religion in the schools."Vainly do the most competent teachers work with the help of the best methods to develop minds, if the Christian faith does not at the same time assist in forming hearts, quieting passions and bending wills...Religious education and human education (must support one another mutually); and in a good educational system they are inseparable.[1318]

Nothing had been changed regarding the situation of the Brothers and of other teachers in approved Congregations *vis-a-vis* the "University". The Rector handed each of them an "enabling certificate" in view of an "Obedience" issued by the Superior or the Director-general. The performance of teaching functions was carried out within the framework of, and under the conditions provided in, the ordinance of April the 8th 1824. [1319]

[1313] Garnier, *L'Eglise et l'education du peuple*, pp. 56-9.

[1314] Idem., ibid., pp. 41-3.

[1315] Idem., Freyssinous, pp. 537-9 (school Prospectus, dated the 18th of June 1824). (Motherhouse Archives, File BE b5 Brother Guillaume de Jésus' notebooks.)

[1316] The reputation and example of the Christian Brothers had reached as far as Ireland. A Religious society, whose founder was Edmund Ignatius Rice, adopted the Rule of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; Rice became the Superior-general of the Irish Brothers who, in 1827 had twelve Communities in their country of origin and four in England.[1316]

[1317] Chevalier, pg. 566; Gutchen, pp. 246-7; La Gorce, Charles X, pg. 125.

[1318] Archives of the Department of the Loiret, T, 209, printed copy of the report presented to the king by H. Vatimesnil.

[1319] .[1319]Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 209, ordinance of the 21st of April 1828, art. 10. Following is a copy of a "certificate" ("second degree") issued on the 9th of March 1829 to Brother Odillard: We, Louis Boubee Lespin, Knight of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honor, Rector of the Academy of Orleans, in fulfillment of article 10 of the royal ordinance of the 21st of April 1828 respecting primary education: upon the presentation which has been made to us by M. Chatelain, born in Ginchy, Department of the Somme, on the

In the final years of its existence, the Restoration government became rather actively absorbed with school problems. On the 11th of May 1828 it recommended to the Rectors that a "normal class" for student-teachers be established in the principal Communes of their academic jurisdiction.[1320] The circular of the 31st of the following January dealt with summer-school courses for more gifted teachers in training schools that had already been created.[1321] In the choice of methods, the system of individual instruction was effectively ostracized. It was characterized as "the worst". "Four-fifth" of the teachers were still using it, unfortunately – a failure all the more culpable in that, "for 150 years, the disciples of the virtuous Father de La Salle" had been setting the standards for the simultaneous method.

A certain return to grace is detectable with regard to "mutual instruction". Here, its "successful results" are mentioned; and it was granted full freedom in Communes and in associations "which financed schools". Obviously, we are no longer back in the days of Frayssinous. Lasallian principles, however,no longer met with fresh detractors; and teachers who followed this method warranted both exemption from military service and other compensations.[1322].

Again, the "Association for the Advancement of Elementary Education", based in Orleans, advocated in the normal school that it was sponsoring,[1323] the "mixed" employment "of Father de La Salle's" procedures and those "of Lord Pawlet."[1324]

In Puy, the General Council leaned more decisively in favor of the Lasallian method. The number of elementary schools in this region was so low,[1325] and recruitment of teaching personnel left so much to be desired that the need for a normal school was obviously urgent. "If expenses became an obstacle" the Committee for primary instruction suggested that the establishment "of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine be set up as a model school, since it has all the desirable elements, along with a Director who was quite capable of making them work together".[1326]

To this commendation a letter from Rector Jourdan contributes the most convincing commentary. On the 14th of April 1830 he wrote to his Minister: "I have taken advantage of my trip to Puy to visit the Brothers' six classes...I was thoroughly satisfied with the perfect order and impeccable cleanliness that distinguish the schools maintained by this remarkable

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30th of April 1804, of letters of "Obedience" which had been issued to him on the 4th of November 1828 by the Superior-general of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, authorized as a charitable association for primary education by the king's ordinance dated the 12th of May 1725, whose principal house is established in Paris, and by whom it has been effected that Mr. Jean-Louis Chatelain has been admitted into this Community in order to consecrate himself to primary instruction; Whereas, according to directives which have been given us by the Royal Council for Public Instruction, these letters must take the place of the examinations and certificates prescribed for other teachers; We have granted M. Chatelain, Jean-Louis, called in Religion Brother Odillard, the present certificate which will be sent to the Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and will be valid for the entire time during which the recipient remains a member of the Institute. (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans IR 192.)

[1320] And which was to open on the 5th of April 1829.

[1321] Departmental Archives of the Loiret T, 209, Association's Prospectus, 6th of November 1828, and the minutes for the meeting of the 5th of January 1829. However, the Director of the school, Reverchon, was a "Lancastrian."

[1322] In the 115 Communes in the District of Puy alone, there were only thirty elementary schools.

[1323] Ibid.

[1324] ibid

[1325] ibid

[1326] ibid

Congregation, with the pupils' progress and with the informed and sustained zeal of the teachers. It would be appropriate to bestow "a silver medal" upon them; besides a subsidy, well invested under the circumstances, would facilitate the restoration of the buildings in Gouteyron, which are threatening to collapse".[1327]

The "University", then, exerted itself in behalf of the Christian schools. With Minister Polignac, to whom Charles X, impatient with parliamentary procedures, entrusted power in August of 1829, the avenues could be more liberally thrown opened to the Christian Brothers. And Guernon-Ranville's plans for the expansion and improvement of public instruction warranted fresh hopes. The task was one of expanding elementary education into all the Communes. To this end, the ordinance of the 14th of February 1830 provided that municipal councils would have to vote for "an extraordinary tax"; the Councils-general dicussed the total amount of the subsidies to be supplied; and, each year, the State itself entered into its budget sums which would be used to found schools, "advance and compensate teachers", set up retirement pensions and publish textbooks. The government's concern centered especially around the creation of "preparatory model-schools", of which "at least one" was needed "for each 'Academy'". The Departmental Assemblies were called upon to come to agreements concerning the costs for construction, furnishings and operations.[1328] There is no doubt but what many of these arrangements might have benefitted Brothers' Institute. Unfortunately, there were only five months to the revolution in Paris, which would overturn the Bourbons' reign.

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This, until the eve of the July upheaval, was the "climate" in which Brother Gerbaud's successor was to live. It had all the charm of peace and harmony. Surely, no human enterprise is exempt from trials. Daily difficulties persist; and it happens that their burden seems all the heavier in the absence of deep distress. It becomes essential to satisfy the most urgent demands of friends. As for hostile forces, they never rest. Current blessings cannot allow conscience and spirit to flag; the future always provides grounds for anxiety. But one cannot succumb to pessimism. "Daylight" guides the way to swift advancement; and when the night falls, with God's help, we shall not fear "to stumble".

This trust in Divine Providence directed the destiny of the Congregation from 1822 to 1830. We shall now return to the early hours of that period.

Once the Superior-general died, the Assistants made it their duty to convoke a Chapter that would elect a new leader. One-hundred-and-fifty-five Brothers took part in the selection of the Capitulants. Of the fifty-one Directors of principal Communities, there were six who had been professed for thirty years and more. They were: at Dijon, Brother Alexandre of Jesus; at Lisieux, Brother Blimont; at Chartres, Brother Couronne; at Soissons, Brother François de Sales; at Rennes, Brother Pierre; and in Rome, Brother Rieul.

Among the more esteemed of the Senior Brothers there were Brothers Adelard, Antoine, Benjamin, Cherubin, Contest, Corentine, Lysimachus, Paul de Jésus, Pigmenion, Pierre Martyr, Tiburtius and Vivien. Four of these were in their eighties.[1329] Brother Vivien, at 67 years, was one of the youngest; from now on, in the Lasallian family, he would occupy the rank conferred upon him by pre-eminent administrative talents, the regard in which he was held by Brother Agathon and a half-century of varied services and repeated initiatives. An

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[1328] Departmental Archives of the Loiret T 869. Cf. Des Cilleuls, pp. 133-4.

[1329] Motherhouse Archives, File C5 and the Register of General Chapters.

impending “Obedience” would make him Sub-Procurator-general of the Institute and the Sub-Director of the Motherhouse.[1330].

The Assembly was held in November 1822 in the residence in the Faubourg St. Martin. Apart from the members of the Regime it was composed of twenty-nine delegates. Brother Servulus, beloved throughout the Congregation, had obtained the largest number of votes; and after him, a very large majority of electors had designated Brothers Thomas, Jean Chrysostom, Augustine, Contest, Pierre Martyr, and Anacletus. Alongside Senior members like Churubin of Jesus, Adelard, Lysimachus, Vivien, Tiburtius, Antoine and Franois de Sales, men of the future, like Brothers Alphonsus, Claude, Philippe, Apollinarus and Abdon, took their seats.[1331]

They were young men who had already won acceptance. Brother Gerbaud had placed his trust in them; and perhaps they were immediately to become the dead Superior’s heirs. The Capitulants, however, believed that the situation required more time. Stronger hands might take the tiller if a storm arose, but during a lull, an old man’s wisdom would satisfy. He would witness to the continuity of tradition and be agreeable to the men of the past who were then governing the French kingdom.

Nevertheless, when it came to getting on with the election, there was some hesitancy. At first the votes were divided “among four” names; a second, third and a fourth ballot rendered no outcome. It was then decided to vote only for the four most favored candidates. The upshot was that two Brothers received an equal number of votes; and after six attempts, the relative positions remained unchanged. But since Brother Guillaume de Jésus had seniority of years of perpetual profession, the President of the Chapter, Brother Cherubin, in conformity with established practice, proclaimed him Superior-general of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. And, then, on the same day (November 11), Brothers Emery and Eloi being returned to their posts, the Regime was completed by Brother Guillaume’s replacement, an individual of the highest merit and the most glowing future, Claude-Louis Constantin, Brother Anacletus,[1332] through whose influence the generations would be bridged.

Born in Carcassonne on the 1st of February 1748, Francois Marre was seventy four years of age. A pupil of Brother Brice of Jesus, he entered the novitiate in Avignon on the 16th of June 1763. As a young Brother, he had known the last contemporaries of the Founder; and through him the Institute was still in touch with its beginnings. The long life of the new Superior bracketed the history of five generalates. At first a school teacher in Aix-en-Province, Brother Guillaume subsequently taught mathematics and was professor of “navigation” in the residence school in Marseille beginning in 1773, the year in which he made his final vows. His distinguished teaching trained captains for the merchant marine in Marseille.

On the 24th of March 1792 this faithful Christian Brother refused to take the oath of the Civil Constitution of the clergy. On the 26th of the following July he fled into exile, making a stop in Nice where, for two months, he was tutor to the son of the Marquis of Silens. On the 20th of October he was reunited with the Brothers in Ferrara.[1333].

For more than twenty years he was stationed in Italy where together with Brothers Eulogius

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[1330] Ibid, Brother Vivien File, “Obedience” of the 26th of November 1822

[1331] Ibid., File C5. Brother Apollinarus, Visitor of the District of Toulouse, had been a “childhood companion who had vied with Brother Eloi”. The Cardinal of Cleremont-Tonnerre and M. Villele praised “his magnanimity, his modesty and the uprightness of his judgment.” (Archives of the District of Toulouse, ms. note by Brother Lemandus).

[1332] Motherhouse Archives, Register of General Chapters.

[1333] Ibid., BEb5, Brother Guillaume de Jésus’s file, letter dated the 4th of March 1820, addressed to Antoine Radier

and Frumence he taught in the schools of the Papal States. He wrote a science textbook in Italian. In 1800, as Director of the school in *Trinita-dei-Monti*, after the Vicar-general's departure for France, he became the superior of all the Roman Communities, with his residence in San Salvatore in Lauro. He enjoyed the total confidence of the Holy See and a considerable prestige among the Brothers who were his subordinates. And, in the days that followed Pius VII's arrest, the imperial bureaucrats found him to be an indomitable adversary. As a man who belonged to the "Ancien Régime" and in his deepest convictions as well as because of his very situation an "ultramontanist", Brother Guillaume de Jésus refused to compromise with a government that persecuted the Sovereign Pontiff. Complaints against this attitude were brought to the attention of the Headmaster of the "University". In a moment we shall analyze the causes and the conditions of these protestations. We may say immediately, however, that the reputation of the accused suffers no impairment – indeed, it shines more brightly. After having bestowed upon him enormous commendations Brother Gerbaud thought it wise to recall his representative to Lyons, since in the eyes of the French authorities in Italy he had become suspect. In September of 1813 the Superior-general made him the Director of the Motherhouse Community.

Three years later Brother Guillaume de Jésus was elected Assistant to the Superior-general. His physical appearance at this time – and it was no different in 1822 – was that of a handsome old man with noble and imposing face, a stature erect and tall who had preserved the harmony of his physical, intellectual and moral powers. A "simple, frugal" life, well-regulated, a remarkable equanimity of temperament and a deep-seated and serene faith gave him the vigor of a mature oak. "The most disappointing events" left him "ever the same", confident of the divine protection, compassionate for people and spontaneously joyful.[1334]

Well advanced in years, he moved forward effortlessly; and he made decisions unhurriedly and fearlessly. His rejoinders were spirited and shrewd; and his memory kept him supplied with countless anecdotes studded with proverbs. One might well believe one was looking at, and listening to, a Benjamin Franklin, but with a much more unsullied history and a more genuine wisdom. Exact and orderly to a point that almost makes one smile, he took notes, classified and catalogued them.[1335]His "file" in the Motherhouse Archives offers an abundance of information on the men and the events of his time that is both useful and curious. In it he manifests his tastes for statistics and for geography. (Thus, he liked to draw up lists of the Brothers according to their years of profession, their perseverance, their jobs, their defections, and when he spoke of a new Community, he never failed to indicated the "longitude" and "latitude" of the city in which the Brothers had settled.) Excessively concerned for recollections and for every family tradition, at the beginning of his generalate he established the regular distribution of "biographical reports" about Brothers who had died. And it is to him that we are primarily indebted for the savory and moving account of the vicissitude of Jean Pierre Martel, Brother Corentine, the porter at Petit College.

His heart did not give way to his mind and his judgment. To see into his affectionate nature, one would have to read the Superior's correspondence with his great and dear friend, Antoine Radier.[1336] The friendship between the two teachers began before the Revolution when they both belonged to the Community of the residence school in Marseille. It survived long

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[1334] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5, notes on the M.H. Brother Guillaume de Jésus. *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 164-6.

[1335] Witness the sheet of paper (BE b5 file) on which are listed "Brothers with illnesses or defects": near-sighted, the deaf, those who cannot give up tobacco, and those who have returned to the Congregation as widowers!

[1336] Concerning Antoine Radier, Brother Patrick, see Vol. III of the present work, pp. ???

periods of separation and a diversity of careers. The former Brother Patrick, bound by marriage ties, did not conceal his regrets at being unable to be reunited with Brother Guillaume. In February 1822 he received a letter from his former colleague who, at the time was one of Brother Gerbaud's Assistants: "You moan like a dove that longs to return to the ark! But perhaps it was the Lord who thought it was the right thing for you to leave it? He knows very well how to bring you back to, if your salvation depends upon it..."[1337]

M. Radier, partially consoled, from then on felt quite close to his spiritual home. After the election of the 11th of November he congratulated the new Superior, respectfully, humbly; Brother Guillaume's reply was full of gracious charm and open affection: "My dear...very dear Patrick (the salutation alone proves that the old relationship still endured), you throw yourself at my knees, and I throw my arms around your neck. You rejoice, while I am saddened. Pray for me! Who would have told me, forty years ago, "you will be in charge of the Holy Child Jesus Society, made up of thirty boarders; and then (later on) you will be in charge of an Institute composed of 1200 Brothers, including 250 novices, living in 182 houses!" Who would have believed it? And, yet, it's what is happening, and I am thunder struck!..."[1338]

In 1824, the head of the Congregation, employing a privilege that has always been available in the Institute, issued a diploma of "affiliation" to his friend, which enabled him to share in the merits and prayers of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Indeed, the Brothers showed the same friendliness for Antoine Radier as their Superior: on the 1st of January 1825 Brother Joseph of Mary, of Avignon, thanking the new affiliated member for his New Year's greetings, explained how edified he was with the thoughts and the behavior of the old teacher from the days in Marseille; between this "Brother by adoption" and himself there arose an exchange of benefits in the supernatural order.[1339]

Brother Patrick had confided in Brother Guillaume de Jésus about his qualms concerning his canonical status; and he received every satisfactory assurance. On the 3rd of December 1825, he received the following reply: "Regarding the dispensation from your vows, it is maintained that in 1791 the Pope conferred his power upon every French bishop...Surely, some priests received it (from the hierarchy). That is what is basic. While Radier continued to be somewhat anxious, the Superior eagerly joined in the search for ways and means of formal regularization.[1340].

In this way the Superior strove to be for his old friend what he was for all the members of his "religious family", "the best of fathers". He enkindle in his sons a devotion and an appreciation which was conveyed in the most warmhearted way. Brother Eulogius,[1341]. who was also among those who corresponded with the former Brother Patrick, hoped that one day the two old men whom he loved would savor "under the same roof" the gracious conversation that was so suited to their enduring friendship. May Brother Guillaume "reign for fifteen years", he wrote on the 28th of April 1827. And, if it pleased Providence, Brother Patrick would have "the good fortune to die clothed in the religious habit."[1342] It was a

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[1337] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Guillaume de Jésus file, letter of the 6th of February 1822.

[1338] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Guillaume de Jésus' file, letter of the 14th of December.

[1339] Ibid., HA p4, Brother Joseph of Mary's letter to Radier.

[1340] Ibid., BE b5, Brother Guillaume de Jésus letter to Radier

[1341] Director in Marseille and thereafter in Orléans. He is not to be confused with the Brother Eulogius in Ferrara

[1342] Motherhouse Archives, Ha p4 file, Brother Eulogius' letter to "M. Radier, former residence schoolmaster, landlord, 11 Rue St. Jacques, Marseille.

prophecy which, as we shall see, was fulfilled, but too late for Antony Radier and Francis Marre to rejoice together in its realization.

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The eight years of this generalate seems like a simple continuation of the masterful administration set in motion by Brother Gerbaud. The Institute witnessed an ardent loyalty on the part of a government which championed the Christian Brothers. In October of 1824, the Superior-general "was eager to add his congratulations" to those which Charles X had received "from every class of people in the State", on the occasion of "his auspicious accession to his ancestral throne". And nobody "more sincerely" than the Brothers of the Christian Schools, declared "the most humble, obedient and faithful of his Majesty's subjects". To their "52,000" pupils they taught "what is due to God and to King"; they prayed for the sovereign's "prosperity" and for his "august family" in order to draw down upon the Bourbon dynasty Heaven's "most abundant blessings."[1343]

The deed had anticipated the word. In 1823, resuming the negotiations which had been dragging on, Brother Guillaume had named Brothers Flavian, Carloman and Demeter for French Guiana. The Naval Ministry invited the three new missionaries to appear in the Port of Nantes. Immediately, the Superior wrote for their benefit fifteen pages of paternal advice which dwelt upon the care they should take of their health in the distant colony as well as the way they should there behave themselves with respect to the Governor and the clergy. He urged upon his "beloved sons" patience, community, regularity and piety; and he entrusted them "to the Most Blessed Virgin, the Angels of the lands through which they were to pass, the Holy Apostles", and the missionary saints.[1344] "Your motto must be", he prescribed, "to conquer or to die for God".

The embarkation took place on the 17th of July. The vessel, the *Adele* which transported the Brothers did not arrive on the coast of Guiana until the 23rd of September. And the first news of the expatriates did not reach France until the 4th of February 1824.[1345] And on the 18th of March a circular from the Motherhouse disclosed the news to the entire Congregation. "The crossing, although somewhat long", gave evidence of God's blessing. The ship eluded pirates, into whose hands two other vessels in the convoy fell. In Guiana, the Governor, Baron Milius, "a man of sterling qualities", settled the Community into "a very fine house."[1346]

Classes opened on the 9th of December to about a hundred children, white, Indian, black and mixed. The introduction of a few sons of slaves among free-born pupils gave rise to difficulties. The administrative commissioner of Guiana wrote to Brother Flavian: "You are doubtless unaware that these individuals have no civil rights; what instruction they receive must be limited to the catechism and their prayers".[1347] It was in this way that the Christian charity of De La Salle's disciples collided "with the colonial system". The future would bring

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[1343] Ibid., Register of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence.

[1344] Ibid. ID k1, Guiana file, instructions dated the 14th of June 1823.

[1345] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5, Brother Guillaume de Jésus' notebook.

[1346] "The College House", according to one of Brother Flavian's letters to Baron Milius, on the 6th of October 1823 (file cited).

[1347] Motherhouse Archives, ID k1, letter dated the 3rd of January 1824.

further frustrations. In 1825 Brother Flavian, returning to the mother country, left Brother Carloman as Director, whose conduct, unfortunately, did not live up to the expectations of either the Governor nor the Apostolic Prefect, and, at the end of a few years, it proved to be the undoing of the school.

The Naval Bureau also asked that the Superior of the Institute supply other teachers for the Island of Réunion and that he prepare other groups for the Antilles. "We are hoping, in due time", read the circular of March 1824, "to respond to the wishes of his Excellency, the Minister". And it exhorted "the professed Brothers" that, if they heard God's special call, to lend their cooperation to this work of religious and patriotic dedication.

Such projects could not be accomplished immediately, since the schools on the European continent had "fallen on lean times", according to the assiduous supplier of schools. He, however, "was counting on more than 200 excellent novices" who were in process of being trained.[1348]

Ultimately, only Réunion, until further notice, was able to benefit from this increased effort. On the 15th of March, 1826 Brother Guillaume de Jésus sent the Minister a list of the Brothers who would join, and eventually replace, their confrere, Benezet, who was the lone and heroic pioneer remaining in the African colony. The group was made up of Brothers Ignace Martyr (Director in Mans), Valery (Director in La Rochelle), Sebastian (Director in Falaise, Vambaert (Sub-Director in St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields) and Carter (teacher of the second grade in Nantes).[1349]

They were housed together in St. Denis, in the former building of the India Company, where they experienced days of extreme poverty. But, more fortunate than their predecessors, they were able to sustained one another mutually. Some of them devoted themselves to the education of the Blacks, while the others instructed Creole children. Two of them were quickly worn out by the climate and the hardships of teaching and, in 1829, they were relieved by Brothers Valarian and Zebin of Mary. Under Brother Sebastian's dynamic instigation, the tiny missionary group gradually achieved a remarkable job.[1350] They opened the way for those magnificent apostles who were to leave in the Islands of the Indian Ocean, in Reunion first of all, and then in Maurice, the Seychelles and Madagascar, a name that was blessed and a reputation for lofty virtue, indeed, for authentic holiness: Brother John of Matha, Brother Scubilion, Brother Veterine, Brother Parasceve and, closer to us, Brother Gonzalvien.

In France the Institute's growth took on a quickened pace. From 1822 to 1824 there were 41 new Communities.[1351] In 1825, the Brothers directed 210 institutions, of which 196 were in French territory,[1352]not including the colonies. In 1828 the overall figure rose to 230.[1353] In

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[1348] Motherhouse Archives, Register of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence, letter dated the 24th of December 1823, to the Minister of the Navy.

[1349] Motherhouse Archives, Register of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence, same letter.

[1350] Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 46-7. Following is the list, according to file C5 in the Motherhouse Archives, completed, as regards the Province of Toulouse, through Brother Lemandus' documentation: Angoulême, Apt. Arbois, Avranches, Bapaume, Bailleul, Belleville (Rhône), Bergues, Bourbon (Upper-Marne) Bourg-St. Andéol, Brest, Castgelnaudary, Cherbourg, Dieppe, Évreux, Falaise, Fontenay-le-Comte, Joinville (Upper-Marne), La Flèche, Laval, Lavaur, Limoux, Le Havre, Lunéville, Montreuil (Pas-de-Calais), Mont-de-Marsan, Mortain, Périgueux, Pézenas, Rosny (Seine-and-Oise), Rore-Lès-Marseille, Roanne (St-Étienne school), St. Dizier, St. Malo, St. Menehould, St. Pons, Saumur, Senlis, Tarascon (Ariège), Verneuil-sur-Avre, Villefranche-d'Aveyron.

[1351] Not including Guiana and the Island of Reunion

[1352] *Essai sur la Maison Mère*, pg. 181.

[1353] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5 file.

the following year the Superior-general in his personal notebooks wrote of the existence of 233 Communities, presiding over 959 classes and dispensing Christian instruction to 75,400 pupils.[1354] In Paris, prior to the July Revolution, there was not a single district that did not possess teachers in the “white rabat", who were in charge of 29 tuition-free schools in the capital.

Such a development demanded a strong recruitment program. In June 1826 Brother Guillaume de Jésus drew up the following figures: there were 56 Brothers who were over fifty years of age; 302 who were over thirty, and 1,040 who made up the mass of young Brothers; which came to 1,398 Christian Brothers, plus “200 novices who were not yet enrolled.”[1355].

Between 1823 and 1829 324 Brothers made final vows and 626 pronounced triennial vows.[1356]

In order to found and support schools, individuals, Communes and the State pooled their contributions. In Nantes the “Providence Society” placed the beautiful Rosmadec residence[1357].

at the disposition of the Christian Brothers.[1358] In Bayonne the cooperation of the City Council and the Departmental Assembly had enabled classes to be relocated to the “Petit College” which had been built at the end of the 16th century and to which Father Saint-Cyran had invited his friend, Jansenius. In Bordeaux Brother Alphonsus procured the city’s assistance as well as that of the Duchess of Angoulême and the Minister of public instruction with the view of acquiring a building suited to his purposes.[1359]

Other subsidies were granted by Bishop Frayssinous to the Brothers in Auch and Périgueux; while the income from a legacy called “Lestang”, which financed a “mutual school” in Mans, was transfered, through a governmental decision, to the Christian Brothers’ school, after its rival had closed, in conformity with the original intentions of the testator.[1360]The annual allocation of 6,300 francs, which,, since 1822, had been granted by the Ministry of the Interior to the Superior-general for the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin, was raised to

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[1354].[1354]Chevalier, pg. 586. In June 1827 the Parisian Communities resided at the following addresses: Grande-Rue-Verte (1er arr 1), rue d’Argenteuil (2e), Faubourg Saint-Martin (3e), rue Jean-Lantier (4e), rue des Fontaines (schools in the 6e and 7e), rue Saint-Bernard (8e), rue del’Ile-Saint-Louis (9e), rue Saint-Dominique (Gros-Caillou school, 10e), rue des Grès (11e), in the Faubourg Saint-Marceaau (12e). Motherhouse Archives, Register of Brother William of Jesus’ correspondence. The Brothers employed in St. Sulpice parish, assembled at first in the Gros Caillou Community and did not constitute an autonomous group until 1828. The following year, apart from the parochial school, they also managed a school near St. Thomas Aquinas. Their personnel grew and in 1830 two teachers from St. Etienne-du-Mont and two others took charge of a new school on rue Vaneau. (Biographical account of Brother Jean Almoner).

[1355] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5, Brother Guillaume de Jésus notebooks

[1356] Ibid.

[1357] The same documents provide information on the subject of “departures” for the years, 1823, 1824 and 1825. During that period 19 Brothers died; 179 left the Congregation either without vows or at the conclusion of their temporary commitments; 7 obtained dispensations (only one of whom had perpetual vows), and 24 were considered “apostates”, 4 of whom had perpetual vows. From the Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris we single out Archbishop Quélen’s intervention with the Pope on the 14th of August 1829 in order to obtain a dispensation for a Brother Hermas: A soul’s salvation, the peace of a Community that is very important to the diocese, and indeed the honor of religion is involved (in this) sensitive situation.

[1358] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for January 1926, pg. 41

[1359]*Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1910, pg. 33.

[1360] National Archives, F17 12452, August 1824.

8,400 francs, beginning in 1825.[1361]

King Charles X contributed directly to the creation of a school close by to his Chateau St. Cloud; he provided the house in which the teachers dwelt and completed this liberality with a sum of 6,000 francs which was used to restore the buildings.[1362]

Not satisfied with promoting the progress of the Brothers, the Bourbon monarchy urged municipal authorities to select this sort of teacher. Semur, in the Côte-d'Or was hesitating concerning the creation and endowment of a school that would answer to the wishes of the archpriest, Father Baltazard. The Headmaster of the "University" at first had promised to underwrite no more than 500 francs. But the Prefect exerted himself on behalf of the project; and the Director of Public Instruction asked Frayssinous for an exceptional gift: "the cooperation of the royal government" was essential, if this important undertaking was to brought to a successful issue. Frayssinous, having decided to budget an appropriation of 6,000 francs, himself pleaded with Brother Guillaume de Jésus not to delay the despatch of teaching personnel. Souls were at stake; and the teachers who were being awaited would find "every desirable quality"[1363] among the clergy and the civic officials.

The Superior didn't care to doubt it. But he did have to pay attention to so many requests and to prior claims! "I am beset" on all sides, he sighed. "I can hardly provide for, or maintain, existing schools."[1364] Pompey was unable to make Roman legions rise up out of the earth by stamping his feet. And even prayer itself could not call forth overnight all the vocations that France needed in 1825. While the Institute's novices were eager enough, it was nevertheless essential to supply them with the necessary time in which to prepare themselves for a task that weighed so heavily upon human resources. Do not "shorten" the duration of their formation, Brother Assistant Emery wrote to Brother Abdon; send Brothers to Dunkirk, if you are in a position to start up new classes; but retain those young men who are not yet equipped for the struggle.[1365]

Thus, throughout the years of the generalate, letters from the Motherhouse to public officials and members of the Hierarchy proliferated excuses, long-term promises and assurances about "waiting-lists". For the cautious Brother Guillaume, it was a source of difficulty in the midst of prosperous times. He dreaded, moreover, to take risk with his Brothers. In December 1822 stringent obligation had induced him provide Corsica with additional Brothers; since, having been recently elected, he could not have inaugurated his relations with the Headmaster of the "University" by a discourteous gesture. But it was a "sacrifice" that he agreed to reluctantly, so galling and so irksome seemed the work of the Apostolate in this still half-barbarous country.[1366]

Elsewhere, school locales set up without the least concern for hygiene, imperiled the health of both teachers and pupils. Earlier, when Brother Guillaume de Jésus was directing the Community in Lyons, he mounted a vigorous protest against the city's negligence. His report, addressed to the school administrator, Rambaud Monclos, points out the deplorable conditions in several of the buildings: the classroom for the advanced pupils at St. Polycarp

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[1361] Chevalier, pg. 585.

[1362] .[1362]Motherhouse Archives, Register of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence, letters of the 25th of May and of the 20th of June 1826 to the Minister of the King's Household.

[1363] National Archives, F17 12453, correspondence regarding Semur, December 1823-October 1825.

[1364] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence, letter of the 16th of August to Father Lafay, chaplain of the Brothers in Lyons.

[1365] Ibid., BE p1 file, letter dated the 4th of October 1822.

[1366] Ibid., Register of correspondence, Brother Superior's letter to Bishop Frayssinous, 18th of December 1822.

was only 18 feet long by 20 feet wide;[1367] the small classroom – "a real jail"– had scarcely 20 meters of surface. The rooms in the St. Louis school were filled with the fumes rising out of a stable that was situated on the ground floor; one of its rooms received neither light nor air except by way of a transom. In both St. Peter's and St. Nizier's "nothing could be seen for seven or eight months of the year". It was a situation unworthy of "the second largest city in France". The critic proposed adequate arrangements, in particular, by way of a consolidation of neighborhood schools within a more spacious compound. Monclos countered with the claim that each of the pastors wished to keep the children within the parochial boundaries. And when the Brother Director, guiding his inquiry by this suggestion, found buildings that were reasonably suited, he was told that the rents were too high![1368]

Become Superior-general, he continued to meet some of those people in whose eyes the humble teachers should consider themselves quite flattered by public confidence, even though they were living in shanties. The most legitimate concern prescribed that he either outrightly refuse requests or issue flat ultimatums. There would be no Brothers in Notre Dame parish in Orleans as long as the pastor did not provide "a spacious and ventilated" school site; "about twenty" young teachers had died, prior to 1823, because some founders had been careless about health.[1369]. In August 1827 the mayors of Montelimar and of Apt were notified that the Christian Brothers would leave these cities because the physical facilities were seriously flawed.[1370] At approximately the same period Brother Guillaume de Jésus was supporting Brother Eulogius who, in his struggle with the city of Orleans, complained of the extreme "penury" of the St. Euvertus Community, and was demanding, besides, the creation of a second school in the Faubourg St. Marceau, in order to reduce the wear and tear on his personnel. Unavailingly, the mayor blamed the Director's "restless spirit" and went so far as to suggest that school funds were being diverted for the benefit of the Motherhouse. The Superior of the Institute gave proof that on several occasion he had relieved the "want" of his subordinates in the Loiret. In 1830 the City Council planned the construction of new buildings on the site of the former "higher schools" which, prior to 1791, had belonged to the University of Orleans.[1371]

Thus it was that the grand old man's resoluteness appeared whenever his paternal heart was moved by a painful situation and as often as the temporal and spiritual interests of his Congregation was involved.

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On the whole, security and stability had been achieved by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. And it was therefore the moment to map out more ambitious projects and assume new responsibilities. Faithful to the spirit of the Founder, the Institute would not decline the challenge; but it did measure its activities over against its forces. The period we are studying, without in any way betraying a fixed opinion in favor of waiting or inaction, assumed a

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[1367] I.e., 5 m. 75 + 4 m. 20. In August 1822 St. Polycarp school had 152 pupils, St. Louis, 115, St. Pierrer, 75 and St. Nizier 120. (Departmental Archives of the Rhône, T register 53.)

[1368] Motherhouse Archives, BE b5 file, undated report.

[1369] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence, letter to the pastor, 1st of August 1823.

[1370] Ibid., letters dated the 11th of August 1827.

[1371] Departmental Archives of Loiret, T, 218 and Orléans IR 191; and records of the minutes of the City Council, 1826-1831.

transitional character. It was a period for making plans, in which, gradually, the Institute proceed to their successful realization; and in which the Institute began projects which would take on final shape when, in spite of the most intense resistance and recurrent hostility from a less sympathetic political regime, St. John Baptist de La Salle's disciples were more numerous, felt freer and were able to proceed more boldly on their way.

Negotiations regarding the founding of a normal school for primary education in the Department of the Lower Seine, which had been under way during the preceding generalate, had concluded in 1823 with an agreement in principle. We should recall that, at the outset, discussions had been tied to the future of the institution at St. Yon. In this connection, Brother Gerbaud had drawn up a request which had met with complete misunderstanding in the Ministry of the Interior both as regards former rights and honest opinion.[1372] Brother Guillaume de Jésus did not wish to lose all hope: concerning the normal school, he wrote to the Prefect, Count Achilles Vanssay on the 14th of April 1823, that "the wish of all of our dear Brothers is to return to St. Yon as soon as His Majesty will allow it". They looked forward to regain "their fathers' inheritance" and the place "where the body" of their holy founder "rests"; "justice" demands it; the "laws of the State" place no obstacles in the way of their claims, since the buildings have never been sold and they have been recently vacated. Further, in order to facilitate an understanding, the Superior confined his request to "the church, the business offices, the former novitiate with its dormitories and yard", the housing once assigned to residents stricken with mental illness, "a part of the enclosure and garden that looks toward the Carthusians", the tailor shop and the professed Brothers' Common Room – all of which came to only a "very small part" of the huge estate. Leaving all the rest for the Departmental Almshouse, in the recovered grounds and buildings he would set up a "normal school, a tuition-free school for St. Sever, a retirement home for the Congregation's old men and an infirmary for the Brothers in Normandy.[1373]

The government refused to yield. The Brothers had to be resigned to accept the St. Lo Priory, but not without objecting that the present agreement did not mean that they completely renounced their 18th century patrimony.[1374]

On the 31st of July 1823, in view of the deliberations of the General Council of the Lower Seine, of the municipal Council of Rouen and the official acknowledgement of Brother Guillaume's declarations, Vanssay issued the following decree: "The Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools undertake to receive as residents, to be trained by them in elementary education according to the method recognized by their laws...candidates who have been nominated by the Prefect, after having been presented by Cantonal committees. Candidates, provided with certificates from their mayor and their pastor would be admitted up to the maximum number of 25. They were to receive the instruction necessary for the issuance of a second level diploma; they were to obtain teaching posts in the principal cities within the administrative jurisdiction.[1375] The royal ordinance of the 26th of November 1823 sanctioned this decision.

While the monarchy refused to return the estate that Revolution took away from the Christian Brothers, one might have thought that it would at least move quickly to open the new school. But five years would go by before the St. Lo institution would be in a position to

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[1372] National Archives, F17 12455, correspondence pertaining to St. Yon. See above, pg. ???

[1373] Motherhouse Archives, register of correspondence.

[1374] Motherhouse Archives, letter dated the 3rd of May 1823.

[1375] Chevalier, pp. 560-3.

receive teachers and students. There is little doubt but what the indifference of local opinion invited bureaucratic delays and indolence on the part of the contractors charged with putting up the building. The Rouen normal school, of which Brother Calixtus was named Director, did not start operations until February 11th 1829.[1376] It started with five scholarship students from the Department. It was a shabby conclusion to official pledges and a grandiose inauguration. But the selection of a gifted individual as its head compensated for every imperfection. John Francis Nicholas Leduc was one of those men whom difficulties did not dishearten. With what appeared to be ridiculously inadequate financing and under quite adverse circumstances, he was able to infuse his colleagues with his own energy, his own generosity and with his excellent teaching methods; and in a few years he lent to the project a remarkable development and influence.

The Brothers were finally inserted into one of their best apostolic fields and put in a position to exert their pedagogical skills outside the sphere of primary education. They were still ready to perform other tasks. We have already pointed out the interest of some individuals of the period regarding not only the training of future teachers but also technical courses established for the youth of the working class. In 1826 tuition-free lessons ”in geometry and mechanics applied to the arts and crafts, conducted in the Orleans city hall, were intended for former pupils of the primary schools”.[1377]. As the Bishop of the diocese observed,[1378] “the Christian Brothers could not incur the criticism of turning boys away from their fathers’ trade and of “surrendering them to white-collar ambitions”. One might, then, think of these teachers when one attempted to recruit, for commerce or industry, those young men who had been both suitably instructed as well as satisfied with their modest social situation.

Like Brother Gerbaud, Brother Guillaume de Jésus had no desire to embark unwittingly upon such an enterprise. In 1825 he had raised the question with the pastor of Bolbec concerning the disadvantages of night schools – “candlelight schools”, he had called them – whose students were not entirely reliable.[1379] In 1827 he rejected an offer from the Mayor of St. Etienne who was about to assign a school of geometrical drawing to the Brothers.[1380] These were provisional refusals and not rejections on principle. Continuation courses had already existed for workers in Lille, according to information which the Superior himself had supplied the pastor of Bolbec. Daily, from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 two Brothers were employed exclusively in that work; the Administration of Almshouses paid their salaries and provided them with an independent and completely equipped classroom. Should such conditions obtain in Bolbec, the Institute would try to find the personnel that would be needed.[1381] Adult classes were started in St. Nicholas-in-the-Fields parish in Paris by Brother Director Philip; when, a year later, this wide-ranging innovator became one of Brother Anacletus’ Assistants, he found in his own blood-brother, Arthemius, a successor thoroughly conversant with the intellectual and moral needs of the Parisian population.[1382]

[1376]Chevalier, and Brother Calixtus’ *Notice nécrologique*.

[1377] Municipal Archives of Orleans, Register of the Mayor’s decrees (January 1818-December 1827), decree of the 17th of February 1826

[1378] Letter to the Mayor of Meung-sur-Loire, 4th of January 1827, cited by Des Cilleuls, pg. 696.

[1379] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence, letter dated the 26th of November 1825.

[1380] Ibid., letter of the 29th of January 1827.

[1381] Motherhouse Archives, letter cited, dated the 26th of November 1825.

[1382] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1921, pp. 220-221.

A question that seemed no less urgent was that of the residence schools, which the Superior examined quite candidly in a letter dated the 3rd of September 1823. Of his correspondent, Father Deforest, one of the pastors of Saumur, he asked only patience: too many promises to the Hierarchy and the government respecting elementary schools had to be honored.[1383]. More specifically, he stated on the 21st of October to Brother Germain, Father Deforest's spokesman, that if the Institute,as in the past, were to take over large institutions, Marseille, Montpellier and Béziers deserved to be obliged first.[1384]

The first two of these cities were thinking about recalling the Brothers to the former and sorely missed establishments.[1385] But in Béziers Father Jean-Jacques Martin's will forced the Congregation to adopt practical measures. Dated the 20th of April 1824, it handed over to the Brothers of the Christian Schools the institution that was "built for them...in St. Aphrodisias Square", explicitly providing that, as soon as possible, they reopen the residence school sought by the benefactor,[1386]who had died on the 23rd of the following October, surrounded by members of the Béziers Community.

His executor, Jean-Baptist Maintenon, set about to obtain the foundation that had been six years in abeyance, before the legacy was issued.[1387] Brother Guillaume de Jésus however meant to proceed cautiously. He was unable to evade governmental approval. And, in order to eliminate all misgivings on the part of the Brothers and any objection arising from the clergy, the civic authorities and public opinion, he decided, preliminarily, to submit the matter to Rome's judgment.

On the 28th of February 1825 he wrote in Italian, and the next day he sent the following "petition": "Most Holy Father, Brother Guillaume de Jésus, Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, humbly prostrated at the feet of Your Holiness, explains that, while the Brothers of this Institute make vow of teaching tuition-free, in conformity with the Bull granted by Benedict XIII, nevertheless, up to the time of the French Revolution, they had always had several institutions intended to admit young residents who were accepted only on condition of paying an annual fee for room-and-board, which fee was intended not only to provide for their subsistence but for that of the Brothers employed whether in their education or in the various services required by these young people. When there were surplus funds, they were used to maintain buildings and other needs of the Society; which, regardless of such a utilization, seems to offend against gratuity of instruction. The petitioner, since he has been asked by several cities to reestablish the above-mentioned institutions, wishes, in order to remove any fear concerning the vow, that it might please Your Holiness to authorize, should He judge it fitting, the Brothers to reopen the residence schools. If Your Holiness considers such institutions incompatible with the Institute's obligations, the Brothers, in the spirit of obedience, will abandon such enterprises".[1388]

This step testified to an elevated sensitivity of conscience; since, in fact, after the example given by St. John Baptist de La Salle, the creator of St. Yon, and after the superb results

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[1383] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence

[1384] Ibid., Register of correspondence.

[1385] Ibid., same letter.

[1386] Motherhouse Archives, JE j2; Archives of the Béziers residence school: copy of the handwritten will, verified by M. Salvanihac (notary in Béziers).

[1387] Archives of the residence school in Béziers, history of the institution.

[1388] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence and CG i2 file (reestablishment of residence schools). The copy of the petition in Italian and its French translation, printed, are – in the documents in this file – dated the 1st of March 1825 and verified as conformed (including the Holy See's reply) by the Bishop of Versailles.

achieved during the 18th century, what doubt could there be concerning such an integral and irreplaceable work? The vow of teaching tuition-free concerned only the primary schools. And the income that came from the residences schools, apart from the fact that it attested to a solidarity between social classes, promoted the subsidization of novitiates and retirement homes.

This is precisely what Cardinal Guerrieri mentioned in the response written on the 21st of March in the name of Pope Leo XII: "The Holy Father leaves to the judgment and the wisdom of the Superior-general, with the advice of the Assistants, the option of restoring the pious and very useful establishments for resident pupils, apart from the institutions created as public schools, while preserving the form and the method that had been lawfully practices prior to 1788; provided, however, that the just annual charge for board-and-room, according to the custom of each region and determined and required by the Superior-general, with the Council mention□ed above, be faithfully administered; and if, at the end of each year, there exists anything left over from the charges referred to , that they be employed as alms for the support of the novices, Brothers who are ill and the elderly or for any other need of the pious Institute. Regardless of anything to the contrary.[1389]

This was the charter which, without contradicting the Bull of 1725, proclaimed the absolute "legitimacy" of an institution that was nearly as ancient as the initial work of the saintly Canon of Rheims; it still controls the body of the Congregations celebrates residence schools; this crucial but little know text belies the assertions and should dispel the prejudice of a number of people who suspect or accuse the Brothers of straying from their beginnings and of betraying their primitive traditions by devoting themselves to the education of the sons of the middle class. Moreover, it reminds us that, while the Brothers' Institute had deserved universal esteem and respect for its organization of a special secondary education, it had not neglected its particular mission: the Christian and tuition-free education of the children of the people. Residence schools were not "ends in themselves"; they were justified "in relation to" primary schools. Through lessons, having the same inspiration and the same nature, if not the same level, as the sons of De La Salle had dispensed to the "rich" as to the poor, they necessarily tended to strengthen the fraternity that is natural to all young people. Knowledge urged upon an elite group, in a sense, looses its privileged character and finds as its complement the education that it secures for the masses by supplying the latter with the subsidies requisite for the recruitment of vocations, for the final years of retired teachers, and, indeed frequently and in a more direct way for the opening and maintenance of tuition-free schools.[1390]

After the new beginnings in 1803, the failure to reopen the residence schools was a serious handicap to the progress of the Institute. It was necessary to make the cities which had asked for schools financially responsible for many novices or to seek government subsidies. In this way, the Brothers were reduced, as we have seen, to haggling with some of the municipalities; and they were also placed at the mercy of the Bureau of Public Education,

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[1389] Motherhouse Archives, CG i2, Latin text and French translation; "Caesar's arms" stamp, Cardinal Guerrieri. Ex audientia Sanctissimi, die 21 martis 1825. See also, *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for November 1907, pg. 344.

[1390] This had been, in the past, the case with St. Yon, which paid the expenses of the school in the Faubourg St. Sever, with the residence school in Nantes, without which the city schools could not have survived, and with the residence school in Angers which, in the early days, combined resident and tuition-free pupils in the Lesvière neighborhood. The situations were the same in Marseille, Rheims, Mirepoix, Montpellier, St. Omer and in Carcassonne. Institutions throughout the 19th century generally maintained this principle. However, we must not misinterpret the example set by Rouen during the reign of Louis XVI: the Christian Brothers were not obliged to assume the responsibilities of cities or individual founders for the maintenance of every school.

whose dispositions, during the Empire and during the reign of Louis XVIII, were not invariably sympathetic. Even in relation to the friendliest of individuals, the Brothers encountered a constriction of mind and a determination to leave the Brothers on the lowest rung of the “University" ladder.

Brother Guillaume’s initiative and Leo XII’s gesture finally broadened the horizons. Recruitment was about to become easier, while at the same time a greater number of children would be benefited by the pedagogy of the Christian Brothers. The spirit of faith that the Founder had so marvelously breathed into his followers, the spirit of Catholic obedience, reverence for the Holy Child Jesus, for the Most Blessed Virgin, for St. Joseph and the Angels – reverence that would presently augment the “sodalities” among school children – simplicity and purity of heart, cultivated in every Brothers’ school would reveal the common traits of the young people who emerged whether from the residence or from the tuition-free schools. For as long as a century of irreligious propaganda and unbridled individualism would permit it, France and then other nations would witness the growth of Christian models, future Religious of various Orders, priests or lay persons in the service of the Church.

Before 1830 we scarcely glimpse the dawn of this great day. Jean-Jacques Martin’s will, delivered to the Minister of Religious Affairs only[1391] on the 22nd of February 1826, for a long time lie dormant in the administrative files. While awaiting the authorization that had been requested, the Superior-general had received from Rheims and Nancy a number of proposals regarding the same sort of projects. The people in Rheims were asking for an institution that would be open to families of modest incomes and, in particular, to the sons of farmers. Their municipal council had given its consent to such a proposal; but until a better opportunity arose, the matter never got beyond this initial stage.[1392]

In Nancy plans seemed to move in the direction of restoring the “penitentiary”. Brother Guillaume de Jésus sent the Mayor a negative reply: in the past such institutions had caused the Congregation too many unresolved problems for it to want to assume the burden once again.

Two years went by and the business in Béziers remained undecided. It might well have been suspected that Minister Martignac’s policy had settled upon a deceptive resolution of the problem. The 12th article of the ordinance of April 21st 1828 did not grant teachers the right to open a residence school until after an inquiry had been conducted by the Royal Council on Public Education. The Council, however, had adopted the views of the Rectors of the Academy: authorized instruction should not go beyond the limits of the primary classes. M. Vatimesnil’s circular letter, dated the 31st of January 1829 seemed to exacerbate the severity of this policy: it prohibited residence schools in localities that had a college or analogous institutions. An exception, however, was made for teachers who trained pupils “for commercial and industrial professions”; once more would it be better to avoid all competition between them and establishments already possessing the same advantages; the general instruction remained limited to the first degree[1393]. The prescription of 2gth March 1829 was fundamentally not of much help as it simply dispensed students of professional teaching from following college courses.

Because of this, how would the wishes of the parish priest of Saint Aphodie be received?

[1391] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence, Superior-general’s letter to the Minister. Undoubtedly the formalities of notarization delayed the delivery.

[1392] Arnould, op. cit., pp. 231-2, March 1826 project.

[1393] .[1393]Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence, letter dated the 8 of August, 1826.

Fortunately, the Institute had plenty of support. First of all, it was authorised by the prescription of 24th August 1828 to take possession of furniture located at Beziers, including classes, dining rooms, kitchen, cellar, living room, rooms, dormitories, a courtyard planted with trees along Rue Saint-Claire, valued at 19,840 francs.[1394]

Accepting this legacy justly required the opening of a boarding establishment. But the royal order was not sufficient by itself. The final decision belonged to the University. Brother Guillaume undertook the procedure with the Grand-Master and Minister Vatimesnil. The application was granted on 24th July 1829. Nevertheless, the decision of the Council of Public Instruction stipulated that the program of the *brevet* awarded the teaching religious since 1819 would condition the form and extent of the lessons to be provided for the residents. This remained an unsurmountable obstacle to the development of something new unless a broad interpretation and an intelligent legislation came into operation later.

The first boarding establishment of the Brothers in modern times got ready to live. After 22nd March 1830, the future promise was strengthened by obtaining and enlarging a neighbouring chapel formerly built by the spiritual daughters of Saint Francis of Assisi.[1395]

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To more complex educational tasks there had to correspond an increased effort, a more profound preparatory work and a revision and extension of educational subject-matter.

Denis August Affre, Vicar-general for the diocese of Amiens – the future Archbishop of Paris – in 1826 published a teachers' manual[1396] which alluded to the "principles of the saintly La Salle", as well as to the *Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher* as "a highly appreciated little book".[1397] The "Introduction" published "the wisdom...of the Founder of the Christian Schools", of his pedagogy "that was admirably" adapted "to the needs of children" and the "perfection" of his method. It traced out the following portrait of the disciples of the holy priest: "The Brothers speak of religion with zeal and conviction; ...their modesty, their simplicity and their entire exterior, down to the very habit they wear reenforces their lessons...They (teach) what they love and practice. Their language, which comes from the heart, is addressed to the heart which it does its best to move... "[1398]

The author, however, observes in the Brothers' *Conduct* a certain "diffuseness of style" and a certain "tediousness". He preferred to avoid these faults, adapt the system to "rural schools" and to add to it the "contents of the "University" regulations".[1399]. He would "enlarge" the contribution of these "gifted" teachers by means of "new insights", advocates in particular parallel instruction in reading and Scripture,[1400] provides a place for history considered at

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[1394] Archives of the Motherhouse, Dossier JEj1, copy of the order of 24th August 1828, addressed to the Superior general by the Count of Chabrol, Prefect of the Seine, with a plan of the establishment. CHEVALIER, pp.583, dated wrongly as 24th August 1`829, by royal order.

[1395] Motherhouse Archives, and the residence school archives; letter of the Prefect of the Seine to the Superior-general, 13th of February 1830, with a copy of the ordinance of the 20th of December 1829, authorizing the purchase of the chapel; deed of sale, dated the 22nd of March 1830 by Dulac and Grassie' Associates to Brother Apollinarus, acting in the name of Brother Guillaume de Jésus..

[1396] *Nouveau traité des écoles primaires ou Manuel des Instituteurs et des Institutrices*, Amiens, Caron-Vitet, and Paris, Moronval, 1826.

[1397] Foreword," pp. iv-v.

[1398] Manuel, pp. 15-20. Cf. Garnier, Frayssinous, pp. iv-v, 530.

[1399] Manuel, "Foreword," pp. iv-v

[1400] Manuel, pg. 67.

once as Apologetic and politics,[1401]“ for the elements of general and national geography and for botany and hygiene.[1402]

These views of an important churchman, his additions to the program of the primary schools, although obviously quite rudimentary, should be kept in mind. The Brothers also strove to form minds more vigorously and to furnish their pupils' memories. The Superior-general was surrounded by two colleagues zealous for studies, provided with serious and exact knowledge, animated by a desire for progress and, moreover, in close accord both as to ideas and feelings: his third Assistant, Brother Anacletus and the young Director of St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields and Visitor of Paris, Brother Philippe; both of them were especially endowed for the sciences, as was Brother Guillaume de Jésus himself. They were about to contribute to introduce a new breath into elementary education. Before taking up questions relating to geography and history – which became the object of their common efforts after 1830 – they were preparing to furnish teachers and pupils with a book essential at that moment during which technical courses and the opening of the first residence school were being readied. This was *Practical Geometry Applied to Geometrical Drawing* by Brother Philippe, which was unique of its kind and the harbinger of an entire library of schoolbooks which was not long in putting in an appearance.

The date of this effort was 1826. At the same time, the Christian Brothers, no less sensitive than Father Affre to the somewhat antiquated style of the *Conduct of Schools* were contemplating a reedition. On this subject, the Chapter of 1822 had already registered criticisms from a good number of its constituents; and one of its resolutions designated a three-member commission responsible for “ridding” the book “of the repetitions and contradictions that had slipped into it.”[1403]Hundreds of administrative matters had gotten in the way of the project. Serious work on the new edition, which had been anticipated on all sides,[1404] was begun in about 1827.[1405]

It appeared during the following year.[1406] The original core of the book had not been changed. “What seems new", declared Brother Guillaume, “is only appearance” and merely attempts “to achieve more effectively the end” sought by De La Salle.[1407] Apart from

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[1401] The teacher...will be careful to point out the qualities capable of inspiring love for the august family which governs us...He must also emphasize that it was religion that civilized the customs of our ancestors, and which enlightened and constantly preserved among them...a prudent liberty. He shall not fail to inspire a righteous horror for the excesses of the Revolution and against the irreligion which was its principle...”(Manuel, pp. 76-7)

,[1402]“The words “continent", “island”, “peninsula”, “sea”, “ocean”, “cape”, “gulf” “strait”...etc shall be explained. “An idea of the extent of the parts of the world along with their populations shall be given, ...the names of the principal States..., the names of the Departments and the principal cities of France...”(Ibid., pg. 83.) Children will be made acquainted with the more useful plants...It will be equally important to teach schoolchildren “things which are most dangerous to health, such as the lack of air in homes, dirt, stagnant water...” (Ibid., pp. 84-5.)

[1403] Preface to the 1828 edition of the *Conduite,* pg. 5.

[1404] Ibid., loc. cit.

[1405] Brother Guillaume de Jésus wrote on the 20th of August 1827 to Sister Térèse Mourcy, Mistress of novices of the Congregation of Providence in Portieux, Charmes (Vosges): In fact, we are getting ready to produce a new edition of our *Conduite des Écoles*. But since this book, however excellent it may be, appears to us to require corrections, we still do not know when we shall be able to put it into the hands of the printer. (Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence).

[1406] Preface (dated the 9th of April 1828), pg. 8.

[1407] First Part, Chap. viii, pp. 74-5

modernizing the language and transposing texts, there are woodcuts representing models of a teacher's chair (with a high back and armrests, but with no desk), classroom benches and a "signal" that continued to be used; a "daily schedule" which precedes the First Part and divides the time for Prayers, recitations, reading, spelling, and arithmetic without introducing any important modifications into Brother Gerbaud's program; recommendations regarding the use of decimal calculations;[1408] the chapter on "civility";[1409] finally, – something that indicates a determination to borrow the most successful features of the 'mutual method' – a larger role given to the "school officers", "tutors", "examiners" and correctors of notebooks.[1410]

In this form, still rather similar to earlier editions, the 1828 edition of the *Conduct* for ten years continued to be the Brothers' *vade mecum*.

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In December 1826 the Superior-general, drawing up a list of "the 'deans' of the Institute", placed himself seventh, after Brother Antoine, Benjamin, Agapet, Edward, Baldomar, and Adelard, all of whom were born between 1740 and 1749.[1411].His spry old age inspired the hope that his rule might be protracted. However, like empty spaces that open up around a magnificent old oak, of the forest that was still standing at the end of the Revolution there had disappeared between 1823 and 1829 Brothers Irenée in Ornans, Pigmenion, Edward, Thibaud and Odo in Lyons, Couronne' in Chartres, Cherubin and Pierre Celestine in Avignon, Bertulphe in Nancy, Marcel in Toulouse, Raymond, Lysimachus, Tharaise and Agapet in Paris, Pierre in St. Etienne, and Morand in Marseille. [1412]

A bereavement that Guillaume de Jésus must have especially felt occurred on the 26th of February 1830. The saintly Brother Emery, first Assistant died on that day, after having "suffered a martyrdom" from an illness that had endured for four months. The notification which briefly recounted his career indicated the important place occupied in the Institute by this edifying Religious, whose charitable, discreet and mortified life was both model and guide for upcoming generations. A few days later occurred the death of his close associate, Brother Blimond, whose passing saddened the residents of Lisieux.[1413]This courageous Director's end – at the age of seventy years – had seemed "premature". God's call was also came, rather suddenly, to the Superior, who was in his eighties. His strength did not begin to decline until the beginning of 1830.[1414] There was a spurt of improvement that carried him

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[1408] First Part, chap. xv. "The care that the teacher must take to teach politeness and civility to the children..." Civility properly understood, is, so to speak, nothing but charity put into practice; a young man who shall have learned early how to behave with politeness and decency will at least respect certain limits and will not make mistakes that would lower him in the eyes of his comrades...Since cleanliness is not incompatible with poverty, care shall be taken that (the children) wash their hands and their face, that they keep their hair cut...;and that they do not come to school barefooted...(pp. 122-4.)

[1409] First Part, cha. iv, pg. 31; Second Part, chap. x, pp. 234-5.

[1410] In Paris, J. Moronval, Printer-Brothers' Bookseller, Rue 65 Galande (312 pages).

[1411] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I.

[1412] Ibid.

[1413] On the 26th of January, Brother Anacletus wrote to Brother Felicissimus, Director of Trinita-dei-Monti, that the Superior-general, who had been suffering from inflammation and swelling, had been in the infirmary for five days. (Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, Brother Felicissimus file.)

[1414] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, Brothers Assistants Eloi and Anacletus' circular of the 10th of June 1830.

through to the beginning of Spring, during which his sturdy body struggled harshly with death. Beginning of the 6th of June his prayerful colleagues followed the stages of the interminable death watch. On the 10th, at 2:30 in the morning, Brother Guillaume de Jésus died.[1415]

We should be grateful to Providence for having determined upon this date as the limit to a long earthly life. Seven weeks more and the old man would have witnessed Paris in revolt, the king dethroned, priests insulted and pursued and every anti-religious passion seething. His good fortune attended him to his final hour. In spite of the storm's rumblings, the head of the Brothers' Institute had, since 1822, enjoyed an exceptional peace in a kingdom in which Catholicism had been restored as the State religion and in which the official world had shown the Brothers friendship, confidence and veneration. The only really painful test arose, as we shall see, in Belgium. And it affected only a very small number of the members of the Institute and would, besides, be followed by glorious and Christian restoration. In France and in Italy the deceased had left behind him 237 institutions and more than 1400 Brothers teaching 87,000 children.[1416]

[1415] Chevalier, pg. 584. Among the schools founded between 1824 and 1830 were: Mortain, Bolbec, Cahors, Périgueux, Revel, Valognes, Coutances, Meyrueis, Vire, Pamiers, Marmande.

[1416]

CHAPTER THREE

The Brothers in Italy

Our narrative has stretched, in an unbroken line, from 1805 to 1830 in order to retrace the life of the Institute and the work of its Superior within its French framework. Such a plan seemed necessary, since the rebirth of the Congregation was inseparable from the religious and political history of the French homeland, and since the latter, which numbers St. John Baptist de La Salle among its most illustrious sons, has remained – after as well as before the Revolution – the center of the Brothers' activities, the primary and principal beneficiary of their dedication and the hearth whence their influence has radiated throughout the world. To deal incidentally with their services in other European countries would have introduced awkward and abrupt parentheses in the middle of some of our chapters and, in particular, would have prevented us from paying the schools in Italy and Belgium the attention to which these very attractive foundations have every right – first of all, because of their origins, their character and the memories they invoke, and, then, because of the future which was theirs.

Up to the present, with respect to these institutions, we have had to be satisfied with hurried references or simple allusions. While the study that we intend for them is situated at the end of the present volume, it is not as a sort of appendix, but rather in order to supply us with the opportunity for an overall picture and to set in motion, with respect to the Italian Communities on the one hand and the Belgian Communities on the other, what the supra-national and universal history of Christian education shall presently bear witness.

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In Rome, Orvieto and Ferrara we return to a landscape that is already known.[1417] Brother Frumence, departing for Lyons, selected as his successor in the Papal States Brother Guillaume de Jésus, who retained as his residence the Community of San Salvatore in Lauro. Under this distinguished Brother, Brother Felicissimus directed the institution of Trinita-dei-Monti; while Brother Rieul – called Regolo in Italy – controlled the novitiate and the school in Orvieto, and Brother Esprit of Jesus managed the school in Ferrara.

The first of these, Jean-Jacques Couronne, was still among the younger men in the Institute. Born on the 19th of September 1771 in Nogent-le-Rotrou, he entered St. Yon on the 5th of June 1789. His was a courageous vocation in unquiet times. His Director, Brother Aventine, just prior to the great dispersion, on the 4th of October 1792, issued him a certificate of "irreproachable behavior".[1418].We have already been made aware of Brother Felicissimus journey to Brussels in 1794;[1419] in the year following, as an exile, whose "attachment to the principles of the Roman Church"was proclaimed by Cardinal Dominic Rochefoucauld,[1420] he

[1417] See the first three volumes of the present work and especially Vol. III, pp. ???

[1418] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, Brother Felissimus' file

[1419] Vol. III of the present work, pg. ???

[1420] Ibid., loc. cit., pg. ???

became reunited beyond the Alps with a group of Christian Brothers brought together under the aegis of the Pope. He was employed in Ferrara, and thereafter in Rome. From 1797 to 1804 he was at the novitiate which Pope Pius VI opened in Orvieto, where he had been made Sub-Director shortly after taking his final vows on the 27th of May 1804; in August of that year Brother Frumence recalled him to San Salvatore in Lauro. And, at the very moment during which the Vicar-general and his associates, Brothers Esdras and Pierre, were preparing to step into Joseph Fesch's carriage, the former novice in Rouen, at the age of thirty-three years, was appointed to direct the institution which preserved the traditions of Gabriel Drolin in the Eternal City.[1421]

Brother Esprit of Jesus had returned to Ferrara after a social visit during which he had said goodbye to Brother Frumence, whom he had served several years earlier as secretary, and to Brother Emery, the fourth pilgrim on the point of returning to France. Claude-Nicolas Podevin, a Parisian from the parish of St. Jean-en-Grève, had been a member of the Institute since he was nineteen years old. He, too, had done his training at St. Yon, where he had taken his first vows in 1788; and, beginning in 1793, he taught in San Salvatore in Lauro. And in Emilia, he had succeeded Brother Eulogius, who had died on the 20th of October 1798.

In Orvieto was etched the austere features of Brother Rieul (Joseph Agnez). In 1805 this native of the Dauphine' had been for twenty years an Italian by adoption.[1422] He was born on the 6th of May 1757, in the parish of Sauze, which, at the time, was in the diocese of Embrun.[1423]Now the diocese of Gap. He was the only son of peasants,[1424]Antoine Agnez and Thais Michel. and he benefitted so much from the elementary instruction he received in the hamlet school that at the age of twelve he himself performed the functions of a Communal teacher. A similar task subsequently brought him to the Lower-Dauphiné, and he began thinking about the Religious life. In 1779 his widowed mother sold the greater part of a small family farm to pay for Joseph's novitiate expenses. He took the habit on the 30th of November of the same year with the Brothers in Avignon. At first,he was teacher in a primary class in that city, and then having been called to Normandy as a supervisor in the penitentiary, he left Rouen and France forever in 1785, provided with an "Obedience" for Ferrara, where, on the 19th of May, he was perpetually professed. Elsewhere[1425] we have followed him from Ferrara to Orvieto and from Orvieto to Rome.

The ancient city of the Etruscans adopted and absorbed the rugged and industrious French highlander and revered – under the name of Brother Regolo – the powerful head, with the half-closed eyes under heavy brows, with the strong lips and the fleshy nose,[1426] this humble man, pious, and (in spite of a morbid constitution) ceaselessly bowed in prayer and dedicated to the duties of his vocation. For more than half a century, tied down by numerous and sensitive tasks, given responsibilities of preeminent importance involving the Holy See and honored by the respect of a succession of Popes, Brother Rieul was to leave a reputation among the Italian Christian Brothers for something close to sanctity.

[1421] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, chronological list of Brother Felicissmus' "Obediences."

[1422] See Notice sur Joseph Agnez*, Frère des Écoles chrétiennes*, mort à Rome le 2 mars 1838, by Father Andreé, pastor at Puy-Sanières (Hautes-Alpes), Marseille, 1902.

[1423] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. ???

[1424] Buste of Brother Rieul, reproduced in Father Andre's brochure.

[1425] Vol.3

[1426] ibid

Imagine a Roman medallion set in the rocks of the Apennines, close by the thousand year old church of St. André and the buttresses of St. Juvenal above the Umbrian valley and near the Cathedral in white marble. The practice of the language, an interminable exile become second nature, very little contact with the outside world and especially with his countrymen whom he had left behind before the Revolution, and living henceforth in a climate that Joseph Agnez might have considered unbreathable, all these influences had "naturalized" the Brother in a region that had for centuries remained nearly changeless.

He dwelt, with his companions and pupils, in a building that had been bequeathed by Baron Velenti,[1427] perched high above the old city and closed in upon itself like an enormous fortress. He would go to meditate in front of the frescos of Luca Signorelli or of Fra Angelico or in the chapel of the miraculous "Corporal". Beads in hand, he moved through the narrow streets, like those in Assisi, with their decorated balconies, and where the peasants' little donkeys and oxen crossed.

The house which the Brothers occupied until 1875 faced Strada Mercanzia.[1428] Actually, it was the main commercial artery; and even at the street level of the Valenti property, close by to the entrances reserved, one for the Brothers and the other for the pupils, four shops had been established. The sites for the school and for the Community were composed of four classrooms, supply rooms (woodshed, office, "delivery", cellar), kitchen, dining rooms, chapel, common room, bedrooms and dormitories, and all of it crammed into a rather narrow space between thick walls. The novitiate had to be satisfied with the second floor, and it was not sheltered from the sights and sounds coming from out of doors; its interior facade overlooked a small garden, which was exposed to the view of a convent of Beguines: which turned out to be an "occasion of annoying distractions", according to the "history" kept in the Brothers' Archives, "because of the singing and other noisy voices inevitable in a female residence."[1429]

Brothers, both young and old, attempted to detach themselves – not always without difficulty – from these neighborhood inconveniences. On one of the marble plaques placed opposite one of the lower rooms,[1430]the Brothers might have meditated upon the "law" laid down by the Pope: "...to dedicate their zeal to coarse children, vagabonds and the indigent, to teach them catechism, Christianize and civilize them; to forgo all other instruction except reading, writing and arithmetic; and refuse all remuneration, even what is voluntary" .To transgress these commandments, declares the inscription, would involve the immediate cancellation of the legacy.

However, the teachers and novices must have lived on very little. Of the income from the estate, 400 écus was all that was allotted each year to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[1431] Some slight gifts, a few grants from the Popes came later on by way of additions to their income.[1432]. Brother Rieul, to the best of his ability, employed the funds, used the

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[1427] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. ???

[1428] Today it is called Corso Cavour.

[1429] Motherhouse Archives, KH q3, Orvieto file.

[1430] In 1940, it was shoe repairing shop. Overall, the property has retained its appearance of days gone by: the shops at the ground level; rooms at various floors have become dwellings for local families. We were welcomed most graciously

[1431] Mentioned by a second inscription, which also refers to the establishment of the novitiate in the Valenti house through the efforts of the executor of the will, Dominic Salvatori. Copies of both texts, diligently highlighted by Brother Maxime, Archivist, are contained in the Motherhouse Archives, file KH q3.

[1432] File cited, *Historique de l'établishement d'Orvieto. I*n conformity with the original intentions of the testatrix, the capital of the Velenti estate was remitted to the Jesuits in 1815, after the restoration of the

space, and warded off material and moral difficulties, with an eye to the Institute's recruitment on Italian soil.

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Neither the condition of peoples' minds nor the political situation (at the time Napoleon dominated the Peninsula) gave rise to any great hopes among the Christian Brothers who were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See. Vocations faltered and failed. In 1809 Brother Frumence did not dare to believe that the progress of the Institute, nor, indeed, its survival, were possible in this country. The abandonment of gratuity also seemed to him to be a barrier to the future. Rather than to resign himself to it, he appeared prepared to recall his colleagues to France.[1433]

The following year, a decree issued from Paris abolished Religious corporations in the "Kingdom of Italy". Since Ferrara by right of conquest belonged to that kingdom (its leader, head encircled with "the iron crown", was none other than the Corsican Caesar) the Brothers, schoolteachers on the banks of the Po considered themselves in the line of fire. Shortly after his election to the generalate, Brother Gerbaud, informed of their fears, did not encourage them to any further resistance. "You cannot remain as you are", he wrote on the 15th of October 1810 to Brother Esprit. His wish to see them retreat to Petit College in Lyons was expressed in urgent language: "Come and embrace us, Come and console us!...What we need are senior Brothers, and we look for them to come from Italy".[1434]

In December and, then again, at the beginning of 1811, he was still more insistent. He considered the Ferrara Community "dissolved" and sent new "obediences" to the Director and to those Brothers whom Brother Esprit would think "worthy to accompany him"; he attempted to reassure the Brothers in Italy on the situation of the Institute in the French Empire: the "mad times are over"; the "nation" no longer behaves "like a harsh stepmother"; the Brothers freely wear the habit.[1435]

These pleas persuaded Brothers Contest, Elzear and Stanislaus to return to the Motherhouse. Brother Esprit of Jesus withdrew to Rome to be with Brother Guillaume de Jésus.[1436]Brothers who were Italian nationals attempted to continue classes. Among them there was a young man of a quite distinguished family, wealthy and thoroughly Christian, Vincent Sterbini. He had been a pupil at Trinita-dei-Monti and then a novice under Brother Rieul in Orvieto, who had distinguished himself by the purity of his soul, his gracious gentleness and his exact obedience. He arrived in Ferrara in 1803, when he was nineteen years old. He wished to give his countrymen an example; along with him, the Seminary in the city welcomed Brother Sebastian. But without a leader, it was not long before this group dissolved. With exception of the courageous Roman, the six Brothers of the team became secularized and henceforth broke off all ties with the Institute.[1437] Brother Sebastian returned to Orvieto, and he told his father: "I shall remain in the Institute as long as the last of our Communities shall

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celebrated Society

[1433] Motherhouse Archives, Brother Frumence's notebooks, notebook #2, letter to Brother Guillaume de Jésus (beginning of 1809).

[1434] Ibid., file of Brother Gerbaud's letters, notebook #2.

[1435] Ibid., notebook #3, letters of the 9th of December 1810, to Brother Stanislaus, of the 19th of December to Brother Contest, of the 11th of January 1811 to Brother Esprit.

[1436] Motherhouse Archives, file HA n11

[1437] Motherhouse Archives, file HAn11 and *Historique*...cited.

endure."[1438]

In this way the school created in 1741 by Cardinal Delci came to an end.[1439] Brother Rieul's Community manifested greater perseverance and confidence in God. While it, too, had been threatened by events, it had made a vow in October of 1810 "every year to celebrate the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary by a fast on the Vigil", if she obtained "the grace of remaining in Orvieto, in the holy Religious habit, and of observing the holy Rule, without any changes". Their prayer heard, Brothers Rieul, Charles Borromeo, Sebastian, Benoit-of-the-Sacred-Heart-of- Mary, and Paul solemnly confirmed their commitment in a form that was approved by the Superior-general, which bears their signatures and the date, 22nd of August 1811.[1440]

It was a question whether San Salvatore in Lauro and Trinita-dei-Monti would be also secure. Here the schools were right in the middle of a zone of the greatest confusion: invasion by a Napoleonic army, the annexation of Rome to the Empire, the installation of a French government and the abduction of Pius VII.[1441] Alarm and dismay spread among the Brothers. Disquieting letters, doleful as well as bitter, reached Petit College. Brother Gerbaud attempted to inspire his men with calm; and he complimented Brother Felicissimus who maintained his institution "in good order". At the same time he entreated him (and the counsel was addressed to all members of Roman Communities) to "write nothing which...had the slightest relation" to political matters; their letters "were seen by" inquisitorial "eyes". The times were such that they needed to meditate on the words of Holy Scripture: "Man's anger does not fulfill God's justice". Let the good Brothers, then, avoid becoming angry; and let them be on their guard lest they compromise their own "peace and union". The Superior-general affirmed his affection for the "dear Italian Brothers"; and he expressed his admiration for Brother François Borgia and Brother Jerome-of-Calvary. In responding to the anxious questions that the Emperor's conduct occasioned, he said that he did not anticipate closing the novitiate in Orvieto: "the would be to slam the door of the Institute" on "the excellent candidates" on the Peninsula, whom Brother Rieul has obviously "been able to form completely".[1442].

The Superior's wish strove only to alleviate "the burdens and the difficulties" of the Director of Trinita-dei-Monti. But he forbad him from accepting any payment from the pupils and from giving private lessons. Everything would go well, if only the Rule remained scrupulously observed.[1443] Brother Gerbaud might well have given another inflection, another effect, to his advice, if distance, lack of detailed information and the censorship practiced by a political tyranny had not prevented him from knowing thoroughly the way the Brothers in Italy were thinking. After having "cleared out the monasteries", the Imperial administration turned its attention to demanding, of the secular clergy as well as of monks, the taking of an oath of fidelity. Some hesitation was observed in the Hierarchy and among the pastors; in Latium the Bishops seemed inclined to submit. Umbria, on the other hand, decided in favor

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[1438] *Notice nécrologique* du Frère Sebastiano, 1874.

[1439] See Vol. II of the present work, pg. ???

[1440] Motherhouse Archives, file Khq3; cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1938, pg. 130.

[1441] See Louis Madelin's *La Rome de Napoléon, la domination francaise à Rome de 1809 à 1814*, Paris, 1905.

[1442] Motherhouse Archives, BEb2 and KH n1 files, letter to Brother Felicissimus, 1st of February 1811. Brother Assistant Emery wrote to the Italian Brothers because the Superior-general did not know Italian

[1443] Ibid., BEb2, letter dated the 7th of May 1811.

of *non possumus*: among those refusing to yield was Bishop Jean-Baptist Lambruschini, of Orvieto, the appointed protector of the Institute: that "crafty Genovese drives me to despair", exclaimed Roederer, Prefect of the Transmene.[1444]

The Pope's instructions, come by secret channels in June of 1810, demanded intransigence. This sort of command finally gave rise to a general movement against the "usurper": Roman lawyers refused to plead cases and municipal judges refused to sit on their benches.[1445] Priests who had taken the oath, and whom the people began to spurn, retracted. More clearly the voice of the captive Pope was heard and more harshly raged the antireligious persecution: on the 4th of May 1812 a Napoleonic decree placed the rebellious – who were declared "guilty of a felony" – outside the protection of the laws; they were arrested, brought before a military board, deprived of their property and sentenced to exile; and deportations followed one after another from July 1812 to January 1814.[1446]

How did the Brothers of the Christian Schools escape the network of oppressive measures? As Papal subjects, members of a Religious Society, and teachers dependent upon the Imperial "University", their rounding up promised to be inevitable. A Rector of the Academy, Ferri Saint-Constant appeared in Rome in order to "conclude" the admission of all educational institutions in the "University" Corporation. The celebrated naturalist, Cuvier and the Inspector-general Coiffier assisted him, and General Miollis lent him a helping hand.[1447] Ferri Saint-Constant came to carry out a decree dated the 27th of July 1811.

At this point Brother Guillaume de Jésus appeared upon the scene, as the Superior-general's "Vicar" in order to provide Fontanes' deputy with explanations. His report, addressed to Saint-Constant traced out the history of San Salvatore, listed its finances, specified the school population in the two Brothers' schools on the left bank of the Tiber and outlined the program of studies.[1448]

He was expected to supply more than a mere report. In virtue of the Decree of the 17th of September 1808, he was explicitly to acknowledge submission to the regulations of public education.[1449]. Many schoolteachers in the Papal States wished to subscribe to this "declaration". To "the great surprise" of the French Rector, the "Ignorantine" Brothers led the way by rejecting it. Ferri Saint-Constant protested that even if the Brothers were asked to take an oath in the strict sense of the term, it would be unpardonable for them to disobey their sovereign; besides, the "opinion of the most reputable theologians" was of a nature to calm the conscience. Brother Guillaume and his associates persisted in their attitude. Saint-Constant, who feared "unpleasant consequences", on the 25th of December 1812, concluded his letter to the Headmaster as follows: "I beseech you, My Lord, immediately to take the steps that you will think appropriate. Perhaps, it might be well for Your Excellency to write to the Superior-general to give positive instructions to the Brothers of his Congregation in Rome and in Orvieto...I believe that, if their rejection should become known, we should require the oath of them and deal with them with great severity, should they remain refractory. We can only pity the Ignoratine Brothers...for showing such "insubordination";

[1444] Madelin, op. cit., Book II, chaps. vi and vii, passim but especially pp. 334-8.

[1445] Idem., op. cit., chap. viii.

[1446] Idem., op. cit., Book II, chaps. ii and v.

[1447] Idem., op. cit., pp. 531-2.

[1448] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn4 (Roman Communities). The four classes at San Salvatore received 400 pupils at the end of 1811, and the three classes at Trinita-dei-Monti, 220.

[1449] See above, Part One, chap. ii

but the investigator regarded them as “respectable men”, full “of zeal and dedication” in the fulfillment of their duty".[1450] The “University”, in brief, didn’t seem much disposed to be severe. And Ferri Saint-Constant was not unaware of Fontanes views concerning Religious educators. But, in any case, there had to be some face-saving. The Headmaster took his time. It was only after five months had past that he decided to call the Brother Superior-general’s attention to the language of the Decree of September 1808 and to complain about the Christian Brothers’ “resistance” in Italy. An adequate punishment appeared to him to be a change of Directors at San Salvatore in Lauro; since the existing head of the Community “had been depicted (to the Headmaster) as a fanatical and dangerous man.”[1451]

Immediately upon the receipt of this order, Brother Gerbaud drew up his reply. He “respectfully acknowledged” and welcomed “with gratitude, the supervision” ascribed to the Headmaster in relation to the Institute. “The humility, and dependence” in which, because of their “profession”, the Brothers are situated in relation to the Bishops “in the spiritual order”, and to the magistrates “for the temporal order”, obliged him “to consult with His Most Eminent Highness the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyon”.

Unfortunately, Archbishop Fesch was making his pastoral rounds; and it was essential to await his return. Perhaps His Excellency would admit of a delay before attempting to appease “the terrified consciences” of the Romans who, “at this time”, it might well be feared, might object to sending a new Director.[1452]

And, on the spot, the Superior-general launched into an endorsement of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, “a venerable man of sixty-six years of age, fifty of which have been in Community and in services which have been welcomed by the public”. This distinguished teachers’ accusers “have doubtlessly mistaken him for someone else”. It would be impossible to meet with anybody “more humble, more gentle, more simple, more prudent or more submissive” among Brother Gerbaud’s associates. Combining the “simplicity of a child with profound learning”, in the Institute he deserves the responsibility under which “totters” the man elected by the Chapter of 1810.

It is clear that the letter that was written promised nothing and it repudiated no one. Obviously, its author confided in Fontanes’ customary friendliness. As for Napoleon, for whom a demurrer would have been insupportable, he found himself (in May 1813) at grips with the Allies in the battle for Germany. His victories were “mortal wounds” and his power slipped as the collapse approached.

Cuvier, acquainted with the Superior-general’s statements, advised the Headmaster to observe silence. “If the police”, he added, “conclude that Brother Guillaume is to be dealt with harshly, the ‘University’ will have nothing with which to reproach itself.”[1453] [1454] In

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[1450] National Archives, F17 12455. A copy of this letter is included in the file KHn4 of the Motherhouse Archives. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 266-7 and Aulard, pg. 242.

[1451] Letter dated the 24th of May 1813. Motherhouse Archives, file KHn4.

[1452] The “planned reply”, written on the same sheet as Fontanes’ letter, contains expressions which do not appear in the final draft: “We can presume as to (the views of the Roman Brothers) from the group letter they wrote on the 23rd of last April, which I have shown to M. Guéneau de Mussy”. And, further on: “I am not saying that there aren’t any hot-heads in Italy, but I assure Your Excellency that the Director is not one of them”.

[1453] .[1453]Letter dated the 30th of May 1813. National Archives, F17 12455. Copy in the Motherhouse Archives, file KHn4. Cf. Chevalier, pp. 267-9 and Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 141.

[1454] Letter dated the 30th of June 1813, National Archives and Motherhouse Archives, file cited.

order to spare the Institute's proxy any prosecution, Brother Gerbaud decided to send him an "obedience" for Lyons. Brother Guillaume left Rome on the 9th of August 1813. Prior to his departure and in anticipation of the closing of the Christian Brothers' Communities, he distributed the money in the safe among the Brothers of San Salvatore in Lauro and Trinita-dei-Monti. Only Brother Laurence accompanied him to France. Because of "the distance and the heat of the season", the travellers went by coach.[1455] Brother Felicissimus remained in charge of the Institute's interest east of the Alps: "in case of suppression", he would have the care "of personal effects and furnishings".[1456]

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It is easy to imagine the commotion and disorder that reigned in the Italian Communities following upon these events. Brother Rieul, who had received from the Superior-general the mission of visiting the two Roman institutions was dismayed at the situation: the little group in San Salvatore in Lauro, left to itself, no longer followed the Rule.[1457] Each teacher lived pretty nearly as he pleased, on the funds left by Brother Guillaume de Jésus. The Brothers who were Italian nationals, over-excited by Imperial military defeats voiced their grievances against Brother Gerbaud, whom they accused of having bound the fate of the Institute to that of the French "University" and to a political regime that persecuted the Holy See. Brother Esprit, who had remained among them, was obviously powerless to restore peace.

In the hope of "better times",[1458]Brother Rieul returned to Orvieto. However, Napoleon abdicated; and Rome hailed the end of foreign domination and the imminent return of Pius VII. It was at this time that, from depths of his solitude, the Director of the novitiate in Orvieto thought that he should tell the head of his Religious family just what the Italian Brothers were thinking. Under the influence of those around him, rather badly informed about what was going on in France and, furthermore, believing that blunt language was necessary, he proceeded tactlessly. He did not conceal the posture of revolt adopted by the Brothers in San Salvatore and appeared to condone their criticism with regard to the directives which, for four years, had been advanced by Brother Gerbaud. "An Institute privileged by a government whose end was the ruination of true religion...cannot be regarded favorably in Rome, the center of the Catholic faith", he dared to write. In order "to cleanse itself of the stain, real or imaginary", which a prolonged docility to the tyranny had cast upon the Congregation, the Superior and the Assistants should deem it proper (as Brother Rieul saw it) "to make an act of obedience to the Holy See"; and, what was more, to have the election of 1810, suspect for not having been freely conducted, confirmed by the Pope![1459]

This extraordinary letter could not but offend the man to whom it was addressed. The retort, while altogether justified, still proved that Brother Gerbaud was attempting to inform consciences: he had not accepted the precarious kindnesses of the former Emperor except as conditioned by every claim of orthodoxy; he knew only too well that during the storm of the preceding years, the Institute was in danger of being dispersed "like dust"; that "if Europe's trouble-maker had returned victorious from Russia" the annihilation of the Church would

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[1455] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn4, Brother Guillaume de Jésus's report to the Superior-general, 1813.

[1456] Ibid., file KHn1, Brother Guillaume's letter to Brother Felicissimus, 23rd September 1813.

[1457] Ibid., Brother Rieul's petition to the Cardinal-vicar, December 1814.

[1458] Ibid

[1459] Motherhouse Archives, KHn1, letter dated the 25th of May 1814.

have been a certainty. But to incriminate the Superior's behavior and to create a doubt respecting the General Chapter testifies to a very special sort of ignorance. Why, furthermore, did the Brothers in Rome and Orvieto abstain from taking part in the 1810 Assembly, which had fulfilled every requirement of Canon Law? One could not, without serious offense withhold total and immediate obedience to those whom it elected. And it behoved Brother Rieul to dispel the deplorable prejudices he found around him.[1460].

There hung over the Italian Communities, then, the threat of a schism, from which only ruin would result. Brother Esprit-de-Jésus, while he lacked authority, was not wanting in wisdom, and he found the right course of action: he "had recourse to the Pope through the Cardinal-vicar", Bishop della Somaglia who was governor of the Papal States at the time. For reasons that were obviously imperative, he assumed the place of the Superior-general of the Institute, ordered Brother Rieul to return to San Salvatore, dispatched Brother Stanislaus (whom Lyons had sent back to Italy) as Director in Orvieto and put Brother Esprit-de-Jésus in charge of the affairs of the Community at Trinita-dei-Monti. Finally, uncertain as to the perseverance of young candidates, he prohibited, until further inquiry, admission to vows of the Brothers in the Ponte Sant' Angelo quarter, who were no more than "teaching-novices". Brother Gerbaud was asked to abide by these measures by sending the usual "Obediences", as the formal witness of respect and submission to the Superior-general. Furthermore, Brother Esprit was embolden to make an appeal to Cardinal Fesch, and the distinguished exile became, as one might have expected, the counsel for "the French Brothers".[1461]

At Petit College intentions concurred with the Cardinal-vicar's. Brother Rieul, while he left Orvieto "reluctantly", yielded both to the will of the Holy See and to directions from Lyon. Two days "after the Feast of St. Peter" in 1814, in the company of Brothers Esprit and Felicissimus, he appeared before Cardinal della Somaglia. "Make the young Brothers obey", declared His Eminence; "but if you can't do so, shut down the Community."[1462]

The new Director thought that this solution was "too brutal". Nevertheless, he ran into the most shameful opposition. Four Brothers refused to return their share of the money deposited with them and then seized some of the pieces of furniture. There was a fifth Brother who had adopted a decidedly ambivalent attitude.[1463].

Brother Rieul waited patiently until December. And then he drew up a factual report for the ecclesiastical authorities. The rebellious had been expelled. But since the Pope wished the school to continue, a group, made up of rather disparate elements, consented to assist the Director.[1464]

From France, Brother Rieul received reassurances from his predecessor, Brother Guillaume de Jésus. In a brisk, familiar style, the old man manifested "every power absorbed in mending the disarray created by a Revolution that had endured for twenty-five years". He was an example to be followed by the man who wanted to restore the Roman schools. "Well! please God", Guillaume added, "that the whole of the evil is confined to your place!" He regretted having committed a "nasty mistake in writing" in 1813 when (under pressure, it is true, from members of the Community) he decided to share available funds. "The devil money" was the

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[1460] Ibid.; rough copy of Brother Gerbaud's letter to Brother Rieul, dated the 25th of May 1814. On the margin is written: "Ideas to be reexamined and corrected". It is therefore probable that in the final version, which has not been located, some of the language, and perhaps whole paragraphs, were suppressed

[1461] Motherhouse Archives, KHn1, Brother Esprit de Jésus's letter to Brother Gerbaud, 18th of June 1814 and Cardinal della Somaglia's letter to Brother Felicissimus, 22nd of June.

[1462] Ibid., Brother Rieul's letter to the Superior-general, 8th of September 1814.

[1463] Ibid., petition to the Cardinal-vicar

[1464] Ibid., Brother Rieul's letter to Brother Gerbaud, 17th of December 1814.

cause of the downfall of several Brothers.

The time had come to act like a man. It was up to Brother Rieul to refuse to be overwhelmed. "You are always the same", Brother Guillaume rebuked him, (you should abide by) the dilemma that was once put to the Roman who rejected the office of Consul: if you do so because of the responsibility, recall that your are a citizen; but if it is because of the honor, then do not slight the Republic. You're afraid of your shadow"![1465]

So chided, the Brother, in spite of his bouts of ill-health, and his mistrust of himself, attempted to make a stand. Nevertheless, the Community of San Salvatore seemed to him to be "always fatal to young Brothers". If the Community was going to be saved, a transfusion "of three good Brothers" had become absolutely necessary.[1466]

For his part, Brother Felicissimus, finally confirmed at Trinita-dei-Monti,[1467] confessed that he was not very optimistic. He had recovered from an illness that had been brought on by overwhelming hardships. And according to him, the state of Brother Rieul's physical health was even worse. The unfortunate man could not for much longer shoulder the former responsibilities of Brother Guillaume de Jésus. It had been a real thunderbolt in the Italian Communities in 1813 when this Christian Brother, with his excellent judgment and lofty character, had been recalled. To continue the work that had been begun "113 years earlier", to satisfy the Pope, as well as to silence "the prejudices and the suspicions" spread throughout Rome, let the Superior consent once again to select this peerless "replacement". And let him appoint to assist him "four or five Brothers" as replacements for the gifted men who had benefited France since the departure of Brothers Frumence, Emery, Raymond, Joseph and Charles Borromeo (to name only a few) to the detriment of the work in Italy. The Institute's representative to the Holy See should, as in the past, bear the title of "Procurator" and, as such, settle the many matters which demanded the intervention of the Papal Court.[1468]

The ineffectual scuffle during the "Hundred Days" introduced a silence into the dialogue. Upon its resumption after Waterloo everybody was still occupying the same positions. Brother Rieul was also insisting upon Brother Guillaume's return.[1469] The Director of Trinita-dei-Monti complained that he did not have the Motherhouse's complete attention.[1470] And then his Superior at San Salvatore contemplated the possibility of turning the position of leadership over to him, but not without emphasizing equally forcibly the damage caused the Institute by the "Cardinal-protector's" failure.[1471].

Vying with Brother Rieul's humility and also rather careless that the latter might snap under "the burden of superiorship", Brother Felicissimus pleaded "corporeal and spiritual" infirmities.[1472] Clearly, Brother Gerbaud considered his Italian associates with some severity;

[1465] Motherhouse Archives, KHn1, letter dated the 4th of December 1814.

[1466] Letter dated the 17th of December 1814.

[1467] Brother Rieul did not wish to part with Brother Esprit at San Salvatore.

[1468] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, letter to the Superior-general, 12th of January 1815.

[1469] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, letter to the Superior-general, 12th of August 1815.

[1470] Ibid., 14th of August 1815.

[1471] Ibid., 20th of December

[1472] Ibid., 27th of December.

and he came to have some difficulties concerning the future of their work. At about this time, with important tasks to be pursued in France, the schools in Rome slipped into the background.

This was the occasion for very bitter complaints on the part of Brother Rieul in a letter dated the 15th of February 1816. Invited by his Superior to pay the Pope "the Institute's respects", the Director of San Salvatore declined. He "did not dare" go to greet the Pope, since the assistance expected from the Motherhouse was lacking to the enterprises that were dear to Pius VII's heart. Nevertheless, in Italian circles he was the "defender" of Brother Gerbaud's "cause". But in Lyons, every accommodation was made for "the French king" and for the "Island of Reunion".[1473].

These remarks, hazardous to say the least, earned their author a sound admonition. The Superior protested against "formal disobedience" contrary to his commands; and he was surprised at having "to justify himself". Did not the novitiate in Orvieto sufficiently prove the goodwill of the people directing the Institute? Did it not provide hope for the support, and indeed for the growth, of Christian Brothers foundations in the Papal States? And had not "De La Salle's last will and testament", through the role that had fallen to the Brothers in Trinita-dei-Monti, been scrupulously carried out?[1474]

Brother Rieul remained silent for a very long time. And, then, immediately after the Chapter of 1816 which brilliantly proclaimed the Institute's feelings for its Superior and, at the same time, secured for the "Romans" the delight at seeing Brother Guillaume de Jésus a member of the Regime, the vital reassurances began to arrive at Petit College. The Brother, contrite for having offended legitimate authority, beat his breast and asked for a penance. Not long ago he had yielded to awkward suggestions. Henceforth, while prepared to retire before the more worthy and the more capable, he did his best to organize schools and even opened a new institution.[1475]

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The new school, thus reported, became a reality in Bolsena.[1476] It was due to the Bishop of Orvieto, Jean-Baptist Lambruschini. Gentle, affable and attentive to preserve his flock in the purity of faith and morals, he himself was venerated like a saint; he governed his diocese for ten years after having exercised the functions of "first Provost", and, then, Vicar-general in Genoa, his native city. We have mentioned some of his quarrels with the Imperial Prefect of Trasimene. He was arrested on Napoleon's orders on the 5th of May 1810 and endured exile in Bourg-en-Bresse, in Belley; and he spent the time of this persecution in composing a "spiritual guide". In 1815 his faithful Umbrians arranged a triumphant reception for him. From the heights of Orvieto his solicitude extended over the fortunate region which, to the north of Viterbo and of Montefiascone[1477] and in a landscape of fertile farm lands and hills was reflected on the edges of Lake Bolsena. The citizens of the tiny city, boat builders,

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[1473] Ibid

[1474] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, letter of the 26th of February 1816.

[1475] Relying upon the author of *Essai historique sur la Maison Mère*, we wrote (Vol. III, pg. ???) that Brother Esprit de Jésus had been sent to Bolsena by Brother Frumence. That is certainly in error. There is no document that alludes to this distant prelude to the work of Bishop Lambruschini.

[1476] Ibid., letter to the Superior-general, 6th of November 1816.

[1477] The Archbishopric of which the famous Cardinal Maury was titulary.

fishermen, and gardeners, were simple, upright Christians under the patronage of their Saint Christina. Bishop Lambruschini loved them. On the 28th of September 1815 he obtained a "Brief" from Pius VII, which granted their magistrates the use of a former monastery of Franciscan Conventuals. Numerous priests lived in the midst of 1600 town-dwellers; a Provost and fifteen Canons served the martyr's sanctuary and watched over the altar made illustrious by the miracle of the Precious Blood. However, the religious instruction of children left something to be desired; the representatives of the population asked whether the "very zealous" shepherd of the diocese might be able to build a school "of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, called Ignorantelli" in the abandoned convent.

The petition was given a most favorable reception, on condition that the people of Bolsena pay the General of the Conventuals an annual fee of ten écus. The monastic church was to become the oratory of the Christian Brothers' Community.[1478]

Immediately the chief magistrate, Luigi Cozza Caposavi expressed the gratitude of his fellow-citizens to the Bishop whose good offices assured the success of the enterprise.[1479] Bishop Lambruschini sent Brother Rieul to visit the buildings and obtained for him a most cordial welcome from another notable in Bolsena, Count Joseph Cozza Luzzi.[1480] On the 1st of December he launched an appeal to his beloved people for "each one of them to contribute within his means" to the material existence of the teachers.[1481] And in spite of a bad harvest (and of the want that as a consequence resulted in homes), they gathered together the necessary subsidies.

The "decree for the erection and foundation of the religious school" was drawn up "on the Feast of Saint Christina", the 24th of July 1816. "According to the intentions and the will of the Sovereign Pontiff", the Brothers were to take possession of the convent and of all its out-buildings; and the city was to supply them with a some of forty écus.[1482]

It was necessary to wait until the 12th of January 1817 for the solemn inauguration, presided over by Bishop Lambruschini who held a service and preached an appropriate homily under the arches of the Franciscans.[1483].Brother Rieul wrote to Brother Superior-general on the 1st of the following March: "The little school in Bolsena began on the first Sunday after the Epiphany; dear Brother Esprit agreed quite willingly to go there; he is happy...There are two novices working with him – Brother Jean-Baptist (one of our pupils from Orvieto) and Brother Michel, an eighteen year old Sicilian.[1484]

Brother Frumence's former secretary, comforted in his disappointments at San Salvatore, closed his rather brief career in peace, on the 6th of August 1819, under the clear skies of Bolsena. "He won the respect and the veneration of both the clergy and the people. A malignant fever" laid him low. "A good Religious, a good teacher and full of fervor and zeal", in particular he had an ardent devotion to the Eucharist. His Brothers were observed

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[1478] Motherhouse Archives, KH p3, Bolsena file. The original "Brief" is in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Orvieto, acta ecclesiastica Dom. Episc. Lambruschini pro locis piis, Vol. VII, pg. 127.

[1479] Ibid., letter of the 29th of September 1815.

[1480] Ibid., letters to the magistrates and to the people of Bolsena.

[1481] Ibid., certified copy of the decretum erectionis, signed, J.-B. Episc. Urbevetanus.

[1482] Ibid., report of the inauguration

[1483] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1.

[1484] Ibid.

slipping into the *campo santo* and opening the coffin "in order to gather relics". The Bishop, on the verge of invoking censure, pardoned (no doubt with a smile) the simplicity of their hearts.[1485],

He gladly accepted, as the late Brother Esprit's successor, Brother Sebastian, whom he knew personally. Henceforth, the school had four Brothers. Cozza Luzzi was deeply devoted to them, protected them with his influence and assisted them with material goods. Brother Rieul asked the Superior-general "to affiliate" him.[1486]

Three years later an unhappy experience nearly damaged the good name and the growth of the school in Bolsena. A Brother Benedict had replaced Brother Sebastian, who had been recalled to Orvieto. By pretty suspicions means, he intrigued with the Sacred Penitentiary to obtain (through an unusual procedure) dispensation from his vows. And, then, quite suddenly, he defected scandalously.[1487] The appointment of Brother Vincent Ferrier cushioned the consequences of this incident. And Brother Rieul's regular visitations continued to support the Community in the ways of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[1488]

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No matter how small and obscure the Institute in Italy continued to be, more and more it attracted attention. Its faithful service in Ferrara hadn't been forgotten: the inhabitants of that city, by the intermediary of the lawyer Ronchi, asked for the Brothers return. In the province of Perugia, the Bishop of Nocera, inspired by the example of his colleague in Orvieto "made a very strong appeal" to the Superior-general's representative to accept a school that had already been completely organized.[1489]

But for one to take appropriate action respecting these projects, postulants were not showing up in sufficient numbers. The novitiate in Orvieto (so inconveniently laid out, and which Bishop Lambruschini had wished to relocate into the Bolsena region)[1490]cast Brother Rieul into alternating moods of despair and disenchantment. In 1815 there were only three candidates in the novitiate; by December 1817 the vocation curve had risen to ten. At the end of 1819 three novices made their vows; while three others withdrew; so that at the moment there was only a single novice. The year following, with Brother Sebastian's departure for Bolsena, the Community lurched, since it lacked both "experience and wisdom."[1491] Finally,

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[1485] Ibid., Bishop's letter to Count Cozza Luzzi, 16th of October 1815.

[1486] Brother Rieul's letter to Brother Gerbaud on the 11th of August 1819 and the necrological notice, also written by the former. Brother Esprit of Jesus was only fifty-two years of age; he passed thirty-five years in the Institute and twenty-four years of perpetual profession

[1487] Ibid., Kh n1, letter of the 15th of December 1819.

[1488] Ibid., Brother Rieul's correspondence concerning Brother Benedict, from the 14th of September 1822 to the 3rd of September 1823. The former Brother attempted to be readmitted into the Institute; but Brother Guillaume, informed by Brother Rieul, ruled in the negative.
Ibid., Report of the visitations. On the 11th of May 1824 Brother Rieul prohibited the entrance of women into the house, recommended the observation of silence, an increase in the "spirit of faith and of prayer" and assiduity in studies.

[1489] Motherhouse Archives, Kh n1, Brother Rieul's letter to Ronchi, 27th of April 1817; letter of the same to Brother Gerbaud, 18th of October 1817.

[1490] Ibid., same letter

[1491] Ibid., letters dated the 28th of November 1815, to Brother Joseph of Mary; the 17th of December 1817, to Brother Gerbaud; the 15th of december 1819, to the same; and the 26th of February 1820, to Brother Joseph of Mary.

1823 saw the arrival of Brother Pio of Santa Maria. He was born in Casal and had a superb education; he entered the Institute in 1817 when he was thirty-two years of age. He was professed in 1822. He mortified his "effervescent nature" and manifested a remarkable understanding of the Rule. As Director of novices, all his activities were deployed at the spiritual level. Recruitment could be expanded. And in the temporal order also Brother Pio's administration was wise and productive. Placing his patrimony at the Institute's disposition, he paid off the Community's debts and made considerable improvements in the buildings.[1492] The concerns of his Director in Rome were diminishing when an ailment of the chest placed the teacher in Orvieto at death's door. Brother Rieul hastened to his bedside and took over the reins of the Community, until the near-miraculous cure of his cherished auxiliary.[1493]

The Roman schools enjoyed some progress in 1817.[1494] Unfortunately, their regularity and their actual success in studies suffered from certain flaws, certain inadequacies. A novice come from France, who did not know the first word of Italian, replaced Brother Stanislaus at Trinita-dei-Monti, who had been called to Corsica; Brothers Felicissimus and Francois, because of their physical disabilities, were frequently absent from Community exercises.[1495] In San Salvatore, Brother Bernard, who had not had any novitiate, taught "as a layman" and not as a disciple of De La Salle.[1496] The growing influx of pupils had demanded a more numerous and better prepared faculty. To his responsibilities and tasks of every sort, the Director had to add the duties of a classroom teacher. Actually, it was in this latter capacity that he rediscovered his natural element; he was quite happy to instruct small children; and every day he prayed that God would let him be a schoolteacher![1497]

If the Superior-general would agree to it, the "venerable Brother Benjamin, well into his eighties, would have taken over the direction of San Salvatore; and Brother Felicissimus would have replaced Brother Rieul as Brother Guillaume's "vicar" in Italy. "You know his prudence and his skill", the Institute's too modest representative wrote to Paris.[1498]

On this point, one had to agree, there was something wanting in his own shrewdness. Two years later, the Director of Trinita-dei-Monti was grappling with financial difficulties: without informing anybody, he had loaned "considerable sums to swindlers". His superior confessed that he was amazed by "such a strange blindness."[1499]. These worries weighed heavily upon the rather frail shoulders and sensitive soul of Brother Rieul.

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[1492] Relations mortuaires, Vol. III, pp 17 et sq., Circular dated the 15th of May 1856, on the death of Brother Pio.

[1493] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, Brother Rieul's letter to Brother Guillaume de Jésus, 15th of December 1826.

[1494] Ibid., letter of the same to the same, 6th of August 1817.

[1495] Ibid., Brother Rieul's letter to Brother Joseph of Mary, 20th of May 1820.

[1496] Ibid., letters dated the 17th of December 1814 and 12th of August 1815, to Brother Gerbaud.

[1497] Ibid., letter of the 20th of December 1820, to Brother Gerbaud.

[1498] Ibid., letter dated September 1824.

[1499] Ibid., letter of the 15th of December 1826

However, he had earned the confidence of the Holy See. After Pius VII, Leo XII was prodigal in marks of genuine affection for the Christian Brothers. Elected Pope on the 28th of September 1823, he appeared "unannounced" on the 30th of October at 11:30 a.m. at the Brothers' Community of San Salvatore in Lauro and visited the entire institution. He entered Brother Jerome's cell and put his foot up on a chair to enable the old man, partially paralyzed, to kiss the pontifical slipper. Brother Benjamin made a prostration and then as the eighty year old man struggled to raise himself, the Pope helped him back on his feet. These were some of the familiar and friendly gestures which Brother Rieul mentions in his letter to the Superior-general. And then there were questions concerning the Institute's schools and the number of Brothers – both quite unimpressive in Italy, as Leo XII observed. "You must grow". On the 9th of November the discussion was resumed, since on this day the Brother Vicar and the Director of Trinita-dei-Monti were favored with an audience. They emerged from it joyously: the Pope had revealed his decision to open a school in Spoleto. He wanted Christian education to be in hands such as theirs and in other cities in the Papal States. And as the two Brothers emphasized the small number of vocations, the inadequacy of funds and the defection of young candidates, the Pope encouraged them with the watch-word: *Buona speranza!*[1500].

Without delay, the deed confirmed the word. Umbria would once again welcome the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle. Spoleto was a city beloved by the Pope who had a family inheritance there, the "della Genga" palace, complete with garden, wells, a fountain and on a pleasant and convenient site. By a *motu proprio* dated the 20th of February 1824, he appropriated this estate in order to set up two public schools, one for girls and the other for boys.[1501].

An "apostolic letter of the following March 3rd specifies the terms of the gift: "Negligence in matters of education, especially in these unfortunate times, involves contempt for religion, youthful libertinism and unbridled insolence". Thus spoke Leo XII "with sorrow". For this city which he especially loved he wished to remedy the evil; the Brothers of the Christian Schools and the Sisters of St. Agatha helped him by their cooperation. In order to endow them, he used income attached to the Cistercian Abbey of Mary Immaculate, an ecclesiastical benefice to which he himself had the rights in virtue of a decision of his predecessor Pius VI. The pontifical treasury was to supply for the insufficiency of annual revenue, to a total of 700 écus, of which the Brothers were to receive four-sevenths. A curious detail of the arrangement was that, for a distant parish that depended upon the monastery, the Director of the Brothers was to retain the right, which commendatary abbots exercised, of "presenting" the candidate for the post of pastor. A copy of an image of the Most Blessed Virgin, which was connected with the Abbey, on the altar of the church near the school was intended to call to mind the ancient monks.[1502]

Meanwhile, Brother Riuel, summoned to the Quirinal received the Pope's[1503] quite formal invitation to set out for Spoleto. As he explained it to the Superior-general: "I left, then, with Brother Francis Borgia. We were housed with the Oratorian Fathers...Nearly the entire palace is intended for us; they are readying three fine classrooms, a beautiful chapel, a parlor and a Community room...nine rooms. The Brother Vicar reserved for himself the right to the

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[1500] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1, letter of the 12th of November 1823, to Brother Guillaume de Jésus

[1501] Ibid., KH s2, text of the *motu proprio*

[1502] Motherhouse Archives, KH s2, copy of the apostolic letter, with an engraving of Leo XII's coat-of-arms. Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for June 1936, pp. 230-1.

[1503] On the 27th of February, 1824.

opening of the institution. "Benjamin, Paul and Felicissimus will run the Roman Communities, in my absence."[1504]

The conversion of the "della Genga" palace into a school was not completed until autumn. Brother Sebastian was to direct the Community for eight years. Having arrived in Spoleto on the 13th of October 1824, by December he counted more than 160 pupils. Brother Michel and two novices were his assistants. And Brother Rieul, sacrificing time and labor at the pontifical foundation, did not leave the "good people" in the Apennines until they were first assured by Orvieto that a fifth teacher was being sent.[1505]

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The Pope was contemplating another project, of a much wider scope which would set the Roman Court in motion, the ambassador of "His Most Christian Majesty" and, in Paris, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Church Affairs, before supplying the Brothers in Rome with some unsettling concerns.

During the reign of the French monarch Charles VIII, the monastery of Trinita-dei-Monti had been built to serve as a residence for the Minimes. The funds came from donations by patricians and Cardinals, but France was considered the legal owner of the building, which was reserved for Religious of French nationality,[1506]The role that the Founder of the Minimes, St. Francis of Paula, played in the life of Louis XI, the father of Charles VIII, is well known.

Adorned by the efforts of French representatives to the Holy See, and become, with its monumental steps tumbling down to the "Piazza di Spagna", the art works of its church and its gardens in the form of an amphitheater, one of the most characteristic and imposing landscapes in the Eternal City. The disciples of St. Francis of Paula, expelled by the Revolution, no longer recruited in France: demolished was the gaudy church they possessed in Paris, dispersed was the magnificent library where Father Mersenne had worked and which Father Nicolas Barre'[1507] administered, and appropriated for profane uses were the many houses which had multiplied in French provincial cities since the 15th century.

In Rome the buildings of Trinita-dei-Monti remained empty. In order to put them to use, the Papal nuncio to Charles X, Bishop Louis Lambruschini – Brother of the Bishop of Orvieto [1508]– drew up a plan which ran into the opposition of the French Ambassador to the Papal States, Duke Montmorency-Laval. According to this diplomat, it was for his king to dispose of the estate; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Baron Damas was inclined to support Montmorency's point of view.

The nuncio with the concurrence of the Pope, sought that the final apportionment of the property not take effect without the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities. In order to realize the most desirable accord he considered introducing the *Madames of the Sacred Heart* and the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the place of the Minimes: two Congregations

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[1504] Motherhouse Archives

[1505] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. ??? et sq. Ibid., letter of the 18th of December 1824.

[1506] Of the six sons and three daughters in the Lambruschini family all but one entered Religious life or became priests.

[1507] See Vol. I of the present work, Part One, chap. vi.

[1508] See Cardinal Lambruschini's memoirs, *La mia Nunziatura in Francia*, Bologne, 1934, and the analysis of the book by Father Dudon in Études for the 5th of February 1935.

dedicated to teaching, the second of which was a faithful reminder of the "Minime" who had been both precursor and counselor to St.John Baptist de La Salle, and Founder of the *Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus;*[1509] two Congregations whose origin and spirit was French.[1510]

Leo XII was all the more inclined to accept this solution because, with regard to "the eldest daughter of the Church", he cherished an "unfailing" friendship that had sprung up during his residence as nuncio in Paris and continuously sustained by his warm relationship with the Bourbon dynasty.[1511] He stipulated, moreover, that the new institution would be exclusively entrusted to subjects of "His Most Christian Majesty".

By 1825, in spite of the objections that had been raised, the project seemed to have been going well. Brother Guillaume de Jésus on the 28th of January wrote to Brother Felicissimus: "At the beginning of the month Bishop Frayssinous told us about the Holy Father's intentions... I presume that His Holiness has written the king...We should have responded to His Highness that in spite of the shortage of Brothers (seventy-two Communes ... impatiently waiting) we would prepare (for a start-up) as quickly as possible. But, no matter how estimable such an order from the two sovereigns may be, we would be quite comfortable knowing what part of the monastery (the Brothers) are to occupy; how many there have to be; and who is going to provide for them...Bishop Frayssinous says that they must all be French. Speak about this matter to the Brother Vicar... [1512]

Details began to arrive from Italy. The Pope was asking for "twelve" Christian Brothers and would even entertain the notion of opening a novitiate. The Superior-general brought the project back within the limits of the possible: "Lucky", if, at the maximum, he found six Brothers free to go. "Rome was too noisy" for a house of formation. Moreover, it would be better to send experienced men to such a city, men who were already committed by vow. At the outset they should be placed in already functioning Communities, "where they would more quickly get the feel as much for the language" as for educational practices.[1513]

However, discussions between the nuncio and the Minister languished. And it wasn't until 1827 that an agreement was negotiated, which for several months had remained only verbal. Informed of its existence by Bishop Frayssinous, Brother Guillaume declared that he would "give proof of his complete commitment" as promptly as possible. However, he was obliged to proceed in stages: four Brothers were to leave "as soon as the house was ready"; followed by four more; and then the final four at a later date. In order to have essential information the Institute demanded to see a copy of the plans of the building. As for subsidies, not a word was spoken; but people "were relying on the generosity" of the king.[1514].

Supplied with this response, the Minister of Religious Affairs, on the 21st of July, informed his colleague, Baron Damas. The wishes expressed by the Holy Father to "receive the Brothers of Christian Doctrine" honored France and "proved how very much appreciated in foreign countries was an institution which had always been the object of our kings' concerns". The first group of religious educators were to set out "at the beginning of autumn."[1515]

[1509] 1

[1510] 2

[1511] See the biography of Pope Leo XII by Artaud, former charge's d'affaires in the French embassy in Rome (cited by Vicount Guichen*, La France morale et religieuse à la fin de la Restauration,* pp. 9-10.

[1512] Motherhouse Archives, KH n1.

[1513] Ibid., letter to Brother Felicissimus, 28th of March 1825.

[1514] Motherhouse Archives, Register of correspondence, June 1827, letter to the Minister of Religious Affairs

[1515] National Archives, F19 6285.

But all obstacles had not been anticipated. The Duke of Montmorency-Laval planned on lodging the Brothers in an annex to the monastery, the former infirmary which "surrounded the gardens".[1516]. Brother Guillaume de Jésus, who had a good memory for places, raised a doubt as to the suitability of the building that had been selected, which, to his way of thinking, was much too small. He asked that Brothers Rieul and Felicissimus might "get together with the ambassador". These negotiations carried the interminable prelude over into November.[1517]

Finally, everything seemed decided; the Minister of Foreign Affairs advanced the travelling funds and Bishop Frayssinous was prepared to give audience and letters of reference to France's envoys,[1518] when the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin received a letter from Brother Rieul: the Roman Court was thinking about a postponement! There was surprise and perplexity everywhere: had not Bishop Lambruschini just announced the completely settled decisions to Leo XII? The nuncio questioned Paris and Rome. The Pope sought to discover who was the author of this stratagem; and he had the Brother Vicar summoned. After an interview, which ended in a rebuke, he was able to conclude that, while the good faith of the Vicar did not seem to be suspect, the same thing was not true of those who immediately surrounded the all too trusting Brother; human sensibilities and national jealousy were involved. Such attitudes gave a glimpse of a rather unfortunate future.

The Minister of Religious Affairs wrote to the Superior-general on the 29th of January 1828:

"Beyond a doubt the information...transmitted by one of your Brothers was totally inaccurate...I urge you, promptly, to look into the departure.[1519].

For four months the mission's leader, whose name was Brother Hervé de la Croix, was in possession of his "Obedience". Born on the 1st of December 1786 in Thory, in the Department of the Somme, he had been a member of the Institute since 1820. His beginnings in Paris and in Dunkirk had rapidly brought him into the light. A dedicated Religious, active and energetic, he unswervingly pursued his path and succeeded, but not without suffering, in commanding respect for his person and his authority. A difficult but splendid and productive future awaited him on the other side of the Alps.[1520]With his companions, Brothers Neree, Simon Stylites and Brieux, he left the Motherhouse on the 26th of February 1828; and on the 24th of March the travellers hailed the Dome of St. Peter.[1521].

A few days later, the French ambassador himself introduced them to the Pope. The question of lodgings had already become a question. As Brother Guillaume had suspected, the former infirmary of the Minimes was impossible. They even gave up on the idea of locating the school and the Community in another part of the monastery: the new institution was much too close to the Brothers' school that was directed by Brother Felicissimus.[1522]

"It's up to the Holy See to find a way", declared Count La Ferronays, the successor to Baron

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[1516] Ibid., Baron Damas' letter to Bishop Frayssinous, 17th of September 1827

[1517] Brother William of Jesus' correspondence with Bishop Frayssinous, 17th of September, 6th of October, 17th of October, 31st of October 1827; Baron Damas' letter to his colleague in the Religious Affairs Ministry, 9th of November. Ibid.,

[1518] Ibid., letter from the directorate of Foreign Affairs to the Superior-general, 29th of November.

[1519] Ibid., original letter

[1520] *Rivista lasalliana*, for June 1936, pg. 229 et sq., the article "Le Frère Hervé-de-la-Croix," by Brother Clement.

[1521] Motherhouse Archives, KH n 9, note cited

[1522] Ibid.

Damas.[1523] In the final analysis,a diplomatic agreement signed on the 14th of May 1828 by Cardinal Pedicini and the charge' d'affaires, L. Bellocq, turned over the use of Trinita-dei-Monti *in toto* to the *Madames of the Sacred Heart*. And a codicil, dated the 8th of the following September, which bore the names of the same Cardinal and the French king's ambassador to Naples, the Duke of Blacas d'Aulps, stipulated that the Nuns were to pay ten Roman écus monthly "to each of the Brothers...who came from France", up to a total of ten Brothers.[1524].

Beyond this compromise, diplomacy's final negotiations in favor of the Christian Brothers invited by Leo XII did not go. It remained to find them a site and a building. Temporarily, the Vincentian Fathers offered them hospitality at Monte-Cavallo. The situation was unchanged, wrote Brother Rieul to the Superior-general on the 20th of August. "Meanwhile", Brother Hervé de la Croix and his associates studied Italian under the direction of Brother Felicissimus and the Brother Vicar. On several occasions they took part in the banquets of their confreres in the two older Communities. How, then, could one dare believe, objected Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondent, that they felt a certain coldness in the welcome given them? But note the following forebodings: "They'll have a lot of difficulty getting out of trouble." If the school includes none but Frenchmen, travelling expenses will make a big dent in the Institute's budget; "nobody should have accepted that condition."[1525]

After all the hopes lavished by the royal government, to be then excluded from Trinita-dei-Monti was a painful way of getting started. On the other hand, Brother Hervé did not appear to be a man of compromises. At the time of his first Papal audience he sought permission to wear a habit of the type that all the Brothers wore in France since the Chapter of 1816. Leo XII warmly concurred.[1526].

The Italian Brothers were still wearing the Roman collar and an ecclesiastical garb. It has been thirty-five years since that custom had been established. And they clung to it with all the strength of a tradition, because in this country – in the capital of the Catholic world – a Religious who did not look like a cleric would lose much of his celebrity. In 1817, when Brother Rieul was invited by Brother Gerbaud to resume the mantle with the flapping sleeves and the rabat, he replied that he saw "huge difficulties" with that suggestion. And on this point he obtained Pius VII's paternal toleration.[1527] Neither his opinion nor his behavior had changed in 1818 when he assured Brother Guillaume de Jésus that several of his associates would leave the Institute if they were obliged to alter the way they dressed. Pretty nearly unanimously the Brothers at San Salvatore in Lauro and at Trinita-dei-Monti cited the decisions of preceding Popes.[1528].

Between them and the new Community recently arrived from Paris, then, there arose grounds for misunderstanding. The difference in habits underscored the divergence of spirit and character. Brother Hervé operated independently of the Brother Vicar who, in his gentleness and humility, resigned himself to seeing, not indeed his authority unacknowledged, but his presence half-ignored. "The dear Brother", he observed in a letter of the 11th of February 1829, "does everything by himself; he doesn't need me...So much the

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[1523] Ibid., Minister of Foreign Affairs' letter to Montmorency-Laval, 27th of March 1828.

[1524] Motherhouse Archives, KH n 9, copies of the two documents

[1525] Ibid., KH n 1.

[1526] Ibid., KH n 9, note cited

[1527] Motherhouse Archives, KH n 1, letter of the 17th of December 1817.

[1528] Ibid., letter of the 20th of August 1828

better; I am glad".[1529]

Willingly, this modest and diligent man returned to his office, where he immersed himself in his habitual tasks: translation of Brother Agathon's "Circulars", the completion of an Italian version of Canon Blain's work,[1530] preparation of a catechism, "taken from the best authors", and especially inspired by Bellarmine.[1531] He did not grasp at honors, as everybody knew, nor at important responsibilities; questioning himself "about obedience", he said that he was "ready to go...wherever the Most Honored Brother Superior wished"; let the latter "dispose" of his subordinate "as he judges suitable". To teach little children and "to take fire with the love of God" – that was Brother Rieul's only program, his only ambition.[1532]

He looked for someone to succeed him in the post of Vicar; Brother Sebastian seemed to him

"the most competent for spiritual matters: a very good Religious, a splendid soul, simple as a dove...however, a little timid, and not very experienced in business".[1533] As for Brother Felicissimus, may it please Brother Guillaume to leave him at the head of his Community, in spite of his financial follies! While he lacks many talents, he knows how to "pilot the ship."[1534]

Along parallel lines, Brother Hervé de la Croix managed his, and masterfully in spite of rough seas. In December of 1828, with the view of locating the French group, the Apostolic Chamber acquired the Palazzo Gervasi, which included "a huge garden, abundant water", and was situated "in the center of four parishes". The Pope placed the institution under the patronage of St. Antony of Padua.[1535]

Unfortunately, the death of Leo XII on the 10th of February 1829 delayed the completion of the work. "In him we have lost a benefactor", the Brother Vicar wrote to Paris.[1536] On the 31st of March Cardinal Castiglioni earned a sufficient number of votes in the Conclave and took the name of Pius VIII. On the 11th of May the Brothers of the Christian schools went "to pay their respects" to the new Pope and give him a letter from their Superior-general.[1537] Finally, the very long wait of the Brothers who had been sent from France was brought to an end: Cardinal della Somaglia blessed their house on the 13th of June,[1538]more than fourteen months after their arrival in the Eternal City. Henceforth they were to be teachers in, and parishioners of Our Lady of the Mountains, the church which, in 1783 gave a triumphant welcome to the remains of the saintly mendicant, Benedict Joseph Labre. Under these

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[1529] Ibid., letter to the Superior-general.

[1530] Ibid., letter of the 13th of December 1828.

[1531] Ibid., letter of the 16th of May.

[1532] Ibid., 13th of December 1828.

[1533] Ibid., letter of the 11th of February 1829.

[1534] Motherhouse Archives, KH n 1, letter of the 16th of May 1829.

[1535] Ibid., KH n 9, note on the founding of Our Lady of the Mountains.

[1536] Ibid., KH n 1, letter of the 11th of February 1829.

[1537] Ibid., letter of the 16th of May 1829.

[1538] Ibid., KH n 9, note cited.

auspices the French group of Brothers would be productively employed in the education of young Romans, "docile, respectful and affectionate", who, gently and unsmilingly, would correct the still somewhat bumbling Italian of their teachers.[1539] By October of 1829 three classes were in operation. Brother Assistant Anacletus thanked Brother Felicissimus for having contributed to the ultimate success of the project by the lessons in vocabulary and syntax he had given his confreres and by the arrangements he had made for their lodging. "And now there they are, almost out of their difficulties."[1540] Some time later, the Motherhouse sent a second team, through whose cooperation a fourth class was started and another school was opened in the neighborhood of St. Mary Major.[1541]

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Implanted in Rome through the express wishes of St. John Baptist de La Salle, saved from destruction by Pope Pius VI during the Revolution and from then on maintained, "naturalized", on Italian soil, the Brothers' Institute was able to give evidence to their protectors and friends on the Peninsula of their most affectionate gratitude. It placed its personnel, two Latin nationalities, in the service of the Catholic population of Italy. Overflowing the boundaries of the Papal States, in 1823, it prepared to respond to the call of the kings of Sardinia.

These princes, whom the Treaty of Vienna had returned from the Island in the Mediterranean to the Continent, had found the Christian Brothers in possession of the schools in Chambery, the capital of their ancient hereditary province.[1542] Thus, Savoy acted to supply Piedmont with the teachers who had already won renown in the older region.

Victor Emmanuel I, on the 18th of November 1817, granted "Letters patent" to the Brothers in Chambery, who had become his subjects after the fall of the French Empire.[1543] His successor, Charles Felix, heard much praise for them when he visited the cradle of his dynasty. He believed that he would find in the members of this Congregation the serious support he needed in order to enforce his eductional laws. His first mediator with the Superior-general was a Savoyard cleric by the name of Canon Pillet. But before a letter from the latter could reach the Motherhouse, the ambassdor of the king of Sardinia to France, Alfieri di Sostegno, appeared in person in the Faubourg St. Martin and spoke with Brother Guillaume on a plan for a foundation. Under the patronage of the Cardinal-Bishop of Novara, they were considering at the time the formation of a normal school in that city. Subsequently, they selected Turin as the seat of the principal institution, with the option, later on, of sending experienced teams into other urban areas of the kingdom.[1544]

[1539] Ibid., note cited.

[1540] Ibid., KH n 1, letter of the 26th of January 1830

[1541] Ibid., KH n 9.

[1542] See above, pg. ???

[1543] In addition to the documentation preserved in the Motherhouse Archives (register of Brother Guillaume de Jésus' correspondence, Brother Rieul's letters) we have gathered information on the establishment of the Institute in Piedmont from articles published in the *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* (for July 1925) and in the *Rivista lasalliana* (for June 1936, June, September and December 1938).

[1544] Motherhouse Archives, register of correspondence, Brother Guillaume's letter to Canon Pillet, the 25th of September 1823; file KH n1, Brother Rieul's letter to the Superior-general, 10th of September; register, Brother Guillaume's letter to Father Japarelli, S.J. in Novara, 18th of March 1824; to the ambassador of Sardinia, 2nd of

On the 14th of February 1824, a "royal note" was addressed to the Marquis Tancredi Falleti Barolo, administrator of the *Mendicita Istruita*. In it Charles Felix announced his wish to entrust that work to the Christian Brothers.The origins of the *Mendicita* went back to the previous century. In 1743 some charitable people in Turin assembled needy vagabonds in St. Charles Square, under some of the splendid porticos in the capital of Piedmont. The wars had destroyed the country, and wretchedness was widespread: Turin, which claimed to be the the city of the faith in action, of the *misereor super turbam,* – even to the point of working miracles[1545]– distributed bread to the hungry, along with catechism. It perpetuated this initial effort by the opening of a charity school – the first tuition-free school in the Sardinian state; and on the 22nd of December 1789 Letters patent from Victor-Amedeus II approved the institution. On the 22nd of August 1817 this Regia opera located its classes and seventy pupils in the monastery of St. Pelagius.

This is no more than the sketch of the prelude to a vast enterprise. The presentation of the program followed, on the 9th of July, upon Charles Felix's decision: the buildings at St.Pelagius were expanded, where Religious teachers were trained; and an annual subsidy of 5,000 livres was to cover expenses. From the outset, two schools for poor children were added to the novitiate. When it shall have been fully competent to provide education for the people in Turin, the benfits of the project will be expanded into the neighboring localities. Gradually, the task of instructing the sons of the common people will be entirely the responsibility of the Brothers.

The plan survived many delays, and it never realized its full promise. Public opinion was not completely supportive of the king's views. Like France, Piedmont after 1825 became infatuated with the "Lancastrian method": one of the important lords, the Marquis Arborio Gattinara di Breme, a high level magistrate, Prospero Balbo, and Prince Carignan – who would become King Charles Albert – favored the founding of a "mutual school". Of course, a reaction set in after the defeat of the "Liberal" movement in 1821. Nevertheless, mistrust and resistance survived the tactics of suppression; and a few years later they resumed their energy. Even among people united behind Charles Felix there appeared a certain hesitancy to commit themselves to a Congregation that was "little known" and whose headquarters was outside the kingdom. Furthermore, events in France affected people living south of the Alps: the Piedmont Minister, Roget Cholex, who at first was favorable to the Brothers, wondered whether "it wouldn't be better" to postpone calling upon them in view of the shame that, under the Martignac government, had befallen the Jesuits and perhaps threatened similar societies.

Finally, the administrators of *Mendicita Istruita* were offended by the demands, however quite legitimate, set down by Brother Guillaume de Jésus. They expected that their proposals would be accepted blindly; but the Superior insisted upon detailed information: the condition of the sites and a description of future, necessary arrangements.[1546]

There were long exchanges of letters, political and diplomatic interruptions, tasks undertaken without urgency, and obstacles arising, it would seem, from a lack of personnel: four years elapsed without results. The king pleaded with the Papal nuncio, Bishop Lambruschini, to intervene. On the 8th of February 1828 this friend of the Christian Brothers

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April.

[1545] We think of the marvels accomplished by Don Cottolango and by Don Bosco, the two great saints of modern Piedmont.

[1546] A letter addressed on the 17th of November 1825 to Canon Pillet had already contained a request (Motherhouse Archives, register of Brother Guiillaume's correspondence.)

received positive assurances from the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin; where they had every intention of "seconding the pious views" of the dynasty of Savoy; a Brother Visitor was leaving for Turin.

This was François-Marie Simon, Brother Marin. We shall presently meet with him again in Belgium. He was a native of Comte,[1547]at the time, at the height of his powers, a level headed and enterprising man. He arrived in the capital of Piedmont on the 14th of April; and he explained to those who were responsible for the *Opera Regia* the conditions under which his confreres would accept the work: official recognition of the Institute in the kingdom of Sardinia, agreement with the diocesan authority, respect for Rules and methods, restoration of the old buildings at St. Pelagius and new constructions near the church of the former monastery.

The administrators accepted the commitments that were asked for and agreed to heavy expenditures. It remained to select the personnel who would lay down the foundations for the institution. To this end, during the following December we overhear Brother Rieul still questioning the Superior-general.[1548] Charles Felix decided to call upon the Holy See directly: his ambassador in Rome brought pressure upon the Brother Vicar,[1549]who protested his goodwill: he carried out Paris' orders.

Brother Marin, his mission accomplished, departed and repaired to the banks of the Po. He had to find lodgings with the Jesuits at St. Francis of Paula College: St. Pelagius was in the process of being rebuilt. People were waiting for the final appointments when, on the 29th of October Brother Giuseppe Maria put in an appearance. Under the name, Joseph of Mary, we have had a glimpse of this man among the aides of Brothers Frumence and Gerbaud; he had just returned from Corsica, where he had exercised a long and meritorious apostolate. Italian by birth, born in Ferrara on the 31st of December 1772, and entered the Institute on the 1st of March 1795, at a time, then, when the Christian Brothers huddled under the protection of Pius VI, no man seemed better suited for the work in Piedmont. His prudence and his competence, joined to an affable gentleness and a lively sense of the supernatural constantly recommended him to the attention of his Superiors. For seven years he would occupy Brother Rieul's place in the Papal States.[1550]. Four of his compatriots Brothers Ignatius, Stephan, Raphael and Luke joined him in the *Medicita*.[1551] In January of 1830 the St. Pelagius house was able finally to welcome its residents. Tuition-free classes began; and a new era was ushered in for the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle in Italy.[1552]

[1547] Born on the 25th of June 1789 in Arcon, and, as a consequence, a compatriot of Brothers Anatole (John Claude Lacroix) and Donat Joseph (Claude Joseph Trimaille), a confessor of the faith during the Revolution.

[1548] Motherhouse Archives, KH n 1, letter of the 13th of December 1828.

[1549] Brother Rieul's letter to the Superior-general, 11th of February 1829.

[1550] Relations mortuaires, Circular for the 10th of June 1847 announcing Brother Giuseppe Maria's death and retracing his career

[1551] Motherhouse Archives, file KH n 9.

[1552] The Swiss had also asked for the Brothers' return: but, wrote Brother William of Jesus on the 4th of October 1826 to Father Charpentier, pastor of Estayvayer, the Institute greatly regretted being unable to satisfy that country because of the lack of personnel. (Ibid., register of correspondence).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Brothers in Belgium

In Belgium, more than anywhere else, the events of 1814-1815 prompted, first, satisfaction, and, then, rapidly – and without considering the new ordeal of the war during the Ligny and Waterloo campaigns – a feeling of political and religious distress, melancholy and anxiety. People there were overjoyed to have been delivered from Napoleonic tyranny and from military conscription which, for the glorification of a foreign leader, conducted so many young men to their death on the battle field. They were also gratified to see the Catholic Church, which was so dear to them and so close to the soul of the nation, elude oppressive regulations and, for its priests, monasteries, educational institutions and for the consciences of all the faithful to recover the freedom of which they had been deprived beginning with the Jacobins in 1794 and which Napoleon, after 1809, had further bound with such heavy chains. Two members of the Belgian Hierarchy, Bishop Hirn of Tournai and Bishop Broglie of Gand, intrepid advocates of the Holy See, were arrested and brought to the castle of Vincennes in 1811; their followers would never forget the arbitrary procedures nor the dignified behavior of the captives.

The collapse of the French Imperial regime raised the questions: whether the clergy and Religious would henceforth be protected against suspicion and violence; and whether Flanders and Wallonia would gain the independence for which, since the Middle Ages, their Communes had struggled. The decision to set up in the north a strong barrier against France induced the victorious powers to reunite Holland and Belgium into a single State, called the kingdom of the Low Countries. Since the 16th century the two nations – thrown together, even apart from common boundaries, by unquestionable resemblances – followed conflicting paths. Protestantism had conveyed one of them to the Hapsburgs, set it up as a republic around the "grand pensionnaires" or "stathouders", and the place occupied by the Dutch, bold, active, wealthy and provided with vast colonial holdings in European history as well as on the world map is well known. The House of Austria retained Catholic Belgium until the end of the 18th century, under the scepter of the kings of Spain, and then of the Emperors of Germany, all of whom were heirs of Charles V.

The Protocol of London, signed on the 20th of June 1814 and ratified by the allied kings, bestowed the crown of all the Low Countries to the head of the princely family of Orange-Nassau, William I. According to a remark of a contemporary, Count Merode,[1553][1554]a great wisdom and a great impartiality would have been necessary to realize, gradually, a union of the Dutch and the Belgians. The new monarch did not seem to be deeply endowed with those dispositions.

"An austere, uncompromising, convinced Calvinist" who considered himself as the qualified representative of the national Church, he demonstrated a total incomprehension of Catholicism. He surrounded himself either by fellow Calvinists or by people imbued with

[1553]Souvenirs by Count Merode, Vol. II, pg. 33.

"Philosophism", "Josephism" or "Febronianism" and, as consequence, adversaries of Rome and partisans of the universal supremacy of civil power. The gulf that race, temperament and religious faith had opened up between himself and his subjects steadily widened until it became impassable, until, at the end of fifteen years, any means of reconciliation with Belgians who were smitten with justice, jealous of their rights and their antique liberties, was interdicted.[1555]

From the outset, the text of the kingdom's Constitution, the "fundamental law", gave rise to scruples for orthodox believers. The spokesmen for leading citizens, who had been called Brussels, refused to vote on the bill. The Hierarchy declared that its principles were incompatible with those of the Holy See; this "doctrinal judgment" justified – on the part of the government – the inquiry and prosecution of Bishop Broglie. Disregarding the objections, William I promulgated his charter and demanded an oath of fidelity. Opposition became public; and, in order to preserve peace, it was necessary to allow certain conscientious reservations.

In the domain of education, it appeared that similar difficulties were to be feared. The educational law of the 3rd of April 1806 remained in force in the northern Low Countries, the former kingdom of Louis Bonaparte; its author, Van den Ende, sanctioned State monopoly after the French fashion; in addition, he advocated a common religious instruction for all Christian confessions. The same "spirit" would thus inspire the up-coming generations who would only have to ask their ministers or their priests for some commentary and for some complementary dogmatic instruction.

After an elapse of time an effort was to be made to introduce this system into the southern provinces. However, on this point, a squalid situation turned the king's counselors prudent: in 1815 Belgium had only a tiny number of schools; and illiteracy was rife in the hamlets and villages. In order to diminish it, the administration made the most commendable efforts: prior to 1830, 4,000 public and tuition-free schools were opened in the former domain of the House of Austria and the Bishopric of Liege; and to the same period belong the founding or the restoration of three Universities, Gand, Liege and Louvain and seven Athenaeums. Nor, in the beginning, was cooperation on the part of the teaching Orders spurned; they were considered useful in the war against ignorance. But only provisionally. When it was thought that their contribution was superfluous, the policy changed – if not the principles (basically, these proved to be nearly immutable), at least the methods; the authorities did not hesitate to challenge popular discontent. Upon a tolerance that was suspicious and disdainful there succeeded a sectarian despotism.

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There was a primary phase which coincided with the introduction of the Brothers' Institute into the Walloon region. It was an introduction that might have quickly become deep rooted

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[1555] C. Terlinden, Guillaume Ier, roi des Pays-Bas et l'Église catholique en Belgique (1814-1830), Brussels, 1906. This general account has been used in the writing of the present chapter. To it should be added, for details, Felix Hutin, *L'Institut des Fréres des Écoles chrétiennes en Belgique* (Vol. I, 1791-1826), Namur, 1910, and Siegfried Stokman, De Religieuzen en de Onderwyspolitick der Regeering in het Vereenigd Koninkryk der nederlanden (1814-1830) (Religion and Politics in the Educational Materials in the United Kingdom of the Low Countries), La Haye, 1935. Stokman, a painstaking and fastidious scholar completes and rectifies felix Hutin's work. Brother Maxim, Archivist at the Motherhouse on Via Aurelia, took the trouble to translate the substance of this important book for us. Furthermore, personal research in the State Archives of La Haye enabled him to build up a file for our documentation, which is now included in the Christian Brothers' Archives under the shelf-mark ID t2. It is impossible for us too much to thank our excellent fellow-worker, who has deserved well at the hands of his native Belgium and of his Religious family. And we cite the documents verified at La Haye under the rubric "Motherhouse Archives."

if, a few years later, the shoots – while quite vigorous – had not been torn out. However, they would leave seed which, to spring up and spread out, would need nothing more than a favorable climate.

For the lack of abundant seed, St. Hubert, in the Ardenne had provided the prototype of a Christian Brothers' school. This creation of Jean-Louis and François Joly endured until immediately after Waterloo. And while it was separated from French territory, it was not separated from the Institute. We are aware of Brother Julian's fidelity, his contacts with Brother Gerbaud and his official inclusion on the roles of the professed Brothers.[1556] The situation of this Brother, however, as the headmaster of a residence school and the owner of the school buildings was obviously an anomaly. The Superiors surrounded this quasi-exiled forbear with discretion and respect. Petit College in Lyons announced to the Brothers the death of the Director of St. Hubert's, which took place on the 14th of December 1817, in his 53rd year of "Community" and the 45th year of his "profession", following sufferings that were "heroically" accepted."Louis Joly, Brother of the Christian Schools...died with the Sacraments of the Church and was buried, on the 15th, in the parochial cemetery", notes the pastor of St. Hubert, Father Grandfils in the local obituary.[1557] He left such an "entangled" estate that Francis Joly (Brother Agapet) asked the local authorities to take care of it so as to avoid disagreeable criticism, and in the company of his assistants, retired, to Dinant, where presently we shall meet him once again.[1558]

Christian Brothers from France had been teaching in this city since 1816. St. Hubert's reputation in the Departments of Forets and of Sambre-and-Meuse induced Dinant's City Counsel three years earlier to solicit the cooperation of these teachers. The disruption throughout all of Europe delayed the opening of the schools. And then the Superior-general sent three teachers; the leader of the mission was Brother Marin, who, along with his compatriot from Arcon, Brother Claude (Claude Marie Bouthiau) greatly honored their Institute and rendered conspicuous service to Belgium. As young men of twenty-seven and twenty-five years of age respectively, they arrived together at the novitiate at Lyon on the 28th of May 1808, having been won over to the Religious life through discussions with a former Brother who had died as a Trappist.[1559] Brother Marin slightly preceded his friend to Dinant, where he began classes on about the 20th of July 1816, in a former convent that had belonged to the Grey Sisters. The royal government, without directly authorizing the members of Congregations, permitted the allotment of funds for the restoration of buildings. The following year, Brother Marin and his associates were teaching 224 pupils.[1560] In 1818 he personally saw to the closing of St. Hubert and decided upon Brother Agapet's departure. Then he himself hastened to leave his initial assignment. Namur, headquarters of the province, had been asking for Brothers, who were so good at "training the young". The Mayor, M. Rennette, returning to one of Fontanes' plans,[1561] had obtained the consent of

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[1556] See above, pp. ???.

[1557] .[1557]Motherhouse Archives, file C5, copy of a letter sent from Lyons by Brother Micheus to Brother Thomas, end of 1817

[1558] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 58.

[1559] Idem., ibid., pp. 60 & 61.

[1560] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 188 et sq.

[1561] .[1561]Idem., ibid., pg. 60, Brother Marin's letter to Bishop Pisani de la Gaude, 5th of August 1818.

Governor Omalius,[1562]

Bishop Charles Francis Joseph Pisani de la Gaude had presided over the diocese's destinies since 1804. Born on the 4th of March 1743 in Aix-en-Provence and at first Councillor to the Parlement of that city this official of Ancien Regime became a priest in his thirty-fourth year. When he was forty years of age he was appointed to the episcopal See in the tiny city of Vance, which had once been occupied by Saint Lambert and Antoine Godeau. At the time of the Concordat, his friend Portalis recommended him to Bonaparte. And so, at the beginning of the Empire, the distinguished native of Provence was transferred to Belgium, where he did not appear to be out of his element, but rather showed that he was on top of things. A good shepherd in every sense of the term, he neither failed in his duties nor yielded his rights. The Emperor's threats did not frighten him; and, at the same time, he was able to meet king William's sectarianism head on.[1563]

Informed of M. Rennette's plan, the Bishop wrote to the Mayor on the 18th of June 1817: "Nothing is more in harmony with my wishes...(The Brothers') usefulness is generally known. Dinant is already experiencing the results of their marvelous work...If they are allowed into our city, I shall grant...five-hundred francs annually, and if God grants me a few years more of life, I shall donate the capital from which this assistance comes... "[1564]

Thirteen months later, Brother Marin got ready to change residences permanently to Namur; and the Bishop encouraged his flock to share the costs of this transfer. Actually, the plan had grown: people were contemplating the opening of a novitiate. Commune officials, to this end, set aside the convent of the Annonciades.

At the beginning of 1819, there were eleven representatives of the Institute in Bishop Pisani's diocese: Brothers Marin, Michael, Agathange, Magloire, Agape, Agapet, Auxence, Daniel, Hermas, Symphorian and Florence.[1565] Only one of these was a Belgian, Brother Auxence (Ireneus Jean-Fraçois Paridaens). He was close to fifty years of age and had only just completed his Religious formation at Gros Caillou. His career was an unusual one: the son of town-clerk in Mons, as a young man he had followed courses in Law at Louvain; in 1792, surrounded by French "emigre's", he enlisted in Condé's army. Quite rapidly he rose to the rank of captain. Among his comrades was the heir of a Norman family, Pierre Leblanc, in whom the Grace of God was active. Paridaens became friendly with Leblanc who, in 1799, became a "Father of the Faith"; we have gotten a glimpse of him – in an earlier volume[1566]– at the home of Madame de Trans, with Father Varin...and Brother Gerbaud. Like most of his confreres, he rallied to the restored Society of Jesus, worked for the return of the Jesuits to the Low-Countries, and, later on, at Nivelles, founded the teaching Congregation of the *Sisters of the Child Jesus.*

In time, his comrade in arms joined him, although not in the priesthood, at least among the

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[1562] Hutin, Vol. I, pp.See above, pg. ???

[1563] 248-52, Mayor's letter to the Governor, 9th of June 1817 and M. Omalius' reply, 16th of June.and discovered generous assistance and solid support in the Bishop's office

[1564] Idem., ibid., pp. 254-5, according to Aigret, *Histoire du Chapitre de la cathédrale Saint-Aubin à Namur*, pp. 533 et sq. Bishop Pisani died on the 23rd of February 1826 at the age of ninety-three.

[1565] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 81, List of names of the Brothers in Dinant, (23rd of December, 1828) and pp. 261-2, list of Brothers in Namur (4th of March 1819).

[1566] See Volume III of the present work, pp. ???

workers in Christian education. But it came about after a long detour. The former captain returned to his home in 1794, married, and became the father of three daughters. Meanwhile, having lost his wife, and recalling his conversations with, and the example of, his Jesuit friend, he contemplated leaving the world. In October 1817, in the Christian Brothers' residence in the Faubourg Saint Germain he recognized traces of Father Leblanc. The following year the Superior-general returned Brother Auxence to Belgium. He did not wish inexorably to separate the new Brother from his native country nor the father from his children. Mary, Josephine and Augustina Paridaens were entrusted to their aunt, the foundress of the Daughters of Mary in Louvain. The three of them became nuns. Every now and then, their father visited them, greeted the "dear Mother" who was his sister Marie Terese, and enlivened the convent with stories from his army days and his amusing conversation. In like manner, he was able to gladden his Community in Dinant. He continued to be the honorably wounded old soldier with the mutilated hand and the leg riddled with shot – as well as the citizen of Mons, sociable, talkative, warmly welcoming, with a sensitive and generous heart. After the expiration of his triennial vows, he did not "dare" make profession. However, punctual in the observance of the Rule, he persevered in the Congregation as a Brother without commitments, and, in his eighties, he died on the 16th of August 1846 as a Christian Brother in Namur.[1567]

It was in this way that the eccentric patriarch volunteered his services. His countrymen, who became Brothers of the Christian Schools after him, liked to recall his personality. In him they recognized the zest of the soil. Just as faithful, but more consistent in their vocation, they imitated Brother Auxence's virtues and went beyond them; excellent sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle, eagerly inclined to recall that Rheims had belonged to "Belgian Gaul", they were not to play the part of the negligible youngest son in a Society which owed to them many of its glories.

In December of 1818 seven novices, all of them French – officially called "residents" – were added to the list of the Brothers in Dinant. The first Belgian recruits were received in Namur in July of 1819 – three postulants who were to be called Brothers Maurice, Macedo and Macorat.[1568]

These were promises for the future. The ship could sail, and, during that same summer, it went down the Meuse with the man aboard who would soon receive orders from the Superior: Brother Claude had arrived in Liege. In France he had been directing the school in Charleville; and he was responding to the call that the people in Liege had just addressed to him from the other side of the frontier. He was accompanied by two other Christian Brothers. Before six months were up, this Community had doubled in numbers. The first thing that the Vicar-capitulary of the diocese, Bishop John Arnold Barrett, did was to set the Brothers up on Rue Carmes-en-Isle; and then, on the 4th of August he announced the impending opening of classes.[1569]

From south to north, from west to northeast, along the course of the river, there were three ports of call. A fourth school – this one on the Escaut – was being readied. Tournai was pleased to find among its more remarkable citizens Barthélemy François Joseph Dumortier-Willaumez. Born in 1761 in the shadows of the towers of the cathedral, he was a Christian

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[1567] Hutin, Vol. I pp. 353-4 and 369-70. The author collected some of his information about Brother Auxence from *Vie de Cicercule Paridaens*, *Mère Marie-Térèse, fondatrice de la Congrégation des Fille de Marie*, Louvain, 1903.

[1568] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 282-3, list of Brothers in Namur, 11th January 1820.

[1569] Idem., ibid., pp. 348-9. At the end of 1821 the Brothers moved into a new building on Rue Sur-la-Fontaine.

who was ever ready to serve the Church and his country. As a captain in the military, from 1788 to 1790, he took part in the Brabant uprising, the famous levy of troops against the blundering reforms of Joseph II. During the French Revolution he provided shelter for persecuted priests; and he saved the relics of St. Eleutherius and of St. Ursula. In another episode and another distinction in this extraordinary life: after Bishop Hirn's arrest in 1811, Dumortier, while a simple layman, but invested with the clergy's total confidence, discussed diocesan affairs with Cardinals who continued to be in complete union with the Pope. At least on one occasion he himself had access to Pius VII during the latter's captivity at Fontainebleau; responsible for the offerings collected from Belgian Catholics and intended for the Pope and the "Black Cardinals" – victims of Imperial disfavor – he entered the castle and, on *Laetare Sunday* 1813, he assisted at the Pope's Mass. In 1815, he displayed his consistent orthodoxy, in opposition to the new government of the Low-Countries, by a protest against the "fundamental law"; he then abandoned all public offices and exclusively cultivated good works.[1570]

The residence school that had long ago been opened by Julien Rivìre and, with the cooperation of Henry Husson, maintained by Father Brabant,[1571] had made the name of the Brothers familiar to the ears of the citizens of Tournai. The name, however, was not enough. People wanted to have the habit, the Rule, the Religious obligations – in short, a genuine Community. On the 11th of July 1819 Dumortier-Willaumez sent a letter to Brother Gerbaud, signed by the sender and by two other distinguished citizens, Duhamel and Gabriel Boucher. Nearly simultaneously these gentlemen informed the local authorities of their intentions; in December, the City Council voted in favor of a Christian school. Dumortier and his friends supplied the finances; and Baron Cazier purchased the building. And, in agreement with Brother Abdon, Visitor of the district of St. Omer, everything was arranged. However, a whole year went by before the teachers were installed. The Director, whose name was Brother Theodemir, arrived on the 15th of February 1821, and on the 6th of March he received an authorization to teach from the Governor of the province of Hainaut. More than 400 pupils were soon in attendance in the classes. The heads of the school in Brabant, eager to express their encouragement to their Lasallian confreres, assumed responsibility for the salary of one of the teachers.[1572]

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These foundation met with no serious obstacles. Wait and see continued to be the principle of the civil authorities. Mayors, therefore, were left free to negotiate with the Institute, and indeed nobody was refused financial support as long as it did not impinge upon the future. Such was the case in Dinant whose school at the beginning of 1818 received a State subsidy. However, Repelaer Van Driel, Commissioner-general for education, in the report in which he consented to the temporary grant of these funds, concealed nothing of his thinking regarding Religious Congregations: they eluded, he noted, official influence; they could interfere with the application of the law of 1806; further, he claimed that their "purely mechanical" methods formed neither mind nor character. Until further notice, they must be tolerated because of the

[1570] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 292-3. Baron Houtart, former minister to king Albert I and Dumortier-Willaumez' grandson, published an article on his grandfather in Bulletin of the Association of Former Pupils of the Brothers in Tournai, for April 1931.

[1571] See above, pp. ???

[1572] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 392-408 and 411-21. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for March 1907, pg. 111.

wretched condition of education in the Belgian provinces.[1573]

The decrees of the 9th of March and the 11th of May revealed the attitude that had been adopted: they forbad the approval of teaching associations; and they did not explicitly guarantee their right to recruit.[1574] This evasive system found a defender and practitioner among the king's immediate counselors in Baron Goubau, Director-general of the Roman Catholic Religion. Melchior Joseph Francis Ghislain, Baron Goubau d'Hoogvorst typified the Josephist magistrate. Born in Malines in 1757, a lawyer in the Grand Council of the Austrian Low-Countries in 1781, and Master of Petitions in 1788, he was one of the most docile instruments of the vexatious and fussy policy of the Austrian monarch and the relentless adversary of Cardinal Frankenburg. He was a Catholic by birth and, indeed, by profession of faith and destined to die as a Christian; but, before all else, he was a legalist, smitten with the concept of state-supremacy and anxious to throw up barriers to what he considered to be intrusions by the clergy and to refuse to tolerate Rome's intervention in matters of ecclesiastical regulations; he was overwhelmed with prejudices against "monks", agents of a "foreign prince"; it is clear that he was similar in his tendencies and, as we shall see, by his acts, to the Gallicans in the neighboring kingdom. Besides this, he was quite conscious of his personal merits, overbearing, stubborn and violent.[1575]

In connection with the school in Liege, he gave his opinion on the subject of the "Ignorantines – bluntly and without the least goodwill. It was a "Community" come from France, a "secret branch of the Jesuits"; in regular communication with a leader who in no way depended upon the Netherlands government; and, finally, to listen to the ironical and harsh critic, "ridiculous" in its disciplinary practices.[1576]

Informed of this indictment in November of 1819, the king took counsel with another of his ministers, Falck, who was in charge of public education. This individual was more impartial; and, like the Inspector-general Van den Ende, he was not very enthusiastic about Lancastrian innovations. On the other hand, the merits of the Brothers appeared to him to be beyond question and their methods excellent. In his view, it would be impossible to prevent them from making a contribution to the education of the people; provided, however, that they be required to respect the law, and provided that they refuse to take orders from a Superior not subject to the king.[1577]

As a consequence, the government continued to suspend judgment. After a searching questionnaire sent to Namur, it agreed to accept the prevailing situation. Brother Marin and his associates appeared before a special jury which issued teacher diplomas and they acquitted themselves in the interview with complete success.[1578]

Baron Goubau, however, was looking for definitive solutions. He demanded that teaching Congregations and hospitalers register their "statutes". And let them not expect legal authorization as long as the tiniest clause of their Rule runs contrary to legalist traditions!

[1573] Report of the 16th of March 1818. Motherhouse Archives, ID t2; Stokman, pg. 60.

[1574] Stokman, pp. 71-80.

[1575] Terlinden, pp. 117-8; Stokman, pg. 55.

[1576] Motherhouse Archives, ID t2; Stokman, pg. 220.

[1577] Report of the 4th December 1819. Motherhouse Archives, ID t2; Stokman, pp. 220-1.

[1578] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 278-82.

Beyond a doubt, suspects would be bound in chains.

Acceding to governmental injunctions, Brothers Claude, Marin and Joseph, Directors respectively of Liege, Namur and Dinant, produced copies of the regulations that had been established for the Institute's schools in Belgium.[1579] The chief stumbling-block, as they had realized, was the form of their relationship with the French Superior. Together with Brother Gerbaud, they attempted to get around that difficulty. Brother Claude was to take charge of all the Christian Brothers Communities already in existence or to be founded in the Low-Countries. A friendly and conciliatory man, Brother Claude veiled under a sort of simplicity of style, under a frank and jovial exterior, a mind that was usually well informed and a sensitive and dedicated heart. It was expected that he would assume the responsibilities for relations with the civil authorities. In February 1821 the 8th and last article of the "Regulation" read as follows: "The Institute is directed by a Visitor-general who, presently, is Brother Claude, the current Superior of the Community in Liege. "His concern" extended to the receipts and expenses, to the management of classes, "to the needs and the competencies of the Brothers" and, overall, to what concerned "the advantage and good order of the schools and institutions under obedience to him."[1580]

Namur, an institution which had a novitiate, was in some sense the Motherhouse, where the Brother Visitor resided, and Liege was left to the direction of Brother Auxence.

The arrangement failed to put Goubau off the scent. From the outset he asked why there should be a Visitor-general – a position that "seemed more or less useless, in the light of the article which placed each Community under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop in each diocese".[1581]

The Brothers had clung to the substance of article 8. The Director of the Catholic Religion had thus succeeded in exposing their hand. He had M. Omalius write to Brother Claude: "Your dependance upon a foreign jurisdiction cannot be tolerated...Your statutes must mention, in a special article, that the institutions in (this) kingdom exist in separation from obedience to a French Superior-general.[1582]

It was a particularly precise and threatening ultimatum, and Goubau repeated its language on several occasions. During the same period he forbade the Brothers in Tournai (who up to then had not been involved in the discussions) to wear the Religious habit in public.[1583] And then the ministerial instructions of the 20th of May 1821, written under the influence of the law of 1806 subjected private schools to numerous formalities of authorization and proposed to recognize as teachers only those candidates provided with official diplomas.[1584]

The success of the schools operated by the Congregations began to spread uneasiness in the Court of the Hague; and hence this step in the direction of monopoly. There was a plan afoot to unify Dutch and Belgian education. More and more textbooks that had been in use in the

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[1579] Letter to the king of the Low-Countries 1820. Motherhouse Archives, ID t2.

[1580] Motherhouse Archives, ID t2,

[1581] Comments forwarded on the 19th of December 1820 by the Corporation of Namur to Brother Marin, following the first version (not preserved) of the Regulation. Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 89-90.

[1582] Letter of March 20th 1821, Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 91-2.

[1583] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 418-21.

[1584] Terlinden, pp. 360-1; Stokman, pp. 117-124.

Protestant north were distributed in the southern provinces. They were not always contrary to dogma; nevertheless, they betrayed their origins by a certain reticence or by a sort of religious eclecticism. And the clergy condemned them.[1585] The effort – with respect to school libraries – at a language common to the two peoples, a mixture of Dutch and Flemish, appeared to many Catholics – including Count Rubiano –to have been a contrivance of heresy.[1586]

Here were symptoms enough of a storm to spread alarm throughout the entire Institute. On the 11th of July 1821 the Superior-general wrote to Brother Abdon: "Do not send any more Brothers to the Low-Countries; we are under suspicion there by the Huguenots."[1587] The will of lady by the name of Rogier contemplated the founding of a tuition-free school in Mons; and to this end, the Dean of St. Wandru assumed the responsibility to write to the Visitor of St. Omer. But Brother Gerbaud maintained: "We cannot send anybody as long as our rules are not approved in that kingdom."[1588] One of Brother Assistant Emery's letters, dated the 25th of February 1822, repeated this decision regarding any school that depended upon Brother Claude.[1589]

However, the storm was late in breaking. Goubau, once more, was obliged to follow the advice of Falck,[1590]. who, quite deliberately, "sat on the fence" and, for months, remained deaf and dumb. As late as 1822, he retained an influence that enabled him to counterbalance the activities of his colleague and especially to restrain the tendencies of the king. William I, however, gave a liberal hearing to two opponents of Catholicism, who were more formidable and enterprising than Goubau: these were Van Maanen, who became Minister of Justice and Van Ewyck, Falck's colleague in public education. Finally, the referee had to decide. And after all, on this occasion, he was only an opportunist – let others plead in favor of truth and justice.

Falck did not scruple to concur – in his reply of the 19th of December – that the Brothers habituated children to a "servile discipline"; that they were quite exclusively attached to their own methods; that in opening their classrooms to the rich as well as the poor they were providing excessive competition to teachers who made their living through school tuition; and – the fundamental grievance – that they followed too docily the inspiration of the clergy.

These conclusions, however, did not alter the fact that it would be wrong, lightly, to be denied the services of the Institute. In the final analysis, the advantages overshadowed the disadvantages. The Congregation's statutes, therefore, should be approved, but under the following conditions: obedience to prevailing legislation, admission of poor pupils exclusively, independence with regard to foreign Superiors, total autonomy of each of the Communities and the abolition of the office of Visitor-general.[1591]Such demands left the Brothers no choice except immediately to disband or substantially to alter their Rule. Should they pay so dearly for a refuge that might turn out to be nothing more than a stay of execution?

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[1585] Stokman, pg. 137.

[1586] Rubiano's letter to Brother Claude, 15th of January 1823, Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 490-4.

[1587] Motherhouse Archives, Gerbaud file, letters to Brother Abdon.

[1588] Ibid., 23rd of January 1832. Cf. hutin, Vol. I, pp. 473-90.

[1589] Motherhouse Archives, file BE p1.

[1590] Ibid., ID t2, Goubau's letter to Falck, 14th of June 1822

[1591] Stokman, pp. 222 et sq.

At the moment there existed – as some had just become aware – two currents in governmental circles. There were the intransigents who wanted to sacrifice the Congregations; and the moderates, or rather the realists, who insisted on using Religious teachers until better arrangements could be made, but meanwhile demanding that they relinquish their cherished liberties. The Christian Brothers, however, found a defender in the Privy Counsel: J. Van Gobbelschroy, who was in charge of the study of ministerial projects. He objected to the prohibition regarding children from well-to-do families; and he also wondered about destroying the teachers' association, excluding the operation of a central institution, the recruitment of novices and the discharge of the duties of Visitor. But he was prepared to yield to Gaubau and Falck on the question of the "foreign Superior". He merely wished – having considered the Brothers' "reluctance" – that people would look for a "way to mend matters".

His remarks were appended to a report signed on the 6th of October 1823 by the Minister of Public Education and by the Director-general of the Catholic Religion. These two individuals persisted in pretending to separate Religious in the Low-Countries from their legitimate Superiors. As for the entire Christian Brothers' hierarchy within the kingdom they thought that it was at least "desirable". However, "so as not excessively to shock" the members of the Congregation, they agreed for the present that this point should be passed over in silence. The government would be satisfied with refusing to acknowledge explicitly the authority of the Visitor-general; and, if it approved the modified statutes, it would send the announcement of this decision not to Brother Claude, but "to each individual school", so as quite emphatically to indicate that "they are not looked upon as forming one and the same Congregation".[1592] And hence they replaced article 8 of the Regulation by the following clause: Each institution in the kingdom of the Low-Countries is positively separated from dependence upon all foreign Superiors and is directed by a Director and a Sub-Director, who must be CERTIFIED and naturalized. They are selected for a term of three years by a plurality of votes in the Community and may be reelected.[1593]

Throughout this interminable exchange of letters between the king's councillors and this wearisome gestation of plans and reports, the Brothers courageously pursued their work. Beginning in June of 1823 Namur had three Christian schools maintained by the city, the welfare bureau, the commission for almshouses and individual donors, at the head of whom was, as always, Bishop Pisani de la Gaude.[1594] Cazier, Duhamel, Dumortier and Bucher administered the temporal side of the school in Tournai; no appropriate action seems to have been taken regarding Goubau's injunctions relative to the Religious habit: the Minister pretended simply "to ignore" the school's existence, although it was very much alive.[1595]

The Bishop of Namur was very much involved. He ordered his secretary to take counsel together with Dumortier-Willaumez concerning the disquieting future. From the Bishop's office came the word to the gallant Catholic layman on the 23rd of July 1823: "Our country might very soon be deprived of an institution that is so advantageous to youth".

Rather than reconcile himself to this calamity. Bishop Pisani advised the Brothers to maintain only those relations with the Superior-general that concerned the Rule and the

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[1592] Motherhouse Archives, ID t2. Stokman, pp. 222 et sq.

[1593] Ibid.

[1594] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 311.

[1595] Idem., ibid., pg. 421-24. Motherhouse Archives, ID t2, Goubau's letter to Falck concerning the school in Tournai, 21st of June 1823.

Religious exercises – in other words, for matters "of conscience."[1596] He went so far as to appeal to them to break off every other tie, since upon that gesture the Privy Council had made the approval of the Statutes depend.[1597]

The Falck-Goubau report of the 6th of October had effectively brought about the "circular letter" addressed from The Hague on the 26th of December by the Director of Religion to the Governors of Namur and of Hainaut:[1598]On this occasion, Goubau dealt with the Brothers in Tournai, Namur, Dinant and Liege on the same footing. His Majesty orders that the Brothers of the Christian Schools...supply, within a period of one month, and each one individually, a declaration showing that they are free and independent of all foreign leaders and superiors – as well as of the founder of their Congregation!!! – that they submit to the rules established or to be established in this kingdom in what concerns education. Further, Religious born outside the Low-Countries were to seek letters of naturalization or, failing that, permission to teach.[1599]

This last stipulation indicated a quite explicit determination to "nationalize" education and a settled distrust of the French teachers. However, increased numbers of Belgians among the Brothers would have done much to quiet impartial judgment. At the end of 1823, for the four Communities taken together, "natives" made up a half of the personnel.[1600] And they did not form a subordinate fragment; as Brother Auxence's appointment to Liege has already suggested; and the Regime's intentions obviously corresponded with the desires of the Hierarchy. Brother Claude's action manifested a sincere attachment and a total dedication to his adopted country.

To pronounce the forty Christian Brothers in Belgium "independent of the Founder" required an odd ignorance of history, since it assumed that De La Salle was still alive. Baron Goubau was presently to acknowledge the mistake.[1601] But more serious consequences seemed to arise from the determination to separate from the trunk the young branch that stretched along the banks of the Meuse and the Escaut. Even if the political leaders of the country were to respect the growth of this branch constrained to live off its own sap, it seemed that a swift death was to be feared.

The Visitor-general was anxious. In order to preserve the new-born project, he was entreated to scrap the parent Society. The clergy, benefactors and local magistrates repeated this sort of advice. In Namur Canon Lambert Francis Joseph Hauregard was quite explicit. He had been a well-known member of the bar in Namur and it was only five years since he had taken Orders. A priest of outstanding virtue, a lucid and organizing mind, he had the Bishop's ear, and he enjoyed unquestionable influence in the city.[1602] His view prevailed. And when

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[1596] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 113.

[1597] Stokman, pg. 226.

[1598] Of the thirty-eight Brothers in Namur, Liege and Dinant, nineteen were Belgian (personnel list attached to the report of the 6th of October 1823). Of the six Brothers in Tournai, there were three natives, one each from Namur, Mont-St. Andre and Louvain. (Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 430) In January 1824, Brother Guillaume de Jésus' total was "forty-eight Brothers, including fourteen novices". (Letter to Bishop Pisani, Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 119.)

[1599] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 151, Goubau's letter to Omalius, 18th of February 1824.

[1600] Born in St. Gerard on the 11th of July 1785, Father Hauregard had become a sub-deacon on the 19th of May 1818 and was ordained to the priesthood on the 5th of June 1819. He introduced prison reforms into Namur, which were used elsewhere as models. (Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 262)

[1601] ibid

[1602] ibid

the Superior-general of the Institute wrote to Bishop Pisani de la Gaude in order to be able to explain the situation to his own Congregation, it was Father Hauregard who replied to him.

During the first few days of 1824 Brother Guillaume de Jésus asked the venerable Bishop whether he "could and must abandon his position of Superior" over the Belgian schools; whether this renunciation "was to be limited to temporal matters" or whether the spiritual was also included; and, in the latter case, how the vow of obedience was to be fulfilled.

According to the wording imposed upon Religious teachers, the latter must observe "regulations that have been, or are to be, established" Perhaps such language contained "hidden meanings" contrary to the Rule and perhaps even "to the Catholic faith". If the government were minded to introduce heretical books into the schools, perhaps voluntary pledges would grievously disturb consciences. It was therefore important to inquire through what restrictive clauses the statement would preserve both orthodoxy and discipline.[1603]

The Canon/jurist attempted to convey the requisite assurances. In 1822, at the time of Brother Guillaume's election, he had submitted, for the benefit of the General Chapter, a report to the Director of Namur concerning the legislation of the former Austrian Low-Countries and Canon Law. The Cistersians, the Premonstratensions, the Franciscans and other Orders designated commissioners to govern their Belgian institutions, who were called "general superiors" of these establishments. In this way, only temporal affairs escaped the control of the supreme head of each of the monastic Congregations. The Brothers were asked to make the same concession.

Concerning the wording, Father Hauregard proposed – and believed acceptable – the following modification: "That they submit to the regulations...provided that their Rule, presented for royal approval, remains intact.

Provisionally and in the name of the Bishop of Namur, the Brother Superior-general's correspondent concluded that a rejection on the part of Paris would do "incalculable" evil. A "'philosophical' education" would replace Christian education, to the great loss of souls.[1604].

From then on Brother Claude thought of nothing else except to embrace as his own the arguments of so brilliant a lawyer. In a letter of the 9th of January 1824 – signed by himself along with Brothers Rigaud, Gilbert, Joseph, Basse and Martin[1605]– he even meant to prove to Brother Guillaume de Jésus that if things should become "troublesome" in France, the Institute would receive a secure refuge in the kingdom of the Calvinist king! And, yet, he added that there "heresy, combined with hatred on the part of the impious" had opened up "all sorts of diabolical paths"! He admitted that the government would not waste its time distinguishing between the spiritual and the temporal. With regard to school regulations, present and future, he would make do with an interpretation that had once been given by Rome to the Ursalines: the promise could bear only upon reasonable and completely licit demands. There was no difficulty concerning the diplomas: a simple representation to the Governor of the province would suffice to obtain them.

The Mayor, the Commission for almshouses and the five pastors in Namur joined their appeals to those of the Brother Visitor.[1606] The clergy in Liege – following Bishop Barrett –

[1603] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 118-120.

[1604] Letter of the 7th of January 1824; Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 122-5

[1605] Ibid., pp. 126-9.

[1606] Letters from the pastors of Namur to Brother Guillaume de Jésus, 13th of January 1824; from the members of the administrative commission for almshouses, 15th of January; from M. Rennette, 20th of January. Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 130-7.

and the benefactors of the schools in Liege did the same thing.[1607]Bishop Barrett's letters, 10th of January; from the Liege pastors, 14th of January; from the members of the Beneficent Commission for the schools in Liege, 12th of January. Brother Auxence, however, wrote nothing to the Superior-general except views of total submission; and the upright soul of the former soldier was filled with sadness at the thought of the threatened separation.[1608]

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Canon Hauregard's expert advice, the prelates' and Belgian Catholics' inclinations and Brother Claude's requests made the Superior-general decide to give his representative in the Low-Countries the broadest powers, on condition, however, that the Holy See ultimately concur. This was the object of the crucial letter of the 22nd of January 1824.[1609]

Since the "declaration" being sought need have to do only with temporal matters, Brother Guillaume de Jésus authorized it in the language suggested by the spokesman for Bishop Pisani de la Gaude; it was still "necessary" to have recourse to the Pope in order to define within what limits the vow of obedience was to be maintained. Naturally, Leo XII's disapproval would involve the invalidity of the commitment to be made to the royal government. "In those circumstances", the Christian Brothers would retire to French territory.

From now on, those of the Brothers who, by reason of sensitivity of conscience, should prefer to return immediately to the Motherhouse were invited to follow that inclination. Brothers who were not of Belgian nationality "would do well" not to seek naturalization; and they would find room in their own country, if they were excluded from their current institutions.

Once these possibilities had been anticipated and these principles had been laid down, the decision was cast in the following terms: "Henceforth our dear Belgian Brothers will apply to very dear Brother Claude...They will look upon him, and he will look upon himself, as our Vicar, our representative and our substitute;...of his own authority he will settle whatever has to do with personnel, the temporal and the material in the institutions that depend upon him. However, there is nothing to prevent him, as well as any of the other Brothers, from having recourse to us...when he believes it necessary or useful for the good government of his district. They all enjoy the same liberty in matters of conscience. We shall always be prepared to provide counsel and attention, and, indeed, it will be with the greatest pleasure that shall regularly fulfill this duty prescribed by our Rule".

While yielding to circumstances, and granting to the Institute's protectors and guarantors a trust that was justified by their moral worth and services rendered, the clearsighted Brother Guillaume had very few illusions. Having written what his duty as a Religious and Father dictated, he added: "We very much fear that there are those who seek to isolate you in order the more easily to obtain from you what might damage your vocation, your conscience and perhaps your faith".[1610]The Brothers (the Superior prescribed) should consult the Bishop "in tricky situations".

[1607] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 362-7.

[1608] Brother Auxence's letters to Brother Guillaume de Jésus, 13th of January 1824; to Mother Marie-Thérèse Paridaens, 28th January. Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 368-9. The Director of Liege wrote to his sister: These are sad times through which we pass;...since receiving the letter fromour Superior, it has been impossible for me to take the least bit of food, I am in such pain.

[1609] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 138-41.

[1610] Frère Guillaume Correspondence

At the moment he signed the letter he was overcome with bitterness. “With tears in his eyes”, he “exhorted”, he “besought” his sons “never to lose sight of the holiness and the sublimity of their vocation” and “never to forget De La Salle’s salutary instructions”. The “marvelous Rule” was to be their light. But the ordeal seemed to be suddenly too much for the old man who, after years of consolation and peace, saw looming up in Belgium events similar to those which as a mature Brother he had witnessed in Marseille in 1792 and in Rome in 1812: “I have uttered the word “Rule"; alas! for you, what a Rule!!, he exclaimed, ”I say no more, I am choked with sadness...“

Two days latter, another letter (of a confidential nature) revealed to the new “Director-general" of the Belgian Communities all of what the Superior was thinking and cast a prophetic look into the future. The Brothers officially placed under obedience to Brother Claude might actually “consider themselves as private teachers”. Indeed, they should prepare themselves for the moment when their enemies proclaim the total autonomy of each school, strip the Christian Brothers of “the sacred robe”, subject them to rigorous examinations and impose upon them the use of heterodox textbooks. A Protestant government will not be long in moving in a direction opposite to the Roman faith; it will fluctuate, for that is its “bent”; it will adopt measures, it “will fabricate laws” which will place the Brothers in a position of having to choose between apostasy and exile. Enfeebled and disunited, will they be able to offer an appropriate resistance? Will not some of the them succumb? Their Superior’s arms were opened wide to welcome them and to spare them a “disastrous shipwreck.

These warnings had coercive authority. Still, the freedom action accorded to Brother Claude and his associates continued in conformity with the letter of the 22nd of January. The Director-general of the Catholic Religion then received the “declaration of independence”. In the dioceses of Namur, Liege as well as Tournai, the signers added to the official formula the restrictions that had been recommended by Canon Hauregard and even strengthened it with the following final clause: “...and that they (i.e., the regulations to be established) have nothing contrary to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion”. The Governor of Hainaut, Baron Beeckman, considered his constituents’ scruples eminently admissible.[1611]

Goubau was not nearly so broadminded. Far from it! He gave a start and was shocked. “Regardless of their rules, teaching Congregations must comply with legislation.“ The Brothers “defy" the king! Their declarations cannot be accepted as valid; they must rewrite them once again without commentary.[1612]

A second and a third time the Brothers, faithful to the instructions received from their Motherhouse, attempted to soft-peddle the hazard of their commitment. Pitilessly, the fateful document was returned to them. And there they were, as Brother William of Jesus had foreseen, bowed under administrative pressure. Doubtless, they were convinced that they would be able, at the right time, to set their consciences free. The six Brothers in Tournai, the seventeen in Namur, the ten in Liege and the three in Dinant (in the last three cities between the 19th and the 22nd of March) in the long run purely and simply submitted.[1613]

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[1611] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 148-9 and 429-31.

[1612] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 149-51.

[1613] The submission of the Brothers in Tournai is certain, according to a letter of Inspector Cuvelier who, on the 9th of October 1825, stated that they “must not be confused with those who have been recalcitrant respecting the government’s orders”. (Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 452), but we do not know the exact date of their pure and simple declaration. As for the declarations of the Brothers in Namur, Dinant and Liege, Stokman, pg. 227, provides the wording that is exactly conformed to Goubau’s text, except – it goes without saying – for the reference to the “Founder”. (See above, pp. ???). The same author provides the verified total of those who signed.

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This painful process did nothing more than delay persecution for a few months. And thus, unfortunately, were realized the forecasts of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, who was better situated than Brother Claude to view the distant horizons and, in virtue of his election, take advantage, to a higher degree, of the gifts of wisdom and science.

As early as the beginning of 1824, the irritating and narrow but not deliberately anti-Catholic policy, one of whose inspirers we have observed in Goubau, was exceeded. At the time, a note – whose author was nameless – was slipped into the king's hand; it denounced the "pernicious influence" of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. They incarnate simultaneously "the jesuitical spirit and the French spirit". It touched to the quick the heir of William the Silent. Like the Dutch of centuries past, he regarded the Bourbon monarchy as the principal enemy of his family, his country and his religion. The anonymous note hastened to recall that the annexation of Belgium was always a part of the hopes of the neighbors to the south. France, always suspect in this regard, became such more than ever for another reason since the government of the parties "of the right" and the withdrawal of Louis XVIII in favor of his Brother, the Count of Artois (the future Charles X) guaranteed the Catholic Church a privileged situation in the counsels of the Restoration.

The Christian Brothers were accused therefore of propaganda contrary to the interests of the House of Orange-Nassau and the State that had been created by the treaties of 1814. Van Ghert, an Inspector of Education in Brussels, commenting (at the king's command) upon the unjust and rancorous indictment, stated on the 21st of January 1824 that the teachers who had been introduced into Wallonia were genuinely foreign "agents of fanaticism"; and they encouraged and cultivated the sympathies of Belgian youth regarding a common language and Credo. The Minister of Justice, Van Maanen, concurred in Van Ghert's remarks. And he drew the logical conclusion that the Institute must be removed from the Low-Countries. However, there intervened here a point of diplomatic discretion: without officially creating a scene on xenophobic grounds, the authorities, with the view of taking steps toward a radical suppression, were banking on the refusal to obey Baron Goubau's circular letters.[1614]

Meanwhile, a royal decree on the 1st of February tightened the knot around the collective neck of members of Congregations. Not only did it renew the requirement for a diploma for all those who were dedicated to teaching, but it forbad both the admission of such Religious societies and, until "temporary vows", of the "individual" not equipped with a certificate of competence.[1615]

The Brothers' "declaration" (obtained through Catholic entreaties) finally occasioned wonder and disappointment on the part of the people in power. Falck who had been (as we have become aware) the moderating influence departed in order to become ambassador to London; Goubau himself saw his own position diminish; from being an autonomous Director-general, he fell to the rank of a subordinate of Minister De Coninck in the Interior Bureau.

To this latter Ministry was henceforth attached the Department of Public Instruction. But the real authority in this office was a man named Van Ewyck, a secretary after the manner of Van Maanen. De Coninck and after him Louis Van Gobbelschroy (who, as Minister, did not exhibit the same moderation as his father, the Counselor of State) allowed Van Ewyck

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[1614] Stokman, pg. 227.

[1615] Idem., pg. 159; Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 110. Goubau had already objected to the taking of perpetual vows – a fact, however, that did not prevent the Brothers from giving a sort of publicity to the ceremony of "profession". (Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 100-1) Similarly, in practice, there were at least temporary arrangements for the application of the decree of the 1st of February 1824. (Stokman, pg. 159)

complete discretion in what concerned education.[1616]

It was no longer a question of approving the Christian Brothers' "Rules", even in a debased version; in this connection, matters had remained at the status quo, intensified, however, by threats. A report, signed on the 12th of September 1824 by De Coninck, desired neither to recognize nor to suppress the Brothers' association. When the Brothers should have been subjected to the supervision of commissions and inspectors in educational matters, "a closer look would be taken to see" whether it was appropriate to admit them into the State "singly" or collectively.[1617]. The former solution, to which officials were inclined, could lead to nothing but the secularization of the Brothers, to the dispersal of the novices and to the impossibility of any recruitment. "Postpone the petitions for the recognition of Religious Communities, as well as the requests by the Christian Brothers," the king ordered.[1618] Their schools "would be tolerated, where they existed"; and they still were not to educate any but poor children. This (in February 1825), a year after the declaration of "independence", was the precarious situation of the Belgian Christian Brothers.[1619]

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It was the period during which Guillaume I became completely absorbed in his system of "Caesaro-papism" which, in 1830, would cost him half his kingdom. His decrees of the 14th of June 1825 subjected intermediate education to the monopoly, suppressed Minor Seminaries, founded the famous "Philosophical College" in which future Roman Catholic clerics would be obliged to matriculate before completing their studies in episcopal seminaries. The determination to enslave was fully in evidence: young men were not to receive the character of the priesthood until they had first been marked with the stamp of the civil power.[1620]

To destroy the Brothers a public executioner was discovered. His name was Jean-Joseph Walter. Born on the 2nd of January 1775 in Namur, he had been a student at the University of Louvain. Repudiating his Catholic origins, he beat out a path for his own ambitions. Under the Napoleonic regime, he was a municipal counselor in his native city, chief clerk in the Court of Commerce, Assistant to the Mayor, President of the General Council for Sambre-and-Meuse. When the Empire collapsed, he remained in the saddle: he took part in the provincial government, and then accepted the position of Secretary-Inspector of the University of Liege. In 1825 he exercise the important functions of Inspector-general of Public Instruction.[1621]

In September the king, alerted by another anonymous text, ordered Walter to undertake an inquiry into the Christian schools, which the Secretary conducted thoroughly, beginning with the tidy premise: *delenda est Carthago*. The instruction dispensed by the Brothers, he said in a letter to Van Gobbelschroy on the 10th of September certainly has value and soundness; it

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[1616] Stokman, pg. 167.

[1617] Idem., pg. 228

[1618] Dispatch from the Secretary of State, de Mey Streefkerk to the Minister of the Interior, 28th of September 1824. (Motherhouse Archives, ID t2)

[1619] Circular letter from the Minister of the Interior, de Coninck, to the governors of the provinces, 2nd of February 1825. (Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 158)

[1620] Terlinden, pp. 364-70.

[1621] Taken from *Liber memorialis*, l'Université de Liége depuis sa fondation by Alph. Le Roy, 1869.

remains true that it must be demolished, because it propagates fanaticism.

Almost immediately, the Welfare Bureau, the Commission for Almhouses and the Namur Communal Council received the most explicit instructions: students, just promoted to the rank of teacher, were to replace Religious in classrooms.[1622]

As a member of the Commission for Almhouses, Canon Hauregard objected; and, following his lead, his colleagues refused to part company with the Brothers. The Governor of the province wrote them a threatening letter. This would be Omelius, the same man who, in 1818, had approved the founding of the schools; and he was now submitting to the instructions from The Hague. On the 25th of September he wrote: "His Excellency the Minister of the Interior has ordered me to point out to you that at a time when the king gives very special attention to public education, and when it is natural in teaching to employ young natives of the nation in preference to men who, for the most part, are foreigners and among whom we are in danger of meeting with opinions (in conflict with) our institutions, it is distinctly improper to thwart governmental directives by persisting in delegating elementary instruction to the Brothers..." [1623]

Evicted from the "Boucherie" building, the Brothers were also turned out the municipal premises situated on Rue Fosses. Not without regret, city magistrates bowed before the king's orders. On the 27th of September they declared: "Since the Regency[1624]I.e., the city council. can no longer preserve an institution to which it attaches great value, it can only entreat the king to favor the city with the advantages for which the Inspector-general has led it to hope...It therefore accepted the new teachers named by Walter.

The latter, along with Omalius, at that moment entering the room in which the deliberations were being held, demanded that the commission erase from the minutes the phrase in which the complaint of the people of Namur was suggested. A docile stroke of the pen made him happy. Only five counselors out of thirteen gave proof of a courageous independence to the bitter end.[1625]

However, on the 4th of October, the Mayor, Count de la Roche, and the Supervisors made bold to issue Brother Claude, who had been driven out of his house, the following testimonial:

"The (city) has nothing but praise (for the discharged teachers) respecting the painful efforts they made over seven years in the instruction of poor children... [1626]and their behavior, which always appeared sensible and beyond reproach...They secured rapid progress for their pupils".[1627]

The day before, a petition signed by the administrators of the almshouses, made another attempt to plead the case for the Christian Brothers: Belgians and Dutch who have "entered (the Institute) in rather large numbers" have "nationalized" the society. Now that a Superior, residing in Namur, directs it, it must be regarded "as a new Congregation...adapted to the" kingdom.[1628]

[1622] ibid

[1623] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 334-335.

[1624] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 231-33.

[1625] In fact, it follows from one of M. Rennette's letters (30th of November 1822) that "well-to-do" children were admitted as well as the poor. The former Mayor emphasized the advantages of this combination, which met with the approval of heads-of-households. (Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 306-8)

[1626] Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 338.

[1627] Idem., Vol. I, pp. 160-3.

[1628] Idem., Vol. I, pp. 167-71.

From another quarter, forty-four distinguished citizens asked for the continuance of the Brothers in schools created by private charity.[1629] The pastors in Namur sent the same request to William I. They vouched for educational competence of the Brothers and recalled their successes with school commissions. And always in the hope of allaying the king's distrust, they attached to their letter a quite suggestive document: the "list of the members of the Association of Christian Schools". It showed that of the fifteen Brothers in Namur, in 1825 there remained only five Frenchmen (including old Brother Agapet, who was eighty-two years of age); in Liege, the eleven Brothers, in Dinant, three of four, in Tournai, five of six were natives and citizens of the Low-Countries.[1630]

But none of this seemed to matter to Jean-Joseph Walter, who acted as the emissaries of Jacobinism had once done and as, in the first century, Saul, who "ravaged the Church". On the 24th of September, he went to Dinant and, on the pretext of making jobs for "University students", he fired Brother Michel and his assistants.[1631].

That was the end of the Institute in Bishop Pisani de la Gaude's diocese. The old bishop, on the verge of the tomb, offered a moving tribute to the harassed Brothers.[1632] His flock had "gathered the most abundant fruit" from the Brothers' teaching. The vast majority of his people lamented the severity practiced upon such excellent teachers. The kingdom was about to lose the Brothers: happy the nation that welcomes them! The Bishop's best wishes accompanied them along with his blessing back to the France which the former member of Parlement for Aix and former Bishop of Vence could never forget.

Then came Liege's turn. Here the resistance of the local authorities was at first felt in a particularly vigorous way. The Governor himself, M. Liedekerke, turned a deaf ear to Walter's invective. The Inspector-general got himself in a position to draw up a half-measure: the Brothers (who were all Dutch) might continue to teach, provided they abandon the habit and leave the Congregation. Did they think such a thing possible? But they did not pause long enough at that scheme, since Van Gobbelschroy's letter to Liedekerke had set forth the government's intentions. On the 29th of October, the Commission for intermediate and primary instruction in the Province of Liege named six laymen, students and trained teachers, as replacements for the Brothers.[1633].

Tournai, spared until further notice, would nevertheless have occasion for increased violence

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As a matter of policy, the Institute was blamed for being French. Brother Claude and his countrymen, knowing that the king looked upon them as undesirables, made ready (as soon as the schools in Namur were closed) to go back over the frontier; and, hence, Bishop Pisani's

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[1629] ibid

[1630] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 231-239

[1631] Episcopal letter of the 1st of October 1825, on the departure of the Brothers from Namur and Dinant; Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 336-7.

[1632] Stokman, p. 233. Motherhouse Archives, ID t2

[1633] .[1633]On the 19th of October Canon Boucher wrote from Namur to M. Dumortier: I congratulate you that where you are (Tournai) the Brothers schools are not badgered...May it please Heaven that your ideas for the restoration of the schools in Namur will be realized! Failing that, I repeat what an honorable man said: Your city will be filled with rogues; the dismissal of the Brothers had so affected our worthy Vicar-general that he died of it on Friday the 14th of this month. (Taken from the letters of Canon Boucher, discovered in Louvain by Brother Maxim, Motherhouse Archivist)

emotional farewell. But what had appeared to be nothing more than an urgent expediency became a strict necessity.

Minister Van Maanen had suddenly discovered that the Brother Visitor-general had sent Brothers Macorat, Gilbert and Illan from Namur to Tournai provided with regular "obediences". This proved the Congregation's illegal existence! Insidiously, Walter enlivened the accusing dossier. He spread the rumor that the Belgian Christian Brothers preserved their ties with the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin through the intermediary of the Bishop of Namur. The astute police detective had no doubt gotten wind of the letters exchanged in January 1824 between Brother Guillaume de Jésus, Canon Hauregard and Brother Claude. He interpreted them after his fashion, prepared to compromise the most trustworthy of bishops.[1634] Van Gobbelschroy Van Maanen, Van Ewyck, and Goubau himself took the information seriously. Several weeks went by before Bishop Pisani was alerted and was able to object. He wrote to Goubau on the 20th of October: "I cannot conceive the motive that would induce an informer to imagine that I have a commission from the French Superior-general...I should certainly not have accepted such an assignment. A bishop has all ordinary jurisdiction over whatever Community within his diocese, and does not have to allow a foreign jurisdiction.

This was a principle upon which the Canonist in Aix and the one in Brussels obviously agreed.[1635].

In fact, subsequently, a confidential report from the Director of the Catholic Religion acknowledged that "the authenticity of Bishop's assignment by the Superior" was very much suspect.[1636]. But the goal aimed at by Walter and his accomplices had been achieved. As Van Ewyck put it later on, what is the purpose of a retrospective investigation, "since the business about the Brothers is going to be completely settled?"[1637]

The "settlement" pursued a continuous and inexorable process. The decree, initially "secret", of the 3rd of October 1825, pronounced the expulsion of the "Brothers of Christian Doctrine, who were born outside of the country"; these foreigners were to "leave the territory of the kingdom...before the 1st of November."[1638].

The king's reaction happened exactly as Walter and Van Maanen had wished. Count Mercy-Argenteau who, on the 5th of October, had intervened on behalf of the Brothers, summarized the situation upon emerging from a private audience: "Everything seems finally lost...His Majesty reflected M. Walter's arguments: that it is better to employ young men who are natives of the country in the education of the poor than foreigners; that is more patriotic; that the Brothers, depending upon a general institution in France, must receive their orders from a French Superior-general. And, concerning the observation that I made to him that, through the declaration that they had released to the government, they separated themselves from the French Congregation and formed a new Institute here...he replied that this declaration could not have been given...except with mental reservations; hence, it follows that the Belgian Superior was actually only an inferior of the French Superior-general; and that this was a sham.

Mercy retorted that the real sham came from people who had thought up the declaration of independence as a way of getting rid of the Brothers. The king became stubborn in his

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[1634] Stokman, pp. 229 et sq.

[1635] Motherhouse Archives, ID t2

[1636] Report of the 22nd of October 1825; Stokman, pg. 239

[1637] Van Ewyck's report, 30th of November 1825; Motherhouse Archives, ID t2.

[1638] Ibid

prejudice and concluded: “This Society has only been tolerated up to now: we must not perpetuate something that has been merely tolerated.

A little later, in another conversation, Guillaume I warmed to the subject of the so-called “commission” entrusted to the Bishop of Namur: he accused the Brothers of “double-dealing”. He had a copy of the evidence in his pocket! And, according to him, the municipal government of Namur had in its possession the original that had been intercepted.[1639]
The king’s sincerity seemed never to have been in doubt. But what a strange way for him to exploit it![1640]

Questioned by Canon Hauregard, Count de La Roche, Mayor of Namur, certified in writing on the 26th of January 1826 that the document in question was not in the city archives and that he was unaware of its existence. The governor, too, asserted that he did not have it.

Then matters moved quickly toward the critical phase. On the 15th of October Van Gobbelschroy wrote to Count Lidekerke: “It is quite true that the decree of the 3rd...has to do only with Brothers born in foreign countries; but this decree...reveals the king’s purposes with respect to the Order itself. This Order shall certainly be suppressed.[1641]And, on the same day, the same Minister asked Guillaume I to approve of a plan of dissolution which – he assured him – “presents no difficulties.”[1642].

Walter sent Gobbelschroy a victory message: “Complete success of the operation” carried out in Namur and Dinant. It was already possible without danger “to ignore the mummeries introduced” into the schools “by the Ignorantines.”[1643] Omalius had just informed Brother Claude of the decree of expulsion. The Visitor-general and the French Brothers in his group left by carriage on the 3rd of November. The Belgian Brothers also placed themselves at the disposition of the Motherhouse. Five of them extended their stay in Namur in order to protect the building; and in March 1826, following the example of their leader and their confreres, they went into exile.[1644]

Before the decree of suppression had appeared, three Christian Brothers schools – of the four founded in Belgium – had succumbed to the blows of the persecutor. In a similar way, at the outbreak of the French Revolution the closing of great number of schools preceded the decree of the 18th of August 1792.

Tournai continued to survive. Not only Dumortier-Willaumez and his friends, but the Mayor, Count Bethune, and the Governor, Baron Beekman extended their vigilant protection to the Community.[1645]Count Bethune waited until May 11th 1825 to reveal to the Brothers in Tournai the circular letter which forbad them to admit the sons of well-to-do families. Even so, he authorized them to keep all the children who were currently in classes. During a period in which Walter practiced his abuses in the Province of Namur the Brothers in Hainaut taught undisturbed. They had, of course, to submit to official examinations, as their knowledge testified; at the end of September 1825 Beekman granted certificates of competence to Brothers Thomas of Villanova, Affre, Macorat and Optacian.

[1639] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 172-6.
[1640] ibid
[1641] Motherhouse Archives, ID t2.

[1642] Ibid., L. Gobbelschroy’s report to His Majesty. The approval of the policy was given in a royal dispatch, dated the 18th of October
[1643] Ibid., Walter’s letter to Van Gobbelschroy, 19th of October 1825.

[1644] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 339-47.
[1645] (Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 442-4)

However, Brother Thomas (Barthélemy Legat), the only Frenchman, was obliged to withdraw after the royal decision of the 3rd of October. A Dutchman, Brother Numidique, replaced him.[1646]

Walter had been planning to follow up his successes, when he was laid low for a time by a serious illness.[1647] As he recuperated during February of 1825, he inquired of Van Gobbelschroy whether "the tail in Tournai had been allowed to survive". To his mind, "it was a great evil...and a rallying point for every fanatic". Why not, when the operation promised to be "so simple and so easy, pull up" the last "root"? The Governor was only trying to make himself popular under a "vain pretext" of peace. [1648]

Van Ewyck completely agreed with the Inspector-general. Baron Goubau, who had refused to pardon Bishop Pisani de la Gaude for his complaints about the suppression of the Junior Seminaries and his hostility to the "Philosophical College" clung to the sectarian plan in order to inflict bitter suffering upon the aging Bishop.[1649]

The decree of February 21st 1826 completely abolished Christian Brothers schools created by the initiatives of clergy and Catholics in the Low-Countries. Following is the text:

1. Considering the petition that was presented to us in 1820 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools with the view of obtaining (their) recognition in this kingdom...

2. Considering the individual declarations, made and signed separately by each member of this Association...establishing its independence (respecting) a foreign Superior...

3. And having taken into consideration that several circumstances have demonstrated that, in spite of these declarations, the relations...between the Superior-general, outside this kingdom, and the members of the Association, have not been discontinued;

4. That already those of the Brothers...born outside of this country have left it; that competent authorities in some cities where (these teachers) were settled have taken steps to replace them...

5. We have found it good...to declare that the Association of the Brothers of the Christian Schools cannot be admitted to this country and to prescribe that, in consequence, natives who are members and who are still in this kingdom must abandon the habit and will not be able to wear it.[1650]

On the 9th of March, the chief Supervisor in Tournai invited the Brothers to wear secular clothes. They refused and remained indoors; the faithful Dumortier, "the servant of the servants of Jesus Christ" (as he called himself), shopped for them, ran their "errands" and saw to their correspondence.[1651] This kind of state of siege could not last long. Van Maanen stated that he was not anxious about the outcome of events.[1652]

In vain did the Communal Counsel eagerly pronounce in favor of the Institute; and the

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1646 .[1646]Letter of the Governor of Hainaut to Van Ewyck, 30th of September 1825. Motherhouse Archives ID t

1647 Stokman, pg. 235; Hutin, Vol. I, pg. 454.

[1648]Letter dated the 9th of February 1826, Motherhouse Archives, ID t2.

1649 Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 177-8.

1650 Idem., ibid., pp. 455-6. Houtart, op. cit.

1651 Stokman, pp. 259 et sq.

1652 Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 458-65.

Vicar-capitulary bestow laurel wreaths upon the victims; and Count Bethune recount "the zeal and the promptitude", the docility and the good behavior of the disciples of De La Salle.[1653] Their sentence was beyond repeal. Brothers Macorat and Aubin were the last to leave the school, on the 25th of March and made their way to Lille.[1654] Through the efforts of Baron Cazier the building was sold and the money was sent to the Brother Superior-general.[1655]

Guillaume I's policy with respect to Catholics and the Holy See was to lead to an alliance that was "unforeseen by and surprising to" all Belgian parties – of the "Right" and the "Left" – who organized to resist tyranny, in order to liberate people and to assure the nation its providential destiny.[1656]

In their decisions and in their hopes the leaders of the Christian militants had not forgotten the Religious exiles. One of the benefactors of the school in Namur, M. Danheux, wrote to Brother Guillaume de Jésus on the 30th of October 1829: "Ninety-five-thousand signataries to a petition, the elite of the Belgian nation, to obtain the freedom of education that will bring back our dear, our lamented, our thousand upon thousand times lamented Brothers, are not enough for the government...We shall begin again...We (shall gather) more than a hundred thousand signatures. May Heaven attend to the wishes of the most unhappy Belgians struggling...for the preservation of the Catholic faith! (Just as) so many Families...pray for the return amongst us of the Brothers, be good enough to remember us to the Lord, so that He might cast a look of love and of mercy upon us and our children."[1657]

While the Brothers' Institute labored at this patient "restoration" at whose term we have arrived, a breakdown was occurring at a critical point in the workplace. With a shove from the outside the Belgian structure toppled. Neither the quality of the materials, nor the architect's plans, nor the workmen's knowledge were involved. The entire team at work on the enterprise remained available and faithful. Once the adversary was no longer in position to do damage, the construction rose up on its former foundations and assumed new proportions. It occupied its important and harmonious place in the vast ensemble successively entrusted to the efforts of Brother Anacletus and Brother Philippe.

[1653] Idem., ibid., pg. 457.

[1654] Idem., ibid., pp. 466-8.

[1655] ibid

[1656] Terlinden, pp. viii-ix.

[1657]Motherhouse Archives, HA n11, St. Hubert file.