HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

VOLUME 5

by

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THE ERA OF BROTHER PHILIPPE

THE GENERALATE OF BROTHER ANACLET
THE INSTITUTE IN FRANCE IN THE TIME OF BROTHER PHILIPPE

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[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

Volume V

The Generalate of Brother Anaclet [Anacletus] and the Institute in France in the time of Brother Philippe

INTRODUCTION

With this fifth volume of the History of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, we approach a period that is so important and so prolific that it did not seem possible to exhaust its events at a single stroke. Until the middle of the 19th century, the Congregation founded by St. John Baptist de La Salle had remained closely bound to its French origins. Of course, it had its representatives in Rome to carry on the tradition initiated by Brother Gabriel Drolin. It had emigrated into Piedmont, Belgium and even into Canada, and it responded to appeals that had been issued by governmental circles to go and teach the Creoles and the Blacks in the islands of the Indian Ocean. But these were nothing more than the first steps in a very large world. There was a "missionary vocation" in the course of being defined; and it was about to take its definitive shape in the days of Gregory XVI and of Pius IX. Great evangelical promoters, these two Popes reorganized an apostolate which, beginning with the discovery of America, extended to India, Japan and China on the strength of the marvelous efforts of Francis Xavier, slackened with the cooling of the faith and suffered an arrest when the Jesuits fell victims to Jansenist and rationalist hostility and to "reasons of State." It wasn't until the end of the chaos occasioned by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars that the Church sent its trail-blazers once again onto paths of peaceful conquests. The Brothers of the Christian Schools took their place alongside those who had heard the *Docete omnes gentes*. And not only did they accept a role in the French colonies but – whether or not the distant lands had fallen under the sovereignty or influence of their countrymen – an elite corps of religious teachers spread out overseas, into the Eastern Mediterranean, into North Africa, and as far as the most distant parts of Asia.

At the same time the Institute's role in Europe became enlarged. Germany, Austria, Switzerland and England witnessed the establishment of Brothers' schools. Another immense field of action opened up in the United States of America. Henceforth, it became a question of a world-wide expansion. The methods and, presently, the recruitment of the Society, born in the shadows of the Rheims Cathedral, would no longer know any frontiers. While remaining faithful to the spirit, and indeed, to the letter of the Founder, De La Salle' followers assumed an "internationalism" or, rather, a "supranationalism", which coincided with that of Christ Himself.

Before the beginning of the 20th century; the French stamp had been impressed upon every Brothers' Community, where it was vigorously preserved right up to our day. It endured, however, in an increasingly unobtrusive way, while seeking only to lay stress upon a perfectly legitimate brotherhood, and only to exhibit a union of friendship in one and the same love of the Father and in an even-handed obedience to the Heads of the Institute; but never, in racial pride nor in a will to dominate, whether for earthly goals that are so injurious to charity and incompatible with the loyalty due to political regimes and to the aspirations of every people, nor for advantages alien to Catholicism.

The question arises as to whether one lays one's self open to error by combining into a single account everything that has to do with the "principal" activities of the Congregation (in Paris and on the soil of the nation which was the "Mother" of the earliest Christian Brothers) with what was to become the more expanded life of modern times. A distinction seems all the more natural as, by attempting to bring together a variety of activities in a few pages, one runs the

risk of confusing both sorts of events.

But all of this occurred under the auspices of a single person. Brother Philippe presided over the vast accomplishments of the Christian teachers in their birthplace and in their expansion over the globe. Even before his generalate had begun, his name had attracted attention. And, then, beginning in 1838, it grew and spread (as the Pope proclaimed in 1867) "throughout the world".

This is why we have thought to combine two volumes of this general History under the same title: **The Era of Brother Philippe**. By way of a preface, we shall study the Generalate of Brother Anacletus. We believe that the facts will support this way of viewing the story. And, since in this opening stage it will be appropriate to make soundings and indicate landmarks, we shall not hesitate to conduct the reader along a variety of roads throughout Christendom, whether in Turin or Brussels or Montreal as well as in Rome.

Then there will unfold what some, perhaps, will call "French History": – the Institute's situation in the strife that followed the events of July 1830, in the political, religious and social "climate" of the "July Monarchy", the "Second Republic" and the "Second Empire"; the Superior-general's relations with the personalities of his age, the princes, the ministers, the political party leaders, and with a Church that had become involved in the vicissitudes of the nation. Our story will tend to show that the intervention of the State continued to weigh upon the destinies of the school, to dominate the growth of instruction, and sometimes to induce its abberations; and that, in particular, the educative mission of the Brothers found support or impediment depending upon the men in power and the doctrines in fashion; and that the educational problems that were associated with religious problems were never so heatedly discussed nor with a keener sense of their importance as when Catholics undertook to challenge the "University's" monopoly.

However, these chapters dedicated to the Institute in France during Brother Philippe's Generalate can only throw an external light upon the Brothers' history . It is likely that more is expected of us – some insight into the interior life, a sort of psychology, of the Congregation, as well as a commentary, an in-depth study of the methods used by the teachers of children and youth. We cannot defer these topics, without which our account would be stripped of its soul. While the principal foundations are being described and we recall the names of the founders and what they looked like, we must explain the "why" and the "how" of these projects, and inquire into the springs of talent and virtue by analyzing the religious direction and educational accomplishments of the Generalate.

So much for the conclusion of volume V and the beginning of volume VI. The principles were worked out at the Motherhouse, in the "Districts" that had been organized on French soil and in the great residence schools directed by a Brother Leufroy or a Brother Theoticus or a Brother Libanus. They were to be applied, with the necessary adaptations, to institutions developed whether in other Christian countries, or in the colonies or in countries that had asked for evangelical initiation. From a sharply defined point of departure to a term known in advance, we shall find ourselves involved in a long and arduous journey. And if God lets us live and if the walls raised between peoples finally crumble, we hope to describe the world-wide expansion of the Institute, with all the amplification that such a splendid epic deserves.

In order to avoid the impression of incompleteness, it will be preferable immediately to narrate, by way of epilogue, Brother Philippe's last years. Overwhelmed by the sadness of 1870, by the sufferings occasioned by the siege of Paris and by the persecution at the hands of the Commune of 1871, soothed by the spectacle of national recovery, distressed once again by the prospects of religious discord, those years are linked by the closest ties with our present study. And while we shall have to take our leave of the great Superior only on his deathbed, this encroachment upon strict chronology cannot be equated with a final leave-taking. Ten years

ago we wrote a biography of the "Apostolic Educator."[1] At that time the Motherhouse placed at our disposal an abundance of documents, personal letters, administrative correspondence, Capitular decisions, institutional files and the files of the principal Brothers. We need only dip into these treasures once again but more thoroughly. We should be able to supplement this wealth of material by the investigations conducted in the French establishments in which the events of 1940 have obliged us to lay over. This preliminary work had the same goal as the book which was able to substitute – halfway through – for our previous publications.

The documents in the National Archives (Series F 17) and everything which, in the Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, has to do with the normal school for a half-century directed by the Christian Brothers contributes to the manuscript sources.

The sheer quantity of the bibliography is so great that, much more so than in our research on the 18th century and the Revolution, we have had to seek out the essential elements in order to effect a synthesis. First of all, there is the Congregation's own bibliography: the Superior-general's "Circulars", "Obituaries" or "Necrological notices";[2] Lives of Brothers, venerated for their holiness or eminent for their accomplishments, such as Brother Benilde, Brother Berain, Brother Scubilion, Brother Exuperien, Brother Joseph or Brother Annet; monographs on the schools or residence schools, such as Castres, Gaillac, Montpellier in the former category and Beziers, Dreux, Nantes, Passy, Quimper, Rodez or Toulouse in the latter; and further, publications on institutions such as St. Nicolas or the Agriculture Institute in Beauvais. For the beginnings of the Canadian foundations and for the Belgian restoration of 1830 we have available both the magnificent commemorative volume written in Montreal for the "Centenary",[3]

There are also a number of volumes or pamphlets that supply overall views: *Essai historique sur la Maison-Mere* (1905; the small *Histoire de l'Institut des Freres* by J. Herment; the writings of Armand Ravelet, reedited in 1933; and the Précis published by the Procure (Rue de Sevres, 1935). And, along the same lines, there are the no less expert and no less well-informed articles – for the most part containing documentation with the most interesting details – in the *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes*, *Messagero delle Scuole Cristiane*, and *Rivista lasalliana*.

Beyond the cluster of "family" publications we can find information about the Brothers and the whole of French education in the *Tableau d l'Instruction primaire*, drawn up by P. Lorain under the aegis of Guizot in the Reports of the education ministry, in the works of Eugene Rendu dedicated to the memory of his father, Ambrose, and in the writings of Alfred des Cilleuls, Emile Gossot, Marcel Fosseyeux and of Canon Adrien Garnier. For a reminder of the struggles which had educational freedom for their stakes we have used Lecanuet's Montalambert, but especially the reports of the extraparliamentary Commission of 1849.[4] Finally, ascending the historical framework within which our characters work out their lives, we have placed the following under contribution: Bishop Baunard – *Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France* – Thureau-Dangin, Pierre de la Gorce, Gabriel Hanotaux, George Goyau, Sebastian Charlety, Jean Maurain and Daniel Halevy.

Such are our materials and their diverse origins. We have used them and have attempted to

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[1]1 Le Frère Philippe, Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1932.

[2] An excellent Selection of these official notices has been published in three series by the Procure of the Institute in 1933, 1934 and 1935.

[3]*L'Oeuvre d'un Siecle*, 1937.and volumes II and III of Felix Hutin's *L'Institut des Freres en Belgique* (under the rule of constitutional liberty).[3]Namur, 1912 and 1914

[4]The origin of these "reports" will be found on pp. 299-300 of the present volume.

harmonize them in accordance with their respective importance.[5]In the notes to each chapter and in the INDEX we have supplied the most numerous and detailed references. Our task has been undertaken in harsh circumstances and difficult conditions. Thank God that cooperation has not been wanting: we are grateful to our helpers and our guides. And in the work itself we have found the courage to resist trials.
G.R.

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PART ONE

The Generalate of Brother Anaclet

On June 10th 1830, Brother Guillaume de Jésus, after seven years and seven months of a wise and calm generalate, died in peace. One fine day he completed a life, which had bloomed in Languedoc, developed in Provencal sunshine, had maintained its joyful vigour throughout periods of persecution and exile. Rome, Lyon, and Paris had seen this sturdy old man carry out his daily work methodically and strongly, calmly remaining cool on several occasions with worldly powers, renewing and sanctifying his natural optimism in daily prayer. God had certainly spared him the most cruel trials. The respected and trust goodwill of public authority and of the Church hierarchy, and the affectionate obedience of the Brothers were not wanting to the Superior-general.

Only the sectarian decisions of the king of the Low Countries, which closed the Brothers' schools in Namur, Dinant, Liège and Tournai succeeded in troubling his tranquillity. And this was only a fractional defeat, narrowly localized and devoid of consequence for the Brothers' Institute. Indeed, a certain amount of good came from it as the tiny group of harassed Brothers fell back upon France without a single defection and, on the other hand, the clergy, prominent persons and the people of Belgium clearly displayed their gratitude and their distress.

More than two-hundred Communities, more than 1400 Brothers observed the Rule and taught children according to the Founder's principles in the kingdom of Charles X, the Papal States and under the benign protection of the House of Savoy. The still insufficient number of Brothers and the scanty character of the educational program limited the Congregation's activity. The timidity of rulers and legislators in educational matters as well as their mistrust respecting teachers in religious habits also tended to slow it down. But, henceforth, as far as De La Salle's spiritual heritage was concerned, the near-annihilation of 1792 was a thing of the past. Overflowing national frontiers, in some places it suffered impairment or intrusion, while elsewhere it developed in more favorable climates. In his empire Napoleon I restored "official existence" to the Brothers even as he encompassed them with annoying restrictions. Encouraged, until 1814 by the grandmaster of the Department of Education, Louis Fontanes, under the Bourbons, they enjoyed royal privilege; and they began to swarm into the colonies. In Rome the Popes, Pius VII, Leo XII and Pius VIII maintained for this very deserving Society, so profoundly dedicated to the Church, the quite distinct canonical situation and the guarantees for the future which their predecessor, Pius VI, had assured them. The princes of Sardinia had just welcomed to Turin the excellent educators that their ancient patrimonial capital of Chambery had already known for twenty years.

Would the Revolutions of 1830 be harmful to the Christian Brothers? They obviously disturbed men who had been habituated to the alliance of throne and altar and who saw themselves as exposed to the attacks of violent adversaries. In France, their situation had appeared to have been compromised. Anti-religious passions exploded during the July days; and the Church, looked upon as interdependent with the subverted monarchy, founded the victorious party standing against it. The palace of the Archbishop of Paris was devastated, the Cathedral's sacristies were profaned and the residences of missionary priests and of the Jesuits were pillaged.

From Paris, the surge reached the provinces. It swept Cardinal Latil from Rheims, and he took refuge in England; from Nancy Bishop Forbin-Janson, who fled to America. Chalon-sur Marne, Chartres, Orleans, Bourges, Nevers, Niort, Narbonne and Toulouse were the scenes of demonstrations and riots which took aim primarily at priests. Down "with the black robes and the broad-brim hats!"[6] These threats, notes the Duke de Broglie, did not spare the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[7] In spite of their crude improbability, calumnies, widely spread through

[6] Broad-brim hats worn by the clergy

[7] Thureau-Dangin, ,Vol. I, 1884, pg. 208.

the press at the time of the Restoration, swayed popular audiences. One newspaper claimed that "thousands of poisoned daggers had been found in the hands of the Ignorantines", as well as "in seminaries".[8]The clergy had conceived a huge "St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre!"

Revolutionary turbulence was fed by certain political clubs, in particular by one called the "Society of Friends of the People". A social crisis seemed to have been on the point of being added to the political emergency. And many "middle-class members of society", blinded by prejudice and hatred, were slow to comprehend the consequences of their apathy. On the 14th and 15th of February 1831, "affluent" Parisians witnessed, as indifferent indeed, as amused and ironical spectators, the sacking of the church of St. Germain of Auxerre and the nearly total destruction of the Archbishop's palace; and there were those of them who contributed to the riot. Seminaries and episcopal palaces were subjected to seditious assault in Lille, Dijon, Arles, Nimes and Perpignan. But what difference did it make! These were blows that struck at "Jesuitism" nearly as effectively as the devastation of the residence of "Loyola's disciples" in Montrouge of which only a wall or two were left standing.[9]

Several years of this climate of turmoil were to be experienced. There were riots in the streets of Paris, especially between March and September of 1831; there were factious chants, broken street lamps, looting of shops and armed attacks against the defenders of public order. In Lyon there were more serious occurrences: twenty-four thousand workers, hoisting the black flag, took over the city; these were fearful hours for the new French government, whose troops had yielded in the face of insurrection. Here, however, the extreme poverty of the people accounted for the revolt: "Live working or die fighting", read their somber banner. And the temporary victors showed a spirit of faith and a deference to the exhortations of the Church's hierarchy that was in striking contrast with the attitude of other guiding spirits of the period. Montalembert, arriving unexpectedly in the distracted city, was profoundly moved by the exceptional character of this social movement and he has sketched a masterful picture of it

A feeling of insecurity and instability prevailed everywhere. Memories of 1793 were not so far removed that men of mature age were unable anxiously to recall them. The present made people long for the rigorous, tyrannical but impressive and inspiring discipline of the Napoleonic regime and the benignant peace of the fifteen years of legitimate royalty. To sadness of soul there were added material sufferings, such as the ones which low wages and unemployment inflict upon the poor and the ones which grip the rich who are threatened in their wealth. And then death came with a gust: in 1832 a dreadful epidemic of cholera strewed the land with thousands of victims, spared scarcely a home and decimated whole families.

Those who escaped the plague did so only to relapse into civil war. Once again in 1834 Lyons heard the alarm, the volley of shot and shell. And once again the barricades went up in Paris; and they needed a great burst of energy and tactics suited to the struggle in narrow and tortuous streets, in the entangled network of the ancient capital, in order finally to crush the insurrection. And, here and there in the provinces the fire-brands finally burnt out.[10]

It was then the authorities understood and acted. But how feeble they appeared after the events of 1830! Choice of Louis-Philippe, Duke of Orleans, as "the king of the French" was only a sort of improvisation, an expedient contrived to escape a Republican form of government and to wrench from the masses the formidable fruit of their triumph. The "property tax", barely increased by the new charter, restricted the political franchise to two-hundred

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[8] Ibid. pg. 210.

[9] Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise*, pg. 565.

[10] Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., pp. 238-242.

thousand citizens.[11] Once this device was in place, the beneficiaries believed that they were compelled to placate the people, to spare betrayed expectations, and to deflect anger and bitterness from themselves by allowing them to be appeased at the expense of monarchists and clergy. In the Ministry of August 11, 1830, the conservative elements, represented by Mole, Guizot and Perier, felt intimidated and incapacitated. Disgust and remorse consumed these statesmen in face of the tasks with which they were associated and in face of a public opinion that had been surrendered to the violent and to the purveyors of sophistry. They retired after the disturbances which, in October, accompanied the trial of Prince Polignac and his associates, who had been responsible for fatal decrees.

With Lafitte, the "Party of 'the Movement'" remained the only one in power. It demonstrated its incapacity, indeed it did not even try, to maintain order; and it absolved those who demolished and pillaged St. Germain of Auxerre and the Archbishop's palace, without so much as winning over the support of their leaders. The Party gave way under the contempt of Parlement and of the nation.

Relief, uneasy, uncertain and arduous, began in March of 1831. It was the work of Casimir Perier, the great commoner with the austere look and "the deep eyes hidden under thick lashes,"[12]. who exhibited the face and the soul of a master. His philosophy, however, appeared rather brief and his ideal did not seem to surpass the vision of the "business man" who holds anarchy in detestation because it undermines foundations, interrupts commercial transactions, wipes out finances and humiliates France in the eyes of the world.[13] He balked at assuming responsibility for consciences or to summon society back to genuine principles. Personally, he showed no hostility to religion and nothing he said betrayed either apostasy nor reproach. But the Church was not an integral part of his social and political system. In his policy statements he was satisfied to guarantee "freedom of religion."[14]

At this time the name of God was usually excluded from official oratory. M.Salvandy observed that "the young grandmaster of the 'University' (Count Montalivet), speaking to students in assembly after final examinations and rightly celebrating their country and their freedom in it was persistently silent about the Providence which had supplied men with these good things".[15]

Nevertheless, Casimir Perier's insight, his courage and his vigorous action plucked the new monarchy from its tightest jam. The intrepid Minister had succeeded in rallying a docile majority in the Chamber, in heartening ordinary people and in restoring the country to its rank among the nations when he fell victim to cholera. Political wisdom survived, with a shade less energy, in the Ministry "of October 11", in which the Duke de Broglie, Thiers and Guizot collaborated under the presidency of Marshal Soult.

Leonce Victor de Broglie as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Francis Guizot as Minister of Public Education were lofty minds and noble spirits. Adolph Thiers, as Minister of the Interior, seemed to be a somewhat less sterling character; while his intellectual qualities were beyond dispute, his moral sensitivity inspired small confidence, and he still had not acquired the experience which would widen his horizons and correct his frivolity. For the average, the untroubled, Frenchman, these were really three natural leaders. In the all too cautiously

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[11] Lecanuet, Montalembert, Vol. I, 1898, pg. 260. See Hanotaux, *Histoire politique de la Nation francaise*, Vol.III, 342.

[12] Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., pg. 358

[13] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. I, pp. 62 and 67-68.

[14] ibid

[15] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

restricted but perceptibly solid domain of resistance to disorder they would be enthusiastically followed. When the revolutionary neighborhoods in the capital mounted disquieting rumors, the shops would close up, the drum would call to arms through the streets, and the burgher would don his national guard uniform, take down his gun and, apathetically but without cowardice, go out to quell the riot.[16] He was a good citizen, a good husband and a good father; in this somewhat sententious language is summed up the rule of conduct and the domestic virtues of the men who supported the government. Louis Veuillot sketches them with a certain irony and a certain tartness; and with the same pen he outlines his own role as a young journalist, still without any religion, in the service of a social class divested of firm belief, but above all things concerned for its own interests: "It was largely a question (in these circles) of stamping out anarchy, of reinforcing order, and of re-establishing sound teaching. I consorted with the best heads-of-families in the world, with the wisest of property owners and with the most honorable of citizens; they had a single god, which was public order; they implored me to defend it; and they contributed thereto themselves, some of them with as much dedication as courage".[17].

The future defender of Catholicism champed at the bit and lost patience with a career of such restricted horizons, while his provisional employers trudged on contentedly. For them the best politics was a matter of lucrative business deals. Talented administrators, discerning judges of character, like the Count Rambuteau, Prefect of the Seine, succeeded in quieting disorders and channeling ambition by constantly shunting it off in the direction of the municipal magistracy, the maintenance and transformation of public buildings, road drainage and gas-fuelled street lighting:[18]– earthly tasks, directly useful, having an assured yield and exactly suited to those city counsellors and general counsellors who had been elected (according to the laws of 1831 and 1833[19]on a census-based franchise and who themselves made up a group having composite origins but whose common denominator was wealth.

Still, a man like Rambuteau was concerned with people and, in fifteen years of administration, he increased the number of schools in Paris and he remained attractive to the workers by his charming good nature and easy availability. But the middle class couldn't imagine for the masses, deprived as they were of political rights and defrauded of victory in July, anything except a rather arrogant tutelage and servitude to the factory and farm with interminable days of labor at wages fixed "at the minimum". Notaries, bankers and big business men had found Louis-Philippe a king in their own image. This descendant of Louis XIV,[20] like his ancestor in certain physical traits – and he had not abdicated his pride of blood – meant to govern only as *paterfamilias,* narrow, matter-of-fact, thrifty, careful of his own personal tranquility, his fortune and the "situation" of his relatives. Intelligent, sure of judgment, he lacked breadth of foresight and a sense of the future. He relied upon his own experience which was, no doubt, lengthy, but incomplete; upon his own wisdom, which was sound but somewhat ponderous; and all too often he listened to the counsels that arose from his own parsimony and vanity.[21]

Along with unquestionable human qualities, he was a "Voltairian" on the model of so many other Frenchmen brought up on the narrow rationalism, the superficial and mocking skepticism of the 18th century. He did not repeat the scandals of his father, Philippe Egalité; and he made

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16 Ibid., pp. 415-416

17 Veuillot, *Rome et Lorette,* 1841, Introduction, pg. 17

18 Thureau-Dangin, Vol. VI, pp. 47-48.

19 See S. Charléty, *La monarchie de Juillet* (*Vol. V of Histoire de France),* by Lavisse, 1921), pp. 25-26 and 90-91

20 By way of Madame Montespan.

21 Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 347.

an effort to make people forget the curious flaw that the profligate and regicide transmitted to the House of Orleans. A veneer of dignity and morality veiled his soul; but the faith of St. Louis and of Louis XIII was wanting as well as that ultimate refinement of conscience which Madame Genlis's pupil was unable to foster under the guidance of his eccentric "tutor in petticoats". He believed that he knew the common people because he had himself lived in want and, indeed, in poverty, during the Revolution. In fact, he did not really share the feelings, nor the needs, nor the difficulties of his humblest subjects. "Religion" seemed to him, as it did to Voltaire, to be quite useful in order to cultivate the hopes of poor people, to sustain their resignation and, so, secure the possessions of this world's successful people. He, therefore, "respected" religion, and he "patronized" it when circumstances were favorable and when the sectarian furor of 1830 needed to be placated. Not without pleasure, he witnessed its practice round about him by Marie-Amelie, "his good queen", and by the royal princesses. His personal attitude toward the Church remained that of an outsider. At the beginning of his reign he carefully avoided every demonstration of Christianity. In contrast with Charles X's consecration, his own coronation ceremony included nothing but what was strictly "civic". In Paris on July 27, 1831, under the dome of St. Genevieve, Sufflot's monument once again transformed into a "Pantheon", a purely pagan display unfolded.[22]

At pretty nearly the same date, however, the king, visiting the Northern and Eastern Departments, graciously welcomed the Bishops and pastors, ensured that they "would receive all the support the law would allow" and, in return, asked the clergy "to help" him and, among the faithful, to arouse something "more than submission" to the public authorities, a "spirit of affection" for the monarch and his dynasty.[23].

Immediately after the kind of disorders we have been describing, such a speech pointed to a rather clear-cut policy statement. What was at stake was the removal of Catholic support from the Legitimist Party, the dissipation of some well-founded suspicions the real peril of which was finally revealed. When the Bourbon throne collapsed, the Church had appeared to many to have been buried under its ruin; a sort of "civic death" fell upon priests; and, with a satisfaction that was mixed with pity, the so-called wise had believed that they were "attending the funeral of a great Religion". For want of deep convictions, Louis-Philippe's caution and calculation liberated him from this error. Be careful, the Duke de Broglie told him, that "you do not get caught in these theological quarrels in which, before long, you find that all the good people are against you and all the scoundrels are on your side". "You're absolutely right", the king replied. "You should never put your finger in the Church's business; because you'll never get it back."[24]

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Once the views of the statesmen were known, once the tendencies of the new governing class became clear, the religious situation, in the final analysis, was felt to have been less gloomy than July's abrupt debacle would have led one to fear. Privilege must no longer be counted on, nor on a too conspicuous protection, which sometimes could be awkward and loaded with obligations and unpopularity. The persecution that was predicted at the outset came to a sudden end. The Concordat between Rome and France was maintained without serious infringement and without cunning interpretations. As for Christian educators, they would henceforth have to live in a society which fostered certain prejudices against them, which immediately did not

[22] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. I, pp. 83-84 and 215.

[23] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pg. 63

[24] Ibid., Vol. I, pg. 213.

grant them any but the slightest credit and expected them to work.

They were reduced to the common law, and to the strict application of the laws; these were the conditions of continuing existence and it was useless to protest against them. It was essential to have patience and to struggle on a site selected by one's adversaries or, at least, by referees whose impartiality was suspect. To fair demands De La Salle's disciples would have no difficulty in conforming. By way of perseverance and sacrifice they had triumphed over the antique routines of the 17th century; until 1792 they had applied their methods and observed their vows in spite of the prejudices of certain magistrates and of certain Bishops; and with their hierarchy of superiors and their dress and their traditions they were integrated into the Imperial Education. Under the Restoration, in the days of Ministers Lainne' and Decazes the flurry over mutual education and legal authorization did not discourage them. An invincible attachment to the prescriptions of their Founder did not deprive them of a feeling for opportunities and for necessary adaptations. In their eyes all was well if they were allowed to practice obedience, monastic poverty, the means of following the evangelical counsels of perfection and the right to teach "the sons of workers and craftsmen".

This right they would obtain, maintain securely and extend with the usages of freedom, which would procure greater ease in their movement and, in the troubled and confused world of our time, greater matter for their zeal and a wider field in space and time than in the fold of the Department of Education, under Bishop Frayssinous' crosier. They kept under their care those people whom this world's dignitaries disdained and neglected and whom they were quickly pleased to see in the hands of the Brothers as shapers of conscience and co-workers in the search for social peace. The best informed statesmen appreciated the advantages of a religious education; while selfishness also entered into the mix to settle upon the Christian school as a safeguard against revolution.

The Brothers were neither the first nor the only beneficiaries of the struggle in favor of freedom of education. For the most part, they remained public school teachers, dependent upon the Ministry of Education, inspectors from the Academy and the cities. The decree of 1808 continued to decide their role and their place in France as an officially authorized Congregation. But the fresh spirit that began to blow through the country helped them to free themselves from the most restrictive ties.

For fifteen years members of the Liberal Party had been criticizing the system's educational policy. For some of them their position was dictated by a sincere attachment to political doctrine and an unwillingness to allow any sanctuary to imperial despotism. Others only feared the priests' influence on the Ministry of Education; they might have been less inclined to protest against an exclusive State education had not, during the reign of Charles X, the function of Headmaster fallen to the lot of a Bishop. Few Catholics, apart from Father Felicity Lamennais, considered joining with adversaries, who regarded religion as the target, on that ground. In his proclamation to Parisians on July 31, 1830, La Fayette had placed freedom of education on the list of popular demands; the 69th article of the revised Charter declared that a law sanctioning this right was imminent. Thus, Providence had willed that at the moment when perils shrouded the Church and when the faith seemed engulfed, a light arose on the horizon out of the depths of a most alarming darkness.

This star remained distant; and it is possible to believe that it would vanish like a meteor. Sitting as opposition, a Party might very well pronounce in favor of freedom, but, once it came to power, decide that it was unseemly for it to sacrifice any tool of control, and the educational monopoly was one such tool, and a very valuable one indeed. In March of 1831 the young Count Montalivet became Minister of Public Education. His father had been one of the great servants of the Empire; and the son had succeeded to an inheritance of absolutist principles. During the Restoration, in the House of Lords, he had begun a political career that had been totally oriented toward State supremacy, along the lines of the old legalists. His rapid climb to

power was the result neither of exceptional talent nor of extraordinary activity. He was a model upper level bureaucrat, who was also intelligent, industrious and courageous and thoroughly devoted to the king. He enjoyed the special favor of Louis-Philippe who bestowed upon him the supervision of the civil service roster. That royal support placed him in the public eye, bolstered his authority and stimulated his zeal, which was immediately deployed in opposition to the modest rights to which Catholics had already grown accustomed. That the children in "choir schools" in Lyons or the altar boys were given special lessons seemed to Montalivet to have been tainted by illegality. He ordered the Rector of the Academy to see that they were closed down.[25] Eight months later, he displayed his determination to set aside official subsidies for Protestant or Jewish schools or for secular associations dedicated to the diffusion of the Lancastrian method:[26] a double pronged measure that clearly revealed both the thought and the goals of the Minister.

Was the Church's education suspect? And had the promise contained in the Charter been forgotten? There was a courageous group that would not allow it to be. On October 16, 1830 there appeared the first issue of a newspaper called *L'Avenir*, a cooperative work of Lamennais and Lacordaire. The author of *Essay on Indifference* had retained the reputation and the influence that his masterful writing had won for him thirteen years earlier. He had disassociated himself from the Legitimitists and no longer wished to contend for anything except to emancipate Christian society from political subjection and for a Papacy that would preside over the spiritual and temporal reconstruction of the world.[27] "God and Liberty" was his motto and that of the lieutenants that he grouped about his powerful personality – Father Lacordaire, Father Gerbet, Harel Tancrel, de Coux, Baron Eckstein and soon Montalembert.[28] In order to broaden the advertising of the newspaper, the group organized an "Agency for the defense of religious freedom".

With respect to the education of the young, Lamennais had not altered his earlier positions. He was a vigorous adversary of the monopoly; and he continued this struggle, in which his strategy was inspired by extremely sound ideas and produced the most praiseworthy results. Beginning in January 1831 the Agency insisted that the legislative Houses decide on the issue of freedom of education. At the same time, it spread throughout the kingdom the lists of demands signed by more than 15,000 persons. The Deputies refused to consider them. In the midst of all of this Montalivet leveled his attack on the "Choir-schools". "Since the 'University'", said the Agency, "attacks freedom of education by striking at choir-boys, we shall force the 'University' to grapple with men". Posters plastered on walls around Paris announced the founding of a "tuition-free school for day pupils", unauthorized by the educational bureaucracy, at 5 Rue Beaux-Arts. There would be taught "the elements of religion, French, Latin, Greek, writing and arithmetic..." M. de Coux, Father Lacordaire, and Vicomte Montalembert, turned into teachers, assumed all the responsibilities.

On May 9, 1831, in the presence of about a dozen pupils who were surrounded by a good number of curious or sympathetic spectators, Henri Lacordaire held forth: "We are gathered together to take possession of this world's primary freedom, which is the mother of all the others and without which there exits neither freedom in the family, freedom of conscience, nor

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[25] Letter of March 29, 1831.

[26] Circular of December 13, 1831. See A. Des Cilleuls, *Histoire de l'Enseignement libre dans l'ordre primaire en France,* 1898. pg. 141

[27] Goyau, op. cit., 567.

[28] Lecanuet, Vol. I, pp. 132-133.

freedom of opinion, but, sooner or later...the enslavement of all men to the thought of a single one of them...And he hoped that, on this virgin soil, his pupils might derive the holy and virile energy that will make them "better men than their fathers" and capable of creating a still nobler lineage".

The school's founders placed themselves under the protection of the Charter. Quite wittingly, however, they were violating laws that had not been repealed. Their gesture – a gesture modeled on heros both classical and romantic – was intended to awaken consciences and lay hold of imaginations. They achieved the effects they had anticipated. There were police summons, appearance before the court of petty sessions (which acknowledged its incompetence), and a decision of the Court of Appeals maintaining the principle of the monopoly; and, then, Charles Montalembert, made an hereditary Peer of the Realms, was put on trial before the Upper House; and there was the defendant's oratorical triumph, the inevitable condemnation and the token fine; all of this brilliant sword-play has been told many times over,[29] and was eloquently and justifiably commemorated on the occasion of its centenary. The young Peer surprised and charmed both his colleagues and his judges, even if he did not convince them; henceforth Lacordaire and himself were hailed as the champions of a great cause. Of course, years would be required before the problem properly posed in the public mind would receive an acceptable solution. For a time the repercussions of these clarion voices seemed to have grown faint. But, once assailed, these prejudices would falter and crumble.

Immediately after the trial, Montalembert, delegated by the Agency, conducted a campaign in the South of France in favor of the ideas of *L'Avenir*. He strove to awaken Catholics and build up their confidence in the strength of numbers and in the power of doctrine. Enthusiastically he was welcomed by priests and the faithful. The saintly Bishop Miollis of Digne, with whose evangelical behavior, firm attitude in the face of civil authority and dedication to Christian and popular schools we are familiar,[30] embraced the apostle of the faith. Never would the latter "forget the venerable old man, dressed in a sackcloth soutane, in his modest palace," who spoke "with energy and simplicity".[31] Similarly, he found an hospitable audience in Marseille from Bishop Charles Fortune Mazenod.

But, on the whole, the episcopacy was troubled by Lamennais's boldness, his theories concerning the separation of Church and State, the emancipation of peoples and on the political and social importance, the absolute value, of freedom. With the help of Gallicanism, master and disciple fell under suspicion. Centuries-old ideas and habits are not changed in a day. Irony, disrespect, contempt and violence does not hurry growth among the Hierarchy. But the brilliant author all too rarely restrained the invective, the lightning and thunder of his style. As a consequence, errors were exaggerated and truths were compromised.

Soon *L'Avenir h*ad to suspend publication. And the Encyclical *Mirari vos*[32]August 15, 1832. followed upon efforts the three "pilgrims" had made at the Vatican. Condemned, Lamennais announced that he was "abandoning the fray". Pope Gregory XVI still dealt gently with him and refrained from naming him specifically in his censure. His adversaries exercised less charity; their cries of victory, their insinuations and their insults, "capable of pushing a lesser man into a corner", exasperated an extraordinarily earnest man, proud and deeply offended.[33]

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[29] Lecanuet, vol. I, pp. 233-252; Thureau-Dangin, Vol. I, pg. 268; Des Cilleuls, op. cit., pg. 305.

[30] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 387, 392, 446.

[31] Lecanuet, Vol. I, pp. 265-266.

[32] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 569.

[33] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pg. 355.

His book *Words of a Believer* burst out like a fire at the end of April 1834: it was the apocalyptic profession of a democratic faith that mixed religion with anarchy. The Encyclical *Singulari vos* was simply the record of the downfall of an angel.

The outcome, from every point of view, seemed both frightful and sad. Apart from the retreat and the confusion of conscience that revolved in the orbit of a priest in revolt, one had to fear an interruption in the advancement of Catholics and fresh quarrels among Frenchmen. Lacordaire's faithful behavior and Montalembert's slower but no less sincere submission proved pacifying. In the world of politics, in which Lamennais' crusade had also aroused numerous objections, a spirit of tolerance gradually spread and moved unevenly in the direction of agreement. With respect to Religious Orders, there was no repetition of the crude decisions which, in 1831, dispersed the Trappists at Meilleraye. In July 1822, when Dom Gueranger, at Solesmes, resurrected the Benedictine Abbey as the first ray of a bright monastic light, he did so without concealing anything from the knowledge of the civil authorities. Guizot, whose vocation as historian made sympathetic to the learned community in spite of his Protestantism, did not delay in allotting an annual subsidy for *Gallia chistiana*.[34]

Gradually, religion was once again attracting an intellectual and moral elite. On December 1, 1832, Frederick Ozanam opened an "apologetics workshop" for students, that was destined during the following year to be transformed into a "St. Vincent de Paul Conference" for assistance to the poor, for the sanctification of the membership and in order to show everybody (and not just in words but in acts) the social effectiveness of Christianity.[35]

Nevertheless some uneasiness still existed in the minds of priests. Some Bishops retained their Legitimatist longings and their mistrustfulness with respect to the "July Monarchy". They felt that they were less heeded, they thought of themselves as less free than before 1830. Archbishop Astros of Toulouse, who sided with the most uncompromising adversaries of Lamennais manifested his pessimism in a letter addressed to Archbishop Quelan on June 30, 1834.[36] The Minister of Public Education had published an "historical digest which already must have done untold harm" and a book of lectures on moral and religious subjects, common to Catholics and Protestants. "We are being rocked to sleep", continued the letter-writer, "by a false sense of peace". If people persist "in corrupting" education, "we shall be obliged" to come to blows, to the harshest sort of censorship. Couldn't the episcopacy act in unison? A plan of action was contemplated.

During this time, the government obtained from the legislative Houses a law against free association. Revolutionary leaders had prompted this unfortunate measure, tainted by tyranny; every sort of association was regarded as forbidden. The official Debate Journal, it is true, promised, on the part of the executive branch, the indispensable discrimination.[37]. Nevertheless a threat hung over all heads.

And what caught the attention and left people perplexed was the relative insecurity, the alternation between friendly gesture and hostile initiative, and the gulf which was so difficult to cross between the clergy and the adherents of the "July Monarchy". But the excessively restrictive ties fastened around the Church by the senior branch of the House of Bourbon impeded the religious apostolate in a very different way. Pledged to royalism, Bishops and priests had suffered from political reaction; the unpopularity of Villele and Polignac had

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[34] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 574.

[35] *Archives of the Archbishopric of Paris*, Quélen sources.

[36] ibid

[37] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pg. 233

generated Catholicism's unpopularity. For the truth once again to touch souls it would have to appear in its independence.

It was in this way that many of the positions of the newspaper *L'Avenir* were justified. Philosophers distressed by rationalism, although not totally liberated from its embrace, government people made apprehensive by the progress of anarchy and youth solicited by the problems of life turned to the Gospel, recognized the errors of prior generations and were disposed to hear from a Church (whom prefects and police no longer influenced) the answer to their doubts, assistance against mischievous doctrines and the return of social peace.

This was a subject of hope and a reason for consolation for educators. The attitude of the Ministry of Education would change and the promises of the Charter regarding instruction were not to be a dead letter. Certainly, the State had no desire to remove itself from the job of directing minds. Victor Cousin, after the inquiry he had conducted in Prussia on the education of the common people, reminded the civil power of its "duty" in this matter. "There is no stability", he said, "except in the public schools". According to him, "private initiative" cannot provide the indispensable guarantees. However, he added, "it must never be thwarted."[38] Its task, then, would be defined for it, but its collaboration was never to be spurned. A double role would belong to the Church in the future: – to join with official teachers; and create its own educational bodies, as a first – however, incomplete – effort at freedom.

At the time of the discussion of the Religion budget in 1831 Guizot refined the ideas which, still misunderstood in the House and throughout the country, inspired his personal political position: "Religion produces some fanatics; of course, but for every fanatic Religion turns out a hundred citizens obedient to law and...enemies of disorder, licentiousness and cynicism. And thereby it takes its place as an eminently social principle, the natural ally and the indispensible support of every orderly government...It is extremely important for the "July Revolution" not to interfere with everything that is great and exalted in human nature...It is important for it not to let itself go on disparaging and narrowing everything, because it may find that it has debased and narrowed itself."[39].

When would this fine language be translated into action? Montalivet, as Minister of Public Education, drew up a bill which on October 24, 1831 he submitted to the offices of the House. However little sympathetic we know him to have been to the propagation of Catholic doctrine, he dared not quarrel openly with the principles defined under the Empire, not even with any of the legislation in force between 1815 and 1830. Article 1 of his bill specified, at the head of the program of elementary studies, the teaching of "morality and religion": his only reservation had to do with dogma – "the wishes of the fathers of families". The representatives of the Church – or of dissident religions – retained a place in the membership of the committees to which the direction and supervision of the schools continued to be entrusted. It went so far that even the Brothers received a spectacular commendation from the Minister, cast in such a way, however, so as not to collide with the opinions of persons who were hostile. The Minister paid tribute to the "work",and "usefulness" of De La Salle's disciples and declared them "the genuine founders of elementary education". He had to confess, however, that "exaggerated prejudices" had rejected them as promoters "of routine and obscurantism". From which it might be gathered that the Minister, by accepting their services, had refused to make room for the criticism and recriminations of the old-line "liberal" and the "Lancastrians."[40].

Daunou, the celebrated educator who, thirty-six years earlier had written the educational law

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[38] Des Cilleuls, op. cit., pp. 217-218.

[39] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pp. 87-89

[40] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pg. 85

of 3 Brumaire in the Year IV (Oct. 26, 1795)[41] was delegated by the parlementary commission to examine Montalivet's plan. The former Oratorian and member of the Convention in 1793 invited no suspicion of "Clericalism". His report unwaveringly retained the obligation of catechism lessons and the presence of the pastors within the committees. The outstanding portion of the text submitted to the legislators was found in the following lines: "You shall guarantee freedom for private schools, and you shall admit that it would be chimerical for the government to intervene in their internal governance through nomination, injunction or prohibition...You shall especially emancipate the private schools of the empire from a teaching body which, until 1830, neither allowed nor permitted them any independence".

This was an astonishing reversal of policy, or more exactly, a return to the principles announced by Talleyrand in his 1791 bill, reaffirmed by the Constitution of the Year III (1794-1795)[42] and acknowledged – although frequently misunderstood and violated – prior to the birth of the Napoleonic Ministry of Education. The latter suffered a direct blow from Daunou, because he saw it as both a total incarnation of despotism and one of the instruments of the Bourbon regime. His statement about the "teaching body" seemed significant and loaded with obstinate malice.

From this leap of a genuine liberalism the Religious Congregations themselves profited. A fugitive from the Church, the old Member of the Convention henceforth had made it a point of honor not to strike at those teachers among whom he had once been numbered in the Oratory and whom the Revolution had so harshly handled. He wrote: "Whether the teachers belong to a Society or not, in (their persons we have only considered) them as individuals enjoying the same freedom and subject to the same rules in the practice of their profession."[43]

Unfortunately, until further notice Daunou's report was to remain a manifesto purely and simply. A span of time was being traversed which was too restless for the middle class parlementarian not to recoil before an action favorable to Catholics. The bill was buried in the files. We shall encounter it once again in its main lines when we study the work of Guizot. But at least, Lafayette's words, the article of the Charter, Lamennais' polemic and that of his group, the "case for the free school" had for effect to orient – not without difficulty or resistance – the new monarchy and public opinion in the direction of freedom.

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The Brothers of the Christian Schools found themselves, then, after Brother Guillaume de Jésus's death and the shock of the Revolution faced with a number of worries, perplexities that could not be treated lightly, rather than genuinely threatened their future. Their enemies showed their teeth and would have been delighted to bite them, but they couldn't scare men whose only thought was to do their duty. One of the advocates of "mutual education", Jomard, head of the office of Public Education in the Prefecture of the Seine lamented the fact that the charitable administration responsible for tuition-free schools had to have recourse to the Brothers and "hand over sacred interests to them".[44] His protests and the measures he contemplated against the religious educators did nothing more than betray his momentary bad

[41] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 378.

[42] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 181-182 and 378.

[43] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

[44] Fosseyyeux, *Les Ecoles de charité à Paris,* 1912, pg. 134.

humor. Voltarianism emphasized his efforts to excite simple people against the Brothers. Caricature got mixed up in it: a water-color by Granville in 1830 three kids with sticks threatening a Brother; they were coming out of a house on a wall of which read the inscription: "Long live king Louis Philippe I and the mutual school! Down with the Ignorantins!"[45]The same sort of rudeness had broken out during the Restoration. Anti-clericals of the period had found ready and gullible listeners in a part of the population that was very ill-disposed to Bourbon politics, that confronted its poverty by pleasure and contempt for the rich and suspected the Church of enslaving it for the profit of the upper classes. "My mother", (wrote Louis Veuillot) "entertained prejudices (against the Brothers) that are circulated among the people who are blinded and betrayed to such an extent that they no longer understand charity"."[46]He did not attend a Christian school; and many of his contemporaries and juniors shared his fate because of the same distrust. Good teachers totally dedicated to the salvation of souls and the promotion of a religious culture and whose origins, living habits and aspirations were mostly shared with those of their pupils had to be separated from the Ancien Regime.

They themselves worked for these ends. Of course, their respect for tradition, their sympathy for princes who by "a divine right" laid claim to their reasonable recognition tended to make them deplore Charles X's fall. But the youngest among them, without repudiating the past, did not consider himself responsible for it. They refused to exaggerate the anxieties of the moment and placed their hope in God.

This state of mind appeared in a letter, addressed on August 12, 1830 by Brother Philippe, the future Superior-general, to his mother Mme. Bransiet:[47] "I write at the current time to put you at your ease and to tell you that we continue our small tasks without anything getting in the way... The churches are open as usual. True, there are Bishops and priests who are being prosecuted; I do not think that this is for religious reasons but for opinions that, it is said, they should not have expressed. The others are undisturbed; every parish in Paris had a service for the dead on the regular days of July 27, 28 and 29.

I don't have to tell you my opinion on all these matters; you, of course, can guess; but we need prudence and moderation. For the rest, I like to believe that, defending the principles learned in the home, we shall each one of us be concerned with the business of eternity rather than with temporal matters... Faithful to the rules established in the Society, we shall not be less concerned with the Lord's business, observing with respect to all political arrangements the most profound silence. If all religious persons took this wise resolution, nobody would blame their behaviour".

Filial discretion forced a note of optimism. But, overall, these statements produced the ring of the strict truth and corresponded to the deepest convictions which would always dictate Matthieu Bransiet's conduct. In the Community in the Faubourg St. Martin, the leaders who were responsible for the Institute were obviously more sensitive to the jolt of recent events, to the material havoc that the disturbance had caused and to fears for the future. And their administrative decisions recalled Brother Agathon's approach in 1789: Brother Assistant Anacletus wrote to Brother Abdon, the Director of St. Omer that throughout 1830 religious vows were not to be pronounced or renewed, that annual retreats were to take place in the houses of each Community, and novices and teachers had to be sent home: "We have spent a great deal for their travelling expenses." It was important to liquidate certain capital: beside the fact that we have been rather terribly plundered..., we are further losing through this revolution, at least thirty-two thousand livres of income. The Dauphin and the Minister of Public

[45] Hartmann, Le Frere Joseph, pg. 3.

[46] Veuillot, op. cit. pg. 13

[47] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb7

Education had been giving us this sum regularly for about ten years."[48]

Another Assistant, Brother Elias (who also had memories of very bad days) had his fellow-citizens in the neighborhood of the Motherhouse in Paris issue him a formal certificate: "We, the undersigned, declare to whom it may concern that M. Lafargue...is an honorable man and a peaceable citizen, of good life and morals and that, during the severe cold of last winter, he gave proof of his kindness by caring for the unfortunate... ".[49]Thus, on 29 Vendemiaire in the Year VII (Oct. 21, 1798) thirty-eight inhabitants of Bordeaux had intervened in favor of the individual in question who, at the time, had been seized by members of the Directory's police force.[50]

Such precautions were unnecessary in the reign of Louis Philippe. On September 2, 1830 the Christian Brothers assembled in their fifteenth General Chapter which would elect Brother Guillaume's successor. According to customary procedures, the choice, at first fragmented, concentrated on individuals who had attracted the largest number of votes in the previous balloting. Finally, they decided upon Brother Anacletus.[51].

The newly elected Superior-general belonged to the generation which had entered the Institute at the beginning of the Empire during the huge task of mustering and reorganization undertaken by Brother Frumence. His vocation was included among the finest of those cultivate by Brother Emery, the Director of novices at Petit College in Lyons. Born on January 8, 1788 in Siron, Canton of Champagnole, Claude-Louis Constantin was the son of Franche-Comte peasants, Charles Melchior Constantin and Claudine Charlotte Romand. A former cleric in minor orders whose name was M. Monnier and who had become the teacher of small boys in the village noticed the very gifted child while he taught him Latin, French and the sciences. Having resumed his theological studies after the Revolution in the Major Seminary in Besancon, he pointed out Louis Constantin to a pastor in the episcopal city, Father Bacoffe, who had been looking for candidates for the Brothers' Congregation. At the time Louis was sharing the laborious and simple life of his family. On June 23, 1805 he induced his father to take him to Lyons. The proposal suggested by Father Monnier had delighted Charles Constantin; this simple man, for his well-educated, dutiful and, moreover, physically fragile heir had hoped for the decent career of a school teacher. The sight of Petit College, however, took him by surprise: a decrepit building, extremely impoverished, with people dressed in robes, religious exercises and a Rule that seemed severe. It was a Community like the ones in times gone by. The peasant was disappointed, he grumbled and wanted to take his son back home. But the boy would have none of it; he had found the place where he wished to live.[52]

Soon the spirit of De La Salle touched him to the quick. First Brother Frumence and then Brother Gerbaud showed their esteem and affection for him. They gave him unstintingly of their counsel and they had intimations of the future of this young man of extraordinary intelligence and piety.

At Saint Etienne, Saint Chamond, Alençon and at the Parisian school of Ile Saint Louis Brother Anacletus was responsible for the direction of numerous pupils and teachers, some of the latter of whom were his contemporaries or his seniors.[53] It was at Bordeaux on September

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[48] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6

[49] Declaration dated November 8, 1830; Motherhouse Archives, file BEp1

[50] See Vol. III of the present work, pg. 478.

[51] Motherhouse Archives, file CC. Fm

[52] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6

[53] See Vol. IV of the present work, Index.

15, 1813 that he pronounced his perpetual vows in a ceremony presided over by the Superior-general.[54] In 1822 he became Brother Guillaume de Jesus' third Assistant. Along side this senior Brother and Brother Emery, one of his Director's of formation, he represented, with Brother Elias, the youth of the Institute, the strict defender of the past and the gifted organizer of the splendid works of the 19th century. No one seemed more qualified to take the helm after the Revolution of 1830, in wind and wave that made the storm frightful. It was thought that not only would he save the ship but that he would point it toward the open sea, with an eye on the magnificent horizon.[55]

He was known for his "unfailing" prudence and his uncommon "insight". His undertakings were so well designed that he was able to move forward, unwaveringly and without a backward look. His correspondence, "powerful", precise, succinct and executed in a handwriting that was both elegant and uncluttered, imparted his acumen and his purposes. He "never said too much nor forgot anything." His commands, his entreaties, his rebukes were grounded on such sound arguments that it was always necessary to accept them with compliance mixed with gratitude.

Brother Anacletus impressed his Brothers with his intellectual gifts as with his talent for leadership. He had done a great deal of study and he had brought into focus the Congregation's methods and its fundamental texts. He was an "accomplished mathematician", a musician; and he sang admirably.

His "shyness", however, and indeed his excessive modesty may well have cost him a certain inconvenience. Like Brother Gerbaud before him, he was rather lacking in physical appeal: mild and lean of countenance, with a guileless look and features not totally devoid of distinction and grace, his chronic youthfulness in no way summoned thoughts of the stately composure and the sovereign authority that was so striking in his predecessor, Brother Guillaume de Jésus.

Kindness was his outstanding virtue and it captivated everybody who had access to him. His speech was affable, his style courteous and tactful, entreating rather than imperiously demanding. Such was his goodness that he was able to reconcile a love for his Brothers and a profound sympathy for people who had dealings with the Institute. When he died, his Assistant received a letter from the Minister of Public Education that had been dictated by the sincerest feelings: never, they remarked, had a similar gesture, on the occasion of the death of a Superior, ever occurred under other governments.[56]

The newly elected Superior's age in September of 1830 gave rise to the hope for a long Generalate. He had only just completed his forty-third year. But middle age had left him with that "weak constitution" that had been noted during his adolescence. His rather sickly appearance continued to be an index of a constitution constantly threatened by illnesses. The austerity of his life and the concerns of teaching interdicted the necessary periods of relaxation, which he also neglected in performance of his duties at the Motherhouse as well as in the course of numerous journeys. He burnt himself out, but not without having cast a fine flame that provided a light that was more lasting than himself.

His associates were to preserve and to fuel the same flame's hearth. Henceforth, four Assistants along with the Superior-general formed the "Regime", Congregation's corporate

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[54] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, Brother Anacletus' vow formula, signed by him and countersigned by the (M.H.) Brother Gerbaud.

[55] Circular, September 25, 1838. Motherhouse Archives.

[56] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, biographical notes on Brother Anacletus and, especially, notes by Brother Assistant Calixtus.

board. In Capitular decisions, Brother Elias continued on as First Assistant.[57].The delegates then designated Brother Philippe, Abdon and Jean Chrysostom – three gifted men whose *curriculum vitae* we have sketched in the preceding volume. They had come to the Institute from the Massif Central, the Upper Marne and the Beaujolais respectively; and each of them had directed with masterly authority, the Communities of St. Nicolas-des-Champs, St. Omer and Lyons respectively. They had won designation unanimously and exercised their new functions as genuine sons of the Founder. And for Brothers Philippe and Abdon there were still prolific and resplendent years in the future.

The 1830 Chapter adjourned on September 4. It had been a brief session which was sufficient to demonstrate the vitality and stability of the Lasallian family. Civic disorders were checked at the entrance to the Holy Child Jesus House, where serenely were conducted deliberations which approved of the 1828 edition of the *Conduct of Schools*, [58] and prescribed the continuation of teaching methods and monastic practices. Having assembled on the eve of revolution, they were unable to frame a more ambitious program. The Capitulants left all roads open to Brother Anacletus; and in order to guide and fortify him in a difficult, perhaps perilous, predicament they asked their associates for "extraordinary prayers".

Nine days later, a "Circular" by the Superior-general summarized the Assembly's history and published its decisions and requests to the Institute in France, Italy and over-seas. Humbly, the new leader considered himself unworthy to succeed the "illustrious" Superiors whose names he repeated – Brothers Guillaume de Jésus, Gerbaud and Agathon. To the first two he owed this special tribute. The former, of whom he was the immediate auxiliary, stood for the earliest and most unblemished tradition; while the later remained the model of wisdom, magnanimity and of inflexible resolution. The evocation of Brother Agathon seemed to be more significant: it seemed to speak quite boldly of justice finally done and of allegiance restored to this great figure out of the past whose prestige had been obscured in the Brothers' eyes after 1792. In repeating Brother Gerbaud's gesture, Brother Anacletus was exhibiting it radiant in the highest degree.

Meanwhile – as his contemporaries inform us – he was putting up a nearly hopeless opposition to his election. And he revealed the bitter "grief" with which Chapter's decision unsettled his soul. But he found support in Brothers Elias, Philippe, Abdon and Jean Chrysostom. Henceforth he gave no thought to anything but the well-being and progress of his Congregation: may all Brothers act together in "the meticulous, literal and total observance" of the Rule! May they observe, now more than ever, the essential rule of discretion and silence! The times through which they were passing imposed a particularly severe obligation upon them. The Circular of September 13, 1830 commanded that "we banish from our conversation news of events and of politics, the most certain effect of which is to weaken the interior life, disturb vocations and to tend toward the destruction of the Institute. The stormy currents of an age nearly always stir up a backwash that reaches into the very heart of the cloister, where nature, imperfectly subdued, senses the awakening of its impulses for pride and anger; and in the passionate discussion of events self-esteem gets over-heated; in putting to ourselves the innumerable problems having to do with an uncertain future we run the risk of criticizing the conduct of superiors, grieving for our lost independence and capitulating to the temptations of the world. This sort of deterioration had occurred earlier between 1789 and 1792 and again around 1810; and Brother Anacletus feared that it would start all over again; he was aware that "several" had already been muttering complaints and did not scruple to disobey. His censure, heavy with sadness, was bore the same accents that once marked the reproofs of Brother

[57] Concerning Brother Elias (Louis Lafargue) see the Indices to Vols. III and IV of the present work

[58] Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm. Concerning this new edition see Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 513-514.

Agathon and Brother Gerbaud".[59]

There was no need for harsh sanctions; tranquility was quickly restored. And with calm completely re-established around the Superior-general and order prevailing in the activities of the best Communities, in the Parisian schools and in the administrative services of the Motherhouse, the Brothers took their courage and their confidence in their own hands. Brother Anacletus, who was a remarkable organizer as well as a wary educator and a thoughtful manager of men set up a top-flight staff. His procurator-general was Brother Nicolas, one of Brother Emery's first novices and one of Brother Gerbaud's regular allies. The former Director of Vesoul and of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, he was a man for unassuming tasks and of dogged dedication. The Institute's Secretariat was in the hands of the former Director of Cambrai, Brother Maurillian whom the admiration of an eminent Superior had honored and distinguished.[60] The mind of the master was thoroughly understood and his action effectively supported.

Thus Brother Philippe, the herald of solace and hope, wrote to the far-off Community in Guiana on January 29, 1831 that "his kind confreres" were "fervent" and docile. The Regime no longer met with "any resistance or any objection whatsoever. The Rule is in force everywhere; each one strives to become worthy of his vocation, and each one declares his attachment to the Institute and makes the most genuine promises (to the Superiors) of his fixed resolution to live henceforth on bread alone and to die at his job rather than to abandon the children".

Further, the Brother Assistant did not believe that anyone "would come to that extremity". The French government had already given evidence of its consideration: young Brothers "(were) exempt from military service and schools (were) being supported". And the public was showing the Christian educators a "veritably captivating" affection. There were some city councils that were contemplating the closing of some schools; but "the people opposed it so energetically that they won a complete victory". The misadventures of the times and financial confusion, it was true, had induced the rejection of some subsidies; but wealthy individuals, combining with the friends of the Brothers, had succeeded in saving the schools. Seventy-six classes were in operation in Paris, while the teachers at Saint Louis were occupying "one of the most beautiful houses on the island; and the Brothers at St. Sulpice were living in a permanent residence near the Luxembourg Gardens; the Community of Saint-Nicholas-des-Champs were living in new buildings."[61]

This odd and profuse correspondence informs us further concerning later events: the cholera of 1832 and the insurrection which shook Paris on the occasion of General Lamarque's funeral. The epidemic struck down Brother Agabus who had been Director of Metz; infected on the morning of July 3, he died the following evening. "Providence", declared the necrological notice, "willed that our Congregation pay tribute to this cruel affliction which for six months has ravaged France". However, it was "a tangible "proof" of the divine goodness that, as of that date, the Institute numbered no further victims, "while there were to be seen whole cities decimated and families reduced to a half or a third of their members."[62]

A letter which Brother Philippe sent a few days earlier to his mother mentioned a respite

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[59] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, September 13, 1830 Circular.

[60] *Essai historique sur la Maison-Mère, 1*905, pg. 182.

[61] Motherhouse Archives, file IDk1, letter to Brother Carloman, Director of Cayenne.

[62] *Rélations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 199-200.

which the awful affliction accorded the people of Paris. On the other hand, "a more deadly calamity" overwhelmed the population on June 6: "Gunfire has been ringing in our ears for the past twenty-four hours...My Brother (the new Director of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Brother Arthemius) was quite close to the shooting...Nothing has happened to his Community; I saw all his people there quite calm. His neighbors volunteered to protect the Community in case of need".

A postscript dated a day later informed Mme. Bransiet that "the Republicans" had been defeated. The capital was breathing easily once again: apparently the overmatched rioters would desist from their efforts. And the Brother, a friend of order, was thoroughly satisfied with the success of the government forces.[63]

And rightly so, since the bloody anti-Christian Revolution would have been far more to be feared than a regime that was, of course, unstable but capable of improving. It took two years to evade the most serious consequences of the "July Days". At the height of the upheaval the Brothers' Institute stood its ground: the proof is contained three figures carefully prepared by Brother Philippe himself. In August 1830 the Congregation, with its 237 Communities in France, managed 380 schools that had a total of 1,014 classes where they taught 86,998 pupils. While, in 1832 the number of institutions fell off a bit (226 Communities, 364 schools and 962 classes) the total number of pupils (87,098) marked a slight increase. In the following year the figures rose to 231, 369, 1,039, 92,989 respectively.[64]

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Under the circumstances in which the Church and religious education found themselves, faced with "liberal" Voltairians and with a people manipulated by secret societies, these results were the cause of a pleasant surprise. We must now provide some details and take a glimpse at the file of provincial quarrels, indictments, defenses, and sufferings as well as those many and generous undertakings to which the Brother Assistant refers.

Without contradiction, the Minister Lafitte Montalivet frequently showed hostility to the Brothers' education and in 1830 was an accomplice of the town councils that were substituted for the Legitimist Counsels by the anti-clerical revolution. The measures directed at the time against the Brothers' schools appeared to be of a variety of kinds: – some devious and the others radical and violent. In one place children were barred from access to classes under the pretext that only the indigent should be the beneficiaries of tuition-free instruction; a vacuum was created around Christian teachers in order to give preference to mutual schools which were experiencing, however ephemerally, a restoration of fortune; and youths beginning in their thirteenth year were directed to lay teachers and into classrooms of upper elementary grades so as to prevent the Church and its auxiliaries from exercising a normal influence upon minds at a time when they were especially in need of it. This was the target of complaints drawn up by Brother Anacletus in several letters addressed to the Minister of Public Education.[65] Elsewhere, the Brothers were openly persecuted; they were exposed to the insults of the mob; efforts were made to enfeeble them by famine, by decreasing or eliminating their monetary resources; their schools were closed; and whether by ill will or by weakness, the central authority lent a hand to these assaults upon freedom.[66]

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[63] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb7.

[64] National Archives, F 17, 12,461, "general catalogue of the Brothers of the Christian Schools" for 1830, 1832 and 1833, signed by Brother Philippe for the Brother Superior-general.

[65] Motherhouse Archives, F 17, 12.461.

[66] *Essai historique sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 188.

In Chalon-sur-Saone, where once the Brothers had been so warmly welcomed,[67] the news of the collapse of the Bourbons produced an anti-religious reaction. The liberal party wreaked the vengeance that had been expected since 1818; it expelled the Brothers from their residence and handed them over to the clamor and the shameful treatment of the populace. Jostled in the streets, these unfortunate men had no place to turn until the pastor of the principal parish, Father Bourdon, opened his arms to them and housed them in St. Vincent's cloister.[68]

Such dramas were exceptional. Or, rather, expulsions, pillaging, insults and blows were the matter of brief moments – sudden gales that quickly subsided. Nevertheless, the storm persisted in the atmosphere; and anger and enmity weighed heavily on the lives of its victims. On their side, politicians spoke in the rude accents of sectarianism. There was one Prefect (i.e., of the Loire), relaying to Paris the Mayor of Saint Galmier's request that the sons of well-to-do families not be admitted to the Brothers' schools, wrote on November 22, 1830: "It is well known that the priests' party is the most powerful adversary of our institutions and that the means of combatting this baneful influence is to paralyze its domination in families by opposing what it imparts to young minds that are too accessible, and its principles which are both false and capable of resisting anything that does not conduce to the Pope's supremacy or which does not have the approval of jesuitcal Congregations".[69]. This is the undiluted language of the writers of the Constitutionel in the days of Charles X: De La Salle's disciples, "Ultramontanists" and agents of the "Holy Alliance" and of "obscurantism", were absorbed into the hatred which pursued the "disciples of Loyola".

Christian teachers were criticized for not teaching the principles of 1789 and of observing a dangerous independence with respect to official directives. Between 1831 and 1833 the city council of Versailles proposed to eliminate them from elementary education. Its final decision was motivated by the following arguments: "The Brothers form part of a corporation fueled by Superiors whose absolute authority they recognize;...this hierarchy has the serious defect" of impeding the action of civic magistrates, and of "preventing all progress"; a "Congregation improperly restored" has overrun public education; it is essential to protect youth from "this poison of Jesuitry" which, under the protection of the fallen monarch, had crept in everywhere.[70].

As a consequence, lay teachers were to replace "the Brothers of Christian Doctrine" and "were to adopt exclusively" the methods most conformed to modern minds. The reference, in this instance, was to the mutual instruction advocated by Carnot in 1815 and since combatted by most Catholics and the clergy.[71] The "Lancastrians" whose Protestant connections and "republican" tendencies fifteen years earlier had roused the uneasiness of the Archbishopric of Paris, profited from the triumph of their allies, the liberals. Moreover, an administrative tradition had been created in their favor: in opposition to Frayssinous, Laine's ideas had been resurrected.[72] Once again, bureaucrats worked in this direction. Their zeal did not overlook clever tactics and urgent interventions. The Prefect of the Loiret wrote to the Mayor of Orleans:

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[67] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 378 and 390.

[68] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1927, pp. 305-306.

[69] Cited by Des Cilleuls, pg. 142

[70] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1924, pp. 226-228

[71] See Vol. IV of the present work, Part Two.

[72] In 1818 the Brothers' opposition to the mutual method had contributed a great deal to the failure of steps taken to recover St. Yon; the Prefect of the Lower Seine had written to the Minister of the Interior that such a restitution would supply proof in their favor of a "predilection that would be too pronounced not to cause the destruction of the Lancastrian establishment in a very brief space of time". (Letter dated October 20, 1818). The Minister said he "sided" with the Prefect's advice. (National Archives F17, 12.456).

"I know that most of children in the mutual school live in a piteous state of poverty...The charity ladies provide help" to the families which make up the clientele of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine. We must combat our adversaries with the weapons they employ to prevent the propagation of elementary education. Could you not have bread distributed to the most needy, or some clothes to the ragamuffins? A sum of twelve to fifteen hundred francs a year...would be enough...I would gladly supply half of it".[73]

"Everybody demands the reestablishment of the mutual school", declared the Mayor of another city where, however, as in Orleans, the Brothers enjoyed a long-standing good name: – Saint Omer, one of their great 18th century "fiefdoms" and recovered under the first Empire. The city council was prepared to expel them, at least in part, from the St. Marguerite House. A burning polemic ensued, which ended in a defeat for the evictors.[74] Lille, which in 1819 had so generously welcomed the Brothers, appeal to by its Mayor, Count Mayssaert, in 1831 refused to retain them as Communal teachers.[75]

Rheims removed two schools from the Brothers' control in order to replace them by Lancastrian competition.[76] Toward the same end, Rodez ceased to provide the Brothers' school with sufficient funds and eagerly contemplated the possible departure of these teachers who had been reduced to a bare livelihood.[77]

In Lyons a commission responsible for inquiring into primary education dealt with the Brothers at Petit College who, since 1804, had been the object of so many eulogies, as though they were "backward" and "retrograde". To believe this commission, the institution founded in 1829 by the competing Society which practiced the English method, should gradually replace the "Congregation of St. Yon." People in Lyons, however, prided themselves on their moderation: every year "nine thousand children" were taught by the Brothers. Would it be right suddenly to debar them? Would not one be, thus, moving in the direction of an "educational monopoly totally foreign to a veritable liberalism"?

Such, too, was the view of the Mayor, M. Prunelle: "Fathers of families unquestionably should have the right to choose" their children's teachers. It did not belong to the administration, but to the public, to prefer "this or that method". The tree would be judged by its fruit. And the official, a false prophet, had no doubt that the Lancastrian method would ultimately win out over the pedagogy of John Baptist de La Salle. "The Christian schools will be deserted"; in which case the city, without running the risk of criticism, would be able to abandon them to their unhappy lot. Meanwhile, it reduced from 49,600 to 37,000 francs the sum appropriated to the "Board" which continued to provide support for the buildings and the teachers' salaries. The vice-president of this body said that, under these conditions, all classes could not remain open.[78]

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[73] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 220.

[74] Bled, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Saint-Omer*, 1906, pp. 70-85.

[75] Archives of the District of Cambrai-Lille.

[76] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes,* for January 1907, pg. 13; and Arnould, *Notes et documents sur les établissements d'instruction primaire de la ville de Reims,* 1848, pp. 257 et sq.

[77] Archives of the Brothers in Rodez, History of *the Notre Dame Community.*

[78] Motherhouse Archives, file JFb1, copies of the registers of municipal deliberations and other Lyons documents.

With fewer political precautions and with less contemptuous toleration, a similar policy had been adopted by Poitiers,[79] Montreuil-sur-Mer,[80]La Flèche,[81] Cherbourg,[82] and Cahors,[83] : -the partial or total withdrawal of funds, most frequently for the advantage of an education that was suspect by the Church. The city counsel in Cherbourg forced the Brothers to leave the building built for them prior to 1789: the petition addressed by the Institute to the Minister ran up against a plea of incompetence because of laws which had placed the Congregation's property first in the national domain and then vested in the Communes.

Toward the end of 1830 Toulouse refused to pay official allotments to two teachers in Dalbade and Daurade. In June 1831, four long-standing salaries in the parishes of St. Étienne, St. Nicholas, and St. Sernin were stricken from the budget. In 1833 there was a further reduction. Buildings and school supplies were in a pitiful state. The classrooms at St. Sernin, situated below the street-level, oozed a most unhealthy moisture; at Dalbade, tables and desks were collapsing with age; while at St. Cyprian compacted earth replaced tile. Nevertheless, the city remained deaf to all requests for reparations. It left the Brothers to grapple with the difficulties; and, what is more, had no intention totally of doing without their services, counting on their well-known dedication and their zeal for the apostolate in order to retain them at the least cost. Indeed, stoically, they continued on in their poverty-stricken institutions.[84]

Hostility to Christian education, we find, did not rise to the same pitch throughout France. Sordid questions of self-interest were merged with ill-will or they eclipsed it rather decisively. And they were intensified by prejudices regarding gratuity. This was the case in Rouen where personal politics did not manifest excessive sectarianism. But in Rouen in 1830 the Brothers received only eight thousand francs for their seven schools – Notre Dame, St. Maclou, St. Owen, St. Vivien, St. Patrick, St. Magdalene and St. Sever. And out of that ridiculously small subsidy they had to pay for rent, heat, personal expenses and the purchase of school prizes.

The Director, Brother Calixtus, informed the City Council of the situation. The latter, having acknowledged that the Brothers schools were "good and useful", decided – in its meeting of August 30, 1832 – to allot them an annuity of 14,000 francs. But it demanded that children from well-to-do families either be obliged to pay a modest tuition or be completely excluded if the parents' income allowed of another sort of education.

In order to remain faithful to the Rule, the Brothers in Rouen at first suggested that they confine themselves exclusively to the indigent. It was indeed a radical solution, which would have denied to residence access to various institutions of elementary education. Mayor Barbet declared that people should not be thwarted in the exercise of such cherished liberty.

With Brother Calixtus as intermediary, the Brother Superior-general pursued the negotiations. Since the days of De La Salle himself, Rouen had always given the Institute a lot to worry about; but the Founder's affection and that of his sons for the Normand capital had never been repudiated. In fact, they seemed to have grown in proportion to the pressures put upon them. And then, at St. Yon there "reposed" the sacred "ashes" in the soil in which the Revolution had buried them, and whence Brother Anacletus had not lost hope of recovering them. He experienced "intense anxiety" at the thought of a rupture that risked separating the

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79 Des Cilleuls, pg. 143.

80 George de Lhomel, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Montreuil-sur-Mer*, 1905, pg. 20.

81 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for October 1926, pg. 302.

82 Archives of the Brothers at Herouville, History of the Houses of Normandy.

83 History of the school at Cahors.

84 Archives of the Brothers in Toulouse, St. Sernin notebook; and Lémandus, *Histoire de Frères de Toulouse,* 1909, pp. 295-300.

Brothers from that city and that tomb for any great length of time.

He put all his patience to work, then, with the city government. Only in the matter of principle did the Congregation appear to be intransigent. It undertook in a certain sense to absorb the tuition by means of a reduction in salaries that was calculated on the eventual yield of a tax. In this way, all pupils, without distinction as to social rank, would be welcomed to classes and receive without charge the elements of divine and human knowledge, according to the prescriptions of the great Educator.

But Barbet and his Council got mired down in animosity. On September 18, 1833 they put an end to the discussions by declaring an end to all subsidies. The Brothers were given twelve days to get out of the city's buildings. The Prefect's intervention succeeded in obtaining for the discharged Brothers nothing more than a three month postponement which involved the payment of rent at the Institute's expense.[85]

It was a really brutal blow and a singularly ungrateful one. But Catholics in Rouen had learned how to avert its consequences. They had only to take their cue from the example which, for three years, had been given by other militants, their fellow-Catholics. In order the better to understand the outcome of this episode we need at this point to make a digression.

The administration of the educational monopoly acknowledged the existence of private schools. However, it made their opening dependent upon the agreement of the academic authority, their organization subject to supervision and their programs and methods subject to official regulation.[86] In this narrow framework freedom had very little opportunity to grow; strangled by the Empire, free private education continued unchanged and powerless from 1815 to 1830. The proclamations of July awakened it; and Lamennais, Lacordaire and Montalembert kept it on the alert. Emboldened by events and hurried forward by new hopes, it attempted its first steps. And, in 1833, Guizot was to offer it, if not full scope, at least certain secure and practical paths.

It was over this ground that teachers travelled who had liberated themselves from bonds of the Ministry of Education. The Brothers, on the lead, hewed out a passage, prepared the ground, and took on supplies for the journey where the enemy had contested or had captured the ancient defenses. It seemed as though people were taking part in an operation of withdrawal. While in the ranks most of the troops held out along lines re-established since 1804, the main infantry, the principal fighting force, once again returned to the exclusive command of their religious Superiors, had been fitted out for unprecedented action and had marched off boldly to fields where freedom would triumph.

The supplies and the pay refused them by the public treasury they would obtain from private fortunes and from the sacrifices that gave rise to thousands of small donations. In Chalon-sur-Saone Father Bourdon collected 3,000 francs and put an end to the debacle that had been expected by the leaders of anti-clericalism.[87] In La Fleche,[88].and Poitier,[89] teeming collections also made up for the deficiencies of city budgets. The pastor of St. Louis in Versailles found a wealthy benefactor to cooperate in the reinstatement of the Brothers.[90]

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[85] Archives of the Brothers in Herouville, History of Normandy and copy of documents concerned with the schools in Rouen. *Rélations mortuaires, Brother Calixtus' necrological notice.*

[86] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 348-350, law of February 29, 1816.

[87] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1927, pp. 305-306.

[88] Ibid., for October 1926, pg. 302

[89] Des Cilleuls, pg. 143.

[90] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1924, pg. 228.

Distinguished Catholics in Lille came to an understanding with the Deans of parishes in order to launch a subscription. And classes resumed, better attended and more popular than ever, under the direction of Brother Adrien who, for forty-years, was to play a principal role in the capital of French Flanders.[91]

On September 11, 1832 the following letter from Brother Director Andoche reached the Mayor of Rheims: "You inform me of a resolution (taken by your Council) to reduce from fifteen to seven (the number of teaching Brothers that the city supported and our overall salaries by half). We deeply regret that our efforts...have been unable to inspire the confidence with which the city officials, your predecessors, honored the Institute". A decision of the Charity Bureau, however, saved the school on Rue Telliers. And then a private committee, called the "Charitable Association for the Christian Schools in Rheims", was organized. It rented two buildings; and in four years it dispensed more than 30,000 francs; and to the great joy of heads of families, it opened new classrooms. The majority of the population favored the Brothers' instruction as opposed to "the mutual system". It was an impressive plebiscite: the Founder's native city was fair and grateful. The people who presumed to lead it were, in short, repudiated by public opinion. "There are two city governments" – they were saying in Rheims – the official one made up of a few 'specially selected' burghers and "that of the Brothers", the private Committee, which most of the residents support.[92]

We return now to the schools in Rouen, where a similar outcome was to occur. As soon as the Mayor's decision was known, Cardinal-Archbishop de Croy assembled his pastors; and Father Fayet, the Vicar-general, unfolded his plan of campaign: men and money had to be mobilized and institutions had to be harnessed. A "Finance Committee", composed of priests and laymen – three members from each parish – was to fund the work in the capital of Normandy nearly two centuries after the two outstandingleaders, Adrien Nyel and John Baptist de La Salle. All the schools were saved; and they remained absolutely tuition-free and opened to both the children of the poor and those of the well-to-do, to children both of employees and employers, in an evangelical equality that excluded every mean-spirited investigation into family incomes. In place of "school tuition", which was the cause of exclusivity, confrontation and jealousy, there was substituted, in the spirit of the Lord's disciples, community of property and mutual assistance through major gifts and unpretentious offerings.[93].

It was the same throughout France. On May 2, 1831 the Institute's Superiors sent the ministerial offices a list of the schools that had already been struck down by municipal Councils or were on the verge of being so; at that time thirteen cities or large towns had completely withdrawn subsidization: Autun, Dijon, Douai, Mirepoix, and Valenciennes[94] were on this disturbing list. Reduction in salaries were effected in twenty-one other cities, including Angers, Auch, Bourges, Caen, Limoges, Le Mans, Tours and Toulon.[95] These hostile measures were to be extended further during the following year: in a recapitulation in 1837 Brother Anacletus charged that a total of seventy-two institutions were victims of the July Revolution. He added, however, that fifty of them were supported or strengthened by

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91 Archives of the District of Cambrai-Lille.

92 Arnould, op. cit., pp. 251-274. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January, 1907, pg. 13.

93 Archives of the Brothers in Herouville, *Historique de Normandie*. Brother Calixtus' necrological notice

94 In Valenciennes, Mr. Dubois-Fournier, father of a very large family, was utterly dedicated to the establishment of a private school. "You will thank me", he told his fellow-citizens, "for having saved the Brothers for you". (Archives of the Cambrai-Lille District).

95 National Archives, F17, 12,461.

contributions from families and benefactors. Twelve more were reinstated into the public school system as the result of improved arrangements on the part of the Communes. And, thus, for the time being, only ten schools were lost.[96] Toward the end of Louis-Philip's reign Ambrose Rendu would list one-hundred-and-forty "private schools" in the hands of Brothers who belonged to the Lasallian Congregation.[97] The Church and the faithful had thwarted the persecutor's threats and, in the momentum thus obtained, thrust victory well beyond positions that had existed at the beginning.

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We should recall that apart from the increasingly crucial support of public opinion, the Brothers were gaining the expanding favor of the more reasonable governments. In the upper echelons – indeed, among several members of the Ministry of Education – in 1830 one had to recognize a mentality other than that found among second level bureaucrats and provincial politicians. On the margin of the Prefect of the Loire's vicious letter denouncing "the priests' party" and "jesuitical Congregations" we read the following sketch of a reply:[98] "The Brothers rules, while recommending the children of the poor in a special way, do not forbid them to admit the children of rich parents. The principle of freedom set down by the Charter and by nature itself far from impeding, rather empowers, fathers of well-to-do families to send their sons to any school that they think suitable".[99]. In this way, bigotry incurred a well-merited lesson.

Subsequently, the Ministry of Public Education intervened with the city government of St. Omer in order to induce it to relax its offensive against the Christian Brothers: "It would be preferable not to embark upon new means of education at the expense of already existing schools and provide genuine service". The St. Omer Council did not give up the idea of establishing Lancastrian schools; but it did have to leave the Brothers in possession of the St. Marguerite building.[100]

We have called attention to the action taken by the Prefect of the Lower Seine in order to delay the dismissal of the Brothers from Rouen. His efforts seemed at the time to have been quite unofficial. Less reserve was required when the mayor claimed that tuition was to be collected in classes annexed to the so-called St. Lo school where, on certain days, the pupils were taught by student-teachers from the normal school, for which reason the entire institution belonged, not to the city, but to the departmental administration. This was why Brother Calixtus, threatened with foreclosure on the furniture, appealed to Baron Dupont-Delporte.[101] The rights of the Department and the freedom of teachers who were members of Congregations

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[96] *Historique de Normandie*, letter to M. Huillard Aigneaux, former Mayor of Vire. "The Sanctuary" (Cf. Vol. III of the present work, pp. 454-455) could scarcely be said to have survived in its traditional mode. Its supporters had been recruited from among people connected with the Restoration who went into decline while funds dried up. In 1832 there were only seven young detainees in the institution. In an understanding with the administrators, Brother Anacletus ordered the Brothers – directed at the time by Brother Ezichias – to withdraw; and the boys were transferred to Madelonnette. (*Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1911, pg. 256).

[97] Ambrose Rendu, *De l'Association en général et spécialement de l'Association charitable des Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes*, second edition, 1845, pg. 156.

[98] Dated December 8, 1830.

[99] Cited by A. Des Cilleuls, pp. 142-143

[100] Bled,. op. cit., pp. 71 et sq.

[101] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T1, 40, letter dated December 30, 1833.

were permanently protected.

Minister Guizot was personally interested in the Rouen schools. After their transformation into private schools he provided them with monetary assistance. He was concerned with bringing the city to an understanding with the Institute. But that was a lost labor; and years were to pass before the Brothers returned there as teachers in charge of public education.[102]

Elsewhere there were further grounds for serious optimism: Inspector-general Matter, visiting classes in Toulouse, said that he was delighted with their attendance and with their superb order; in an important place he found a subsidy, which was actually quite modest, but heartening, to teachers for whom in times of destitution the Archbishop and his clergy had to finance.[103]

The Communes themselves did not display all the biases that we have mentioned. In Lisieux, Mayor Leroy-Beaulieu openly championed the Brothers' school; on August 31, 1832 he presided over the distribution of prizes, to the strains of music by the National Guard. Two years later, when one of the city counsellors demanded a reduction in the Brothers' salaries, every one of his associates rejected the shocking suggestion.[104] And we shall see that this body both vindicated and preserved tuition-free Christian education.

The schools in Dieppe prospered under the direction of Brother Vivien. Mayor Binet hoped that, for his constituents, the Superior-general would extend the vigorous old man's services. He wrote to Brother Anacletus: "Although he is seventy-eight years of age, (he is) is still energetic, does his job flawlessly and knows how to reconcile (the public's) respect and confidence".[105]

The same sort of zeal did not seem to be in evidence in Orleans where the Prefect sought to advance the cause of Lancastrian education. There weren't enough funds, objected one of the bureaucrats in the Departmental administration, to mete out assistance to pupils in the "mutual school."[106] At the very same time, the city was contemplating introducing the Brothers (who had been crammed into the residence on the cul-de-sac St. Colomba that Bishop Bernier had furnished for them in 1805) into a piece of property belonging to the former "upper schools" of the department of Education in Orleans. The new institution was built with the cooperation of Bishop Brumault Beauregard.[107]It was an agreement typical of the "July Government" which, elsewhere, was stirring up anxieties among Catholics. With respect to the Brothers agreement seems to have been reached: a distinguished individual in the diocese, Father Merault (who, in the past, had raised certain objections to them[108]) was prepared to bequeath "his chapel" to them, crucifix, chalice, missal, vestments, and altar linens in witness of his affection.[109] On

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[102] *Historique de Normandie.*

[103] Archives of the Brothers in Toulouse, St. Sernin notebook.

[104] Archives of the Brothers in Lisieux.

[105] Letter dated September 22, 1832. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1933, pg. 231.

[106] Departmental Archives of the Loiret T, 220, note on the margin of a letter, dated June 9, 1831, in which Mayor Heme declared that he was prepared to subscribe to the Prefect's wishes.

[107] Register of the resolutions of the Orleans City Council, meetings of April 1, 1831 and of January 17, 1832.

[108] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 352.

[109] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans, IR 192, Father Athanasius Rene Merault's last will and testament, dated August 10, 1833. The testator died in 1835.

two occasions the Communal Counsel refused to reduce the Brothers' salaries; and it thought that it was superfluous to open new Lancastrian classes at the expense of the Brothers, since those "mutual schools" that were already in operation were serving far too few pupils to justify the annoyance they created.[110]

With the passage of time, public approval was more and more unmistakably restored to De La Salle's disciples. Gifts combined with cities' expenditures and ministerial subsidies in order to extend the field of Christian culture. The beneficiaries were sometimes parish charities, sometimes the cities. At first the government was disposed to recognize the rights of charitable bodies in the founding of schools. But then the Privy Council, which had been leaning in the direction of an opposite philosophy of law, required that gifts and legacies be accepted simultaneously in the name of both of the Commune and the Church.[111] Such a system obviously inhibited the freedom of benefactors; and, in the distant future, for the support of Religious educators it involved disastrous consequences, which generally did not surface during the regime of 1830.

In Pontarlier the lawyer Renault fulfilled his uncle's generous gesture:[112] within the next four years the city would have to open a school that was to be under the Brothers' direction. Father Couartois, pastor of St. Benignus, combined with the benefactor and with the city in order to realize the project within the specified time. He called the famous philosopher Theodore Jouffroy, Deputy for the electoral district, into action with Guizot. Through the concerted efforts of all these people of goodwill, classes opened in the Convent of the Annonciades on October 1, 1834.[113]

A few months earlier, Nantes – under the auspices of Bishop Herce – witnessed the opening of Notre Dame school.[114]. In Languedoc, in the South of France, in spite of political disorders and bitter controversies there was a full-blown blossoming. In many towns, in opposition to the transient tyrannies, the people were outspoken in their attachment to the members of the Institute. "Hurray for the Brothers", cried the citizens of Revel in the Upper Garonne; and they lighted bon-fires in order to celebrate as a great victory the continuance of the teachers who had been preferred before all the others. There was a real uproar in Mirepoix when Mayor Vigarosy dismissed the Community; the demonstrators demanded the Brothers' return or their adversary's "head." Quiet was restored after 1834: Vigarosy himself was to recall the Brothers to their former school and grant them the prerogatives of public school teachers.[115]

Thus, the nation seethed. Pupils in the Christian schools were numerous, eager and active in the vast "District" of Toulouse to which Brother Bernardine had provided the momentum and communicated his ardor. The successors of this energetic leader were surrounded by people who were friendly and indeed admiring. The pastor in Daurade, Father Gounon, who studied the Brothers at work, placed a building to be put to school uses at the disposal of the city. The Brothers took possession of toward the end of 1830.[116].

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110 Register of municipal decisions; meetings for September 26, 1832 and for August 13, 1833.

111 Des Cilleuls, pp. 432-435 and 440-441.

112 See Vol. II of the present work, pg. 522.

113 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1935, pp. 14-15.

114 Ibid., for July 1934, pg. 216

115 Archives of the Brothers in Toulouse, *Historiques des établissements*.

116 Lémandus, op. cit., pp. 278-282

At Fronton a legacy left by Baron Marcorelle was executed in spite of what was at first a hostile municipal counsel's aversion for the "Ignorantin" Brothers. The school rapidly improved under the care of the pastor of the place, Father Vigoroux.[117]

The Department of the Tarn, like the Upper Garonne, continued to place a broad-based confidence in the Institute. In the capital city of the Tarn, Albi, where the Brothers had been settled near St. Cecilia's Cathedral since 1818, the number of pupils and the quality of educational results grew quite regularly. A fifth teacher was added to the Community in 1830; and there would have to be a sixth in 1835.[118]

After the Parisian revolution, Lavaur did not permit any changes in its elementary schools: the Christian Brothers remained responsible for the guidance of Lavaurian youngsters.[119] And Castres, the other city on the banks of the Agout, ever hospitable to the confreres of Peter Blanc,[120] and regardless of the difficulties of the times and the particular opinions of the ruling bodies, was unwavering in its encouragement of an education whose methods it esteemed. The city's mayor since August 30, 1830, Marc François Alby, was a Protestant; nevertheless, he it was who, applauding the fortunate" initiative of his predecessors, persuaded the Commune to preserve the geometry and drawing courses set up by the Brothers and to supplement the annual subsidy of 5,200 francs with a salaries allotted to two special teachers. Even the chaplain in the Christian school received an increased subsidy.[121].

Marc Alby could, with good reason, attest to his "personal concern" for an institution that had provided such signal service. A school population of 580 pupils dictated planning for enlarged quarters; and the work was to be undertaken with the consent and the financial assistance of the Minister of Public Education.[122]

While Aveyron, along with Rodez, manifested a still greater coolness to Brothers whom they wished to leave only "temporarily" in the branch school required by the pupils in Rodez,[123] Correze held out a superb welcome to the three Brothers for whom the town of Brive was indebted to its former Bishop Sagey. Having submitted his resignation in 1827 and become a Canon in the Basilica of St. Denis, Sagey promised 15,000 francs from his quite modest fortune in order to endow the city in which circumstances had led him to reside with a well-run school. He assumed the responsibility of pleading the cause of his beloved friends in Brive with the Superior-general of the Institute. The Minister of the Interior and the royal family – in the last months of the reign of Charles X – assured him of their support. Then came the storm; the Bourbons, hustled off into exile, did not forget a charitable obligation: the Duchess Angouleme and the Duke of Bordeaux sent Bishop Sagey the pledged assistance. Was Brive immediately aware of the source of these funds? In any case, it was not overwhelmed with any false guilt. The city purchased the "Calvignac house", where, on December 15, 1830, they settled the Brothers and the 200 pupils.[124].

The lofty quality of many of the members of the Congregation promoted relations with the authorities and succeeded in winning over erstwhile inflexible groups. This was the situation in

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117 Archives of the Brothers in Toulouse, *Historiques des ètablissements*.

118 Archives of the Brothers in Rodez, *Historique d'Albi.*

119 Archives of the Brothers in Rodez, *Historique de Castres*, meeting of the City Council for October 4, 1830

120 Archives of the Brothers in Toulouse, *Historiques.* See Castres in the Index to Vol. IV of the present work.

121 Ibid., meeting for May, 13, 1832.

122 Ibid., *Historique de l'école Notre-Dame*. Meeting of the City Council of Rodez, for July 6, 1833.

123 ibid

124 Archives of the Brothers in Brive and the number of the newspaper *Le Petit Gaillard* for October 2, 1940

Bayonne in Brother Jurson's time. He was a courageous and influential man; in dark times, he sustained the hopes of his associates; and he told them that "we should struggle after the example of Matthias and Judas Machabee and show God our faithfulness under fire". He was a forceful teacher; his former pupils later on liked to describe him in his "massive chair", his eyes lowered and his head erect and motionless; "a profound silence hung over his hearers"; the master was teaching: and a hundred of Bayonne's youngsters "fell under his magnetic spell". He enrolled the best of them in his Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, and he guided a good number of these toward the priesthood and into the Institute's novitiates. Youths and fathers of families took his courses in religious studies. Even major seminarians came, sent by their Superiors, to listen to this remarkable teacher. His prestige stretched well beyond the customary circles; and there were no further disputes about the Brothers who were able to produce members of this quality. Henceforth, far from suspecting them, they were in demand; meanwhile the Jewish mayor of St. Esprit, in the outskirts of Bayonne, asked Brother Jurson to start up two classes for the children in his Commune.[125]

We have made conclusive soundings throughout the whole of French territory. Skillful and prudent captains had eluded submerged reefs and rounded dangerous capes. The optimists were right: by bowing before the facts, the Institute had safeguarded its future. Respectful of fallen splendor, repudiating nothing and without ingratitude, it demonstrated that its educational mission could be kept independent of politics. It meant to serve only the Church, the people and young minds and – as a consequence – the State which guaranteed order, maintained justice, propagated education and refused to persecute believers. The king and his ministers finally understood; and gradually these notions spread throughout a civil society, however uneasy in moments of tumult or surrounded by the symptoms of anarchy. For reasons of personal security, a large segment of the middle-class, indifferent to the faith or even relentlessly Voltairian, muted its derision directed at the "Ignorantins". As for Catholic opinion, it considered itself fortunate to be able to count on these dedicated auxiliaries to dam up the anti-religious tide. It was asserting itself with greater freedom and boldness than under the Restoration. While, here and there, shabby annoyances persisted and prejudice yielded only with great difficulty, freedom stood out upon the horizon; at the expense of rather lengthy efforts, Catholics were marching towards it patiently and with confidence.

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Outside of continental France, in regions where the July government was less disconcerted by its origins, the traditions of the ancient monarchy endured with respect to the evangelizing, civilizing and national role of the Church and its monastic militia. Over-seas the cooperation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools continued to be expected and demanded.

Since 1816 Bourbon Island and since 1823 Guiana had been presented to them as fields for their apostolate. The school in Cayenne still appeared to be sound as late as 1831. In a letter dated May 6, Admiral Rigny, Minister of the Navy, supplied the Superior-general with the following brief report of this institution: "Three classes admit 44 white children and 78 "colored" children; following "colonial" policy, there is rigorous separation between the two groups. The Governor has asked for a fourth teacher if blacks and half-breeds are not to be placed in the same classrooms, and, furthermore, for permission to start vocational education".[126]

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125 *Choix de Notices nécrologiques*, 1933, Vol. I, pp. 12-14.

126 Motherhouse Archives, file IDk1.

The initiative for this project began with Brother Carloman, the Director. It suggests the influence that the man had with the authorities. His Superiors, too, granted him a rather broad approval; we have heard the tone in which Brother Philippe addressed him, in his letter of January 29.[127] Seven months later Brother Elias told him that a new associate was about to board ship, congratulated him for living under the government of the "worthy M. Jubelin" and hoped that he might continue to work under this leader with whom the Institute maintained such good relations.

However, Brother Carloman's silence surprised the Motherhouse. In the faubourg St. Martin people were afraid that manual work, "the trade school", whose program was taking shape in, "might be having a detrimental effect on the religious life."[128] A second letter, more severe and more apprehensive, followed almost immediately: perhaps the Director of Cayenne was absorbed with hunting and fishing and had taken to amusements that were incompatible with the Rule.[129]

Actually, he had become intoxicated with his own independence; he had experienced too much of the easy life and the laziness of warm climates. Sliding down hill, he forgot about the rigors of his vocation – to the extent, unfortunately, of giving public scandal. The governor had already been obliged to invoke the most serious sanctions against this unfortunate individual: a decree, dated July 21, 1831, suspended his official activities and ordered "M. John Beraud, called Brother Carloman" to return to France.

It was a authentic tragedy: the Christian school was closed "until further notice". Of course, the stigma did not touch the unworthy Brother's confreres, and M. Jubelin would eventually do them justice. But they were unable by themselves to assume responsibility for the school; besides, the flap created by Jean Beraud's behavior generated a painful situation. The Governor decided that "Messrs. Pierre-Louis Houille, called Brother Demetrius and Louis Leprieur, called Brother Louis, would continue to receive their salaries while they remained in the colony"; and (since the administration held the keys to the Community residence) a dwelling or, failing that, a lodging allowance would be supplied to the two individuals.[130] Better that they should set sail for the center of their Congregation. When their departure was set, Father Guillier, the Prefect-apostolic explained the reason for it to the Superior-general: "Shortly before Brother Carloman's calamity" a sort of restlessness seized hold of people; the colony Council, composed of French citizens, asked to have a "mutual school" rather than, and in the place of, education by the Brothers. M. Jubelin, understandably, refused to comply with this whim. And now he "is powerless". The temporary withdrawal of the Brothers had become a necessity.

The ranking pastor in Guiana had wanted to intervene at the strategic moment: his influence and his supervision had run up against obstacles that he did not specify but that we can guess. Nevertheless, he wanted to testify in favor of Brothers Demetrius and Louis, who, "properly directed, are two invaluable members of the Institute."[131] Both of them departed, then, with a clear conscience. The offenses of the former Director were his own personal failures; fairness forbad besmirching either his associates or his superiors with his dishonor. This was how the

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[127] See above, pg. 28.

[128] Motherhouse Archives, file IDk1, Brother Elias' letter of August 20, 1831.

[129] Ibid., letter of August 27, 1831.

[130] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, decree of the Governor of French Guiana.

[131] Ibid. Letter of January 30, 1832, to Brother Anacletus.

matter was judged by the Minister of the Navy, who, after all, was nothing more than the spokesman for the people of Guiana, once they had regained an impartial appreciation of Lasallian methods and of the moral quality of the Brothers.

As early as April 6, 1832 he wrote to Brother Anacletus: "Following a vote taken in the private Counsel of Cayenne, I have decided that primary education in the colony will continue to be entrusted" to your Institute. Three teachers were sought who would be capable of guaranteeing an education equal to the one that French children received in the classrooms of any Christian school".[132]

The Superior was satisfied with a procrastinating reply. He pleaded the lack of candidates, the gaps in the ranks due to the many deaths and the defections which followed upon the events of 1840.[133] The rejection was quite understandable: Guiana, taxing to both soul and body, perhaps deserved its bad reputation. To risk a new group of Brothers would, perhaps, be assuming a particularly grievous responsibility. The Foundress of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, Mother Anne Mary Javouhey, who had exerted her phenomenal energies in Guiana for several years, collided with recriminations on the part of the planters, administrative worries and the prejudices of the Vicar-apostolic himself; she built a marvelous work which was not to last in the form that her genius had conceive it.[134]

Father Guillier, however, harbored a more favorable attitude toward the Brothers. There existed, on his side, a real effort to win the consent of the Superior-general. He needed help in the preaching apostolate and in the reorganization of religion which he pursued between 1817 and 1847.[135]. And he seemed to wish to have no others than the teachers trained in accordance with De La Salle's methods. In his view, "their foundation" alone suited the colony, "especially since such extensive emancipation" had delivered the blacks over "to inactivity". The children of former slaves needed the help of a practical, everyday Christianity adapted to the elementary state of their souls. The missionaries whom Brother Anacletus chose could have no second thoughts about the warmth of the welcome they would receive: the "tempest" of 1831 had receded from memory.[136].

But the Brothers had not forgotten it. The anxieties that Guiana had stirred up in Brother Gerbaud's heart,[137] were only too bitterly vindicated. Brother Guillaume's paternal advice to his Brothers embarking on the brig *L'Adele,*[138] had been ineffectual. With experience, perhaps the project should be abandoned. Other regions in the wide world offered more fruitful and fuller fields to the mission of teaching. In this awkward colony why not leave the field open to Mother Javouhey? Father Guillier might think as he pleased about this decision. Moreover, he had been relentlessly engaged in an on-site sell off of the Brothers' physical assets; and he assumed the care of two of the Brothers' former servants, the blacks August and Jean Pierre.[139]

Bourbon Island consoled Brother Anacletus for the gloom that had come from America. Here, once again, it had been the government of Louis-Philippe that had sought the

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[132] Motherhouse Archives, file cited.

[133] Ibid. Letter dated July 2, 1832.

[134] See George Goyau's book, *Un "Grand Homme": Mère Javouhey, apotre des Noirs, 1929*; an also Canon Vaudon's book (Paris, 1922-1931) the efforts and sufferings of the Sisters of the Community of St. Paul of Chartres in the French South American colony of Guiana.

[135] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 110

[136] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, letter dated October 12, 1833

[137] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 437-438.

[138] Ibid., pg. 496.

[139] Motherhouse Archives, file cited.

Superior-general's loyal support. On March 9, 1833 three Brothers had been placed at the disposal of the Ministry of the Navy: they were Brothers Jean of Matha, Scubilion and Veterins.[140] The first of these, originally from Nantes, entered the novitiate in Vannes in 1817; employed at first in Brittany, in Auray and in Hennebont, he had long since experienced the attraction of the overseas apostolate; and in 1822 he volunteered with his superiors for Guiana. Ten years later Brother Anacletus was thinking of sending him there when Brother Carloman's dereliction shattered every hope. But, as a result, the missionary vocation of Augustine Beranger had suffered only a slight delay: it was to blossom forth splendidly on African soil for more than a third of a century.[141]

Brother Jean of Matha had been directing the school in Montereau when his new "Obedience" reached him. The men who had been selected to go with him did not yield to him either in virtue nor in courage, although they did not possess his administrative capacities. Brother Veterins' had only been a very brief career; he had hardly entered the Institute when he asked for overseas duty. The letter responding to his request reached him in Bordeaux. His departure had been undertaken enthusiastically, without thinking of returning. He burnt himself out in a pretty nearly superhuman labor. Obliged to re-embark and then carried to Bourbon Island by winds which altered his ship's course, he no longer wished to reckon with his illness and began once again to teach. He contracted tuberculosis, of which he was not to be cured. He spent his last days in France, at St. Louis in Versailles and at Ornans. He died on January 14, 1838 in Lyons at the early age of thirty-six years.[142]

A role of a very different scope was reserved for Brother Scubilion – although not in the realm of earthly magnitude; for we are looking at one of the most modest of De La Salle's disciples. He was of very humble origins; he didn't know very much; and he was employed at tasks that were of secondary importance. On the other hand his limitless dedication, his tireless work and skillful evangelization, his lively piety and his extraordinary austerity of behavior were to lift the man to the heights of radiant sanctity.

Jean-Bernard Rousseau was born on March 22, 1797 in the village of Annay-la-Cote, near Avallon; he was the son of a stone mason. His intellectual formation was confined to a little reading. But at home he received lofty lessons and edifying example and came under the influence of two priests, Father Petitier Chaumail and Father Darcy. The latter guided the young peasant toward the Institute. Jean-Bernard had already exercised his unpretentious knowledge in the instruction of his fellow-citizens as a schoolteacher in Tharoiseau where his parents dwelt, in the immediate neighborhood of the monastic city of Vezelay. He was rapidly approaching the end of his twenty-sixth year when he knocked on the door of the novitiate in Paris. He took the religious habit on December 25, 1822, and he was given the name of a 6th century monk (a native of Poitau and companion of St. Paternus) the sound of which falls rather strangely on modern ears. But, no matter, Brother Scubilion would make it familiar and respected once again.

Upon leaving the novitiate at the Holy Child Jesus House, he became a member of the Community in Alencon; and while performing the most menial tasks, the supernatural stood revealed in his actions. He later on returned to teaching, both in Poitiers as well as in his initial residence in Normandy. Finally, in 1833, he departed from Chinon for Bourbon Island.[143].

On April 22, the three missionaries took passage on the boat *Le Commerce*. It was a slow

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[140] Brother Anacletus' letter to the Minister, in Chassagnon, Le Frère Scubilion, 1902, pg. 33.

[141] *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, Vol. II, pp. 411-412.

[142] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 282-284; circular dated January 30, 1838.

[143] Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 1-29

crossing of ninety-six days around the Cape of Good Hope. Disembarkation took place at Saint Denis on July 14. Their confreres welcomed them to the building that formerly had belonged to the India Company. Made wiser by the miserable experience of an earlier day, they had avoided being separated.[144] But the arrival of reinforcements enabled them to yield to the entreaties of city governments, colonists and priests. During the first year, while Brother Jean of Matha remained at headquarters as Sub-Director, Father Brady, pastor of St.Paul, lodged Brother Veterins along with another teacher, Brother Valerian, in his presbytery. At Saint Benoit, Brother Scubilion in the company of Brother Zebin of Mary accepted the hospitality of the distinguished Champierre Villeneuve. Everywhere permanent residences were being prepared. And young Creoles flocked in: 250 at Saint Denis, 125 at Saint Paul and 125 also at Saint Benoit.

They were intelligent and affectionate; but their ignorance, their buoyancy, their listlessness and their abrupt anger tested the teacher's patience. Brother Scubilion lavished his affections on his pupils; he showed himself to be decidedly a teacher in every sense of the term. He conquered children because he loved them and – as one of the put it – because he "respected" them. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*: there is no need to know the line from the Latin poet in order to practice it. For Brother Scubilion the Gospel was enough: his innate refinement and his gentleness exercised a benevolent action; the influence of his striking moral assets impressed the unruly throng. His knowledge, however elementary, corresponded exactly to the obligations of his task. And in his catechism lessons and in the religious "reflections" which preceded and dotted his instruction he was glowing, clear, wise and surprisingly precise – in a word he possessed the incomparable and incommunicable art of the saints. Rapidly the servile population, the despised blacks, too often treated as beasts of burden and abandoned to their instincts and vices would avail themselves of this marvelous spiritual "dexterity".

Here Brother Scubilion's future took shape. He remained in Saint Benoit until 1836 when he was sent to Saint Paul, where his confrere Brother Veterins had been laboring. The latter had been living alone in the Community residence since May 22, 1834. It was on that day, "Thursday after Pentecost" – wrote Brother Sebastian, the Director-general of Bourbon Island to the Brother Procurator, Nicholas – that "the very dear and holy Brother Valerian went back to God".[145] Nevertheless, the school went on; Brother Veterins dedicated himself to the task and wore himself out in the doing. To care for his some one hundred children he was only able to count on the assistance of one of the bigger boys and on the services of a single black man. He had come to the end of the road. Brother Jean of Matha had replaced him when, finally overcome, he was obliged to leave the island. But, then, Brother Sebastian had to be everywhere at once in order to lighten somewhat the crushing labors of his associates. For six months he entrusted his class in Saint Denis to a former captain in the merchant marine, M. Bourges, and ran back and forth between Saint Benoit and Saint Paul.

Without exaggeration he was able to write to the Motherhouse on September 5, 1834 that the school year had been "extremely" difficult. "But thanks be to God and the Bourbon government", he added, "everything has turn out beyond our hopes". By over-working themselves, the teachers had succeeded in "fulfilling the administration's wishes". In his recent tour, the Governor had visited the school in Saint Paul and in Saint Benoit had presided over the distribution of prizes. At Saint Denis he had "given a speech that was as eloquent as it was political", very strong in his praise of the three schools and speaking "of the good effected by the Brothers".

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144 Ibid., pp. 37-38 and *Choix de notices nécrologiques,* Vol. II, pp. 410 et sq. See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 435-436 and 497-498.

145 Chassagnon, pg. 51.

Obviously the Brothers would perish in the task, if others did not join them. “Districts” on the island had been expecting a new team, and the “colonial counsellors” were asking for one. “As soon as they disembarked” the Lasallian teachers “would have” their reward.[146]

They didn’t arrive until June 23, 1835. There were six of them: Brothers Reverian, Magin, Ursice, Louis Marie of Jesus, Aurelius and – restored to his missionary vocation – Brother Demetrius, who had been in Guiana.[147] In July the entire Bourbon Island Community was placed under the direction of Brother Jean of Matha who had succeeded Brother Sebastian. The precursor made way for the man whom Providence had selected to spread Christian doctrine among the peoples in the western Indian Ocean: he was a leader of bold enterprises, an energetic administrator and a tireless apostle. One of his first projects was to set up a novitiate in which to train teachers for the colony.[148] A work of moral reform, patient catechizing, and an unremitting effort to improve the material lot of the slaves – an influence which was directed at both the Creoles and their servants – paved the way for the emancipation of the blacks. Seed which was thrown upon tropical soil in 1817, which had nearly died out, and which, seventeen years later, still only showed a very fragile shoot, was to thrive in the furrows. Even now the hope for the harvest was expanding in the sun; and the workers were beginning their longest and most prosperous days. Until his death, their leader would harvest the wheat by the armful.

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Steeped in the bitterness of spiritual agony and human misery, these were the joys and the successes of the Institute in the land of its birth and in the land of its first missionary conquests. Within the frontiers of the kingdom of France the Revolution had, for a moment, threatened and startled it, and then–its flood arrested by hastily built, makeshift barriers–nearly miraculously spared it. During the same period another popular movement, but very different in its causes and in its effects, was to restore the Institute to Belgium.

The revolution in Brussels, which broke out one August evening in 1830 was, apparently, confused with the one that took place in Paris because of historical coincidences, and the racial and linguistic confluences displayed by the victors. It was true that in both cases they were celebrating a liberation, overthrowing a dynasty and seeking to open a breach in the political and international structure that had been established in 1814-1815.

But as regards the Christian faith and the role played by the Church in the life of the nation, France’s unfortunate example was not operative in Belgium. Events reveal mentalities that were diametrically opposed. Here and there in Belgium there were “liberals” who mistrusted the clergy; indeed, there were those who considered themselves liberated from traditional beliefs. In what has preceded we have described the work of certain Ministers and of certain bureaucrats in the Low Countries: some of them, born in the “southern provinces” and of Catholic stock had come out in favor of civic supremacy in opposition to the “Clericals” and assisted William I in his undertakings against the Bishops, the seminaries and against the followers of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[149]

However, the king of Holland only succeeded in alienating the immense majority of his Belgian subjects. He wounded their pride with his partisanship and their love of independence with his harassing despotism. He was incapable of understanding them or of bridging the gap

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[146] Chassagnon, pg. 52.

[147] Ibid., pg. 53.

[148] Ibid., pg. 55

[149] See Vol. IV of the present work, Part Three, chap. iv.

between Brussels and The Hague. On the contrary, union was becoming a reality in the oppressed country. Catholics and liberal concluded an agreement and together sought a "redressment of abuses".

Obstinately, the king retreated behind his prejudices and his system. The insurrection took place on the evening during which the opera *La Muette de Portici* was being presented at the theatre: the spectators were viewing the story of the Neapolitan revolt, lead by Masaniello during the Spanish tyranny. They were also reflecting on their neighbors to the south who, three days earlier, had overthrown Charles X: "Let's follow the French", they cried. Soon the red, yellow and black flag of Brabant was waving in the streets and on houses; and a civil guard was organized. After the capital, the provinces rose up in revolt. With ten thousand soldiers, the king's son attempted to reoccupy Brussels; but after a four day battle he was forced to retreat.

The Belgian garrisons fraternized with the insurgents. Braced by this backing, a "provisional government" announced on October 4 that Dutch domination was at an end. In a "National Congress" two-hundred Deputies were to proclaim the country's independence; they worked out a constitution, and they chose a king.

There was nothing more boldly "liberal" than the Constitution of 1831, nor anything less sectarian. Catholics adopted a program that had been inspired by Lamennais, which became the basis of understanding for all parties. It provided for freedom of the person, of family, the press and of association, as well as freedom of religion and of education.

The Parisian newspaper *L'Avenir* celebrated the victory. And while Papal Rome expressed its reservations, it was also able to note that the new regime granted it discretion in the nomination of bishops as well as spiritual prerogatives and temporal advantages in which the clergy would unquestionably share.

With respect to education, the settlement was simple and clear, and an excellent model for the rest of the world: as of October 12, 1830, the shackles contrived by King William were dissolved. On December 26 article 17 of the Constitution was voted in: "Education shall be free; every restrictive measure shall be forbidden; and repression of offenses shall be determined by law only".

It was proper, surely, that the State not abandon its right to supervise and its reasonable sanctions against teacher immorality and anarchy. Indeed, it would be impossible to stop there: in modern times the public authority needs to have the power to educate and instruct youth; not only by assistance granted to private initiative, but "by means of schools and institutions within its own competence" and "by subsidizing the needs of the collectivity," which supplies it with the necessary funds.[150] The Belgian Constitutional Congress, therefore, quite correctly conceived of a public educational system underwritten by budgetary appropriations.[151]

With respect to primary schools, the Dutch regime had initiated "educational commissions" responsible in each of the provinces both for controlling the course of studies and for issuing certificates to teachers. A decree dated May 31, 1831 had suppressed these regional committees. The ultimate control of education belonged to the Minister of the Interior whom the provincial governors and district commissioners served as deputies.

For a long time matters did not go beyond this stage, since the special law promised by the Constitution had remained in an embryonic condition. At the outset the government acted only by way of support and counsel and by occasional measures; the Communes retained full

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[150] This is the language of Pope Pius XI's encyclical, dated December 31, 1929, on *The Christian Education of Youth.* See below pp. 327-328.

[151] Second paragraph of article 17. .[151]Felix Hutin, *l'Institut des Frères en Belgique*, Vol. II, The Brothers Schools under the Regime of Constitutional Freedom and under the Law of September 23, 1842, Namur, 1912, pp. 15-18

freedom respecting the opening of schools; and, in fact, generally, they appreciated their responsibilities; and few there were that took no interest in the education of the common people. The Ministry, in a circular dated April 14, 1832, stimulated the opening of nursery schools. It provided subsidies for teachers, whether Communal or private; but, beginning in 1834, on condition that they would admit the indigent into their classrooms. In 1836, the Houses of the Legislature, enacting laws affecting provincial and municipal organization, specified that school teachers would be appointed and dismissed by the administrative authorities in the Communes; they imposed, furthermore, upon the provinces the obligation of registering, at their own annual expense, "substitutes" intended for the orderly operation of already existing school facilities.

Catholics and liberals recoiled from any further commitment to one another. They wished to protect their affiliation during these years when so many threats still weighed upon the country's independence. Of course, they both knew very well that it was the area of education which, sooner or later, would become a battle field for grave political struggles. Until further notice, it would be better to leave the more suitable contests to the initiatives of individuals, special associations and narrow groups.

Thus, the statesmen in each of the parties vied with each other – without violently colliding – to propagate universities, colleges and primary schools under the powerful and revered aegis of "constitutional freedom". It was this opportune moment that the friends of the Lasallian Congregation grasped in order to recall the Institute to Belgium.

The first prod came, as in 1816, on the banks of the Meuse. Namur had never become resigned to the break up and exile of its Christian teachers. Distinguished individuals had continued to keep alive the peoples' grief, to promote a campaign of petitions and to preserve contact with the Superiors of the Brothers.[152] As early as the day after the Revolution, Guillaume Joseph Danheux, the enormous bourgois with the fervent heart and the inexhaustible charity, came to an understanding with one of the city's pastors, Father Minsart, to reassemble the "Administrative Committee" of the old educational institutions. Gerard Fallon, the Secretary of this group, wrote to Brother Anacletus on November 6, setting forth the new situation and the wishes of his fellow-citizens.[153] Almost immediately he received the following reply: "We all rejoice with you...at the benefits the Church will obtain from the arrangements" recently established. "We thank God because, by this means the door" of your beautiful and so Catholic country is reopened "to the zeal of our Brothers". We are aware of Mr Danheux's lofty piety. Before the end of the year, three or even five Brothers would doubtlessly be able to come to Namur.[154].

It all seemed so very simple. The project's promoter had early proclaimed his immense pleasure. And he had sought out the participation either of Brother Claude or Brother Marin – both vastly competent – in order to direct the "Lasallian" team; the other teachers, M. Danheux added, would have to have Belgian nationality.[155]

Suddenly in Paris an abrupt retreat was sounded. Why? There was no lack of confidence in Namur's Catholic population, nor any rejection of their patriotic positions; but a doubt arose as to the character and the consequences of the insurrection in Brussels. The Superior was troubled by the support with which the Belgians met among French revolutionaries; he decided

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[152] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 583.

[153] Hutin, op. cit., Vol. II, pg. 78.

[154] Hutin, ibid., letter dated November 15, 1830

[155] Hutin, II pp. 80-85 M. Danheux's letter to the Superior-general. December 17 and 22, 1830.

that the Congress' proclamations were, perhaps, foolhardy; and he feared involvements that might prove damaging to orthodoxy.

This is, in any case, what is possible to surmise amidst the silences and the hesitations contained in a letter addressed in December to M. Danheux, whose "generous affection" and "fervent wishes" had touched the author to the bottom of his heart. But his embarrassment could not be concealed throughout the rest of the letter. Brother Anacletus wrote: "We do not make bold to pass any comment upon the political situation whether in Belgium or in France, since, as regards the future, we place ourselves in the hands of our Sovereign Master... "
He lingers somewhat over the opening of schools in Brive and Chateau Thierry and over the Institute's progress in Piedmont. But it is in the conclusion that he entertains the suggestion of anxiety. Brother Marin would not be travelling north, since his health did not warrant it. And as for Brother Claude, while his departure is being prepared, the mission that he will be fulfilling will be restricted, until further notice, to an official, confidential inquiry. He will be travelling in "civilian cloths" in order to get a sense of the way people are thinking; and other Brothers will join him only upon the explicit assurance that they will be able to live according to the Rule and in their religious habits.[156]

Six weeks went by. Father Minsart once again placed before the Motherhouse his associate's supplications. Finally, on February 17, 1831, Brother Claude, disguised as previously promised, arrived in Namur. He was thoroughly familiar with the arena in which he had to operate; he faced both questioners and difficulties "head on"; he spoke frankly and, when he had to, compellingly. With his fleshy nose and rather thick lips, at the outset he gave the impression of being rather crude; but on this score one was not for very long under any misapprehensions. Actually, Brother Claude was both spirited and subtle. In his fashion he was a diplomat who played his hand close to the vest.

Immediately, he resumed the robe and the rabat; and he went around to visit Bishop Ondernard.[157]. Within the Bishop's circle he once again ran into Canon Francis Joseph Hauregard who, as adviser to Bishop Pisani La Gaude, was so intimately involved in the painful debates of 1824-1825.[158]

Between the two men there could be no misunderstandings. As early as the 19th of February, Canon Hauregard took it upon himself to instruct the Brother Superior-general: "You have been mislead as to the way in which the people in this country are thinking. The revolution recently effected in this country was not like the one that occurred in France (except for the setting). Perhaps you are unaware, my Venerable Brother, that what most displeased the Belgians, what induced them to shake off the yoke of the government (imposed upon them in 1805) was the (continually repeated) efforts to thwart the practice of the Catholic religion; for three or four years the upper classes of society uninterruptedly sought the "redressment of grievances", the chief of which consisted in measures adopted to destroy Church discipline and to wipe out the orthodox faith. Having vainly exhausted all legal means, those who shaped opinion decided to break with Holland and to appeal an armed decision.

"In none of the popular uprisings" that occurred here, "no church" was "desecrated", no "cleric insulted"; and nowhere "was there any departure from the respect that is due to sacred things."

The facts, distorted by a Parisian perspective, were thus once again brought back into line with the truth; and the Canon in Namur had vindicated the reputation of his fellow-citizens. It remained to demonstrate – a thing that would be easy – that the Brothers' return was a part of

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156 Hutin, II, pp. 85-87.

157 Who was to die on the following 25th of March

158 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 567-580

the agenda of the new order. The statement of "Antony Collard, Priest, Vicar-general of Namur", accompanied Canon Hauregard's letter: the undersigned, who represented his Bishop in Belgium's assembly of prelates, meeting in Malines on November 19, 1830, certified that the restoration of the Brothers of the Christian Schools had been approved by a unanimous vote.[159]

The ways opened widely to Brother Claude, who was about to send in his troops and occupy, successively, the old citadel in Namur as well as Verviers, Tournai, Liege, Brussels, Nivelles, Mons, Perulwez; and in the last quarter of 1835, he would reduce Bouillon to mark the end of his operations outside of France. These had been five fruitful years – a splendid and, this time, an ultimately successful new beginning. The seventy-five Brothers who would presently share the sixteen schools in the recovered and expanded territory would become the ancestors of a numerous posterity.

From the very beginning of the restoration, M. Danheux planned to open a headquarters and to fit out a training center for this group introduced from beyond the borders, where it could multiply its membership from among the Catholic population of Wallonia and Flanders and become completely "naturalized", without, however, breaking or weakening its ties with the Superiors of the Institute. The enthusiastic negotiator became a tireless solicitor: funds came to him from all over. The novitiate, which was to be situated in Namur, involved the entire kingdom. And that was the way the Bishop of Liège, Cornelius Richard Antony Van Bommel understood it, better than anybody else.

He was a Dutchman, born – on April 5, 1790 – in Leyden, who had consecrated his heart and strength to his adopted country. Ordained priest in Munster in 1816 and Director of the Junior Seminary of Hagevelde from 1817 to 1825, he was consecrated Bishop on November 15, 1829. With a clearsighted energy he ruled the great diocese of princely Bishops for thirty three years. He was "a man raised up by God for the works of faith that constitutional freedom facilitated", as one Church historian put it.[160]

Bishop Van Bommel was not slow to verify this description. He visited the property that the Namur Committee was making ready for future candidates for the Christian Brothers. And on October 15 1831 he published a pastoral letter that re-echoed throughout Belgium.

In his preamble he confessed that he had not known the Brothers prior to a journey which he made to Paris. He had been struck by the order with which the children were dismissed from a school. A Protestant, highly placed in king William's government, confirmed the favorable impression that the Dutch priest had brought back from France. There is "nothing better" than these Brothers "to teach, and thoroughly teach" the sons of the common people. Their very "fanaticism" – i.e., their integral and militant Catholicism – had made them objects of suspicion. This accusation, in the judgment of the apostle inspired by the same zeal, had been transformed into a commendation.

Namur showed him eight hundred pupils who surrounded eight to ten Brothers with an unimaginable respect and affection. A few weeks had been enough for this conquest. Boundless dedication made the whole thing comprehensible. "No one", in schools conducted according to De La Salle's methods, "no one was rebuffed, nobody neglected, and everybody benefits". Religion, justice, charity and conscientious work are held in honor; and in reading, history and arithmetic progress follows a regular and rapid rhythm.

Without "self-sacrifice" – the corner-stone of the Institute – no teacher would have achieved these amazing results. "The France of 1830, whom people charge with being so irreligious", was helpless, in spite of its bigots, in the presence of the most sincere affinity of feeling. She

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159 Hutin Vol. II, pp. 90-93.

160 Canon Claessens, *La Belgique chrétienne*, pg. 178. Cited by F. Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 381.

"excused" this calibre of teacher their "rosaries" and "the way they looked", which did no damage to the "rebirth" of an anarchic world.

The Brothers' habit no longer surprised those who had become accustomed to it. Apparently, it still compelled the Walloons to laughter and people in Liège who were touched with a rebellious spirit. And it was thus that the Bishop thought it necessary at this point to have recourse to polemics. His arguments, basically psychological, were not without a rather bracing originality and, indeed, a sort of whimsicality. Bishop Van Bommel declared that he had obtained them from an impartial observer: "The Brothers' habit, rabat and big hat are for the children of the common people, and especially to the enemy, what moustache, uniform and tall grenadiers hats are to soldiers...That's the way man is; you can never too often appeal to his senses before being able to get (to his soul). "When, under sober dress", pupils "discern a vast depth of goodness", love and detachment, the initial surprise gives a sort of boost to confidence. Feeling becomes associated with the image which, at the outset, had induced a sense of strangeness – in fact, a certain revulsion; the feeling continues to grow in the presence of the image; and, with luck, the imagination, memory and sense of gratitude develop accordingly. It is in this way that the sight of the flag "encourages an entire army in combat".

As a consequence, we should all help the people in Namur to build "the normal school" (i.e., the novitiate) from which "all great Belgian cities" will select teachers for the guidance of their schools, when the cities shall have located quarters in which to house the teachers and funds with which to support them.For the common good as well as in its own interests, Liege must serve as an example. From now on the Bishop laid the groundwork for the arrival of the Brothers in his diocese. He drew up his plans: a house to be set aside for the Community, in the center of town, with classrooms and a garden, and with branches in three other neighborhoods; the reorganization of the committee which had previously supervised the schools' operations; and the launching of a drive in which "affluent families" would be the target. The capital would comprise "stocks" at 600 francs each. Subscribers would benefit from plenary indulgences granted by briefs from Pius VII, dated August 9, 1822 and March 7, 1823. "So much for the spiritual advantages." As for the income to be expected, God will take care of that: His Providence is generous and He doesn't haggle. Besides, what work is more pleasing to Him than Christian education? Let all the faithful, then, respond to their pastor's appeal and follow his example! Bishop Van Bommel was the first to contribute a large share toward the founding of schools in Liege.[161]

The novitiate in Namur was in complete operation in July 1832. Frederick August, Count Cuvelier, Vicar-capitulary after Bishop Ondernard's death, supported M. Danheux and circulated throughout the presbyteries the announcement that originated in the neighboring diocese. And he gave the pastors of the towns and villages to understand that, failing the Brothers, they would at least have to employ a teacher trained in the Institute's methods and inspired by the same spirit.

After Namur,[162] but before Liège, Verviers found successors to Brother Jonas' tenurein 1793 in Brothers Nil, Acharius and Braule. Father Neven, Dean and pastor of St. Remacle's, Mme. Simonis and the Vicontess Biolley were the artisans of this restoration.[163] Tournai which, in the face of the attacks by the Dutch monarchy, set itself up as the ultimate barrier of freedom,could not betray its reputation. Bishop Delplanque, Dumortier-Wiallaumez, Baron Cazier and Bourer-Lefevre, along with the leading citizens of Tournai welcomed Brother

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[162] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 100-108 and 351-355.

[163] [163]See Vol. III of the present work pp. 432-434.

Macorat, who had been exiled in 1826. This Belgian Brother, with two assistants, opened classes in St. Jacques parish on July 21, 1831, the very day on which king Leopold inaugurated his reign.[164]

Six months later, Bishop Van Bommel's hope were realized. Three Christian Brothers crossed the threshold of his Major Seminary where they received hospitality until February 21, 1832. Their leader was Brother Gilbert, Nicolas Philippe Savoye, a Frenchman from Rocroi. Liege had previously experienced the virtue and talent of this disciple of Brother Claude, who had entered the Institute in 1819 at the age of 25 years and was immediately brought from Charleville in Belgium by his Director. In his mature years and in his later years, Brother Gilbert once again worked on the banks of the Meuse.[165]He died in his beloved city of Liège on May 7, 1863. The Bishop was devoted to him, husbanded, as much as he could, the Brother's fragile health, his delicate emotional life, and, one day, spoke in stirring language to the Superior-general about this very special Brother and about "this beautiful soul enveloped in a very frail body". In order to spare Brother Gilbert an extremely painful hardship, the Bishop did not scruple, contrary to Brother Claude's orders, to retain in the Liege Community a Brother Cornelius who had already received an "Obedience" for another place but whom Brother Gilbert considered as irreplaceable. And while he advanced excuses and acknowledged the necessity for admonition, Bishop Van Bommel vouched for his friend's "edifying humility" and "perfect good will" to Brother Anacletus.[166]

These relations with the Institute were always infused with a rare kindness, indeed with an affectionate warmth, against which it was difficult to defend. The Bishop would have scarcely finished receiving one detachment of teachers than he would ask for a still larger number. "Liège, above all others, has been ravaged by the spirit of irreligion...We need Brothers here! I go to knees before God to obtain them... Dear Brother Superior, you shall be the tool of the Most High's mercy... With faith and trust I'm asking you to perform a miracle...

In 1833, he wrote to the spiritual Director of the Brothers in St. Omer, his friend Father Delahaye, in order to spur the consent of the Visitor of that district to the sending of reinforcements. And once the three new Brothers were set up in the Saint-Marguerite neighborhood, he planned further schools in the neighborhoods of St. Denis and Saint Foi: "I will ask, I will seek, I will plead and I will beg" until satisfied, declared the ardent promoter.[167]. And finally the door began to open, and children were supplied with the food of the spirit.

M. Danheux showed the same zeal and the same boldness, and not only for Namur and the Walloon region, but for the benefit of all his fellow-countrymen. He was the promoter for the Institute's schools in Brussels. In the course of his ramblings in support of the novitiate, he stopped in the capital where he visited with the pastor of St. James-sur-Caudenberg, Father T'sas. He painted a picture of the services that the Brothers of the Christian Schools could render. Quickly convinced, Father T'sas conferred with Father De Coninck, the pastor of Notre-Dame du Sablon, along with two Senators of the kingdom, Baron de Man d'Obruge and Baron Secus. The ruling classes and the clergy had reached an agreement: it was essential to preserve faith, morals and social peace. In February 1832 Brother Anacletus was apprised of the request that had come from the four residents of Brussels: they would be satisfied with

164 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 202 et sq.

165 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 276 et sq.

166 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 365-366 and 393.

167 Ibid., pp. 358-364

nothing less than the most competent teachers, since what was at stake was the "secure" establishment of the Institute in the heart of the kingdom.

The undertaking was all the more urgent in that, according to M. Danheux's testimony, there was only a single "genuinely Catholic" school in the vast city; and even that only a Sunday School, a sort of young men's club that operated sporadically. The "supports of religion and the throne" did not disguise the dangers inherent in the situation. With the view of bringing pressure upon the Motherhouse Danheux lined up the names of some of the most distinguished nobility: the Prince and the Duke Arenberg, Counts Merode, Hoogwoorts, Thiennes and Vilain XIIII. They were unanimous in the declaration that the Brothers in Brussels would lay down the "corner-stone" of their structure in the new State. Father Sterckx, Vicar-capitulary in Malines (who was soon to become the primate of Belgium) believed that De La Salle's Congregation, rightly situated, would attract from among the Flemish population drawn to the religious life "a large number of fine young men."[168]

As a consequence, the future Archbishop lent his full support to Bishop Van Bommel's emissaries. He recommended that they take up a collection in Anvers, in spite of the critical situation of the city, which was still in Dutch hands.[169]). The person in question sent 2,000 francs "to assist in this undertaking" (the expansion of the Institute in Belgium) "more glorious (he added) than that – no matter how beautiful and Christian – of helping the poor Poles who are being lead into slavery."

Indeed, as the Superior-general acknowledged, "the Institute's honor, its growth and its preservation" between the North Sea and the Atlantic, "seemed to be bound up with its foundation in the capital". The "generous sacrifices" made by Belgian Catholics proved to be a moving experience in the Faubourg St. Martin, where people were hoping that the Brothers' work would correspond fully to such great confidence.[170] The Congregation's prayers assailed Heaven of the success of the great work.

How could God fail to hear the sons of the saintly Educator, primed to extend the work of their Father, the heirs of Brother Agathon, finally realizing the plans conceived by that great mind in the early days of the French Revolution?[171] The three teachers brought to Brussels on April 30, 1832 by Brother Claude personally had, as their leader, a model Religious and extraordinary teacher. He was Brother Charles. A native of the diocese of Amiens (he was born in the village of Montauban in Picardy), a novice at St. Omer in 1817, he taught initially at Dunkerque and then in Chartres, where he was the Director of the Community. He had been directing the Parisian school of St. Germain of Auxerre when Brother Anacletus chose him to fulfill the hopes of the leading citizens of Brussels. Thirty-three years of age at the time, he exhibited an intellectual and moral quality, a knowledge and a presence that befitted his mission. He was Noble and resolute of countenance, with regular features and a stubborn chin and a huge, broad forehead overhanging a somewhat severe expression.[172] His name, his appearance and his achievements the Belgians would find impressive. Soul and body he was to

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[168] Father T'sas' letter, which was also signed by Fathers de Coninck, de Man, and Secus on February 21, 1832; Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 409-410.

[169] Letter of Mr. Peyrot, a relative of the Bishop of Liege, February 28, 1832. (Quoted in an article in *Rivista Lasalliana* for June 1937, Mons. C. Van Bommel, *Vescovo di Liegi, grande amico dei Fratelli* by Brother Clementino

[170] Brother Anacletus' letters to Mr. Danheux and to M. T'sas, March 2, 1832. Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 413-415.

[171] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 193-196.

[172] Bookplate in Vol. II of F. Hutin's work, pg. 432.

dedicate himself to his chosen fatherland and, in Brussels, until 1874, he would play a critical role and, in his eighties, go on to die in Namur immutably attached to his religious Congregation, his country of adoption and the friends acquired in a long and illustrious career.[173]

During the first days of the new foundation he was accompanied by Brothers Vias and Valence; and as early as July 4, 1832 a fourth Brother was joined to this group. From the provisional site on Rue Chêne, the school was soon moved to Rue Poincon, where Mr T'sas had constructed and furnished an adequate building on land which had been purchased by Count Robiano. A fund drive for 65,000 francs covered the costs, nearly a tenth of which was contributed by the king of the Belgians; and each year the generosity of Leopold (a Protestant who bore no likeness to the Dutch king William) came to the foundation's assistance. In 1834 the school had already included six classes, one of which was taught in Flemish; while by that time Brother Charles was at the head of a Community composed of eight Brothers.[174]

From then on it was a matter of endless advertising and growth throughout Brabant and Hainaut. We find M. Danheux intervening in Nivelles with the principal benefactress, Mme. Bare'; there, too, we see the figures of Father Leblanc and Brother Auxence.[175] The Jesuit had been living in this city since 1834. He divide his concern among the Sisters of the Child Jesus and the other teaching Congregation, the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In 1834 he obtained the post of Director for his old friend and companion in arms, Brother Auxence, who restored order to an institution that had been previously rather agitated.[176]

Mons, (which, about 1820, had made an appeal to Brother Gerbaud[177]), after thirteen years and all obstacles had been removed, received three of Brother Claude's assistants. The Mayor, surrounded by several lay teachers, turned out, for a time, to have been hostile. Father Descamp, the Superior of the Junior Seminary of Good Hope, supported the Brothers, who had been introduced on his initiative. In the end, freedom was triumphant.[178]

And Pérulwez, half-way between Mons and Tournai, was the Brothers' next stage.[179] It made no difference to the supervisors in St. Hubert that the Province of Luxembourg had not welcomed them into those places in which heretofore Jean-Louis and François Joly had formed "brilliant pupils". A "comfortable dwelling", a garden and a respectable living awaited Brothers Julian and Agapet's successors.[180] Other invitations, however, diverted the Institute from its Belgian birthplace in the Ardennes.

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[173] Choix de Notices nécrologiques, Vol. II, pp. 317 et sq.

[174] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 417-419.

[175] For these two men see the Index of Vol. III of the present work.

[176] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 526 and 527.

[177] Hutin, Vol. I, pp. 472 et sq.

[178] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 13-34 and Vol. III, pp. 17-18.

[179] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 76 et sq.

[180] Motherhouse Archives, file HAn11, Mr. Léquÿ, supervisor for the Regency of St. Hubert's letter, to Brother Anacletus, September 29, 1834.

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While in Belgium paths levelled out and winds turned favorable and peace broke radiantly from behind the clouds of a revolution, in Italy the era of 1830s unfolded with less clear prospects. Not that the general order of events here seemed to be of a nature to compromise the fate of Christian education; political agitation, the machinations of secret societies, the first stirrings of independence and national unity prompted alarm among the of princes and panic among the people and some armed uprisings. Trouble broke out in the Papal States, in the Duchies of Parma and of Modena. Austria, however, intervened to restore its traditional rule. And for eighteen years more relative stability continued and security persisted: a purely superficial security, to be sure, guaranteed exclusively on the authority of foreign bayonets, under which sounded the mutterings and the turmoil of the Risorgimento.

What afflicted the Brothers in the Peninsula was (rather than the insurrections and rather than hostility of the followers of Mazzini and of the Carbonari) a sort of internal crisis the causes of which remain rather complicated: – dissent concerning local customs, conflicts of temperament and character and the clash of different nationalities. But, in the end, obedience, bolstered by the filial and traditional submission of the Institute to the Holy See prevailed.

In Rome, and for a while in Piedmont, the difficulties became fused. Brother "Vicar" Rieul, separated from the Motherhouse by the Alps, was faced with a sensitive burdensome task. And he discharged it as a saintly man would, with a consuming desire for conciliation. The Community at Trinita-dei-Monti had been giving him some trouble; and, each year in the "visit report" he had to note relaxations; the reins had been hanging loosely in the hands of the Director, Brother Felicissimus,[181] and the major Superiors would have to be informed. They, however, had at their command very few Brothers in Italy; since they had been obliged to remove a number of excellent men from the Papal States in order to carry on other operations to a successful conclusion. Brother Rieul struggled to please them: if, in order to further the work in Turin, they wished to deprive him of the distinguished services of Brother Sebastian, he yielded sadly, however docily. Then, he suggested sending Brother Francis Borgia, who had been caring for the young recruits at Orvieto, and who, because of his origins in Ferrara, would adapt more rapidly to conditions in Piedmont.[182]

Age and ill health combined with a certain appearance of timidity increased the burden of responsibility for the Brother Vicar. He would have preferred to have remained undisturbed, and only the pressure of duty drove him to use his authority. A group of exclusively French Brothers who, since 1829, had been situated at Notre-Dame des Monts seemed to him to have been enjoying in this respect a privilege which he did not choose to challenge. The Director of this new Community, Brother Hervé had corresponded directly with the late Brother Guillaume de Jésus. As long as Paris did not amend this *modus vivendi*, Brother Rieul refrained from getting involved with the activities of Brothers who had come to Italy on the orders of King Charles. "Besides, they didn't need visitations", since they were quite regular. And as far as I'm concerned, the Vicar added humbly, I am too much "wanting in virtue and skill" to "direct others". The last sentence, however, hints at struggles, concerning which we shall have more to say."[183]

Such reports aroused inevitable and appropriate reactions at the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin. The Superior-general thought that what Brother Felicissiumus needed

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[181] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1, Relazione delle visite annuali.

[182] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, Brother Rieul's letter to Brother Anacletus, December 16, 1830.

[183] "My visit, rather than being useful, would have been, on the contrary, harmful." Letter cited, December 16, 1830.

was “a good Sub-Director” who “would maintain order, silence and regularity”. Naturally, “one must sympathize with human failings”, without, for all that, condescending “to ill will”. The Director of Trinita-dei-Monti as a consequence drew some criticism for negligence. An educational task entrusted to him by Brother Rieul had remained incomplete for a very long time.[184]

These were merely minor rebukes. A serious question had been under discussion since 1817: were the Brothers in Italy to continue to wear the Roman collar and the sleeveless mantle? Could the reasons which motivated these changes of habit in 1792 prevail over General Chapter decisions and the Superiors’ instructions to the detriment of group unity? On the other hand, Brother Rieul continued to allege the aversion of the Brothers under his control.

The Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, however, were issued a statement by Brother Hervé of the Cross, whose intransigent tone betrayed inflexibility and whose judgments concerning the Italian Communities were rather harsh. The Director of Notre Dame des Monts was obviously the spokesman for the Motherhouse. He was defending a splendid cause, but his scathing logic did damage to fraternal charity. San Salvatore in Lauro was thrown into an uproar; discord had taken root and was flourishing in the Vicar’s field. Brother Rieul threw his weight on the side of those Brothers whose life he had shared for nearly half a century; he suspected that the Italian mind was poorly understood on the other side of the frontier; and he was offended by Brother Herve’s manoeuvres and accusations. As a consequence, there was the letter of June 18, 1831 addressed to the Superior-general, written in a tone which only too vividly recalls the invectives of 1814 and 1816.[185] The Brother Vicar wrote that Brother Anacletus’ orders had been “purely and simply” revealed to the interested parties as Paris had “determined” them. But it would be better not to “insist”. Except that things were “going from bad to worse”. “Nobody recognizes the rabat”, in Rome. There would be nothing wrong if the newly arrived French Brothers wore it: “We have never asked them to follow our customs”. Their views are worthy of consideration, provided that they do not use them “to disparage” their confreres’ positions. “As regards ourselves”, concluded Brother Rieul, “we know our duty; I hope that we have the spirit of our Institute (and that) our dear Father, De La Salle, would acknowledge us as his children”.[186]

Although this letter was accompanied by a poignant postscript written by Brother Sebastian, protesting his affection for “all French Brothers”, it inevitably called for punitive action. After it had been posted, the author would have a difficult time retaining his job; he suspected it himself, and he told the Motherhouse that they “would please him immensely” and that he would gleefully sing the *Te Deum laudamus*, if “another” were to take his place.[187] Brother Hervé had already been busy preparing for a transfer of power: he proposed that the Superior-general select as Vicar an Italian, Brother Pio, Director of Orvieto and “a very pious and regular man”, capable, Hervé believed, of compensating by his virtue for a certain lack of “talent” and whom he considered as “quite dedicated to the Institute” as well as to Brothers of French nationality.[188] The suggestion met with approval. As a first step, Brother Anacletus recalled Brother Rieul to the Faubourg St. Martin. And then, taking into account the

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[184] Motherhouse Archives, file K11n1, Brother Anacletus’ letter to Brother Felicissimus, January 8, 1831

[185] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 528-533.

[186] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1

[187] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1, same letter.

[188] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn9, note on the termination of Brother Rieul’s Vicariate.

circumstance, the old man's age, his infirmities and his habits, he allowed him to select one of the Italian houses (while laying special stress on Orvieto) as a place of retirement.

At the same time, he entrusted Brother Hilarion, the Sub-Director the St. Pelagius Community in Piedmont, with an "important mission". The Superior-general's representative was to be attentive to three objectives: the moral and physical situation of the Italian Communities, the replacement for the Brother Vicar, and the adoption of the "habit" of Rule. "The first item involves no great problem; neither does the second, and the third, perhaps, somewhat more than the second". Regarding the resumption of the rabat and the sleeved mantle, Brother Hilarion was to give good example: he was to appear in Rome suitable outfitted. The Pope seemed pleased, but disposed to a postponement. A frank demonstration was to hasten, if we are not mistaken, the inevitable solution.

As for Brother Pio's nomination it was to gain complete allegiance. Indeed, he had been the one who had received "most" of his compatriots into the Institute and had directed them during their novitiate.[189]

Nevertheless, opposition raised its head. The Italian Communities loved their old leader who had been so completely identified with their lives and who had defended them so ardently and whom they called the good, the edifying, the marvelous "Fratel Regolo". And, rather boldly, they called for his continuance.

Their collective letter of May 12, 1832 won them a reprimand. On June 19, the Superior-general wrote in terms both forceful and paternal: "With all my heart I applaud the praise you give Brother Rieul...he is worthy of your respect, your love and your gratitude...But I cannot agree with you that his change tends to destroy your institutions...What brings about decadence and destruction is not the lack of outstanding talents in the one who directs, but rather the enfeeblement of regular discipline, the neglect of obedience...on the part of inferiors. The gesture (you have made) seems to us rather extraordinary...It would have been better, my very dear Brothers, if you had submitted humbly...Brother Rieul will not be removed from your region; you may still have the happiness of seeing him and hearing him...He will continue to be useful in all the ways open to him."

After this tribute paid to fifty-three years of dedication, after this pacifying explanation, the letter reverted to appropriate warnings: "We must try to preserve the spirit of our holy Founder, which is the spirit of humility, of simplicity and of obedience. We must be dedicated to our Rule. We must fulfill our duty with zeal and we must not intrude nor encroach upon one another. While the superior's duty is to direct prudently, it is for the inferior to obey with simplicity. The Lord will bless us if we do not deviate from these principles."[190]

As a genuine Religious since 1779, Joseph Agnez, the Dauphiné highlander, had no difficulty in understanding this language. Even the choice he made of a retirement Community stands as a witness to the beauty of his soul and the sensitivity of his feelings: he elected the Notre Dame des Monts Community rather than Trinita or Orvieto.[191] And thus he was to prove that with respect to Brother Hervé of the Cross he retained no spiteful nor bitter afterthought. He reunited the "bond of charity" with the French Brothers, which in his letter of June 18, 1831, however bitter, he called inviolable. He was profoundly sincere on October 20, 1833, when he wrote to Brother Paul of Mary: "Be very careful never to collide with your Superiors, because – as you very well know – they hold the place of God...I would prefer, like yourself, to

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189 Motherhouse Archives, File BEb6, letter dated June 16, 1832.

190 Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

191 André, Notice sur Joseph Agnez (Brother Rieul), 1902.

dedicate myself to the education of poor children".[192]. He had this satisfaction as he taught catechism to, and prepared young Romans for the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist until the end of his life. It had been a life of obscure but loving tasks, a life of prayer, which ended in peace on March 2, 1838. Brother Rieul whose conscience was upright, his virtue courageous, indeed heroic, and his labors tireless in the midst of suffering, was right when he said that De La Salle would not have disavowed him. Nobody would dream of condemning him for some mistaken opinions, a few misguided letters (that might have been corrected by more complete information), a long exile and a paternal trust in and affection for his followers. Surely, a glint of holiness (and on this point there is unanimity on the part of the witnesses) illumines the passing shadow.

The question was whether the Italian Brothers would follow this model. Their resistance yielded to the demands of the Pope. Gregory XVI, as opposed to his predecessors, seems to have hesitated in displaying his goodwill toward the Institute's Superiors. There is a rough copy in the Motherhouse Archives of one of Brother Anacletus' petitions[193] which tends to suggest that some impolitic words uttered in Rome, perhaps certain intrigues, nearly turned the new Pope and the dignitaries of his court against the Superior-general.

"Soon after my election, I...humbly sought for Your Holiness' blessing; which I presently repeat, since I have not been fortunate enough to obtain the goal of my desires and those of the entire Congregation whose government Divine Providence has entrusted to me. Should this silence, which has been so painful to me, have been occasioned by some unfavorable impression...I dare protest that our Society has always been, and continues now to be, in the most complete submission and union with the Holy Apostolic See.

Assuming that a misunderstanding occurred following the events of 1830, that the rather brutal occupation of the port of Ancona in 1832 under orders from Casimir Périer,[194] gave an unfavorable impression of France among the Romans and supplied matter for treacherous insinuations and gave credence to gossip, the Pope's views would have transcended these vile perspectives. His paternal concern does not stop at frontiers; and, purely apart from doctrinal questions, in his eyes the truth is the same thing on both sides of the Alps.

He listened to the explanations of Brother Hervé and of Brother Hilarion; and he recognized how well founded they were. The Institute should not be divided against itself; and as the Superior had bestowed his trust on Brother Pio, the latter was to take over the post of Vicar, which he entered into officially on August 16, 1832. By way of an "Obedience" for Turin, Brother Paul, who seems to have been the principal agent of discord and to whom the former superior of the Roman Communities subsequently lavished his most edifying advice, was removed from the scene. From October 4 to 13, 1832 the Brothers in San Salvatore in Lauro, Trinita-dei-Monti and Notre Dame des Monts assembled for a retreat conducted by the Jesuits at St. Eusebius. Their preacher, Father Massa, encouraged them to write a letter to Gregory XVI in order that by a decision of the Holy Father the thorny question of the religious habit might be resolved once and for all.

Twenty-two signatures were added to Brother Pio's: – the names of French Brothers, long established in Italy along with their Italian confreres', were listed with the name of Brother Hervé of the Cross. The Director of the young French group appeared, on October 15, at Castelgondolfo in company with Brother Vicar and Brothers Felicissimus and Nereus. Three days after the Papal audience a brief forwarded by Cardinal Odescalchi verified "the

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[192] Archives of San Salvatore in Lauro

[193] File BEb6, document without a date.

[194] See Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 405-498.

petitioners' unanimity and their wish (to dress) uniformly". And consequently, regardless of departures previously permitted, the rabat and the mantle as prescribed by the Founder, would henceforth be the exclusive norm in Rome.

In order to confirm the consensus the Superior-general had wanted to make an *ad limina* visit to Italy. But detained in France by the political situation and by his own faltering health, he sent his right hand man, Brother Assistant Abdon, as his delegate to the Holy See. It was this intelligent, energetic and wise Brother who would succeeded in showing Gregory XVI the real heart and soul of the Institute.[195].

He reached Rome on December 20, 1833 and took up quarters at first in San Salvatore, with the Brother Vicar. He did not question the intentions of this admirable man, but rather thought of him as not quite up to the responsibilities he had assumed. Brother Abdon's reserve and seriousness was quickly wearied by southern garrulousness.[196] Satisfied, however, to see that peace obtained and the Rule respected, he left the members of the old Community at the Ponte Saint Angelo alone; they were dedicated teachers and thoroughly deserving of the affection and veneration of their pupils. When their "dean", Brother Benjamin died in his nineties in 1834 with a single voice the city celebrated his humility, his patience and his supernatural spirit. His funeral attracted an extraordinary concourse of the neighborhood poor, prepared to invoke him as a saint and clamoring for bits of his clothing.[197] At Brother Pio's request, Cardinal Grimaldi authorized the burial of the dead Brother in the local parish church.[198].

These were edifying demonstrations and lofty witnesses to the esteem in which the Brothers were held. John Baptist de La Salle's followers and the successors to Gabriel Drolin were reaping the fruit of their century-long activity. But the real problem here was to safeguard the contact of the Brothers in Italy with the Superiors of the Institute, to watch over the results of the graft implanted in 1829. Brother Abdon contemplated this goal during the two months he was residing at *Madonna dei Monti*. He had thrown the full weight of his support behind the efforts of Brother Hervé. Meanwhile, the Superior-general's delegate learned Italian; and armed with personal and direct experience of the context in which the Italian Brothers worked, informed with respect to their living conditions, their relations with the clergy and with the people before returning (in April) to the Motherhouse, he began the vital round of visits to all the Brothers' Communities in the Papal States.[199].

With the continuing support of their benefactors, both ecclesiastical and civil, Orvieto, Bolsena and Spoleto were more than promising.[200]In 1835 the Brothers in Bolsena lost their dear friend, Count Joseph Cozza-Luzzi, whom a Circular on April 2 recommended for prayers as "affiliated to our Institute". In the Ombrian city Brother Sebastian directed the novitiate; a gift which he had received from the Lambruschini family was accompanied, under Cardinal Louis' signature, with a magnificent appreciation of the zeal, the piety and the charity of the

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[195] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn9 and *Rivista Lasalliana* for June 1936, Brother Clementino's article, *Fratel Hervé-de-la-Croix*, pp. 232-233. Motherhouse Archives, file cited.

[196] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for November 1907, pg. 344

[197] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, Circular of August 5, 1834. pp. 224-226.

[198] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn8

[199] Ibid., file KHn9. We do not have any further detailed information concerning Brother Abdon's mission. It is nevertheless quite obvious that the Assistant to the Superior-general contributed considerably to clarifying the situation both with the Holy See and among the Brothers in Italy.

[200] Motherhouse Archives, file KHq3, gift from Maria Lambruschini, sister of Cardinal Louis and John Baptist, Bishop of Orvieto; deed dated May 21, 1846.

Christian Brothers.[201] The Fratelli in Orvieto did not seemed to be less loved personally by the Pope: each year he allotted them a subsidy which, through his last will and testament, he converted into a capital gift.[202]

In Spoleto the Brothers were treated as persons having status, since they possessed the right of nomination to a pastorate[203] which at one time had depended upon the Cistersian Abbey. In a letter dated June 5 1833 the Archbishop of Camerino proposed a "competent" candidate for the approval of "the Most Reverend" Brother Vicar.[204]

A new foundation was in the making in Benevento, in an enclave which the Church possessed at the center of the Kingdom of Naples and which– Talleyrand's fiefdom during the days of the Napoleonic expropriations –had been restored to the Church's patrimony in 1814. Here the ancient monastery of Santa Sophia, built by the kings of Lombardy, raised its robust campanile and spread the covered walks of its cloister with its delightful little columns and their strange cornices. The Jesuits, recalled by Archbishop John Baptist Bussi in 1824, had opened a college for the young men of Benevento, the funds for which came in large part from capital provided by the Abbey. In return, they were required to dispense elementary education to the children of the poor. As early as 1831, they contemplated vacating this agreement: the monastic buildings would thus go unoccupied and the income set aside for the primary grades unused. Archbishop Bussi planned on introducing the Christian Brothers to Santa Sophia, which would place them under the aegis of the Pope who had granted them the Bull in 1725, Benedict XIII. The city of Benevento had dedicated a monument to the memory of this Pope, who had been its former archbishop. And it became a pledge of welcome and of a happy future for the Institute.

Negotiations, however, were slow. "Apparently, nothing is happening", Brother Rieul wrote, "the Cardinal-Archbishop has cooled off."[205] Actually, the obstacles had arisen among the Jesuits, and they weren't ironed out until just prior to 1835. But one year earlier Archbishop Bussi uncovered available money. In fact, he used the surplus income of the *Monte dei Tetti*, funds initially set up in Rome in order to repair church roofs.[206]

On September 9, 1834 the order was given by Brother Vicar Pio to Brother Gioacchino to take possession of the buildings in Benevento. And on the 19th – "on the Feast of the invincible martyr St. Januarius", the patron of Naples – the founding Archbishop himself, equipped with every approbation of Gregory XVI, called "his dear son Joachim, the delegate of the Brothers of the Christian Schools" to the "magnificent structure where dwelt so many men distinguished for holiness and doctrine."[207]

Nearly a year was still required for furnishings. For the Abbey and its church had suffered a great deal from long neglect and well as from barrack-room vandalism in the days of foreign occupation. Finally, on July 16, 1835, the Cardinal, the Canons, the Brothers and the pupils celebrated the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Santa Sophia; and, to the great joy of the populace, the procession entered the restored building, shining with oriental marble and embellished with many relics. The *Veni Creator* and the Litany of Loretto were sung;

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201 *Relations mortuaires,* Circular for July 1, 1846.

202 At Ripesanginesio.

203 Archives de la Maison-Mère

204 Motherhouse Archives, file KHs2.

205 Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1, letter cited, June 18, 1831, to Brother Anacletus.

206 Motherhouse Archives, file KHp1, letter of Cardinal Fiorenza, administrator of *Monte dei Tetti*, August 25, 1834.

207 Inscription in the Abbey to the memory of Cardinal Bussi; and one of the Latin letters of the Archbishop of Benevento: "*dilecto in Christo filio, Fratri Joachim*." Motherhouse Archives, file KHp1.

Archbishop Bussi delivered a sermon and blessed a new image of the Mother of God.[208].

Two classes began to function immediately, while two others opened in November, at the time of the final agreement between the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers.[209]Ratified on December 19 by the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; a copy of the deed is included in the file.

The teachers – Gioacchino of Jesus, Vincent Ferrer, Crispin of Mary, Herman, Seraphin, Marc Evangelist, Norbert of the Most Blessed Sacrament – were to teach many hundreds of their young compatriots.

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In Piedmont, the Brothers' life was always that of the Institute in the Papal States: there was no moral barrier between the northern and the central parts of the peninsula; rather, there was an ever-present exchange of relations and personnel. Similar questions arose and were solved by the major Superiors in a similar way. Nevertheless, the work spread more widely and more coherently under the auspices of the princes of the House of Savoy and in the hands of Brothers who were both excellent administrators and excellent educators.

In a previous volume we have written about the introduction of Brother Joseph of Mary and his assistants into the city of Turin.[210] He experienced nothing of the commotion of 1830. The authorities in the kingdom reacted against the revolutionary attempts and came to the support of the clergy and the Christian educators. The results obtained at Mendicità Istruita at St. Pelagius determined the Mayor of the capital city, Count Collegno to entrust the Communal schools to the direction of the Christian Brothers. In August, the city government declared that it was necessary "to give young boys sound principles"; the education given by the Brothers was quite well suited "to the artisan and working classes"; and, besides, it could "serve as a way" into a higher order of studies. In conclusion, the order of October 23rd was a veritable legal recognition granted to the Congregation and its Rule, and – on the part of the royal Department of Education of Turin and Genoa – it meant the official adoption of the books in use among the disciples of the inspired French Educator.[211] The social function of these teachers at the time seemed so important that, over and above the institutions entrusted to them, the city furthered the creation weekly courses intended for adolescents and adults.

King Charles Felix, had brought pressure bear upon the Superior-general, Guillaume de Jésus of Jesus, for decisions. The Communities in Piedmont must have had very fond memories of this king, who died on April 27, 1831 and each year his widow, Maria Christina, gave a sum of money equal in value to the support of a novice; the first to benefit from this scholarship bore the name of "Fratel Carlo-Felice."[212].

The heir to the throne was Prince Carignan. He had at one time shown certain "liberal" inclinations and had enlisted among those who promoted the "Lancastrian" method. The accession of Charles Albert, however, changed nothing in the dynastic traditions. Six months later, St. Pelagius welcomed the royal visitor. The king inspected the pupils at the *Mendicità*; he listened to an explanation of the catechism; and he was also interested in the lessons that were given on *Via Delle Rosine* to a class of workers "in the night school". He was won over by the patient and skillful instruction of which everybody around him spoke with admiration. As a pledge of his views he supplied out his personal fortune important funds to launch a

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[208] Diario Romano for September 2, 1835, leaflet preserved in the Motherhouse Archives, file cited

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[210] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 550.

[211] *Rivista Lasalliana* for June 1937, Brother Giovannino's article, *Inizi scolastici dei Fratelli in Piemonte*, pg. 233. And *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1925, pg. 209.

[212] *Rivista Lasalliana*, article cited, pg. 234

novitiate.[213] The primary pieces, then, were coming together and the future was full of promise. Comfortably the new teachers were initiated into the national life of Piedmont. Dressed in their "Roman" habits, they incited no surprises, and the upset no prejudices. But here, as in Papal territories, Brother Anacletus ordered a return to the "habit of Rule", the sign of unity and the symbol of obedience. Passions were aroused, but they were rather rapidly placated.

Here, once again, the Superior chose as his spokesman Brother Hervé of the Cross, concerning whose position on this matter in Rome we know. In his embassy as Visitor, his zeal was to be deployed in the subalpine kingdom. Taking dead aim, he explained the reasons for the proposed changes to Charles Albert's government. The Minister of the Interior told him that it was important to obtain the agreement of the administrators of the *Mendicità Istruita*. Brother Joseph of Mary, the Director of the Project, could be expected to give his faithful cooperation. As a former aide to Brothers Frumence and Gerbaud, he had worn the rabat in Corsica; and he asked for nothing better than to comply with the wishes of his higher superiors. "Nothing", he wrote to the President of the Piedmont Commission, "will be changed in our methods or in our ways of operating; we are simply asserting, by this public gesture, our fidelity to the Institute."

But other Brothers, the by-products of *San Salvatore in Lauro,* turned out to be recalcitrant. Before leaving Rome at the end of December 1829 they obtained a "rescript" from the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars enjoining them to retain their clerical garb. They cited the authority of this decision. They feared to be taken for "Frenchmen" in a nation which bitterly recalled the invasions of an earlier time as well as the revolutionary and imperial tyranny.

During August and September 1831 Brother Hervé of the Cross and his companion, Brother Simon Stylites sported their mantles and their "three-cornered" hats in the streets of Turin. No ill results came of it. And yet the demonstration proved ineffective.

No doubt importuned by Brother Joseph's assistants and determined not to offend public opinion, the government which, at first, practiced delaying tactics on the Visitor, finally forbad the Director of St. Pelagius to make any "innovations".

The *status quo* went on for more than a year. In the interval Gregory XVI decided the question in conformity with the decisions of the General Chapters. Brother Hervé, who had returned to *Notre Dame des Monts*, finally saw his efforts crowned with success. And, at the same time, he was about to obtain satisfaction in the kingdom of Sardinia. On December 13, 1832 Count Barbaroux, Minister of Church Affairs and Minister of Justice wrote to the Marquis Alfieri Sostegno, President of the *Mendicità*, that, since Rome had spoken, the case was closed.

The new Visitor of Piedmont, Brother Anthelme, had his Brothers resume the white rabat. No serious incident underscored this return to tradition; all that needed to be done was to pacify the Canons of Turin's cathedral, who wore a rabat which distinguished them from all other clerics. Since they thought that one of their privileges was being slighted, they grumbled and drew up a formal protest. But in the end common sense and charity prevailed. From that time the Institute's progress continued without obstacle. In 1833 the inspectors in the Piedmont schools presented the king with a report in which the Christian Brothers' educational policies were the target of a careful and extremely laudatory analysis. They emphasized the splendid results of simultaneous instruction, of the division into three classes in which each child realized personal progress without interfering with his comrades. Such a system, concluded the

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213 *Rivista Lasalliana*, for September 1934, Brother Aquilino's article, *Le prime scuole serali a Torino*, pg. 448; and for June 1937, article cited, pp. 234-235.

Minister's deputies, deserved to function as a model for the organization of the upper school grades.

Charles Albert ordered the publication of this report. Since the Brothers occupied a select position among teachers, not only must elementary education be entrusted to them, but it is proper to allow them to broaden their programs. At the same time that the capital succeeded in introducing the Brothers into all its primary schools and other cities – Racconigi, Nice, Vigevano, Genoa, Verceil, Pignerol, Saluces and Alexandria – were getting ready to name them as the teachers of the sons of the common people, more advanced lessons – an entire program of intellectual and moral formation – was being asked of them in Turin for youths who would become qualified workers, commercial employees, subordinate functionaries and small businessmen.

The vaunted "educational reform" on the way to realization in the kingdom of Sardinia did not seem to have been possible apart from this sort of collaboration. Northern Italy, like Germany and France, had hoped to fight illiteracy, indeed to surpass the stage of education reduced to the barest elements. That required a teaching body that was up to such a task. The Brothers of the Christian Schools appeared in the nick of time. They were about to open "scholasticates" for their own members; and the government seized the opportunity to employ this educational project to the advantage of its own student-teachers. A "public school for educational methods" was annexed to the St. Pelagius and to a group of young Brothers without being fused with it. This was in outline "the teachers' seminary" as envisaged by St. John Baptist de La Salle, and, in its modest beginnings, the first "normal school" of which the Italians could boast.[214]

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In April 1833 a paternal Brief from the Pope brought joy to the heart of Brother Anacletus. It was a tribute bestowed both on the courageous and prudent action of Superior and on his troops in the vicissitudes of the modern world. The Superior-general saw the Pope's communication as a reply to criticism, solace after distress, and a matter for buoyant and legitimate pride. Commenting upon the Pope's language, he wrote in his Circular of July 6: "More than a hundred-thousand children receive religious education and...the means of salvation in our schools, where, up to a certain point, they acquire the habit of the Christian life."It was a significant result after the ravages of 1792, the success of Voltairianism, the increasingly accentuated propaganda of secret societies and the eclipse of religion, not only at the upper levels of European society but among the middle class and even among many of the common people. The discerning and humble Brother knows very well that the task is not an easy one, that victory has not been achieved and nothing assures us that it is imminent; he speaks with profound reservations. He doesn't even pretend to muster under his command a reasonably powerful, fully seasoned group of men. He continues: "There is a large number of institutions that need to be built, there are others that should be expanded, if we had the workers; if all those whom the Lord has called to the cultivation of His vineyard had the courage to bear the burdens of the day and the heat...to surmount difficulties which, however minor, are big enough to cause them to abandon their vocation, to the scandal of their confreres and the detriment of their salvation...and for which they shall have to give an account to God."

Like a general he scolded and chided his men in the heat of combat. He energized the courageous, chafed the tepid and condemned the slack. The remnant, however, must be prepared for the inevitable losses. The honest battalion knows how to fill its holes. For it there

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[214] *Rivista Lasalliana* for September 1937, article by Brother Giovannino, *L'opera dei Fratelli nelle scuole elementari de Torino,* pp. 95-100. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July, 1925, pp. 211-212.

is no question of dying or of surrendering but of moving forward. The Brothers, soundly commanded and guided, more meticulously trained than the improvisation of the days of primitive enlistment, better equipped, and restored by yearly reinforcements, would continue to gain ground.

CHAPTER TWO

The Law of 28th June, 1833, and the Development of Primary Education

With the Law of June 28, 1833 a new phase opened up in France and a clear direction for the education of the common people began to take shape. This was Guizot's contribution, and, as the work of a scholar and an historian, at an entirely different level than the activity of a politician, it is perhaps his best claim to fame. As Minister of Public Instruction, François Guizot considered himself responsible for a very lofty mission. Without neglecting the fact that the State looked upon him as its representative and defender, he had no intention of measuring his conduct by relation to party interests or of seeking nothing in his legislative efforts than the security of a governmental administration. He offered a stable system, rational and complete, of elementary education. He entrusted Victor Cousin and George Cuvier the job of making on site studies of systems functioning in Holland, Prussia and elsewhere in the Europe of 1830. He was concerned with civilizing and moralizing; he rejected science without conscience; and he appreciated the power of a religious faith. A Protestant, but also a convinced Christian, he did not scruple, as we shall see, to seek help from the Church. As an educator, he wanted to form minds, to train character and liberate souls; and he dreamed of a teaching body that was up to the level of its magnificent vocation. After the inquiry conducted by his distinguished assistants in foreign countries, he called forth another, no less needful and no less exhaustive, throughout the kingdom. His inspectors spread out into cities and hamlets, questioning local authorities and teachers, and visiting functioning class rooms. Their reports threw a great deal of light upon all sorts of deficiencies and distressing details. From that time on, he became, so to speak, "a teachers' teacher" by striving to explain his positions, and defending his teachings in language that was at once simple and noble and with a precise knowledge of the situation. His "Circulars" are pretty nearly pastoral letters, filled with concern and imbued with idealism.[215] His writings frequently collided with the sorry reality and they procured only inadequate and tardy changes. Public opinion scarcely ever came to the support of the Minister's views, as political convulsions tended to consume both the governed and the governing; blind prejudice and sordid self-interest conspired against the most splendid projects. Education, "which has to be a living thing,"[216] which a nation must feed with its own passion, its own substance, continued to be, if not forsaken by respectable people, at least unimportant to too many Frenchmen. In the face of such indifference, even Guizot himself experienced a sort of insecurity. Later on he would acknowledge that he would have acted with greater energy and greater coherence if the Houses of the July Monarchy had understood him better. Called by Louis Philippe to the over-all direction of the country, he handed public education over to others. School reform appeared only occasionally on the agenda for legislative consideration. It succeeded only in reaching partial solutions, and the text of the law of 1833 was, thus, to remain the only historical piece of educational legislation completed during the bourgeois ascendancy. The latter had thought only of "enriching itself", retaining its power and defending itself against the surge of the "lower classes". There was neither enthusiasm nor inspiring goals: a world walled-in by its own material gratifications does not

[215] Cf. Gossot, *Essai critique sur l'enseignement primaire en France*, 1901, pg. 140.

[216] Daniel Halévy, *Trois Epreuves*, 1941, pg. 77.

hunger and thirst after justice.

A time (however brief) of genuine freedom would be needed so that, immediately following the Revolution of 1848, an educational charter might be proclaimed. The threat of social anarchy at the time frightened politicians like Adolph Thiers. And, to the consternation of those who contrived it, this fear worked in favor of Catholic rights. In face of the threat – and until the next fit of forgetfulness – people hurried to ground education on the foundation of religious morality; and they demanded wise teachers for children and youths, teachers who were concerned about their professional obligations and who would not embitter a situation that was already demeaned and precarious.

Meanwhile, educators worthy of the name, decent teachers, University professors, conscious of the importance of their role, sensitive or dedicated to the Christian faith and members of Religious Orders, assured of families' affections and, on the whole, of goodwill in official circles, moved forward along the lines traced out by Guizot. They were inspired by his program and they broadened their intellectual horizons and extended the area of their dedication: happy to pay tribute to the pathfinder, to express their gratitude to him for his advice, his mediation, his generosity and his encouragement.

Victor Cousin, presenting the major features of the future law to his colleagues in the Chamber in a meeting on January 2, 1833, summarized the history of elementary education over the past forty years. In accordance with the Constituent Assembly of 1789, the Convention, Napoleon I and the Restoration, he asserted the rights and the responsibilities of public authority. Education did not enter into the category of activities belonging to industry and commerce, thrown open to the free play of competition or to the more or less expert ventures of the citizenry; rather, it seems more like a debt that the nation owes to each of its children. The regular, methodical and general growth of education did not seem to be attainable apart from the stimulus of a leader operating outside of a political organization.

Lower level authorities, of course, had their place in such a system, provided that they acted exclusively under the control, and with the support, of the State. Titles III and IV of the Guizot project[217] defined the obligation for every Commune to establish a school within its own boundaries or – failing the necessary funds or an adequate population – to combine with its neighbors for the support of a teacher and a building designated for classroom use. The "pennies added" to direct taxes would primarily underwrite educational needs; while Departments and, if necessary, the Minister of Public Instruction would complement the budget with their subsidies.

Two committees – one called the "Local Committee for Supervision" and the other having its seat at the District headquarters – were in charge of the proper functioning of the system. The former was composed of the Mayor or his deputy, the pastor (or a Protestant minister) and distinguished citizens appointed by the District Committee. Incumbent upon its members were school inspection and the careful preparation of the list of children obliged to attend the teacher's classes.

The principal assignment of their colleagues in the second Committee,[218] consisted in selecting teachers. The City Council, after having sought the advice of the Communal Committee, nominated candidates for vacant teaching positions; and every nomination required the Minister's concurrence. Even though some one selected by these groups could only take his oath of office and assume his duties after he had been "initiated" by the central

[217] Which was included in the final text of the law passed by the Houses.

[218] This District Committee had as members the Mayor of the principal city, the justice of the peace, one of the pastors, a minister from each of the other denominations, a member of the educational community appointed by the Minister, an elementary schoolteacher, three individuals chosen by the District Council and, finally, members of the General Council dwelling in the constituency.

government, people became quickly aware that this manner of appointment was not a very serious way of guaranteeing competency. The creation of a body of elementary school inspectors, responsible for supervising the teachers' professional capacity and their daily activities more effectively than distinguished citizens might do to a certain extent disguised the dangers of ill-informed or obviously biased preferences.

Guizot, who submitted the law, drew the following portrait of the ideal schoolteacher: "He is a man who must know a great deal more than he teaches so that he may teach intelligently and with relish; one who must live in a humble realm but who still must have a lofty mind; one who must (demonstrate) a rare blend of firmness and gentleness, since he is inferior to many in a Commune but must be the servant of no one; without being unaware of his rights, but thinking more of his duties; a model for all; capable of giving good advice; especially, not seeking to leave his task; satisfied with his position, because that is where he does the most good; determined to live and die in the bosom of the school, in the service of elementary education, which for him is the service of God and of man".

It was a beautiful definition which was applicable to the religious educators who had been molded according to De La Salle's Rule or similar principles; it might also have reflected a minority of lay teachers, skillful educators who were diligent in their jobs and respected for the seriousness of their lives. Guizot's investigators observed, unfortunately, that such models had few imitators in the French countryside. These were the observations and conclusions of "490" teachers, judges and volunteer agents who, toward the end of 1833, combed the provinces and went into nearly inaccessible hamlets and which formed part of "Picture of Primary Education" published in 1837 by one of them, Father Lorain, professor of Rhetoric at the Royal College of Louis-le-Grand.[219].The report gives a depressing notion of the quality of schoolteachers, of their knowledge, their behavior and of the physical conditions of the premises in which they dispensed the rudiments – frequently intermittently and according to their fancy – to a handful of pupils who were ever on the verge of returning to work in the fields. Spelling and grammar were generally disregarded; and, in many places dialects had replaced the national language. Classes were held in a room, indeed in a hovel, where the family meal was on the stove and where the mistress of the house was busy with domestic chores or dressing the younger children. It was inevitable that discipline should suffer in such a climate of singular slovenliness. And each pupil, more or less distracted, more or less docile, more or less battered and whipped, mumbled his letters and his spelling in turn according to the routines of the old "tutorial method."

Peasants showed little respect for teachers; sometimes they were even contemptuous of them. They ranked them beneath their shepherds and their cowherds. A Mayor might think himself no longer indebted to the schoolmaster if he invited the latter to dine in his kitchen. For all of them "wages" consisted in some remuneration from parents and gifts in kind – fruit and vegetables which were not always the best of the crop. The poor man had to take another job to supplement the one that was inadequate to feed him; he was also a cobbler or a tailor when he was not lucky enough to be a grave-digger or a bell-ringer. And he had to set aside enough time to cultivate a plot of land. Poverty lay in wait for him, when it wasn't the degradation of drunkenness and dissipation.

The scorn he suffered, the avarice and the egoism, all the evil passions which surrounded him induced him to look upon his profession with loathing. If he left it, people would become comfortable with ignorance. "Our fathers", they would say, "didn't know how to read or write". Since the Revolution, in many places the number of illiterates had grown. Efforts, in themselves inadequate, that had been made by various political administrations were barely

[219] There is an analysis of this book in an article by Viconte Avenel, *Le goût de l'instruction et son prix depuis trois siècles,* Revue des Deux-Mondes, for August 15, 1929

seconded by local bureaucrats, except in the larger and middling-sized cities.

The inquiry of 1833 concluded: "It must not be concealed: the country is less better off than we frequently think; its wishes are not everywhere at the level of its needs; the costs are frightening and the efforts are daunting; and for a very long time the higher authorities will have to overcome the carelessness of a portion of the population".[220]

In 1834 the government was obliged to impose a tax upon fifteen-thousand Communes that had refused to vote funds for schools; ten years later two-thousand-seven-hundred of them persisted in their hostility.

The Church, however, had not forsaken its educational mission. In many parishes the pastor attended to elementary instruction, added some lessons in reading to the catechism, and sought out a teacher who would help him with the children. Future Christian Brothers, like Jean-Bernard Rousseau in Tharoiseau, owed to a priest their initial intellectual formation as well as the awakening of their vocation.[221] We have noticed the clergy's role in the recruitment of teachers and in the call to young people open to dedicating themselves to Christian education and going so far as to create new religious Societies especially intended for country schools.[222]

Without this previously trained personnel Guizot's task would have been even more difficult. We can understand how, in spite of the anti-clerical agitation in 1830, the Minister manifested his respect for, and lively attraction to, the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle and those who emulated them. In his Circular of January 12, 1833, he stated that "legally recognized charitable associations who were dedicated to the education of poor children had a right to a legitimate concern."[223] In the debate in the Chamber he spoke quite frankly:

"For the past fifteen years the Clergy has done a great deal for elementary education in France...It has opened or maintained many schools...There is a single example known to everyone: the Brothers of the Christian Schools; it cannot be denied that they increased, have done a great amount of good, adopted the best methods, and, in a word, played a major role in the progress of education."[224]

In the same speech, given on May 2, 1833, he was merely satisfied faithfully to report the results of investigations and recite statistics; he went on to causes, and declared the absolute value of religion: "Perhaps never with such evidence" as in our days has the truth appeared: "intellectual advancement, when it is combined with religious and moral development, is excellent; it becomes a principle of order...a source of prosperity and of greatness But when one clings to it alone, it gives rise to pride, insubordination and egoism; and it assumes the form of a social disorder."

In this connection experienced observers began to see warning signs: irreligion was on the increase among the "self-taught" who, tomorrow, might well be the propagators of socialism or anarchy. While questioning a schoolteacher about catechism and morality, Father Lorain received the reply: "I don't teach that rubbish."[225] The Minister meant immediately to respond to this mentality; because he did not think of the faith as merely occupying its own tidy little corner: he regarded it as energizing the whole of intellectual culture; and the child must grow in

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220 Cited by A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 138.

221 Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

222 See Canon Adrien Garnier's book, *L'Eglise et l'Education du peuple*, 1933.

223 Cited by A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 141.

224 Ibid., pp. 137-138.

225 Cited by Thureau-Dangin, II, pg. 338.

a “climate” that is suited its soul’s needs. To provide a child “cursorily” with philosophical notions, in the same way as he is taught “arithmetic, geometry and spelling”, is to ignore human nature and to abandon the child to his lower instincts. Science properly so-called is not the foundation of education.[226]

In this sense François Guizot the historian and “theorist” found himself in agreement with the great educators. He was talking like St. John Baptist de La Salle. How, then, could he reject or restrict the cooperation of teaching Congregations? A Deputy by the name of Vatout sought to obtain the Chamber’s consent to some sectarian measures, but the government combatted and defeated them.

Not only “would the wishes of the heads of families always be followed respecting...religious instruction”,[227] but Communes were authorized to select members of Religious Congregations to direct their schools. In “reflections” dating from his old age Guizot certified that he had “wanted to take a further step” and give such dedicated teachers “a public stamp of confidence and respect” by dispensing them from any examination. But he was afraid that public opinion would take offense at such a privilege.[228]

Among the members of the local committee of supervision there was included, as we have said, the pastor of the parish. In its earlier voting, the Chamber of Deputies did not allow this participation of a priest in the domain of education. The Upper House turned out to be less suspicious; and, at the Minister’s request, supported by Victor Cousin, the text of article 17[229] was integrally reinstated. But the struggle was resumed in the Lower House over article 21, which detailed the competency of the small Communal Directory. By diminishing its powers because of the presence on it of a priest, anti-clericalism obtained its revenge.

Prevailing prejudices, therefore, explained the law’s gaps and its intolerance. Was it necessary that the final form of the “normal schools for elementary education” sabotage the success of Christian educators? Guizot made a spirited denial: “I had no idea of wanting to eliminate or (even) to weaken the other normal schools” initiated by teaching associations; “on the contrary, I wished to see these widely developed and that a healthy competition take root between them and the lay normal schools.[230]

He was interested in “competition", and not bitter rivalry or open hostility. Guizot’s sincerity was all the less suspect in that he was always ready to call upon the Christian Brothers to train student-teachers.

As for his personal views, they soared above petty jealousy. It was impossible to improve primary education, to settle on its programs, and direct its progress, if city councils and committees were not up to choosing solidly instructed teachers who, apart from their moral qualities, were equipped with at least minimal knowledge and the proof of educational skills. With great difficulty, the Congregations had assumed the complete burden of the education of the common people. Furthermore, in a nation unfortunately divided by opinions and creeds, it was important to respect freedom of choice. Here again, ultimately the responsibility of the State was involved: if it intended to dispense introductory human learning to its citizens, it would have to organize a teaching body and draw up a program of studies.

At the end of the Napoleonic Empire there was a single normal school for teachers –

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[226] Ibid., pp. 336-337.

[227] Law of June 28, 1833, Title 1, article 2.

[228] *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de mon temps*, 1860, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

[229] Of Title IV.

[230] *Memoires* cited, pg.67.

Strasbourg. The Restoration added five or six, while between the years 1830-1833 the "July Monarchy" was operating about twenty, among which was the important foundation in Rennes and institutions in Nantes, Angers and Poitiers.[231] The new law obliged each Department to support normal students either on its own budget or by combining with neighboring constituencies to fit out a central building and pay of all the expenses.

Moral and religious instruction, reading, writing, French grammar, mechanical drawing, surveying (and other applications of geometry), the principles of physical science, introductory history and geography, music, gymnastic and, finally, education courses were, in the language of the regulation of December 14, 1832,[232]. the subject matters that were taught. It was a simple program, but still quite extensive for young people whose educational level at the time they were admitted to the normal school could not have been more rudimentary. Experience suggested some modifications, especially at the level pedagogical instruction which, initially, had been viewed too narrowly and superimposed upon, rather than adapted to, the overall instructional program.[233]

The latter required of the future teachers – it goes without saying – lessons that they would dispense to their future pupils. The task consisted in training "useful citizens". Little Frenchmen, then, were to be taught the spelling and syntax of their language, something of their history, the chief points of the geography of their country, arithmetic, drawing, the essential features of geometry and the physical sciences: – in brief, under the heading of principles and duties that oblige conscience, the fundamental achievements of civilization and a summary of the knowledge transmitted by our ancestors. What it lacked, however, was a sort of healthy realism, a first hand contact with nature, with the external world, a complete understanding of the psychology of the child, and a minimum of educational professionalism. The period was still too "bookish", too smitten with abstractions, too obsessed with the idea of *homo sapiens*.[234]

We must not underestimate the task that had been accomplished. The authors of the Law of 1833 had walked in paths that had been traced out for centuries. They had covered a huge stretch of the way and they held out hopes for further progress. In the introduction to their work they announced: "According to the needs and the resources of localities, primary education will grow along suitable lines."[235].

Of these "developments" they themselves suggested the direction when they spoke about "higher primary education". Perhaps without being aware of it, they had become successors to De La Salle. And, willingly or no, they were to open up to the Brothers of the Christian Schools horizons that the Revolution of 1789 had closed and toward which, in spite of obstacles, Brother Guillaume de Jésus, a former teacher in the resident school in Marseille, had been making his way in the final days of his generalate.

Accurately and clearly Guizot spelt out his plans: "A very large part of the nation which, while not enjoying the advantages of wealth, but not constrained by extreme want, is totally lacking in intellectual accomplishments proportioned to its condition...We must put these fellow-citizens in a position (to deal with the sciences) without having recourse to secondary education." And the Minister then launched into a criticism of the "classicism" which, later on,

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231 Explanation of the reasons for proposed law of January 2, 1833.

232 Gossot, op. cit., pp. 88-90

233 Gossot, ibid.

234 Hanotaux, *Histoire politique de la Nation francaise*, Vol. III, 1929, pg. 385.

235 Title I, art. 1

Hippolyte Taine was to charge with having been the vehicle for the failures of the Constituent Assembly and the forerunner of the excesses of 1793. A "dangerous" preparation he called it "in the presence of Statesmen who would understand what he was saying". For the little talent it snatches from obscurity and concealment, "how many insignificant people" are indebted to it for "styles and practices that are incompatible" with the situation that a highly organized society has assigned them! "Having left their natural sphere" and unsure of their route, they flounder around grumbling, envious and disgusted.[236].

For gifted minds, summoned to provide leadership to manual workers, commerce, agriculture or small and mid-sized industry, a special education would be offered, which would broaden their elementary knowledge while utilizing, without disrupting, their potential. They would acquired this knowledge in the "higher primary schools" mandatorily established in the principal city of each Department and in urban centers that had more than six-thousand inhabitants.

The program of studies as outlined by the Law of June 28 and the ministerial Circular of November 15, 1833,[237] appears to be quite fragmentary and to have very little connection with the stated goals. It scarcely exceeded the subject-matter that we have specified for the normal schools. However, there was added "geometry required by industrial professions", natural history "applicable to life situations", instruction in a modern language that was to vary depending upon the geographical position of the school: English, German, Spanish or Italian. The really interesting implementation was not to take place until the period of the Second Empire and following the model previously shown to the educational authorities by the Brothers' resident schools. At that time the innovation would outstrip the initial phase and, as a parallel development to Greco-Latin studies, would be composed of literary, scientific and technical cycles in response to the wishes of a section of the French bourgeoisie.

Earlier, there had been suspicions, and fear proved to be an impediment to boldness. Guizot noticed "the gaps that schools devoted exclusively to classical studies left in our system of national education"; but he wanted to fill these voids only gradually, in accordance with "the needs and resources" of various regions. Not unreasonably, he saw "a serious danger" in lending the support of public authority "to the limitless desires and vague fantasies" of theoreticians who had no mandate. "Superficial and confused" experiments would have cast discredit upon the educational establishment. And there should be none whose goal was not some local need, or the better use of human potential or the products of the soil. This is what should decide the choice of courses, whether it be physics, chemistry or a living language.[238]. In these observations we meet with the sociologist uneasy about "the loss of economic status" and the historian whose philosophical insights and generalized scheme did not divert him from the facts.

However, he was only timorous followed by his contemporaries even when what was needed was to break a cycle of customs and incur expenses for the benefit of the people. The seemed more inclined to embrace the "adult schools" recommended by the Circular of July 4, 1833, which, in a brief time and at small cost, set illiterate manual workers on their feet or supplied young workers, after a day in the factories, with an unassuming stock of information.

The prevailing thought of the period was also vulnerable on the question of tuition-free primary education. Today's reasoning was for the most part unfamiliar to the upper middle class of the July Monarchy. We insist that if illiteracy is damaging to a people, all children must be provided, uniformly, with the fundamental elements of intellectual and moral culture. Basic

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[236] Explanation of reasons, January 2, 1833

[237] Copy in the Archives of the Lower Seine, T1.

[238] Circular for December 15, 1833

education is the responsibility of the nation – of the entire citizenry, jointly, and all are involved in the education of youth as they are with the defense of the country, with its prosperity and its greatness. To leave over to heads of families the obligation, however partial, of remunerating schoolteachers institutionalizes inequality, and therefore injustice, between the father of an only son and the father of a household filled with children. Taxes, imposed in proportion to income, should subsidize primary education; in such a way that the wealthy would pay for the poor; the learned professions, which benefit from a more highly developed culture, would be assisting in civilizing the working and the peasant classes; the single man, who otherwise ignores the loneliness that lies in wait for him, would not escape his social obligations but would also contribute to providing for up-coming generations.

Without posing the problem in exactly these terms, St. John Baptist de La Salle had drafted its solution by means of his rigorously tuition-free Christian schools, open, of course, preferentially to the poor, but available to all young boys whose parents entrusted them to the Religious educators. The Brothers were committed to accepting nothing from their pupils; it was the task of the Institute's benefactors and of parochial and civic groups to found and to support the schools, and to furnish the teaching Communities with the means of livelihood.

The Law of 1833 adopted another point of view. In spite of accepted principle, it persisted in looking upon even primary education as a sort of luxury, a personal or familial gratification which entailed no positive obligation. It was concerned not "to overwhelm the Communes" by consigning to their budgets – for the lack of permanent and adequate cooperation on the part of the central government – the full weight of educational expenses. In order to justify the demand for financial help from parents, the Law alleged that "people profit more from something for which they have made some sacrifice"; further, the salary paid to the teacher "would bind the child to the school, and induce vigilance on the part of the parents and raise their sense of self-respect."[239]. The arguments are surely not devoid of merit, but are short-sighted, bestow a sort of ethical influence upon money and reflect exactly the rather worldly philosophy and calculating mentality of the average middle class.

As a result, the schoolteacher received only a pitiful salary (reduced, in many places, to a minimum of two-hundred francs a year), which he supplemented by a "monthly remuneration" from the pupils, a tax the amount of which was not determined by city counsels and from which only indigent pupils were exempt. The legislator, it is true, did not, this time around, specify a "fixed number" of poor children, a quarter or a fifth of the pupil population, as his predecessors had done in Brumaire in the year IV (Oct-Nov., 1795) and Floreal in the Year X (April-May, 1802).[240]. Rather, he relied upon the judgment of the city magistrates. The teachers themselves were to be the first to suffer from this all too confident latitude: village mayors would carry on the list of non-paying pupils pretty nearly all of their youthful fellow-citizens. And as, on the other hand, they set the remuneration and the salary levels as low as possible, the financial situation and the social rank of a large number of persons employed in elementary education was as dismal in the reign of Louis Philippe as it was at the beginning of the century: the consequences were poverty, soliciting or sycophancy that bordered on panhandling, moonlighting, disrespect for the peasantry and finally, the flight of the young and more talented teachers to other occupations.[241]

The Christian Brothers were not much better off in some cities which refused to increase their salaries, no matter how well-to-do their pupils, in the hope – however, vain – of forcing these flawless defenders of tuition-free education to submit to their injunctions. But, in the end,

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[239] Explanation of reasons, January 2, 1833

[240] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 378 and 451

[241] Gossot, pg. 110. The files of the Archives of the Lower Seine, Series T, XL contains the comments and the complaints on this subject of Brother Calixtus, Director of the Normal School in Rouen.

the Institute eluded compulsion more easily and was able to observe its Rule without forfeiting its reason for existing: the children of the common people would continue to have the Brothers as their teachers but elsewhere, when necessary, than in the classrooms of Communal schools. An important right was written into the new law, which took the first step in the direction of freedom of education.

As early as Article 3 of Title I the principle is proclaimed: "Primary education may be either public or private". Thus, because of a shortage of officially certified teachers, the government was banking on private initiative to increase the number of schools. Article 4 of Title II specifies the conditions under which a private teacher might exercise his right: the minimum age of eighteen was required; a teacher could not open a school without having first verified his educational skills and his moral integrity. For this purpose, he would have to present to the mayor of the Commune in which he wished to teach: 1) a diploma, obtained as the result of an examination; and 2) a certificate of good behavior issued, on the testimony of three city counsellors, by the local authority of the place where the candidate dwelt or of his successive residences over the past three years preceding his request; this was a necessary, if not always sufficient, guarantee in order to exclude the unworthy. The requirement of the diploma, on the other hand, introduced a grave and a very questionable restriction upon the State's policy of tolerance. It conferred upon the Ministry of Education more than just a means of supervision, but rather a direct influence which could easily become suffocating. By screening and inhibiting candidacies, it became a question as to whether the old monopoly might not be reestablished. In an administration in which complete freedom obtained, any citizen, provided that his reputation and his morals were beyond question, might become a teacher; his listeners, his class, is the judge of his talents; and experience either condemns him or procures his success. Where such a wide open structure does not exist, the right to teach should be recognized for those individuals equipped with qualifications which presume some scientific or literary competence or studies pursued sufficiently far to be able to communicate them to others. They would be independent as regards the selection of programs and methods.

The France of 1830, the heir of the French Revolution and the Empire, would not recognize such bold and productive practices. After a long tradition of absolutism and twenty-five years of dictatorship at the hands of the Ministry of Education one had to feel satisfied with a partial victory. Lammenais' crusade had proved profitable; and Montalembert, better heeded and better understood by Catholics, continued it.

At this time the Minister's good will, his sincere desire to support free education and to achieve an accord with the Church was at least gratifying. The royal ordinance of July 16, 1833 specified that private teachers would be allowed, like public school teachers, with statements from Prefects and Rectors of the Academy, "to share in the awards and compensations granted to the most deserving."[242]

Two days later, Guizot, for the benefit of schoolteachers, wrote a marvelous Circular, a genuine *sursum corda:* "Society," he says, "cannot" repay the teacher of young children the equal of what he gives. There is "no fortune" to be gained and little fame to be won. "Destined to experience his life ebb away in tedious work, and some times, indeed, meet with injustice and ingratitude", the humble teacher "would often be tempted by sadness and perhaps succumb if he did not draw his strength elsewhere than from perspectives of personal interest...Some profound view ... – that the austere pleasure of having ministered to men and secretly contributed to the public good become a worthy recompense – must support and inspire him. "To seek nothing beyond one's obscure and painstaking condition, to exhaust oneself in sacrifices scarcely noticed by those who benefit from them", to be dedicated to men, and "to expect only from God" the reward of the good servant were ends which the Minister's letter

[242] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 209.

went so far as to place before the teachers in order to support them in their uncommon hope.[243]

Indeed "religious reflection" must "combine with a taste for knowledge and education". Assigned a sensitive and splendid vocation, the educator takes in hand the souls of his pupils. This is why he must reach an accord with the priest; than which no other understanding seems "more desirable."[244]

Similar injunctions were to be suggested to the Inspectors of the primary schools when, on Ambrose Rendu's presentation, a Decree of the Royal Council on Education, on February 27, 1835, would decide upon their role.[245] Maintain "the best relations with pastors and ministers", Guizot told them. "Try to convince them that it is not out of sheer expediency and to establish an empty respect that the Law of June 28 included moral and religious instruction at the top" (of its programs); sincerely and seriously we are pursuing the goals indicated...and we are working...to reestablish the authority of religion.[246]

It is impossible therefore to raise the least doubt as to the intentions of the headmaster of the educational system. His own up-right conscience was – "within the limits of his powers", as he acknowledged in his writings – was the mainspring of a gradual meeting of minds between the Church and the new monarchy. The struggle against ignorance, the indispensable campaign which ended prior to 1848 with convincing results,[247] was matched by a reform of minds. And while anti-Christian and anti-social propaganda slipped through, while the pangs of "undeserved poverty" and the spectacle of a hedonistic world embittered the common people and while many teachers, for the lack of spiritual direction and financial security, proved not to be up to their tasks, many prejudices died and many antagonisms vanished. We can appreciate the accomplishments of the Law of 1833 when (the violent thrust of the masses having overturned Louis Philip's thrown) respect for belief and regard for the clergy survived that destruction; and when Catholic claims and the remorse of statesmen determined the Assembly in 1850 to issue a broader and more liberal educational law.

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In the educational field John Baptist de La Salle's Institute wanted actively to cooperate with the heads of public education. We are aware of the difficulties which arose after the July Revolution, difficulties which the Institute overcame by dint of prudence and patience, and from which it found an opportunity to take a step forward.

Its situation, which had been decided by the Decree of 1808, had not altered. But diplomas were not issued to its members following the special procedure established unquestionably since February of 1819.[248] The ordinance of April 18, 1831 lifted from teaching Religious a privilege which earlier Joseph Lainé had refused them, but which Decazes had granted and Fryssinous had confirmed. "For the future, no one shall be able to obtain a diploma of competence...unless he has previously submitted, formally...and in the presence of those who have the right, to prescribed examinations...All arrangements to the contrary...are rescinded." Montalivet's Circular, issued on May 23 to the Rectors of the Academy, immediately placed the Christian Brothers under the purview of this measure: You must never give any

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243 Cited by Gossot, pg. 103. Cf. Guizot, Mémoires, pp. 344-351.

244 Ibid. Guizot attributes the inspiration for these reflections to his former associate, M. Rémusat.

245 Eugene Rendu, *M. Ambrose Rendu et l'Université de France*, 1861, pg. 126.

246 Archives of the Lower Seine, T2.

247 In 1829 only 45% of the population knew how to read; twenty years later the figure was 64%. (S. Charléty, *La Monarchie de Juillet,* Vol. V of E. Lavisse's Histoire de France.

248 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 397-399.

authorization to exercise the functions of teacher to Brothers of the Christian Schools...who have not been equipped with a diploma, as long as they have not satisfied the legal requirements."Associations of the same sort" had been similarly reduced to the observance of the common law.[249] The only exception was to be Communities of women because the attempt to find a sufficient number of women teachers elsewhere had proved unsuccessful.[250]

However, even with regard to men's Congregations, some middle course, some transitional arrangement had to be found. The objection had been raised with the Minister that over-rigid requirements would mean the disappearance of the schools. He informed the Royal Council and, with the advice of the leadership of the Ministry of Education, on June 20, decreed the following decisions:

1) The Brother who directed a school would alone be obliged to obtain a diploma; and 2) if on April 18, 1831 he had been exercising the functions of Director without having obtained a diploma, the official sheepskin would be granted to him *ex officio*.

)2 But, in order to emphasize clearly the reasons for this well-intentioned pressure and its thoroughly provisional character, a third article specified that, henceforth, young Brothers would no longer enjoy exemption from military service, unless they had previously obtained the diploma.[251]

Faced with the government's demands, what could Brother Anacletus do? Resistance, which had been the position adopted by his predecessor, Brother Gerbaud, thirteen years earlier would have ended with the first encounter. It would not have been supported by public opinion. Moreover, even at this time the Brothers' Institute had been showing sufficient vitality and cohesion so that submission to civil law would not compromise obedience to religious superiors. Far from finding a pretext for defection in the success of the educational establishment, the Brother, exercised by novitiate discipline, deferred to his teachers in the Congregation for his modest knowledge and was delighted to be able to magnify the fame of his Institute. As the future would prove, not only would the Brothers not fear the obligation of the diploma, but would obtain the top ranks among the candidates.

Inspired by this confidence, the Superior-general was satisfied to confine his intervention with Count Montalivet in order to handle immediate details. The Circular of June 20 had provided him with an advantage, which he invoked when he wrote to one of the Rectors of the Academy: "Some of our Brothers who teach in your constituency are not yet provided with the required diploma...I take the liberty of sending you their names...The Minister, in consideration of representations that I had the honor of setting before him, has agreed to supply diplomas without examinations to those who were directing a school at the time of the ordinance. In virtue of this indulgence...I ask you to be kind enough to issue the diplomas."[252]

Thereafter, Brothers qualified to teach older pupils and to direct Communities submitted to questions put to them by examining boards. In conformity with the language of the ordinances of February 29, 1816 and of April 21, 1828 they customarily received a diploma of the "second degree", which comprised within its program "reading, writing, calligraphy, spelling and the

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[249] A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 363.

[250] Circular to the Rectors, June 20, 1831. Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 210.

[251] Letter dated June 23, 1831 to the Rector of the Academy in Orleans. Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 210.

[252] Diploma of competency issued at Besancon, December 4, 1832, to M. Jean-Constant Lucas, Brother of the Christian Schools and presented by him to the Academy of Orleans. (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans, I R 192).

principal rules of arithmetic", along with the method of teaching these elements.[253] Their educational background and the development of their resident schools put them in a position to take on more difficult examinations. An inspector of primary grades in the Academy of Paris observed that, in a few years, the Brothers had become excellently prepared. "We taxed their memory a great deal while submitting them to exact reasoning".

On the witness of this report, the Brothers' grammatical knowledge still left something to be desired: the book they used needed to be brought up to date. Nevertheless, the three "candidates" who took the examination did not fail; and one of them came out at the top of the list.[254]

In 1832 the Minister of Public Education, Girod de l'Ain reviewed the concessions granted by Montalivet. To demand a diploma from none but Brothers Director appeared in official educational circles to be an unacceptable survival of antique privileges. A new decree of the Royal Council obliged members of the Brothers' Institute, if they were responsible for a class, to be provided with all regular certificates and authorizations.[255]

This tough position seemed to have been confirmed by the Law of 1833, which set up examining committees in every Department. The Minister was to designate the members of the committees, appoint the date for the tests and give the results the stamp of his approval. On July 19 the Royal Counsel decided upon the subject matter for the examinations: catechism, Bible history, reading of printed material and manuscripts in French and Latin, writing (round, slanting round and cursive) grammar, arithmetic (including fractions), the metric system and introductory history and geography. These were, henceforth, the solidly established ingredients of elementary education in France. Future builders would only raise their more complex structures on these foundations. On the same blueprint was created the instruction in normal schools: where geometry, drawing, the physical or natural sciences, history, geography, music, educational methods, morality and the truths of the Christian faith found a place or were explained in ways necessary for teachers dealing with immature minds.[256].

There was nothing in this arrangement that did not correspond to the talents and the vocation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. On important points their "holy Founder" had anticipated the 19th century. For them not to fall behind their times it was enough for his disciples to understand him, to imitate and perpetuate him and, indeed, to assume the leadership with respect to new advances.

All they needed was time to reflect and a way to gather their forces and plan their attack. And this explains the procedures of the Superior-general shortly after June 23, 1833. From the committees he sought every assurance of impartiality: public examination ran the risk of unsettling many of the young Brothers, who might have found it comforting if one of the leaders of their Institute – an Assistant, a Director of novices or Brother Anacletus himself – among their examiners.[257]

Guizot contended that a teacher who was also a member of one of the Congregations might very well be included on the committees for primary education; such a choice would be

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253 Cited by Ambrose Rendu, 2nd edition of his book, 1845, pg. 139.

254 Decree of April 24, 1832; Minister's letter to the Rector of the Academy of Rouen, June 1, 1832 (Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 40); and Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, Inspector-general Rousselle's letter to Brother Anacletus, June 5, 1832.

255 Gossot, pp. 145-146

256 National Archives, F17 12,455, Superior-general's letter to the Minister of Public Education, July 11, 1833.

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opposed neither to the intentions of the government nor to the letter of the regulations.[258]

But the diploma as it related to Brothers in the lowest classes, those who were called "aspirants" or "assistants", continued to be a problem. The Superior explained their functions, their humble qualifications: a year of novitiate dedicated in large part to developing the spirit of the Religious life could not comprise a completely adequate preparation for education. (At the time, "Scholasticates" – which had occupied so much of Brother Agathon's attention – had not yet been re-established.) The student-teacher, then, was trained (according to a custom of long-standing among the Brothers) in the Community in which he was employed. In order to direct and teach the youngest children, he was under the guidance of his Brother Director. He continued to be the object of careful supervision while he bound himself to daily studies. "In this way each of the Institute's houses became a miniature normal school." And while, for a variety of reasons – voluntary humility or invincible timidity, insufficient knowledge but effective dedication, rather extensive experience or a special gift for dealing with beginners or guiding a group of tots – there were Brothers who all their lives had to perform subordinate functions, the posts in question enabled them to fulfill their commitments without detriment to the public good and frequently even with success and to the satisfaction of families.[259] Was the Ministry, by demanding the diploma, going to exclude the teaching of these good servants? Was it right to throw obstacles in the way of a recruitment that was already difficult and preclude a style of formation which had proved efficacious?

The Minister and his staff gave evidence of their good-will. First of all they decided that the "old diplomas" granted prior to 1833 "were completely valid."[260] The Royal Council then examined the more important question: "Must assistant teachers in Communal or private schools be subject to the formalities and conditions that the law imposes upon the teachers themselves?" On this occasion it adopted a tolerant solution: it declared that current legislation applied only to "teachers properly so called, those who maintained a school and who directed an institution of elementary education". It did not, therefore, oblige to procure diplomas or official authorizations "individuals who, as supervisors, aides, monitors, aspirants or assistants" were subject to "the selection and free disposition" of their superior in the hierarchical chain.

"Except" – and at this point the monopoly, the persistent prejudice against giving freedom a chance, was in evidence – "that in virtue of the general rules of discipline and good order which operates in the schools placed under the "University's" supervision, no one may be employed for instructional purposes...by a teacher whether Communal or private, unless the Rector of the Academy has been informed and has either explicitly or tacitly consented."[261] This was more than a claim to supervise national education; it was a foot-in-the-door in the direction of capricious grilling. A hostile Rector might very easily create difficulties and annoyances for a free school.[262] Among the Brothers at this point there was no uneasiness in evidence; they relying upon the words and deeds of Guizot.

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[258] Ibid., Minister's reply, July 25, 1833.

[259] Ibid., Brother Anacletus' letter to the Minister, August 5, 1833.

[260] Decision of July 19, 1833, Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

[261] National Archives, F17 12,455, decision of the Royal Counsel for Public Education, September 3, 1833. Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

[262] See A. Des Cilleuls, pp. 376-377.

On September 16 he had guaranteed the validity of diplomas already issued on the simple presentation of an"Obedience."[263] While the privilege accorded the Institute by Decazes, thanks to the most favorable interpretation of the Decree of 1808, was wiped out once for all, it at least would not admit of a retroactive abrogation. Brother Anacletus conveyed this good news to his Brothers in a Circular dated September 26. "In order to forestall difficulties which may arise with the local authorities", he prescribed the steps that were to be taken when teachers were changed from one Community to another: "every Brother teaching in the upper classes" and subject to legal obligations "will bring his diploma when leaving a school", as well as his certification of character; he shall submit these documents to the mayor in his new residence, and then give them for safe-keeping to his Brother Director for as long as he belongs to the Community. The Directors themselves shall no longer send their personnel file to the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin. Only the Brothers who teach in the lower classes and who should be in possession of a Ministry of Education certificate shall relinquish it into the hands of the Superior-general.[264].

Christian Brothers who taught in the public schools remained employees of the Ministry of Education. Thus, when – on the orders of his Religious superior – he went to occupy a position, he had to be equipped with the Ministerial approval as a prelude to his investiture. A member of the District committee, delegated by the Rector of the Academy, would proceed to the formal installation; and would require of the teacher the oath of fidelity to the king and to the charter.[265]

In this connection, the government tolerated neither exceptions nor reservations. Perhaps it was in view of indulging certain honest scruples that Brother Anacletus hoped that the mere fact of opening a school would take the place of this ceremony with its political overtones. Guizot raised a point-blank objection: "You and your Brothers regard submission to the king of the French as a sacred duty. Such a position excludes the difficulty that you seem to fear.
As regards the oath, the members of your Congregation are function under "the same rule as the other Communal teachers".[266]

Dispensation from military service continued to be one of the advantages granted to teachers, in consideration of their duties in favor of the State. A reply sent by the Minister to the Prefect of the Lot, on October 14, 1834, leaves no doubt in this connection: there it is declared that the Law of March 10, 1818 referred expressly to the students in Higher Normal School and other members of Public Education, including the Brothers of the Christian Schools; the Law of March 21, 1832 did not repeat the names of these various groups; but "it must be read as having the same scope" as its predecessor.[267]

However, the exoneration did not apply to the teachers' assistants, "unless they fulfilled the prescribed conditions", i.e., – presumably according to the context of the decision taken by the Royal Council in 1833 – unless they obtained either the diploma or formal authorization to teach.[268].As for the members of the new private education: they paid the price for their relative

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263 Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

264 Ibid

265 Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans, IR 192, appointment formula of M. Jean-Louis Chatelain, called Brother Odillard, bearing the signatures of Guizot, headmaster of the "University", Ambrose Rendu, Chancellor of the Royal Counsel for Public Education, and of Orfila, Secretary of the same Council (September 30, 1834).

266 National Archives, F17 12,455, Brother Anacletus' letter to the Minister of Public Education, July 11, and the Minister's reply, July 25.

267 National Archives, F 17 12,459.

268 National Archives, F17 12,455 and Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, decision dated September 3, 1833

independence: “They could in no way be confused with Communal teachers”, wrote Minister’s offices to the Rector of the Academy of Pau on November 22, 1833. They did not have a right to the dispensation: “access to this legal privilege is even more categorically refused to them” since the Law of June 28, in so far as it was not available to individual teachers when the monopoly was in force.

This severity, however, was open to discretion: all teachers, private or public, whom the recent educational law had confronted in practice did not have to experience “any disruption in the command of their vocation.”[269] In the case of a Communal teacher who has shifted over to a private school after the examination, dispensation from military service was preserved;[270] the same thing was true as long as this sort of change was not due to the initiative of the individuals concerned; for example, when a Commune reduced the teaching personnel in its schools.[271]

By way of equally advantageous interpretations, the Brothers – normally bound to the educational establishment, of course, in virtue of the Decree of 1808 – were not, regardless of their employment, called to the colors. The adverse legal arrangements of 1833 seemed to have fallen into disuse as affecting an Institute which enjoyed legal recognition. It was not resorted to again, in any worrisome or strict fashion, prior to the Second Empire and Victor Duruy’s famous Circulars.[272]

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This comprehensive study of the law governing elementary instruction now brings us back to the problem of tuition-free education. It is less a question to be considered in its principles, as we have been dealing with it hitherto, than its application to Christian Brothers’ schools. On this point, as on so many others, Brother Anacletus showed that he was a worthy successor of Brother Agathon. By refusing to open a breach in this rampart of popular and Christian education, he not only remained faithful to the Rule of the founder, he played a role in liberating the defenses wherein the future was being unfolded.

His position had been adopted and his plan of action drawn up in the months that followed the vote on Guizot’s legislation. An initial Circular by the Superior-general dealing with remuneration required from families bears the date of September 26, 1833:[273] “We have urgently pleaded with the Gentlemen of the municipal councils not to derogate from the complete tuition-free character of our teaching. Several cities have acceded to our request; we (shall repeat our intercession with the others) in the hope that they will be good enough (to respect) our humble and earnest objections which are as conformed to our Rule as they are profitable to the genuine good of education. If our arguments fail, we would consider ourselves obligated to withdraw our Brothers, so as to place them where they have been so long sought and where they shall have full freedom (to fulfill their vow)...You, know, my very dear Brothers, how our holy Founder had at heart the total tuition-free character of our schools; he considered this point as the foundation and support of our Institute.”

However, it was impossible to ignore the official texts of the laws. In their rigidity they seemed unassailable. Brother Anacletus’ strategy was to consist in making them more flexible

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269 National Archives, F17 12,459.

270 Ibid., Minister’s letter to the Rector of Douai, May 16, 1834.

271 A. Des Cilleuls, pp. 380-383. Ibid., letter of the Minister of Public Education to the President of the Counsel, the Minister of War, May 19, 1834.

272 Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

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and, if he met with an obstacle, to outflank, isolate and envelop the adversary in a web of wise and somewhat subtle argumentation.

The law, "actually", imposed a monthly tuition upon pupils who were not poor. But its value was granted to the teacher, who "was quite at liberty to relinquish his claim to it". What the Brothers were saying was "give it back to the children who had to pay it". Meanwhile, the Brothers would be satisfied with a fixed salary – "an act of generosity" which, it would seem, could earn them nothing but gratitude.

It should be agreed, of course, that the Communes, called upon to determine the amount of the fees, would not haggle. But, in all justice, they would adjust their share of the expenses to the number of indigent pupils. Since, by far and away these were the most numerous,[274] the expense of their education – essentially the city's responsibility – would secure the livelihood, however frugal and inexpensive, of the Religious teachers.

At about the same time, Brother Anacletus developed this position in a report that is preserved in manuscript at the Motherhouse:[275] 1) the "fixed salary" in fact represents the indigents' "monthly tuition", which the City Councils actually pay; it was a real "poor tax", as the sponsor of the law defined it.

Payments made by the "rich" belonged to the teacher as a supplementary salary, which could not, as a consequence, be appropriated by the cities. If there were those who sought restitution here on the pretext that respecting a fixed salary, the payments exceeded the legal minimum (so niggardly) established by the legislature, the reply has to be: because your income allows you this generosity and because it is enough for teachers bent upon refusing monthly tuition that fees be so fixed. In any case, this was the opinion of the Royal Council for Public Education.

The second Circular on November 11, 1833, entitled Concerning the Tuition-free Education Prescribed by the Order's Rule and its Relation with the Law of June 28 , was equally unequivocal.

"The Brothers", we are told, "must have absolutely nothing to do with the acceptance" of schools fees: "they shall not have the slightest share, whether direct or indirect" in fee collection. Even in its mitigated form (to which the Supervisors in Boulogne in the 18th century wished to have recourse) the essential character of the schools in our Institute, namely totally tuition-free, as it existed from the beginning and as we hope to transmit the sacred deposit to our successors, would be profoundly violated."

The Superior's prose, inspired by the memory of De La Salle and by the most solemn writings of the Congregation and the Popes, quivered with emotion. The harassment and the grilling to which families suspected of any financial sufficiency were subjected goaded him to indignant comment. "No, such a scandal should never have happened ... in the one-hundred-and-fifty years that we have been teaching, our pupils have never owed us money; our current pupils do not owe us any; and those whom we shall have later shall never owe us any either. We teach them for God and for the State, and not for ourselves. From them we ask docility and virtue, but not money. They are our children and they are not indebted to us."

The officials of some cities threatened to withhold subsidies, the income the Brothers received through public goodwill. But the Brothers would not yield to intimidation: "We ask only for what is strictly necessary." If sometimes you do not receive it, wrote the Superior to his troops, "let your frugality, your patience and your love of mortification, poverty and

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[274] In a report mentioned later on, the Superior-general gives examples: out of 1,400 pupils in a large city, only 200 were declared to be in a position to pay tuition; elsewhere the figure dropped to 60 out of 2,000.

[275] File BEb6, dateless; the document is signed by Brother Anacletus.

suffering" supply for all the cut-backs. "In this way...you shall purchase the happiness of not withdrawing" from cities "where you are loved by your pupils, blessed by parents and esteemed by everybody".

These were the sacrifices to which, following the example of the Founder, the Brothers agreed in order to serve children without the shadow of a selfish thought or a divided concern. If they were ineffective, if City Councils stuck stubbornly to the idea of collecting tuition, "if the explicit and urgent letter of our Rule, if the holiness of our vow, if our supplications and prayers" and our offers of conciliation fail to touch hearts, "then, and only then, would we withdraw".

It was also important not to offend against moderation and common sense. Brother Anacletus made a distinction between taxes imposed by the civil authority and gifts given spontaneously to those who operated the schools. The latter, in many places, were supported by means of public subscription, and it might very well have been the case that the parents of pupils contributed their pittance. Quite correctly, one would have incurred ridicule in claiming "that the moment that the father of a family sent his son" to a Brothers' school he could not take part in a charitable activity or that he would be obliged to deny his son a Christian education, because he participated in a public subscription.[276]

The Institute did not deserve, as a consequence, the rather bitter criticism leveled at it by M. Lorain in his book in 1837. He charged "unreasonable obstinacy" and a refusal "to the arrangements devised by the Communes" which had undertaken themselves to collect family contributions or else reserve the education of the poor exclusively for those who practiced tuition-free education.[277]

Lorain did not shrink from the conclusion that a rigorous application of the law would remove the inflexible Congregation from all Communal schools. Most of the cities backed away from this extreme solution. Religious teachers were needed; as soon as sectarianism died down, an effort would be made to seek out a *modus vivendi*. This did not occur without a great deal of discussion. "We have always had to struggle...(the Superior-general wrote to his Assistant, Brother Abdon[278]Letter of January 10, 1834; (at the time Brother Abdon was in Italy)..Up to now we have been victorious. Quimper...gave up the monthly tuition for us, Meaux also has just knuckled under. Charleville and Chartres have been tougher...The latter has reduced the fixed salary to the legal minimum. I impressed upon the mayor just how inconvenient such a salary scale is."

In Dole the local authorities asked whether the Brothers would agree "to participate in the progress"(?), sought by the legislature. They specified first of all that, in order to retain the direction of the primary school, the Community would have to submit to the painful indignity of having to charge tuition. But its dynamic Director, Brother Germain, refused to be treated in this way. His objections did not go unheard; and so, Dole, following Quimper's example,

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[276] *Messagero delle Scuola cristiane* for October-December, 1931, pp. 130-131; and Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 313. However, in this domain the Superior wished to move with caution. In Belgium the members of the "Association for the Christian schools founded in Nivelles" had thought up the idea of family collections. Brother Anacletus informed them that such offerings "were inconsistent with tuition-free education" as it had been regularly understood in the Institute. "Indeed, it inevitably happens that some persons whose children attend the Brothers' schools do not dare refuse to make a contribution for fear of being noticed or for some other reason. Then, such an offering is no longer completely free, since it is not given except in consideration of the instruction that the pupils receive." That is why it was thought fitting to replace household collections by a system of subscriptions deposited with one or several treasurers. (Letter dated January 29, 1838, in Hutin, II, pp. 537-538).

[277] Lorain, op. cit., pg. 83.

[278] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6

returned to tuition-free education.[279] Leroy-Beaulieu, Mayor of Lisieux, persuaded his Counsel to reach an understanding with the Institute:"What an awkward impression it would make on the people if the Brothers were to withdraw and not open a private school! The new obligation of paying a fee in schools which would succeed the Brothers, coinciding with their departure, most of the inhabitants would feel offended by the same blow that costs them money; these would be not only their many supporters who would longingly remember them, but personal interest would effect a reaction in their favor among men who today display indifference and hostility toward them; the worst kind of prejudice is roused against schools pupils are admitted only by paying tuition or with a certificate of indigence."

"If the current teachers, banished from Communal schools, opened a private school, observe what would happen to our "mutual instruction" school. We would not admit pupils to it except by tuition or proof of a lack of funds. The Brothers, on the contrary, would admit, tuition-free and without any humiliating formalities, anybody who applied. Competition would obviously be impossible.In the midst of this struggle elementary education would wither away. In pursuit of a saving eight or nine hundred francs, that we probably would not realize, we should have disjointed what has cost us several years of work."[280]

These reflections were enough for Normans who knew how to count and who had a distaste for fanatical, inept and short-sighted politics. Their neighbors in Rouen, however, were to persist in a rancorous policy,[281]in spite of the government's intercession.

Finally, people in high places began to understand the damage that quarrels over money can cause to education. Thus, the letter written on March 9, 1836 by M. Pelet, one of Guizot's successors, to M. Faucon, President of the Rouen Committee for Christian Schools, seemed quite significant: "As to what has to do with the dissent respecting monthly tuition, I would like to think that all hope for reconciliation had not been lost; and that the difficulties which induced the City Council to reject all subsidization of the Brothers can be ironed out. Your own proposals, as well as those of the Superior-general, are well suited to promote such an outcome.

"Two ways are advocated: one of them consists in excluding the children of well-to-do families from the Brothers' schools. According to the other, the Brothers would suffer a reduction of their fixed salary in proportion to the number of their non-indigent pupils or, in other words, as your Committee puts it, their salary would be lowered to equal the presumed proceeds of the uncollected tuition; thus at the rate of 10 francs a pupil, 150 pupils would mean a sum of 1,500 francs to be levied on the 14,000 francs which constitutes the Communal subsidy."

"The first way is unacceptable: it would tend to restrict the exercise of a father's right, a right he should protect, to choose his son's teacher. Besides, from the social point of view, it has the serious drawback of segregating, at a very young age, poor children from their peers in the class favored by fortune. But nothing appears to me to oppose the adoption of the other system: if cuts the already very small income of the Brothers, there is reason to believe that the citizens' generosity, inspired by goodwill toward their schools, will make up for the deficit.[282]

An enlightened opinion had therefore been won over to Brother Anacletus' position. In spite of many a presumption, the segregation of the social classes and, as Leroy-Beaulieu noted, the "humiliation" inflicted upon workers and minor craftsmen by "the certificate of indigence"

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[279] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for April, 1927, pg. 114.

[280] *Messagero,* for October-December 1931, pp. 131-132.

[281] See above, chap. i

[282] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

would have proved detrimental to peace among citizens.

This fortunate development, to which the Brothers had contributed so effectively, was concluded nearly everywhere during the first ten years of the "July Monarchy". St. Omer, long refractory, dispensed all families from the school tax prior to 1810.[283] And on September 19 of the same year, to a question posed by the Mayor of Chartres, his colleague in Orleans replied: "In fact, all pupils are admitted tuition-free to the Brother's school, since the monthly tuition of non-indigent pupils, certified to belong to the teachers and deducted every quarter from their salary, is personally surrendered by them to the parents. In this situation, the administration, in order to reconcile as far as possible the Brother's Rule and their interests with the execution of the law has fictionally restricted to twelve the number of non-indigent pupils whose unreceived tuition is deducted from the salary."[284]

The rigidity of legal arrangements forced the adoption of these circuitous routes. By way of a "fiction" which deceived no one the middle-class principle of the pay school remained intact. Brother Anacletus did not have to contemplate more and greater sacrifices; like John Baptist de La Salle and his early disciples, the Communities might have had to live on "bread alone" in order remain faithful to the Rule. King Louis Philippe's contemporaries were not heartless; they were decent people, if not, on the whole, capacious minds; they were also friends of peace, order and morality, who, even when they were being generous, paid attention to business. They believed they had an interest in reducing Communal expenses by requiring school tuition. Concern for their finances went hand-in-hand with their innate mistrust of the idea of picking a quarrel with the Brothers. Upon reflection, they saw that, in order to educate the people and spare themselves their fury, the cooperation of Christians indifferent to the goods of this world tendered nothing but blessings: – reliable cooperation, untiring and not very expensive. They accepted it, some of them with ill grace, but many of them with an eagerness that daily grew more pronounced. The Brothers – each of them anticipated it – exulted modestly. By defending their rights, they asked for nothing more than what was coming to them; and by preserving tuition-free education, they were working for the diffusion of schools.[285] The basically important problem of tuition-free education arose not only in France; Turin levied an annual school tax of three lira, called "minervale". At first the city refused the Brothers permission to abolish the tax. But by insisting the Brothers obtained a favorable decision in 1835.

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For the common good to locate the basis of an agreement with the civil authority and the heads of the educational establishment continued to be one of Brother Anacletus' principles. At the beginning of the "July Monarchy" an irreparable rupture was something to be feared: most frequently the Institute's supporters were counted among the Revolution's adversaries and victims. Many of the cities which had cut off funds to Christian Brothers' schools had done so out of political hostility for "Legitimists" and "Carlists" who were considered as the "Ignorantins'" natural allies. And after decisions which had involved the closing of several schools and the wholesale departure of the Brothers, the opening of private schools across the way from the official institutions seemed a form of retaliation on the part of the opposition, an honorable response to the challenge put to it by current conqueror. Here and there "powerful families" assumed an important role in the movement. Exhortations by the clergy quickly united the rich and the poor, "the widow's mite" and the large sum. There was a civil war

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283 Bled, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Saint-Omer*, 1906, pg. 91.

284 Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans IR 20.

285 (*Rivista Lasalliana*, for September 1937, pg. 102.)

mentality that was dangerous for children, painful for teachers and fueled with the possibility of compromising all social and educational progress.

And the Superior-general wanted to escape from it. His stance regarding the mandatory diplomas, his negotiations on the question of tuition-free education did not, as we have seen, assume the posture of obstinate resistance. He believed that if his Congregation was going to continue in the tradition of the Founder and preserve itself in the service of the people, it had to avoid factions. Fearlessly he exercised his freedom, provided that this did not mean dragging one's feet needlessly on the periphery of society.

His Circular on December 17, 1833 testifies to a very definite determination: private acts of charity and free foundations were gratefully accepted; such initiatives had saved the life of prominent schools and gave evidence of the allegiance of Catholics to their faith and to their sons' educators. It was pertinent, however, to look upon "subscriptions as precarious and impermanent resources"; the goal toward which one must "always strive" was to attain the reintegration of the Brothers' schools with the Communal schools. When, in a city, it was thought that moment had arrived, the Brothers were ordered not to allow it to slip by.

"Meanwhile", the Superior "suggested" that Directors of Communities "behave toward officials is such a way as to deserve their respect and goodwill and to win them over" after past misunderstandings and persecutions. There should be no lingering over obstacles. Relations should be inspired by respect and civility. There should be no rancorous language, even if there are reasons for grievance. "This sort of restraint", in total conformity with the Gospel "will serve to bring minds and hearts together."[286]

A lot of suspicions remained, which had been spread abroad by calumny and which indulged the tastes of the times for "shady stories", the so-called "secrets of the Congregations." The readers of Eugene Süe could imagine them greedily among the Brothers as well as among the Jesuits. And we observe the same state of mind – a sort of crude romanticism – in a cautious and intelligent intellectual like Lorain, who ventures to write: "We do not know enough about the innermost structure of this (association), the top-most hand that guides it, or its involvements with ecclesiastical and, perhaps, papal authority, to provide the information in this connection that curiosity demands...We believe that the secret has been so well-guarded that up to now we have been reduced to conjecture."

But immediately he "pays tribute to the skill of the Superior and to the docility of his disciples". While "the wrapping" seemed to him to have been "guileless and crude", he was not unaware that concealed a great deal of common sense, "competence and fortitude."[287] Since the "tree's fruit" was good, the observer must not ignore the "roots".

This is why he tries to depict – in somewhat patronizing strokes, but at the same time with obvious understanding – the exterior appearance and the moral physiognomy of this individual 'who perplexed people of the world:

"On the street there is a man whose grotesque dress sometimes provokes a joke on the part of some ill-informed passer-by"; the man does not reply, but allows the gibe "to glance off his homespun mantle". We see him "in the morning, Rosary in hand, conducting the children he teaches to church, so that they might learn to begin the day with a holy action"; "in the classroom where he teaches and outside of the classroom, when he prepares his lessons, he retreats totally behind his duty...That is the life of an Ignorantine Brother: the world's dissipations, the pleasures of family life, solicitude for the future and the vain appetite for fame are no concerns of his. His (Superior) sends him, he goes; an "Obedience" recalls him, he is

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[286] Lorain, op. cit., pg. 79.

[287] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6 Lorain, op. cit., pg. 77.

ready. He fulfills his task with the same zeal as if he were working for prestige or for fortune; and, yet, he doesn't so much a lay a hand on the school's income; and how can the most splendid success have an influence upon a man who has surrendered his name? Obviously, Brother Anthime and Brother Amphilocus do not pursue prestige, and never were the humblest of vows more religiously observed. And a novice[288] who presided over the household chores, alongside his two companions, in the Alps or in the Pyrenees, and the Superior in Paris who manipulated the strings of the structure and gave orders to an organized militia throughout France wore a mantle of the same material, the same felt hat and called one another "My Brother."[289].

The passage, in the mood of its period, seems to be an imitation of *The Genius of Christianity*. If the author had taken the trouble to read the "Common Rule" and the "Rule of Government", he would not have spoken of "secrets" concealed with jealous precautions; he would have set forth more simply, if not more eloquently, the supernatural motives that dictated the Brothers' activity; and he would have sketched a more sparing portrait of a Religious educator, the heir of a balanced judgment and an orthodox intelligence. His over-wrought description, however, is valuable as testimony coming from intellectual circles and as the effort of a trustworthy inquirer who has extricated himself from habits and assumptions in order to understand an alien people, an unexplored land.

On February 15, 1834 a more important voice – the voice of a poet and a statesman – was raised in the Chamber of Deputies in favor of the Brothers. At this time there were still to be met with Jacobins who clamored for persecution. Larmartine undertook to convey to them the contempt of a lofty conscience in the following words:

"While there is a public cry demanding the growth of education for the working class, while everywhere and under all shades of opinion...there is agreement on the single necessity of popular instruction...what are we being asked to do? To throw out of the country men whose sole desire is to dedicate themselves to the spread of the morality of the Gospels, men who ask nothing more than to sacrifice themselves freely, or for a reward that is not of this world, to the education of the poor! What is the meaning of this appeal? Gentlemen, if the Vitre' petitioners had visited those countries that we call "barbarous", if they had been in Turkey, they would have seen that tyranny at least is not as outrageous as they are."

Thus, on the powerful wings of rhetoric the orator soars above paltry disputes. He himself scarcely knew the Brothers of the Christian Schools;[290] and at the time his thought and his ambition turned him away from the Church. But, lacking a profound and orthodox faith, in his love for ordinary people, his vision of a free and generous humanity, in his splendid enthusiasm

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[288] Lorain's term for a "working Brother" who, sometimes, did not renew his vows and was known in the Institute as "a working novice".

[289] Lorain, pp. 80-81

[290] In a letter dated from Monceau on October 30, 1837 Lamartine agreed to intervene once again on behalf of the Christian Brothers. His language signals something of a bias: "You need only send me a frank and clear report on the question of the Brothers", he wrote to his friend, Count Virieu. "I shall see about what has to do with the government and the address to the Chamber,...on one condition – namely that they ask for only what we owe one another mutually when it comes to religious and civic education, i.e., freedom and nothing but freedom, the human form of divine toleration. If, like the junior seminaries and the processors of home-grown sugar they seek not only freedom to teach and to bring people up according to their ideas, but also real and extraordinary privileges, such as that equality (without which freedom is only an empty word) be effectually transgressed, I won't have anything to do with it. I want absolute intellectual freedom and equality both for and against me. I do not wish to see somebody's thought put in the place of the unknown thought of God...Ecce dixi. Stabbing through this pompous language we get an echo of the future author of Girondins. On March 10, 1837, however, he added that he "would look after" Virieu's petition in favor of the Brothers. But he didn't think that it had a legal basis.

and his righteous indignation that withered the moral pygmies of a Breton village, he drew upon an innate sense of chivalry.

Surely, it was with Guizot that "Religious associations dedicated to elementary education" met with the most dependable backing. In his memoirs the former Minister is not stretching the truth when he says: "Not only did I support them (in the discharge of their mission), but I came to their assistance when they needed it, considering them as the most honorable collaborators and the (soundest) aides that the civil authority could find in its efforts to educate the people. And I owe it to them to say that, in spite of the skittish sensitivity that these Religious Congregations naturally experienced with a new government and a Protestant Minister, they quickly gained confidence in the earnest sincerity of the goodwill I showed them and worked with me in the best possible relations."[291].

As one of the proofs of his friendliness François Guizot recalls his gesture in 1833 when, at the very time the Chambers were debating the school law, he chose to offer Brother Anacletus "the cross of Knight of the Legion of Honor". He wished in this way "to indicate clearly the spirit" of his work and show the public "the respect" that he harbored for "the chief" of the teaching Institutes. The incident has occupied a special place in the annals of the Christian Brothers; and it created a precedent and a tradition which the events of 1870 alone were able totally to alter, prior to the very different ideas and procedures of the present century.

On June 6, the Headmaster of the educational system sent M. Delebecque, First Inspector, to ask the Superior-general "whether the Congregation's Rules allowed" him to accept the distinction. There were mellow emotions and some scruples in the house in the Faubourg St. Martin. The next day Brother Anacletus replied that he was "filled with gratitude and more and more persuaded of the kindness with which the government deigned to honor" De La Salle's disciples. "Our holy Founder", he continued, "has placed nothing in our Rule which would formally forbid us to accept" such an offer; "he was unable to foresee" that one day his humble sons would be in a position to receive "such a flattering proposal". But, "consulting the spirit" of his directions, "all of which tend to inspire us with withdrawal from the world and the renunciation of honors, we believe that we must...ask you to accept our excuses and our gratitude along with our refusal."[292]

A medal, however legitimate, the timely reply to criticism and contempt, would violate Religious humility in a time still quite close, in spite of the Revolution, to primitive fervor and to the voluntary "abjection" sought by the Founder. But if what was looked for was the perpetuation of the Brothers and the success of their recruitment, there was no reason to elude encouragement and commendation, especially when these were accompanied by quite ample liberalities. Louis XVIII's and Charles X's Ministers provided the Institute with frequent subsidies. Exclusively for the support of the Superior-general and his immediate staff Mr. Corbiere, as early as 1822, gave 6,200 francs. Maintained at that figure in 1823 and 1824, during the two following years it was raised to 8,400 francs, went to 10,000 in 1827 and then dropped back to an intermediate sum; and to it were added, as we have seen, generous gifts by the royal family.

The exile of the Bourbons deprived Brother Anacletus of this second source of income. Would it also dry up the first? The regular subsidy had been received at the Holy Child Jesus House on March 22, 1830. In 1831 the Brothers took a chance on an appeal to Count Montalivet, who insisted on the verification of the Institute's overall receipts and expenditures. The outcome seems to have been disappointing: we find not a trace of payments for the fiscal year 1831-1832. Guizot assumed the responsibility of restoring the alliance; and from then on,

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[291] Memoires, Guizot, Vol. III, pg. 79

[292] Guizot, op. cit., pp. 79-80. *Essai historique sur la Maison-Mère*, pp. 188-189. Ravelet, Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, 1933 edition, pp. 450-451. – Ravelet, *Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, 1933 edition*, pp. 450-451.

beginning with April 25, 1833 the payment of 8,400 francs was transacted over the last six years of the concurrent generalate. In 1837 a supplement was added for the benefit of Congregation's novitiates.[293]

Besides these funds disbursed to the Motherhouse, sporadic assistance was supplied to a number of schools. It was already in evidence in 1832: the Minister of Public Education had granted 3,180 francs to the schools in the 1st, 4th, 5th, 8th and 9th Districts in Paris, plus 800 francs which represented the room-and-board for two novices.[294] Most frequently it was a question of promoting the purchase of books or "other objects necessary for teaching". This was the reason for the subsidies in Paris; and it was also why Guizot sent 400 francs to the Brothers in Lisieux during 1833.[295] He was especially interested in that city, which continued to be his legislative fiefdom before it became the region to which he retired during his protracted old age. But he did not forget the needs of other provinces: the Community in La Fleche owed him, after a gift of 3,000 francs, its return to grace in the eyes of the local gentry: the City Counsel was given the task of supervising the employment of the Ministerial generosity; the Deputy-prefect came, along with the Bishop of Mans, to preside over the ceremony which concluded classes in 1834; the Inspector of the Academy of Angers, three months later, stated that the youths in the Christian school in La Fleche were among the best taught pupils in his constituency. And the cities in the neighborhood, beginning in 1837, would get busy and increase with their financial contributions the assistance that the tiny city of Mans guarantee the Brothers.[296].In the South we have pointed out the effective intervention of Inspector-general Matter in favor of the school in Toulouse. The Headmaster of the educational establishment, "taking into consideration the zeal" of Brother Apollinaris and his associates gave them 800 francs in August of 1833.[297]

The assistance was not reserved exclusively for Communal schools; it turned out that private schools received their share of it. In Beauvais, sectaries had ejected the Religious personnel; but a new school arose out of Catholic enterprize; and endorse it, since he contributed thousands of francs to it.[298].

He denounced – and he repressed to the extent of his authority – harassment on the part of local administrators. He showed concern for the Brothers in Rheims who were constantly exposed to the hostility of their City Counsel. In August of 1834 the Brothers had been notified forthwith to leave the former Carmelite monastery in which Mayor Tronsson-Leconte had set them up in 1806. An effort was undertaken from Paris to delay this eviction: it would be "desirable" for the City to maintain the Community where it is. At least, let the City Council provide a stay until the next meeting! Was it necessary "to remind" the Counsel "of the important services the Brothers had rendered, and that they continue to render, to public education"?

The people in Rheims decided that the building had to be made available on June 24, 1835. The Brothers would have to choose between a rental compensation or their removal to the Chanvrerie which was a dead-end street. The compensation did not solve the problem of a residence; but the suggested dwelling, its size and condition – even in the view of the city architect – made its use something less than serviceable. The Director, Brother Fleury, foresaw

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293 Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6

294 Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6. Inspector-general Rousselle's letter to Brother Anacletus, July 18, 1832.

295 *Historique de la maison de Lisieux.*

296 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1926, pg. 302

297 Lémandus, pg. 525.

298 Thureau-Dangin, II, pg. 341

"the sad necessity" for the Brothers of abandoning their Founder's birthplace.

Once more Guizot came to their rescue. On April 25, 1835 he summoned the Mayor "to conclude the distressing struggle" by assigning the Brothers a suitable residence. On June 22 the counsellors voted in favor of the purchase of the former Visitation monastery on Rue Jard. They planned, however, to allow to live there only the Brothers retained to teach in the Communal schools, to the exclusion of those supported by the charitable Association. This would have broken up the unity of the members of the Congregation; and the Minister objected that "they all" continued to be quite useful in Rheims, "since all of them contributed to the education of poor children". Thus bolstered, the new Director, Brother Isidore, held out and successfully opposed sharing the possession of the facility among his Community, the teachers in a mutual school and a kindergarten.[299]

This government leverage was also employed at St. Denis where the Mayor forbad admission to the Brothers' school for a number of children whom he wish to steer in the direction of a "Lancastrian" education. The Minister informed him that "free competition must exist between the various schools; and families do unquestionably have the right to select their sons' teachers." There was no doubt but what available places in the Brothers' schools belong primarily to the poor; but once all of the poor that local authorities have designated to the Director have been admitted, then nothing prevents him from responding positively to the well-to-do portion of the population. A "limitation" on the number of pupils could be justified only if too great a throng were to jeopardize order or health.[300].

The Brothers considered themselves amply vindicated. The Superior-general wrote to Guizot that same year of 1833: "For as long as we shall live we shall persevere in our recollection of, and in our gratitude for, your inestimable goodness; and we shall publish aloud, as we have been doing every day," the signs of concern and the gestures of efficacious friendliness that the king's government has shown us. The following year an assembly of the leading Brothers officially renewed the demonstration of total and thoroughly justified gratitude.[301]

Most of the Congregations founded for the education of boys benefitted from a liberal security when they placed themselves at the service of the people, practiced an exact fidelity to established authority, and obeyed governmental directives. A document dating from 1834[302] draws up a list of those Congregations which were thought to have been provided with all the necessary authorizations; at the time there were eight of them: the Association of the Brothers of the Faubourg San Antoine, the Society of the Brothers of Mary, founded by Father Chaminade in Bordeaux and combined with the Congregation of Christian Doctrine of Strasbourg;[303] the Brothers of Christian Instruction, of Ploërmel, and the Brothers of the same name in the diocese of Valence, the Brothers of the Holy Spirit, at St. Lawrence-sur-Sèvre, the Brothers of St. Joseph of the Holy Cross, in the diocese of Vivier. The list concludes with the "Institute of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine of St. Yon", which was none other than the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle.

Overall, the importance and the extent of the first seven groups named do not seem to have been very significant. By themselves the Brothers trained (exclusively, however, for Brittany) by Jean Lamennais, 375 in number, taught 16,290 pupils in 114 Communal and 53 private schools. The Brothers of Mary controlled 70 teachers, 15 educational institutions and taught

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299 Arnould, pp. 284-297 and 304-315. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1907, pg. 12.

300 National Archives, F17, 12,455, letter of the Minister of Public Education to the Mayor of St. Denis, June 17, 1833

301 Thureau-Dangin, II, pg. 341.

302 National Archives, F17 12,452.

303 See A Garnier, *L'Eglise et l'Education du peuple*, Paris, 1933, pg. 66

3,500 pupils. Gabriel Deshayes spread 56 Brothers over 18 Communal and 19 private schools in the Lower Loire, Maine-and-Loire, the Vendée, the Deux Sèvres and Vienne. The number of young peasants and townspeople in the West influenced by these schools came to about 3,000.

Four of the other Societies were narrowly localized; 14 Brothers in Drôme, the Upper Alps and the Isère, in a total of 7 schools and 570 pupils in all; 47 in the Sarthe and the Mayenne with 27 schools and 2,226 pupils; 10 Brothers in the Ardeche, five private schools and 430 boys in the classrooms. The Parisian Brothers of the Faubourg St. Antoine, in spite of their former favor with the Ministry of Education pursued a rather scanty existence, their action still imbued with a certain Jansenist tradition, with 10 tutors who took no vows and who taught the rudiments to 640 pupils in 6 primary schools.[304] The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, "authorized for all of France and recognized by the imperial decree of March 17, 1808" retained the preeminent, the peerless, position, among all these Congregations which had adopted it for their model, was generally inspired by it Rule and its methods and tended only to fill in for it by making adaptations to special circumstances and regional necessities. At this time it possessed "ten novitiates that were training 374 novices"; it had spread its Communities "into nearly every Department and into Bourbon Island". Besides the 316 Communal schools which continued to be entrusted to it, it had opened private schools and had started up classes for adults; the official document sets as a whole, 130 as the total of these institutions through which the initiatives of benefactors and the zeal of the teachers extended Catholic influence and raised popular education to a new level: 1,683 Religious "of St. Yon" constituted the battalion of "teaching Brothers", exclusive of the corps of superiors and auxiliaries for "temporal" tasks. They assumed charge, before God and the nation, of 119,500 young Frenchmen of school age and even of adolescents and mature men who sought either introductory or supplementary education.

The university establishment definitely accepted the collaboration of these volunteers levied by the Church. It did not get involved with their "special rules" nor with their "internal discipline". Let them live as they pleased, administer their property and, in their own houses, form ranks in dependance upon a canonically constituted hierarchy! In the eyes of the civil authority there were neither privileges nor *diminutio capitis* in what concerned the Brothers: there was just the simple "common right", diploma of competency, and certificate of morality, required of lay-teachers, and, if members of Congregations were selected for Communal schools, there was the "obligatory oath" for "ministerial schools". By submitting to the law, the Brothers were assured the freedom of teaching their faith, took advantage of the support of a political regime which acknowledged Catholicism as "the religion of the majority" of citizens and, without itself professing an orthodox faith, introduced dogma and the decalogue as features of the social order.

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And justice was about to done to the educational system advocated and fine tuned by John Baptist de La Salle and dynamically supported by Brother Gerbaud. In the days when Victor Cousins held inquiries in the Low Countries, the *missus dominicus* of the French educational

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[304] See A Garnier, *L'Eglise et l'Education du peuple*, Paris, 1933, pg. 66 Another document in the same file mentions the Brothers of St. Joseph, founded for the rural Communes of the Somme, and the Brothers of the Cross in the Departments of the Oise, the Eure, the Seine-and-Oise, the Eure-and-Loir and of the Seine-and-Marne. The Brothers of Christian Doctrine of Nancy, authorized by an ordinance of July 17, 1822, stopped teaching after 1830. No mention is made either of the Clerics of St. Viator, founded in Vourles (Rhône) by Father Guerbes in 1829, nor of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart founded by Father Coindre and approved in 1825, nor of the Brothers of the Holy Family founded by Gabriel Taborin, nor of the Brothers of the Cross of Jesus who traced their origin to Father Bochard. (See Guibert, Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle, pp. 665-669).

establishment had exchanged views on the subject of education with the most qualified Dutch educators and conversed with them on the role played in France for a century and a half by the disciples of the inspired Canon of Rheims. He wrote: "He was rather curious to hear in Amsterdam four parties to a conversation, a Catholic, a Protestant, a Quaker and a philosopher (the latter term referred to himself) agreed in praising these poor Brothers who, quietly, do so much good and whom a new sort of extremism attempts vainly to tarnish under the name of "Ignorantins Brothers".

Well-informed persons had long since recovered from the infatuation that had at one time been aroused by Bell and Lancaster. The conversation between Cousin and the chief organizer of public education in Holland, Inspector-general Van den Ende, sounded an important warning: "What do you make of "mutual teaching", King William's Counsellor asked. Do you expect it to educate people? For the various kinds of knowledge that we instill into minds are only means; their entire value rests with the end. And "mutual teaching" does very well when it dispenses a certain kind of instruction, but as education it is clearly ineffective.

Cousin immediately agreed with this position: "I regard simultaneous teaching – for the want of individual teaching, which is impracticable – as the only method suited to the education of a moral being." "Sporadic" motives were sufficient to explain the popularity which "Lancastrian schools" enjoyed in France after 1815: the opposition of the liberal party to the Clergy, the appearance of democratic self-government because of functions vested in the monitors, the display of a totally military order produced by the mechanism of the drills, and the economy of space, teachers and, as a consequence, finances.[305] Those who were hostile to religion knew that Christianity would suffer as the result of that system; a twelve year old youngster might very well get his classmates to recite their catechism, but he couldn't touch their souls. Thus, there would be nothing more than "answers" devoid of content and phony prayers and "signs of the cross". The teacher, even with the best of intentions, presides only from a very great distance; over all, he does not develop disciples; rather, for most of his pupils, he remains a mere supervisor.[306]

These evaluations weighed heavily upon the future of the "mutual method". Indeed apart from the religious question, the defects of this educational theory became evident on the level of learning: from such a rapid, rough and superficial instruction it was impossible to expect the genuine nourishment of the mind any more than the formation of conscience. Assuming that Cousin's "eclecticism" might be accommodated – for the people – with a rather vague Catholicism (a thesis which he denied he supported), the principle posed by the Protestant Van den Ende retained its force with respect to practical knowledge and technology nearly as much as it did for the problem of moral formation. Politicians and sectaries had finally lost their vote in this matter; regardless of the "liberal" biases of the period and the July Monarchy's initial suspicions of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a single truth prevailed: De La Salle stood out as the great inaugurator of the most rational form of instruction; with growing urgency the the educational establishment, following its upper-level bureaucrats and its best experts recommended to its personnel in the primary schools the methods set forth in the Conduct.

In 1830, because of their connections, the Lancastrians thought that they would prevail. The "Society for the Support and Advancement of Elementary Education" was revived; and its leader, Gerando, on March 30 of the following year sent a Circular to the Prefects, in which he spoke like a man certain of a favorable reception. He proposed "to award, as previously,

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[305] Victor Cousin, *de L'Instruction publique en Hollande,* Paris, 1837, pp. 68 et sq. Cited by Chevalier, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

[306] Here we are commenting upon Cousin's text, but without going beyond his argument.

medals and honorable mentions to teachers who distinguished themselves by their zeal". These rewards were to be distributed formally in an assembly. And he asked the administration to participate in the advertising and the transmission of information "concerning the merits, the efforts and the favorable results of Directors of mutual schools".[307]

Many of the cities fell into step, happy to place their educational policies at the service of "leftist" tendencies. They voted funds for the development of the "English" system.[308] And, as we have seen, their announced preferences had as its necessary complement the reduction or the elimination of the salaries up to then expended on the Brothers, the closing of many classes or the complete abandonment of Christian schools.[309]

To avoid the worst, to manifest good will and to deprive the local authorities of every specious pretext, it was important for the Brothers to make certain concessions. In particular, mutual instruction offered undeniable advantages and opportunities that were compatible with the quite specific role of the teacher. Simultaneous teaching should, then, adopt, without abandoning its own principles, a given procedure which would constitute a small improvement. In 1831 Brother Anacletus stated: "I have noted that since the lower class (the "beginners"), always includes several sections and since the teacher never has more than one of them reading at a time, there results a loss of time for the children...In order to remedy this situation, I have given orders that reading panels be printed; they are to be arranged around the classroom, as in mutual schools, and pupils are to be assigned to hear the reading lessons of their younger classmates, without prejudice to the instruction to be given by the teacher. There are to be the same arrangements for arithmetic: several blackboards are to be placed in the upper classroom and each group (of pupils) will perform at its board; in this way no one will be idle."[310]

Why, indeed, should the Christian Brothers, badgered by criticisms and directives, not demonstrate that they were able to comply (at least temporarily) with the rules of the game? They readily realized the points at which the Lancastrian method met their own pedagogy and the cooperation that must be expected from the most intelligent and best disciplined pupils. Some of them, then, under directives from the Superior-general, were to be introduced into the scarcely complicated alchemy of the celebrated "system"; and they were to select from it whatever fruit their earnest efforts and their experience as good gardeners would enable them to ripen on this tree: – without refusing, for all that, to increase their traditional and most vigorous institutions.

At a time when excessive inflexibility might snap the bonds which tied the Institute to the city of Paris, Brother Anacletus wrote the Secretary-general of almshouses, responsible for "charity schools": "In accordance with the wishes of (your) administration and those of the Prefect, I shall take steps so that...the Brothers may be in a position to teach in the "mutual manner", in the places in which you have made thorough preparations to this end. The manoeuvre is all the easier for me in that one of our Brothers has used the method before entering our Institute.

The Superior, however, did not disguise "the extreme aversion" that his Congregation felt

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307 Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 220, printed copy of the Circular.

308 Register of the Decisions of the Orleans City Counsel, meeting for January 19, 1831: together with the Prefect, M. Riccé, the Mayor obtained for the Elementary Normal School (Directed by a Lancastrian) an allocation of 1,200 francs, which would facilitate the founding of two "half-scholarships" for students and also the admission tuition-free a larger number of children to the classrooms of the mutual elementary school.

309 See above, pp. 31-34.

310 Cited by Ambrose Rendu, 1845 edition, pg. 217.

with regard to this innovation. He claimed that he was far from expecting a satisfactory outcome. He was undertaking an experiment: if the Brothers should not succeed to "the extent of their wishes", if the children so taught "come out consistently lower in examinations" than their classmates in the other schools, the authorities will of course decide that the test has been conclusive and will allow an unconditional return to the simultaneous method.[311]

At the normal school in Rouen, directed by Brother Calixtus, student-teachers were to take courses in Lancastrian pedagogy along with studies in Lasallian pedagogy; these were courses in theory followed by practice sessions in the city's schools.[312] It goes without saying that the future teachers who received this double initiation were able to compare one method with the other and, in case of need, provide schools set up "in the English manner" a teaching personnel capable of mitigating their shortcomings.

The best education would triumph. "A University professor" and an Inspector in the primary schools were to publish a "textbook on simultaneous teaching" for the use of "founders and directors" of schools of pedagogy. They were to emphasize the principles advanced in the 17th century; and they advocated the universal adoption of the system. On this crucial point they were in agreement with their most highly placed leaders. As early as 1835, the Rectors of the Academy had urged many a teacher to abandon the old method of individual teaching whose routines persisted in the nether depths of villages.[313] And in its place was to be substituted that continuous, regular operation, those activities which retain the attention of an entire class, and which save time, effort and words, the model for which had been provided by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In order to make themselves look good, many a teacher had eagerly insisted that he employed no other strategies, while in reality he hardly knew his craft as around him children clustered, lapsed into inattention, yawned and slept like their distant predecessors sketched by Abraham Bosse.[314]

A gulf existed between these curious and pathetic survivals of the pre-Lasallian period and the contemporary order found in the schools of the Institute. The investigators in 1833 observed this, and Lorain has included their testimony among the "supporting documentation" in his book. There was first of all the moral progress so fully achieved and the family spirit which reigned among the children controlled by devotion, goodness and affection: the Brother Director of Aspières, in the Aveyron, was pointed out as being among those men "competent and of sterling qualities", capable of transforming a whole region.[315] But the comments also bore upon the quality of the teaching; and in this connection there was high praise bestowed upon the Institute's teachers in Belley, who had judiciously selected and varied their methods and who employed "excellent principles in the teaching of reading and writing". Lessons in grammatical analysis, arithmetic, geometry, mechanical drawing, architecture, geography and history constituted "a complete program" of essential knowledge.[316].

There was the same work and the same success in Pamiers, where the pupils "drew nearly all the geometry figures with a great deal of skill"; they calculated very well, knew the foundations

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311 Motherhouse Archives, File BEb6, letter of January 3, 1831.

312 Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T 1, 40, Brother Calixtus' letter to Baron Dupont-Delporte, Prefect of the Department, October 17, 1831.

313 *Messagero*, for January-February, 1932, pg. 7.

314 See Ravelet, 1933 edition, pg. 345.

315 Lorain, pg. 321.

316 Ibid., pg. 320

of their grammar and "painted tastefully"; while their geographic maps demonstrated their sure hand and the exactness of their memory."[317]

"Flourishing schools" did credit to the Brothers in Revel (Upper-Caronne), Dinan and St. Etienne. In this latter city, "under an extremely deft and zealous Director, Brother Dugave", the educational "influence" of a "well assembled" teaching staff, learned and endlessly engaged, was in evidence.[318]

Elsewhere, it must be admitted, the praise was not so fulsome; indeed, we meet with some remarks that are downright unflattering. To the Inspector who visited Metz the program of studies seemed too hasty. Calligraphy was carefully cultivated, but geography and drawing were ignored. On the other hand, there were too many prayers, too many "Rosaries"; these pious interruptions in the midst of study displeased the Minister's delegate.

Since he had written so frankly, his impartiality is beyond question in the pages in which he notes progress along the right way in Sedan, Charleville and Rethel.[319].The only really serious criticism had to do with the crowding of pupils.[320]

It cost the Brothers to refuse a child God's word, because they lacked room in which to welcome the applicant, which was the responsibility, after all, that devolved upon city assemblies and upon directors of school projects, who were careless about enlarging or ventilating classrooms and were satisfied with unsafe structures.

As for gaps in the teaching, the use of somewhat dated textbooks, and styles of pronouncing and spelling that smacked of another century, it is important to note the date of these criticisms: Guizot's reforms had not yet been put into effect.

Not only did the Christian Brothers place no obstacles in their way, but their goodwill anticipated the legislator's intentions. Lorain states that "in spite of the conservative spirit which characterized them, they had resigned themselves to introduced" into their educational philosophy important improvements. To this "resignation", which did not appear to be reluctant, Lorain attributes selfish motives: the Brothers were alleged to have quickened the pace under the spur of competition. In that case they at least gave proof of speedy understanding and a remarkable faculty for adaptation. And the professor admits it: he goes so far as to claim, while apologizing for the boldness of the expression, that in the school situation – and within their own intellectual culture – the Brothers had also undergone a sort of "Revolution of 1830."[321]

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On all these points the Brothers' Institute was prepared to provide against the necessities of the hour and to respond to the wishes of the public. And without waiting for the Law of 1833 to

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317 Ibid., pg. 320.

318 Ibid., pg. 321.

319 Ibid

320 One may well be surprised that after these assertions and the passages which voice a genuine affection for the Brothers, Lorain looks to a near future in which "the normal schools will produce more competent teachers than the Brothers". The reasons, however, that he advances are quite subjective. Here the bureaucrat is more obvious than the educator. He was heartened by the idea that normal students in a Departmental institution would tailor "the fruits of their studies" to their fellow-citizens; as "children of the region they would be better known and more secure" than members of a religious order; without compulsion they would submit to the demands of the law; and they would seek to please the municipal magistrates upon whom their fate might depend; they would acknowledge no other leaders than their civil superiors; while at the moment when the Commune believed that it could count on their services, they would not be suddenly recalled by "Obediences".(Op. cit., pg. 85) Lorain is here echoing administrative complaints concerning Brothers' changes, which had been thought to be ill-timed and too frequent.

321 Vicomte Avenel, article cited, pg. 844.

open up a new career for it, it furnished itself with provisions for the road. As early as the beginning of Brother Anacletus' generalate, the education given the Brothers had undergone a reinforcement that had been dictated by greater demands; educational methods had been assiduously studied, compared and made to illuminate one another; the teaching which, from 1803 until the years of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, had been quite elementary and practical resumed – if not everywhere, at least in the most active centers and under the inspiration of enterprising Directors – that scope which had characterized the Christian Brothers' schools in the 18th century. Following Guizot's investigators, we have just glimpsed the fine work accomplished in several Departments – the Ain, the Ariège and the Loire. The City Council of Orleans would presently declare that its primary schools dispensed a kind of knowledge that had been "raised to the secondary level – or very nearly so".[322]

Presently we shall take a look at the measures enacted by the superiors of the Institute, experienced educators whom the Superior-general brought together at the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin. We shall speak further of the role assumed by Brother Calixtus at the normal school in Rouen, of a similar project in Belgium, of the first "Scholasticate" established in Toulouse, of the opening of a "Junior Novitiate" in Paris under the direction of Brother Assistant Philip and, finally, of the resident schools, especially of the one in Béziers, where character and competence were revealed and a complete renewal was heralded.

The "evening classes" – or "schools for adults" – will serve us as a prelude. Previously, there had been the "July Days" which were a quite limited and cautious effort. Brother Gerbaud, sensitive to this problem as early as 1820, had deferred his decision; and Brother Guillaume de Jésus, scarcely more than cool to the idea, feared the strain on the Brothers from these lessons, which, added to the regular school duties, were to be given after nightfall to a motley crowd that occasionally was not above suspicion. However, the example of the Founder calling the illiterate of all age to his "Sunday school" roused the disciples to a commitment of the same kind, even if it meant congesting their schedules and increasing their late hours.

The industrialized cities especially called for this apostolate. Their workers, frequently snapped up in childhood by factories, felt the need of instruction in order to liberate themselves from their wretched condition, to be able to forget it for a few minutes, all else failing, in the excitement of an unpretentious intellectual task. They generated a justifiable pride in rising above stabbing material preoccupations and, after the daily task, in opening a book or in picking up a pen in a calloused hand. Constant application to such activities diverted them away from base pleasures in which they would end up by reducing themselves to the level of slaves. They appeased their violence and their rebellion. Under the guidance of teachers who had no other ambition than to help them, the minds of these young people, of these old "parties" could avail themselves of insights furnished to the mind.

In a Paris which toiled, chided and bustled, the "night schools" were channels of action and centers of learning. The Brothers were aware of it, and, more so perhaps than the senior members of the Institute, this was true of Brother Philippe, who knew the needs of his time and lived constantly in contact with the people; to the common sense of the peasant he joined the virtue and valor of an apostle and the gifts of an educator; charity ignited in his heart the flame of genius.

That is how he shall stand revealed after his election to the generalate. But his coolness and courage, his optimism which relied upon Providence, and his level-headed judgment are already visible in 1830. He had anticipated, we may well believe, social agitation. As Director of the Community of St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields, he had carefully studied the Parisian scene. He knew how volatile was that throng, with its immense enthusiasm, its sudden rages, its generous

[322] Register of Decisions, meeting for September 2, 1834.

impulses and its dramatic reversals. He did not have to wait for the revolution in order to become concerned with exercising a religious and moral influence in lower class neighborhoods. Through his pupils he reached out to parents and to older children in the families.

The organization of the "night school" was begun in St. Nicolas during Brother Philippe's last months, while Charles X was still king. The weeks that followed the monarch's fall would hardly have permitted the launching of a venture; and, by September, the man who designed the program, elected by the General Chapter as Assistant to Brother Anacletus, had gone to the Motherhouse. Without a hitch Brother Arthemius imparted to Philippe's structure its finishing touch. On this issue, especially sensitive in Paris, there was henceforth a center where Christian workers might convene, as well as all those who felt a loathing for violence or for whom the bloodstained and chilling outcome of riot had disappointed.

It was necessary, then, for this successful project to grow and for other resistance groups to take root. This happened in 1831 in the Brothers' schools in the vicinity of St. Roch, in 1832 in the Faubourg St. Antoine, near St. Marguerite's church and thereafter in the less distressed neighborhood of St. Philip's. On the whole, during these critical years, thousands of young people and adults attended the Brothers' institutions. Every evening until 10:30 the Brothers took upon themselves the added tasks of teaching these students (less adaptable although less giddy than children) reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, drawing, singing and music, indeed French composition and the keeping of commercial books.

Some of the mutual schools made attempts along the same lines, but for the lack of enough competent and dedicated teachers they did not sustain their efforts. To members of Religious Congregations went the merit of having promoted education among the common people in Paris, sewn the seed of religious faith and of sound ideas in the work places, small workshops, factories and dwelling places. Brother Assistant Calixtus maintained that the "evening schools" "strengthened Louis-Philippe's throne". In fact, the July Monarchy could have only congratulated itself on this sort of meetings. Ministers, we are told, slipped into them *incognito*; they admired the program, the careful portioning out of work and the silence with which the audience followed the lessons.[323]

Guizot was keening interested in this educational work which suited his political and social positions. The enterprise, he wrote to the Superior-general on February 28, 1833, has already produced good results, since 790 workers were at that moment receiving useful instruction and arrangements were being concluded which would allow increasing the number. And he asked for further details so that he might provide all needed assistance.[324]

Financial support was all the more available in that the "adult schools" fitted into the plans of the Minister, who, spoke quite frankly on the subject in one of his Circulars in which he commented upon and amplified the scope of the Law of the 28th of June. In the text which was addressed on July 4 to the Prefects he said: "Beyond the primary schools there must be special institutions in which men of working-age who are already involved in the active life can come and receive the instruction they missed in their childhood...In a few years...when they Law shall have borne its fruit, the number of men who shall have to compensate (for such a lack) will diminish appreciably; but we cannot disguise the fact that it is a considerable one today and that for quite a while still, the carelessness of parents, the profound ignorance of the poor classes and the moral apathy which nearly always accompanies that ignorance will prevent children from benefitting entirely, or nearly entirely, from the education we are offering them.

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[323] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, Brother Calixtus' notes. See also *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 188.

[324] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

For a long while still "adult schools" will be necessary, especially in places where industry brings together a great number of workers for whom the activity of work in common and the rivalry that it incites will make people feel the importance of elementary knowledge."[325].

Under Ministerial aegis, the Brothers would continue rather broadly to clear out the undergrowth of illiteracy. In 1833 they were conducting eleven "night schools" – six in Paris and the others in Lille, Valencennes, Troyes, Sedan and Laon. Lille and Paris also had three "Midday schools", established for the same purposes St. Omer, Toulouse, Rouen, and Orleans then fell into line among the cities which endorsed this civilizing labor. Youths in St. Omer owed the development of supplementary schooling followed by placement with local industrialists to the members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The school in Toulouse welcomed pupils "of every shade...from the illiterate up to the student who knew and used the rules of syntax and arithmetic". Teachers adjusted to different levels and employed, depending upon circumstances, whatever educational methods, going so far as to revert to individual tutoring if there was a question of straightening out an "old beginner" who was having difficulties with his ABCs. The teaching team assigned to the "evening school" came from the Brothers principal establishment; it was composed of young Brothers who were in the course of completing their apprenticeship as teachers and who were thus, quite appropriately, making their way from theory to practice.[326]

A similar system existed in the Norman establishment on Rue St. Lo. Brother Calixtus, encouraged by the Committee for Christian Schools, had opened his adult classes on October 18, 1834, where he employed both his Institute personnel and his normal students. During the first days he received eight hundred applications for admission; he was unable to accept even half of them because of the size of the classroom. However, an average of three hundred men regularly followed the lessons.[327]

Among the workers, confidence in the Brothers spread in concentric circles. A group of pupils beguiled their friends who liked to spend the end of each day together. Friendly ties were quickly formed between an enthusiastic worker and a slightly self-conscious beginner, while the Brothers lent their assistance and were themselves the object of affectionate esteem. They succeeded in creating a climate in which people of various professions and unevenly educated easily rubbed shoulders with one another, and in which people experienced not only a satisfaction in learning but a certain solidarity of spirit. Choral groups in particular contributed to this result: for Christmas and Easter workers in Lanquedoc practiced songs under the direction of the Brothers.[328]

The "Night School" in Orleans began in 1834 with fifty students, and, as early as the summer of that year there were 160. The city Council considered itself obliged to contribute to their education, which was "such a great social advantage". It assumed responsibility for the salary of the teaching Brother and the expenses for lighting and heating.[329]

The growth of this "Adult School" was quickly to involve the Community, Directed by Brother Eulogius, in a whole series of requests. Two-hundred-and-thirty students in 1835

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[325] Archives of the Lower Seine T, I, 2 .[325]Lorain, op. cit., general sketch of the schools of the Institute in France, pp. 87 et sq. In Douai the marvelous work of M. Deforest Lewarde – the great benefactor of the city, and lay "St. Vincent de Paul" – retained all of its original importance. Its administrators continued to be concerned with former students past their school years and to prepared them for their future profession. The founder did not die until January of 1838 (Archives of the District of Cambrai).

[326] Lémandus, pp. 319-320.

[327] Lémandus, loc. cit.

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[329] Register of Decisions, meeting of June 27, 1834.

compelled a "diversification of studies" and an increase in the number of instructors; only with great difficulty could seventeen Brothers assume the entire work of elementary education. Those among them who provided the supplementary courses had to stay up until eleven o'clock at night and were forced to sleep on the site, far away from their St. Euvertus residence – which was "contrary to the Rule" and "damaging to the interests" of Community life.

A program of building expansion was in order. The Brother Director supported his position with a long, glowing postscript by the eleven pastors in the city. To it he added the following lines of the aged Bishop Jean-Baptiste Brumault Beauregard: The zeal the Brothers show, even at the cost of their health, their effectiveness in instructing industrial workers and men least favored by fortune...will, I hope, move the Council...which, if it grants the favor sought, will bring about the consolation of my old age.[330]

These steps ended up with a new subsidy appropriated for a second teacher[331] and then for the fitting out of a vast installation where evening classes were to be held, in the immediate vicinity of the Community.[332]

In his letter of April 22, 1835 one of Brother Eulogius' remarks underscores the drawbacks of late night work for Religious who were required to rise very early in the morning and whose day was filled with religious exercises and professional obligations. Besides the additional exhaustion, the Brothers were put in a position of developing habits of independence. It was thus in the 17th century Sunday school had caused the loss of several vocations. In becoming familiar with youths and men of mature age over rather long evening meetings, the Brother developed a perspective on the world that a classroom full of children never allowed him to suspect.

The Superiors worried about these risks. To the Dean of Perulwez in Belgium, who was seeking a teacher for workers, Brother Philippe replied on February 16, 1836: "I know that adult schools can be the beginning of something very fine. But it is impossible to open new ones at the present moment, first of all, because we do not have any Brothers available and, then, because this sort of school has often become, in our institutions, an occasion for irregularity."[333]

Nevertheless, neither Brother Anacletus nor his successor interfered with the momentum of the work, which was too important a means of evangelization. It did no harm – on the contrary! –to the studies of the up-coming generation of Brothers, to its educational expertise; but we may well believe that on the debit side it engaged the pride and the errors of some renegades. In 1848 the Republic would find that the "Adult Schools" were numerous and flourishing. And we shall then hear the Superior of the Institute before a political, an ecclesiastical or a Ministry of Education tribune explaining all the good things they accomplished and all the empty fears and transcended hopes.

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330 Departmental Archives of the Loiret, I R192. Brothers' Petition, April 22, 1835. Father Merault Bizy, who was to die on the 13th of the following June, added in a shaky, unsure hand: "I take the liveliest interest in such an excellent project with which, at the end of one's life, one is happy to be associated."

331 Ibid., and Register of Decisions of the City Counsel, meeting for March 1, 1846. Earlier, the city had set up a salary for M. Salmon, a lay-teacher connected since October 1, 1835 with the adult classes to teach drawing and architecture.

332 Ibid., Brother Eulogius' letter to the Mayor of Orleans, March 13, 1838.

333 Hutin, Vol. III, pg. 104. "Evening classes" increased during Brother Philip's generalate, especially in the industrial regions in the north, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Roubaix, Calais, and Amiens *(Historique du district de Saint-Omer).*

The teaching dispensed to the students in supplementary courses naturally adopted as its foundation the program of the Christian Brothers' schools. In October of 1834 were absorbed in a decisive revision and expansion. In earlier years they had been satisfied with fragmentary measures, in order to satisfy those who supported their institutions, committees of public education and families. These were all successful efforts and a gradual reconoitring of the territory.

Brother Philippe, here again, lead the way. On June 18, 1831 he wrote to the Brother Director in Rheims: "The Gentlemen of your Committee want you to teach ...geography, history, chemistry, mineralogy and popular physics. Tell them that we shall respond affirmatively and that the Brothers, friends of the people and dedicated to the service of children, will always be prepared to accept what can be useful to them, especially when it comes to spreading knowledge and propagating science."[334]

The Superior and his Assistant consented, therefore, to the request of the Brothers in Orleans, who had asked the academic administration "for pencil boxes and instruments to teach mathematics, mechanical drawing, surveying and geography."[335]

While in May of 1832 the Committee for Primary Education in Rouen, adopting a hostile tone, let it be known that the books put in the hands of pupils were "exclusively concerned with religious matters", the Brothers in the Norman capital responded by supplying the list of book used at the time in their classes: With the exception of the Gospel, the Catechism, the Office book and *The Duties of a Christian* (and this work of the Founder was, besides, "a complete treatise on morality") there was no book that was specifically in the category of religious texts: there was a grammar, a practice speller, an arithmetic with mensuration, a geography, a course in mechanical drawing and, finally, in recent times, a digest of universal history, in longhand, in order to practice the reading of manuscripts.

The Director of the Brothers Schools would ask for nothing better than to add to this modest library a collection in which, according to the wishes of the Committee, the children might find some notions concerning the trades which would probably become their livlihood. Besides "real-life lessons" and "civic morality" the people in Rouen were asking their educators for instruction in "the basic laws of the kingdom". But it would have to be a very slim volume, in a quite simple style and at an accessible price. Let the gentlemen in Rouen locate such a book, and the Brothers would propose its adoption to the Superior-general.[336]

However incomplete the stock of knowledge remained, at least in the Brothers' schools it had the advantage of consistency. Each pupil was given a copy of the book which the entire class used. It was not the same in other schools: an association which was set up in 1836 in Orleans for the "propagation of useful books "wished to remedy deficiencies and particularly annoying abuses". In a preliminary letter that preceded its statutes, it declared: "Parents refuse repeatedly to supply their children with textbooks; or, if they decided to purchase them, they do so without consulting with the teacher...Hence, there arises a diversity which makes any other method than individual tutoring impossible. The association (or the Committee of the District which sponsored and empowered it) drew up a "list" of textbooks and "urgently recommended their" use to teachers. Furthermore, it assumed responsibility for their free distribution.

The Brothers' students took advantage of this generosity. Furthermore, there was no

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[334] Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orleans, IR 192, Mayor's letter to the Rector of the Academy, October 15, 1832.

[335] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, I, 40.

[336] "[336]It included among its members the Prefect of the Loiret, the Mayor of the city, the pastor of the Cathedral,another priest, two Protestant pastors, and wealthy citizens of Orleans who were known for their intellectual tastes. (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, T, 220.)

wavering regarding what was needed for their work. In 1833 appeared New Treatise on Arithmetic, Geographical Digest, and Digest of Practical Geometry, Applied to Mechanical Drawing; in 1836 there was Christian Civility, Revised and Corrected, and History of France, Preceded by Sacred History and Followed by Notions Concerning Ancient and Modern Peoples.

These were small volumes approachable by young minds, written to assist the reason and the memory and which took into account the changes that had occurred in the external forms of education or in the realities of teaching. The "Civility" of the 19th century was already far removed from the politeness and the customs of the period prior to the Revolution. In the domain of the sciences the metric system had introduced a new nomenclature and new computation. The 1833 Treatise on Arithmetic included a table which reduced the old measures to the new legal ones and vice-versa. There was no question of a learned exposition, but of a convenient tool, a clue to enable people to escape from a maze.[337]

All of these books were published over the initials "L. C. and F. P.," the mark of Christian Brothers' products. And in this way was pointed out the collaboration of the two authors: Louis Constantin (Brother Anacletus) and Brother Philippe. With both of them a clear mind, a remarkable sense of balance and a vast experience with schools commanded the contributions of a long and fruitful labor. The Superior-general was more particularly dedicated to the sciences; indeed, it is to him that we owe a cosmographic apparatus which, in his honor, was called the Constantine.[338]

The Brother Assistant, on the other hand was the sort of teacher who could write a textbook all by himself just as easily as he could assemble and direct those teams of teachers whose anonymous writings, frequently reshaped, were constantly – for over half a century – being adapted to the age or to the level of education of students and kept abreast of the progress in education.

The definitive thrust of the tiller was given by the "General Committee" in 1834. Finally, we consider this assembly which marks the beginning of a new era. In a Circular dated August 7,[339] Brother Anacletus explained the purposes and the procedures of this meeting. He intended to consult his Brothers on the necessary refocusing of *The Conduct of Schools*. Officially to collect the views of each one of them did not seem to him to correspond to the importance either of the work nor of the hour. He was to operate "in a more formal way" – by submitting the plans for reform to the scrutiny of those Brothers most competent to judge of their advisability. The Chapter of 1787, the last to be held in old France, and whose decisions constituted a synthesis of the work of Brother Agathon, specified for the Superior of the Institute the steps to be taken in such circumstances: its sixtieth decree ordered the convocation of twelve elected members, six Directors of principal institutions and six Brothers having at least fifteen years of final vows.

This miniature Chapter, the "General Committee" of the Congregation, deliberated under the presidency of it supreme head and with the cooperation of the Brothers Assistants, the

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337 *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 186. *Rivista Lasalliana* for March 1938, article by Brother Giovannino*: Il sistema metrico decimal e i Fratelli.* The author shows the prime role the Christian Brothers played in the introduction of the metric system to Piedmont. In Rome, Brother Rieul had undertaken the re-editing of an old arithmetic textbook; he handed the responsibility for it on to Brother Felicissimus who did not take the trouble to finish the job. The 1833 publication saved the Director of Trinita-dei-Monti a great deal of embarrassment. Moreover, we know that Brother Rieul was regular translator for Italy of Institute publications. (Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1.)

338 Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pg. 186.

339 Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.

Procurator-general and the Secretary (called at this time "Secretary of the Regime"). Its decisions became immediately enforceable and remained in force until the plenary Assembly, which retained the power to ratify or change them. As a consequence, a Committee of this sort was a precursor to a Chapter, when it was inappropriate to accelerate the moment for these major meetings. The gathering of 1834, the first since the capitulary decree of 1787, was to be followed by the General Chapter of 1837.

It included what was really the intellectual elite as well as the Institute's highest moral authorities: along with Brother Anacletus and Brothers Eloi, Philippe, Abdon, Jean Chrysostom, a distinguished colleague, the Procurator, Brother Nicolas and the Secretary of the Institute, Brother Maurillian, were seated the Directors of Toulouse, Namur, Orleans, Bordeaux, Lyons, and Rouen (Brothers Apollinaris, Claude, Eulogius, Alphonsus, Lambert and Calixtus, respectively) and – as "Senior" members – Brothers Contest, Joseph of Mary, Augustine, Fortune and Marie.[340]

Apart from Brother Contest, the old hand from the legendary past, the group, on the whole, were the representatives and the finest examples of the generation that had inherited from Brothers Frumence and Gerbaud. The Brother Pigemenion's Lyons tradition was embodied in Brother Augustine; and Brother Bernardine's Toulouse tradition in Brother Joseph of Mary.[341] A Brother Claude, a Brother Apollinarus already had long and excellent records of service; a Brother Alphonsus had won a reputation in Guiana that would continue to grow. Brother Calixtus, Director of the normal school in Rouen, had been quite specifically selected to endow the discussions with his learning and to summarize the debates in substantive verbal formulas; from the opening of the first meeting on October 25, he occupied the chair of secretary. The preponderant influence in this group was Brother Philippe, whom Brother Anacletus regarded as his *alter ego.* Indeed, between the Superior and the Assistant there was not only practical parity of age but also equality of talent, compatibility of virtue and character and a similar uprightness of thought and breadth of outlook. Further, Matthieu Bransiet possessed a sort of presence: his natural simplicity and his rustic countenance never failed to exercise a powerful attraction.

People listened to him and acknowledged the wisdom of his arguments. Of course, Brothers who were afraid of even the shadow of presumption or pride, showed very little enthusiasm for he expansion of their scholastic programs. Lorain calls them "conservatives". They could be coaxed, however, into innovations if it could be proved that the welfare of their pupils depended upon it and that the Institute remained on exactly the same course as the one traced out by its Founder. Prophetic and resolute guides, then, lead the Committee to adopt the following resolution: "(Relying) upon the example of De La Salle who, in order to attract children to his schools to provide them with religious instruction, desired that everything be taught there that was taught in (institutions) of the same sort, and reflecting that, in the light of circumstances and the very little zeal of most parents for what has to do with religion, it is necessary (that we obtain for our pupils) all the secular advantages that they can find elsewhere and we declare that it is necessary "to tolerate" the teaching of the following three "specialties": mechanical drawing, geography and history.[342]

It is not surprising that the statement is restrained and restrictive: for thirty years elementary education had been moving in a very narrow circle, from which most teachers did not budge except apprehensively. It was a wholly human diffidence reinforced, in this case, by humility.

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340 Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.

341 Concerning these two Brothers, see Vol. IV, Index.

342 Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm. Cf. Lémandus, pg. 318.

People didn't launch out into the unknown without an order from the Superior. *In verbo autem tuo laxabo rete*. Once the Brothers had been propelled by the winds into the high seas, they would navigate skillfully and fill their nets.

While in the "Whereases" the difficulty was dealt with only from the point of view of the apostolate, it was still out of fidelity to the spirit and the language of the holy "Founder": "to give a Christian education to children", "to instruct (them) in the mysteries of religion", to inspire them with the "principles" and the "maxims" of the Gospel – St. John Baptist de La Salle proposed no other "ends". His disciples were unable to forget the language of the Rule: all knowledge is regarded as a more or less "necessary means"; its real value exists only by relation to the destiny of souls; but, make no mistake, it is not to be underestimated, we are not to be satisfied with a superficial education, with dull and tepid teaching. Conscience itself is involved in the solution of a problem and in drawing of a map in geography. And not only by way of obedience, but "in order to strengthen youth in the way of salvation,"[343] and so as to merit a livelier faith and purer morals.

At the human level, the Christian Brothers were in complete conformity with the Guizot Law. It remained only to adapt the text of the *Conduct of Schools* to the new educational charter. Brother Anacletus had been preparing a revision of the 1828 edition and this time there would be no holding out – as was the case in the generalate of Brother Guillaume – for a few updatings, some transpositions of terms or qualifiers. The Committee, warming up to the plans of the Superior-general, agreed that there was reason to proceed to "rather important changes". The book was examined chapter-by-chapter and repeatedly amended. The Institute's representatives spent no less than thirty-two sessions in this work, and the remarkable Director of Bordeaux took the most active role in the task.[344]

The Committee's purposes were clearly stated: the revised *Conduct* had to be printed in the near future, as it had emerged from the Assembly's scrutiny; the nineteen Brothers were declared the responsible authors, as they all intended to attach their signatures to one of the copies.[345].

Ultimately, the publication was delayed until 1838. It seemed a good idea to Brother Anacletus to submit it to the Chapter which had been convoked in July of 1837. The Capitulants approved the work of the Regime and of the Committee, "subject to a few slight changes".

These are the facts which the preface of the new *Conduct* briefly recalls.[346] But it especially is intended to lay stress upon the superiority of the educational methods in use in the Institute. In all sincerity, it attributes "the discovery" of the simultaneous method to "diligent reflection" and "the power" of "Father John Baptist de La Salle's genius". And, further, it points out, as an advancement, "the simultaneous-mutual method" and supplies the following sketch of it: "The teacher who, having divided his class into groups teaches his lesson alternatively to each group (as in any Christian Brothers' school) but who, rather than having the rest of the pupils study, has their lessons taught them by monitors is following...a mixed method. The advantages of the system in saving time and for training young assistant teachers were obvious. Thus the 1838 edition of the book, giving – at least indirectly – Bell and Lancaster their just due,

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343 Prayer in the Office for the Feast of St. John Baptist de La Salle.

344 [344]For this edition see Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 513- 514.

345 *Choix de notices*, Series I, pg. 230.

346 Motherhouse Archives, file cited Edition of 1838, pp. iii and iv.

recommended the simultaneous-mutual method "for all classes that were open to its application.[347]

It certainly did not sound very much like routine. With energy and justice the Brothers had shown that they knew how to make progress. Filled with De La Salle's spirit and inspired by a genuine zeal for the education of youth, they neglected nothing in order to improve their teaching methods. Composing a single body and pursuing the same end, they shared with one another the discoveries that the practice of their tasks enabled them to (realize). These discoveries, controlled by new tests, were included in subsequent editions of the Management, which came to contain the most complete system of simultaneous elementary education.[348]
As early as 1816 the royal ordinance which regulated the life and the organization of the schools advocated all these educational and instructional means that had been guaranteed by a century-long experience. Outside of the Institute's schools the Brothers' principles and procedures began to spread into other educational circles.

The 1828 edition had for object the coordination of the original text with successive additions. What came later was not intended to supplant what had been established: the Christian Brothers school at the time of the July Monarchy did not differ essentially from his predecessor in 1810 or 1820; there were the same desks, the same "slogans", the teacher's chair raised on a platform, with its locker under the seat, its armrests and its back topped with a cross.[349]But archaic customs, which invited abuses, disappeared; programs of study were greatly expanded and the lessons were more varied; work was better supervised, and appeals to initiative were more general; incentives were more numerous and more skillfully devised.

Some "small children" still brought their breakfast to class. This once universal practice was now only "tolerated" and surrounded by provisions: the pupil might take his light meal but only to improve himself with the recitation of the *Benedictus* "Grace" before and after meals; he was not to soil the table or the floor; and he was still subject to a scolding if, while he was eating, he did not give his full attention to the teacher.[350]

The expansion of studies called for a redoubling of effort on the part both of teachers and pupils. New materials and new arrangements of texts were introduced into the revised book. Chapters IV and V of the First Part lined up "the educational subject-matters": "memory" lessons, and lessons requiring attention and judgment, into "graded" programs; prayers, catechism, grammar, arithmetic, as well as history, geography and mechanical drawing for "children who are sufficiently advanced...in order that the Christian Brothers schools may be in no way inferior to others".

There were details concerning "the order of recitations" and the method of "explanations". At the beginning of each month the teacher would give the pupils a general over-view of their work; then he would subdivide this whole into "daily lessons", taking into account the intellectual capacities of each of the class's "groups". In the case of grammar, he would adopt a simple, concrete plan: "With the pupils having the book in their hands, he would have them read the first sentence, and point out what it meant to speak it correctly"; he would stress the distinction between the vowels and the consonants, point out the nouns, and take as examples "the various objects which are present" to his young audience, by having them name them. There was a procedure no less reliable and no less detailed for arithmetic: "numbers, units, and

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[347] Preface, pg. ii.

[348] Ibid., pg. iii.

[349] .[349]Illustration in the 1838 edition and an exact reproduction of an 1828 drawing. The teacher did not use a desk.

[350] Edition of 1838, pg. 13.

quantities" were to be first defined; the child was then to learn how to form "tens", and "hundreds". And from there he would pass on to elementary notions of the metric system.

The study of history, until further changes were introduced, remained sketchy; it was limited to the recitation of "summaries", topped off by some reading. Geography, on the other hand, through the employment of wall maps, made use of the best mnemonic techniques; while the blackboard was generally used in drawing.

A whole series of "Articles" dealt with the role, henceforth widely acclaimed, of "tutors", who, with the help of pictures and maps, rehearsed their classmates in a variety of problems, geographical place-names, locations of cities and the flow of rivers; and, there was the exact and rapid application of geometrical figures to mechanical drawing.

Arrangements were the same for arithmetic: in each "group" "the most intelligent" pupils began "the reading of the first problem of the day" in front of their classmates who were provided with arithmetic textbooks. They supplied whatever explanations were necessary and then proceeded to pose questions; "small blackboard, situated in different places" in the room promoted individual operations performed with a piece of chalk. For his part, the teacher controlled the general direction; successively, he called groups of pupils up to the "big blackboard" for reviews, adjustments and in order to explain the next lesson.[351]

In any case, the school became a more active place than it was in the past. "A weekly composition on each of the subjects of study" fueled the most sustained and sound competition. It was even more keenly aroused when the memory was involved through "sides": "the two most able pupils" in a class "group" would, alternately, select those of their classmates whom they wished to make up "their team"; this was a way of improving the mutual method; each young leader prepared the "side" for which he was responsible; and, then, when the "sides" faced each other, questions and answers were exchanged between them on the subject of the competition. The teacher, of course, served as referee and judge of last resort.[352]

Good and bad "grades", "certificates of satisfaction" and "Medals of honor" validated the results.[353] And the "dispensing of prizes" at the end of the year became the universally adopted practice. The 1838 *Conduct* recommended the careful selection of books which would bring joy to the pupils and the advantage of a small personal library; but to award some prize winners immoderately and send many children away empty handed, "especially in the lower classes" had to be avoided.

But all "ostentation" also had to be banished. In principle, the rule long ago set down by Brother Agathon endured: Christian Brothers should refuse to exhibit their pupils on a stage. In fact, they yielded to the wishes of civic and ecclesiastical authorities. The distribution of prizes became a public, official ceremony in which teachers and pupils were celebrated.[354]

Such were the basic topics and the most interesting chapters of the book. The end of the second part reviewed "the school officers", among whom were included, with the "tutors", the "supervisors" who contributed to the maintenance of discipline,[355] and the "homework

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[351] Edition of 1838, Part One, chaps. v, x, xi, xii.

[352] Ibid. Part One, chap. xiii.

[353] Ibid., chap. xv.

[354] Edition of 1838, Part Two, ch. vii.

[355] These, however, were not those secret supervisors who in the past reported to the teacher concerning the words and deeds of titular supervisors. This undercover system, the vestige of a period when people were not very careful about procedures, had aroused the righteous indignation of Ambrose Rendu in his *Essai sur l'Instruction publique, 1819.*

correctors", who were also invested with the confidence of the Brothers to check off correctly performed supplementary work.[356]The Chapter of 1787 had prohibited corporal punishment. In spite of this ban many teachers thought that such correction was necessary. In 1834, during a visit to Toulouse, Brother Assistant Abdon gave the order to "reduce the frequency" of it and to "moderate (its) rigor)." The third part of the *Conduct of Schools* was the same in 1838 as it was in 1818 and in 1828 – a sort of appendix in which – following the indications supplied by the original manuscripts – was quite briefly recalled the function of the "Inspector" in an Institute school and emphasized the important role of the Brother who "trained" young teachers.[357]

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This "trainer" was in fact the Director in each Community. It was expecting a great deal from a man who was already burdened with numerous responsibilities and who himself, often enough, had a class to teach. No doubt his associates were not lacking for his counsel, the fruit of his long experience; but would it be there at the right time, consistently and coherently? As teaching became more complicated and education required extensive study, the role of "specialists" became more indispensable. Normal schools became necessary, as well as preparatory studies, scholasticates and, at their head, individuals who combined competence with dedication.

In Brother Calixtus, Rouen possessed one of those leaders who was a match for difficult tasks and able both to utilize theory and to set an example for the teachers of tomorrow. Jean François Nicholas Leduc was thirty-two years old when, in 1829, he arrived to take over the "St. Lo institution" to which, finally, a handful of scholarship students from the Department of the Lower Seine had been admitted.[358] Here, the Institute was not training its own members; it was cooperating in a "lay" project and with the Prefectural administration; it opened the way to the nearly seventy normal schools which, from 1830 to 1836, had sprung up in France, during the days of Montalivet and of Guizot.[359]

Once again the Institute had appeared to be a harbinger; here as elsewhere, it had only to resume its most cherished and longstanding traditions. The young Director of Rouen was initiating a fruitful career which would be attended by tributes from the Minister of Public Education, the confidence of the authorities and the Norman public. Ten students came to him at the end of 1829, seven in 1830 and eight in 1831. In 1832 there were twenty-three future teachers following his courses.[360] All of them had been admitted by competitive examination. The examination board stated in November of 1830: "In general, all (the candidates) had sound foundations in writing and in arithmetic; they were comparatively weak in reading, especially with regard to manuscripts...The intelligence and ability of the professor who teaches them gives rise to the hope" of rapid progress.[361]

On May 30, 1832 the Commission responsible to Prefect Dupon-Delporte for inspecting the institution presented a quite detailed report: the grammatical knowledge of the youngsters seemed satisfactory – in fact (for two of them) "remarkable"; the exercise books for drawing

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356 (Lémandus, pp. 337-338).

357 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 272-273.

358 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 272-273.

359 Gossot, pp. 85 and 92.

360 Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 1, 40.

361 Ibid.

offered a series of "well executed" figures. History and geography left something to be desired; but these were subject-matters that had only begun to be studied. The members of the Commission (academics and a counsellor appointed from the Prefecture) wrote:

" We found the classes well taught; we have noted with pleasure that on Thursdays, during their outings, the students apply the various surveying procedures to the land over which they walk."

The "teaching methods" were termed "excellent", and the "mutual method" was not neglected. Drills thought up by Lancaster followed one another meticulously under the tutelage of young monitors who had been selected and supervised in their work by student teachers.

The "daily schedule" encroached upon students of less robust health or whose determination was less tempered and less docile than the peasantry that had been accustomed to life's hardships. It took its beginnings from the Brothers' Rule: rising at 4:30 a.m. in the summer, 5:00 a.m. in the winter; retirement at 9:00 p.m; in the interval there was an accumulation of classes and studies, preceded by prayer, meditation (which the Commissioners called "reflective reading on religion") and Mass, interrupted by breakfast, dinner, tea and supper or by brief periods of recess. Sacred history, arithmetic, writing, plain-chant, grammar, the history of France, geography, reading of French and Latin printed and handwritten materials, logical and grammatical analysis, dictation, pedagogy, and catechetical explanation formed a sequence over this sixteen hour day. The professors strove to model upon the Brothers' image the youths who were destined, if not for total monastic renunciation, at least for the toil and the poverty of a village teacher.

"Certainly", concludes the report, "we were convinced that the Brothers of Christian Doctrine were fulfilling the purposes" of the public authorities. The school had to supply good candidates; and there we shall "discover effective means to spread education into our countryside".

But what it was important "especially to point out" was "the activity and the dedication of the Director, Brother Calixtus"; his education, his knowledge and his zeal makes him invaluable" for the position he occupied.[362]

We shall now turn our attention to his own annual chronicles on the progress of the institution, in which he reveals the clarity of his mind and the candor and the steadiness of his judgment. As early as 1833 he provided the various courses with a systematic organization by separating students according to their educational progress and by making every effort not to overwhelm them under the weight of too many subject matters.

"The books adopted for French are those by Noel and Chapsal; but the first part of their grammar is too advanced" for young people who have only picked up the rudiments in primary school. A beginning was made by drilling them with the help of Lhomond's grammar.

In the second year they wrote "stories, developments and transposed a passage of verse into prose" and "work at logical analysis, writing vital statistics records and letters". They also obtained "notions concerning the principle rules of (formal) logic".

Physic, mechanics, chemistry, mineralogy, zoology, botany, occupied a certain position in the programs. Actually, Brother Calixtus thought that a great deal was being demanded of the students. They "come to us with such a superficial background and minds so little cultivated" that their is danger of their being overworked. Some studies proved to be "harmful" to some students whom it was essential to hold up at the level of the elementary certificate. "The large number subjects throws their minds into confusion." The course of studies for the higher degree must be open only to those with "acknowledged capacity"; other candidates for teaching posts should simple repeat the first year of normal school, supplemented by certain

[362] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 1, 40.

essential courses.[363]

In 1834-1835, the group at the normal school seemed more secure and more uniform. Those of the students who had already been introduced to the intellectual life by Brother Calixtus were in a position to receive a rather broad education. Arithmetic was studied "up to logarithms inclusively". The study of geometry concluded with "proportion" in the first five books of Legendre, to which was added practical drills with measuring apparatus.

The Director did not shrink from adding to his burden by assembling twenty-seven teachers between the ages of 22 and 40 from the Lower Seine during June, July and August in order to introduce them to worthwhile methods and to improve their want of knowledge.[364] These "in-service courses" became a fixture of the institution; and the students, nominated by District committees, travelled to Rouen as soon as their country schools released their pupils to the work of haymaking and the harvest. The institution on Rue St. Lo furnished the food to this special group of students but left the task of finding lodgings in town to them. In this way, from 1834 to 1845, more than three hundred functioning teachers passed through Rouen. And while these continuation classes were suspended after 1846, the fact remained that by that time most of the teachers in the region, or at least all those who had shown zeal and capacity, had come to take their place under the direction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[365]

The intellectual and moral apostolate of the Institute in this way grew from year to year, with success that varied according to the quality of the normal students, but, on the whole, it was undisputed. In 1836 the twenty-five beginners had little talent for science; on the other hand the seventeen students who were a year ahead of them "had made remarkable progress in all branches (of science)": examination results gave rise to the hope for a "distinguished" generation of teachers. They trained in the "practice schools" connected with Brother Calixtus' institution; and, besides that, for eight months, they served as monitors two or three times a week in adult classes.

Their teacher was pleased with their conduct and with their religious attitude.[366] He followed their progress very closely, since he set aside their education courses for himself as well as taught them geometry and drawing. He received effective support from his associates, in particular, Brother Surin, who had come from Languedoc in October of 1831,[367] and who was responsible for teaching history, geography, arithmetic and the mutual method. In 1834 the Superiors sent to Rouen Brother Peloguin, the future Assistant, who was to relieve the Director of the normal school of some of his duties by taking care of the Christian Brothers' Community and of the primary classes; he was also to teach the youngsters on Rue St. Lo.[368] A priest, Father Denize, assumed the task of teaching Christian philosophy, in order to maintain religious studies at a rather high level.

Although Brother Calixtus continued to call for less massing of subjects in the programs of study and feared that by excessive "skimming" over the sciences his students would fail to

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[363] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, file cited, Brother Calixtus' report for 1833-1834.

[364] Ibid. report for 1834-1835, approved by the supervisory Commission and Inspector for the Academy, who said he was satisfied with the results obtained.

[365] Archives of the Herouville Institution, Historique de Normandie, Vol. II.

[366] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 1, 40, report dated September 6, 1836.

[367] Born in Limoux (Aude) on August 28, 1800 (Archives cited, personnel list, September 12, 1837.)

[368] Brother Calixtus' necrological notice.

absorb the essential material,[369] work never slackened. The history course was particularly broadened so as to include, in 1837, new presentations concerning peoples in the Orient, Rome and the Middle Ages; and great detail was introduced into French geography. And cosmography seems to have been the main question of the day, with the use of Brother Anacletus' "geocyclical machine."[370]

Eight years of successful experience, of tireless dedication and of an "at once firm and conciliatory"[371] guidance established the reputation of the institution in Rouen. There was a great deal of excitement, then, both in educational circles and in the civic world when in July of 1837 there occurred Brother Calixtus' election as Assistant of the Superior-general. The Rector of the Academy of Rouen, Badelle, refused to release the man whom he called "the good Brother". His complaints were vented in a letter addressed to Brother Anacletus on August 7; his bad humor seethed. "If the Director of the St. Lo institution is recalled to Paris, excuse me, M. Superior, but I shall not conceal it, I shall do everything in my power to the end that the normal school will be entrusted to persons outside your Congregation. I should not have expected such ingratitude on the part of a Group for which I have always professed the highest regard and the purest veneration. Please accept the expression of my grief...[372]

The city also intervened with the view of retaining the exceptional educator. There were some who wished to wrest a formal order from the Minister in opposition to the decision of the Institute. The Motherhouse was obliged to take the time to appease the turmoil. Two months went by; and, finally, on September 19, a solution appeared possible. Brother Anacletus wrote to the Prefect of the Lower Seine: "Earlier, I told you that I was hoping to offer you a successor to Brother Calixtus. I have taken a close look at Brother Cicilian. The prudence, zeal and the learning of this Brother makes me certain that he will fill the post perfectly. Furthermore, he was no stranger either to the civil administration nor to the educational establishment: for eighteen months in 1833-1834 he had filled in for Brother Calixtus in Rouen. The Prefect had been encouragingly friendly toward him; and, as a consequence, Brother Anacletus dared trust this upper level bureaucrat for "support" in the efforts that had to be pursued with the Head Master.[373] The Rector was also importuned. This meekness and patience finally triumphed: while bemoaning the normal school's great loss, the institution's Supervisory Commission graciously welcomed Brother Cicilian who was well-versed in the traditions of the distinguished founder.

This was (after the loss of the "seminary for country teachers" that had been credited to the genius of St. John Baptist de La Salle and in his own lifetime shamefully ravaged by Nicolas Vuyart and Jean-Baptist Clément[374] - the first, the reassuring return of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to an essential project of the "Teacher of teachers". The France of 1830 had understood what it might expect of a judicious educational philosophy and of more than a century of experience, to assist it in laying down the foundations of an enduring school system. It is fitting however to grieve over "secular" biases, on the one hand, and, on the other, the too few Christian Brothers, which prevented the nation from addressing a wider appeal to these skilled workers in popular education. A better spirit might have quickened the normal schools

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369 Report of 1836.

370 Report of September 6, 1837.

371 List of the school's personnel, September 12, 1837.

372 Brother Calixtus' necrological notice.

373 Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 3, 40.

374 See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 233-237 and 248-253.

of the July Monarchy and might have diverted teachers away from a lot of errors and dangerous temptations, if the model in Rouen had fixed the character of a sufficient number of branches.

In order to inspect an achievement analogous to Brother Calixtus' and at this point complete our study of the training of student-teachers, we shall, for a moment, cross over national frontiers. To mention the beginnings of the earliest normal school directed by the Brothers in Belgium is neither a departure from our subject nor does it thrust it into another time and place. The educational initiatives of the neighboring nation conformed to Guizot's very deliberate and persistent efforts and also lead to a number of attractive accomplishments in a climate of total freedom.

As we have said, the Constitution of 1831 had left the field wide open to citizens for the education of their children. Where, then, would future teachers be trained? Under the administration of the Dutch, "model schools", the by-products of the royal Decree of June 3, 1837, took the place of normal schools for rural teachers at the same time that their rather comprehensive instruction gave the sons of well-to-do families the option of access to college classes. There was only a single institution organized in the German or French fashion, i.e., Lierre.

The model schools survived after 1830 and, as usual, under the direction of the public authorities. But gradually, until 1837, they abandoned their participation in the recruitment of teachers.[375] Catholics, whose zeal had intensified in order to maintain the Church 's influence, had to be concerned about the future. Over a period of ten years founders of at least two-thirds of the new elementary schools were unable exclusively to count on Religious Institutes because of the replacement of aged or dead teachers. They took advantage of governmental indifference and of their political and social positions; with boldness, intelligence and generosity and with their own resources they set practical courses in education on foot and entrusted the direction of them either to the secular clergy or to Religious Orders.[376] The bishops supported this movement. In Namur, the plan for a normal school was born within the very entourage of the prelate who had assume the episcopal See in 1836, Bishop Dehesselle: one of the canons, Father Montpellier, that year reached an agreement with two members of the Christian Brothers' Community, Brothers Amos and Ananias, to draw up a plan of studies for the use of future teachers. He bought a house on the Hall of Justice Square and furnished it to lodge twenty or twenty-five residents students. Classrooms and refectory were of such a size as to allow the admission of day students. The institution, with Brother Ananias at its head, opened its doors in December. Students came in large numbers and this influx immediately demonstrated the need for, and the popularity of, the school; and it forced the canon to transfer his foundation to Harlue Castle, which itself turned out to be only a shortlived stopping-place. In 1841 the normal school in the diocese of Namur was settled in the former Malonne Abbey, where great things awaited it.[377]

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On the banks of the Seine as on the banks of Meuse the Brothers worked in the service of others, without, however, violating the spirit of their vocation or the letter of their Rule. They disseminated sound doctrine and they influenced French and Belgian youth by means of their students who had remained "in the world". The Congregation, however, owed it to itself to train its own candidates to become teachers. Its Committee of 1834 had intended to make a fresh beginning of the ventures sketched out by De La Salle's early successors and brought to

375 Hutin, op. cit., II, pp. 14-15.

376 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes, for April 1910, pp. 100- 101.

377 Hutin, II, pp. 128-132.

their highest point of perfection by Brother Agathon. We are speaking of the scholasticates.

The novitiate, before all else, is a grounding in the spiritual domain. It exercises the young man in prayer, obedience, austerity and the forgetfulness of self. It can allow only a very restricted role to human learning during the brief time that moral, mystical and theological education leaves available. There is no doubt but what such an arrangement was intended by the Founder: to produce educators who are dedicated to souls and whose action finds its inspiration and directives in sacrifice. But this imperative prelude requires a sequel, since what is sought is to Christianize the masses by means of the school and since the progress of civilization multiplies and complicates the demands made upon all intellectual life.

Scholasticates then were to receive Brothers either once their first vows had been pronounced or after a few years of teaching, i.e., after a profitable and decisive sojourn in a teaching Community. The Institute's major houses considered it their obligation and distinction, each of them, to support one of these real normal schools, as the Superiors' decisions imposed it upon them prior to 1789. It was only in this way that they would become comprehensive institutions, in a position to supply a "District" with all the personnel that schools required. Their young Religious would benefit from a collective life better adapted to the development of understanding and effective work than small Communities; they would study under the direction of professors who were specialists; and, as a rule, they would have all about them the example of "Senior Brothers" who were living out an old age full of merit.

Thus in the clearest way is expressed and explained the decision of the representatives of the Congregation assembled in the Faubourg St. Martin in October of 1831.[378] The institution in Toulouse, ever faithful to the ideas of Brother Bernardine, was the first to carry into effect the fulfillments sought after. Its young Brothers in the normal school, placed in the hands of a man of lofty mind and solid virtue, Brother Floridus, would constitute an elite whose influence would extend from the Pyrenees to the Massif Central. In the beginning they had been selected from among Brothers who had already been professed; they had returned to the center of the District of Languedoc with teaching experience, a tested vocation and a profound sense of their obligations. They took full advantage of courses taught by the most learned of their confreres; and they themselves were in a position to apply educational methods and employ their own skills in adult classes. By way of student-teachers, like Brother Liefroy and Brother Liebert and later on under educators like Brothers Irlide, Leuvart and Leander, the Institute built up a reputation that the South of France that has not been forgotten.[379]

In 1838 the Motherhouse proposed to open a scholasticate. During the General Chapter of the preceding year, the Committee's resolutions had obtained the full force of law: in order to guarantee to the largest possible number of candidates the advantages of ten to twelve months of studies, after the novitiate, it was specified that, saving "absolute necessity", the responsibility for new elementary schools, which constrained the Superiors to "send out" Congregation members too early and to launch recruits who were scarcely trained into teaching, would not be accepted.[380]

Concern for the future made even greater demands. Every apostle and every founder of a Religious Order seeks to grasp in the souls of children the stamp of divine election.[381]When he thinks he has discerned it, and lest it become tarnished, he longs to group about himself a cluster of young disciples; he would like to cultivate the somewhat fragile seed in hospitable soil with workers assigned for their competence and their meticulous sensitivity. Such a work

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[378] Lémandus, pg. 319.

[379] Ibid., pp. 319-320.

[380] Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.

[381] We are here returning to some important reflections developed in Vols. I and IV of the present work.

becomes more imperatively necessary when we want to convey beyond an ephemeral bloom, to the ripening of the fruit, the budding virtue or the precocious talent of a being who must realize that complex ideal – of uniting the life of a monk to the labors of a schoolteacher.

St. John Baptist de La Salle was not unaware of this necessity: first at Rheims and then in Paris he created a nursery for his Institute. But the awful crises which, between 1690 and 1715, tested his work – defections, betrayals, persecutions, condemnations, and flights from one refuge to another – destroyed his "Junior novitiates". During the 18th century the climate continued to be hostile to fresh initiatives for a "seminary" that would foster vocations. Shortly after the attempt of 1726, the effort was abandoned. And while during these years the Institute was stabilized rather than expanded, and on the eve of the calamity of 1792 it enlisted only eight hundred pioneers, perhaps it is valid to trace the cause of this slow growth to the conditions of its recruitment.

Brother Anacletus' generalate proclaimed itself as the vigorous resumption of the Founder's undertakings. It was the point of departure for progress in all directions, for a great educational effort and for a triumphant expansion. As regards "Junior novitiates" the Chapter of 1816 was satisfied to issue a resolution. The 1834 Committee unanimously "decreed" that, in various houses, there were to be established "a novitiate School" into which young men who showed inclinations for the Religious life might enter "as early as their thirteenth year"; they would remain there for about two years, when they would be received into the "regular novitiate". The delegates left to "the Regime" the task of drawing up a regulation for the "direction" of these institutions thus resurrected after nearly a century.[382]

The first one opened in Paris in 1835; the second was situated in Avignon in 1837.[383] Another would be in operation at a place called the "Lazarists' house" in Lyons. In Paris, the organizer was immediately found: Brother Philippe, ever ready for the timely exploit, chose as the boys' dwelling a building that had been added to the Motherhouse, a former guardhouse that the Prefectural administration thought suited to the present purpose. On October 1, seven young country boys from Forez combined with six of the youngest novices at the Holy Child Jesus House to become the nucleus of what was intended to be a select group.

Soon it would become necessary to hasten the construction of a three-storied building. Postulants, of excellent quality, were arriving in large numbers. At the time of the opening, Jean Warville's name lead the list, followed closely by Jean Pinatel's. Both would, in the course of their Religious lives, fill the office of Visitor in the District of Paris, the former as Brother Nicolas of Mary and the latter as Brother Angelum. From his native Lorraine Warville brought a seriousness beyond his years, an upright judgment and a quick mind; gifted for every level of teaching, he was especially enthusiastic about the study of catechism. At work, as at play and prayer, he provided a stirring example. His classmate, Pinatel, from Saint-Etienne, was scarcely thirteen years old; the youngest member of the group, he had an artless innocence, affable and delightful conversation, a smile that suggested a genuine simplicity and an imperturbably even temper.[384].

The beginning of the second year witnessed the admission of Alexander Legrange who, become Brother Annet, was to direct the residence school in Clermont-Ferrand in such a masterful way. Other leaders, among the most distinguished who have been a credit to the institute, would come from the Parisian Junior novitiate, which between 1850 and 1880 was

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[382] Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm. Cf. *Essai sur la Maison-Mère,* pg. 182 and *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1910, pg. 239.

[383] Lémandus, pg. 319. The Junior novitiate in Avignon at the time it opened had thirty students; the one in Lyons had fifteen (National Archives, F17, 12,462, state of the Institute in 1837).

[384] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, article cited, pp. 240- 241

directed by one of its alumni, Brother Pierre Celestine. He was also known as the discoverer of reading methods and as the founder of the schools for the deaf that were entrusted to the Christian Brothers in France. Pierre Fumet wasn't much to look at: small of size and unattractive in looks, he had a lively mind, an exquisite spirit, talented hands and was a gifted artist whom Brother Philippe was not slow to recognize and encourage.[385]

Before Fumet and after Pinatel the Junior novitiate register preserves the name of their fellow townsman, Joseph Josserand, who was born in Saint-Etienne on March 31, 1823. This son of a day-laborer, a child with a gentle face, quickly won friends and, first over his classmates and then over his pupils, gained a marvelous influence. He was to enjoy a major role as an educator, and finally ascend to the highest rank as the thirteenth successor to John Baptist de La Salle.

To this celebrated "Brother Joseph" we owe the vibrant sketch of his teacher, Brother Philippe in the prime of life, as a spiritual guide in the midst of his Junior novices. Celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the 1835 foundation, the Superior-general in 1885 was to tell how "the best years of his life" were spent at the Faubourg St. Martin House. Brother Anacletus' Assistant, in spite of his administrative responsibilities and between the revisions of his textbooks, took the time to cultivate his special "garden". For the young plants in the Parisian compound Brother Philippe's "concern became a kind of tender affection; and it extended both to the needs of soul and of spirit and of body". In him the teacher he had been in Auray, Rethel and Reims was awakened. And it was a joyful awakening – a divine compensation for the sacrifice he had obediently accepted upon relinquishing the daily tasks of the teacher. The boys gathered around the master was a crown of graciousness and generosity, it was a freshness of feeling and thought, the joy of pure hearts, it was a leap which burst toward the future with a thrilling swiftness, but for which it was necessary patiently and soberly, to prepare the soil, to shelter the flame from peril, from failing before the first threats.

Brother Philippe joined his beloved pupils in walks in the "Bois de Boulogne". As they went along, he prayed with them, and good-naturedly he chatted with them. Afterwards, they played games. During a break, the teacher recovered his eager, trusting audience, as all eyes were fixed upon his energetic features, his serene smile. "We could listen to him for a couple of hours talking about God, the Most Blessed Virgin, history, drawing and the activities of the Congregation."

In class, he gave informal lectures in which he described the mission of these future Christian Brothers. The author of textbooks, he taught the Junior novices arithmetic, geometry and mechanical drawing; and Brother Joseph recollected him at the blackboard, a piece of chalk between this thumb and the index finger; it was valuable instruction. And for educational vocations, it was a laboratory experiment, an example tendered to the reflection and the imitation of aspirants by one of the best qualified of men.

With the friends and the supporters of the Institute the Brother Philippe stood as the guarantor of such an invaluable work. He asked them for the material means: funds were collected beginning on December 26, 1835, the date of the principal meeting which was held in the drawing rooms of the Dreux Brézé Hotel. Taking part were Father Pierre Dreux-Brézé, Vicar-general of Paris and later Bishop of Moulins, Father Daure, Count Chabrol-Volvic, Duke Montmorency, Count Harcourt, Count Tascher, Marquis Voguüé, M. Pailleterie, M. Saint Paul, M. Caubert, M. Breton, M. Choiselet, M. Fieffi, M. Lebrun, M. Pardessus and M. Poussielgue-Rusand, distinguished individuals in the Catholic world, in which "Royalists" predominated, but rather prudently so that politics might not compromise the religious effort.

On January 3, 1836 Brother Philippe spoke of the origins and the growth of the Brothers of

[385] Ibid., pg. 245. To Brother Pierre Celestine we owe the excellent map of the Faubourg St. Martin House a copy of which is to be found in *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*.

the Christian Schools. On the 20th there was finally set in motion the "Society for the foundation and support of a Junior novitiate for the Brothers of the Christian Schools". A treasurer was appointed for each of Paris' twelve Districts. In the first year subscriptions exceeded 13,000 francs, with which money seventy-seven students had to be subsidized.[386]

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In an unexpected way a "residence school" was begun in the Parisian Junior novitiate and, early on detached (as was fitting) from the circumstances of its origin, it became the prototype of the special education, "advanced elementary" followed by "secondary", dispensed by the successors of the institution at St. Yon. This account is also bound up with the parallel work of Guizot and Brother Anacletus in a common effort on the part of French educators, during the July Monarchy, to spread schooling and progressively to raise standards. It also enables us to follow a major trend which, along about 1820, set in at the Educational Ministry itself under the promptings of men like Ambrose Rendu[387] in favor of commercial and industrial studies as well as the teaching of modern foreign languages. "The exclusion of these languages from the education of young people is reprehensible", Villemain declared in 1828. After the Revolution of 1830 "sections" of commercial and industrial studies were more seriously organized in some colleges. Courses were given in "French logic", "French Rhetoric", the sciences, history, geography, commercial law, English, German, Italian, mechanical drawing and bookkeeping. Throughout the reign of Louis Philippe a brisk campaign was undertaken – especially in the Economists Journal – to substitute this vocational training for classical education.[388]

De La Salle's disciples refrain from any criticism of the ancient "humanities". Their Rule and their traditions, however, inclined them toward the "modern" system, of which they would offer some of the best and the most convincing examples.

The Parisian residence school which would presently begin under the auspices of the Motherhouse was to become, through its programs and its teachers, the brilliantly successful branch of the institution in Beziers. We are familiar with the origins of the school in Beziers:[389] the charter granted by Vatimesnil in 1829 left the Brothers a very narrow range for instruction; it was prescribed that "they remain within the limits of" what was called "the second degree certificate"; for them, it was a very high cost to pay for the privilege of being exempt from teachers' qualifying examinations. The ordinance of April 18, 1831, by subjecting them to the obligations common to all teachers, emancipated them from every restriction; it was a fortunate side-effect of a measure that was not intended to be generous; the diplomas which the Brothers would henceforth have to earn entitled them to a total *licentia docendi*.[390]

Brother Marin, who had at one time been Visitor of Piedmont and later on Director in Namur,[391]. took advantage of the new circumstances to sink lasting foundations in the city in the Lower Languedoc. And he encountered a splendid associate in the person of Brother

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386 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1910, pp. 327- 328. *Essai sur la Maison-Mère,* pg. 183. The figure of seventy-seven Junior novices in a description of the Institute in 1837 (National Archives, F17, 12,462). The Bulletin referred to speaks of 121 students, but that is the total school population of the three Junior novitiates existing at the time.

387 See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 470.

388 S. Charléty, La Monarchie de Juillet, pg. 219.

389 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 506-511.

390 Chevalier, pg. 583.

391 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 549-562

Theoticus.

This Brother, whose influence extended so widely and persisted for so long, came to Beziers in December of 1830. Born near Montpellier on October 4, 1804, he had been a pupil of Brothers Eloi and Eulogius and entered the novitiate in Avignon on September 19, 1818, where he received his Religious formation from Brother Paul of Jesus, the victim of tragic times and one of the most active workers in the Lyons reconstruction.[392] Brother Theoticus learned at the school of such complete Christian Brothers the spirit and the virtues of the Founder. At Nîmes, Arles and Marseille he proved himself as a teacher and, through heroic efforts, completed an education that his childhood schooling and an early entry into the Institute had left unfinished. He exhibited the lively and versatile intelligence of the Southerner; and became capable of teaching a great assortment of sciences. His exterior appearance did not correspond to the usual portrait of his fellow-countrymen: the coldness of his manner, the inflexibility of his principles and behavior frequently intimidated his associates and inferiors who had yet come to know the man's dedication and fundamental goodness. What seemed to prevail in him was his circumspection, his gift for observation, indeed a wariness respecting decisions, which was measured by the course of events and by experience. Thus, he hardly ever took a wrong step and only rarely met with failure in his undertakings. One of his contemporaries said of him that "he was incapable of being mistaken, he was too shrewd and too deliberate". A high level bureaucrat who visited him asserted that "if Brother Theoticus had remained in the world, he would have become a Minister; he had the mind for running a government."[393]

This was the thirty-six year old Brother whom the Superior-general had placed at the disposition of Brother Marin. He had an austere mouth and a searching look, somewhat sad and rather harsh, a face with strongly marked features framed by long, black hair, and behind a huge forehead there was a powerful brain, and he had shoulders that were equal to the task of supporting the trials of the day and the burdens of an institution.

While Brother Marin directed both the tuition-free school and the new institution on St. Aphrodisias Square, Brother Theoticus was involved with discipline and teaching, bearing the title of "head" of resident pupils. Only Brother Exupere helped him out with the school work. True, the admission of the first resident pupil dates only from February 21, 1831, and in August, at the distribution of prizes that followed upon an examination "which was the talk of the entire city", there was a total of only eighteen pupils. But the work grew rapidly: "the two poor creatures", according to the Director's report, "were on duty night and day".[394]

From 1830 to 1838, except for an interval at Pezenas in 1833, and until his departure for the normal school in Rouen, Brother Theoticus occupied the post of principal. It was up to him to inquire of former teachers in Marseille or at the Rossignolerie in order to obtain information concerning the organization of the Christian Brothers' residence schools which had been destroyed during the great upheaval;[395] it was also his task to divide the pupils into "sections", to lay out the curriculum, to plan lessons and to function as a teacher.

In March of 1832 Brother Marin, speaking to a lady in Marseille who wished to enroll her son, briefly listed the three categories of pupil: "1)...those who were intended for a literary career; 2)those who were destined for business; and 3) those who wished to take advantage of a Christian and civic education by acquiring the knowledge necessary for simple shopkeepers."

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[392] For Brother Paul of Jesus see the Indexes to Vols. III and IV of the present work.

[393] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. III, pp. 400-408, Brother Theoticus' necrological notice.

[394] Archives of the Beziers residence school, *Historique de l'Établissement*.

[395] Necrological notice.

"The children of the best families in Beziers" find their way to the Brothers' school – "the happy portent of prosperity". And with that the forty-sixth resident pupil was admitted.[396]. In 1834 there were about 100 students. The ends of the school's founder, M. Jean-Jacques Martin, were not lost sight of: to create in the region a city- and rural-dwelling elite, whose technical education, faith and morality would provide an example to the people in Languedoc. To this end a sound religious formation would work hand in hand with a science oriented toward the practical, which could be called "the French humanities". There would be no alienation, no social retrogression; on the contrary, people would become more vigorously rooted in the region.

The mathematician Gergonne, Rector of the Academy in Montpellier, fell in with the Brothers' intentions. After signing the institution's "prospectus", he let it be known that the Director would enjoy a rather general freedom in the execution of the project. "Because this residence school has been authorized by a Ministerial decision", he wrote to Brother Marin on September 19, 1832, "you have absolutely nothing to fear concerning its existence, at least as long as the attention you expend upon it does not lead you to neglect your schools for the poor..."[397]

The growth of the residence school prompted the removal of the tuition-free classes to a site that the city government had for several years declared assigned to the Institute's use.[398] But the Brothers continued to direct all of their operations simultaneously. In 1834 Jean- Claude of Mary (Pierre Feu), Brother Leufroy, was named Director. He was a native of Amplepuis, in the Rhone, a novice in Lyons, and, as a very young Brother, Director in Bastia, Corsica. Repeatedly we shall find him in charge of important and sensitive assignments. He was a man of distinction, enlightened mind and of persevering, competent and quiet energy. Brother Marin's initial plan had been fulfilled and coordinated. The whole of it was approved by Geronne on July 28, 1836.

A new "prospectus" sent to families at the time announced: "In the first grade, prayers, the first principles of religion, beginning reading and writing will be taught; there will be some ideas of arithmetic and the history of France; memory training through the recitation of some stories will be begun.

In the second grade pupils are trained in a more special way in the subjects mentioned above. They are taught French grammar, grammatical analysis, and they are introduced to geography and the legal system of weights and measures.

In the third grade they review as much as is necessary the preceding materials, especially the rational principles of arithmetic and grammar; pupils are drilled in reducing ancient to modern measurements and vice-versa. They begin the study of geometry, mechanical drawing, drawing and learn some ideas of epistolary style.

Admitted into the fourth grade, pupils refine the subject matters of the program so far seen, conclude their study of arithmetic and both theoretical and practical grammar, write narratives, become familiar with logical analysis, take up decorative and landscape drawing and blueprints. Instruction during this year also includes algebra, trigonometry, geographical plotting, architecture, the use of surveying instruments, simple and double-entry bookkeeping, historical and commercial geography, summaries of natural history, physics and chemistry.

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396 Historique" cited. (*Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1932, pg. 28.)

397 Motherhouse Archives, file JEj1 (Béziers).

398 Ibid., Brother Leufroy's letter to M. Victor Bessin, President of the Higher Committee of the District of Béziers, August 30, 1836.

The institution can also provide musical education to those who wish it.[399]

It was a series of studies that was modestly presented by thoughtfully constructed. Starting with the rudiments, it developed uninterruptedly, progress was integrated, annual results were verified, consolidated and extended during the following year. It was the Lasallian system which demanded a closely unified body of teachers who observed the same methods and applied them patiently and conscientiously, who were able to help, and to replace, one another and able also to lead their pupils through the entire curriculum, except for a few educational areas that had been reserved for specialists. And while the 1836 program made no reference to modern languages, we must believe that this was nothing but a strategic silence involving the educational establishment, since, in fact, these essential studies existed at the time in Beziers.[400] They succeeded in giving the residence school the character of the advanced primary level of a college, in conformity with Guizot's plan – indeed, going a little beyond it along paths once traced out by the teachers at St. Yon.

This education suited the country people in the fertile plain of the Orb and the merchants along the Mediterranean coast, who bid their sons return to them on their farms and in their stores, once the young men had picked up a stock of knowledge from which they would draw distinction and profit. Other parents among the middle class in the cities would continue to endorse the classical tradition; they desired, however, that the future candidates for the baccalaureate degree first of all receive a sound elementary education. These, among the Brothers' pupils were those boys "destined" – as Brother Marin wrote – "for a career in letters".

At seven or eight years of age they turned up in the first grade classroom to undertake an apprenticeship of varying duration and, with their classmates, to be promoted to a higher grade. The vast majority of pupils did not leave the residence school before adolescence. Should it have been necessary, the city's college or some other department of education institution in Montpellier, Narbonne or Toulouse would have to admit, as day-or as resident-pupils, some of Biziers' youngsters, who had not yet made their "First Communion"? Parents preferred to protract the pupils' stay with the Brothers.

To satisfy anxious families, then, the Brothers ventured to procure the cooperation of Latin scholars, whose lessons could only be given off the school's premises; and, in this way, it was imagined that on Place St. Aphrodisias a fundamental point of the Congregation's Rule was not being violated. Brothers Leufroy, Theoticus and Exupere laid the matter before the Superior-general. There was some eager argument in favor of young souls who, too early detached from religious influences, would not elude the "contagion of bad example". Brother Anacletus was asked to approve or, at least to tolerate, an adroit evasion which would earn him the gratitude of people in Languedoc. He was moved, of course; but, as the faithful guardian of the Founder's injunctions, he could not be persuaded. And those in Beziers who had instigated the idea effected a retreat to which they had been "resigned" in advance.[401]

Their effort was clear evidence of the value attached locally to a Christian education. The spirit of public schools, with teachers sharing every opinion and supervisors recruited rather casually, with a mixture of beliefs and a patchwork of moral philosophies remained suspect. Furthermore, between the administration of the Ministry of Education, which had not completely extricated itself from Napoleonic militarism, and the, no doubt, seriously systematized, but kindly, discipline of the Brothers' school there was an immense difference.

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399 Motherhouse Archives, file JEj1.

400 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1932, pp. 29-30.

401 Motherhouse Archives, file cited, letter signed by three the Brothers, November 24, 1836.

People who were fairly well off did not hesitate to pay out 500 francs for a resident pupil or 220 francs for a day pupil. Considering the period, the financial sacrifice must have seemed rather a burden for modest households, especially those with large families. For gifted sons it was an acceptable hardship, and, besides, the tuition-free school was always available for every family. With a certain amount of pride, parents paraded their son, the resident pupil, clothed "in a middle-class outfit of pale blue", a "black vest", "reddish brown" or "white" trousers, depending upon the season.[402]

Relations between Brothers and pupils were founded upon a confidence and an affection that were austere and profound on the part of the former, and respectful on the part of the latter. It resembled family life for youths who, nearly every moment of the day, could count upon a teacher's dedication, a director of studies, a tutor for homework and lessons, a companion on outings, a manager of the minor celebrations of the school year, a presence in the dining room, at recreation, in the dormitory and at the beside of those who fell ill. Religious life was intense and conditioned upon the Rule of the Christian Brothers: in 1837 the Congregation of the Most Blessed Virgin was canonically founded in this residence school, which, a few years latter was dedicated to the "Immaculate Conception"; it selected as its first "Prefect" the edifying Joseph Maurin, whose entrance into the diocesan clergy led him to a bishopric and the head chaplaincy in the Imperial Guard under Napoleon III.[403] Vocations to the Brothers' Institute were also inspired in this climate of work and piety; we shall point out the more remarkable of these as we go along, especially those which benefited the school in Beziers before the Congregation as a whole.

Brother Claude, having moved from Belgium to the District of Toulouse, notes in his report of July 22, 1838, the presence of nine teaching and six working Brothers at the school in Beziers at the height of its growth. The Director, he believed, "had done his best for the good order of his Community": but he was spared neither "toil" nor "worry". With equal discretion, indeed rigor, of language, the Visitor spoke of Brother Exupere who took a great deal of trouble and "did rather satisfactorily". He then gave his advise, mingled with criticism, concerning a Brother who had come from Carcassonne to Beziers six years earlier: "Dear Brother Libanus" fills his job "rather well"; a little too familiar with the pupils and their parents; still immature in his ways.[404]

For us this is the earliest and the most curious evaluation of a man who was destined to have such a magnificent and fruitful career in Christian education. Unless Brother Claude was going beyond the limits of legitimate severity, we observe here the case of an eminent educator who did not, at his first attempt, arrive at perfection. Brother Libanus would mend the ways of his "youthfulness;" and experience would direct his behavior. As for "familiarity", this hearty, exuberant native of Millau would retain the radiant goodness, the cheering warmth of its youthful appearances; and it would be transmuted into an ever gracious benevolence stamped with nobility.

We shall meet this man again in a more spacious domain for his activities. After Beziers, the residence school at Passy awaited him and resecured his services after he put in a stint at La Motte-Servolex. At the time of which we are writing, "Passy" existed only in the bud: it would rise out of the group of students who glided among the future Brothers being educated in the institution in the Faubourg St. Martin.

The good order of the Junior novices as they crossed the streets of the quarter on their weekly outings impressed the neighbors, many of whom sought admission for their sons to the classes

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[402] Motherhouse Archives, file cited, "Prospectus" for 1836.

[403] Motherhouse Archives, file cited.

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operated by Brother Philippe. The Superior-general at first opposed the idea: could students whom the Congregation set aside for itself be mixed with young Parisians who were free of any tie to the monastic life? In the face of parental insistence an experiment was ventured: on January 24, 1837, the first such student was received; he was the son of the Commissioner of Police for the Fifth District, and in February and April, two more followed.

As new applicants appeared, Brother Anacletus approved the opening of a residence school. Its direction was placed in the hands of Brother Melit, previously Director of the schools of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Lawrence. A classroom, a refectory and a separate dormitory were furnished in buildings annexed to the Motherhouse. By the beginning of May the institution was in operation. And on August 29 a "distribution of prizes" took place.

Nevertheless the Superior continued to be concerned with the possibility of an annoying intrusion. He only agreed to tolerate it for a brief time further because of the repeated requests of the parents. On January 1, 1838 twenty-eight boys was the total student population of the new residence school. The order was conveyed to the Brother Director to leave the temporary arrangements as soon as possible by moving out of the Faubourg St. Martin.[405] The search for a suitable building came to an end shortly before Brother Anacletus' death. The contract of acquisition of the Valentine Mansion dates from June 12, 1838; it was situated at the gates of the capital, in the Commune of Passy, which was still rustic. And it was to there during the following year that the move was made and where, in a new generalate, a masterwork was begun.[406]

[405] *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 187.

[406] Passy residence school, Album for the Jubilee Year 1838-1839, Paris-Tournai, pp. 20-22. Between the foundation at Beziers and the beginnings of Passy there occurred the opening of the partial residence school in Rheims, which proved ephemeral. Ancient France had known an institution of the same sort in the city of St. John Baptist de La Salle; Christian groups and the Brothers wanted to revive it. Classes opened on October 1, 1831. The District's Committee for elementary education desired to prevent them. Montalivet seemed ill prepared to ratify such an arbitrary measure. But complaints arose from among lay teachers, according to whom, the Brothers "were forfeiting for their own benefit the freedom of education promised by the Charter." The City Council intervened and refused the Brothers the right to maintain their experiment on a site that belonged to the city. In spite of a petition on behalf of heads of families and steps taken by the Brother Director Andochus, the partial residence school had to be closed in 1832. (National Archives, F17, 12,461; Arnould, pp. 234-250. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes,* for January 1907, pg. 13.)

CHAPTER THREE

The Last Years of Brother Anacletus

A brief period in which were compressed important events pretty well describes Brother Anacletus' eight years as Superior-general. The Institute was established on broader foundations; it demanded from its members greater knowledge, greater initiative, still greater dedication, familial solidarity, profoundly Lasallian spirit, along with total obedience to the Church and fidelity and renewed devotion to the Holy Founder. It had increased its activity throughout France and, with the growth of its Italian and Belgian institutions, it had become decidedly "European"; it had begun its "world-wide" expansion not only by opening schools in a French colony, Bourbon Island, but – as we shall describe – by a foundation in Canada.

The entire imposing history of the Congregation during the time of Brother Philippe had already existed potentially as early as the period following 1830. Besides, the future Superior had already appeared prominently on the scene. The profile of this Celtic peasant, this apostle who resembled the Galilean fishermen, had risen out of the shadows and shone with the light of understanding and faith and had attracted the attention of the clergy, politicians, and a social elite. It was a face that mirrored the Superior's features and like the latter, it was compelling, captivating, although less rugged; and then there were its ascetical qualities, its leanness that was constantly sharpened by fragile health and its gentle, somewhat melancholy look. They were the two sides of the same coin; the one soon to grow blurred and fade away under the finger of death, the other to reap the benefits of longevity. From a distance, Brother Anacletus' name is almost totally absorbed in the fame of Brother Philippe. An uninformed observer might pause to contemplate the top-most point lying on the horizon. For a more experienced viewer, the neighboring peaks are clearer, take on mass and character, and frequently deserve equal attention, as patient an examination and inspire a still more deliberate wonder, while they complete and explain a power which surpasses them.

We shall be describing precisely the generalate which was about to conclude in the most agitated period of July Monarchy when we call it a "prelude". A prelude, however, contains, foreshortened and by way of suggestive intimations, all the themes of the symphony. To bestow a long analysis upon it is not to linger on the threshold, to throw the plan of the work out of balance or neglect its remote goal. The path brightens and the course becomes easier when, from the very first steps, we have been made familiar with the landscape and prepared an itinerary that will remain unaltered.

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Brother Anacletus' mission was pursued, after 1833, in a less difficult climate. From now on, religious accord pointed to steady progress. In the churches prosperity was on the increase; and newspapers which had been most adverse to clerical affairs did not fail, without either hostility or ridicule, to keep their readers informed concerning religious ceremonies and all the news of interest to Catholics. The St. Vincent de Paul Society had recruited numerous adherents among youth. The expanding publication of books on religion, theology and Christian philosophy is noteworthy.[407] On the other hand, polemics diminished or completely subsided. In May, 1835, Tocqueville pointed out "the extreme rarity" of writings against the faith: "religion and

[407] Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., III, pg. 400.

priests", he wrote, "have completely disappeared from cartoons". In conversations there were hardly ever malicious attacks or cutting allusions; this sort of silence, of course, did not prove conversion of hearts; but people wished to appear impartial; and unbelief seemed to have set aside its venom: deep in libraries Voltaire dozed; only intermittently was he heard to utter his "Crush superstition."[408]

At the same time Lacordaire's voice began to resound from the pulpit at Notre Dame in Paris. The splendid orator had spoken there for the first time on March 8, 1835. His sermons brought into the church an audience that was a mixture of believers and unbelievers, attracted in the beginning by curiosity and then captivated and thrown into disarray by the allure of an avid soul, close to them, full of love for people beset by human misery and ardent for Jesus. "As you know", Ozanam wrote to him, "the movement to which you give such a powerful impetus continues to propagate among groups of thoughtful persons."[409]

At the time of this letter, Father Lacordaire was in a fair way to restoring the Order of St. Dominic to his native land. His successor at Notre Dame was Father Ravignan, a Jesuit whose eloquence, noble and sturdy after the manner of a former teacher, lofty presence, priestly zeal and holy life compelled public opinion to respect the "Society" which, only a short while ago, had been maligned, abhorred, and the target of every dissenter. Henceforth, it had been "tolerated" in official circles; and, for the future, under the stimulus of Gallican prejudice and political distrust, only a limp persecution, more apparent than real, was resumed. Meanwhile, the "Society" grew to the point that it was obliged to split its "French province" into two sections. The most ancient monastic Orders, the "oaks" felled by the Revolution, sprung up once again from the soil: Chartreux and the Cistercians who were introduced into new places. In 1836 Dom Gueranger resumed the cowl of the Benedictines, and a year later the Pope declared Solesmes as the head monastery of the "French Congregation", and, as a consequence, the heir of the illustrious Cluny, St. Maur, and St. Vanne.[410]

We should also recall the burgeoning of those forms of religious life which were wholly dedicated to the spiritual well being of children: "Brothers" and "Sisters", in the style of the followers of De La Salle, increased in numbers in the dioceses. One of these associations, originating in Normandy, adopted integrally the Rule of the Brothers of the Christian Schools: after having given her teaching Community a regulation approved by ecclesiastical authority, Marie-Madeleine Postel complied with the advice of her Superior, Father Delamare, the Vicar-general of Coutances. In 1837 she studied the teaching and customs of the Brothers' Institute and, along with her companions, submitted to the procedures of a novitiate identical to the one of the St. Yon Brothers. And the vows pronounced on September 21, 1838 established a kinship between Marie-Madeleine Postel's Sisters and De La Salle's Brothers which has continued to be acknowledged.[411]

Hard work, forthright behavior, patience in trial and hope based upon God's promises had inspired this Catholic renaissance after a lethargy that skeptics and pessimists had believed to be fatal – and a burial that adversaries predicted to be final. Dubois de Nantes, an intellectual and former editor of the newspaper *Le Globe*, who had been rather ill-disposed toward the Church, from the podium of the legislative Chamber made the following assessment: "Three

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408 Thureau-Dangin, II, pp. 332-333.

409 Letter dated August 26, 1839, cited by Thureau-Dangin, III, pg. 403.

410 Thureau-Dangin, III, pp. 405-406.

411 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1939, pp. 60-61.

hundred years of struggle seemed to have conquered the clergy. Don't fool yourself. Its defeat is not confirmed. And its old influence has revived." And, the free-thinker added pedantically that a reform was taking place which could reclaim for religion the domination it enjoyed in the past.[412]

It was a precarious prediction, uttered by the speaker, moreover, as a threat to civil society. But it would be unavailing as an attempt to frighten the statesmen of the July Monarchy who did not seem too quick to understand the Christian ideal; but, overall, they congratulated themselves on the help that the Church contributed to their policies. They took care not to shackle its movements (indeed, seconded them) and showed their personal support for men like Lacordaire and Ravignan. They were concerned, however, to manifest a certain independence, to avoid affronting certain prejudices or arousing certain smiles.[413] Regarding priests, bishops and monks, Louis Philippe preserved an attitude of charming joviality, occasionally somewhat vulgar, somewhat derisive, with flashes of spirit and witticisms that he meant to be pleasant but which revealed him especially to be indifferent to questions of the faith.

Persons of the same age as himself casually clung to 18th century opinions, as did most of the members of the Upper Chamber, the great lords or upper-middle class. In 1835 when Charles Montalembert took his seat and spoke in that assembly of French Peers, at first he found himself totally isolated. His older colleagues listened to him with "a sort of indulgent curiosity".[414]

Bluntly the champion of the Catholic cause described this state of mind. On May 15, 1838, in an article in *France contemporaine* entitled "The Relations between the Catholic Church and the July Government", he accused the government of failing to rise above merely earthly considerations; what the ruling class lacked "was a deep-seated and clearly proclaimed sense" of spiritual values, "to acknowledge the vast domain, the imperishable hold" that religion exerted over souls, and "the strength" the State could draw from it. Regarding religious leaders and beliefs, one would like to see "that tactful, sincere respect" which refrains "from injuring sensitive consciences through thoughtless offenses."[415].

Nevertheless, Montalembert invited his fellow Catholics "to accept" the political regime "as an accomplished fact"; as he saw it, it was not so much a question of "surrendering" to the party in power as placing oneself at the service of the nation for the common good. The situation seemed to lend itself to this sort of loyalty; since it was an "incontestable" truth that "nowhere was the Church freer than in France, except, perhaps, in Belgium."[416]

So thought Gregory XVI with a stronger strain of optimism in Rome than among French Catholics. In September 1838 the Pope, speaking of the struggle between Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne and announcing the formation of the Bishopric of Alger, contrasted the distress he experienced at the violence in Berlin and the "special consolation" and "reason for rejoicing" that Paris gave him. He did not hesitate to refer to Louis Philippe, as well as the former sovereigns of the French nation as "the Most Christian King" and to praise his "zeal for Catholicism": *quod Christianissimi Regis studium in rem catholicam gratum imprimis ac jucundum nobis fuit*.[417].

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412 Thureau-Dangin, III, pp. 400-401.

413 Ibid., pp. 413-414.

414 Ibid., pg. 411.

415 Ibid., pp. 443-444

416 Ibid.

417 Ibid., pg. 450

Two and a half years earlier one of Guizot's gestures bore witness to this goodwill. In January 1836 the Minister submitted a bill concerned with secondary education, in which the principle of freedom was incorporated in the clearest way: private colleges might be opened without any preliminary permission. It was for the heads of the school alone to impose certain conditions for the diploma. While the educational establishment retained the right of inspection and disciplinary control, at the time, these restrictions appeared to be inevitable. They were inserted as it were reluctantly into the job description of the Head Master. And as for the Junior Seminaries, the Chairman of the Committee that submitted the bill, Saint-Marc- Girardin, suggested that they submit to the same system as other educational institutions.

Catholics raised no objections: in their eyes the advantages to be anticipated outstripped the disadvantages. They commended Guizot's splendid speech during the debate in the Chamber in March of 1837. The statesman declared: "The authority of religious faith is no less necessary today than at other epochs...Necessary for reestablishing not only in society, but in minds, the peace and order which have been so profoundly disrupted. We have all been struck with the disquiet, the ferment, the turmoil in which such a great number of people live; we have been struck by that extravagant thirst for change, for material well-being, for selfish enjoyment, with that power of the passions which is everywhere manifest...Religious ideas, convictions and hopes are the most efficacious means for fighting against this affliction...Without interior and moral peace you will never restore exterior and social peace."

This correction did not merely concern middle class youth. Thinking about the common people and without misreading the massive distress of working class, the speaker added: "There are other worries to which the lower classes are prey...and by which I am, if it were possible, still more deeply moved: moral dangers,...foes which are on the prowl for these poor people to pervert them, to sweep them along,...and to transform their lives and their energies. The intellectual "insights" which, surely, the government "strives to spread" are not enough, if we do not confront the purification of hearts and the training of wills."[418] Saint Marc Girardin supplied the most significant adherence to the Minister's thinking, like whom, he wanted "an end, finally, to the deadly divorce between Church and State". "Alluding to his personal experience", he proclaimed the "necessity" for faith: he was happy to see young people "looking for something to grasp at and hold on to in the midst of the world's disorders and asking for faith from their fathers...something for life and for salvation." And he concluded: "Either we shall perish or religion shall once again be a part of our society."[419] It was a sweeping torrent of eloquence, which, unfortunately, would be become desiccated in the sand. An amendment adopted by the Chamber diverted the flow. Guizot had not come out in favor of excluding any teaching Congregation, least of all, the Jesuits. Vatout, tirelessly in the field and skillful in mounting obstructions, demanded that every private school director be obliged to swear that he did not belong to an "unauthorized association or corporation". His colleagues went along with him. The law did not pass until after the addition of this amendment. After the final ballot, won by the tenuous majority of thirty votes, Guizot left power. His successor, Mole', had no desire to present the Lords with a bill which, to his taste, was still too liberal. The author himself of the bill lost interest in his garbled project, and once again the promise of the Charter was deferred.

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Christian education, then, continued to be confined within the framework devised four years

[418] Ibid. pp. 414-424.

[419] Ibid., pg. 425.

earlier. Salvandy, who had become the head of Public Education, in his study on the "school statistics" of 1837, paid tribute to the "teachers of Religious corporations": "I have drawn no distinctions between them and lay teachers; they were both equal in zeal and dedication. Nevertheless, I owe special recognition to the St. Yon Brothers who not only have maintained order and discipline in their schools, but they have also redoubled their efforts to provide their lessons with the character and scope required by the demands of the population."And while he deemed it right to express a complaint, this particular grievance was really something special and redounded to the credit of those involved: the Christian Brothers "from the moment they started teaching gained the trust which lay-teachers did not win until after lengthy tests".[420]

It hardly seems necessary to recall the reasons for such a reputation. As for their effects they translated into an increase of the size of classes, the continuing improvement of relations between the Communes and the Religious teachers and by the growth of the number of classes. The five schools directed by the Brothers in Paris on the Left Bank (Rue Vaneau, Rue St. Benedict, Rue St. Dominiquet, Rue De Fleurus and Rue Sept Voies) alone had 1,064 pupils in January of 1837.[421] The fate of these schools, like all schools in Paris, changed for the better after the government had withdrawn an antiquated meddling into educational questions from the Hospital Administration and the Welfare Bureau. The principle of education dispensed to the common people as a "charity" could no longer hold sway; it involved several consequences from which the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle were the very first to suffer: the "poor" were set apart, "separated" from other "social categories"; this was a mark of inferiority cast upon the schools by a number of cities, and a perpetual embarrassment for the admission of children; it involved exasperating discussions on the subject of tuition-free education, and, furthermore, the peculiar intervention of groups which nothing predisposed to function in agreement with a normal educational system. We have already examined the problems that the principle raised and recounted the squabbles which, on that occasion, it stirred up under the Napoleonic Empire in Lyons, Toulouse and Rheims.[422]

The Welfare Bureau readily abdicated its ancient rights.[423] For a century more the Parisian almshouses remained the owners of many buildings used by the schools; but they agreed to rent them to the city which henceforth became sole master in the selection of teachers and the recruitment of pupils.[424]

Official charity was disposed; and private charity retained its elbow room. Of course, as we have already pointed out, administrative legal philosophy disputed every scholastic function with parochial charities. But they were not stripped of the property that they had earmarked for educational services nor of the funds which had at one time been entrusted to them for that purpose. The Council of the Ministry of Education, however, assumed that founders "proposed" to the local authorities an educational personnel that corresponded to their intentions. And it was at this point that François Guizot's tenacious line of conduct reappeared: the right thing to do was "to unite the interests of religion and of popular education by as direct a line as possible." This twofold concern inspired numerous bequests; and to misunderstand it

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[420] Cited by A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 698.

[421] List of Christian Brothers' schools in Paris, January 1, 1837: *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pg. 24.

[422] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 130-137, 143-151.

[423] Des Cilleuls, pp. 431-432.

[424] Fosseyeux, op. cit., pg. 140.

ran contrary to the goals of public authority.[425]

The Brothers were thus confronting their traditional employers: City Councils, financial backers, and private donors who levied the costs for new schools on their personal fortunes. Throughout France people were witnessing a cheering spectacle: Christian education was receiving the strongest support. Beginning in 1836, Rheims restored the three classes in each of the schools in which the city maintained Christian Brothers; and on November 20, 1837 the decision was made to increase from 11 to 15 the number of Brothers paid by the city and, as a consequence, to give all these Brothers the status of "Commune teachers."[426] And while Rouen persisted in refusing the Brothers because of the conflict over the monthly tuition, at least the President of the Catholic Committee, Malfilâtre, strove effectively to obtain funds through the Ministry of education for adult courses.[427] In Nantes, the Brothers were able to join their school for adults in the Rosmadec mansion to the Jesuit apostolate (of Father Laurent and thereafter of the imaginative and delightful Father Labonde) in favor of workers and soldiers – a splendid "revivalist" movement which brought men by the thousands back to the Sacraments.[428]

Lisieux was disturbed by the intellectual decay and the religious ignorance in which vegetated its wool spinners, its weavers and the children, subjected to fourteen hours of work daily for starvation wages. The City Council looked to alleviate these evils through education: after a rather unsatisfactory experiment with the "Lancastrians", the Counsel asked the Brothers to devote a part of their Sunday afternoons and a few minutes of their Thursdays to these latecomers to the world of letters. Subsidies and books were contributed to assist the Brothers in this task.[429]

The administration did not conceal its attachment to the teachers whose work it observed; and when the Superior-general got ready to transfer Brother Jean l'Aumonier, who had been Director at Valognes for eight years, the Deputy-Prefect himself in September of 1836 revealed his "anxiety" at losing a man who had initiated a lively transformation of minds and was very popular in the small city.[430]

Provinces other than Normandy had been henceforth won over to Christian Brothers's education. The problems raised by the principle of tuition-free schooling or by the fad of "the mutual method" had tended gradually to be smoothed out. Viewed as exceptions must be the attitude of the city government of Montreuil-sur-Mer which, as late as March of 1837, was attracting the criticism of some voters for threatening to dismiss (with the support of public

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425 Guizot's reply to the Interior Committee, March 9, 1837, in A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 439.

426 Arnould, pp. 319 and 338.

427 Archives of the school in Herouville, Ms. history. Orleans, deferring to Brother Anacletus' demands, agreed to the abandonment of the shabby and unhealthy quarters on Rue St. Euvertus and lodge the nineteen members of the Community in a vast structure on Rues Treille and Bourdon blanc , which, subsequently, was equipped with a chapel paid for through citizens' subscriptions.[427]Register of Counsel deliberations, City of Orleans, meetings for June 7 and 23, 1836. The Brothers' chapel, which was blessed on November 8, 1838, the following year received the relics of the martyr St. Bonosus, whose name the school bore. See Henry Turba's pamphlet, *L'Ecole Saint-Bonose*, Orleans, 1937.

428 I. Cicés article in the Nantes newspaper, *La Famille catholique* for June 1839.

429 Archives of the Brothers in Lisieux, history of the institution.

430 *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pp. 17-21.

opinion[431]) teachers who were too unconcerned with monetary considerations and the hostility which induced the Mayor and Counsellors of Metz to take away St. Vincent's school from those who promoted the simultaneous method.[432]

At the same time Verdun was delighted finally with the success of steps taken as early as 1817 and frequently repeated. Notre Dame school opened on November 3, 1836 after a Mass which assembled a huge crowd around the Brothers and their 150 pioneer pupils along with Father Vignon, pastor of the Cathedral, to whose generosity this foundation was due. The Director, Brother Polyenus, learned, energetic and possessed of a remarkable influence knew how to attract attention to his splendid work. A native of Languedoc transplanted to Lorraine, he supplied his adoptive country with a multitude of distinguished men; he had disciples both among the faithful common people and among an elite from which were recruited the clergy, the army, the magistracy and the leaders of business and industry.[433]

The North experienced a magnificent flowering of scholastic projects in Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Douai, Cambrai, Calais, Boulogne-sur-Mer, and Arras under the direction of the skillful and deeply religious successors of Brother Abdon: – Brother Odilon (François Patin, the nephew of Brother Lysimachus), Brother Solomon (namesake of the 1792 martyr), Brotheér Frederick (the great apostle of the people of Roubaix), Brother Mellon and Brother Honor whom Bishop Parisis called "one of the lights of the Institute."[434]

The South-East and the entire Southern region as always was open to bold enterprises. Lyons had not forgotten that it had been the sanctuary for "the restoration". There forty-five Brothers perpetuated the memory of Brother Frumence, trained novices in the former Petit College and worked on the slopes of Fourvière and Croix Rousse as well as on the banks of the two rivers. Every year the city granted 40,000 francs to the schools operated by the Brothers and the Sisters, which was very little indeed when, besides the teachers' salaries, that sum had to pay for the upkeep and rent on Community residences and classrooms.[435]The Director, Brother Mamert, while seeking legitimate raises,[436] did not stagger under the burden.

He longed ardently for a less precarious situation for his Community. Petit College, the provisional headquarters that had been inhabited for more than thirty years, lacked gardens and yards, and was crowded between the houses and the "hills" of the ancient quarter of the Saône: the environment was too noisy, the atmosphere too confining, and the neighborhood too unruly. Health deteriorated there, and, as a consequence, so did vocations. But, close by, there was a massive building which, half way up, opened out into a balcony and which, from floor to floor, rose above the hill. It possessed strong walls, arable lands, beautiful shady spots and abundant water. It had once been a residence and one of the retreat centers for the "Priests of the Mission", the "Vincentians" founded by St. Vincent de Paul. They had purchased it in 1673 from M. Mascranni La Verrière. The Revolution evicted them from it, declared the building "national property" and, giving it the name of "The Lanterne House", sold it. After a variety of vicissitudes, these peaceful and sumptuous grounds recovered the religious purpose for which

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431 Lhomel, *Les Frères à Montreuil-sur-Mer*, pp. 28-30.

432 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October, 1930, pg. 326.

433 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January, 1937, pp. 44-45.

434 Archives of the Districts of St. Omer and Cambrai-Lille.

435 Motherhouse Archives, file JFB1.

436 Ibid., letter dated August 15, 1835, to the Mayor and the Municipal Councllors.

they were intended: the Visitandines took over the place and constructed a building the principal entrance to which gave access to the compound. They did not remain there, however, beyond 1833. From the hands of a M. Pison the "Vincentian cloister", by further notarized deeds, fell to the Foundress of the Charity of the Propagation of the Faith, Pauline Jaricot. In it the apostolic and enterprising lady wished to set up a home for the incurably ill.

The idea was an ephemeral one, however, which was surrendered the moment that Bishop Gaston de Pins (the administrator of the diocese since Cardinal Fesch's exile) began to share the Christian Brothers' ambition and urged Mmle. Jaricot to relinquish the place.[437]

It had been some time since Brother Mamert had set to work on behalf of the Brothers' project. In September 1835 a circular letter addressed to the city's Catholics by the President of the School Board, M. Verna, explained why lingering any longer at Petit College could only be harmful to the Institute, and it encouraged the people in Lyons to show their gratitude to these splendid teachers by assisting them to move to a more favorable location through generous subscriptions.[438]

Meanwhile, Pauline Jaricot went through with the purchase. [439] Four months after the contract was signed she partially relinquished, if not the property, at least the use of it, in favor of Bishop de Pins' friends. At her request the chapel was to remain under the patronage of St. Philomena, the martyr whose cult John Baptist Vianney, the Curé of Ars, did so much to promote.

Eighteen Brothers, employed in the Southern schools, stayed at Petit College for seven more years. The others, along with Brother Mamert, fled to the "Vincentians", on St. Bartholomew's hill, on November 10, 1836. The final sale did not take place until March 9, 1839 after the necessary funds had been collected.[440]

As masters of the estate, the Brothers were to put it to use in the most intelligent way. The moment they moved there they opened a Junior novitiate. On April 25, 1838, their Director sought the support of M. Soulacroix, Rector of the Lyons Academy (and future father-in-law of Frederick Ozanam) with the idea of obtaining from the Minister of Public Education a subsidy for the purpose of starting up a "normal school".[441] Actually, what was being proposed was a scholasticate to complete the implementation of a "House of Formation". The year after, the entreaties of parents induced Brother Mamert to admit a few children who were in a position to undertake higher elementary studies under the direction of handpicked teachers: to this experiment is traced the origin of the residence schools which, later on, would grow so enormously and, under the protection of the Basilica of Fourvière, would muster the entire tradition of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[442]

In September 1838, the Brothers dispensed their lessons to 3,512 pupils in the parishes of St. John, St. George, St. Just and St. Irenée, St. Paul, St. Martin of Ainay, St. François, St. Nizier, St. Bonaventure, St. Pierre, Polycarp, St. Louis, and St. Bernard.[443] Thus, the departure of the Superiors for the Parisian institution in the Faubourg St. Martin had not stopped the Institute's progress at the spot in which its apostolate began in the 19th century. Charles Demia's

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[437] *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg 170 and *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for April, 1931, pg. 118.

[438] Motherhouse Archives, file JFb1.

[439] June, 1836.

[440] Motherhouse Archives, file JFb1.

[441] *Essai sur la Maison-Mère.*

[442] ibid

[443] ibid

centuries-old project had resumed life and had grown magnificently, to the benefit of the people in Lyons, through the work of the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle.

Their work was no less esteemed in the Massif Central. In the presence of the City Council of Clermont-Ferrand the reporter of the budget on August 6, 1838 said: "Everywhere, the excellent direction provided for elementary education secures real successes, and for a very long time results testify to the care and the effort with which the Brothers pursue the distinguished calling to which they are dedicated. We must also do justice to the remarkable spirit which inspires them. This tribute due to their work, their wisdom and their modesty, the Administration believes should be recorded here, because it is convinced that your assembly would very much like being a party to it."[444]

Puy-de-Dôme, Loire, Upper Loire, and Lozère benefitted gratefully from the influences of the Christian Brothers. These Departments turned out to have been an abundant source of vocations. The same thing was true of Aveyron, a region of patriarchal practices and rugged faith. Rodez, where, after the Revolution of 1830, for a while the enemies of Religious Orders prevailed, manifested toward the Brothers (for the lack of fiscal generosity) a concern and a respect which was rapidly transformed into an enduring affection. "The Commune's resources did not allow" the payment to the teachers of compensatory grants for the losses they suffered prior to 1837 as the result of reductions in their salaries. The people in Rodez were relying upon the government to remedy the injustice: "(The Brothers') zeal, the growth of their school, the sacrifices which all five of them faced on the slender income of 1,800 francs – while the Director of the "mutual school" alone drew 1,200 – were claims which the Minister should not neglect to set straight."And soon the "Lancastrian" classes were eliminated.[445]

M. Rogery, the Mayor of St. Geniez, on May 24, 1835 explained to his Counsel why he wished to invite the Brothers. In the thirty-one years during which he had been governing the region he had been working to rescue primary education from the "penury" into which he had seen it fall in 1804. With the funds he had been able to assemble (especially from an income of 400 francs from the sale of the manuscripts of Father Raynal, the author of A "Philosophic" History of India) all children, "regardless of wealth" received "the benefits" of tuition-free education.

The "mutual method" had been adopted in the first place because of inadequate financing: it had cost nothing more than the salary of a single teacher. However, fresh gifts and legacies gradually altered the situation: "some of them explicitly specified the obligation of confiding the tuition-free school to the Brothers", when the Commune should have come into possession of sufficient funds. And although, at the moment at which M. Rogery was speaking, it still did not have enough money, he thought it was unsuitable to wait any longer. In the reign of Louis XVIII or of Charles X he might have had certain qualms: "At that time encroachments and requisitions on the part of the ecclesiastical authority" had raised a great deal of mistrust; and members of Religious Orders had to suffer the consequences. "To introduce them into St. Geniez would have met with insurmountable opposition on the part of those very citizens who are at this moment demanding them." Prejudice had disappeared; it was no longer possible to adduce political disadvantages, and the moral advantages were obvious: a population "conspicuously imbued with religious principles" proclaimed itself in favor of Christian education; "the Brothers, with the supported of the Clergy, overcame familial indifference with

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[444] Motherhouse Archives, file JFb1, "list containing the number of children who attend the Christian Brothers' schools in Lyons".

[445] Archives of the Brothers in Cleremont-Ferrand, school history. Archives of the District of Rodez, history.

respect to the education of children". Their firm discipline subdued "the spirit of insubordination and turbulence" of misguided youth.

Besides the pennies provided for in the Law of 1833, the Mayor did not scruple to ask his constituency for voluntary contributions. The Municipal Council approved. And in the year which followed this decision the citizen of their own free will paid out 8,800 francs; and then their pastor, Father Delbose, consented to a legacy of 5,000 francs in favor of the school, which the Brothers operated after 1838. It was in this way that a small town in the Aveyron initiated its protracted relations with the Institute.

St. Geniez, the native region of Father Raynel, diverted the income from the writings of one of the "Encyclopedists" and a partner of Voltaire to the profit of orthodoxy: it was a gesture symbolic of the feelings in the Rouergue, a region which seemed to force one of its sons, no matter how liberated, to serve the cause of tradition. Millau, Vicomte de Bonald's native city, could, surely, do nothing less than put on a pleasant face for the apostles of the Gospel and the catechism. At the outset they lodged them in the Franciscan monastery, near the Mandarous Gate, outside the old walls. Since the Hall of Justice was going to be built on that site, the Brothers had to move to Rue Cheval-Vert. The Municipal Counsel supplied the funds for the first institution. Furthermore, it voted an expenditure of 600 francs as salary for four teachers. Brother Donat, Director of the Community, had won over the affections of the people in Millau; the men in the white rabats and three-cornered hats met with broad smiles and sincere greetings in the network of narrow streets, both with the "little" people and with the important ones. The vocation of a man like Brother Libanos took root and grew in this Mediterranean light, among these spirited, warmhearted people.[446]

There were the same views in the neighboring Department, along the Agout as along the banks of the Tarn. Castres always had the greatest confidence in the Brothers; and the successors of Bishop Barral and of Father Lastours blazoned abroad the merits of the successors to Brother Bernardine and Brother Cherubin of Jesus. The District Committee asked for the creation of an upper elementary school. Why? came the rejoinder of the city Counsel at its meeting of August 13, 1837. Indeed, the school operated by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine combines everything that is reasonably demanded even for the vocational education of the children of the common people...For there grammar, the history of France, geography, geometry and mechanical drawing are taught; teachers of "portrait sketching" and singing have been added to school's personnel. The youth of Castres are there enjoying all the advantages that the Committee would have a right to expect from a more expensive, specialized school.[447]

The Mayor of Cahors wrote in June of 1835: "The Christian school in this city is in such a condition of prosperity that we fear that results elsewhere are not as good. Three hundred pupils successfully educated plead in favor of the Brothers "...[448] This was an acknowledgement that sprung to the lips of the city magistrate; for he was maneuvering so that only the poor would be taught by the Brothers and protecting two pay schools against competition from the tuition-free school.

All the more satisfactory appeared the Institute's progress; all the more sound its position in regions which, yesterday, were openly hostile. Toulouse, where we shall finish up this survey, had not yet completely capitulated. Its administrators continued to release but very little money

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[446] Archives of the District of Rodez, Millau file; and *Annales de Millau* by Jules Artieres, Millau, 1899, pp. 280-281.

[447] Archives of the District of Rodez, history of Castres.

[448] Archives of the District of Toulouse, history of Cahors.

to the Brothers, and, still, in return, demanded the maximum by way of work. "It was a most unfortunate and most unjust reckoning", as the Prefect of the Upper Garonne, without sparing the gentlemen in Toulouse, put it in a letter dated February 14, 1837. "The City Council knows that...the Brothers will not leave the city and that they would prefer to suffer the most drastic measures rather than abandon to their rivals the children whom they have won over by their effort, their merit and their zeal." It was a question of an apostolate, the official emphasized; and that apostolate seemed to him at once "so worthy and so valuable" that he asked the Minister to overlook a few bureaucratic regulations by granting the Brothers in Toulouse the sum of 3,000 francs. [449] To protect De La Salle's Institute was henceforth a part of the role of Louis Philippe's Prefects.

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The project to be pursued was somewhat different in Belgium where, of course, the royal government refrained from intervening; but Catholics were not unaware that its goodwill promoted their schools. Some "permanent delegations" granted subsidies to elementary schools and "Commissioners of Districts" pointed out abuses to be avoided and desirable improvements.[450] In a general way, provincial and urban authorities cooperated with the Clergy and with individual benefactors in the structuring of education. People functioned effectually in this climate of understanding, this rare and open freedom of which Montalembert spoke. From 1835 to 1838 the Brothers were entrusted with an entire group of new schools.

First of all there was Bouillon on the Franco-Belgian border. As early as 1834 the Pastor/Dean and the Burgomaster had inaugurated proposals with Brothers Anacletus and Claude; and in October of the following year they obtained satisfaction with the arrival of Brother Braule.[451]

The Merode-Westerloo family along with the pastors of St. Jacques and Notre Dames des Sablons opened a third school in Brussels on Rue Minimes.[452] There was also growth in Nivelles by means of a public subsidy.[453] In 1836 Brother Amos, at the request of Father Vanderesse, pastor of St. Nicolas opened a branch in Namur, bringing to eleven the classes operated at that time by the Community in Namur.[454]

Chimay owed its Brothers to the efforts of its Dean, Father Ducochet. On July 25, 1836 the Communal Council, on a proposal by Burgomaster Poschet, decided to replace its old teachers with members of the Institute. An "Obedience" was given to Brother Santin who arrived in order to prepare the way for the others; however, he fell gravely ill. With the consent of Brother Anacletus M. Poschet sheltered him and cared for him in his own house. The young Director, surrounded by such earnest concern, regained some of his strength and began teaching in January 1837. "His pupils loved him dearly"; while magistrates, parents and priests paid him their sincerest respect. Unfortunately, he would be quickly lost to them. Brother Santin, devoured by tuberculosis died in the infirmary at Namur in 1840. It was a loss that the citizens

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449 Lémandus, pp. 298-299.

450 Hutin, II, pp. 27-28.

451 Ibid., III, pp. 98-103.

452 Ibid., II, pg. 419.

453 Ibid., II, pg. 529.

454 Ibid., II, pp. 127-128.

of Chamay considered as a "public calamity."[455]

In 1835 Liege included two Brothers' Communities serving three schools which taught 980 children. But with the prompting of Burgomaster Jamme the city proposed to kindle competition. Communal education institutions – four boys' schools, four girls' schools, five kindergartens and industrial courses – were staffed by lay teachers. These institutions had been initiated by "liberals" who were numerous in the city. Catholics, as always vigorously backed by Bishop Van Bommel, were not outstripped. The Brothers had to be set up in a building that would guarantee them opportunities for recruitment and a physical situation in keeping with their prospects. Canon Cotale, President of the Major Seminary, and Father Sauvage-Vercour, President of the Catholic School Commission, bought the Selys mansion, which the diocese administered and where the Brothers established "St. Barthélemy's Institute".[456]

The activity of political parties in favor of popular education here continued for a long time at the level of efficacious rivalry. Elsewhere, still muffled, there were the sounds of sectarianism. After King William's persecution, Dinant experienced the decay of its educational institutions. The local administration lamented this condition and appointed a five-member committee which was to provide for the needs of the moment. The Pastor/Dean, Father Roubaud, was a member of this directory; and, encouraged by the Burgomaster, M. Pirson, he proposed to recall the teachers whose loss had been deplored since 1825. Two houses were rehabilitated; and on April 18, 1838 a group of Brothers arrived, led by Brother Bassus. And it appeared as though the coalition would quickly stabilize the project. But a rift occurred – a battle of opinions or a clash of personalities. The Communal Assembly had a falling out with Father Roubaud. It found fault with the Dean's activities, and it refused financial assistance to the school. For two years the struggle worsened among the people in Dinant. The Clergy held out and held on to the Brothers. Finally, peace was restored and harmony was reestablished on a mutually acceptable basis. And as in the principal centers of Wallonia, the sons of the John Baptist de La Salle felt at home in the charming city whose churches and roofs nestled between the cliffs and the river.

At this time, the Brothers made their first contact with Flemish territory, by way of Brussels. The capital – centered about St. Gudula, Leopold's palace and in its aristocratic and popular neighborhoods – which symbolized and ratified Belgian unity was for the Brothers a promise of growth. Perhaps, in order for them to spread more rapidly throughout the kingdom, they would have to enter more deeply into the Belgian soul and adopt more thoroughly the customs and the conditions of their new environment. On one point, in particular, Brother Anacletus balked at moving forward. This was the problem of scholastic "competition", to which all children were invited. And Father Descamps, Pastor/Dean of St. Waudru in Mons was insistent that the Brothers' pupils participate. On July 17, 1838 he wrote to the Superior-general: "Education in Belgium is not what it is in France; in no way can the government restrict its freedom; but it can make sure that there is education...If the Brothers refuse to allow their pupils to compete, they will be putting us Catholics in a false position with respect to the Liberals, who will say either that we fear competition or that we want a monopoly."

Brother Anacletus replied with arguments that were weighty in Paris but which were powerless to convince beyond the French frontiers: "If our pupils end up losing, it will be unfailingly trumpeted abroad; if they outstrip their competition, the accomplishment will be down-played...and it will become the subject of controversy..."[457]This sort of ill-will did not

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[455] Ibid., III, pp. 131-138.

[456] Ibid., II, pp. 366-369 and pg. 385.

[457] Ibid., III, pp. 42-45.

seem probable in a nation which, since 1814, had known nothing of a national educational system and which had just cast off the Dutch yoke.

In order to veto the Belgian proposal, the head of the Institute was here referring to an experience that was too exclusively French. Surely, his views would have been broadened if, with his own eyes, he might have experienced the situation, if he had personally consorted with persons other than his fellow-countrymen. Frail health, meager financial resources and relatively sluggish communications in the days prior to the building of the railroads account for habits that were still sedentary, a life that was cloistral and broken only by journeys through Districts immediately dependent upon the Motherhouse. Furthermore, these comments made in connection with Belgium provide us with the opportunity of making it clear that the "supra-national" system of the Institute was, at this time, only in its infancy. The General Committee of 1834 had only just sketch its main outlines, in order – as it said – "to preserve unity among the Brothers and uniformity in all their institutions".

It anticipated that schools opened "abroad" would comprise groups called "provinces" which, until further notice, were four in number – Belgium, Savoy, Piedmont and the Papal States. In each of them, "the Director of one of the institutions selected by the Superior-general" would assume the "supervision" of the Brothers and be called "Provincial Director". He was to deal with matters "involving the authorities of the country" according to instructions received from Paris. The question was raised as to how Brothers functioning outside of France would be able to exercise their vote in Chapters; in the light of the Bull of 1725 it belonged to the Holy See to decide in this situation. Steps were to be taken so that each province might send to the Congregation's Assembly a delegate elected by professed Brothers from among the Directors or the "Senior" members. What was planned was a representation in proportion to the size of the group: two delegates if there were twenty Communities in the province; three, for thirty Communities, and four for forty Communities.[458] As we shall see, an explicit arrangement was devised for the Chapter of 1837.

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This participation of various nationalities in the life of the Institute required some sensitive adjustments. It was not surprising that problems arose; but the ones in Rome were serious and, for Brother Anacletus, extremely painful.

We are already acquainted with the difficulties which caused Brother Rieul's retirement. The saintly man was no longer thinking of anything but his final end when, on April 27, 1835, he wrote to Brother Paul: "As a useless old man, I appeal for your prayers. Each day I feel older; my legs grow heavy; I am seized by shortness of breath when I have to ascend a few stairs. These are the harbingers of death; silently they urge me to get ready for the great exodus."Relieved of the burden of command and restored to his most cherished practices, he opened his soul to total obedience and to fraternal charity; he carried on his favorite task by translating, for the use of his adoptive countrymen, some more writings of the Founder and the circular letters of the Superiors-general. For the children who surrounded him, after the manner of the good Chancellor Jean Gerson, his work consisted in placing at their disposal small books on the Mass, Confession and Communion in Italian,[459] and of addressing them "in words full of heavenly unction and of delightful piety". He perfected his regularity, as well as his love of God and his zeal, purged of bitterness and obstinacy, for the reputation of the Congregation and for the loftiest Lasallian spirituality.[460]

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458 Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.

459 Motherhouse Archives, file KHn1.

460 *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, Circular, April 2, 1838.

But all around him people were prey to great distress. Numerous ventures did not preclude dissent and misunderstanding; occasions continued to arise in which inclined Rieul's successor, Brother Pio, to rather hazardous decisions, to eccentric courses of action, which roused a great deal of anxiety in the counsels of the Motherhouse.

Agreement had been concluded among the Roman Communities after the selection of the new Vicar-general, on the question of the habit. Nevertheless, some discord persisted, and at San Salvatore in Lauro and at "Monti", under Brother Anacletus' urgent entreaties, there were deft efforts made to alleviate it. "I am keenly desirous", the Superior wrote to his representative, "that your visit to Brother Hervè contribute to the restoration of harmony in your relations". He approved the opening of a school in Tivoli is "good postulants" might "come out of it": it remained to make a good selection of young candidates and to educated them carefully. He was sorry that, in Trastevere and Benevento, Brother Pio had not sought the advice of the Director of Santa Maria di Monti; such an evidence of friendliness might have placed the Vicar-general in a more auspicious posture.

The letter then takes up a matter of some importance: You were quite right to be fearful concerning the institution at the "Baths". "I hope that you never know by experience how difficult to operate that sort of residence school is...Cardinal Lambruschini is a man whose support must be safeguarded. However, we must not accept anything that might become too burdensome for us...[461]."

There was a cloud on the horizon; and it concealed a storm of which, from afar, the observer seemed to have a presentiment. Gregory XVI had founded an orphanage near the Baths of Diocletian, which had become the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Here children received an elementary education and learned a trained either in the institution or among the shopkeepers in town. The Pope was directly involved in the project, the chairmanship of which he entrusted to Cardinal Del Drago. But he met with many disappointments; the institution was poorly maintained, and scandals erupted in it. The Director, who was a priest, had recourse to violent methods, from which there arose complaints and, soon, rebellion. The young Romans threatened the priest, struck him, and went so far as to try to poison him! In the general disarray, the Pope called upon the Christian Brothers. And it was then that ensued the intervention of Cardinal Lambruschini. In spite of the Superior-general's warning, Brother Pio agreed to reform the orphanage; and he entrusted this difficult task to eighteen of his subordinates. Their immediate head, under the command of the Vicar-general of the Institute, was the distinguished Religious who had directed the "Monte," Brother Hervé of the Cross, who assumed control on January 1, 1835. His kindness, energy and skill quickly restored order. He fired all the lay-people, with the exception of the servants. Unfortunately, he was unable to refuse lodgings to the former Director, who – as in the past, Father Compagnon, De La Salle's jealous rival in the St. Sulpice Schools – in and out of the institution, entered into intrigues against his successor, succeeded in entrapping Cardinal Del Drago and, in winning over Brother Pio as well.

The truth dictates that we not conceal human frailties, nor insinuate that here below, even with souls that look to God, the light is unobscured by the least taint. Brother Pio was an eminently virtuous man.[462] But, henceforth, he might have found fault with Brother Hervé who was independent, intransigent, fastidious and all of a piece when it seemed to him that the Institute's Rule was involved. Roman circles had some difficulty in pardoning the Motherhouse's delegate his rather cutting lectures on the habit and his role respecting Brother

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[461] Motherhouse Archives, file KHn4. Undated draft

[462] For Brother Pio of Mary, see Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 536-537 and above, pg. 69.

Rieul. They served him ill at the Papal Court, where they made him suspect in spite of the praise heaped upon him by Gregory XVI for the good work so quickly accomplished at the "Baths". Their purpose was to restrict as far as possible the contribution of the French element in the Communities set up in the Papal States and, furthermore, to obtain for the Vicar-general a wide authority and a privileged situation among the Superior-general's subordinates.

Cardinal Del Drago wanted to remove Brother Hervé from the orphanage and replace him with Brother Pio, who was to add this post to his existing assignments. And the Cardinal had won the Pope's approval. At the same time, Brother Anacletus, informed of Brother Pio's rather strange attitude but unaware of the Cardinal's plans, came to some positive decisions: he sent Brother Hervé an "Obedience" which confirmed him as Director of the orphanage; but what was still more serious, he called Brother Pio to Paris and for him, in order to exercise authority over all the Brothers in the Papal States, with the title of Visitor, he substituted the French Brother Hervé, his right-hand man and the most rigid guardian of Lasallian traditions .

We can imagine the effect that was produced. While there was no reason to doubt the Superior-general's good intentions, he was apparently in head-on contradiction with the Holy See. At first, he was defenseless. In the name of Gregory XVI, Cardinal Salla, asked Archbishop Quelan of Paris to intervene sternly. The letter from Rome was not without its cutting accusations: the Sovereign Pontiff had been "distressed in a way that was out of all proportion to his kindness"; the Superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools must immediately countermand the orders sent into the Peninsula; His Holiness would not withdraw the Superior's predominance over the Italian schools; but "He demanded" that the people in the Faubourg St. Martin not seek "to oppress" Religious who had been especially supported by the Pope. "Brother Pio must continue to rule as Vicar-general until there is a new dispensation of things" in Rome; Brother Hervé must leave the "Baths" and return to "Monte". The Pope reserved for himself the right to name the Brother who would finally assume the direction of "the principal institution" of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Complete obedience had to be the rule. And it was matched by a humility suited to touch the hearts of outraged prelates. As early as April 14, 1835, Brother Anacletus wrote to Brother Hervé that he was going to reply to Archbishop Quelan; in this way Cardinal Salla learned that each of the stipulations detailed above would be abided by scrupulously; and he also came to understand the Superior-general's intentions and motives and "the simplicity" with which the Regime made a decision which was so harshly judged.

His Eminence had sharply "accused" Brother Hervé, and had charged him with an intolerable meddling in the administration of the "Baths". But this loyal member had been acting not only in conformity with the "Obedience" that had come from Paris but also with "the wishes of Brother Pio". He was not responsible for the misunderstandings; and his letter, alerting the Motherhouse, had not arrived until after the recall order, which had set the Vicar-general on his way to Paris, had been sent.

With most imposing serenity and the warmest affection his Superior cheered him, consoled and counseled him: "Of course, if you had foreseen this cross, you might have said, like your Divine Master: "Let this chalice pass from me..." But you would have had to have added immediately: "Nevertheless, let it be done, not as I will, but as you will". The cross that you bear is not of your choosing; it is the Lord...who has placed it on your shoulders...Ask of God the grace to bear it patiently. Let us pray that they might know in Rome where are the right, the Rule, regularity and the good of Religion and of the Institute. I hope that sooner or later...you shall obtain justice...And that your sadness will be changed into joy, which no one can take from you."

After this most Evangelical exhortation the victimized Brother Hervé was warned to remain on his guard and to observe the utmost prudence regarding what he said. He was going to return to Santa Maria di Monti and work there, along with Brother Chyrsologus, in the direction of the

Community.[463] At the same time Brother Chrysologus was fulfilling the function of the Institute's Procurator to the Holy See.[464]

Brother Anacletus meant to hurry "this awful affair" to a conclusion. He explained its angles and its mysteries to the Archbishop of Paris; and without swerving from the most profound reverence, with the best of arguments he defended, not so much his own position as that of De La Salle's religious family, the faithful observer of the Bull of 1725:

"In changing Brother Pio we simply thought that we were making use of one of our rights. It is certain both by our Rule approved by the Holy See and by customs at all times observed that all members of the Institute, without any exceptions, are at the disposal of the Superior-general...His Holiness himself not only was not opposed to the change of Brother Rieul, Brother Pio's predecessor, but with his own authority he was good enough to second the "Obedience" (sent at the time).

The Regime was happy to see that the Brothers in the Papal States were continued in dependence upon the Superior elected by the Chapter. "Had it been otherwise, the most serious consequences would have resulted; the example would not have failed to have been followed in Piedmont, Savoy and Belgium... "It was also necessary that Brother Pio "in dealing with the Holy Father, not evade the orders of the Superior by relying upon the protection of one of their Excellencies the Cardinals". If he were able, without the concurrence of Brother Anacletus "to fill the place of the Director of the most important Community in Rome", is it not true "that he would become by himself the Superior of this sector of the Congregation".

To such a goal the efforts of the Vicar-general were quite clearly tending; and to ward off this calamity a decision was made to replace the man who had sacrificed a trust that had been at one time legitimately conferred by someone "whose talents, regularity and Religious virtues (were) known and appreciated by the largest and the soundest segment of the Brothers...Italians as well as French."

In the Santa Maria degli Angeli affair Brother Hervé of the Cross remained docile as much respecting the church hierarchy and Brother Pio himself as respecting the Superior-general. His accuser, on the contrary, "became more and more estranged from the spirit of poverty, simplicity, humility" and obedience. "Nothing good could come of his direction." There remained a single hope: that the Pope would condescend "to agree to unseat" the Brother Vicar.

The same "explanation" was given to Gregory XVI. The Superior and his four Assistants added a most filial letter: Prostrated at the feet of His Holiness, profoundly grieved for having saddened him..., they pleaded with him, tearfully, to accept the expression of their distress and the assurance of the uprightness of their intentions. They submitted to each of the articles contained in Cardinal Salla's letter. Their administration – let the Italian Brothers be persuaded – would never be "oppressive", but "always mild and moderate". Following the example of their venerable Founder and according to the recommendations that he continued to make to his disciples throughout his life and at the moment of his death, they were committed to persevere in their dedication and in their love for the Holy, Apostolic See. And, "in all humility" they as for a paternal blessing.

Following this step he Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars reevaluated the question of the Vicariate-general, which was the object of the Decree of August 9, 1835 and approved by the Pope on November 13. This fundamental document first of all harkened back to the Brief of August 7, 1795, which created the post; the Decree meant to clarify this latter document, according to a petition of "Senior Brothers" in the Peninsula.

Its contents were composed of eight articles:

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463 (Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.)

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I. A Vicar-general was to reside permanently in Rome; two consultors and a secretary were to assist him.

II. The naming of the Vicar-general and the consultors was to belong to the Superior-general; the Vicar who had been selected was to designate his secretary.

III. The Vicar-general was to be chosen from among the Italian Brothers; the consultors could be selected from among the Brothers of that nationality or from among the French. The Sacred Congregation reserved the right of approval.

IV. The Superior-general was to delegate to the Vicar-general the task of naming the Directors of Communities (who, however, must receive the confirmation of their appointments from the Motherhouse), of dividing the Brothers among the various institutions and of undertaking useful changes, of admitting novices, and (with the assent of the Superior-general) of declaring which Brothers are judged worthy of taking final vows, of supervising the observances, of establishing new foundations at the request of the Bishops, and, finally, of being able to make any decision which cannot be postponed.

V. The orphanage of Santa Maria degi Angeli was to remain "under the immediate control" of the Holy Father. The "Monti" institution, exclusively set aside as a residence for French Brothers, was to depend, without the interposition of any superior, upon the central government of the Christian Brothers.

VI. Each year the Brother Vicar would present the Superior-general with a report on the moral and financial situation of the Communities.

VII. The consultors will simply assist the Vicar-general with their advice.

VIII. Like him, they will remain in office for ten years.

The *modus vivendi* created at the time of the legal destruction of the Institute in France and prolonged after Brother Frumence's departure for Lyons under the custody of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, and then successively of Brother Rieul and of Brother Pio di Santa Maria, continued, therefore, by the quite decisive wishes of Gregory XVI. The Italian sector would have a special administration and a rather broad autonomy symbolized and secured in the person of the Brother selected from among their number, approved by Roman authority, honored with a title, and furnished with functions which procured him an exceptional rank.

However, no matter how favorable the Pope in 1835 was to the claims of his temporal subjects and no matter how preoccupied he may have been with retaining a direct control over his beloved orphanage at the "Baths", he did not infringe essentially upon the Bull of Benedict XIII. The Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools was not deprived of his loftiest powers; he merely delegated a certain portion of them to a lieutenant whom he himself designated.

And Brother Anacletus went about immediately to prove, in a quite timely gesture, that his authority could not be deliberately ignored with impunity. Without beating about the bush, he passed judgment upon the behavior of Brother Pio who, in spite of the support that he was able to muster, had to relinquish his position. In sacrificing his ambitions he regained interior peace, the affection of his legitimate superiors, the practice of his duties, the efficacity of the good example that (prior to Brother Anacletus' severe censure) he gave to the novices in Orvieto and to the Brothers in the Roman schools. He retain the Direction of Santa Maria degli Angeli; this was Paris' inescapable compromise, since the orphanage depended exclusively upon the Pope. But a new Vicar-general was to direct the Brothers in Italy: – one of their countrymen with a splendid record of service, a former co-worker with Brother Frumence and *persona grata* on both sides of the Alps, Brother Joseph of Mary, from Ferrara.

The Superior-general's circular, dated January 25, 1836 and written in Italian, announced this nomination: "Let us adore the designs of Providence for the Institute and thank the Paternal Care which has preserved among the members of the family a unity of thought and a uniformity of behavior essential to the good that the Church expects of us...His Holiness' wish and the

Sacred Congregation's decree demands the most exact observance of the Rule, under the control of one and the same authority...We hope therefore that the recent difficulties...will finally turn to the advantage of the genuine children of our Founder, De La Salle.

To this end and in order to conform to the Pope's intentions, we have named our Dear Brother Joseph of Mary to the post of Vicar-general in the Papal States.The zeal which animates this virtuous Brother inspires us with the firm confidence that he will worthily fulfill his duties and that with all his power he will contribute to your salvation. His prudence, his humility and his gentleness...present you with a model; the knowledge he possesses of our holy Rule places him in a position to give you wise directions when you cannot look to your own. In walking in his footsteps, you will lighten the yoke which will burden his shoulders and that obedience alone forced him to accept.

We are all working at the same job: as a consequence, let us adopt the same means of action, and practice the same virtues...According to the precept of Jesus Christ, let us have but one heart and one soul, and in this way we shall be happy both in this world and in the next".

The appeal for union around a marvelous man deserved a respectful hearing. Those to whom it alluded understood it, but not without expressing their regrets at the removal of Brother Pio. We get an echo of this in a letter addressed on the following March 6 by the Community in Benevento to Brother Joseph of Mary. With a certain irony, it reads: "The Papal States do not enjoy Gallican liberty...Nevertheless, we hope to experience under your wise direction the holy liberty of the children of God. We shall not conceal from you how we have been moved by the resignation of our Dear Brother, the former Vicar-general: – the father who received us into Religion, the genuine mother who, during our novitiate, dispensed spiritual milk, and the leader who thereafter guided us; in a word, he was a Moses who lead us into the ways of the Lord. The sole hope of recovering these qualities in you somewhat relieves this great affliction."

Brother Pio remained at the head of the Papal orphanage from 1835 to 1839. A decree of Gregory XVI on August 21, 1838 confirmed the instructions of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars regarding the "laws to be observed by the Brothers of the Christian Schools" in this institution. The text proclaims once again the total and immediate subordination of the Community to the Pope; for administration, discipline and the education of the orphans, the Brothers were to take their orders from the "Cardinal-President"; for religious instruction and the frequentation of the Sacraments they were obliged to conform to the initiatives of the "ecclesiastical deputy"; Brother Vicar-general was to present his reports of visitations to the Sacred Congregation. While the selection of the "Rector of the orphanage" and of other employees belonged to him, nevertheless, he had to submit them for the Cardinal's approval; and furthermore, to obtain for the Rector the confirmation of the Sacred College responsible for Regulars. Important matters at Santa Maria degli Angeli were handled by the Cardinal-President, the Vicar of the Brothers' Institute and the Brother Director.

With the support of this organization, the institution could only congratulate itself on the work and the methods of its personnel. The Pope like to visit the place and testified to his concern for the children. Surrounded by these young Romans, become docile and surrounded by the "Fratelli" who knew how to mold them to work and to win them over, Gregory XVI slipped into his smiling good nature and into easily familiar conversation. The painful memories of 1835 became gradually blurred.[465] Besides the "Baths" and Benevento, a

[465] All the documents cited concerning the Brothers in the Papal States are taken from the Motherhouse Archives, files KHn4, n9, n10, p1, BEb6. They include especially valuable information in the handwriting of Brother Philippe concerning the Brother Pio affair and data concerning the orphanage at the "Baths" (See also in this connection, Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for April 1911, pp. 99-100), Brother Anacletus' correspondence at the time of Archbishop Quelan's intervention, the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars – in a word, everything that throws light on a collection of disturbing facts. In file KHn9 there is a copy of a document concerning the relations between the Madames of the Sacred Heart and the Christian Brothers Community of

Brothers' school was opened at Velletri, in region of Rome, during Brother Anacletus' generalate. Once more, in the birthplace of Caesar Augustus, the workers had set down foundations in land that had once been ancient Rome's. In the very heart of "the City" they could meet with the living relics of another Empire: Madame Laetitia, Napoleon's mother, did not come to the end of her long and painful life until 1836; doubtless, the French Brothers had glimpses of that noble face, that profile of the antique matron whereon were engraved so many memories and so much grief.

The Brothers' "Protector" from 1803 to 1814, Joseph Fesch, survived his sister by three years, deep in his palace that was filled with art. The death of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyons must have inspired the prayers of those whom, during the years of his ascendancy, he had assiduously served and whom, in his exile, he lavished with his affection.[466] In Parma the Brothers found themselves associated with the former Empress Marie Louisa. Archduchess of Austria, become an Italian queen, invited them into her tiny State. She had betrayed "the Eagle" and left "the Eaglet" to die of fever and to wear out soul and body behind the bars of the gilded cage that was the Schönbrünn palace; in her spiritual mediocrity, she was rather oblivious than culpable; and, for the rest, she was kind to those around her and concerned for her subjects.

Count Charles René Bombelles ruled in her name. The son of a hussar' in Condés army (Marquis Bombelles who had taken Orders, was chaplain to the Duchesse of Berry and then Bishop of Amiens in 1819), Charles René had fought for Austria as Schwartzenberg's aide-de-camp and then returned to France at the time of the Restoration. After the "July Revolution", he accepted Metternich's offer of the post of Head Chief Stewart at the Court of Parma. Outstripping whatever rivals, he was to assume Neipperg's succession. In 1834, Marie Louisa, "charmed" by his "resoluteness", his "gentleness" and his "virtue"[467] entered into a morganatic marriage with him.

Bombelles reorganized the Duchy, rendered strict justice for his constituents, built roads, bridges and hospitals, created a military school and constructed a public library. He strove to rule according to the principles of the Holy Alliance, took his stand with the Church and gave evidence of a religious devotion that was, perhaps, rather narrow, but certainly sincere.[468] He it was, in 1835, who proposed to the Princess to entrust a school to the Brothers.

On February 5, 1836 Brother Anthelme, the Provincial, wrote to him from Turin that the locality specified (the former Benedictine monastery of St. Alexander), because of its scantiness, would be suited for no more than three or four teachers. They agreed upon expenses for furnishings and maintenance. Over several years Marie-Louisa's private income was to provide for the support of the Brothers as well as for the upkeep of the conventual and

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Santa Maria di Monti; it is a "declaration," dated May 10, 1836, ratifying an agreement between the French Ambassador, Marquis Latour-Maubourg, Cardinal Louis Lambruschini, Prefect of the Congregationon Education, and Cardinal Pedicini, Protector of the Brothers at Trinita-dei-Monti who promise to defray the debt they owe to the French Brothers and for the future to pay them one hundred ecus each month. (See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 539-546.)

[466] One has to be surprised, however, to find that the name of Cardinal Fesch is not included in the *Relations mortuaires*, which lists deceased benefactors. The architect of the Lasallian restoration could not have been forgotten in the Faubourg St. Martin where it appears that the portrait now hanging under lights in the Motherhouse was preserved.

[467] Marie Louisa's letter to Madame Crenneville, September 12, 1839, cited by Octave Aubry in La Trahison de marie-Louise, Paris, 1933.

[468] Aubry, pp. 108-111.

scholastic buildings. The Community moved in under the direction of a Roman, Brother Michael. On September 1, 1836 three classes began; later they were increased to six. There were quite trusting relations between the ducal palace and the unpretentious teachers. In 1838 the Court Intendant presented official condolences on the occasion of the death of a Brother Cherubin, virtuous, humble, zealous and outstanding for his professional skill. Nevertheless, the small group's situation – engaged in the beginning, as it were, experimentally – stabilized rather slowly. Bombelles, on March 5, 1839, suggested that the Duchess confer legal existence upon the Brothers in Parma. The final decree did not come until January 31, 1843. Up to the death of Marie Louisa in 1847, the school experienced peaceful and prosperous times; and the return of the Bourbons did not alter this good fortune.[469]

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Sailing, now, for the high seas, far from fragmented, multifarious Europe, toward a country which for more than a century had been awaiting De La Salle's disciples and which was to provide them with vast opportunities for action. Canada, which had been prepared to accept the Brothers in 1718 and in 1737, had seen its petitions turned down for reasons that were beyond discussion – first, on the advice of the Founder himself and, then, on the report of the envoys of the Superior, Brother Timothy. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris stripped Canada from the mother-country. Heroically and with uncertain fortunes the descendants of the French colonists defended their religion, their traditions and their language against the English. The Catholic Clergy, which directed this struggle, had become reduced in numbers. The Recollects and the Jesuits were forced to leave the field of their marvelous apostolate, the "New France" which had been in part the creation of their efforts and their blood. Only the Sulpicians remained: they were owners of vast tracts of land, pastors in parishes, and the educators of priests. Their recruiting, however, functioned poorly after the British annexation. In 1790, the Seminary in Quebec had only seven priests, and all Religious Orders had disappeared from the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The policies of the conquerors and the destruction of ancient institutions left the people practically totally without education. The Canadians chose to be ignorant rather than to abandon the language of their fathers. At the end of the 18th century only 600 out of 14,000 people in Quebec knew how to read and write. Most of the inhabitants were satisfied to make a cross for their signature; and the Anglo-Saxons called them, ironically, "the knights of the Cross."

The grandsons of people from Normandy, Saintonge, Poitevin met efforts to organize public schools with inertia. The "Royal Institute", placed in possession of the property of the Jesuits and the lands of the French Crown, in 1800, offered tuition-free education to the illiterate masses. But the Clergy diverted their flocks away from it because they ran the risk of Protestant contamination. In 1829 "parochial schools" that professed the Catholic faith began to appear. They did not attain complete fulfillment, because classes were taught in English.[470] In the countryside there were teachers who maintained what the Canadians called "Row schools", where children learned the simplest form of the elements with the help of old spellers and grammars that had been religiously safeguarded.

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469 .[469]Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for January, 1934, pp. 16-18. Rivista lasalliana for June, 1936. Carteggio inedito relativo allázione scolastica dei Fratelli negli Stati della duchessa Maria-Luigia di Parma (documents published by Brother Goffredo), pp. 268-287.
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[470] *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938, article by Brother Clementino, *Centi anni di attività nel Canada*, pp. 107-108

Girls escaped illiteracy more easily. The magnificent work of Marguerite Bourgeoys continued to bear fruit.[471].The Madames of the Congregation and the Ursulines of Quebec and of Three Rivers taught little girls. And in this way, in Canadian homes, the mother of the family championed a kind of education and the major teacher who was able to support her children in ancestral beliefs. But once boys had passed beyond their early years, they found scarcely anywhere to continue their studies. Only the children of the privileged were admitted to the Seminaries in the principal centers of population either to prepare for the priesthood or to put themselves in a position to select a "liberal" career.[472]

Thus, secondary education succeeded in taking shape. There had been question of higher education in 1789 when the Anglican Bishop Charles Inglis sought to found a University. Because it appeared dangerous to Catholics, his project collided with and shattered upon the resistance set up by Bishop Hubert.[473].

French Canadians were therefore, with few exceptions, without books and without the most elementary notions of any of the sciences in the seventy years which followed their separation from European France. This abnormal existence of a civilized people was a concern for the better ones among them. Under such a handicap how could they go on defending themselves against foreign assimilation? We come now to the time when these people, left to their own resources in 1763, had become keenly aware of their nationality and observed their large number. Armed rebellion broke out in 1837; a bold group planned an uprising of the population against the English administration. It ended in a bloody defeat; and the leaders were forced to flee to the United States. In any case, they sounded the alarm and alerted their masters who, soon, became resigned to initial political and linguistic concessions.

The Church, anxious for the future of its children but unaccustomed to separate the faith from human learning, looked into the situation for conciliatory issues. It was at this juncture that the Sulpicians deliberately entered the arena. Since the French Revolution they had resumed more frequent contacts with their confreres in the Old World: the persecution of the Constituent Assembly and then the Terror had banished many loyal priests; the entire North of the new continent had benefitted from the afflux of missionaries. We have already discussed the role of men like Cheveru, Bruté Remur, Marechal, Flaget, and Dubourg, disciples of Olier, St. Vincent de Paul, and St. Ignatius, in Boston, Baltimore and New Orleans and in the vast territory between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.[474] These evangelizers had their counterparts in Canada. And the movement which began after 1791 never stopped.

Among the Sulpicians who had come from France to the rescue of the Canadian contingent, beginning in 1825, we note Joseph Vincent Quiblier. He was born in St. Julien, in the diocese of Lyons in 1796, practiced his priestly ministry at St. Etienne in Forez and, shortly after his ordination, at about the age of thirty, joined the Company of the Priests of St. Sulpice. His Superiors sent him immediately to Montreal. The city owed its beginnings to Father Olier and his friend, the saintly layman and enterprising mystic, Jerome Le Royer Dauver-siere.[475] They had given the city the lovely name of "Villemarie" and, for its promotion, they created the society of the "Gentlemen of Montreal", the lords of island on which the city was to grow: and

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[471] See Goyau, *Une Epopée mystique, les Origines religieuses du Canada*, Paris, 1924, pp. 206-209, 211-213, 219-223

[472] Article by Brother Marie-Victorin, pg. 34, in a book published in Montreal in 1937 on the occasion of the centenary of the Institute in Canada entitled *L'Oeuvre d'un Siècle*.

[473] *Rivista lasalliana* for March 1938, article cited

[474] .[474]See *Histoire du Canada*, by Francis Xavier Garneau (5th edition, published by his grandson, Hector Garneau, under the auspices of the Franco-American Committee, 2 Vols., 1913 and 1920.)

[475] Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 429-433.

furthermore they intended exclusively the good of souls and founded "Villemarie" as a bastion against the threatening Iroquois for the sole purpose of securing the conquest of Canada for Christ under the aegis of the Most Blessed Virgin.

Under different conditions their 19th century successors labored at the same work. At first Father Quiblier taught philosophy at the Major Seminary in Montreal; he then became Director of the Junior Seminary and finally Superior of the Sulpician Community and Vicar-general of the diocese. He demonstrated "an exceptional mind and a generous heart", luminous virtues which attracted the affections of his fellow-citizens, and a boldness of initiative which enables one to hail in this modest churchman one of the "great benefactors" of French Canadians.[476]

Prior to 1830 he was concerned for the ignorance in which urban and agricultural workers languished as well as the entire younger generation, subjected to physical piece-work, every winter, as they made their way to the lumber or to the fur trades. He wanted to secure teachers and catechists for them; and he thought of the Christian Brothers whom he knew in the Lyons region, the Institute whom Fathers Tronson, Baühin, Barmondiere and Baudrand had played a part in training in the person of the saintly canon of Rheims and to which they had given prominence by means of the Sulpician primary schools. He commissioned a confrere in Paris, Father Carriere to begin negotiations in the Faubourg St. Martin. For a long time, the reply had been negative: Brother Guillaume de Jésus was in no hurry for distant enterprises; he remembered the Louisiana debacle; and he struggled to satisfy in France and in the French colonies a government, Bishops and supporters whose entreaties harassed him.

At the beginning of his generalate, Brother Anacletus was imperiled by too many obstacles. After fresh postponements, Father Quiblier decided to open up direct negotiations with him. On April 22, 1836, he wrote to the Superior-general: ...Father Carriere has on several occasion set before you our hopes and our desires...The harvest in our city is abundant indeed: more than 600 children need teachers...The dwindling of faith and morals increases through a want of help. Montreal, a city of 30,000 souls, 20,000 of which are Catholic, is a daughter of the Church of France, whose language is spoken there and whose customs are followed there and whose priests are obeyed there. There, your Brothers would win the same love and, perhaps, the most plentiful blessings. The people of this country are quite religious; by educating them from childhood, we should obtain the most consoling results.

"Not only the city, but the entire province would feel the effects of your foundation here. Apart from the thousands of pupils, candidates would apply to the novitiate where you would be able to train...They would become associated in your work and would spread it into all the important places. The desires and the trust of populations would everywhere call to you...

"And, too, Most Honored Brother, the way to spare yourself my entreaties is to grant the favor I'm seeking. A refusal, one or a thousand, will not discourage me. I know your Institute; indeed, when I worked at St. Etienne, I recruited several novices...The Director of the Brothers in that city and the Brothers in the Notre Dame school were in a position to learn the trust and the respect I had for them. And that has in no way changed!

"Here, your Brothers would work without clamor or glitter; they would have relations with none but the Superior of the Seminary...A priest of our Community would be their spiritual director; we should be responsible for their temporal necessities...And they would lack nothing that is essential.[477]

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[476] Goyau, op. cit., pp. 124-135, 147-168. *Rivista lasalliana*, for March 1938, article cited, pg. 111. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for April, 1938, pg. 142. In 1846, Father Quiblier was made pastor in London; he died in 1852 at the Parisian seminary of Issy-les-Moulineaux.

[477] *L'Oeuvre d'un Siècle*, letter cited in Brother Bartholomew's article, p. 55-56. Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for April, 1938, pg. 142.

The arguments aim at an evocation of Canada's religious and French past, the nearly prophetic perspective on the future in store for the Christian Brothers, the personal support of the petitioner, which puts the Brothers in his debt, the assurance the Brothers have of a warm welcome and material security, and, as concerns their hosts an exact knowledge of the Brothers' way of life and of their immutable Rule.

Bishop Lartigue, of Montreal, confirmed this appeal in a letter which was also addressed to Brother Anacletus on August 25, 1837: "With a great deal of pleasure", he longed to see "the Brothers of the Christian Schools enter and remain in his diocese, convinced that they would effect the same good things there as in France..." As a gift commemorating a joyous arrival, he offered them "the use gratis of a handsome house" located close to his cathedral.[478]

The Superior's approval this time was delayed only by the length of time it took to receive the final, cheering letter. He wrote to the Bishop on October 6: "For more than eight years "the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice" in residence in Montreal, through their Parisian confreres, have entreated me to send them some of our Brothers to operate tuition-free schools in that city. Since the difficulties which, hitherto, stood in the way of fulfilling their wishes have been finally lifted, I am taking the liberty of sending them four, but only after being assured that it will be agreeable to Your Excellency. I make bold, my lord, to recommend them to your kind attention; ...they are prepared to employ all their efforts to train your young flock in piety and in the Christian virtues."[479]

The men who had been selected to be pioneers would please the Bishop. They were Brothers Aidan, Rombaud, Adalbertus and Euvertus. Brother Aidan (Louis Roblot) was forty years of age. Born in Falmay, in the Cote-d'Or, he was included among the novices whom, in 1817, Brother Paulian, the successor in Langres to Brother Jonas, directed in the best tradition of St. John Baptist de La Salle. He had inherited his Director's robust faith, his cult of the Rule, his apostolic zeal, down to his reputation for holiness. After having directed the school at Bourbon-les-Bains and thereafter taught in Paris and then in Nantes, he resided as Visitor of the District in the capital city of the Lower Loire, at which time the "Regime" appointed him for the American project.

He was a superior person in relation to whom his three associates stood out less strikingly, although they were cut from the same cloth. Brother Rombaud (Jean Lucas), in the view of one of his colleagues, possessed not special talent for education. On the other hand, his religious behavior could serve as an example; and thus he was to become the Director of Canadian novices. A native of St. Laurent de la Roche in the Comtat, in the final months of 1837 he was still a young man of only twenty-five years. At that time be was part of the Community in Orleans.

His senior in the Institute by many years, Brother Euvertus was responsible for the humble work of "temporalities". He was a Christian Brother after the heart of the Founder – totally obedient and detached, seeking obscurity and neglect of self. He had been the cook at Gros Caillou, but he abandoned his Parisian ovens to relight his stoves in the Montreal winters. Pierre Demarquey would never return to France. In his seventies, he died in 1865; and the love of God and of his neighbor prevented him from ever thinking of himself as an exile.

Brother Adalbertus was to have the experience of brief return to Europe; but faithful to Canada and the last survivor of the four pioneers, his long life earned him the title of "Patriarch of American Brothers". The year 1887, the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival was celebrated in

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478 *L'Oeuvre d'un Siècle*, article cited, pg. 56.

479 Ibid., pp. 56-57. Cf. *Rivista lasalliana,* for March 1938, pp. 111-112.

the institution called “Mont de La Salle”. The old man of seventy-six years of age shared with his confreres the letter which, as a young teacher in Dieppe in his native Normandy, he had received from the Superior-general at the end of September, 1837: “I must send Brothers to Montreal...I need a Brother for the upper classes, and I thought that I could rely on you for this important mission. But since it is a far-away country...I have not wished to give you orders without consulting you...Please think it over...and let me know if you are prepared to go. If your reply is affirmative – something I very much wish – you must be ready to be at Havre on the 6th or 7th of October.”

Pierre-Louis Lesage, so sensitively sounded out, did not decline. He himself described the sequel to his earlier recollections. Himself and his companions embarked October 10 on the vessel Louis-Philippe and set sail for the United States. Three Sulpician Fathers, Billaudele, Chalbos and Raymond travelled with them. The crossing was not without its agonies and its storms. It ended up in New York on November 3rd. The Sulpicians and the Christian Brothers paid their respects to the Bishop Dubois, of that city, who was a compatriot. By boat on the Hudson they reached Albany; and from there they went to Troy; and then, by canal, as far as Whithall. After St. John Dorchester they made for the Canadian grasslands, conveyed by the first railroad in service in the region. As though to put the physical resistance and resolution of these new conquerors to an immediate test, the great Northern cold preceded them. But there, finally, stood Montreal in its imposing landscape. The city was no longer imperiled by the Iroquois, nor by threats of fire, scalping and torture as in the heroic days of Maisonneuve. But neither did it present a very reassuring appearance: barricades on some of the streets were witnesses to recent struggles between Anglo and French Canadians. Resentment and mistrust still prevailed; and there was reason to fear some violence on the part of the Protestants, perhaps some steps to exclude the foreign Brothers in their strange habits. The Sulpicians provided their guests, provisionally, with clerical hats. They put them up in four small rooms on the third floor of the Seminary and had a servant carry their meals up to them.

Such, emerging from a detailed memory that was disinclined to transform the facts, was Brother Adalbetus’ story. In brief, no unfortunate incident disrupted the first days. The arrival of the teachers of numberless Canadians occurred, as Father Quiblier want it and as the Brothers themselves wished, “without display and quietly”. They were shielded in Sulpician discretion. And they quickly won the friendship of Catholics. The Superior of the Seminary brought Brother Aidan and his associates to the churchwardens in Montreal; five months later this Charity Counsel proclaimed its gratitude in a decision that was exceptional and in spirit quite Christian: Brothers who should die in the parish would be buried free of charge, at the parishioners’ expense and “at the peeling of two bells”. “From now on we own land in America”, Brother Aidan wrote to Brother Anacletus, “owners of the grave which will receive our mortal remains”.

The prelude which introduced a concert of accolades contained only a fleeting dissonance, and it came, not from the Anglo-saxon sector, but from an organ which in the French tongue echoed European factionalism. In the newspaper La Minerve, for November 13, 1837, we read: “Four so-called Brothers of Christian Doctrine and two priests arrived to educate Canadian youth in passive obedience. We do not understand how the Bishop of Montreal could have agreed to the admission of French churchmen after the statement he has made to the contrary.

This outburst of ill humor could not spoil the festivity. Three weeks after the induction of the new comers, Father Quiblier, addressing the Superior of the Christian Brothers dwelt on a cheerful note: “I have become responsible to you for an immense debt of gratitude...Our superb Brothers experienced no mishaps...They had their supper in Havre on October 10; and they dined with us in Montreal on November 7. Never was there a quicker nor more delightful voyage. The Most Blessed Virgin must have gotten involved...Our good Mother knows only too well how ardently we awaited them.”

But the fervently zealous priest was already planning to extend the project. “You have assisted us thoroughly according to our taste and your own ability, but not according to our needs. We need, to begin with, at least twelve Brothers. Even this number itself would not be enough, if it were possible to find Brothers capable of caring for children who speak nothing but English or if there were others able to operate night schools!...Our workers finish their day, in the summer time, at six o’clock in the evening; they would profit from any religious instruction.”

This sort of insistence, however, was out of line with the fact that the first school was not yet in operation. The opening of classes was planned for the day before Christmas Eve. There were to be 146 in the beginners section – 76 in Brother Adalbetus’ class in May of 1838, and 120 other who were awaiting admission. To satisfy the numbers the size of the school would have to be doubled.

This information, after Father Quiblier, was supplied by Brother Aidan, whose letter to his old friend, Brother Eulogius – the Director of the school in Orleans – contains, apart from these statistics, personal impressions which reveal a man who is somewhat harassed by a climate in which, summer succeeds to winter almost without a period of transition, and by the environment which he regards as particularly harsh:

“On the 5th of May we saw the first spring flowers in the garden and some leaves on the currant-bush ... On the 14th the heat reached 14 degrees and on the 15th, 23 degrees <Reaumur>. I have no difficulty believing that if this continues, we shall be experiencing the sort of heat they have in Africa...

“Arts and sciences are in their infancy among Canadians, who do not examine deeply into anything, the flightiness of their character makes them as fickle as bees...We are fairly satisfied with out small pupils; except that a good number of them are afflicted with the ailment of the country, laziness... But by inspiring them, we make something out of them... "

The metamorphosis would occur more thoroughly and more completely than the teacher, in his modesty, was willing to foresee. According to their traditional methods, the Brothers held the pupils’ attention, controlled and civilized children who had lacked an elementary education and whom an ignorance inherited from their fathers and grand-parents had returned to barbarism. A strong religious foundation, uprightness and moral purity facilitated the teachers’ task.

Intellectual formation required very special efforts, a series of ingenious operations. In a country where there was a lack of libraries and whose history, geography, linguistic peculiarities, fauna and flora, and industrial and agricultural techniques had not yet been seriously studied, the Christian Brothers made it their special duty to forge their own teaching tools. They had to abandon the textbooks used in France: all sorts of barriers existed between Paris and Montreal. Navigation lines sailed – as we saw in connection wit the 1837 voyage – for the United States, and not for the St. Lawrence. The frigate *La Capriecieuse* had not yet been met by the cheers of the people who dwelt along the great river as it arrived to renew direct ties between Canadians and French.

Thrown back upon their own devices, the Brothers in Montreal became authors so as not to leave their pupils with textbooks that were a hundred years old.. Brother Adalbertus lead the way with his Explanation of the Provincial Catechism, Introduction to Cosmography, and Study of Geography – initial efforts which the following generations, better prepared and better equipped, would by-and-large improve upon.

The whole of Canada benefitted both from the pedagogy and – in more recent times – from the scientific work of the Brothers. Once the heaviest yoke of political servitude was lifted and elementary education was finally systematized in the country with a truly rare flexibility and liberality, the Institute enjoyed a reputation which no credible criticism could undermine. It found in the “school commissions” chosen by parochial elections and in the Provincial

Counsels of Public Education many friends, much support, and statesmen in a position to appreciate the benefits of Christian education and to promote its progress.
The tiny seed of 1837 contained all of this potential. On January 22 1838, Bishop Bourget, Bishop Lartigue's coadjutor called down the blessing of the Holy Spirit upon the teachers and pupils. In the following June the Community moved from its provisional dwelling in the Seminary to an independent house near the school. And it was there that a novitiate was begun with the entrance, however hesitant, of three young men who came from the neighborhood of Quebec City.[480]

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Non nobis, Domine, non nobis; sed nomini tuo da gloriam. In the most splendid moments of his generalate, in the light that finally illumined the sky, Brother Anacletus certainly repeated these words of the Psalmist. And perhaps he added the prayer: "Lord, glorify also your servant, John Baptist de La Salle". The triumph of the Founder here below abided in his work, which was continually expanding. But in the perspective of eternity, perhaps the Church might declare this man of heroic virtue worthy of the honors of the altar.

Brothers in the preceding periods had initiated certain steps in Rome, collected testimony and documentation valuable in a cause of canonization. But it seems that there was no file in order when the end of the 18th century brought with it, over a period of ten years, the destruction of the Congregation, and when, for a longer period of time, there followed a reversion to life hedged in with precautions, a condition of convalescence scarcely favorable to projects demanding patience, to persevering and expensive efforts.

At Petit College in Lyons, at the Holy Child Jesus House, Brother Frumence, Brother Gerbaud and Brother Guillaume frequently evoked the story of the origins of the Society; and, of "M. de La Salle, our Founder," they spoke with the most respectful and the most filial affection.[481] But in external demonstration they remained quite reserved. Perhaps the pupils in the Christian Brothers schools did not thoroughly understand that beyond the "dear Brothers" their gratitude should go back to the Congregation's distant past. The public, too, remained exceedingly ill-informed concerning the history of the Brothers; the biography due to the unctuous and prodigal pen of Canon Blain was already a century old; its style, its contents, its tediousness made it difficult of access for the common reader. It had not been re-edited. Father Garreau's book, published in 1760 and the one by Father Montis, which dates from 1785, would have been more likely to have spread the story of the great Teacher outside the Institute. While Father Montis' book, which attempted especially to present John Baptist de La Salle as a model of the clergy seemed somewhat neglected, the elegant abridgment of Blain's work that Garreau planned, appeared in 1825. It does not seem, however, to have reached a very large reading public. In 1828 Father Caron attempted to write something brief and informal, with a title that completely reflects the fashion of the epoch: *The Tender Friend of the Children of the People* or The *Life of Father John Baptist de La Salle*. Unfortunately, his knowledge of history was fragmentary, and his determination to edify did not compensate. Along the same lines was the pamphlet which appeared in Lille, *The Friend of Children,* which circulated in 1831.[482]

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[480] *L'Ouvre d'un Siècle*, pp. 34, 57, 62-69, 75. *Rivista lasalliana* for March 1938, pp. 112-114. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1910, pg. 292; for April, 1911, pp. 123-124; for July, 1928, pg. 235; for April, 1938, pp. 142-143.

[481] See especially the Circular for April 17, 1819, Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 425-426.

[482] J. Guibert, *Histoire de Saint John Baptist de La Salle*, 1901, list and analysis of sources, pp. 693-694.

Actually, the Brothers were more popular than genuinely and exactly known: in some circles, people persisted in calling them "Ignorantines", as in the days of Voltaire and during the Empire; even in Catholic circles there was some hesitation as to their official designation: – St. Yon Brothers, Brothers of Christian Doctrine... It might have been better to have called them "the sons of De La Salle"; but to put an end to fumbling about and being wrong about them the obscurity that surrounded the image of the Founder had to be dispelled.

More resolutely than his immediate predecessors, Brother Anacletus called for light and directed it where it was needed. Two gestures marked the year 1834: the order to hang the Founder's portrait in classrooms in which his Brothers taught as well as in the principal room in each Community; the Committee meeting in the Faubourg St. Martin took the initiative in this quite significant tribute.[483].Secondly, there were arrangements decided upon with the view of introducing the Founder's cause for beatification in Rome; the Motherhouse supervised the writing of a Life in 414 articles "to serve as a questionnaire for witnesses" whom the postulator would have to summons.[484]The investigative proceedings could be started in the dioceses to which De La Salle belonged. At the same time the Holy See was sounded out. In a letter on February 14, 1834, the Superior-general inquired of Brother Assistant Abdon – responsible at the time for a mission to Italy – concerning the welcome the project had met with among the distinguished persons in the Papal entourage. And he added that, of the episcopal chancelleries in France, Rheims and Rouen were favorable, while Paris was silent.[485]

The year was not out before proceedings had been set in motion in these three cities. And, in the course of 1835, the mortal remains of the Founder, buried in 1734 and desecrated although not obliterated in 1793, were exhumed at St. Yon.

After so many fruitless appeals, the Brothers had lost hope of ever regaining their old Norman estate. But they intended to recover the remains of their Founder. It had now been forty-two years since the Brothers had been obliged to forsake St. Yon and the tomb, and their steadfast hearts were pained by the separation. Even as early as the beginning of the century they sought to save the revered remains.[486] They would become relics which it was now high time to withdraw from the distracted earth, from the land withheld from its legal heirs.

On April 30 a Prefectural decree authorized excavations. The work, begun on May 3, in a few hours produced the desired results: they uncovered traces of the vault and, then, bits of planking, the fringes of a priest's stole and, finally, a scattering of bones. Two physicians sorted the fragments of the skeleton; there were neither vertebrae nor shoulder blades, whether because they had been reduced to dust or because the desecrators had strewn them about. Practically nothing of the garments that had clothed the body was found.

The Commissioner of Police, present at the disinterment, signed the written report. Another identification took place on May 9 at the time of the transfer of the remains to the Normal School chapel on Rue St. Lo. Brother Calixtus informed Brother Anacletus: "The body...has been handed over to us. We dare hope that you, too, would be so kind as to allow us to be the guardians of the Institute's most precious treasure. We bless Providence for having selected us to be witnesses to such a comforting occurrence. We should have preferred to have shared our joy with all the sons of our Father!"

The wishes of the Superiors were not in agreement with desires of the people in Rouen. And Brother Calixtus was commissioned to seek an order of dispossession from the Archdiocese in favor of the Motherhouse. He met with a flat refusal. Father Fayet, the Vicar-general,[487]

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[483] Lémandus, pg. 319

[484] Guibert, op. cit., pg. 694

[485] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

[486] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg 60.

[487] A relative of Count Chaptal, a worker on the newspaper Le Conservateur during the Restoration,

replied that Rouen, which had been the place of De La Salle's death, must remain his burial ground; that such conformity was especially timely at the moment when beatification was being contemplated; and that the preservation of prospective relics was easier in Normandy than in Paris, where troubles were always a threat.

For nearly a half century the Brothers' Community in Rouen preserved all of the Founders remains with the exception of a fragment of the sternum which the Archbishop/Prince de Croy agreed to send to the Superior-general.[488] At the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin as well as among the Brothers on Rue St. Lo the unearthing of the Founder's bones on May 4, 1835 and the fact of possessing De La Salle's authentic mortal remains was the source of great joy. A glance cast in the direction of that human dust heap, which had once been a "temple of the Holy Spirit", stirred the imagination and roused the desire to pray. In 1836 the Sacred Congregation of Rites accepted the testimony and documentation on John Baptist de La Salle's Cause that had been collected in Paris,[489] –the first step in the direction of a successful issue. The Brothers, without circumventing the inevitable Roman delays, in the secret of their hearts had already been invoking "the servant of God.

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In this way Brother Anacletus strove to reclaim fully the spiritual patrimony of the Institute. And in like manner he devoted his attention to the Congregation's temporal structure, its administrative composition.

The founding and the growth of the Junior Novitiate demanded the addition of a new residence hall to the Holy Child Jesus House. This building was completed in 1837.[490]On April 26 of the same year, Archbishop Quelen blessed the new chapel which had replaced the cramped, gloomy oratory at the center of the institution. The architect had opted for the classical style: a nave separated from the aisles by Doric columns and a long apse crowned by a dome. The nave was 30 m. long, 13 m. wide and 10 m. high at the keystone of the arch. It provided sufficient space and volume for the some 200 persons who resided at the Motherhouse.[491]

In this number the Senior Novitiate in the Faubourg St. Martin came in at a figure which, between April and the following August, went from 54 to 76 future Brothers. The other six houses of formation – Lyons, Avignon, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, Nantes and St. Omer – brought the total in 1837 to 260 young people,[492]. who, one year later, would be 282 in number. Besides these there were 60 novices in the four novitiates located beyond the French frontiers, Namur, Orvieto, Turin and Chambery.[493]

Inspector-general of education during Father Frayssinous' ministry, Father Fayet became pastor of St. Roch's in Paris from 1841 to 1843 and then Bishop of Orleans from 1843 until his death in 1849.

[488] Brother Calixtus' necrological notice; 1913 pamphlet on the Rouen residence school; *and Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for April, 1935, pp. 109-112.

[489] Lémandus, pg. 323.

[490] *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 186. Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6, Brother Calixtus' notes.

[491] National Archives, F17, 12,461, Brother Anacletus' letter to the Minister of Public Education, April 1, 1837.

[492] National Archives, F17, 12,461, Brother Anacletus letter to the Minister of Education, August 25, 1837

[493] Of the 260 candidates, "more or less 50 of them paid their own expenses (400 francs a year); 45 paid 300 francs, which created a deficit of 4,500 francs. The other 165 on the average paid no more than 150 francs, which came to an overall deficit of 45,700 francs. The Minister allocated 10,000 francs from funds budgeted for 1838 with a view to subsidizing novitiate expenses. (Letter dated September 26, 1837, to the Superior-general).

Growth proved uninterrupted, however somewhat slow considering the demands made by cities and dioceses upon the Institute and in relation to pupil population in the Brothers' schools. In 1830 the Christian Brothers were teaching 87,000 pupils in the kingdom of Charles X and in Italy.[494] Eight years later, during the July Monarchy, in France alone, Brothers' pupils included very nearly 125,000 individuals – children in the elementary grades, resident pupils, apprentices and workers in night classes and student-teachers in Rouen.[495]

There were now only nine Departments which did not have a school directed by the teachers in white rabats: the Upper Alps, Charente, Indre, the Upper Pyrenees, the Eastern Pyrenees, the Deux Sevres, the Vosges and the Upper and Lower Rhine.[496] Other teaching Congregations expanded into these regions, especially the Brothers of Mary of Alsace.[497]

On March 6, 1821, Prince de Croÿ, at the time Bishop of Strasburg, had written to Minister of the Interior: "I was about to commit myself to invite the Brothers of the Christian Schools into my diocese...but it was pointed out to me, quite correctly, that since they do not know German, which continues to be the language of the people of this area, and since they only 'go in threes', these Brothers are not in a position to be engaged." Of the 500 educational institutions distributed over 300 cities in Europe and Canada, the Superior in office could lay claim to the opening of 84 of them. And the 1,400 Brothers whom he directed at the beginning of his generalate surpassed the 2,000 figure at the time his career came to an end.[498]

On January 8, 1837 he alluded to this growth in order to obtain from the Pope the right to add two more Assistants to his Council. The petition, sent to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, resulted accordingly in the rescript of March 17.[499]

At the same time the problem of the representation of "provinces" at General Chapters was solved.[500] Rome, in support of Communities located outside of France, had decided that every group comprising at least three Communities should elect a delegate; and that, with ten institutions, the Superior-general might, if he so judged, invite a second representative.[501]

These ground rules having been established, the Assembly opened on July 10. It concurred with the measures taken by the Committee of 1834. It appointed Brothers Calixtus and Nicholas as the fifth and sixth Assistants respectively. Brother Anacletus would have preferred that a successor be found for him. He "cited the frailty of his health and the illnesses he had encountered over the past four years". The Capitulants pleaded with the Superior "to continue to discharge the functions that he had acquitted to the satisfaction of the entire Institute" and in constant harmony with "civil and ecclesiastical authorities". In a secret ballot the petition to

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494 Ambrose Rendu, op. cit., pg. 155. The 1834 document (cited above on page 121) alluded to 374 novices. Outside the principal houses of formation, some Communities trained young candidates for the Religious life and for teaching.

495 Chevalier, pg. 584; A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 697.

496 Ambrose Rendu, pg. 139. The author provides the following breakdown: 119,906 elementary school pupils, 260 apprentices, 4,330 adults, 220 resident pupils, 43 student-teachers.

497 Ambrose Rendu, pg. 139.

498 Lémandus, pg. 321.

499 Motherhouse Archives, file CCFm.

500 See above, pp. 186-187.

501 Rescript dated April 21, 1837, Motherhouse Archives, file CCfm.

resign was unanimously rejected.[502]

There was nothing for the Superior to do but to consume the final resources of his ever lucid and discerning mind, his action and his self-denial in the service of his Brothers. Many of the "Senior" Brothers whom he had loved and who, in his youth as a Religious, had been his mentors and witnesses to his fruitful labors had fallen before him in the line of duty: Brothers Antony, Adelard, Alexandre of Jesus, Baldomart, Prince Benjamin, Jean of Matha,[503] Godfrey, Seine, François of Sales, Pierre Martyr, Pompey, and Rieul, the advance workers in the restoration of the Institute. Brother Antoine had been in his nineties, and the others were close to it or beyond eighty years of age. On December 19, 1836 Brother Philippe Joseph had died; he had been the Nicholas Bienaimé who was the disciple of Brother Agathon and a teacher at St. Yon, Elbeuf, Nogent-le-Rotrou and a marvelous model for Christian Brothers in whom had survived so many memories, so many heroic impressions and so much suffering from Revolutionary times.[504] The Superior had written a moving account of life: a man who had been rent from his Institute in 1792 and detained in the world continued to practice the virtues that were cherished by the Founder; rarely did anyone see greater mortification, greater affection for absolute poverty, greater zeal for Christian education or greater devotion to the Sacred Heart and for the Most Blessed Virgin. His eventful career delayed his final vows until 1817. Having arrived at old age, he retired to the Faubourg St. Martin; and "during

[502] Motherhouse Archives, same file.

[503] The first of the name, who must not be confused with Augustine Beranger the great apostle on Reunion Island.

[504] For Brother Philippe Joseph, see the Index to Vols. III and IV of the present work.

the four years he spent there, employed in the storeroom" each time the clock struck he would interrupt what he was doing, remove his *calot* "in order to renew his attention to the presence of God". He look death in the face, indeed awaited it with a holy "impatience."[505]

Other notices recalled "the Dean of the Institute", Brother Antoine, imitating Mary Magdalen in his contemplative life and Martha in the kitchen;[506]Brother Stanislaus, the former hermit of Mount Valerian, wandering through Italy after having been driven from his solitude and ending up, like the soldier Du Lac Montisambert a century earlier, by seeking asylum with the sons of De La Salle;[507] Brother François de Sales (Claude Cliquet) who returned the Community in Soissons to such perfect regularity, and, then, overcome by infirmities, gathered up the linen at the Holy Child Jesus House;[508] a Brother Joseph whose religious name was immediately inherited by a young novice who, in 1884, turned out to be a future Superior-general; this humble, very obedient and singularly charitable man was unable to enter Religion before he was 37 years of age, when the Institute recaptured its roots in France; as a layman, he had dedicated himself to good works. As a Brother of the Christian Schools, he was devoted to children, to the sick and to anybody who was afflicted. After the Battle of Laon, in March of 1814, he picked up wounded soldiers and buried the dead of Napoleon's army. A portion of his nights was passed in prayer: on October 2, 1838 he conducted a pilgrimage of Brothers to the Basilica of St. Denis; on exiting from the church, his confreres and himself "drew some religious maxims"; the following sentence fell to Brother Joseph: "Prepare for death, because it comes when one least expects it". He had only just commented aloud upon the premonitory text when he threw out his arms, leaned over backwards and suddenly fell asleep in the peace of the Lord.[509]

Victims of the cholera of 1835, Brothers Archangel and Ennemond, Directors of the two Communities in Marseilles, and Brothers Thiemont and Tassillon, novices in the Southern Province, gave rise to agonizing sorrow,[510] and the recognition of broken hopes and an "immense loss". A past that had disappeared into the fog of history also deserved a final memento: a grateful friendship recommended to the prayers of the Institute M. Dubois, the former Brother Boniface,[511] who, "having been unable to rejoin" Brothers Frumence and Gerbaud, was at least included within the larger family and among its better "servants at the gates".

It was in this way that Brother Anacletus told his memorial litany along the route that led to his own grave. In spite of exhaustion, during weeks of the summer of 1838, he insisted on responding to the desires of several distant Communities, and by June 28 he was on the road. He wrote from Chambery to Brother Abdon on July 31: "Whoever reckons without reckoning with the host reckons twice. I figured that on a given day I would be in a given place, on another day at another place, to visit this or that Community, so that I might be back in Paris by

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505 *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. I, pp. 261-262.

506 Ibid., pg. 175.

507 Ibid., pg. 182.

508 Ibid., Circular dated March 24, 1836.

509 Ibid., pp. 275-280.

510 Ibid., pp. 241-243.

511 Ibid., pg. 205. Circular for March 4, 1833. For Brother Boniface see the Index to Vols. III and IV of the present work.

mid-August; but I find that in spite of myself, I am obliged to dally. Brother Leo pleaded with him to come to Grenoble; while Brother Stanislaus assembled Directors at Annecy, and there still remained an institution to visit in Lyons.

The Superior wrote: "I shall not be able to leave this city until Monday (August 6) by way of Rive de Gier, St. Chamond, St. Etienne, Clermont, Moulins, Nevers...That's my itinerary, but when I shall reach the end, I can't say...I am satisfied with my visits and fairly well pleased with my health. I wish you all peace, satisfaction and courage...I don't mention fervor, since that abides with you as in its source. I embrace you all tenderly.

He seemed, then, rather in good form; he had retained his lively manner and his cordial gentleness; he was awake to nature's spectacle: "From Chambery to Grenoble", he notes in a postscript, "I continue to see the snow on the mountains. How beautiful it is!"[512] And even more, in the midst of his Religious he experienced the joys of a father.

These were his final earthly gratifications. At the end of the race the fragile organism had been exhausted. Having returned to the Motherhouse on August 29, the following day Brother Anacletus felt feverish and remained in bed, from which he was never to rise. The physician diagnosed a liver inflammation. Anxiety prevailed among the four hundred Brothers assembled in the Faubourg St. Martin for the up-coming annual retreat. The illness turned out to have been quite serious, fast moving and in the long run fatal. In the quiet of the evening of September 6, at eleven o'clock, death came in the serenity of a soul which, after an upright life, pious and innocent, returned to God.[513]

In the death-chamber, around the emaciated features and the body with hands joined together holding rosary and crucifix, the Assistants were on their knees. The Institute continued on; death had seized the living: but the spirit looked down upon Brother Philippe, and upon him the supernatural power of St. John Baptist de La Salle was already resting.

[512] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6. The stamp on the letter bears the words: "Italy, by way of Beauvoisin bridge".

[513] Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

PART TWO

The Institute under the Generalate of Brother Philippe

CHAPTER ONE

BROTHER PHILIPPE AND THE JULY MONARCHY

From now on we are in a period of great achievements, "A golden age of the Institute?" To imagine this is to falsify history. Humanity never knows happiness without some shadows. Christians know that they must pass through a "valley of tears," and that their very blessings include suffering, in the renunciation of material treasure, in pardoning offences, in the hunger and thirst for justice. When there are no external persecutions or when they come haphazardly, flesh and spirit need to be vigilant to tend towards this unattainable perfection by means of austere duties and secret difficulties. A religious family can avoid relaxation, but only at the price of constant vigilance. Every generation's contribution demands a correction and, consequently, a reformation. The natural environment, the terrestrial mood, affects every conscience. There are saints who have overcome the temptations that originate in ease, and there are presumptuous and lazy individuals who have succumbed to them; but most of us must be on our guard against them. And sometimes there are those unworthy persons whom a wary society hastens to exclude. Rapid growth does not occur without widespread recruitment, which may compromise the judicious deliberation in which training takes place. If consolidation of the conquered territory does not follow upon victory, if delight in action does not accompany the beneficent bitterness of personal and collective scrutiny, results are likely to be disappointing.

The most sensitive of Brother Superior-general Philippe's tasks consisted in maintaining an equilibrium between the Institute's expansion and its cohesion, between invitations to work and the response of obedience, between the apostolate and the vocation to holiness. In the most important areas he succeeded, because he nourished his men on the substantial, orthodox and ever living doctrine of the Founder; and because he was himself a model of faith, modesty, regularity and moderation. His successors would lay stress upon his religious guidelines, and deepen the furrows in which was to be raised not only the wheat of Christian education but a harvest of select souls. The man who was to rule the Congregation for thirty-five years observed every commandment; and the temple that he expanded rested upon robust foundations and heroic columns bore it aloft.

So often, along the route that we have taken, have we made our way in Brother Philip's company that his thoughts, his works and his appearance have already become familiar to us. Before his adult age, he emerged in the view of all as an animator and leader. More than by his exceptional talent, his dazzling insights, his personality asserted itself by way of sound qualities and unwavering virtues. He corresponded exactly to the type of Brother as conceived by St. John Baptist de La Salle. What did the Canon of Rheims expect of the young men who were intended to teach the children of the people under the protection of the monastic vows? A bold and original mind, a lively imagination, exceptional insights, a sensitive and unerring taste, eloquent and metaphysical? Not really. Such gifts have been met with, from time to time, in a number of Brothers; but they are not essential to their vocation. The Founder, in the first place, insisted upon physical and moral energy, a will persevering in planning and in action and an intention of generously, humbly and anonymously cooperating in a group work. They were to be like the granite and the basalt which serve as foundations and pillars in the churches of Auvergne rather than the soft rock out of which are chiseled the transoms and the gables of the

flamboyant Gothic architecture, rather, indeed, than the marble in which are carved the images of distinguished men. Goodness, wisdom, conviction and the peace of a superior conscience transfigured a face whose physical features seemed devoid of beauty. The person of Brother Philip appeared in all his greatness less by reason of his natural genius than as an uninterrupted series of judicious decisions that were adequate to the circumstances and in a purity and a simplicity, which would raise him on high and, perfectly transparent, permit the Heavenly light to pass through.

Erat vir simples et rectus: this definition, which Bishop David gave of the Superior-general, fitted exactly. There was nothing capricious about his temperament, nothing inconstant about his character; he was possessed of a quiet power and a holiness which advanced along a course that had been glimpsed since childhood and charted day after day. From start to finish, there was his nearly infallible common sense and his sober, fervent and balanced piety. As novice, teacher, Director, author of textbooks and religious meditations, Superior of the Congregation, founder of hundreds of educational institutions, in his relations with kids as well as with the sons of common people, with the princes of the Church and the representatives of governments, Matthieu Bransiet was never perplexed. He never thought of himself as above or beneath his job. He never used his position for personal aggrandisement; with him the "ego" never became involved. It might very well be said that he obscured and obliterated his "ego". He wanted only what God wanted, what tended toward the greater good of the Institute. He was understanding because he loved. And because he understood, he judged and decided, and his judgment was reliable and his action efficacious, unequivocal, inescapable and without half-measures. Nevertheless, most often it was cautious and when necessary heroic, with the complete abandonment to Providence that the Founder had prescribed for his disciples.

Peace, like a cooling rain shower, spread around Brother Philip as the initial blessing of his words, of his presence. That is why it was quite correctly said of him that he was good, although he was not very demonstrative. He concealed the springs of human affection; and people were left to guess about them or to sense their ascendancy. Occasionally, a sudden flash – a sigh or a tear – escaped him. But, in the language of one of the chaplains of the Motherhouse, Mgr. Roche, that "male virtue" stood guard over an "austere exterior". We meet with the most salient qualities of his mature personality in the resoluteness of the lips, the authority of his look and in the majestic and brilliant expanse of his countenance. Horace Vernet has grasped and underscored these features in his celebrated painting of 1845:[514]and which can be viewed in one of the room at the Motherhouse in Rome. It is the image of a leader of men and an ascetic, a stranger to earthly vanities, "who leads a life in his cell the same as that of the least of the Brothers"; dressed in the same sort of robe with the iron hooks, and shod in the same sort of heavy shoes described in the Rule; the cracked yellow wall, the table on which spectacles are resting and over which hang a plaster statue of the Virgin and a Crucifix harmonize with the dress. Against this background of monastic poverty there stands out in relief, set off by the white rabat, a head with sharp, rigid lines, with candid eyes which nothing seems to distract, and which unwaveringly, imperturbably seize upon the end and which penetrates the soul of the viewer without irritating him; meanwhile from out of the mantle appear the hands with the long, lithe fingers, one of them spread over the pages of a book, the other half-opened in a gesture of teaching.

Under the Religious garb there was the build of the peasant. Brother Philip was the heir of his ancestors and of his native region, and he always demonstrated a spirited attachment toward them. He was unable to forget Apinac with its coarse, vigorous smells of animals and woods;

514 – a picture of which Taine speaks in his "Modern System"[514]Taine, Les Origines de la France contemporaine. Régime moderne, Vol. II, pg. 107 (1894 ed.).

its walls built of volcanic rock, its tile roofs huddled about the church and the castle, the patriarchal citadel perched high up between the Loire and the Dore on the Forez plateau; and Gachat, the satellite hamlet; and Andrable's stream sliding by in the midst of wood and rock, in a cool shade, in a labyrinth where sounds muffled one another...

He was born on November 1, 1792 in Gachat of Pierre Bransiet and Marie Anne Varagnat. It was a Christian family, to the point of being prepared for anything for the faith. During "the Terror" they sheltered priests who refused to take the oath; Mass was celebrated in a stable, behind the hay and the straw, while at the edge of the village a shepherd was on the look-out for the approach of informers. And if Viaticum had to be brought to the sick, the head of the house himself, with a cudgel in his fist, walked in the congenial darkness with the "good pastor", his houseguest.

It was thus that the first recollections imprinted upon the soul of the child were able to decide the direction and the shape of his life. An older sister, who later on was to become a Sister of St. Joseph in Le Puy, taught him to make the Sign of the Cross. As he took the goats and the sheep to pasture, while he drove the yoked animals through the pinewood and along broom-bordered paths, Matthieu told his beads. The teaching of Brother Lauren (André Galet) succeeded in illuminating that faith which had taken root in such good soil. We are already acquainted with the way in which the schoolboy joined his teacher among the Christian Brothers at Petit College in Lyons.[515] He had become accustomed to the harshness of the seasons, to the poverty of a cottage for fieldhands and weavers, to frugality in food and to long and painful labor. His new environment did not make him feel uprooted; and his former teacher at Chaturange had helped him make the transition from the village to the big city, from family to Community. And, henceforth, totally won over to the Institute, a model of a young Religious, loved by his peers and by Brother Gerbaud, who called him "an angel" and "Brother Boniface", the future Brother Philippe began a career that was constantly on the ascent.

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On November 21, 1838, two and a half months after Brother Anacletus' death, the Chapter assembled at the Holy Child Jesus House, proceeded to the election of a new General. Since 1822 the custom had been established to select the new leader of the Institute from among the members of the "Regime". They knew all the ins-and-outs of administration; they had proved their competence, had personally guided a large number of Brothers, and had dealt with the civil government and with the Hierarchy. The six Brothers in active duty were all remarkable men: Brother Eloi and Brother Jean Chrysostom were both becoming rather old; but their four colleagues were at the height of their powers. Brothers Abdon and Nicolas, who had been handpicked by Brother Gerbaud, enjoyed the complete confidence of that distinguished Religious and of his successors. Brother Calixtus, in his role as the creator of the normal school in Rouen, had solidly established his reputation as an educator and had obtain the respect and active support of scholars and magistrates. However, he had only just entered the preeminent Counsel of the Institute; born in 1797, he was the youngest of the Assistants. His close friend, Brother Philippe, yielded nothing to him in reputation in official circles; and the Institute, quite correctly, considered him as having occupied the position of principal auxiliary, indeed, frequently as the inspirer and the originator in regard to the late Superior-general. There could be no doubt concerning the choice: Brother Philippe was the worthy heir of De La Salle. The Chapter did not think that it was necessary to promulgate any new legislation: it "relied" upon the "caution" and the "zeal" of the Most Honored Brother "to maintain the Brothers in their fervor" and supervise the execution of the decision that had been legislated by the Assembly

[515] For Brother Lauren see the Index to Vols. III and IV of the present work.

the previous year.

There was, therefore, no break in continuity between the two "administrations". In the common room in which the Superior and his aides worked, the future of the Institute and of Christian education was being drawn up according to arrangements determined in Brother Anacletus' Generalate: – the opening of schools, the recruitment of teachers, the training of Junior Novices, Senior Novices and young teachers, the development of programs of study, contracts with dioceses and cities, filial relations with the Holy See and the expansion of the Institute beyond the French frontiers. The pace was about to accelerate; foundations would increase, and the plants would produce splendid foliation and fruition. Brother Philippe would come to be called "the second founder" of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The praise is, perhaps, excessive: after 1838 the Institute was no longer at a stage of restoration or renewal; the brilliant 17th Century Founder was neither exceeded nor equaled in spiritual and intellectual mastery. His principles endured and were implemented in all of their ramifications; the texture of his work suffered no change; and his holiness always regulated and inspired the progress of his sons.

As Brother Timothy and Brother Agathon achieved their tasks before the French Revolution, so the tenth Superior-general would reach the end of his own guided by Providence, aided by circumstances, sustained by a long life, assisted by his position in a nation which still retained its influence intact, and in a world in which so many ways opened up to international relations and to Catholic propaganda.

At the modest office in the Motherhouse projects were worked out patiently, ceaselessly; and from it there were issued thousands of directives and "Obediences". The work had to be split up. Brother Philippe did not write many letters in his own hand; the ones we find in archival collections, bearing his signature with large, looping "F's" and "P's", or with a very simple initialling rolled up under a slender downstroke, are ordinarily quite brief. They lack a personal tone, which was so natural in the correspondence of his predecessors. They confine themselves to the indispensable sentences which answer to the questions that had been posed. The responsibility of writing most of the administrative correspondence fell to the Secretary-general. Brother Leo (Joseph Vernhes), called to this post in 1839, was admirably suited to it. A contemporary of the Superior (he was born in 1792 in the Bordeaux region), he did not enter the Institute until he was twenty-four years old, after having worked as a clerk. His deafness, his irritability, his sickly disposition did not stand in the way of his being a steady worker. He atoned for his impulses of ill-humor by numerous acts of humility, by harsh mortifications and by the services prescribed to him by a lively mind and a stout heart. Brother Philip relied a great deal on this priceless associate, who was so quick to grasp his thought and express it promptly and with precision. He had an enormous memory, a good judgment, a talent for methodical classification, and thorough-going knowledge of the business of the Congregation – all so many qualities that promoted the definitive systematization of the Secretary's office into a well-regulated machine equipped for versatile action and inexhaustible efficiency.

Above Brother Leo and around Brother Philippe the Assistants bustled. Six in 1838, there would be eight of them in 1843 and ten in 1858, a staff that increased, with Rome's consent, in proportion to the progress of the Institute. Later on Poujoulat described these leaders grouped about the nerve center of the Motherhouse "as on the bridge of a ship, always prepared to make a move"; and "each one in his separate place, a small place but on the same row; each one at his straw-bottom chair, in his office and with his files...; labels on records indicated the countries under the direction of this or that individual...Small cards on tiny drawers illustrated the vastness of the enterprise.[516]

[516] Pouloulat, Vie du Frère Philippe, 1874, pg. 89. Another biography was published in 1913 by Paul Escard. We

Brother Calixtus continued to be the great arbitrator, the influential counselor and coadjutor. He cloaked his authority and leverage in a smiling modesty, just as his shrewdness was veiled behind the heavy facial features characteristic of the Beauce. The public ascribed every initiative, every success to the Brother Philippe; but much was due to the former Director of Rouen, who knew how to wield a pen as he knew how to manage men.

The Superior, however, reserved final decisions for himself and left nothing escape his supervision nor his approval. It was said of him that he was made "of the stuff of Interior Ministers" or of a captain of industry. He listened, kept his eyes open and issued orders. He employed men, talented or incompetent, as he found them. "If he had stayed in the world, he would have made millions", a business man said at a time when the watchword was "Get rich!" When people made these comparisons between the Motherhouse and a Ministry or a business, Brother Philippe did not think that he had to object forcefully. He merely replied: "Yes, but here office heads receive no other payment than the gratitude of the people under their jurisdiction and the reward they expect from God".

He seemed like the first, the most punctual and the least free, of the Institute's servants. He scarcely ever left the "Cloister" except to visit the Communities in France – precisely, with the simplest of retinues, in public conveyances, a light cart or a third-class compartment where railroads had been opened, at the earliest hour in the morning, with the most frugal of meals and making do with the most casual accommodations.

But he was rapidly shrouded in the rumors that are generated by popularity. His name – the pride of the Brothers – was uttered everywhere. Men of the world would recognize in this "child of light" a loyal and competent associate whose cooperation they would seek out and embrace.

At the political and social level Brother Philippe did not swerve from the line he had marked out as early as 1830: he made a fixed resolution to serve the nation and the State, without every being tied down by it. At no time did his attitude appear to be one of antagonism, remonstrance or recrimination. Neither was there any genuflections nor clouds of incense before human power. There was respect for authority, action within the limits of the law, desire for complete understanding, disinterestedness, dedication and dignity safeguarded. In the perennial tradition of the Institute there was a lively, unsullied and quite natural love of country. And for one's fellow-citizens, as for foreigners, whatever their race, color or language, there was friendly affection. If a preference existed, it was shown to the more underprivileged. In every country in which the Brothers were established their concern was first of all for the primary schools which were opened to the sons of the common people, from whom the Superior-general and his Brothers could not imagine being separated by any prejudice or by any barrier of birth or education. The pride and the envy that splits human beings off into hostile factions had no mastery over De La Salle's disciples. "We are" (they might have said) "we have become once again like the children we teach. They do not settle their fathers' arguments; they look on and they love, as we do, their fine looking families and cities."

In his Circular of May 27, 1844, Brother Philippe urged the Brothers "not to meddle in any way" with political matters, "to write nothing, to sign nothing, to say nothing, to circulate nothing on this subject, not even among friends." They were to be as simple as "doves", prudent as "serpents" in conformity with the Gospel precept: "Deterring ourselves from everything unrelated to our vocation, we should let Providence take care of controlling what does depends neither upon our words nor our works. We should be clear about our position and never forget that the imprudence of a single individual could react upon the entire body and

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take the liberty of also referring the reader to our own small volume: Un grand éducateur apostolique, le Frére Philippe, Paris, 1932, from which, it goes without saying, we have made a number of borrowings.

become the grounds for its destruction."

Thus, Religious educators were to forego from entering into the lists. The role of militant was not to be their's except to combat ignorance and sin. They were not caught standing alongside Lamennais during the polemics involving the newspaper *L'Avenir;* in the years that followed they were not observed immersed in the great struggles undertaken for the freedom of education. Of course, their hopes and their prayers had already been pledged in this just cause, which affected them so immediately. And their views could not, in those crucial times, have differed from Catholic opinion and the statements of the French Hierarchy. But, in public, they remained silent. The teacher's desk did not become a podium for controversy. The teacher, fully conscience of the obligations of his vocation, hovering over the mind and the intelligence of his pupils, did not lose patience over the delays and the disappointments which collided with his yearnings as a citizen. He worked while he awaited the dawn of a better day.

From 1830-1848 social problems gradually shifted into the foreground. There was the Saint Simon's propaganda, the utopias of Cabet, Fourier and Victor Considerant, and the subversive temerity of Louis Blanc and of Proudhon; and confronting the dreamers, the negative and destructive voices, there were the endeavors of the great Christians – the Ozanams, and the Armand Meluns – to show by reasoning and example the beneficial, the decisive, influence of the Gospel upon the human condition. The Brothers of the Christian Schools did not set themselves up as social theorists; but no less effectively than the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul and the foundresses of the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Brothers collaborated in the urgent task; and they compensated as far as they could through the services rendered to the working class for the injustice and the harshness of the capitalist system. The concern for thousands of children, the elementary or technical instruction dispensed in night schools, and the welcome extended to all of youth in the Brothers' schools in order profitably to occupy their leisure, provide them with moral guidance, working skills, possibilities for employment, a purpose in life and ideas concerning mutual help and fraternal charity, were not pedestrian achievements nor empty palliatives. In this connection Brother Philippe, following Brother Anacletus, gave proof of an abundant daring and of an intelligent breadth of vision; by remaining faithful to the doctrine and the practice of De La Salle, by dedicating himself to the masses, whose heartbeat he heard, he was able to act as a man of his times and deserve well at the hands of civilization.

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As an attentive observer, he followed the movement of opinion that marked the Catholic revival. Beginning in 1839 Catholics began to understand that freedom of education was an essential problem for their faith and for their influence in the nation.[517]To the followers of Lamennais who had remained orthodox, the intrepid vanguard, would soon be joined both the great number of the faithful as well as a majority of Bishops.

At the outset, there was no question of a campaign of political opposition. What was sought after was an arrangement between the Church and the "University". With Villemain and with Cousin negotiations began in 1839 and in 1840; Montalembert was rather actively involved in them. A series of collapses of Ministries interrupted the initial efforts.[518] Finally, during the following year, a Bill was proposed; but it disappointed, unfortunately, the expectations of the negotiators. In order to open a school a French citizen would have to be equipped with

[517] It is impossible to understand the Law of 1850 without attentively studying its beginnings in the distant past. In a book dedicated to the history of Christian education we do not think it necessary, therefore, to apologize for an account which, at first glance, might appear to be a digression.

[518] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pg. 465.

university diplomas (difficult to earn) and with a special "certificate" that was distinct from the diplomas; any teacher who might wish to take a position there could obtain the right to teach only after he had earned similar diplomas.

These requirements applied even to Junior Seminaries. Hence, the episcopal objections; and the withdrawal of the bill, which the Chambers did not consider themselves called upon to debate.[519]

The question of the Junior Seminaries and the Church Hierarchy had taken precedence over all others. It was a too exclusive point of view; and by representing claims from this perspective people were running the risk of indifference or of public hostility: one must not demand freedom as a clerical privilege. Neither was it wise to declare war on the "University": the noisy public outcry raised by some of the Bishops between 1842-1843 – however rightly disturbed by Victor Cousin's "eclecticism" – and by priests such as Fathers Combalot, Vèdrine, Garets and the Jesuit Deschamps – reopening the offensive conducted by Fathers Lamennais and Dubois during the Restoration[520]– ended up by putting the advocates of the monopoly on their guard.[521] That sort of siege would not undermine the walls of the fortress: victory would be decided only in open country and on carefully selected ground, where the struggle could proceed in the open, on equal terms, following a patiently drawn up battle plan, with of all forces concentrated.

The organization of the troops, the unity of command or at least the crucial coherence among the leaders were principles for which Montalembert had won acceptance. At the opening of the enterprise he lacked the vigorous support of the Episcopacy; he found, as his friend Foisset said, the French Bishops so "isolated, intimidated, and over-extended that the civil authority chose them one by one and cajoled, frightened and nullified them". To the king they addressed their personal petitions which, more often than not, did not produce so much as an echo. They were thinking of nothing but their Junior Seminaries, the priest who taught in them and the recruitment programs for their clergy – all of them worthwhile preoccupations, but to the extent that the Bishops did not go beyond them, to the extent that the Bishops were satisfied with discreet complaints, mutual confidences, and indeed more energetic and aggressive language but without any demonstrative appeal that would incite public opinion, there could be no future.[522] Then it was that with a resounding voice a champion of the Church apprised Catholics of their "duty in the problem of freedom of education":[523]This was the title of a pamphlet published in 1843.

"Nowhere (he asserted) has anyone seen a country as officially irreligious" as Louis-Philippe's kingdom: why, except so that youth, whose education has been handed over to a State monopoly, may avoid Christianity? The remedy did not lie in the eradication of the "University" or in claiming – as Bishop Frayssinous unavailingly hoped – to change its spirit. The goal to be achieved, the only one that had any chance of success, was the abolition of the monopoly. The government would be able to preserve its colleges along with their teachers; while heads of families would no longer be obliged to leave in its hands the intellectual and moral direction of their sons.

In order to secure their freedom, Catholics must make use of existing political institutions.

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519 Lecanuet, op. cit., II, pp. 153-154.

520 See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 412.

521 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 163-164.

522 Goyau, op. cit., pg. 576.

523 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 169-171

They must act through the press and on the occasions in which Deputies seek re-election. Instead of moaning and "sulking" about the world in which they live, let Catholics become involved in the life of the earthly city in order there to "represent" and defend "religious interests!"[524]

Would the bold language of a layman be enough to convince pastors? Among the latter, fortunately, Montalembert discovered an important ally – Bishop Parisis of Langres, a good theologian, uninhibited by any Gallican biases, who had sided with the July Monarchy; still a young man, he looked upon the world with open eyes. He had just been travelling in Belgium where he had been entertained in Liège by Bishop Van Bommel with whose apostolic zeal, undertakings, clearsightedness and lofty candor we are familiar. The Bishop, who had opened schools and supported the Brothers, had prevailed upon his guest to follow the strategy that had been urged by Montalembert; and he showed him the use that the Belgians had learned to make of freedom.[525] The policy was simply stated: Never seek privilege; never defend oppression; avoid useless quarrels; and shatter cowardly silences. In a series of instructions, letters and pamphlets Bishop Parisis was to fine tune and propagate this doctrine.

In the language of the Papal nuncio, Bishop Fornari, Bishop Parisis suddenly became "the leading French Bishop".[526] With him, the unassuming diocese of Langres, the former Duchy-Peerage, recaptured – for several years – its past glories. People waited for, and listened to, orders from the lofty hill, which fearlessly endured the onslaught of the winds.

In the Ministry of Public Education, Villemain elaborated a new project which was more reactionary, more sectarian than its predecessor. Far from reducing the demand for the degrees, the law in the works contrived a most complicated certificate of competence; a special jury, a genuine court of special cases, was to quiz the candidates. Moreover, it would have been impossible for any but an official teacher to manage his pupils to the end of their classes: no one was to be admitted to take the baccalaureate examination unless he had followed courses in Rhetoric and Philosophy in a State college or in a school that had become assimilated to a "University" institution.[527] Finally, a clause of the Ministerial text revealed quite clearly what was the bottom of the thinking of Villemain, an adversary haunted to the point of obsession by a fear of the Jesuits: every teacher would have to say whether he belonged to an illegal Congregation.

It was really a bitter mockery to include the word "freedom" in the text of such a law. The bureaucrats and educators dependent upon the administration – like the emigre's who returned in 1814 – "had forgotten nothing and had learned nothing". Even as late as 1844 there was still a long way to go for the French to elude Revolutionary and Napoleonic despotism. But, on this occasion, Catholics and their leaders did not desperately bash their heads against a wall.

Villemain's Bill had the fortunate effect of bringing out the Episcopacy's unity and its reserves of energy. Collective demands, issuing from nearly every ecclesiastical province, were submitted to the Upper Chamber and the Minister of Religion.

The surprise and the wrath in the camp of the "Legalists", steeped in Gallican principles and exponents of the "constitutional articles" of the Year X (1801-1802) was very great indeed. Their views were expressed at the shrillest level in Dupin's diatribe, which had been applauded in the Chamber of Deputies on March 19. On April 16 Montalembert, in the Upper House,

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524 . Goyau, pg. 577.

525 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 574.

526 Goyau, pg. 578.

527 Such as, for example, Stanislas College in Paris.

replied to the slashing remarks of this fearsome wild boar. His speech, on the "Freedom of the Church" was a masterpiece of logic, high spirits, irony and moving eloquence; he concluded with the famous passage: "We are the sons of Crusaders and we shall never retreat before the sons of Voltaire."

Forty-five thousand copies of the speech were printed and distributed everywhere; it ignited enthusiasm among youth and congratulations from the Bishops. From outside the country came the praise of Bishop Van Bommel, who compared "the young athlete" to "David laying Goliath low".[528]

In Parlementary circles debates continued on into July. The Upper House listened to Duke de Broglie's report: at the level of principle, the battle seemed to have been won; the chairman declared that freedom of education was a necessary corollary to freedom of conscience. He conceded that individual groups provided competition to the "University" corporation. And he yielded to his own convictions by proclaiming the necessity for religious instruction.

But, actually, he scarcely touched upon the proposed law except to suggest – an interesting idea which would not be lost to view – the intervention of social authorities, the clergy, the judiciary and delegates of the administration and of elected assemblies in the supervision of free schools.[529]

In the Chamber of Deputies this calm conviction, this initial draft of a still reluctant toleration, did not exist. In his arguments and in his conclusions, Adolph Thiers clung to the language of Jacobism: according to him, to eliminate the educational monopoly from public authority would be to compromise the country's "unity". He trusted the "University" to maintain "the national spirit", "the spirit of the Revolution". He called upon the State to fashion minds, to impose its image upon the upcoming generations, cast them in the same mold.[530] In his eyes the Villemain Bill was nothing but an unfortunate concession, whose language must be carefully weighed and its effects anticipated. Their efforts emphasized the worst features of the Minister's undertaking.

A sudden finish put an end to this dialectical tournament. In December Villemain, by his bizarre, incoherent remarks, showed signs of mental disorders. He was forced to resign. While he was restoring his intellectual and nervous equilibrium in a sanatorium, his successor, Salvandy, in agreement with Guizot, the head of the government, consigned the offending Bill of 1844 to the dust-heap of administrative files.[531]

Ultimately, people did not change their positions. Montalembert attempted to consolidate Catholic views by organizing a "Committee for the Defense of Religious Freedom". He assumed the direction of it and selected as its Vice-president a former member of the Martignac Ministry, M. Vatimesnil who, in 1828, appeared to be among the staunchest advocates of the monopoly and the most obstinate adversaries of the Jesuits. This man, in these circumstances, became a symbol and a living proof of the growth that could be effected in upright consciences. What was needed was to bring to the same point a large number of heads of families who were still ill-informed and aloof; what was needed was to overcome the enduring hostility of the skeptical, middle class, with its materialistic tendencies, who chose the Deputies and who composed "the legal nation". The Committee created throughout the whole of France local

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[528] Lecanuet, Vol II, pp. 178-192.

[529] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pp. 536-537.

[530] Ibid., pg. 545.

[531] Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 193-216.

groups, tiny "garrisons" flying the Christian flag, an elite acting on the masses.[532]

In support of this lay action, the Episcopacy was less resolute than it was in its offensive against Villemain. Archbishop Affre of Paris, a few months earlier, distinguished himself in a "statement to the king" demanding "free competition" in the realm of education. Actually, he would have preferred to have kept it a secret; and it was without his knowledge that the newspaper *L'Univers* had published the respectful and restrained remonstration. Praised and approved by fifty-six of his colleagues, Archbishop Affre did not deny his handiwork and went on to affirm aloud the solidarity of the Church's pastors. Would he, then, assume the leadership of the movement? "A ponderous and sluggish temporizer" – as the Church historian, Bishop Baunard, called him[533]– he recoiled out of a distaste for turmoil. "He entrusted his duty to patience": the moment had not yet come for him to sacrifice his life in the line of fire.

Montalembert was unable to obtain any encouragement either from the Archbishop Blancart Bailleul of Rouen, "for whom laicism" even in the service of the faith "(was) the scourge of God", nor from Archbishop Matthieu of Besancon, "obstinate" in anything "that did not fall into Gallican categories". Archbishop Astros of Toulouse was not without his suspicions. In Lyons Cardinal Bonald "had splendid bursts of enthusiasm and magnificent moments, but they were only moments". In Rheims Archbishop Gousset "did not, through the soundness of his Theology, sufficiently compensate for the coarseness of his manner, which did so much damage to his apostolate".[534]

"Five or six Bishops" were "ready for battle".[535] Bishop Clausels Montals of Chartres was on this brief list. But the "impetuous" old man, a "legitimatist" who cherished his political aversions, fought "like a foot-soldier rather than as a general" and, frequently, "struck hard rather than accurately".[536]

There remained Bishop Parisis, who spoke and behaved like a leader. His letter to Montalembert on the "mission of lay people" and his other writings in the years 1844, 1845 and 1846, "The Deputy Father of a Family", "Freedom of Education", "The Freedom of the Church", and "A Case of Conscience" provided the most convincing arguments and the clearest and most judicious directives.

Still, he exhorted rather than commanded, and he proposed much more than he imposed. "He was a leader in the manner of Turenne, discreet and modest...who was satisfied to be right".[537] There was another who was gradually to take his place: a simple priest who found himself at the center of operations: a prodigy of action, of lucidity, and of competence, a powerful fighter and a subtle diplomat, a guide for souls whom he charmed with his intelligence, his lively piety and his natural affability, and whom he also knew how "to sweep away with an attack", "to waylay" – according to the language of his biographer[538]– and "to tyrannize", as Father Ravignan writes, but as a tyrant whom one does not stop loving,[539] who had already been

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[532] Ibid., pp. 217-245.

[533] Baunard, Un Siècle de l'Èglise de France, Paris, 1901, pg. 155.

[534] Ibid.

[535] Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 218.

[536] Baunard, loc. cit.

[537] Ibid., pg. 156.

[538] Bishop Lagrange, cited by Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 308.

[539] Lecanuet, loc. cit.

distinguished for his "magnificent gifts as a catechist and educator", deployed at St. Hyacinth's chapel and then at St. Nicholas' Junior Seminary: Father Felix Dupanloup. In 1845 "he outlined in his book, Concerning Religious Pacification, the idea of a sort of concordat" among parties on the question of freedom of education.[540]Goyau, op. cit., pp. 580-581.
Parisis had demanded of the State the recognition of the Church's absolute, supereminent right; Dupanloup did not hesitate to negotiate it like a politician. Veuillot reproached him for it. Montalembert, on the contrary, was won over both by the author and by the thesis. Former differences of opinion, ancient clashes, conflicts of personality, all were dissolved in a rugged amalgam of friendship. Together the two men would conquer and never part company from one another. The Bishop of Langres, a precursor of exceptional qualities without whom roads and hearts would not have opened up, faded out of the picture.

At his side, "the son of Crusaders" was an excellent organizer and tactician. To him was due the success obtained by Catholics at the elections of 1846. One-hundred-and-fifty Deputies were committed to support their claims, even though in the previous Chamber there were scarcely more than ten. Strict discipline, a clear-cut and shrewd attitude in dealing with candidates sufficed to change the parliamentary game.[541]

In Rome the new Pope, Pius IX, approved and blessed the gallant leaders. He told Father Dupanloup that "people must continue to demand freedom of education with courage, with firmness". And, smiling, he added, "And with charity!" "Your national constitution", he noted in an audience granted to Cardinal Bonald, "contains a promise whose fulfillment it goes without saying you should pursue."[542]

In Paris the government was keenly aware that it could not endlessly take evasive action. Thus, in the eighteenth and last year of the regime there was another Bill on the way. A reading of the "Whereases" was enough to justify every hope; Salvandy, in the name of the Minister, did not scruple to criticize the monopoly as Napoleon had conceived it; he admitted the rights of families and the right of the Church; he paid tribute to the mission of the clergy; and he proclaimed the advantages of free competition.

But the bureau had succeeded once more in practicing their chicanery: there was the same demand for numerous degrees, arranged in such a way as to prevent the recruitment of teaching personnel; the same demand for a "certificate of studies" that would oblige candidates for the bachelor's degree to matriculate for several years in State colleges; and unauthorized Congregations continued to be excluded from teaching. The so-called free schools would be subject to the good pleasure of the "University" as regards their foundation, their inspection, the sanction of their examinations, the selection of books and the prosecution of offenses.[543]

Nearly every sentence of the official text reveals the influence of Victor Cousin: this "fascinating, lumbering, dominating" man – one of the eight Royal Counsellors of Public Education, Director of the Graduate School of Education, Permanent President of Board of Admissions of Philosophy, Member of the French Academy and of the Academy of Moral Sciences and a French Peer, controlled his former students, ruled over teachers, advanced or ruined their careers, as he pleased, drew up programs according to his own ideas, and tended to establish in intellectual circles and for the "ruling classes" a sort of rationalist religion, substituted for orthodox Christianity the preaching of "the True, the Good and the Beautiful";

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[540] Lecanuet, Vol, II, pp. 303-304; Goyau, pg. 581.

[541] Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 316.

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[543] Ibid., pp. 324 et sq.

he had no intention of relaxing his dictatorship and he yielded to the Church only the spiritual and moral rule over "the common people". The position he occupied, the reputation he possessed and the flurry which he spread everywhere, intimidated consciences and paralyzed persons of goodwill. He appears to have been one of the great architects, doubtless the person principally responsible – under the guise of an enlightened educator and "tolerant" philosopher – for the successive reverses inflicted upon the plans of Catholic "leaders" and of certain statesmen.[544]

Dupanloup underscored the deceit in Salvandy's proposed legislation. Montalembert flayed and made pieces of Deputy Liadieres' report. "The Minister of Public Education", wrote Veuillot, "brought us together: it was the first favor he did us."[545]

The Revolution of 1848 was to demolish these structures of cunning contrivances and sweep away the tenacious dust of prejudice and passion. Among the chief failures of the July Monarchy must be included its obstinate refusal to construct the broad and beautiful edifice that minds dedicated to freedom had contemplated. In supplying a solution to the problem of education, it had been raised above the petty interests and quarrels in which its politics contended; it might have cleansed the atmosphere of "middle class" society, conjured up most of the money needed and discovered a spiritual authority and worth which was sorely lacking to it.[546] Guizot had sensed it: his educational law of 1833 provided a foundation, however skimpy, and some promising possibilities. None of his associates or his rivals dared to continue his work; he himself, having become the consultant of the king, of poll-tax payers, of business men, of upstarts, diminished his action, if not his thought, to the level of their mediocrity. How does one persuade a king who, in a debate between the "University" and the Church, sees nothing more than a scuffle between "pedants and ushers?"[547] or who, after having boring Archbishop Affre with some sarcastic remarks about "candles" or about the *deposuit potentes* in the Magnificat, deserved – as did the better part of his entourage – the Archbishop's harsh judgment: "Those people see nothing in religion but a governmental gadget?"[548]

In spite of the change in climate that ensued once the storms of 1830 had calmed down, anti-Catholicism began to rumble once again. It reappeared in newspapers: and not only in the left and left-center press, in the *National* in which Génin aired his "acrimonious" views, in the *Courrier francais*, which denounced the clergy as "the enemy", in the *Constitutionel* with its staff of survivors from the 18th century; but also in the "conservative" sheet, the organ of the Court and the Ministers, the *Journal des Débats*.[549]

Human respect, ambition and self-love bound the tongues and the gestures of citizens whose beliefs were tepid or dead cold. And the political administration was about to collapse because it rested upon shifting sands, and because, contemptuous of the buttresses provided by the truth, it relied upon the fragile props of wealth and pleasure.

Catholics, however, having been assured of their independence, became seasoned in the struggle. They learned to direct themselves and to make their way among the factions. They

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544 Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pp. 470-471.

545 Lecanuet, loc. cit.

546 Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pg. 515.

547 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 177.

548 Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pg. 525.

549 Ibid., pg. 481.

had cast out of their hearts all false shame, established the soundness of their principles, dissipated much misunderstanding and acquired allies; with the decline of the July Monarchy, they were inspired by a new confidence: "What a difference between 1834 and 1844!" noted Lacordaire, "what we have gained ... in strength and by way of a future is scarcely believable...where are we going, then, and what has God prepared for us?"[550].

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This sketch of the national life during the time of king Louis-Philippe seems useful before returning to the history of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who did not function on the perimeter of the picture. And while they made way for the leading figures, in their modest apostolate they remained in contact with the public authorities, the Church militants and with the masses whom the squalls of the times set in motion. The Brothers benefitted from Catholic propaganda, to which daily they contributed by their teaching and by their virtues. At a distant date, when Montalembert's and Dupanloup's campaigns had been successfully concluded, the Brothers were able to expand the frontiers of their instruction and they would be included among those educators whose mission appealed to all French youths. And by that very fact, the account of the projects undertaken before the legislative Houses and before the nation between 1839 and 1848 is bound, as the normal preamble, to future stages of the Institute.[551]

[550] Ibid., pg. 497

[551] In 1839 the Merode family, with whom Montalembert had just become related through marriage, opened a Brothers' school in Trélon, in which a special class was reserved for young glass workers during the time left available by the firing of the viscid mass prior to blowing. The young French nobleman was interested in this eminently social project. (History of the District of Saint-Omer.)

The leaders of the religious movement, the soldiers of freedom, did not forget the Brothers. Father Lacordaire, ascending the pulpit at Notre Dame in the robes of a Dominican on February 14, 1841, devotes a passage of his sermon on the "Vocation of the French Nation" to the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle and lists them among the architects of the return to the faith: "Is not the sign of resurrection upon us? Count, if you will, the saintly works which, for forty years, have raised up their flourishing growths in our native land...The Brothers of the Christian Schools, clothed in their simple habit, constantly pass through our cities' streets and, rather than the insults they were too often greeted with, they no longer meet with anything but the kindest regards of the worker, the respect of Christians and the esteem of everyone. Unassuming apostles of the French people, noiselessly combining God with elementary instruction, they create a generation which recognizes a friend in the priest and in the Gospel a book for the little ones and the law of order, peace, honor and universal brotherhood."[552]

Acclaimed thus by the monk in the presence of a distinguished audience, the Brothers secured their just recompense. However, they did not become suspect in the eyes of the directors of the "University". They continued to have an advocate in the Royal Council of Public Education who was increasingly devoted to their service: Ambrose Rendu reedited in 1845, under the title "Concerning Association in General and Especially Concerning the Charitable Association of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, his 1819 essay,[553] filled with important information and extremely flattering reflections. With a total independence of judgment, in fact, he there testifies to, and recommends, the revisions that seemed to him necessary in some of the Institute's books.[554] But throughout his life, which extended up to 1860, he worked diligently to support peace and union between the Church and school systems. Brother Philippe was immensely grateful to him, and went so far as to make him an affiliated member of the Institute. Ambrose Rendu's portrait, in a formal teaching gown, hangs in one of the rooms in the Motherhouse.

The valuable influence of Fontanes' former secretary was exerted on the decisions of the Ministerial counsellors. On April 2, 1839, on the occasion of a gift of 300,000 francs intended by a M. Charpentier for the Brothers in Lyons, the Institute was acknowledged as "competent to accept all gifts, living or bequeathed", either through "the Superior of each school" or in the name of the Superior-general. It was necessary, however, in each particular case, to seek a royal ordinance.[555]

The Privy Counsel, therefore, informed, heard a report from the Master of Petitions, Pérignon. It approved the report's conclusions, which left no doubt as to the Institute's legal existence. It was to no purpose, the reporter declared, that people objected that Religious Congregations had been suppressed since 1792; the Institute, by reason of the fact that it was a "charitable association", enjoyed all the rights of a civil personality. While Perignon did not mention the Consular authorization of the Year X (1801-1802), he was quite explicit regarding the decree of 1808, and the ordinances of 1816, 1824 and of 1828; he saw no reason

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552 Cited by Lémandus, pp. 324-325.

553 See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 394-396. And concerning Ambrose Rendu see the Index of the same volume.

554 De l'Association, pp. 104-109. The author takes as an example the Devoirs d'un chrétien which even at that date contained prescriptions concerning "tithes" and "lords" and spoke of marriage in language which seemed to Rendu to be rather "un-Canonical" as well as "useless in a primary school".

555 National Archives, F17 12,462. Opinion of the Royal Council for Public Education.

"reexamine" a legal status that has been "recognized" by the most formal titles.[556] Guizot's successors in the Ministry of Public Education continued eagerly to speak of the Brothers in glowing terms. In November 1841 Salvandy observed that the Brothers' schools assisted in the progress of education; their competition served as a prod: "we nearly always meet along side them with the best run schools, the most enthusiastic and irreproachable teachers". The Brothers, "so humble and so dedicated, restrict themselves", besides, "within the limits of their mission"; "generally" they are "untouched by political passion".[557]

They were subject to all the obligations of members of the teaching body. The question of certificates had been resolved according to the more general directives of 1833: the Brothers Director alone were required to have a diploma; the academic authorities were to received from the Directors the list of their uncertified associates; and when a Brother was changed from one school to another, the Director supplied an *exeat.* In this connection, however, the Minister complained about the frequent changes effected by the Superior-general.[558]

It was obvious that when individual teachers left a school, the same teaching-methods continued. Pupils and parents became accustomed to new faces among the teaching personnel all the more easily in that the Institute's Rule precluded precarious experiments, preserved all teachers along the same paths and, under the Religious robe and in a quasi-anonymity, provided them with the collective resemblance of a family. Ultimately, the "University" became comfortable with the customs and the requirements of the Congregation.

The royal government maintained excellent relations with the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin. On the part of Louis-Philippe there was cordiality, while on the part of Brother Philippe and his Assistants there was trust. The monarch could expect a great deal from their loyalty, their discretion and their eagerness; he did not entertain the same prejudices against them that might have dictated his behavior toward the heads of the Catholic party and the Episcopacy. Like the middle class of his time, he was grateful to them for training children in obedience, for defending "morality" among the common people and for cultivating a peaceful citizenry.

It went unnoticed that he was just as generous with them as was the senior branch of the Bourbons. But the public subsidy never failed to be received by the Institute's "Regime" for any year until 1848: fifteen days before the Revolution M. Salvandy signed the last order to pay.[559]

This regular assistance sufficiently underscores the goodwill of the men of the July Monarchy; in short, it went to the Institute itself, and not to the schools. Regarding the schools which the Communes took under their wing, arrangements were more parsimonious: the Minister believed that State funds should only exceptionally relieve municipal expenses. Such was the meaning of a reply sent to the Rector of the Academy in Toulouse on January 9, 1840: the city had a "rigorous obligation" to provide for the maintenance of every teacher that it employed.It was impossible to allow that it should fail on this score under the pretext that its educational needs were too numerous.[560]

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[556] Ibid., Report of May 4, 1839.

[557] Ministerial report cited by Lémandus, pg. 699.

[558] Letter dated October 20, 1838; Motherhouse Archives, file BEb6.

[559] National Archives, F17 12,461.

[560] National Archives, F17 12,460.

Moreover, a complaint had been levelled against the people in Toulouse; they had put up no opposition to the Brothers' tuition-free schools, which was the interminable preoccupation of the central government for three-quarters of the 19th century. The city of Pau had roused the same criticism: it granted financial assistance to a private school operated by the Brothers: "I appreciate the undeniable services" rendered by that group, the Minister had written to the Prefect of the Lower-Pyrenees on July 1, 1843; but such services must induce the Communal Council exactly to defray expenses. And it must not be "lost sight of" that it was question of a school in which "absolute gratuity" prevailed, "...all the more irritating" in that at least a hundred of the pupils were able to pay monthly tuition. If the people in Pau want to make such a generous contribution to the children, then, let them not make any demands on the national treasury![561]

Submissive to the government's wishes the people in Orleans in 1840 exacted the educational tax in the St. Bonose School at a time when heads of families were subject to a tax of two hundred francs annually. As a consequence, the Brothers gave up teaching a certain number of middle class youths.[562]

More independent, Rheims, on March 22, 1837, came to the support of De La Salle's system and stuck to it, for reasons explained in a most interesting and "contemporary" way by a report dated November 5, 1838: was not "the intent of the law of 1833 to expand education" into every social class? Rheims, then, shared the views of the legislature. Morality and intellectual development, rather than suffering, benefitted from such a decision. The claim had been made that people do not prize an education for which they are asked to make no monetary sacrifices. This was the merest sophistry; there would be many more illiterate persons if schools had not generously welcomed the sons of the common people. There are those who cry out "injustice" because educational expenses are assessed over the entire citizenry without considering their direct and immediate interests with regard to instruction: but wasn't the same thing the case when there was question of any of the urban improvements, paving, lighting and public buildings? Community liability has been involved at every level of progress. In practice, school tuition amounts to nothing more than a petty saving; and in order to reconcile the principle of tuition with human realities, we end up by taxing only a tiny minority. Witness Rouen which – after having dismissed the Brothers, the intransigent defenders of tuition-free education – from their functions as Communal teachers, was satisfied to impose a school fee of ten francs a year on twenty out of the 1800 who attended its schools.[563]

Such an spirited and clear defense succeeded in showing the point to which De La Salle's disciples had won over French public opinion; although, as we know, it did not occur without difficulty, even in the Founder's native city. But it was a splendid triumph for them. As early as the beginning of Brother Philippe's generalate, and in spite of political upheavals, religious antagonisms and some administrative objections, the Brothers were able quietly to pursue their task.

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We have no intention of pointing out the trail of all the "primary schools" which, from 1838 to 1848, sprouted upon on all points of the compass. There was a hardy growth in Paris, where

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561 Ibid., F17 12,455.

562 H. Turba, L'École Saint-Bonose, Orleans, 1937.

563 Arnould, op. cit., pp. 348-360.

Brother Anacletus' successor found eleven schools in operation and left twenty-nine;[564] the Brothers replaced the declining Society of Brothers of the Faubourg St. Antony; and concentrated in major Communities, ably directed by distinguished Brothers: thus, Brother Jean Aumonier took over the direction of seven schools on "the left bank."[565] There were flowerings in the large cities: Lille and throughout its suburbs,[566]We should say: throughout the Northern region. There were school openings in Armentieres as early as 1836, in Orchies in 1838, in La Bassée in 1839, in Merville and Saint Amand les Eaux in 1840, in Quesnoy in 1843 and in Wambrechies in 1846. Rouen, Nantes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Marseille, Lyon, and Rheims. Beginning in 1845, Brother Dauphin provided a new thrust to the schools in Rouen; and undermined the City Counsel's resistance to the point that two years later a member of that group, Armand Le Mire, predicted the return of the Brothers to the public schools, which included no more than about 700 pupils, while the Committee for Free Education brought together 3,000 in its schools. It was not until 1850 that a solution would be reached.[567] The Rosmadec mansion in Nantes, under the leadership of Brother Lambert, was a realm of prolific work and of shining edification.[568] Bordeaux continued to be a great center of Christian education where Brother Alphonsus' initiatives unfolded.[569] In the hands of Brother Claude the Brothers in Toulouse produced the best yield: the institution on Rue Mange-Ponnes. – "St. Aubin House", since the creation of the parish which bore that name – in 1843 housed more than a thousand persons: novices, scholastics, "Senior" Brothers, day-and resident pupils, and on-site teachers or those who each day travelled to various neighborhoods; huge buildings had to be added to the Father Bernadet's original construction. Dating from 1840, the city government gradually reintroduced the salaries which had been reduced during difficult times; eventually it included on its budget all teachers whom the Institute had assigned to the Communal schools. Through personal gifts and through effective activity with the civil authorities, the pastors in Toulouse endeavored to found or to transform several educational groups: Father Portet at St. Jerome's, Father Cassagne at St. Nicolas' and Father Lartigues at St. Michel's.[570]

Growth was universal, but it was especially noticeable in the Southern provinces and in the Massif Central. Auvergne, where the Brothers met with so many friends and so much support and where they sowed good grain and harvested vocations, repaid their efforts a hundredfold. Harvesters issued from the Novitiate in Clermont-Ferrand.[571]The data which follows are taken from the Archives of the Brothers in Clermont-Ferrand and from Brother Gustave of Mary's book about Brother Gonzalvian, Paris, 1935.They arrived in Billom, the ancient domain of the Society of Jesus, as early as 1834, where they worked under the stimulus of a zealous clergy; in 1838 they were in Thiers and in 1842 in Aiguesperse and in Ambert; for thirty-two years in this

564 See Ravelet, 1933 ed., statistics on pp. 449 and 457.

565 Choix de Notices, Brother Jean Aumonier's biography, pg. 27.

566 Archives of the school in Herouville. Historical Ms.

567 I. Cicé, Vie du Frère Camille-de-Jésus, Nantes, 1927, pg. 39.

568 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for October, 1923, pp. 311- 318.

569 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for October, 1923, pp. 311- 318.

570 Lémandus, p. 301-309. Archives of the District of Toulouse: Centenary of St. Aubin House.

571 Archives of the Brothers of the District of Le Puy. Vie du Vénérable Frère Bénilde, Paris, 1926.

latter city a Brother Respice was to direct the operation with complete success. In Montferrand, in the "Hospitalers' House", occupied by the Institute since 1828, a Brother Gaetan, in 1847, began an equally fruitful work, which endured for a still longer period of time. Riom already had its Brothers as the result of the initiatives of two great civil officials of the Restoration, the two Counts Chabrol, one of them the Prefect of the Seine, the other the Prefect of the Rhone, prior to 1830. So much for the Puy-de-Dome. Cantal added to its Christian Brothers' schools in Aurillac and Saint-Flour the ones in Mauriac in 1842 and Salers in 1844. We shall have to return to Aurillac; Saint-Flour was to prosper through the efforts of Brother Hegesippus; and Salers would give many of her children to the Church.

Le Puy-en-Velay had experienced the century-long dedication of St. John Baptist de La Salle's disciples. The principal city of the Upper Loire, it sent swarms of them throughout the entire region. After Bas-en-Basset and Langeac, hives of ancient date and of ardent activity, there was Yssingeaux in 1835, Brioude in 1839, Monistrol in 1840, Saugues in 1841, and Saint-Didier-la-Séauve in 1845. Near the gloomy wall of the Margeride, in the harsh region of the Gévaudan, there would flourish the fame of the teacher/apostle, Brother Benilde, who came to Saugues to start the school that the people had asked for and that they would gallantly support with their own funds. There, for twenty years Pierre Romancon, a superb follower of Christ and punctual observer of De La Salle's Rule would administer to the salvation of souls – in the rigor of the climate, in the ordeals which men did not spare him, in strict poverty and in the daily grind, with an invincible patience, right up to the flowering of a holiness which today Rome is prepared to declare authentic.[572]

In the distant past, the Founder of the Institute, journeying through these mountains, had also suffered here. Mende had retained the memory of his visit. And it fretted about starting up its Christian Brothers' school again. The first efforts – undertaken by Father Vernon, the pastor of the cathedral and M. Ligonnes, assistant to the Mayor – went all the way back to 1817. Consultations concerning "mutual education" had been completely discontinued at that time. New and drawn-out negotiations were required, in which the Minister of Public Education, the Deputy of the locality and the Bishop took part, so that not until 1840 were the Brothers reinstated in the city. The Department of the Lozère had welcomed them earlier at Merueis in 1829; and then at Saint-Germain-du-Teil and at La Canourgue between 1846 and 1849.[573] They returned to Aveyron in 1819 and, in Rodez, occupied the ancient residence that Bishop d'Ise Saléon had purchased for their predecessors in 1745. It was a large house nestled in a narrow street, in the shadow of the cathedral, where they were to become very popular for more than half a century. The City Counsel, decidedly favorable to their work, in 1843 built new classrooms and, at on the first floor, fitted out a small chapel. In the market place, which Rodez projected out along the high plateau, a branch school ministered to St. Amans' parish.

Descending the green valley, between the lime stone on the horizon and the Segala, a group of Christian Brothers in 1822 reached Villefranche with its roofs of Roman tile and its delicately carved houses, dominated by the truncated steeple of Notre Dame. There, they took up quarters in a building near the curious sanctuary called the "Black Penitents": a priest, Father Dufau, saved the deconsecrated structure from ruin, in order "to consecrate it in perpetuity to the service of the Catholic Church". The benefactor's nephew, who was Mayor of the Commune, fitted the installation out for occupancy by the Brothers. They were in danger of being carried off by illness and the weight of an overwhelming task. They lacked space and convenience; while pupils were piled into decrepit classrooms. In about 1847 some makeshift improvements were executed. Ten years later, the Community was composed of seven

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[573] Archives of the District of Le Puy.

Brothers who shared the teaching of 450 pupils.[574] St. Affrique, La Selve and Najac were added to the other schools in the Aveyron.

Expansion continued in the Tarn. In Albi, beneath its red walls, were the successors of the teachers who had been called during the days of Dominique La Rochefoucauld; Castres had reclaimed the inheritance of Bishop Barral; and Rabastens had opened its gates to the envoys of Brother Gerbaud. Up river a fourth phase brought the Brothers into the village of Lisle. M. Gelis had received 8,000 francs, which he had to spend on religious works, from a priest who wished to remain anonymous; Father Clausade advised the former to open a school and offered him his own residence. Many donors completed the initial outlay of funds. Since the city government refused to assume responsibility for the task, Melchior Gelis paid personally, had the building done and, on April 19, 1844, received Brother Stephanus, who had been designated Director by Brother Philippe.[575]

With the splendid foundation of Gaillac,[576] the following year, are associated he names of Marie Céline Plasse, daughter of a judge in the region, and legatee to the fortune of a former Deputy in the Estates General of 1789, Edward Fos Laborde, of Father Mercier, pastor of St. Peter's and of confessor of the saintly Emily Vialar who was the friend of Eugenie Guerin and died as the Foundress of a missionary Congregation, of Baron Yversen and of Theron Montaugé. A building was purchased in the Horalisse quarter, principally by means of Mlle Plasse's funds. Brother Lucil (William Manaud) – born in Portes, in the Ariege on April 4, 1810 – became the head of the Community. This tall, intelligent and distinguished looking man from the Pyrenees was thirty-five years of age, showed a great deal of energy and knew how to use his talents as a teacher, a catechist and a calligrapher. He directed in easy agreement with the Organizing Committee. Under the influence of a person who was intransigent and refused to be ignored, the physician Jean-Joseph Rigal, the city counsellors proclaimed themselves opposed to the official adoption of the school; nevertheless, in 1846 they voted a subsidy intended to create a job for a fourth teacher. Three- hundred-and-eighty children – four-fifths of the school-age population – attended the Brothers' school.

Brother Claude, Visitor of Toulouse, presided over the work. The whole of his vast District, like Belgium in the past, felt the effects of his enterprising wisdom. In 1840 the Institute was at St. Gaudens in the Upper Garonne, at St. Girons in the Ariege and at St. Antonin in the Tarn-and-Garonne. From 1843 to 1845, Languedoc and the Comte de Foix witnessed the entrance of the Brothers into Rieux, Belpech, Saverdun, Caraman, Ax and Montastruc:[577] a peaceful crusade in a region in which religious passion had over the centuries exploded with so much violence. Perhaps the old leaven of the Albigensians was still at work fomenting heresy, to which Protestantism had given new energy. In the past, the royal administration had called upon the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle and of Nicholas Barré to obliterate this heresy in the souls of children. Hatred brooded over the 18th century. Since that time, there survived nothing but the clash of attitudes and of ideas. The majority of the inhabitants of Saverdun belonged, as they used to say in Louis XIV's day, to the "so-called reformed religion". A

[574] Archives of the District of Rodez; historical account of Villefranche-du-Rouergue.

[575] Archives of the District of Rodez.

[576] Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Gaillac, notes and recollections of a former pupil <Brother Ildefonse Gabriel>, 1938.

[577] Montastruc's school was due to Pierre Barthe, who son-in-law, General Edward Castelnau perpetuated the tradition of courteous dedication and Christian kindness.

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Jesuit, Father Guillermé, who came to preach a mission in 1842, showed the small Catholic group the need for a school in which to teach their faith. They grasped what the preacher was saying; and within a year the Brothers' school was built and furnished. The City Council gave proof of a breadth of outlook: in the name of all of the citizens, it agreed that the building reserved for the Brothers should become Communal.[578].

Having noted these characteristic details in the South of France, we shall only take a birds-eye view of other regions. Throughout the entire reign of Louis-Philippe educational foundations presented only those marks that we observed in connection with Brother Anacletus' generalate. The band of teachers in Languedoc and in the Auvergne pushed on into Limousin and into the Marche: it occupied Aubusson in 1835; and set itself up in Bellac, Felletin, and Bourganeuf before the July Monarchy had fallen.

Moving into Normandy, we find that the "Congregation of St. Yon" was once again flourishing, in spite of its unfortunate exclusion from its former headquartersWithout returning to the cities which bestowed their confidence upon it a few years earlier, we must point out the presence of the Brothers in Yvetot in 1843, in Elbeuf in 1844, in Forges-les-Eaux in 1845, in Darnétal in 1846, and Gisors in 1847.[579] The tiny capital of the Vexin welcomed as Director of its school Brother Paul of Jesus, by birth Jewish and a pious and upright soul, who saw the Brothers in Metz passing in front of the family home, punctual to be with their pupils, morning and afternoon, in the schools of the neighborhood. He observed their faces and caught them in the act of praying. Drawn to the Brothers, the young Jew studied Catholicism, asked for Baptism and, finally, dedicated himself solely to Christ. So it had been with Nathanial in the Gospel, "in whom there was no guile",[580] who followed the Lord, "king of Israel and Son of God." For seven years Paul of Jesus evangelized the children of Gisors.[581].

This exceptional recruit underscores the merit of the Brothers in Lorraine. Among several teaching Congregations Brother Philippe's men occupied a privileged place in the dioceses of Verdun, Nancy and Metz. The "White Rabat" had disappeared only from Maréville where no one could dream of starting all over again the thankless task that King Stanislaus had once imposed upon them. At Metz, in spite of the hostility of the city government, the Christian Brothers' school grew in a happy climate. With the closing of two public schools, recently opened for the Brothers, there came, in 1840, the founding of free schools on Rues Vincentrue and Chevre. On the banks of the Moselle the Brothers had met with a very active, very clear-sighted and generous benefactor in Vicomte Maurice Coetlosquet. The gifts of this nobleman in Metz enabled the Brothers to set themselves up handsomely under the auspices of a Committee that was not averse to initiatives, and to teach thousands of pupils.[582]

There then was an attempt to penetrate into Alsace; although a sort of cultural isolation had withdrawn the whole of this beautiful province from the influence of the Christian Brothers, the Motherhouse yielded to a request on the part of the pastor of Massevaux. The people of the Vosge valley showed more than just good feeling for the teachers who had come from so far

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578 Archives of the District of Toulouse. In Puylaurens, in the Tarn, the Minister of Public Education, had required that the school admit both Protestants and Catholics indistinguishably. This decision delayed the arrival of the Brothers who, in 1835, opened a free school. And then, in conformity with the wishes of the population, each denomination was authorized to have a confessional elementary school. From that time onward, the Brothers had the title of Communal teachers

579 .[579]See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 457-458.

580 Herouville Archives, Historical Account of Normandy.

581 John. I, 47. Herouville Archives, Historical Account of Normandy

582 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for October, 1930, pp. 327- 332.

away; the new school was quickly filled. On the other hand, hostile feeling broke out among the administrators; anti-clerical passions, in 1845, shook the Sub-prefecture of Belfort, and a reading of the report addressed by that city to the Prefect of the Upper Rhine on November 27, suggested memories of the eve of the Revolution of 1830. There was a desire, wrote the bureaucrat who drew up the report to demolish "the 'University' system"; the pastor, "following the Bishop's orders", had announced from the pulpit and repeated in various places that, through the Brothers, education was going to stop being "pagan"; and that "opponents would split their skulls against the will" of the clergy. The "abandonment of the Communal schools" must be viewed as the cause of these threats and their consequence: heads of families may very well fear that their children will be "refused First Communion". Of course, they also "allowed themselves to be taken in by the bait" of tuition-free education. The private school which had been founded in Massevaux was nothing more than a "teaser" in a whole campaign of propaganda: indeed, more Brothers have been promised for Sewen and Oberbruck. There has been talk of negotiations undertaken with the Duke de Broglie with the idea of occupying a castle "that can be transformed into a splendid hothouse for jesuitry".[583]

The Colmar offices transmitted Belfort's warning to the Minister; their comments, however, tended to temper its virulence: "...Basically, there is no problem" with the operation of a private school. Actually, it could be dispensed with: elementary classes were operating under the direction of three former student-teachers from the normal schools in Strasbourg and Colmar and are completely satisfactory. But the competition would generate useful results. The most unpleasant aspect of the matter was that the citizenry was in danger of being split, and there were already quarrels in evidence. Two motives explained the Counsel's stance: the desire to combat the pastor's machinations; and the concern to protect the Commune's coffers; since, in order to reestablish a balance between the two educational systems, it would be appropriate to plan for the total gratuity of the public school.[584]

Such difficulties would not have been enough to get in the way of the Institute's progress in Alsace. The region lent itself marvelously to the Christian apostolate; like the neighboring areas, it had welcomed the sons of De La Salle, even though it did not have a great number of apostles. Nearly everywhere through the region families enjoyed the benefits of flourishing native Congregations. Not only did they entrust their children to educators sponsored by the Church, they also fostered vocations, of which they were proud: in the absence of schools, the Institute was to uncover in the Upper and Lower Rhine excellent vocations, choice individuals who later on would play their role and who, by their professional qualities and their eminent virtues, would contribute to the reputation both of their locality and of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

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Elsewhere, the work of Brother Philippe proceeded energetically and came to fruition in a variety of fields. The French government did not dream of reducing the role it gave the Brothers in the official educational system. In Rouen Brother Cecil retained the direction of the normal school for teachers. His opposite number in the Cantal was Brother Surin, who, beginning in 1841 and for a quarter of a century thereafter trained according to the Institute's methods the personnel that was destined for the public schools in that Department. His influence would be felt by an entire segment of youth either through his student teachers or, in

583 National Archives, F17 12,460, Deputy-prefect Tinel's letter.

584 National Archives, F 17 12,460, Prefect of the Upper Rhine's letter to the Minister of Public Education, December 5, 1845.

a still more efficacious way, through the creation of an upper-level elementary school from which were graduated excellent candidates.[585] Henceforth Aurillac became a center of educational activity.

The Bishops in Brittany would have liked to have fallen in for the same advantages as the Auvergne: in 1842 they negotiated for the normal school in Rennes to be turned over to the Brothers. The Bishop of Vannes wrote: "I am convinced that...this would be the single means of putting a stop to the persistence with which most of our rural Communes reject lay teachers, or, when such teachers are imposed upon them, the teachers have practically no pupils."[586]His colleague in Saint Brieuc stated just as clearly: "Here, people are asking for teachers who have genuine faith".[587] In the capital of Brittany the head of the diocese was asking simply "to offer" the Minister "his cooperation"; at the right time, he "would get together" with "his dear Rector" of the Academy, in order to select the man worthy of occupying the top place and able to obtain the best results.[588] The episcopal manoeuvres did not seem to give rise to surprise; and the project met with no disapproval. However, it remained in abeyance. Other ventures awaited the Brothers in Armorique, as we shall see presently.

Until the upheaval of 1848, which would overturn so much established prerogative and reverse so many principles, the presence of Brothers at the head of normal schools for primary education was asserted only by way of a happy exception. Without regarding it as useless in specifically educational circles, it had been preferred in high places that the exception function only in the working-class world. The middle class witnessed the rising tide of popular demands: as early as 1840, François Arago, the astronomer and democrat, called for a social transformation the effects of which would surpass by a very great deal a simple political reform; his words answered to the aspirations of the masses; they dwelt upon the sufferings of salaried people; they pointed out the injustices in the division of property; and they invited the majority to throw its full weight on the side of the nation's future. The distinguished scholar whose area of competence was the contemplation of the stars took on the guise of a seer and a prophet; on one occasion a thousand or so Parisians went out to thank him under the domes of the Observatory for his "lofty" daring.[589] Was it so difficult after that to have an inkling of a revolutionary impetus? It had been barely contained after 1830; but it bid fair to be all the more formidable. Perhaps its violence would be diminish, if hatred no longer embittered hearts nor armed men. Christianity stands up to wicked passions and brutal instincts. But for its action to be decisive, the earth's disinherited must not see the Church as indifferent to its distress. A fortunate development took place, due in part, as we have observed, to a new political situation; the influence of Buchez and his paper L'Atelier was, moreover, not extraneous to the new set of circumstances. The sociologist was not an orthodox believer; but he was openly sympathetic to Catholicism, and he accustomed his reader and his disciples to regard religion as among the benevolent forces. An alliance of people of good will began to take shape; and it was concluded, (but, unfortunately, only in an ephemeral way) in 1848.[590]

The Brothers of the Christian Schools played a part in paving the way for it. It was, if not the

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[585] Archives of the District of Clermont-Ferrand, Historical Account of Aurillac.

[586] National Archives, F17 12,456, letter dated July 10, 1842 to the Minister of Public Education.

[587] Ibid., letter dated August 5.

[588] National Archives, F17 12,456, letter dated August 16, 1842.

[589] Thureau-Dangin, Vol. V, pp. 176 and 180.

[590] Ibid., Vol. VI, pg. 92.

direct goal, at least it was the most important effect of the "night schools" that multiplied during the generalate of Brother Philippe. These schools were now found in most of the cities, large industrial centers like Lille or unassuming cities like Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Castres. Technical education, shelter and the apostolate were combined. Thus, in Paris, the school on the rue Neuve-Saint-Etienne, founded in 1843 for four kinds of apprentices: first of all, orphans or the children of extremely poor people were lodged, fed and supported in an institution where they worked under the guidance of eighteen qualified craftsmen. And then there were others who, also sheltered on the rue Neuve, were, under the Brothers' supervision, distributed over the workshops in the neighborhood. Thirdly, there were those whom the employers welcomed at their table but who each evening returned to the common dormitory. And, finally, the largest number were those who were placed by the confraternity of St. Vincent de Paul with master workmen and for practical purposes committed to the Brothers' care. The Brothers were obliged to report on the work and the behavior of these young workers; and on Sundays and Feasts Days the Brothers welcomed them among their other pupils in order to assist at religious services, recreation, supplementary general instruction and awards. It was an extremely flexible and easy-going system of popular education which wrested many youths from vagrancy and vice, set up an initial model for organized "Protectories" rekindled the faith and spread a soothing climate over an entire neighborhood of the city. The government took an interest in the project and assisted the operation with a subsidy; the Royal Council of Public Education authorized and encouraged this new kind of "residence school."[591]

A similar Christian group in the heart of Paris was the "St. Francis Xavier Society" which was restricted to adults. It obtained for its members – factory employees, associates in humble enterprises, subaltern workers and penniless heads of household – religious information, supportive friendships, spiritual and material assistance, especially during periods of unemployment and illness. Based, appropriately, in the "parish", and by its manner calling to mind the ancient confraternities, it group the membership under the guidance of a priest who was appointed by the pastor and by the Brother who, within the same ecclesiastical constituency, directed a Community of teachers. They met in the Church and they listened to an edifying reading, a catechetical instruction or an apologetical conference; they also sang Vespers, which was no novelty in a time that was still faithful to venerated customs; and they were provided with books for personal meditation.[592] Thus, unobtrusively, were reorganized the structures that had been destroyed by the individualism of 1792; and, so also, through the initiative of the religious teachers. both desirous of continuing the tradition of their Founder, the gentleman "friend of the poor" from Champaign, and concerned to understand the needs of their own times, foreshadowed a future which borrowed some of the features of the past.

Where there was a question of social progress, the Brothers were agreeable to move out of the urban centers that had been the traditional arena of their apostolate. About 1844 a M. Niviere, in the Saulsaie Castle in the Dombes, about seven miles from Lyons, opened a "Royal Institute of Agriculture" equipped with the usual official support. He decided that it would be a good idea to invite as teachers those men whose predecessors had once propagated in Lorraine and in Normandy the proofs of their educational experience and their knowledge of agrarian life. Along with grammar and arithmetic, they taught geometry, surveying, bookkeeping, physics, chemistry – particulary the relation of these sciences with a training in agriculture – and geography, botany and zoology. Soil was studied in order to obtain the greatest yield; and

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[591] Ambrose Rendu, op. cit., pp. 169-171.

[592] Ibid., pp. 213-215. Cf. also Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for October, 1921, pp. 337-343.

at Saulsaie the goal was set to train children who had to be accustomed to country life.[593] This experiment, celebrated by Ambrose Rendu, a scholar with broad views, was a prelude to the future successes of the Congregation in model farming, horticultural institutions, in peasant environment and in vast landed proprietorship.

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The educational vocation of the Christian Brothers, then, found the diversification and the depth to which it seemed accessible in the 18th century. Interrupted in this normal growth by political catastrophes and constrained within the walls of primary schools, whether Roman, French or Belgian, since its restoration in 1803, it definitively burst through the boundaries that so many misfortunes, frequent personnel shortages, and – even on the part of its most ardent admirers – so many misunderstandings inflicted upon it. Its Founder was disclosed, in the domain of education and instruction, as the intrepid and methodical genius, who shattered routines and was ever ready for adaptation, depending upon persons and circumstances. His achievements and his ventures opened avenues to his sons; and in his writings was to be found the seed of all of modern pedagogy.

It was enough for Brother Philippe to consult such a tactful itinerary, to empower his forces with such substantial provisions, in order to advance with giant strides. The delay caused by the Revolution, the enforced slow-down that we observed in the first third of the 19th century would be finally retrieved. The Institute caught up to and soon surpassed the point to which Brother Agathon had conducted it.

This recoupling, which restored the gears and enabled the machine to get moving once again, was effected without breaking stride. The restoration of the residence schools was the most striking proof of the work that had been accomplished. The skillful Superior employed the opportunities made available to him by the Law of 1833. The setting up of schools designed for moderately well-to-do children and youths within the middle class was to be fitted into the structures of higher primary education by means of the most complete expansion of scientific and literary programs, meanwhile awaiting the time when rewon freedom, the preparation of teachers, the demands of families, the influence vested in industrial and commercial circles and the propaganda exerted upon public opinion would induce someone to imagine – or to reinvent – a special secondary education.

It was thus that there arose and developed, prior to the Law of 1850, the most successful innovations. In the South of France the school in Beziers was the prototype; it grew under the guidance of Brother Exuperian; and it had been equipped with an attractive and spacious chapel in which flowered the Neo-Gothic style of architecture, extolled by historians and archaeologists and become popular among French Catholics. On Brother Philippe's orders the Director was obliged to preserve the main buildings of the former convent of St. Claire; a decision to begin anew would have been preferable for the future of the residence school; but it seemed as though the prayer and virtue that had been accumulated in the ancient cloister still inspired souls; behind the high doors on St. Aphrodisias Square generations of Christians would succeed one another; and the Religious life would go on in tandem with progress in education.[594]

Toulouse rivaled Beziers. Its St. Joseph's residence school, the ultimate restoration of Brother Bernardine's humble enterprise, began in 1840 with encouragement from Bishop Astros and funds from generous people in Languedoc. In the first days, there were only sixty pupils; but in less than two years there were 250. Hastily, Brother Claude bought land and

[593] Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[594] Motherhouse Archives, Béziers; historical manuscript

introduced into makeshift buildings pupils who were combined with his novices. From 1840 to 1843, 217,000 francs were spent on a project that would experience great renown, painful vicissitudes and magnificent prosperity.[595]

On August 6, 1839 a Ministerial decree authorized the foundation of a residence school in Lyons, which was called "Lazarist".[596] In Savoy and beyond the frontier that had been established in 1815 there were born two Christian Brothers citadels which France would inherit under Napoleon III: St. Joseph of Thonon and La Motte-Servolex. A man who was native to the mountains had been boldly dedicated to the construction of one of them: he was Joseph Mary Chabord-Blanc, who was born on November 15, 1812 at Megeve in Faucigny; he entered the Institute, where he took the name of Brother Alman, schoolteacher at Evian and then at Faverges, Aix-les-Bains, St. Jean of Mauriennes and Chambery; his highly cultivated mind, his tact as an educator, the goodness that shone from a loyal, friendly face won for him, at the age of thirty years, the respect and confidence of the people whom he met. As Director of Thonon, he restored order to the elementary classes, drew about him a multitude of children and instructed illiterate adults. A pastor in the city, Father Delesmillieres, invited him to expand his activities. Brother Alman had very little money, but he didn't let it bother him; abandoning himself to Providence, he took over a former Ursuline convent and launched his new educational program. Along the shores of Lake Geneva, fine Savoyard families answered to his appeal; and their gratitude to the wise and "saintly" Brother was endless.[597]

La Motte-Servolex was started at the same period during 1844, in an estate close to Chambery that the Institute acquired from Marquis Costa Beauregard. In order to give shape and energy to the plan the Superior-general soon selected two craftsmen of eminent ability: Brother Libanos, who was given an "Obedience" as Director; and, a man who was also detached from the residence school in Passy, Brother Calix, a Breton solid in his steadfastness and in his beliefs, in order to backup the leader of the school. Both of them, still in their youth, were prepared to apply a total plan of building, education and of studies following the principles of Brother Theoticus. The support of the King of Sardinia promised the school a brilliant future: Charles Albert dreamed of putting La Motte on the same footing as the French St. Cyr; and the administration, discipline and general instruction was to belong to the Brothers. Unfortunately, here as in politics, the prince's intentions were too ambitious for the means at his command. Custozza and Novare did not take long to spoil his hopes and his fortune. Nevertheless, the residence school did not suffer any reaction from these events. Pupils flocked there from northern Italy as well as from Savoy: they came seeking in the vast landscapes of this institution a particularly polished breeding; they commended the good taste, the gracefulness and the family spirit which presided over the classes, the parlor and the academic festivities.[598]

Marseille prepared to follow the movement with a stimulus from Brother Euthyme, a fiery personality and an authority beyond question. The traditions of the celebrated residence school on the Boulevard de la Corderie were revived beginning in 1848, at first on a temporary site on

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[595] Archives of St. Joseph's residence school, historical digest; article in the newspaper La Garonne, "Un Centenaire", issue for November 25, 1940 and Historique du Pensionnat, by Pierre Espinasse <Brother Leo Hilary>.

[596] See above, pg. 178.

[597] Le Frère Alman, fondateur du pensionnat Saint-Joseph, by one of his friends <Brother Vigbert-Louis>, Thonon, 1878. And G. Rigault, Le Frère Louis, Educator and Poet, Paris, 1929.

[598] Rigault, op. cit., pp. 43-45.

the Rue de la Fare, and then in the Devilliers Court before it was transplanted and expanded to "St. Mary's" on the heights which overlooked the city. And the old 18th century teachers, Brother Benezet, Brother Patrick and Brother Guillaume de Jésus had their worthy successors.[599]

Certainly, the clergy understood that the methods of the Christian Brothers could help in the re-Christianization of a social elite. They did not agree with the Capitular Vicars in Poitiers, Fathers Rochemonteix and Samoyault, that a residence school ought not to be opened along with diocesan primary schools. Their wishes ran up against the opposition of the District Committee; and their legitimate complaints reached the Minister, but, unfortunately, without effect: the local sectarians "did not disparage the Brothers for any negligence or fault..." They were merely worried about the extraordinary headway" made by them. That "was what appeared to be dangerous" and what deserved to dealt with severely by a solicitous government! But the latter refused, quite wisely, to yield to these most eccentric demands. Were these people asking the government to sacrifice entirely the services of the Institute? In any case, it dissociated itself from a project that went beyond the primary educational system.[600]

Western Brittany had not experienced any such setback.[601] In 1835 Brother Lambert arrived in Nantes. As both Visitor of the District and Director of the Communities in the city, this Brother who was capable of great things, in October of 1838, initiated a day-residence school in the Rosmadec mansion. This beginning lived up to his expectations; but he did not stop there. Brother Lambert proposed to the Superiors the purchase of land on a lovely site that was quite appropriately called "the Tivoli of Nantes"; a fresh and picturesque countryside beyond the Erdre, the access road – "Rue de Bel Air" – said a great deal about the attractions of the locality. The promoter was given a free hand. Several small piece of property were gradually joined to the first parcel in order to make up a section of 15,000 square meters. The buildings were constructed according to a plan drawn up by Brother Bassus: a north wing which, beginning in 1841, lodged the day-residence pupils who, henceforth, were separated from St. Peter's school and from the novitiate at Rosmadec; a chapel, consecrated in 1844 by Bishop Herce'; and a south wing built during the same period. In these years there were three hundred pupils, some of whom came from families of the region's nobility; and, by their presence among the class of pupils the Institute customarily served, this aristocracy bore witness to the fundamental, essential Catholicity of the Breton soul.[602] "St. Joseph of Bel-Air", become a residence school, was to preserve this religious quality, this distinctive tone.

In the same Christian spirit, but in a different domain, "Likès" in Quimper thrived.[603] The Brothers were not connected with the founding of the institution. *Suum cuique*; it is fitting to indicate who was the principal founder: Germain Joseph, Baron Boullé. He was one of those models of an upper-level bureaucrat of days gone bye, intelligent, bold and persevering in his

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599 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes, for July, 1934, pg. 264.

600 National Archives, F17 12,456, remarks concerning the opening of a Brothers' residence school in Poitiers, 1842.

601 An embryonic residence school, nevertheless, was established in Poitiers at this time, along with the elementary classes that had been set up in the Prévoté mansion. Brother Stephanus assumed its direction. And, as time went by, it grew. In 1846 it had 243 pupils. Transferred in 1869, during the days of Brother Cyrus, to a former Dominican monastery, it flourished until the persecution of 1905. (Collon, Le Pensionnat des Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Poitiers, 1905.)

602 Account of the Bel-Air residence school; and Vie du Frère Camille-de-Jesus, by I. Cicé, Nantes, 1927.

603 Centenaire de l'Ecole Saint-Marie (Likès), Ancenis, 1938; and Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for July, 1911, pp. 194-196.

undertakings, dedicated to the people he presided over, an heir to the wisdom and, to some extent, to the power of the administrator in the "Ancien Regime". He was born in Pontivy in 1786, the son of a Deputy for the jurisdiction of Ploërmel in the final Estates general. Like his ancestors, he had a passion for the common good and the appetite to work for it. The July Monarchy made him a Prefect of the Tarn-and-Garonne and then of the Aude. In 1836 it sent him, with the same title, into his native province: Boullé became Prefect of the Finistere for eleven year, until the abdication of Louis-Phillipe. He succeeded in rescuing the Department from stagnation, in enriching and in civilizing it. He was deeply interested in agriculture and in education. There were two men who guaranteed him a sincere cooperation; these were Bishop Poulpiquet and Count Condé who, as a gentleman of an ancient line, from his youth, had been included among the leaders in Brittany. He was not yet thirty years of age when, in 1833, he was elected Councillor-general; and, beginning in 1839, he was seated in the Legislative Chamber. A scholar, historian and economist, he was honored by the friendship of men like Lamartine and Montalembert. The Catholic orator, whose burning convictions he shared, was his guest in his country-seat of Marral'ach. Louis Marcien Carné, together with Father Cazales, founded the review, *Le Correspondant*, an organ for the defense of religion and of Christian liberalism. His intellectual and moral force, his *Studies Concerning the Founders of French Unity* brought him fame. In 1847 he became the commercial director to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and in 1863 he was made one of the forty members of the Academy.

Boullé, Carné and Poulpiquet, good citizens and leaders who understood their role, fulfilled a social task by taking inspiration from their patriotism and from their faith. They grieved for the ignorance that impaired the progress of Lower-Brittany: wagons and minds were "mired down" in these "Cantons of Quimper-Corentin" since the century in which Jean de La Fontaine in his Fables claimed that "Destiny sends people there when it wants to infuriate them". Wagoners will not run into obstacles. And, with Heaven's help, they will know how to get out of ruts.

The Prefect was under no illusions: Finistère was "extraordinarily backward", as he asserted during the August 2, 1837 session of the General Counsel. It was in the second-to-last place (last, excepting Correze) in educational statistics: only 6,850 children out of a total of 35,000 of school age received some elementary instruction; in 1844 there were only 57 draftees (out of the 281 from the District of Quimper) knew how to read and write.

Of the 282 Communes in the Department less than a half had a school: 122 primary schools, and two had upper schools, but in name only. The Brothers operated the schools in Brest and in Quimper only; in the capital they brought together 350 pupils, some of whom, under the direction of Brother Agreve carried their studies forward as far as the essentials of grammar, arithmetic, geometry and drawing. Secondary education was confined to courses at the city college.

In order to explain the small number of teachers and the low percentage of pupils, the general conditions of the locale were adduced, and not without reason: – the dispersal of farms over the country-side, the dearth of, and the distance between, centers of human activity, and the melancholy condition of the roads. The peasants paid no heed to these disadvantages; they lived turned in upon themselves and content to scratch the soil according to their primitive methods. Nevertheless, a few of them wanted their sons to have at least a little knowledge; and for the want of schools in the neighborhood they sent them to Quimper to be taught not in the Communal schools, which did not admit country people, but in private institutions whose educational reputation was below average. These children, prematurely separated from their families, lived in groups of ten or twelve in third-rate inns or in workers households. Each week parents would provide them with food. And with no supervision and with the idleness once study time was over, one can imagine the sort of distressing habits that could thus be contracted.

The situation of these all too independent schoolboys – "Likès" (or laity) as they were called (as opposed to "Cloarecs" or clerics – preoccupied the authorities. This was why M. Carné proposed to the Prefect that arrangements be made for a housing accommodation in conjunction with an educational institution. Such a foundation would save the youth of several villages from illiteracy; it would contribute vigorously to the diffusion of the French language; and it would provide the region with a generation brought up on good principles and capable of accomplishing certain improvements on one's native soil.

Baron Boullé was quick to embrace the idea. A site was available in the extensive buildings of a college, which the City Counsel agreed to lend to the Departmental administration. There was to be established "a special school for agriculture and the French language", known in the region by the name of "Likès school" or, more simply, "Likès". The Prefect's report, dated March 15, 1837, explains the end, as well as the ways and means, to the Minister of Public Education. In June Salvandy granted the first subsidy. And the Ordinance of November 28 approved of the new institution; and the "draft regulation" drawn up by Boullé, and slightly modified by the Royal Counsel, became the charter which governed the resident pupils.

Pupils were to work with the support, and under the control of, public administrators. For twenty-five francs a month they were to be fed by the institution; if families preferred to send farm products, the price would be only five francs for the preparation of meals "and to pour soup on one's bread".

Instruction "would include all the subjects listed in Article 1 of the Law of June 28, 1833", and, besides, "introduction to agriculture and domestic economy". Religion lead off the program. Indeed, in this most religious region, it did not appear possible to fail to select a priest as Director. With the consent of Bishop Poulpiquet, Father Guilcher assumed that responsibility. He was quite familiar with the peasant environment; and the Breton language was of great assistance to him. His dedication to the project went so far as to take over totally financial responsibilities when the Counsel-general and the city government refused to allocate funds. Father Guilcher, however, was unable, alone, to direct the institution, maintain discipline and organize classes. In November 1838, less than a year after the project had been set in motion, sixty "Roomers" were already enrolled. It was at this moment that the Brothers heard the first call; the success of their tuition-free school – many of whose pupils had been prepared for examinations in Arts and Crafts – won them the Prefect's respect and praise. They were asked to be good enough to teach at Likès. Two teachers, Brothers Préside and Gagnion came to the assistance of the Priest/Director while they continued to reside in the Community at St. Corentin.

At this point, the school authorities noticed that Father Guilcher possessed no university degree. In order to regularize that situation, Brother Préside was given the title of "Director": the bursarship and the chaplaincy continued to be the priest's functions. This *modus vivendi* endured after Father Guilcher's death in 1840. He was succeeded by Father Morisset who, for six years, was employed in the Christian formation of children and in the material development of the institution.

During his administration the number of residents rose to 160, all of them coming from Districts in the Finistere. These country children needed to be initiated into the skills of their future trade: Baron Boullé operated both in Paris and in Quimper; he had completely won over the sympathies of the Counselors-general who voted funds for renting a farm and for the purchase of equipment; and he won from the Minister of Public Education the foundation of chair in agriculture. The teacher, M. Olive, a quite zealous layman with a very kind face, inaugurated his courses on May 1, 1843; he, in company with his pupils, were to manage the small Kermahonet farm in Kerfeunteun; and the Central Society for Agriculture placed model tools at his disposal.

Likès thrust itself upon Brittany's attention. But it would not enjoy the future opportunities it might have unless a Religious Institute explicitly supplied it with its personnel, guaranteed it the confidence of families and the continuity of its thought and its methods. The Prefect had no doubt about it; and, as Father Morisset had died in 1846, the time came for an extremely important decision; in agreement with the departmental administration and the Headmaster of the "University", Brother Philippe, in a letter dated January 21, 1847, accepted the task that had been offered. He opened an independent Community and entrusted its direction to Brother Charlemagne. The choice disclosed a high degree of shrewdness; this Brother had the appearance and the qualities of a leader: a dominating will that was betrayed by his facial characteristics, an exquisite mind, extraordinary powers of observation, precisely punctual and a character that was both balanced and firm. He directed eight Brothers, several of whom were Breton-speaking Bretons; and, during the first year of his administration there were 232 pupils, a figure which became 287 in 1848.

Henceforth a marvelous development awaited this novel institution dedicated to "St. Mary". Its modest beginnings already seemed remote; children from the countryside were still housed in the ancient manner; they were given a sound elementary education; but recruitment and programs tended to expand. Gradually, the school approximated the traditional image of residence schools; and various opportunities became possible for the young people who passed through the Brothers' hands. Meanwhile, the Brothers, with the long and faithful cooperation of M. Olive, had not forgotten "the basic insight" of Baron Boullé, who, in July of 1847, in a speech at the distribution of prizes, reaffirmed it and it became, as it were, his Prefectural testament: Likès must "train a race of enlightened and wisely progressive farmers for the region of the Finistère".

This story in which we witness the bringing together of the efforts of an excellent administrator, inspired by genuinely "social" purposes, of a clergy totally dedicated to the service of its flock and a Congregation which, without confusion or prejudice, adapted itself to the usages and customs of each province, seems to us to have been worthy of being recounted in detail. Brother Charlemagne successors have carefully employed the documents of the period in order to commemorate the centenary of a work that has continued to be very much alive. In the pages and the pictures of a monograph we grasp the appearance of a Brittany of another time and of the contribution made by the Brothers to the achievements of their most intelligent contemporaries.

An unambitious beginning, cautious growth but ordinarily without interruption or regret, and then verifiable, striking and enduring success – these pretty nearly everywhere were the marks of the Brothers' foundations. In Rheims, the day-residence school that had been closed by the city government in 1832 was revived thirteen years later. Chaix d'Est Ange, attorney-general in the Supreme Court of Appeals promised his support at the time of his candidacy for a seat as Deputy. He was elected and kept his promise. The school on Rue Venise welcomed seventy children; at first, it cast about for guidelines. It was to await the Second Empire and an educator who was ready with far-reaching plans, in order to take its place among the most flourishing institutions.[604]

In Paris a very young Brother was, from its beginning, the soul of the school called "Francs-Bourgois".[605] As a teacher at St. Nicholas des Champs, Brother Joseph dreamed of starting a commercial school, far less out of a desire to enlarge the scope of his teaching than in order to rescue youths whom he loved from the perils of materialism. He was only twenty-one

[604] Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for January, 1907, pp. 13-16.

[605] G. Rigault, Un Educateur social, le Frère Joseph, Paris, 1925.

years of age. What could an obscure Brother, subject to Obedience and bound to Poverty, do in order to get something started? His initiatives must be approved, submitted to authority and apparently be “wasted" in order to become fruitful. He referred the matter to his Director, Brother Artheme. Like the other Bransiet, the Superior-general, his was a mind aware of the outside world, prepared to employ peoples’ abilities and at the same time receptive regarding splendid acts of daring. Faithful Christians who were also people of experience and who could volunteer as financial backers advocated the venture. M. Melun had a site: Number 10 on Rue Francs Bourgeois,[606] in one of the lovely Marais mansions, with their facades decorated by columns and sculptures in the form of draperies, a piece of architecture in which was expressed the masterly grace of the 18th century. There, every Sunday the great man of good works brought together the workers whom he supported; but on week-days he allowed the Brothers to teach there.

It was a temporary solution the drawbacks to which were obvious: the courtyards were small, inadequately ventilated and scarcely lent themselves to recreation. Besides, the building was being shared with several renters. It was a tiny “house” where one never felt at home. And furthermore there could only be day-pupils.

Under these conditions the school was opened on November 21, 1843. Its teaching personnel continued to be part of the St. Nicholas des Champs Community. A Brother named Maccabeus was in charge of studies. Brother Joseph was responsible for the literature course in the first class – a position of trust which enabled him to exercise his influence on the oldest pupils.

Nevertheless, as long as he remained in a subordinate role, the system advanced hesitatingly: the ship lacked the vigorous thrust of the tiller. However, its first captains quickly succeeded one another – Brother Macchabeus died at the end of 1846; and Brother Alvier succumbed to cholera in 1849. They seemed only to have received command in order to “test” the project and so that their lieutenant might become of age to manage the decisive manoeuvres with masterly skill.

The high riding vessel which, at this time, was making headway in the high seas at full sail and fully armed was the peerless “Passy”. We have viewed it in the course of construction on the Motherhouse planning rooms. Its real beginning dates from April 8, 1839 when Brother Melit took up quarters with his resident pupils in the summer lodges of the Valentine mansion, which at one time had been the property of the Duchess of that name; before her, it had belonged to the Duke of Aumont and later on of Benjamin Franklin and of the prince Condé; it was a splendid estate on a magnificent site on a hill overlooking Paris and the Valley of the Seine. The new occupants populated it with a large number of hand-picked young persons, transformed it without diminishing its charm, propagated throughout an atmosphere of joy, and forever stamped it with their presence.

Five months after the transfer called for by the Superiors there came to Passy the providential masters of the project: Brother Theoticus and Brother Libanos. Later on we shall examine the whole of their activity; since, without the necessary step backward, we should lose perspective. In 1844, the physical landscape began to take shape: the corner stone of the main building was blessed in June. And on May 1, 1846 the terrace – the majestic crowning-piece – was inaugurated.[607] It is gratifying in imagination to ascend this height in the company of Brother Philippe to survey, as far as the French frontier, the Brothers busily building their most significant educational institutions.

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606 Now No. 26.

607 Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pp. 187-188 and L’Année Jubilaire, 1939.

Now they shall guide us ad inferos, through the circles of Dante's Purgatory, if not his Hell. Yielding to the wishes of his friend, President Pontcarré, St. John Baptist de La Salle had agreed to keep rebellious or vicious children (and, later on, delinquents of all ages) at St. Yon, as prisoners under the king's orders. And, until the Revolution, the Brothers fulfilled – not only in Normandy but also at Maréville in Lorraine – this difficult and thankless task, which ran the risk of hardening hearts unless fortified by supernatural charity.

This was the virtue that two Brothers had been practicing since 1840 respecting the young felons at Petite-Roquette. The Prefect of Police in Paris, M. Delessert, had reorganized this "central institution for correctional education" in 1838. Here were to be found unruly children that had been confided by their families to the administration, others confined for various offenses, others acquitted by a judgment of the courts because they acted without discretion but were still placed under supervision before being sent, like the unruly, to penal institutions; besides, there was a category of boy from sixteen to twenty-one years of age who had been condemned to prison for a maximum of one year.

Here manual labor and study were obligatory. At the request of the Prefect of Police the Brothers' Community in St. Marguerite's parish each day assigned two of its members, as teachers and catechists, to these very special pupils. Group instruction was given in a vast circular hall in which each prisoner, invisible to his neighbors, occupied a cubicle. Then, the Brothers would finish off their lesson, unavoidably in a tutorial fashion, by visiting the cubicles. They exercised a great influence over hearts and minds; and, annually, there were a large number of First Communions; and the Brothers were heartened by the steadfastness of those who were converted. "Come, have we none but little saints in the class" said Brother Aurelius, who was quite devoted to his Roquette disciples. His associate, Brother Jason left this apostolate only after a long career. Both of them were assured of the support and the friendship of the "apostle of the prisons", the revered Father Crozes. And the public authorities retained the Brothers as auxiliaries for nearly half a century, until the days in 1882 when sectarianism seized control of education.[608]

In this situation the Institute's role was absolutely typical. As in the past at the "Asylum" on the Rue des Grès Saint Jacques, the Brothers were practicing their skills as educators. But this sort of success – and the memory of the old "penal institutions" – soon induced the French government to demand of them a greater degree of cooperation. It was thought that their influence should be exerted for the moral improvement of those condemned by common law; there were those who wanted to the Brothers to reside permanently in some of the major prisons.

Because of the insistence of the authorities, the Superior-general resolved as early as 1842 to send a commission of inquiry to the Central Institution in Nîmes. The Brothers who made up the commission, Brothers Facile, Mamert, Marin, and Hervé were top flight men and of remarkable intelligence; and they sent a report to the Regime concerning the sort of apostolate to which the Institute might be committing itself.

They foresaw the difficulties, the annoyances and the dangers, the pretty nearly inevitable conflicts with the civil arm, the mutinies that were always to be feared from the prisoners, and the weariness and the responsibility of the mid-night rounds. But there were physical and moral woes to allay and to heal, degradation to purge and souls to save. They had to try to realize a great good by imitating the self-sacrifice of their predecessors in the 18th century.

"Let us accept", the report concluded. At first, classes were reserved to the younger prisoners in Nîmes. The Prefect of the Gard, M. Jessaint, was so pleased that he promptly expanded the Brothers' activities. On January 20, 1842 a team of thirty-seven Brothers took the place of the

608 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for January 1909, pp. 54-62.

three teachers whom, for a few months, Brother Marin had directed.

The man who became their leader concealed a heart of gold under an unpolished exterior. The energy and the kindness of Brother Facile – the name was something of a misnomer – were exerted in the prisons before appearing out in the open in a very different theatre when they arose on the horizons of the New World. There was something of St. Vincent de Paul in this Brother – less joviality, perhaps, and fewer civilities; in appearance and in facial features there was a marked quality of power and control; but a similar dedication to the service of fallen and ill-starred people; the identical art of winning over and holding on to a host of disciples, the same genius for organization and an apostolic spirit capable of transforming the world.

In Nîmes the master of men conquered his constituents who, at the outset were refractory and deliberately malicious. He meant to guide them candidly and fairly, keep a firm hand on them and keep them quiet by conferring a little comfort on them and by meting out tasks that were proportioned to their strength; no one could fool nor get around him; he reviewed the contracts made with food suppliers and he supervised the dealings of project subcontractors. At the same time, he spared nothing in order that the education and evangelization entrusted to the Brothers proceed each day without obstacle.

This precision did not find favor with the prison's lay personnel.Complaints reached Paris. The Minister stressed the Brothers' good intentions: "When they were invited," he wrote, the central institution, from a sanitary point of view, was in the most woeful condition. I am convinced" that if the prisoners' situation has improved, in large measure it must be owed to the new employees, "to their sense of justice" and to the changes which have resulted from their "wise counsel and their pious entreaties".

It is important, however, to specify the *modus vivendi* that existed between the civilians and the Brothers. This is the object of the regulation of 1843, worked out in the Duchatel office after an understanding with the Superior-general. The Brothers of the Christian Schools replaced the head warden and his assistants as supervisors; under the authority of the Director of the prison and under the control of the Inspector, the Brothers took over the policing of shops, the dining rooms, the dormitories and the individual cells. They had charge of the food service. And, like the physical nourishment, they dispense spiritual nourishment – secular education and moral and dogmatic instruction.

The Director of the Brothers' Community indicate to the Director of the Institution those who were to be the heads of groups – the "Deans" – who conducted the daily manual labor; he wrote a daily report of the population's activities and of the prisoners' demeanor. The Institute's Superiors remained free to effect changes among the Congregation's personnel, who, on the other hand, within the central institution, were subject uniquely to the orders of the two highest officials.

In 1844 the system was extended to the Fontevrault prison and in 1844 to the ones in Melun and in Aniane. Everywhere, Brother Facile performed the principal role. Since Brother Anicet had succeeded him in Nîmes, he brought forty-eight Brothers to Maine-and-Loire and then ten more to Herault. In February 1846 Brother Philippe named him Visitor of the penal centers. This unification of authority was necessary; since, in spite of official regulations, the situation was always sensitive. Director Lespinasse, whom the Brothers found thwarting them in Nîmes, raised fresh anxieties for them in Aniane. There were also quarrels in the Gard, which had been settled by the Minister and the Superior-general. Dual authority and divergence of ideas too often set the Brothers and the administrators at odds.

To these difficulties, ordinarily non-existent in the old penal institutions, were added the uneasiness and the perils that the Brothers had once experienced in their St. Yon project. Whatever the social and moral lapses of the "Libertines" confined at the request of families or by "Lettres de cachet", the level of the 19th century "wretched" was several cuts below; their vices were no less loathsome, and their violence exploded more fearfully.

The ancient Benedictine Abbeys, confiscated and plundered during the Revolution, in modern times, endured a very sorry fate indeed and sometimes seem to have been converted into bottomless pits of human misery. There, the lives of the Brothers-warden were not secure. At Fontevrault, on August 21, 1844, two of them were nearly killed; and the following year Brothers Cornelius, Gerasime, Yvarch, and Rabulas were knifed.

At the prison in Nîmes occurred the painful spectacle of Brother Pascal who was struck down dead at the hands of one of the prisoners. The killer was condemned to death and executed in spite of the pleas for clemency on the part of the victim's confreres.

Neither trials nor the spilling of blood stifled morale. Overall, the men under Brother Philippe and Brother Facile not only won merit for Heaven, but they carried out a productive mission and earned a superb reputation. Brothers Director Piperion and Romon at the central institution in Amiane, Peloguin and Ansevin at Fontevrault, Anicet and Justian at Nîmes, were particularly active, farsighted, conscientious and worthy of the commendations that the representatives of the State bestowed ungrudgingly.

The Inspector-general of Prisons declared that profound transformations in Melun coincided with the presence of the Brothers. "Licentiousness" ceased; and all sorts of disorders were suppressed. Work went into full swing in the shops – hardware, clock-making, musical instruments and furniture.

Into these places in which the worst elements – hardened criminals, those who were condemned to the most degrading punishments, the dregs of the Paris region – were huddled and where the Brothers had at one time been received with hoots of derision and by open revolt there was no longer any need to call the troops to the rescue. If there were still some loud-mouths who threatened their keepers, other prisoners came to the defense of the Brothers under attack. Group prayer and the celebration of Mass took place in a climate of respect.

With heavy hearts, no doubt, Brother Agathon's spiritual heirs passed in front of the former Motherhouse of 1780, forever lost to the Congregation, a monastery fallen to the rank of a barracks.[609] And when they came to live between grim walls along the Seine, they understood what the bitterness and the sadness of the exiles from Sion was like. But they were consoled by the thought that so many sacrifices were not in vain; and that while exchanging the peaceful sanctuary of their predecessors for an angry repository of human suffering, nevertheless they were still functioning within the limits of their vocation.

Their gentleness moved souls. The same thing happened in Languedoc. Brother Philippe, visiting Nîmes in 1847, was in admiration of the order which reigned in classrooms and shops. He interceded with the Minister in favor of certain inmates who, in the view of the Brother Director, deserved that their sentences be reduced. The Inspector-general, Boilay, fell in with this proposal, since the administration, he said, was immensely pleased with the Brothers' participation.

Every freedom was accorded them with respect to evangelization. In was the period during which the three Vincentian Fathers preached a "retreat" to the prisoners in Aniane, which concluded with 600 Communions and 500 Confirmations; of the 250 young men who were serving time in the institution 220 received Holy Communion on that occasion.

These magnificent results were compromised by events that lead up to the Revolution of 1848. Some turmoil appeared in the penitentiaries; the attitude of a civilian guard sowed the seeds of undiscipline within the walls of Aniane; and in Melun a defamatory lampoon by a Protestant chaplain engulfed the Brothers in suspicion. After the fall of the monarchy the situation became intolerable. And the Superior-general was obliged to inform the new government of his desire to terminate the Brothers' work in the prisons.

As a consequence, the work was transitory. The Institute had undertaken it only to give

609 See Vols. II and III of the present work.

witness to its political loyalty; inspired by the spirit of its Founder and reactivating in the broadest sense the traditions of the preceding century, it had displayed a zeal to which all impartial observers had paid tribute. But these some one-hundred Brothers, detached from the schools and obliged to an unusual existence, jeopardized more urgent projects. The Brothers' essential mission was teaching in all its forms. To proliferate their secondary occupations, to set them up as overseers of highwaymen and organizers of compulsory labor was to impose upon them an undesirable image. They were prepared to teach all sorts of individuals and to share in the restoration of youth however depraved. Such a role they continued to fulfill in several Departmental prisons: thus, in Orleans where the chaplain – Canon Pelletier – since 1841 employed one of them as his assistant in catechizing the inmates; in Rheims where, between 1845 and 1851, the Brothers practiced analogous functions; and subsequently in Loos, and in Rodez. Better than the jails in the time of Louis-Phillipe, the orphanages created later on, the "Protectories" in English-speaking countries, were to allow them to accomplish marvelous things within the most forthright sense of their Rule.[610]

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Such a picture of Brothers' activities suffices perhaps to suggest the idea of a force in operation. Obviously, the Institute was expanding very rapidly: the Church and the State prepared the soil, asked for seeding and did not think that the plantings were either too many nor too hasty. Bishops evoked the religious needs of their dioceses; and rulers and civic leaders sought to contain the avalanche of social change. "The zeal of apostles, the wisdom of thinkers and the egoism of parvenus...were all so many influences that put pressure upon Brother Philippe" in order to hurry his decisions.[611] The Superior-general was surrounded by attentiveness and assailed with requests. Before Horace Vernet's painting, in the 1845 drawing-room, pleasant queries were raised and comments exchanged in which artistic concern was eclipsed by religious considerations.[612]

The painter's subject had not consented to pose except out of obedience to the wishes of the Chapter of 1844. And while he was diffident about being put in the limelight, his humility was remained inviolate. His "ego" meant very little to him. And regarding the fortunes of his Congregation, without underrating them, he wanted to put them in their right place, at their proper value. He had calculated that out of the 40,500 elementary schoolteachers, both public and private, spread throughout France, teachers belonging to Religious Societies in 1840 did not exceed by a great deal the figure of 2,000.[613] It was a very small "army" indeed for the spreading of the Gospel.

However, its recruitment and its training, given the accelerated pace, were in danger of generating some unpleasant surprises. It worried Brother Philippe. When, after the "external" history of his Generalate, we look into the Brothers' interior life we shall see the precaution, the care and the remedies the Superior strove to exercise. For the moment we shall confine ourselves to the statistics. The Districts of the Institute in France – Paris, Lyons, Toulouse,

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610 The Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for January, 1999, pp. 35-62 published a very important article on the role of the Brothers in prisons, which is the basis of our treatment.

611 There is an absolute lack of style" commented Edmond About rather harshly a few years later. (Paul Escard, Le Frère Phillipe, Paris, 1913, pg. 53.) The painter had refused to accept a fee: sounded out about doing the work by Brother John l'Aumonier, his former pupil and friend, Vernet is supposed to have replied: "I hardly ever do portraits, but we are not talking about just any face. Alright, it's a fair exchange! You are Christian Brothers, the army of popular education and you have a general: bring him along...You assure me of your prayers and I'll paint the portrait." (Escard, pp. 51-52) Mrs. Vernet paid the costs for the frame that was carved in oak.

612 ibid

613 Ambrose Rendu, op. cit., pg. 193, statistics for 1840.

Avignon, Clermont, St. Omer and Nantes (to which Bourbon Island must be added – on 1 January, 1845 included 386 institutions, 3,190 Brothers (including serving Brothers and novices), and 169,500 pupils. Outside of France (as "Provinces" of the Congregation) there was Belgium, Savoy, Piedmont, the Papal States, Canada (which was unknown country), Switzerland and Turkey (later on we shall make a survey of these two countries). The total number of Brothers came to 3,792, teaching 197,700 pupils in 469 schools.[614] Novitiates were expanded;[615]In 1844 the novitiate in St. Omer on the narrow Rue St. Marguerite was moved to Rue Tanneurs where the novices could enjoy a large garden laid out against the ramparts. There was construction at the Motherhouse. The "excellent English garden" of which Brother Thomas spoke in 1819 had already been reduced in size to make room for the junior novices. It was still an oasis suitable for children's games and for the relaxation of members of the Regime. About "forty acres", laid out in the French style, constituted the total area of open air. There was a walk-way, about 93 yards long against the back wall, the construction of which Brother Philippe had taken the responsibility at the beginning of his administration, along with the installation of an infirmary and a laundry.

On June 28, 1844 Archbishop Affre came to bless the corner stone of a building intended for new candidates in the Institute. But this undertaking was not concluded. At the time the Eastern Railroad was planning to set up its mammoth station in the St. Lawrence neighborhood. That would be done not only at the expense of the quasi-rural atmosphere and of the trees and the flowers, of the tranquility of the environment and of its inhabitants; but the buildings themselves would have to disappear. In spite of petitions on the part of threatened property owners and in spite of their appeals to the king, a decree of condemnation by right of eminent domain was issued in 1846. Number 165 in the Faubourg St. Martin – what the Brothers had dedicated the Holy Child Jesus – was about to be wiped out. Under the spur of the captains of industry, the city, octopus-like, was devouring its suburbs and the surrounding country-side.

The Paris City Counsel enacted at its meeting of February 26, 1847 that it was providing for the transfer of the Brothers. Without waiting, the Superior set out in quest of new housing. After the rejection of several unsatisfactory offers,[616] his choice fell upon a mansion at no. 33 Rue Plumet in the neighborhood of *Les Invalides*. A royal decree of April 17, 1847 authorized its purchase by the city and stipulated that "the use of it would be granted to the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools as a replacement for the institution which it had occupied on the street in the Faubourg St. Martin, and on the same conditions". The Institute, then, was to remain, free of charge and in recognition of its educational services, the guest of Paris.

The Regime, the Secretariat and the Procure moved to the Left Bank before the notarized deed was drawn up. They left their beloved enclosure in the Faubourg in the January preceding the decisions of the Communal Assembly and of the government. The infirmary continued on for some time still in the condemned buildings where, on April 1, Brother Assistant Eloi died. A great span of monastic life had been buried in that tomb. The demolition crews picks brought down the cells in which the patriarchs had prayed: Brother Contest, at 87 years of age, died there in 1840; and Brother Vivien who, on September 14, 1842, in the luminous dignity and serenity of his old age, his career as a champion and an organizer and, finally, as a Religious won back to total obedience.

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[614] Ibid., appended list.

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At first buildings and land were acquired in the neighborhood of Mont-Parnasse. But Brother Philip, informed of a plan to expropriate them that was being pursued by the Western Railroad, had them resold. The city then offered in the Faubourg St. Antoine a barracks where a Religious Community would not be able to find what it required.

Sadly, the witnesses to vanished times departed a place that was filled with memories. The pastor of St. Lawrence lost his "best parishioners". And the poor, four-hundred of whom formed a bread-line during the winter, asked: "Who shall do for us what the good Brothers have done?"

However, on Rue Plume – which became Rue Oudinot in 1851 – the history of the Institute was to take on its full scope. Oudinot, a warrior's name, evokes memories, for a generation which today is on the wane, of the flutterings of white rabats, of mantles with flapping sleeves, of greetings with a hand to a three-cornered hat, of the sounds of thick-soled shoes, the tingling of bells and the echoes of processions and hymns. The lovely mansion, with its Attic and French grace, whose wings curved prettily inward toward a two-storied center topped by a pediment, in the middle of green spaces, had been the residence of Gaillard Beaumanoir, who built it in 1775. Montmorin Saint Herem, Louis XVI's Minister, and the father of Pauline Beaumont, then owned it and gave brilliant parties there prior to 1789; once the Revolution began, he assembled in it, at anguished and futile conferences, people who, like himself, wished to save the king. Pauline had planted cypresses in the garden, the mournful tree, and "a portent of the evils which were to overwhelm (the place)"; and Chateaubriand, after having listened to Pauline's last sigh in Rome, in 1804 came to contemplate Montmorin's cypresses. The house had already changed hands twice since the Minister had his throat slit, a victim of the September massacres in the Abbaye prison. Jean Rapp, the general and Count of the Empire, bought it and restored it. And after him a Duke of Aumont, a Peer of France, and a Marquis La Roche-Dragon, a Field Marshall, would dwell in it. Henceforth, the prospect of earthly failures and successes loom upon the horizon. In a gesture of piety Brother Philipe chose, as the patron of the new Motherhouse, St. Joseph who, since the Congregation's beginnings had been the protector of the Lasallian family. His image, along with that of the Child Jesus, was on the initial seal used by the Superiors; and 17th century devotion did not separated the Galilean carpenter from his adoptive son. In the view of Cardinal Bérulle, Father Olier and De La Salle to meditate upon the Word at work alongside Joseph in the shop at Nazareth was to honor one of the "states" of the Second Person of the Trinity. The Brothers had remained faithful to the mystical "school" of the Oratory as they had to the Sulpician tradition.

Under these auspices they furnished their buildings. As early as November, 1846 they had subdivided several of the vast rooms and set up an oratory. Trees from the Faubourg St. Martin took root among the groves of Paulownias and chestnut trees; they recalled the days of Brother Gerbaud, of Brother Guillaume and of Brother Anacletus.

To the 9,000 square yards of the Beaumanoir property had been added the 5,000 square yards of a contiguous piece of land. As a consequence, there was no lack of room; but considering the number of personnel, the buildings seemed extremely confined. The junior and senior Novitiates and the infirmary were housed in some detached, ill-assorted and makeshift buildings. These temporary arrangements lasted nine years; during the Second Empire the austere walls which lined Oudinot Street and the Boulevard des Invalides were constructed, after which was begun the wing, off the garden, which was reserved for the senior Brothers, the sick and the junior novices.[617]

The Institute was to occupy this magnificent estate for fifty-eight years; it was to make the site celebrated and respected all over the world; there it would hold several of its great Chapters; and there it was to endure civic disturbances, foreign wars, the chicanery, the guile and the violence of persecutors. But immediately it was to be assailed by the terror incited by a sudden Revolution.

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[617] Essai sur la Maison Mère, pp. 192-203. G. Rigault, Le Frère Phillipe, pp. 73-77.

CHAPTER TWO

Brother Philippe and the Revolution of 1848

At the beginning of the afternoon of February 24, 1848, the Brothers in the residence school at Passy, having gone up to the balcony of the main building, saw a carriage carrying king Louis-Philippe in the direction of Versailles, followed by a procession of troops whom the people in Paris had disarmed.[618] It was in this way that they had become aware of the issue of the events which, for the past three days, had followed upon one another in the capital with a bewildering and terrifying rapidity.

The "banquets campaign", Lamartine's speech at Mâcon threatening the royalty with a cataclysm if it stubbornly refused every electoral reform, the agitation overly scorned by Guizot and perfunctorily ascribed to "blind and hostile passions" had not scattered any intense panic over circles removed from political quarrels. Professional duties had absorbed their time; and Religion was not thought to have been a factor among the conflicting claims. There was a sort of dull sense of people's discontent, "France's weariness" was becoming palpable, and social malaise was worsening. Nevertheless, the government still seemed sound; and it had already survived some formidable riots. Peace on the frontiers had guaranteed a growing prosperity. The struggle of ideas, which interested Catholics, unfolded in a climate of partisanship, but usually without festering into hatred. While people did not live in a state of total euphoria, optimism nevertheless seemed both reasonable and warranted.

Suddenly, the Brothers Communities in Paris were spectators to the initial turmoil: on February 22, there were demonstrations outside the church of the Madeleine, orders for the police to disperse the crowds, the looting of a gun shop, fires fed by broken chairs in the Tuileries Garden, and, come nightfall, barricades alongside the Bastille and the Faubourg St. Antoine.

The next day, in view of the hostile attitude of the National Guard, Guizot resigned; there was marching and cries in the streets, and the clash of demonstrators and soldiers outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; guns were trained and fired upon the mob: 52 deaths, 74 wounded; a procession, with lighted torches, carried the corpses on wagons and demanded vengeance for the massacre.

There came a critical turning point; the barricades increased in number, and Revolution raised its head. To suppress it the king appointed Bugeaud, the Duke of Isly, as commander-in-chief, who, in spite of the prestige of his African victories, was unpopular. He was not to have a decisive effect on the course of events. His troops were demoralized: for two and a half days they had been keeping watch, at the ready, standing in the winter mud; the cavalrymen were mounted on foundered horses. Bugeaud hurled them against the insurgent faubourgs. While one of his columns was being defeated, an order came from Louis-Philippe to concentrate pressure in the Tuileries. As the people surged back, the soldiers raised their rifle-butts in the air, and riot followed in their wake.

Collapse ensued. The old king, under pressure from his sons, had scarcely consented to abdication when the palace was invaded. The royal family fled to the quay. The Duchess of

[618] Brochure, *Centenaire,* pg. 34.

Orleans alone refused to despair: she brought the young Count of Paris to the Chamber of Deputies and insisted that they recognize him as "Regent" during the minority of Louis-Philippe II. Ledru-Rollin and Lamartine shattered this last attempt, and in the tumult the "provisional government of the French Republic" was established.

It made its headquarters at the City Hall and was joined by Louis Blanc, the socialist theoretician and the engine-room worker Albert, the leader of a secret society. It appeared to be at the mercy of insurrection.

The National Guard, the clubs and the newspapers obeyed the ringleaders. Armed workers demanded the immediate improvement of their lot, while the middle class feared a recurrence of the excesses of 1793.

On February 25 the red flag flew over the entrance to the residence school in Passy, at a time when Lamartine refused to substitute this emblem of the social Revolution for the tri-color. Suspicious looking strangers in overalls attempted to enter the school; but they confined their threats to words and gestures. And the intercession of the musical director of the National Guard, M. Offrey, was enough to disperse them.

Besides, official support was exerted. And, thus, classes were continued. On the 26th there were no more than forty pupils absent. But once the false rumor that the Brothers in Chaillot had been robbed got circulating, imaginations were ignited. In order to allay anxiety on the part of families, the Brother Director sent the children home; and carried precautions to the extent of having the Brothers dress in civilian clothes.

As a precaution, the city government posted the fence along the street with the words "Government Property". As a further safeguard, a "permanent military post" was set up in the school; included in it were people who were happy to testify to their dedication to the Brothers, who were reaping the rewards of their acts of generosity and of their political impartiality. The operation of a tuition-free school in conjunction with a pay school was rapidly to impress the neighborhood favorably. At this time when it was important to be seen as a "democrat", the life and behavior of the Brothers, with their unpretentious dress and their easy accessibility, was the equivalent of a medal for patriotism.

The return of the pupils was announced for March 2. On the 7th of this month, before two weeks had elapsed since the throne had fallen, the Superior-general published an extremely important "Circular".

After an introduction in the style of Bossuet about "the great warnings given to all men", Brother Philippe reminded the Brothers that above the transient forms of government and society, "God and Country remain". Duty does not change; more exactly, it consists in endowing successive generations with a thoughtful education and in teaching them dedication. "If this task has always been important, how much more worthy must it become to excite zeal" in a republican regime, "which recognizes and proclaims as its essential foundation the three great principles hallowed by the Gospel: liberty, equality and fraternity!"

Directors of the Christian Brothers' schools "will pay visits to the authorities set up by the provisional government" and will assure them an active and faithful cooperation. "We shall dismiss from our minds any thought that would tend to compare the Revolution of 1848 with what was disquieting in the 1792 revolution."

The language in which the Brothers were to comment upon current and future changes and were to decided upon their Institute's position in the world that was being constructed went like this: "Tell parents...that the education and instruction of their children will be in accord with the dignity of citizens...Tell workers that we cherish them as we do our brothers, that our life is theirs,...especially now that they shall have more time to devote to the cultivation of their minds.[619]

[619] At the request of the "Committee for Workers", meeting at the Luxembourg Palace, the provisional

Concerning textbooks, Brother Philippe even foresaw "some changes" intended to supply "a more fitting direction to the thoughts and feelings of young Frenchmen".[620]On orders from the Superior, Brother Asclepiades – one of Brother Theoticus' most cherished assistants – re-edited the history books "for a more objective explanation of the facts".

Of course, the piece was not without its rhetoric, the language of the moment. Paris and the provinces vied with one another in eloquent, moving speeches. Lamartine, poet become statesman, set the example. Everyone showed a noble, disinterested heart afire for justice, while yesterday's selfishness went into hiding; the middle class, sincerely or inspired by fear, extended the hand to the workingman, and proclaimed himself a "worker" who gained his bread with the sweat of his brow. Minds most exempt from illusion yielded to the impulse.

The son of the Apinac peasant and the spiritual heir of St. John Baptist de La Salle genuinely loved the people. He did not have to wait for 1848 to devote himself to the poor people, to raise the intellectual and moral level and to alleviate the physical misery of the serfs of big business. And when he expounded Republican slogans in the light of the Gospel, he did so in good faith and conscientiously.

His enthusiasm met with some prestigious response. The Archbishop of Paris who, on February 24, ordered the pastors in his diocese to celebrate a funeral service for the victims of the insurrection, said, in his pastoral letter of March 3, that the Church, in contrast with man-made monarchies, had gotten along quite well with the Swiss Confederation and with the American democracies. He prescribed that at High Mass *Domine, salvum fac populum* be sung. A few days later he came to the City Hall in order to assure the government of the cooperation of his clergy. Dupont de l'Eure greeted this gesture with the words: "Freedom and Religion are two sisters equally interested in living well together."

Archbishop Bonald of Lyons echoed Archbishop Affre; "You have frequently wanted", he declared to his associates, "to enjoy that freedom which has made our brothers in the United States so happy. Now you have that freedom."[621]

All that was remembered of the regime that had been cast aside was its infamies. Catholics congratulated themselves at not having been indebted to it. And quite correctly, they noted the contrast between July 1830 and February 1848, when, on this latter occasion, the throne's collapse did not undermine the authority of the altar; and Religion did not have to pay for the errors and the blunders of a Voltarian king. The word "freedom", which Lamennais and then Montalembert had taught orthodox believers to use, obtained for the latter a hearing among their contemporaries. Henceforth, all of France would speak the same language; and Frenchmen said that they would love one another with a "brotherly" love. This newly won harmony was symbolized in a gesture: when the Tuileries was sacked, the victorious workers, piously and in procession, placed the crucifix from the royal chapel in the church of St. Roch.

They had "freedom trees" blessed; and they commemorated their victories and their bereavements with open-air Masses. To the delight of Pius IX,[622] they showed respect for their priests.

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government had decreed: "In consideration of the fact that excessive manual labor not only destroys the worker's health but also prevents him from cultivating his mind and violates human dignity...the work-day has been reduced by an hour." It was reduced to ten hours in Paris and eleven hours in the provinces.

620 (Passy, *Album de l'année jubilaire*, 1939, pg. 63)

621 Father de La Gorce, *Histoire de la Seconde République francaise*, Paris, 1898, Vol. I, pp. 120-121. G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation francaise*, Paris, 1929, Vol. V, pg. 425.

622 Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise*, pg. 581.

A tide of understanding circulated between the clergy and the masses.[623] Christianity, released from its ancient bondage, appeared like an instrument of social justice, a charitable leaven which, beyond alms and heart-felt consolations, sought an easier life for the poor, the unionization of labor, the progress of learning and a genuine human dignity. In the newspaper *Ere Nouvelle*, founded by Ozanam, Lacordaire and Maret (with the collaboration of Father Gerbet) the advent of democracy was hailed and the problems that its triumph raised were studied in of their details.[624]

Obviously, sensitivity, distrust and, indeed, occasional clashes persisted. The mob was hyper-active; and a serious incident nearly occurred at Passy on March 26, because the Brothers, informed too late concerning the blessing of the famous tree, had not left enough lanterns in the windows of the residence school.[625]

While socialist propaganda did not directly attack religious dogma or morality, yet it was none the less a public danger. Its champions dreamed of a world constructed totally according to a materialistic blueprint, and envisioned the overthrow of the State, the abolition of wealth and the evasion of most of the Ten Commandments. They wished to mobilize "over-alls" against "frock-coats"; and the Parisian "proletariat" which listened to them gave vent to dissatisfaction and, against "bosses", the rich and their political protectors, they let loose a torrent of bitter derision and violent criticism. Lamartine described "the terrorist Republic watching for three days at the doors of the City Hall to impose its colors."[626]

In Lyons the situation came close to turning tragic. The governmental commissioner, Emmanuel Arago, succeeded in setting the red flag to one side. But he did so at the expense of his authority; and the silk workers, forced out of their jobs, lent an ear to the worst sort of advice. A fight loomed up between "the clubs" and the heads of industry; powerful families were loath to allow a revolution inspired by capitalism and bow to orders come from Paris; they were encouraged by members of some Religious Orders, Capuchins and Jesuits, who were less conciliatory than Cardinal Bonald. It was touch and go whether the city, caught in the clash of opposing opinions, was about to relive the unhappy days of 1831 and 1834. But the conflict was calmed before blood was shed.[627]

Everywhere, the crisis had slowed or interrupted business. Money was scarce, and orders became rare. Louis Blanc attempted to employ the workers in "national yards". The idea, which was badly planned, succeeded in doing nothing more than to create pockets of turmoil: tens of thousands of men, after having scratched a little dirt on the parade grounds spent hours discussing and complaining about their lot.

Thus, during these months when provisional captains held the tiller in the midst of tempest blasts, anxiety mingled with hope and turmoil with pacification. The effort was so demanding that the crew quickly felt "out of breath". In any case, in had fulfilled what was essential to its task: France had preserved peace on its borders and relative quiet in most of its provinces; it had eluded bankruptcy and disaster to its moral, intellectual and artistic inheritance; it had preserved itself from tyranny and anarchy; and it still commanded Europe's respect. There was

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623 Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 425.

624 Goyau, op. cit., pg. 582.

625 Centenary Album, pg. 36.

626 Hantaux, op. cit., pg. 421.

627 Hantoaux, op. cit., pg. 424.

only one man who could be called the architect of this feat; his character was not without its weaknesses, nor his opinions without errors, nor his acts without tentativeness and mistakes; but, in decisive circumstances, he preserved authority, order and honor. Lamartine would live to experience ingratitude; indeed, he would drink it to the dregs. Only posterity would do him justice.[628]

The Christian faith of the author of *Meditations and Harmonies* was diluted, it appears, by a rather vague spiritualism.. In 1834 he defended the Brothers in the Chamber of Deputies; and, in 1836, he was inclined to intervene on their behalf at the request of his friend, VirieuBut at that time, however, his good intentions involved some reticence and his epistolary proclamations on the subject of "God's unknown thoughts" drew attention to his philosophical liberalism. Perhaps such a view explains the role he allowed Hippolyte Carnot to play in the counsels of the provisional government and the direction the latter was permitted to give to educational policy in spite of Catholics and in spite of everything that was prudent.

Born in St. Omer in 1801, the youngest son of a member of the Convention was not conspicuous either by the brilliance of his service, like his father, nor by his scientific genius, like his older brother. His gifts were of a secondary order, but in the eyes of Republicans, he represented a tradition. At fifteen years of age, he accompanied Lazarus Carnot into exile for having voted in favor of Louis XVI's death. He lived privately with his father, received instruction from the old man, and he modelled himself on his beloved teacher. After a period of filial mourning, he returned to France in 1823 and became one of the most enthusiastic partisans of San Simonism. However, he parted company with Enfantin, who had gone on to become the head of the sect, a religious founder and – too much involved – "liberator" of human passion.

The heir of an outlaw, the editor of the memoirs of both Barere and Father Gregoire, and a Deputy – from 1839-1848 – who sat with the extreme "Left", he "found himself in the Republic" as in the family home. Then he became the Minister of Public Education and of Religion. He could not be criticized for sectarianism against the clergy. He manifested a respectful deference which was fashionable during this era of "fraternity".

In public education, he meant to follow in the footsteps of the man who was Minister during the "One Hundred Days". We know that Lazarus Carnot, advocating the Lancastrian "mutual method", exhibited a curious distaste for the accomplishments of the great French educators.[629] In his Circular of March 6, 1848 Hippolyte Carnot asserted: "There has been no part of elementary education which has been more neglected, under contemporary regimes, than the training of the child as citizen...It's a negligence of which we should be fearful that, unless we are careful, we shall now be suffering the consequences."[630]

Certainly, at this date, everybody recognized and proclaimed the importance of civic education. Brother Philippe, also, desired that pupils know their future rights and duties. A people to whom universal suffrage has been granted has a very great need to be inducted into its responsibilities. Workers who, in the next Constituent Assembly, were going to be listed among the voters in the next Constituent Assembly would profit by having some level of education. And when the Minister arranged to hold "evening classes", he had De La Salle's

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[628] Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 429.

[629] See above, pp. 114-115.

[630] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 322-323. Gossot, *Essai critique sur l'enseignement primaire en France,* pg. 212.

disciples as models. The training of men promoted the training of citizens.

Carnot's understanding of this lesson was a indeed precarious one, when he officially invited schoolteachers to take part in political conflicts. Not only did he induce them to take sides on candidacies, and to counsel peasants where they were unable to act for themselves; he also hoped that there were teachers among the nation's representatives; these were surprising vistas suddenly opened to the most unassuming educators: "Let them forget", the ministerial Circular declared, "the obscurity of their situation!" It was risky and intoxicating for many who were already inclined to Socialism. Like his predecessors in 1795, this Republican in 1848 was introducing political winds and partisan preoccupations into the school.

On the other hand, he refused to exclude religion. In this connection, he spoke out clearly: Science, in his view, "was called upon to expand the empire" of religious ideas, "since each one of its advances must have for result to give man a more exalted notion of God". In education, faith is "irreplaceable." And the "edifice" of the State "rests upon" the priest, as upon the professor.

However, Carnot loathed anything that might appear to be a Church privilege. His decree of June 5 succeeded in removing from "Obediences" the implication that they still held for certain jobs and for the educational recruitment of certain Congregations. In this context the "principle of equality" was observed with absolute rigor.[631]

Regardless of reassuring declarations, the new Headmaster introduced a revolutionary leaven into "the University". His associates and the sources of his inspiration, Edward Charton, and the theoretician of "perpetual progress", the author of *Terre et Ciel*, Jean Reynaud, did not stand on orthodoxy nor could they be daunted by daring ventures. They worked out "a constitutional law of elementary education" from which, it was clear that catechism had been excluded from official programs of study; and the proposal could be seen as a step in the direction of the "secularization" and "neutrality" that the enemies of the faith would later on advocate. In any case, under the pretext of tolerance, it was a pledge made to unbelievers and a wish to leave religion with nothing but the emptiest of forms. Soon Montalembert expressed his disgust at such "blindness": he compared those people who tried to restrict Catholic influence at the very moment when souls were "ill" and consciences were in eclipse to deaf and mute "Egyptian idols".[632]

On other points Carnot's system, although more defensible, seemed likely to alarm public opinion. He looked to the most thorough-going tuition-free education for the public schools and, for every Frenchman, the obligation to have his children put through school. These two principles were henceforth to be at the foundation of the reforms which the Republican Party believed necessary. They were to incur suspicion and criticism because they were associated – in an apparently ineluctable trilogy – with the principle of secularization; and they were to become the gears in an engine of war against Christian education. In 1848, as during the July Monarchy, they gave rise to the usual objections of the propertied and conservative classes. After the meeting of the Constitutent Assembly, a change in the Ministry of Public Education became necessary, which took place on July 5. In December, on a reading by Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, the Deputies rejected the rash bill.

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The great turmoil on May 15, followed by the bloody events of June, showed how right those

631 Gossot, op. cit., pg. 217.

632 Lecanuet, op. cit., Vol. II, pg. 409.

people were who feared a social upheaval. A month had not passed after the general elections when the Parisian "Clubs", dissatisfied with France's verdict, launched their gangs against the new "representatives of the people"; riot overran the assembly hall and, for three hours, incited an ugly commotion and dissolved the Assembly chosen by universal suffrage. Finally, a loyal group of National Guard choked off this anarchy.

It was necessary to close the "national work yards" where the flame of rebellion continued to glow. In agreement with the parliamentary majority, the executive committee, which had succeeded the provisional government, decided to send the workers into the provinces. The response was immediate: – the rush to arms, barricades, followed by one of the most dreadful civil conflicts Paris had ever witnessed. For four days the battle went on furiously. Montalembert was struck by the grim expression on the faces of the corpses: and similarly the "untamed posture" of the insurgents who had fallen into the hands of the victorious army: "Not one of them", he wrote, "had the look of someone morally subdued, contrite or humbled. All of them glared defiance and hatred."

He concluded: "Here we have the barbarian invasion that had been predicted." Only his Christian hope repaired the pessimism of his prognosis: "From this new trial the Church shall emerge triumphant and popular."[633]

Through his death Archbishop Affre served the Church. Ozanam and his confreres in the St. Vincent de Paul Society had urged the Archbishop to step in as mediator. As he approached with words of peace on his lips and recognizable by his pectoral cross and purple soutane, he was struck by a bullet. God heard his prayer: his blood was the last shed.[634]

Cavaignac, confirmed in his dictatorial power on June 26, retained the state of siege. Force had secured only an unsatisfactory solution: none of the social or religious problems had been resolved. As Proudhon put it to the Constitutive in Assembly: "his lamp" only illumined the abyss by exposing its depths.

And thus, Montalembert, alert and lucid, was lead to comment upon the implacable speech of the enemy of God and property; he himself did not mitigate any the less the ills of the age; in his address to the House he denounced "the wretched condition of the factory workers". It was absolutely necessary to bring relief to poverty and injustice; but the cure would come only through spiritual remedies. Nothing but the bulwark of Christianity would resist the appetite for pleasure and the anarchy of pride. Error had attained an almost boundless freedom; let the truth also be free – free to restore to the French faith and respect for authority, and – in the right use of wealth, in the fulfilment of the daily task, in the test of poverty – complete sensitivity of conscience.

This courageous and clear language hurt egos and aroused muttering. Nevertheless, in the end, the Assembly understood, since it adopted the following constitutional article: "Education shall be free. The freedom to teach is to be exercised under conditions of ability and morality determined by the law and under the supervision of the State."[635] It was a promise, which, on the whole, conformed to the one which was endorsed by the Charter of 1830. The problem was, once again, not to let it be forgotten or misrepresented.

There was no other recourse against "barbarism" than moral reform and a religious education. Not the mere letter of the commandments and of doctrine, coldly, routinely handed down from the teacher's desk, like any other of the subjects in an approved program of studies,

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633 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 406-407.

634 Archbishop Affre had been expected at Passy to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The chronicler remarks on the Archbishop's absence; and then he tells the story of the Prelate's intervention in Rue Roquette, his serious wound, and, finally, his death on June 27. *(Centenaire*, pp. 38-39)

635 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 408-413.

but an evangelical saturation through teaching, an unremitting and gentle persuasion through dedication and example. Parisians, cruelly deceived, bruised in body and spirit since the repression in June sank into a silent anger;[636] they would be offended if one thought of their sufferings only to urge them to put up with them for the love of God. The Brothers of the Christian Schools adopted another method, one of compassionate and all-inclusive kindness: very early, their Superior-general stressed the timely results of the Brothers' influence in the capital. These effects bore out in advance Montalembert's assertions; they supplied statesmen, released from their prejudices, with decisive arguments in drawing up and discussing a beneficial law.

More than ever, "adult courses" remained the order of the day. They were expanded into the provinces, especially during the winter months when, under candlelight, hundreds of workers came to complete their education and to pray with their teachers.[637] The Christian teachers had restricted the losses and secured everything that could be saved. This social action consoled them for having to give up the rehabilitation of prisoners. One of the mournful consequences of the revolution occurred in the prisons: where manual labor, on fallacious "humanitarian" pretexts, had been discontinued; and immediately, the intrigues and calumnies against the Brother/jailers had been revived. At the central institution in Melun there was a recurrence of unruly conduct and the chaos reached the point that Brother Philippe wrote to the Minister of the Interior that "what was needed was an armed detachment". The inmates at Aniane, released to idleness and over-stimulated by anarchistic propaganda, on July 6, shouted: "Down with the Brothers!" And on October 11 they looted the institution.

The government's mistaken principles, the ill will or the carelessness of the penal authorities no longer allowed the Brothers to be usefully employed. The Superior-general asked for their withdrawal. He was accommodated as quickly as possible. The first departure, from Aniane, took place on October 25; and then Nîmes and Melun were abandoned on November 18, and finally Fontevrault at the end of the year.[638]

It was a good work that was misunderstood. Nevertheless, in order to preclude the dangers associated with risky reforms, the leaders in 1848 could count on the Brothers. They appreciated their assistance at the time of the emancipation of the Blacks. There was no doubt but what slavery in the colonies was a blemish on the honor of Christian nations: it maintained an entire category of human beings at the level of pariahs if not, indeed, of brute animals. Its abolition was the wish of morally responsible people. But social upheaval, disorder, instability, the violence of the emancipated and the racial conflicts that exploded after 1790 in Santo Domingo on the occasion of the decrees following the first French Revolution had to be avoided.

The groundwork had been laid toward the end of the July Monarchy on Bourbon Island, in 1840, a priest had disembarked who was to become the apostle of the slave population. He was Father Monnet, and his chief assistant was Father Levavasseur, a Creole and a disciple of Father Libermann. Brother Jean of Matha and his group of Christian Brothers placed themselves at the disposition of the missionaries: schools were opened to the Blacks for catechism. In 1848 when a law authorized slaves to purchase their freedom and bestowed the

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636 Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 440.

637 In Rodez, beginning in 1848, such courses were taught four times a week from November to the end of February, between 7 and 9 o'clock in the evening. (*Archives of the Brothers in Rodez,* Brother Ildefonse Gabriel's notes.)

638 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, article cited, pp. 41-53.

rights of citizenship upon free workers, the urgency of evangelisation appeared more clearly. Baron Mackau, Minister of the Navy, asked Brother Philippe for more teachers. Fourteen of them dedicated themselves especially to instruct and civilize plantation workers.

The most skillful and the most revered were Brothers Parasceve and Scubilion. The former had already earned a genuine reputation for sanctity in France. At the age of forty-three he received an "Obedience" for the African colony: after having filled a number of posts in which his talents as a teacher and his eminent virtue emerged, he arrived at St. Denis, where, with respect to his "colored" pupils he exerted a tireless charity and a supernatural zeal. St. Francis Xavier would have acknowledged as one of his own this "monk" who lived a life of perpetual prayer, in constant contact with the supernatural, of which his ecstasies were the unimpeachable witness. Brother Parasceve succeeded in permeating the simple people who surrounded him with his faith; he was not discouraged by their childishness, by their frequently dull minds or by their inattentiveness. His mystical soul knew how to stoop down to humble realities. Under the patronage of the Apostle of India and Japan, a society for mutual assistance and Christian help was established in the school in 1846; the temporal interests of the members were administered and defended by the teachers. Until his death in 1867 Brother Parasceve taught both adults and children in the island, and provided them with a marvelous example of work, obedience[639] and asceticism. He was recalled among them as an heroic penitent who had rapidly passed on to the rank of a wonder-worker and a heavenly defender.

His emulator was Brother Scubilion, of whose beginnings in Bourbon Island we have spoken.[640] Since 1843 he had belonged to the Community in St. Leu. The views and the work of a great family, the Villeles – who were closely related to the former Minister of Louis XVIII and Charles X – promoted the instruction of the illiterate in this region. It was necessary, however, to reckon with the indifference or even the hostility of other planters in whose eyes Black servants were deserving of nothing but chains. Nevertheless, some two or three hundred catechumens had been brought together; and Brother Scubilion wrote a compendium of Christian Doctrine that was within the competence of his unsophisticated audience. He arranged the truths of faith in a numerical order: one God, one Heaven, one Hell, one Church...two Testaments, two Ways, two Lives...three Persons in God, three Theological Virtues, three Principal Mysteries... He employed rhythmic definitions, in Creole dialect, extremely naive hymns and recitatives that were emphasized by refrains. And with a smiling affability and a gentleness and unwearying patience, he imprinted upon refractory or inattentive memories simplified but precise notions, and he introduced lethargic brains and unassuming minds to learning.

The slaves came out of their cabins to listen to the catechist. They asked for Baptism, joyfully assisted at services, took part in singing, and got ready for First Communion. They exhibited a remarkable growth in the sensitivity of conscience: – respect for the property of others, the reduction of idleness, and work (celebrated in a hymn <due perhaps to Father Monnet>) was no longer seen as an affliction to be dodged.

In this way, progress was made toward emancipation. We are now in December of 1848: the Republic changed the name of the island. Bourbon, become "Reunion Island" now that the kings were in exile, welcomed the Commissioner of the new government, "Citizen" Sarda-Garriga who, prior to reform, adopted several quite praiseworthy measures: future manumitted slaves were to contract with property owners whom they were going to serve in

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639 During the Revolution of 1830 this "blind" obedience had gotten the Brother into serious trouble: on orders from his Sub-director he left St. Cloud, his residence in Paris, during the height of the civil war. His habit attracted hoots and blows; his attackers, threatening to drown him, had already dragged him toward the Seine, when a baker had the presence of mind to rescue him. (*Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for April, 1909, pg. 102)

640 See above, pg. 51.

homes or on farms; colonials, on the other hand, were to guarantee their workers, lodging, food, salary and medical care.[641] Only then *alea jacta est*. Sixty thousand slaves were emancipated. For each one of them their masters received an indemnity of 733 francs from the State. Problems were minimal, and the transition was effected smoothly. Calmly, joyously the Black population filled the churches for Masses of thanksgiving. In Guiana, on the banks of the Mana, where Mother Anne Marie Javouhey had organized her innovative societies, an analogous success was secured; whereas everywhere else, throughout the French colonies in South America and in the Antilles there were deplorable errors and bloodshed.[642]

Such convincing results, such a prolific work and such splendid virtue should have obliged everybody to yield to De La Salle's disciples. But there are adversaries who refuse to be placated, and there is a hatred that would be insatiable. In the midst of well-founded hopes, noble illusions and partial disappointments, a real cross was being readied for the Institute; that would be the trial of Brother Léotade in Toulouse. *Infandus dolor*: still, it is impossible to refrain from reviving it once again, even if we side step its most loathsome details. It can cast a pall of shame over none but the odious slanderers and magistrates whose invincible prejudices and professional perversion would prevail over their sense of justice; and it inspires pity, sympathy and, finally, respect for doomed innocence.

On April 16, 1847 in St. Aubin's cemetery there was found at the foot of the wall which separated the Brothers' residence school from Toulouse's graveyard the body of young girl, Cecile Combettes. Employed by a bookbinder, M. Conte, she had come the previous evening bearing books to the school on Rue Riquet. Her boss implied that the unfortunate child had been violated and killed in that institution. There was no other testimony than that of a man with a troubled past, of suspicious morals and who had from the outset been revealed as very little concerned with Cecile's sudden disappearance.

His statements led to Brother Leotade's arrest. Jean-Louis Bonafous, born in Montclar in the Aveyron on February 3, 1812 was never known except for his exemplary behavior. Having entered the novitiate in 1836, since 1843 he had been wardrobe-keeper and bursar for the Brothers in the Community in St. Aubin. He supplied the most convincing alibi which had been corroborated by the testimony of the entire staff.

The Attorney-general who investigated the case claimed that the witnesses for the defense were acquiescing to their Superiors' orders. He wrote in these terms to Paris and, on May 22, 1847 Archbishop Astros of Toulouse was informed of this criticism by the Minister of Justice: "All the Brothers, under the promptings of the same influence, are attempting, it seems, to sidetrack the investigation". Warned by the Archbishop, Brothers Irlide, Liéfroy, Leander and Adaucte, the Brothers' Superiors, strongly, and quite justifiably, objected. A decision of the Court of Indictments was handed down on August 6: it absolved Conte and committed Brother Leotade over for trial. Hearings began on February 7, 1848; the presiding Judge, M. Labeaume, adopted Attorney Oms' stereotype to the effect that the Brothers were conspiring against the truth.

With that, Brother Irlide, the energetic Director of the residence school replied in open Court: "For nine months people have been challenging us; we accept it. I have no fear in saying that in this sacred place, where I behold the image of our Divine Savior, never can it be proved that we have had recourse to deceit or to lies."

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[641] The same Sarda-Garriga in 1852 played a far less attractive role in Guiana on the occasion of the transfer of convicts, when he turned out to be a pathetic figure. (Vaudon, op. cit., III, pp. 51-52 and 72-73)

[642] Chassagnon, *Le Frère Scubilion*, Paris, 1902, pp. 84-143. *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pp. 176-177. *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for April, 1909, pp. 105-126. *Choix de Notices nécrologiques*, Vol. II, pg. 425. Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pg. 425.

Meanwhile, news arrived of the revolution in Paris, and the trial was interrupted. However, on the night of February 25-26 aroused citizens climbed over the school wall and stole a statue of Christ that was standing in the summer-house. With the advise of the Mayor of Toulouse, Brother Irlide sent most of the pupils home.

On March 9, from the Motherhouse, Brother Philippe wrote to Minister Cremieux: what I provided the members of the Community by way of instructions was "that they owed the Court and the jury the complete truth, set forth with the greatest sincerity, clarity, simplicity and exactitude".

Court sessions resumed on the 16th. Conte's assertions prevailed over twenty-eight witnesses in favor of Jean-Louis Bonafous and against the absolutely conclusive arguments of the lawyer. M. Gasc. The presiding Judge Lebeaume summarized the proceedings with the treacherous contention: "The influence of religious practices and of the cloistered life is the principal problem that this case, noteworthy in so many ways, places, Gentlemen of the jury, before your experience and your reason. It was a thrust that was worthy of the Encyclopedists and of their leader Diderot; it incriminated monastic vows and, as a consequence the Gospel and the Church, suggesting that they perverted nature by diverting it from its normal course.

Brother Léotade was condemned to compulsory labor for life. In the Judge's instructions the jury found a way to award "attenuating circumstances"! At penal servitude in Toulon the unfortunate convict displayed only gentleness, peace and sublime forgiveness. He died on January 27, 1850, and as he faced death he solemnly proclaimed his innocence. The Superior-general announced his death to the entire Congregation and asked the prayers which are due to professed Brothers for the victim.[643]

The Superior, in his Circular letter of January 15, 1849 passed a judgment on "the past year" marked with extraordinary moderation and total compassion.

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[643] Lémandus, pp. 364-433. The author of the history of the Brothers in Toulouse devotes, as we see, a large section of his book to a very detailed account of this strange and melancholy case in which was crystallized, so to speak, the hatred, the prejudice and the obduracy accumulated against the Institute especially after 1815. In the book we are talking about (pp. 431-433) there is an account of Brother Leotade's last days written by Father Marin, the chaplain of the penal colony; it is a singularly moving and genuinely crucial witness. Following are some of its principal passages: "(Brother Leotade) had himself asked for the Sacraments; he made his confession (on January 23), and that evening, since he had experienced some improvement, Viaticum and Extreme Unction were put off to the following day...During the night he grew worse; in the morning, early, when I was about to say Mass, I was sent for by the patient; I hurried to him and I met at his bedside the Republic's Commissioner for Maritime Courts...who had asked him for what purpose he had been called: 'As I am about to appear before God, I wish to state one last time in your presence what I have already declared before my Judges: that I am innocent and that I have absolutely no knowledge of how or by whom the double crime was committed, for which I have been convicted...' The Commissioner spoke forcibly in order to frighten the dying man should he dare lie to man in the face of God's judgment. I seconded the magistrate's authority with all my power...The man I was addressing was in an extraordinary position; and I believed that I should speak to him as a priest had never spoken to a dying man: 'The doctor says that tomorrow you'll be a dead man; be careful and don't lie on threshold of eternity'. 'I know that I'm dying; that is why I wish to repeat that I am innocent; when people are dying, they speak the truth. I am going to One who rewards trials and corrects injustices; I am determined to declare my innocence this one last time for the consolation of my family and the honor of my Institute.' I prepared him to receive Holy Viaticum. At the moment he was about to meet God, I said to him aloud: 'In the presence of Him who gave Himself for you and who shall presently be your judge, do you persist in the statement you have made?' 'Yes, I do persist in it; I speak nothing but the truth...' The man who had solemnly protested his innocence, both in the presence of his Judges and on his deathbed, had not been raised in unbelief. He had known and lived by the Divine law. Prior to his conviction he had been a good Christian and a good Religious. Since his arrest, his conduct had been beyond reproach. His comrades in misery had received nothing but good advice and virtuous example from him. Submissive to the prison officials, fully resigned to his misfortune and faithful to his duties to God, he was also full of gratitude to his benefactors; and never was there a word of hatred against those who played a part in his condemnation. obviously, has to do with difficulties occasioned by the Revolution. Concerning the matter in Toulouse, the Superior-general thought it both prudent and wise, at the time, to observe silence.

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With these facts in mind, shouldn't we ask ourselves whether "Convict" Leotade was not the victim of one of those judicial errors that Divine justice alone can promise always to retrieve? Human justice had been in error. As an accomplice of the enemies of Religion, it had exceeded Herrod and Pilate in its fury; and it had attempted (vainly, in spite of the uproar surrounding the trial) to overwhelm the teachers of Christian youth in dishonor. With their "spirit of faith the Brothers accepted the harsh affliction; and they continued to have the confidence of heads of families, the respect of the majority of their fellow-citizens and the freedom of prayer and doubtless (he certified in his purposely circumspect language) for us it had its rather difficult[1] moments but we must admit also that God has willed to compensate us...by the very kind protection with which He has surrounded us and by the peace and tranquility which He has caused our Institute to enjoy.

Schools, public and private, had operated regularly; and the question of tuition-free education had met with less unyielding obstacles.[644] In Paris, the Motherhouse continued its work of relocating; the government renewed the annual subsidy, which had been refused after "the February Days."[645] Hippolyte Carnot's educational projects remained a dead letter.

Frightened by riots, the provinces reacted against Socialism, indeed, against the Republican program. The Constitutive Assembly was followed in May by a Legislative Assembly in which the "Conservatives" controlled five hundred votes. It was true, however, that the extreme "Left" chose a solid group of 180 zealots, voted in by people in Paris and regions dominated by big industry and anti-religious propaganda. Ledru-Rollin claimed that he was still able to marshal two hundred thousand voters for an offensive; and, actually, on June 13, groups marched in the boulevards toward the Chambers, and General Changarnier dispersed them. Men in office adopted a series of measures so that henceforth order might be respected: the more ominous "political clubs" were prohibited, the prosecution of agitators, the law regulating the press, and, for the second time, a state of siege.

At this time, an understanding prevailed between the Assembly and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte whom five and a half million Frenchmen elected President of the Republic. Nevertheless, the character, the ideas and the history of this man gave rise to uneasiness. Would this former conspirator, this dare-devil veteran of foolish ventures in Strasbourg and Boulogne beguile Catholics and Royalists and attempt to sustain his popularity at their expense? The leadership on the "Right" thought that they controlled him; but they were to learn that with his flexibility and his tenacity, the perennial conspirator eluded them.

He was patient and did not reveal himself to the first comer. When he took over the Elysee Palace, he selected his Ministers from outside the Republican Party. A gentleman from Angers, Count Frederick Falloux – upon Father Dupanloup's insistence – accepted the Ministry of Public Education and Religion. He was a good strategist, resourceful, discerning and persuasive. Adolph Thiers, who catered to the Catholic alliance, explicitly promised his cooperation with the view to a law concerning the freedom of education.

Before realizing this project – his great plan, his future title to fame – Falloux persuaded the "Prince/President" to send an army to Rome, fallen into revolutionary hands and from which

644 At Lisieux in 1849 a municipal counselor suggested that families be asked for a "voluntary, free contribution" which would be used in the work of enlarging the school. He failed to win over a majority of his colleagues. (*Historique de la Maison*).

645 National Archives, FF17 12,461.

Pius IX had to flee. As in the days of the Carolingians, France loomed up as the champion of the Papacy. But Louis Napoleon was no Charlemagne; and his letter to Edgar Ney – in which he expressed the wish to dictate to the Pope a line of conduct with respect to the Roman people – made his collaborators feel uncomfortable, and he was soon to part company with them. Neither would Falloux any longer be Minister: but during his brief stay in power, he had not failed in the essential task.

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Since the summer of 1848, the problem was clearly posed; and public opinion had grasped its full importance. The educational monopoly could not be maintained. And, under State control – a qualification which, in the view of the politicians, was asserted to be indispensable – every Frenchman, enjoying an unblemished reputation and giving evidence of a certain level of human learning would obtain the right to teach youth. The provision passed by the Constitutive Assembly stated the fundamental principles. On November 29, Louis Bonaparte, in declaring his candidacy, said: "Support for religion involves freedom of education as a consequence". He never retracted that statement.

Succeeding to the presidency of the Republic, on January 4, 1849 he received the following report from M. Falloux: "One of my predecessors, M. Carnot, worked out a new scheme for primary schools; his bill raised the most serious objections...From a financial point of view, it greatly exceeded the Treasury's current resources; and from the point of view of social principles it arbitrarily substituted the State for the head of the family and the central government in the place of the local authorities. Work had to begin all over again from the beginning. And it had to be extended to both levels of education. The new Minister proposed to entrust the task to "an extra-parliamentary Committee" which would surround itself with the brightest and most qualified individuals.

The Committee met from January to May 1849. Nine out of its twenty-two members belonged to the National Assembly: Thiers, Montalembert, Cousin and Dupanloup became its leaders and animators. It turned out that Falloux attended most of the meetings; but, anxious about impartiality and hopeful of seeing an agreement reached that transcended government preoccupations, he avoided getting involved in the discussions. His friends and co-religionists acted as his spokesmen; while he himself yielded precedence (in the eyes of the ill-informed, if not in the confidential, trustworthy account) to Thiers whom he had to link definitively with the cause of sacred unity, of religious peace.

In fact, the Committee, in response to the wishes of the astute inaugurator, ("in a fit of unanimity") nominated the former defender of the monopoly as president. They allowed him, spiritedly and outspokenly, to lead discussions, to make the most unequivocal assertions, and volubly to question bureaucrats in public education as well as representatives of private charities who appeared for the inquiry. A report and two bills (one for primary and the other for secondary education) issued from these common efforts. So great was the authority that this distinguished group commanded that legislators in 1850 adhered to the Committee's "ready-made" solutions.

The radical genesis of the celebrated "Falloux Law" was revealed in the "extra-parliamentary Committee's" records. A recent publication has provided the unabridged text which, up to now, has gone unpublished. While it is of unquestionable value for a knowledge of principles and for putting events in focus, it contributes, moreover, interesting particulars regarding the Brothers of the Christian Schools. It includes, in detail, the explanations by their Superior-general; we learn about the Institute's situation on the eve of a new phase of its existence; and, also, we become aware of the judgments that contemporaries framed oncerning

the Institute and the services they expected of its religious zeal.[646]

As early as the third meeting, on January 10, the question of the Christian Brothers arose. President Thiers – *quantum mutatus ab illo!* – spoke his mind: "I emphatically insist on something besides those loathsome little lay teachers; I want the Brothers, although there was a time when I may not have trusted them; once again, I want to make the clergy's influence all-powerful."

It was really too much to concede merely out of a fear of revolution. Montalembert was careful not to accept the risky offer. "What I'm asking for the clergy", he replied, "is freedom of influence, not domination". Neither did he intend to reduce programs of primary education to a minimum; such a backward step would, perhaps, be the occasion for sharp and bizarre outbursts in the Assembly and would supply "the Honorable M. Thiers" with one of his usual "parliamentary successes"; but which would not prevent the proposal from being defeated "as tainted with 'Ignorantinism'".

It was a brief and curious joust between the two ancient adversaries, one of whom – the Catholic orator – steadfastly stood his ground, while the other had completely reversed his past plans and tactics. In this passage of arms we can observe the prelude to Brother Philippe's entrance on stage.

On February 3, the Superior-general responded to the Committee's summons.[647] We shall hear words, clear, modest and quite conformed to the simplicity recommended by Christ: "That is so, that is not", without shouting and without overstatement.

Before they were uttered, Thiers excoriated the methods in Normal Schools, which he regarded as "mute clubs, hot-beds of wicked passions"; and he demanded their total

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[646] The records had not been considered public documents. Thiers was vehemently opposed to their publication, because he was upset that his candid statements concerning men and institutions would be propagated abroad. The manuscript remained the property of one of the two secretaries of the Committee, Francis Housset (lawyer in the Court of Appeals in Paris), who had written it nearly in its entirety. (The other secretary was Alexis Chevalier who wrote Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes et l'enseignement primaire après la Révolution, published by Poussielgue in 1887. Without doubt we must ascribe to him also the summary of the single meeting held by those members of the Committee who, before merging with their colleagues, were initially, and solely, responsible for the regulations concerning popular education. Mr. Housset saved the original records, a huge, 719 page register in which his signature appears at the end of the minutes for each meeting. On the other hand, he corrected and abridged the reports into a 163 page "version" for the use of Bishop Dupanloup of whose diocese (Saint-Ay, Loiret) he was a member. (This version, included among the papers willed by the Bishop of Orleans to St. Sulpice Seminary was added, after the plundering of 1905, to the "New Acquisitions" files in the National Library, Ms. no. 11,059.) Furthermore, the owner of the text did not object to the making of some copies. One of them belonged to Mr. Falloux. And another which, like the summary, was included in Bishop Dupanloup's archives, was recovered in 1936 by Mr. Bernard Lacombe at a booksellers along the quays in Paris. In 1879, Mr. Hilary Lacombe, father of the above and great friend of the Bishop, had published in the review Le Correspondant a series of articles which he subsequently assembled in a pamphlet entitled: "Freedom of Education, The Debates of the 1849 Committee, and The Parliamentary Discussion of the Law of 1850," which was republished by Tequi in 1899. It was a work meant to fit the occasion and polemical. In order to defend a religious cause, the author selected the most significant passages from the records; and he did not rule out changes, transpositions and "harmonizations;" and to quotations from the manuscript he joined a study of the Parliamentary debates, in which he concluded by emphasizing the role adopted by Thiers in support of liberal solutions. Until recently this little book was used to recount the preliminaries of the "Falloux Law." Mr. Henry Michel, commenting, with some asperity, on this law in a book written in 1906, could only make use of (apart from the information supplied by Hilary Lacombe) the personal notes of one of the 1849 committee members, Mr. Dubois, the Director of the Advanced School of Education. Finally, the unabridged text -- circulated by Mr. René Housset, the heir to his father's archives -- was published in 1937 by Gigord, through the efforts of the Society for Agriculture, Science, Arts and Letters in Orleans. Canon George Chenesseau, professor at the Catholic Institute in Paris wrote the introduction to it, to which we are indebted for the information found in our analysis.

[647] Ninth Meeting, pp. 85-104 of the 1937 text.

suppression.[648] Father Daniel, the former Rector of the Academy in Caen, acknowledged that, on the whole, the personnel in these institutions "had been disorganized"; the Directors, frequently coming from great distances, "took off from all over France", were too far removed from local concerns and could not act effectively; assistant teachers, mostly professors in neighboring colleges, were satisfied to teach their classes without exercising any serious influence; tutors provided the student-teachers with pathetic examples, just as they had been a "plague" in other institutions; and the chaplain retained his "walk-on" role: he was asked to give talks, not provide a religious stimulus.

Certainly, this criticism could not be applied to the Normal Schools in Rouen and Aurillac which were so wisely operated by the Brothers. Moreover, it seemed to impartial minds and excellent Christians, such as M. Riancey, to be too general; the latter informed his colleagues on the Committee that Angers trained future teachers in a satisfactory way. Rather than to persist in prejudices and attempt to destroy the system worked out in 1833, it would have been more reasonable here to follow the ways mapped out by St. John Baptist de La Salle.

Brother Philippe did not have to take part in this discussion; however, as we shall see presently, he did not dissociate himself from it, but kept it in mind.

Heads now turned toward the man in the white rabat and to listen to whom silence settled on the room. He began his testimony with figures: there were 3,500 Brothers and nearly 200,000 pupils. Then he touched on a subject particularly worthy of attention: "Our classes are opened in the evening to a certain number of apprentices whom come to finish their education". It was an extremely valuable undertaking, because the child left school at thirteen years of age, that is, at a period in his life during which it was important to warn him against the atmosphere associated with the shop and the factory, which was so mixed up with, and conducive to, vice. It was an open question as to whether he would persevere in his faith and hold on to his morality. Unfortunately, too many young people, thrown into a world which ignores the Gospel lost "the effect" of a Christian education; many, however – and especially in Paris – bore witness, "in the frequent contacts that they have maintained" with the Brothers, to a complete fidelity.

There was a danger in grouping apprentices and adults together. The Christian Brothers reserved their most popular evening courses for adults. There were people who claimed that this type of school, which Guizot had encouraged and which recently Carnot desired to imitate, lead to social turmoil. This was a genuinely gloomy, narrow and reactionary opinion. Really dangerous people do not haunt classrooms: over the past few years 48,500 workers and employees had come to the Brothers for instruction; after the "Days in June", there were only seventeen of them, who having been involved in the violence, sought from their former teachers a testimonial intended to rescue them from reprisals. If, among the threatened individuals, a greater number could have claimed to have had Religious teachers, in moments of awful reawakening, they certainly would not have rejected this means of saving themselves.

One had only to consider tangible results: – Baptisms, First Communions, and regularization of marriages. An apostolate was being practiced on a vast scale; quiet reigned around the teacher's desk, while the listeners were unconcerned with external noises: recently, rioters had attempted to involve three or four hundred of these decent young men who were attentive at their French and drawing lessons; glass was flying everywhere, but not a single pupil left the room.

And the Superior went on, in M. Thiers' presence, to undertake the defense of his precious workers; they were "good, honest", open to feelings of affection, and to the truths of the faith. As 1849 began, twelve to thirteen thousand of them in Paris and many more in the various regions into which the Institute had spread furnished the marvel of calm appetites and upright

[648] Lacanuet, II, pg. 457.

behavior. Perhaps it wasn't too late to reconstruct Christian society, apart from which people must endure either tyranny or revolution – violence from the top or violence from below. It was up to the nation's leaders to render religious action "more efficacious", not only by goodwill, commendation, material support and legal arrangements, but by example and by doctrine.

It had to be hoped, therefore, that there would be nothing to shackle the work of the teaching Congregations. The investigators asked the witness what were his guidelines in this connection. Brother Philippe thought that four points had to be stressed:

1. "That municipal Counsels must be called upon to select their teachers freely." (This general confidence accorded Communal initiative was surprising; since it was there that sectarianism could become involved; and neither the Committee nor the Assembly would agree to such a risky "decentralization".)
2. That a law confirm the custom of dispensing primary school teachers from the "credential".
3. That novices continue to be exempted from military service.
4. That Superiors be allowed to undertake "changes" with a "certain freedom".

Only a magnanimous interpretation of existing laws had, up to now, enabled the Christian Brothers to benefit from these privileges. Their Superior took this opportunity to acknowledge the "support" and encouragement obtained from the national schools system. Far from evading the consequences of the Decree of 1808, the Institute was obviously honored to be part of the teaching Body; and it lived on the best terms with the officers of State education, as it did with the clergy.

He could not be suspected of intolerance. "The Communal lay teachers could not (in his judgment) really damage the nation"; the "excitement" of the previous year was only "transitory." We should note this second response – a rather direct one – to Thiers' "fears" and the sharp warning added to Montalembert's and Riancy's comments. "As for private schoolteachers", Brother Philippe said that he was quite prepared to plead their cause, "even though they criticized" Religious, their competition; for his part, he saw most of them as "respectable fathers of families".

On the other hand, the experiments ventured in advanced primary schools seemed to this informed educator hardly conclusive, indeed, to have been in a fair way to generating serious disappointments; since he was suspicious of their social effects: children and families coming to think that a little knowledge was a "cure-all". In fact, it inspired a distaste for textbook skills, and, yet, did not made the better and more important "jobs" more accessible. Thus, too, he did not hesitate to confess the blunders of his own Congregation: more than one Brothers' schools had yielded to "worldly" infatuation; and there were youngsters who, proud of their schooling, had become pen-pushers "for a notary or a lawyer", only to find that they had obstructed their future on a dead-end street.

Did it follow, then, that the ordinary people should be locked into their ignorance, as Voltaire had proposed or that they should at least be restricted to the most elementary knowledge, as Thiers had suggested? That would be to stumble into the opposite extreme. Summoned by the President of the Committee to "define the educational categories" which distinguished the various Christian Brothers' schools, Brother Philippe did not repudiate any of the advances achieved over the past twenty years. He showed that their connection was brought about orderly, from a fixed starting point – fundamental religious instruction, the program of the ancient *Conduct of Schools*, adapted to the needs of contemporary life and altered according to particular regions. This groundwork was always present, whether in the elementary classes, in the evening courses or in the residence schools. Except in the case of an unfortunate aberration, an effort was made to train pupils to take their place in their normal environment. There were no qualms in giving adult education an orientation that conformed to their profession. It wasn't knowledge for its own sake, as happened in many "advanced schools", but – to the extent that

Ministry of Education directives and local committees allowed it – practical goals and immediate returns.

Indeed, the eminent educator had not, on this occasion, completely divulged his mind: he knew the biases of many of the judges and merely sketched for them an outline of his work. He was questioned about popular education; and he explained the way in which he viewed it, and the cooperation he contributed to statesmen toward the reformation of the nation. But what had to do with the role of the Brothers respecting the industrial and commercial middle class and the exploiters of rural areas was scarcely touched upon. Presently one of Victor Cousin's questions was to reveal the uneasiness that agitated the "intellectuals"; they feared that De La Salle's disciples would "encroach" upon their domain, and expand the Church's influence over the "managerial classes" whose indoctrination the philosopher had reserved for himself.

The inquiry then confronted the Institute itself as to its past and present character. There was a rapid outline of its history, from its origins up to the 1848 Republic. The Brothers had an important standing in Paris, since, apart from the Motherhouse personnel, they numbered seven hundred and fifty in Communities dedicated to teaching.

They had seven novitiates in France. The more talented novices finished their training in "one of the Normal Schools" –"Scholasticates" – operated by the Directors of the principal training centers. Aged and infirm Brothers were the responsibility of the Congregation: the public authorities provided no retirement for its teachers; and in order to maintain "Senior Brothers" the Superiors had to levy a tax of five francs a year on the salaries of functioning teaching Brothers.

However, nearly all Brothers' public schools depended upon cities. The Empire, the Restoration, and the July Monarchy appreciated the Institute's services and did not structure the system of national education independently of them. The contributions of private founders was here and there added to the Communes' expenditures in order to increase the number of teachers in some schools which, as a result, were called "mixed schools".

But for a very long time, the sons of the Canon of Rheims had been the acknowledged apostles of a mission which extended beyond political frontiers. They had crossed the Alps in the 18th century; Belgium invited them back after 1830; for twelve years Canada had been a beneficiary of their zeal; the Institute had just given some of these robust pioneers to the United States; and another entry was beginning in the Near East.

These swarms preserved the most precisely defined relations with the French hive from which they issued. No one could tamper with their traditions or their customs or impose upon them teaching methods which contradicted Lasallian methods. They would lose the grace of their vocation, unless they remained in union with their Institute; if, that is, in education, in school organization and in Religious life, they accepted directions that were not transmitted to them by their hierarchical Superiors. The success of their work, their intellectual and moral influence, the spiritual future of teachers and pupils, the very life of the schools, all would be compromised.

Certainly there was no other intention, no other purpose, than to spread the Kingdom of God. Patriotism, however, could not be divorced from such a conquest. Since French culture was one form of Christian civilization, it was, perhaps, not surprising that their achievements merged and blended. If France served Christ and if Christ blessed France, why would Brother Philippe not rejoice?

Such a pride could not be concealed in the presence of the distinguished jury of 1849. After having stated that "in whatever country the Brothers were, even in Rome", they were subject to the Motherhouse, the Superior-general stressed – incontestably – the altogether national character of his Congregation. "In foreign countries, the French", he emphasized, "direct" the major institutions. The fact was indisputable and the newness of distant foundations sufficed to account for it. Speaking to his own countrymen and to their leaders who were responsible for a

nation's destiny – while he himself was filled with a burning, indeed, a peculiarly exclusive, love for "the eldest daughter of the Church" (*gesta Dei per Francos*!) – the native of Auvergne, faithful to his origins, boldly added: "We scarcely ever find" the requisite "strength of character anywhere else except among Frenchmen".

The rest of the world will have to excuse Brother Philippe for these words. They did not conflict with a universal charity. And, a hundred years ago when the Institute still had only meager prospects overseas and beyond the Alps, they appeared to be neither strange nor unfair.

Besides, a rectification was immediately forthcoming. Thiers had been preparing to conclude that "the Brothers everywhere introduced French influence". Brother Philippe responded by making a very clear distinction: no, the only goal in the selection of Directors was the well-being of religion. A Religious Society, therefore, dwelt on a higher plan; the "City of Man" did not intrude upon it. The educator's Catholicism constantly recalled to him the brotherhood of nations.

And then, it goes without saying that Victor Cousin insisted upon what bound the Institute to France: Article 109 of the Decree of 1808 had placed it in the ranks of associations that belonged to the Empire. Forty years later the Brothers' habit – the mantle that originated in Champagne and the 17th century three-cornered hat – appeared in a way to be an obligatory accessory of the landscape in the majority of French provinces. For thousands it embodied cherished memories, and, in their eyes, became a symbol of the nation. Brother Philippe had mentioned the localities of most extensive growth: the region of Lyons and St. Etienne, first of all, which had retained the advantages of the heroic restoration of 1804; and then the Departments of the Pas-de-Calais, Nord, Artois and French Flanders, areas inhabited by families of militant Christians, in which was exercised so generously the apostolate of a man like Brother Abdon; and, further, all of Languedoc and Provencal in the South, assisted by the proximity of Lyons, by the initiatives of Brother Bernardine, the zeal of Brother Claude and the Brothers in Toulouse and by the fame of the residence school in Beziers, to which might be added Bordelais and Auvergne.

Except for the powerful network of institutions in Paris, Central France was less abundantly endowed with schools. In the East the Institute had developed in Franche-Comte, and in Lorraine, but stopped at the gates of Alsace. Finally, in the West it repossessed one by one the parcels of its Normand domain. As for Brittany, the Christian Brothers had been sharing it with the followers of Fathers Gabriel Deshayes and Jean-Marie Lamennais. Father Deshayes "had at one time raised the question with Brother Philippe of a 'Third Order'" of the Institute "in order to provide Christian Brothers for rural areas...At that time the Superior-general did not believe that he should" authorize such an undertaking; since it had ignored the "fundamental rule" that demanded the presence of at least three Brothers in each Community. And Brother Gerbaud's successor had every intention of maintaining that regulation.

Montalembert, who had questioned him on this subject, would also lead the discussion concerning tuition-free education. But before that it was important to complete the list of projects. Normal Schools for teachers could not be neglected; since they had produced excellent results in the Lower Seine and in the Cantal, why hadn't others like them been started in other Departments? Several General Councils had asked for them; and Brother Philippe might have responded favorably to their appeals had he possessed the competent personnel. An effort, however, had been begun in Beauvais, which had started out as a private project, and which, as we shall see, will take official form in 1851.

The Committee withheld any comments; but returned to the subject which had preoccupied it. "Would the Institute", asked Count Montalembert, "always espouse the principle of absolutely tuition-free education"? That, the Superior-general replied, is a prescription of our

Rule.[649] What was the use of insisting? However, one of the leaders of Christian education, Father Etienne who, as Superior of the Vincentians, also directed the Sisters of Charity, claimed that the Communes could always charge a tuition to turn a profit. Brother Philippe made no retort to this statement, which the Brothers' Institute had constantly disputed. His subsequent action continued to conform to principles followed by Brothers Agathon and Gerbaud, as long as he did not run up against insurmountable obstacles.

Controversy continued in the area of "credentials". M. Giraud, Counsel for the national educational system summoned by the Committee to clarify the place of the Congregations in the teaching of boys, claimed that legal examinations had not prevented the Brothers from expanding; he saw the deterrent rather in expenses involved in the foundation of a Brothers' school. Questioned by the President, Brother Philippe persisted in his opinion. Candidates who were clearly competent to dispense elementary education to young children balked at the requirement of the "certificate"; the test was difficult, and many candidates with the Bachelor's degree failed it. Even lowering the standards would supply no remedy: a given teacher, whose talents were obvious and who, for twenty years, had been doing an excellent job in an elementary classroom, might seem a very poor candidate to the official examiners. Thus, the experienced teacher was the foe of the Mandarinism which in modern times Western nations had borrowed from China and had created, apart from all psychology and in accordance with the most illusory and uncertain principles, a structure of human values. A hasty examination placed a premium on memory, fluency and the feats of tact; while it left in the background those aptitudes that were exercised in the daily task, intellectual and moral capacities which – in every profession and especially that of the teacher – must above all be in evidence. Only employers, supervisors of formation and directors of minds and souls were in a position to judge in this matter. In De La Salle's Institute what was sought as essential was "the spirit of dedication", which was not likely "to be acquired through a 'credential'."

We would think that these observations were both sound and fair, but they went contrary to the prejudices of the times. They failed to convince Frenchmen and, less than any of them, the intellectuals. The Brothers were to take the examinations and prepare for them conscientiously. They were to contend on equal terms, indeed with obvious superiority, against their competition. Once the practice caught on, neither the prospects of the tests nor the disappointment of failure nor the justifiable satisfaction in successful completion disturbed recruitment.

For the Institute's growth in numbers Melun, Montalembert and Thiers gave evidence of a lively concern. Melun suggested that legal arrangements might perhaps have the effect of increasing vocations. Brother Philippe was skeptical: faith, not the law, creates a favorable climate. Montalembert wanted to know how the Superior covered the expenses for the novitiates – a heavy burden for the Motherhouse and for Directors; but charity had assisted them. "Was it the lack of candidates and the inadequacy of gifts" that has obliged you to refuse new schools? "Both causes (work) together". On the whole, if they restricted the Congregation's too rapid rate of development, the Superior would not be sorry: "he very much preferred to advance slowly".

This was a view that he repeated to Mr. Thiers when the latter proposed rather generous state aid in order to generalize the tuition-free education of novices. The influx of postulants would warrant a very desirable increase in the number of Christian Brothers' schools. "Yes, but in due time. For it would be important, more than ever, not to select candidates indiscriminately." A

[649] The minutes add: "There would have to be a Chapter to change that rule". A Chapter would not have been enough without making an appeal to the Holy See. The Secretary of the Committee may have only partially recorded Brother Philippe's response.

wise man would share the advice of M. Montreuil, the Deputy of the Eure: “Far from being a principle of dedication, money weakens it”. We should spare novitiates from taking on the appearance of “bait for welfare”!

With these words the meeting for February 3 concluded. But a few minutes earlier Cousin had burst out: “Surely”, he introduced the topic abruptly, “the Brothers’ Institute has no thought of ever being concerned with secondary education”. It was a serious problem for the “Dictator” of “intellectual fashions”. If a Congregation that had a reputation for its educational methods, for the moral influence of its teachers should open private schools in competition with State colleges and high schools, what would become of “eclectic” philosophy and of dogma-free humanist culture? Cousins had effortlessly abandoned the common people to the tutelage of the priests and their auxiliaries: that was his guarantee against the tide of rebellion. But an aristocracy composed of intellectuals and scholars find their slogans elsewhere. As the guardian of “Classical” education, the national school system would, in this situation, safeguard its privileges, if not its monopoly.

With a well-executed cheerfulness, Victor Cousin said that he was quite happy with Brother Philippe’s reply. Actually, since at that time, by “secondary education” everybody understood a course of Latin studies, no ambiguity to be feared. The Founder’s commands forbad to the Brothers of the Christian Schools so much as the utterance of the language of Cicero and Virgil – surely, not out of mistrust for the ancient world which had been Christianized by the Roman Church and on which De La Salle himself had been nourished; but in order to spare the Brothers, in the social environment in which they lived during the 17th and 18th centuries, the temptation to forsake the children of the people and, along with the priesthood, to seek status among the “clerics” and the learned. To breach – were it only temporarily and with the best of intentions – such a clearly defined rule acutely alarmed the Brothers’ conscience; a total transformation of ideas and practices, an injunction by the highest religious authority would be necessary in order to introduce Latin into the Congregation’s educational programs.

If the subtlety of the philosopher was baiting a trap for the Superior on this occasion, Brother Philippe fell into it with his eyes open. “Never (he declared) regardless of the generosity of the State or whatever might be the pressure of novelty, would the Institute concern itself with secondary education.”

Cousin hastened to record these words which he was “happy to have aroused”. Thiers approved of them, not, however, without a qualification in which there was involved something more than politeness: the Brothers’ “intention”, therefore, “was never to get out of primary education”. Agreed, and yet, in the situation in which human beings struggle, “perhaps something was to be gained” by enlarging the field of action of such teachers.

The centering of the Institute in the primary schools was planned by Napoleon I, his Imperial Ministry of Education brought it about and churchmen and model Catholics believed it acceptable. The only question that remained was to agree on definitions. If, as Brother Philippe along with his contemporaries thought, “secondary” was the equivalent of “Classical”, a whole body of scientific and literary knowledge could be conceived of as outside that designation. Whether it was called “primary” or “advanced primary” or “special education” or “modern education”, it made no difference. It was to train generations of people competent in laboratory research, the applied arts, agricultural projects and competent leadership. It was in this area that the Brothers were to obtain “the extension” that Thiers thought so useful. And in that case the promise that Cousin had rung from their Superior would no longer make any sense.

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On February 7 and 10 Brother Philippe was still appearing before the investigators. But the most important part of the inquiry had been completed. The President had asked concerning the vows that were characteristic of the Congregation: “Simple vows, pronounced, at first, for

three years", the Superior specified. At the expiration of each triennial period the Brother may withdraw rather than apply for a new commitment. And even during the course of the three years the Superior sometimes authorized a departure. Final vows occur only upon the completion of the thirtieth year; and all Brothers do not become "professed".[650]

The Brothers' relations both with the national school system and with Municipal Counsels then became the subject of several observations. It was important to be fair to the Inspectors of the Academy and the Inspectors of primary schools: they avoided petty vexations. The Brothers thought it preferable to receive their "credentials" from these impartial bureaucrats.

Augustine Cochin had kept in mind Brother Philippe's defense of the Communes. Why had the Superior been so decidedly in favor of selecting teachers through Municipal Councils? Because, he replied, the local authorities express the sense of the people; if teachers are imposed upon a Commune against its will, it will take steps to see that the school is abolished. Father Daniel raised serious objections: frequently a Municipal government makes very poor choices. It would be preferable to secure the participation of the District Committee or of the Committee of the Canton, while adopting necessary arrangements so that their members supply every guarantee of competence and good sense and obliging them to consult with mayors, pastors and inspectors. The Educational Counsel, similarly modified in its make-up, must, in the final analysis, make the decision.

There was a fresh discussion on the subject of examinations. The former Rector of Caen suggested that a delegate of the Bishop be introduced into the jury. Brother Philippe complained about the severity of the Parisian examiners, which brought an objection on the part of Poulain Boissay, a member of the Higher Council of the national educational system. In order to shield members of Religious Orders from ruthless humiliation, M. Riancey suggested a system of "compensation": apprenticeship as assistant teacher would dispense from the hazard of the test for the "credential". Pastor Cuvier defended the practices of the national school system; since, for him, ability sorted out the successful candidates.

Finally, Victor Cousin refused to believe that the cause of the Normal Schools was lost: would it not be possible to imagine two kinds, one for city teachers and another for "country teachers?" He would like to know the views of Religious educators. Without recalling De La Salle's inspired efforts and undeserved reverses, Brother Philippe limited himself to pointing out that his Brothers, practically unrepresented outside urban populations, had no special preparation for villages.[651]

We hear no more from him as a witness before M. Falloux's Committee. As a silent spectator, he attended the eleventh meeting on February 10, after which the Committee resumed the course of its work. The Superior of the Institute brought great relief to the institution on Rue Plumet: never had so many and such solemn declarations of friendliness on the part of statesmen reached the Brothers of the Christian Schools; never had the future seemed so resplendent. There was, indeed, a tendency to think that things were too rosy. Could Thiers' compliments and pleas be altogether trusted? Like a castaway, the former Minister of the July Government was crying "Help!" Tomorrow, would he give the lie to the adage: "Once the danger is past, the saint becomes unrecognizable"? A reasonable man did not very much appreciate this Southerner's quips and his intensity; and certainly Brother Philippe would have preferred that praise directed at his Congregation had not appeared as the counterpoint to accusations dwelt upon *ad nauseam* against teachers, and that in his presence Thiers might

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650 Existing Canon Law no longer allows, beyond the twenty-fifth year, this mixed situation of Brothers with temporary vows or, a fortiori, with no vows at all.

651 Minutes, pp. 114-125.

have abstained from denouncing the entire body of elementary teachers whom he suspected of "demagogy".[652] In his deposition, Brother Philippe had attempted to muffle this sort of vehemence: politically, the Brother sought to act only as the architects of peace.

However, even Montalembert was astonished at such a cautious and charitable attitude. As a fiery adversary of the the national school system, he deplored the verbal discretion of Father Etienne and of Brother Philippe which – in his view — was as mild and optimistic as Father Daniel's. The inquiry might have been more revealing had these individuals who represented the Church (whether because of their official position or out of fear of disturbing the relations between their "corporations" and the bureaucrats of Public Education) not hesitated to inform the Committee!

There was a lot of passion in this grievance and a lot of not very kind suspicions. The attack came from a direction one might have thought was safe, and the retort was no less unexpected: against the Count's spear and sword, Victor Cousin assumed the guise of a knight in service to the two Superiors whose wisdom he extolled.[653]

Brother Philippe's hearing not only incited this brief rattling of arms; but the echo of it was protracted into several subsequent meetings. On February 21, Riancy mentioned the residence schools: "the acceptance with which the public has welcomed the Brothers' residence schools is a sufficient proof of (their) the usefulness." And the speaker went on to complain of the government's procedures which did not readily authorize the opening of such schools: "had it not declared recently that the residence school in Marseille would be the last to be approved?" According to Cousin's account, the Ministry of Education was opposed only to small, rural residence schools where sanitation and supervision left a great deal to be desired. The major institutions opened by the Institute certainly escaped such criticism.[654]

Matters did not go any further that day. But on March 3, and once again on Riancey's initiative, the problem of "intermediate" education was reintroduced and thoroughly discussed.[655] Everything – the Committee member noted – converges toward the Baccalaureate; it's a real social danger. How to remedy it? By filling the gap between primary and secondary education. It was a question of creating special schools – "vocational education": this was what the middle desperately needed; and it was the responsibility of the Communes, the associations and charitable and rich citizens to respond to this need. The "Latin school" in which – as in the past – a sound education was given, based upon the study of ancient institutions and the Christian faith, must be reserved for the few.

M.de Corcelles sided with the remarks of his colleague. The Sub-committee of which he was the chairman had perfectly understood the importance of the subject. But it awaited a general discussion which would clarify and specify directives. One point that was beyond doubt was that classical education produced too many failures; according to a 1843 report 95,000 out of 116,000 were without degrees. Indeed, they had obtained only the worst "intermediate education."

Saint-Marc-Girardin added to the comments of the Deputy from the Orne the burden of his opinion as a teacher in the Sorbonne: he regarded vocational schools as unquestionable necessities. He had been accused, he said, "of wanting to turn classical education into a preserve for 'blue-bloods'"; he had, in fact, expressed a wish "that such studies not be undertaken except by those who had the stuff to find their way in them". It was, indeed, a fact

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652 Minutes, pp. 114-125.

653 Ibid., 13th meeting, February 13, 1849, pp. 160-161.

654 Minutes, pg. 140.

655 Ibid., pp. 177-178, 183.

that a great number of children and young men would have been much more at home elsewhere than in high-schools and secondary colleges. Nobody should be refused intellectual nourishment, but what was set before them should be digestible.

Up to that point Thiers had not turned a hair. But his anger was mounting; and on March 7 his wrath exploded. He bullied Riancey, Corcelles and Saint-Marc-Girardin: "What I cannot oppose too much is the system of vocational schools; this is the sort of institution that I detest and despise more than anything else. Vocational schools...are good for nothing except to turn their pupils into little Americans! People argue that a great many pupils in classical colleges do not complete their courses: too bad! At least for three years they have heard mention of "Scipio and Cato" which is better and more useful talk than demonstrating theorems. Since religion is losing its hold, we should be careful about discrediting the influence of moral ideas. What good are "squares and triangles" for conscience? We should base our education "on the great examples of the past"![656].

This outburst, no matter how harsh and inaccurate, was not without a certain fervor and color. People were amused to see Adolphe Thiers moved to defend Plutarch's heros. And after all his paradoxes did contain an ounce of truth.

Eight days later Corcelles cited the idea when he agreed that people had to be on their guard against embracing materialism.[657] The Brothers of the Christian Schools had been able to avoid it; they did not isolate the technical from morality; and they came up with the most promising results.

Thus, the discussion had reverted to light and calm. We have to admit, added the courteous dissenter, there is "a prevalent weakness in education at every level, and that is a lack of funding". The classical mentality tends to disdain the tangible; it strives to form the ideal man; and it fears the influence of earth, nation, custom and craft; it struggles to ignore and – in its worst moments – to shatter the context within which real human beings move.

A thorough-going literary education can leave a mind crippled for basic decisions; when the same education is "abbreviated", it is all the more incapacitating. Once "intermediate education" is systematized it will contribute to the equilibrium and the health of the nation. The legislature should concern itself with it more consistently and more firmly than under the July Monarchy; it should allow pupils of vocational schools into a certain number of careers; and it should make provision on their behalf for ranks and grades without which a Frenchmen is feels frustrated and floundering.

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These were the aspects of the reform which, selecting the Institute as a model, the "Extra-parliamentary Committee" of 1849 had submitted for the public's attention. Concerning the rest of its discussions and the work of its sub-committees on primary and secondary education we shall call attention, for the time being, only to a few suggestive tendencies: to decentralize and make the system of national education more flexible, especially through the creation of "Departmental Committees" in which the national school system was no longer the absolute mistress; action taken against the Normal Schools for teachers;[658]"You want to abolish them", remarked Victor Cousin; "except, once you have gotten over that fantasy, I predict that it won't be long before you start them up again;the desire to facilitate the recruitment of Religious teachers by passing as "a regulation of common law" that a probationary period would take the place of a "credential" in the primary grades.[659]

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656 Ibid., pg. 194

657 Ibid., pg. 228.

658 (Twenty-second meeting, April 21, 1849, Minutes, pp. 275-278. Ultimately the Normal Schools survived.)

659 Twenty-fifth meeting, May 5, Minutes, pg. 313. Ultimately normal schools survived.

Week after week, Father Dupanloup's influence over his colleagues asserted itself. On March 10, speaking as a priest, "in the name of the clergy", he denounced and condemned the sophistry which dictated the behavior of so many politicians and prominent members of the middle class for half a century: "There is a distinction which it is impossible for me to accept: that religion is a good thing for the common people, but superfluous for the upper classes; that total ascendancy should be given us as regards the children of the common people, while for the...more fortunate child a higher counsel must be reserved; because, ultimately, the common people must be Christians, while it is enough if the middle class are philosophers. These are deadly ideas...which lead a country into ruin."It was in this way that 18th century society perished in 1792; and it was in this way also that the society of the 19th century nearly met the same end in 1848.[660]

These ideas were personified in some of the members of the Committee: Thiers, Cousin, Paul Francis Dubois, the former editor of Le Globe.Thiers was prepared to place all of popular education in the hands of the Church; but when it came to the question of secondary education his shift was total; we recognize the chairman of the Villemain (the Jacobin of 1844) Committee in the man who had demanded for the State the right "to stamp its image on youth". Once more, listening to him, freedom to teach was in danger of becoming an empty word.
Dupanloup exerted all his powers as a dialectician and diplomat. Earlier, he hadn't minded breaking sharply with the Ministry of Education; on March 19, he denied that he blamed it exclusively as the cause of "religious and moral corruption"; the chief factor in revolution and in decadence continued to be "the almost inexorable influence of the social environment". The only remedy capable of "neutralizing" the poisons was "a heroic education".[661]

Nobody expected the national school system to provide the means of salvation. But between it and the Church, for the common good, the time had come for a "concordat", to outline which and bring it to term was Dupanloup's task. Nothing would be accomplished without reciprocal concessions. The national educational system would have to renounce its monopoly, but Catholics would have to hand over some part of the independence which they claimed. They would agree to the supervision of private schools, inspection on the part of academic officials, the checking of degrees by Departments of the State. On the other hand, Catholics obtained the four articles that their spokesman had indicated as "absolutely indispensable if there was going to be peace": abolition of the well-known "Certificate of studies" that Villemain and Salvandy had at one time set up as a barrier to the Baccalaureate;[662] the right to teach recognized for every Congregation, including the Jesuits; direction of the Junior Seminaries exclusively reserved for the Episcopacy; and a reduction to a reasonable minimum of demands for degrees with regard to the heads of Colleges and residences schools.[663] The work was competently, soundly structured. The committee members of 1849 had deployed high-level skills. It was now for the technicians in the Assembly to carve the law in marble.

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Arthur August, Count Beugnot, son of the former Minister of Jerome Napoleon and of Louis XVIII introduced "the government's bill on public education", which had been submitted to the offices of the Legislative Assembly on June 18, 1849. The Catholic author – although not

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660 Minutes, 17th Meeting, pp. 202-203.

661 Ibid., 19th Meeting, pg. 241.

662 See above, pp. 233 and 238.

663 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp 459-462.

always reliably orthodox – of *A History of the Destruction of Paganism in the West* and a member of the French Institute since 1832, Beugnot had long taken sides with Montalembert in the defense of freedom. He had remained faithful to the views that he had courageously supported in the House of Lords. His book, completed in the beginning of October, approved and fully justified that of the "Extra-parliamentary Committee". Its style was lofty, indeed, somewhat bombastic and, ultimately, corresponded to the nobility of its thought. The introduction showed society, religion and morality as targets of the most outrageous assaults; the "elementary notions" of truth, right and justices confused and obscured; and abysses suddenly opened up. "At that moment all wise men understood...that moral forces had to be brought (together)" in order "to conquer" and enemy "which, if it were victorious, would spare no one."

Union, "peace and concord" was the climate in which people must live, the conditions apart from which the legislator cannot surmount the difficulties of his task. "When everything proclaims" that it is time "to end the controversy, and move from theory to practice...the most insistent minds agree to put an end to encouraging unrealistic hopes."

Thus spoke Beugnot the historian, the politician and the Christian inspired by a sincere liberalism. It was with the same foresight and the same balanced judgment that he explained Falloux's purposes and that he emphasized the principles and the guidelines of the Ministerial law: "To claim...to regulate everything in order to preserve the rigorous unity of the former administration under the new administration; to fail to take into account facts, aptitudes the zeal and the dedication of individuals and associations...; and everywhere to apply the same level of inflexible regulation...would be to misunderstand the rule that one must not try to do by law what one can do by morality.

"There is just one attitude that gives dignity to teaching youth, and that is (daily) dedication," which no government regulation generates or replaces. This is why the legislator, on the eve of resolving in the light of justice and within the meaning of freedom, would not refuse to trust "the virtue, the charity and the love of the common good" which still dominated so many citizens.

Cooperation between the State and private persons, between social forces and individual strengths, aimed at the reformation of minds and out of a respect for the rights of the family – that is how Article 9 of the November 10th Constitution must be interpreted, viz., "Education is free!"[664] Starting with this preface up until the final vote there was a long road to travel and a lot of vicissitudes to meet with. In a message on October 21, the Prince/President dismissed the Ministry with whom he was in disagreement on the "Roman question". In its place he chose men who were no less resolved to rule steadily, but more docile to his inclinations and more dedicated to his person – people who were already "Bonapartists". In Public Education Esquirou Parieu succeeded Count Falloux. Physically and psychologically he seemed in striking contrast to the bearing and behavior of the gentleman from Angers. Parieu, who was the Deputy for the Cantal, was a burly highlander, with a huge skull and a jaundiced hue. His look, serious and morose under deeply arching eyebrows, sought to dominate rather than charm; he did not belie a rather sullen disposition. And his mouth bore the signs of a crude candor and a sort of disdain. His was a sturdy, austere nature, without any complications. He had the mind and soul of a very great jurist, but, fortunately, of a Christian jurist. He restored energy and faith by daily attendance at Mass; and he was said to have humbled his body with the use of instruments of penance.[665].

By selecting this Minister and by placing him as Headmaster in charge of the national

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[664] Duvergier, Lois et décrets, Vol. L, pp. 54-57.

[665] Lecanuet, Vol. II, pg. 463

schools, Louis Napoleon pursued his game: "he soothed the wound of the 'Right'";[666] and reassured Catholics. Actually, Parieu, for the want of special favors, would employ an undeviating kindness with regard to members of Religious Orders. But, in particular, he executed his order more than scrupulously, with ardor and vigor and in total disregard of self-love, as though what was at stake was not the work of another, by urging the consideration of the Falloux bill.

An "impasse" was reached on November 7. On a motion by the anti-clerical Pascal Duprat and a majority vote, the Assembly sent the bill for a review by the Privy Council, which meant a six week delay during which free rein was given to all sorts of criticisms. There were assaults from all sides: "on the 'Left'", Montalembert said, "we are regarded as 'Ultramontanists' and 'Jesuits'; on the 'Right' we are denounced at Rome for having betrayed the interests of Religion". [667] In his journal *L'Univers* Louis Veuillot conducted a bitter campaign: Dupanloup's concessions appeared to him to have been disastrous. Lacordaire kept quiet, but his silence had the look of disapproval. Bishop Pie of Poitiers was among the most implacable; while Bishop Parisis, who had worked so hard to inform public opinion and make it amenable to Catholic claims, occupied a restrained position. Other members of the French hierarchy showed, in general, more resignation than enthusiasm. And Father Ravignan was charged in the Pope's presence with following Montalembert "as a blind devotee".[668] On January 11, 1850 a law regarding Communal teachers was passed provisionally. It conferred upon Prefects the "supervision" of elementary education; while to the political administration was to belong the power to reprimand, to suspend and – by way of certain guarantees with the District Committees and the Upper Counsel of the national school system – to fire schoolteachers. These were special measures that had nothing to do with tolerance; they revealed especially a determination to reply after Hippolyte Carnot's unfortunate daring, a posture of suspicion regarding the bureaucrats in Public Education.

The Privy Council offered its comments on December 17; and Beugnot placed them in perspective in his supplementary report on the 31st. Finally, on January 14, the Assembly, in "the first reading", took up the debate on the whole bill. The battle dragged on for two months. Falloux, who lay gravely ill in Nice, was unable to defend his bill. He had to rely upon the fidelity of his successor, and on the valor of his friends and lieutenants, Montalembert, Vatimesnil, Riancey, Kerdrel, Fresneau, Bazé, Bechard and Poujoulat.[669]

The opposition was occupied by Barthélemy-Saint-Hilaire, Wallon and also – more furiously on the offensive – the Deputies of the extreme "Left", Victor Hugo who at the time disclosed his "Republican" vocation and attempted to play the role of the prophet, and Emmanuel Arago, whose theme was confined to insulting assertions: "The Jesuits are not French; neither do the Brothers or Sisters deserve their country's recognition, since the Congregations to which they belong are united to the Society of Jesus, although they are mere "fragments" of it."[670]

Frequently, Thiers sustained the fight nearly alone: at any moment he would intervene with a

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666 Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 455.

667 Speech to the Assembly during debate on the bill. Cited by La Gorce, *Histoire de la Seconde République*, Vol. II, pg. 293.

668 Lecanuet, Vol, II, pp. 465 et sq.

669 Hilaire Lacombe, op. cit., pg. 307.

670 Burnichon*, La Compagnie de Jésus en France*. *Histoire d'un siècle (*1814-1914), Vol. III, pg. 366.

response to intransigents on the “Right" or to “Montagne’s” zealous adherents. He delivered three major speeches. Faithful to the commitments he had made with Dupanloup, he argued in favor of the presence of Bishops on the Councils of Public Education. And, not hesitating to quarrel openly with his own former prejudices, he set himself up as an advocate of St. Ignatius’ disciples and for them, as well as for all citizens, demanded the right to open colleges. These were his career’s splendid moments and its eloquent inspirations. The journalist of 1830, Louis Philippe’s turbulent, troublesome Minister had assumed the lofty status of a statesman. He swept along with him an impressive majority: the final vote in favor of the law was obtained on March 15 by 399 votes against 237.[671]

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We shall summarize – to the extent that it concerns our subject – the text of this important bill, the charter for national education during the second half of the 19th century, the citadel of religious liberties, etched in stone by a valorous and unselfish generation, by the most extraordinary cooperation of French goodwill, and which, disparaged, dismantled, denounced, has continued to serve as the shelter, as the ultimate refuge, for Christian forces.

For as long as the law preserved its character, the members of the clergy would possess, not indeed a preponderant place, but the position that the Church might expect from politicians who were favorable to its influence and desirous of respecting its educational prerogatives. In the Upper Council of Public Education, along with distinguished individuals from the Privy Council, the Supreme Court of Appeals and the French Institute, there were four Archbishops or Bishops elected by their colleagues. And to the eight university representatives who made up the “permanent section” there were added during general deliberations, three members from private education, selected – like the preceding – by the President of the Republic upon nomination by the Minister.[672] On the educational Councils, charged with the supervision of teaching bodies and with the control of studies in each Department sat the Bishop or his delegate, plus a churchman selected by the bishop of the diocese.[673]

The principle of freedom was then clearly set forth: “The law recognizes two kinds of primary and secondary education: 1) schools founded or maintained by the Communes, Departments or the State and which are called public schools; 2) schools founded and maintained by individuals or associations and which are called private schools.”[674]

Educational programs were, however, imposed upon the principals of both sorts of institution. Primary schools included importantly: “moral and religious instruction, reading, writing, introductory French language, arithmetic, legal weights and measures”. They might – optionally – go beyond this; included in this wider area were: “arithmetic applied” to commercial practices, “introductory history and geography, introductory physical sciences and natural history...instruction in agriculture, industry and hygiene, land-measuring, surveying, mechanical drawing” and finally “singing and gymnastics.”[675]

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671 Lacombe, pp. 308, 310-332. Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 486-487, 492.

672 Law of March 15, 1850, Title I, “Concerning the authorities employed in education”, chapter I, “Concerning the Upper Counsel for Public Education”. Protestant and Jewish Religions also had their representatives.

673 Ibid., title I, chap. ii.

674 Ibid., ch. iii.

675 Title II, “Concerning primary education”, ch. i, “General arrangements”.

Overall, these were the subjects that the Brothers of the Christian Schools had been teaching prior to 1789 and that, since 1830, they provided as the foundational studies for their pupils both in the best classes of their primary schools and in their major residence schools. The Legislative Assembly did not pass laws for the growth of popular education; it granted teachers sufficient leeway for the training of a social class that would be prepared to fulfill its duties of state in French urban and rural centers. It would be enough to broaden and intensify the work, to the point of creating, over the primary schools, a genuine teaching technique and, later on, a "Humanism" built upon a knowledge of modern languages and literatures.

Every child was regarded as a beneficiary of education. Nevertheless, the authors of the 1850 school code balked at proposing entirely tuition-free schooling: in principle they persisted in admitting only the poor without tuition. This obstinate position during the Second Empire was to involve the Institute in a whole lot of difficulties with the government.

Fortunately, the rights which private foundations enjoyed in virtue of the Law of 1833 – and that the new bill confirmed – enabled the Brothers to observe their Founder's Rule integrally in many places throughout the country. The "teacher's profession" was not to be practiced in conditions dictated by a cramped minds. The certificate of competency was to be the only diploma that would be necessary;[676] and even then it might by substituted for by the "Probationary certificate", according to Title II of Article 47: "The Educational Council will deliver, for reason, Probationary certificates to persons who can verifying having taught" the rudiments in the lower grades "for at least three years in public or private schools that had been authorized to admit probationary candidates". At their pleasure, principals of schools might recruit assistants who were dispensed from any prior examination.[677]

The most cherished privilege was reserved for ministers of religion, since their functions and their status in the Church rendered them legally competent to take charge of a school.[678].
And here we see quite clearly what was in the minds of the men who passed the school law in 1850.

Of course, members of Religious Orders, provided they belonged to authorized associations or recognized as publicly useful, could be chosen as public schoolteachers. The Superiors nominated those whom they thought suited. And whether they were Religious or lay teachers, municipal assemblies made the final selection. If they chose not to have recourse to members of teaching Institutes, they had to select schoolteachers from a "qualifying and promotional list" drawn up by the Educational Counsel of the Department. The recruitment of teachers, therefore, did not function without the oversight of the episcopal authority, cooperating in this forum with the delegate of the Prefect, two judicial magistrates, four representatives of the General Council, the Rector of the Academy and another representative of the national schools. Under surety from these official personalities, there was an effort to restrict what was arbitrary in some city governments and eliminate candidates who were suspected of dangerous opinions.[679]

To open a private free school, formalities were minimal: the Mayor of the locality, the Rector, the District Attorney and the Deputy-Prefect were to receive a statement that indicated the site of the school building and the residences and previous occupations of the petitioner of record. If the Rector of the Academy raised a difficulty, it could only be "in the interests of

[676] It's equivalent was the baccalaureate or a certificate confirming that the candidate for the post of teacher had been admitted into one of the State's special schools.

[677] Art. 34.

[678] Art. 25

[679] Title II, chap. ii, Section 3.

public morals" and only during the month that followed the date of the request. The objections advanced were examined by the Educational Counsel, judging after hearing of both sides and without appeal. Lacking opposition from the national educational system, the school was fully enfranchised immediately.[680]

Chapter III provided the advocates of tuition-free education real satisfaction: every Commune had "the option of supporting" classes of this sort, on condition, however, of subsidizing them exclusively with "its own funds". And then there was a fresh proof of the approval granted private education: – the Educational Councils were to decide whether a private school, as it answered to all the needs of a population, might not take the place of a public school.

It was also a good thing to obtain for teachers a material compensation that was less precarious than the one they had continued to endure under the administration of the Guizot Law. Their annual income – considered as a fundamental salary – was not to fall below 600 francs. It was calculated by adding school tuition to the "fixed salary" maintained at the certainly low figure of 200 francs a year. If the two parts together did not come to the necessary sum, the Commune was obliged to make up the difference.

Less poorly paid and spared from having recourse to odd jobs, gifts and invitations to dine with the families of his pupils, the teacher took his proper place among his fellow citizens. An effort was made to see that he was respected. But people also took care not to encourage, as Hippolyte Carnot had done, his tendencies toward emancipation: within his social circle, he remained a humble servant and the employee of the civil and religious authorities, not the representative of an autonomous and all-powerful corporation. The Mayor, the pastor or one or more citizens delegated by the Educational Council scrutinized his words and his actions. Ministers of Religion entered the classrooms as they pleased and reported on his zeal for instilling catechetical notions into his pupils.[681]

His professional skills were judged by a committee of seven members named each year by the Educational Council. "Necessarily" forming a part of the committee, along with the Inspector for primary schools and two qualified persons from public or private education was a priest or a Protestant pastor or a Rabbi, depending upon the Religious belief that the candidate had declared to be his own.[682]

With a view to "parallel schools" the law authorized "any Frenchman, twenty-five years of age or older who had at least five years experience" in schools and who was equipped with the correct diplomas or certificates, to open an elementary residence school by merely informing the Rector of the Academy or the Mayor of the Commune.[683] The construction plans of the premises and the program of studies were inspected by these overseers in order, on the one hand, that sanitation measures and good order be observed and, on the other, that any incursion into the area of classical education continue to be denied. In the course of the coming years these stipulations would enable Brother Philippe and his principal associates to promote a coherent and vigorous achievement.

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As for themselves, they thought that they were rather well treated by the legislator. Their attitude and the projects that they immediately undertook do not allow us for an instant to imagine that they were inclined to join the ranks of the malcontents. They thought only of

680 Arts. 27 and 28.

681 Title II, chap. iv, "Concerning Cantonal delegates and other authorities employed in primary education."

682 Art. 46.

683 Art. 53. Communal schoolteachers had, besides, to obtain the consent of the Educational Council.

obeying the Pope's exhortations. Montalembert had written to Pius IX to explain the origins of the law, the goal of its authors and the machinations of its adversaries. On May 16, 1850, the eager and persevering strategist received by way of the Papal nuncio two letters from Rome. One of them expressed the Pope's gratitude to the statesmen; and the other included instructions intended for the Bishops; it implored them to unite against the perils which threatened Christian civilization: "It is through union (it stated) that we may obtain the advantages that there is reason to hope for...and to avoid, at least in major part, obstacles by fresh improvements."[684]

Of course, there was no doubt that the work that had been accomplished fell short of perfection. Seeing the Church subordinated to the State in education and in the granting of degrees, it was no wonder that Archbishop Parisis was disappointed, that Dom Gueranger and Louis Veuillot could scarcely hide their resentment, and that the French Episcopacy, even before the Holy See had expressed a position, advanced reservations, some of which went so far as to be pessimistic, indeed, disapproving.[685] But it was important not to pass any absolute judgments. "If we could not obtain everything we asked for and to which we had a right" – commented Father Rozaven, the Assistant to the Jesuits' Superior-general – "is that a reason for refusing what they gave us?"[686]

Montalembert declared: "We have substituted an alliance in the place of struggle".[687] Indeed, it was not the moment for definitions issued by a Counsel for the use of the faithful. It had been necessary to debate the language of a Concordat. Concerning this treaty, entered into by Catholics and unbelievers concerned for the peace of the earthly City, Dupanloup had sketched the substance several years earlier:[688] like Bernier in 1801 – but with a greater supernatural spirit and greater fidelity – he had attempted to reconcile opinions; his appointment to the See of Orleans put the finishing touch on something of a parallel with his predecessor.

Historical precedents, like the Napoleonic Concordat, the legislation of Constantine and King Henry IV's settlement, come to mind. Father Lacordaire, having gotten over his initial surprise and, in retirement at Soreze, contemplating at his leisure the results that had been obtained, illumined the entire problem in the following lines from his will: "The law concerning freedom of education has been the Edict of Nantes of the 19th century. It has put an end to the most severe oppression of conscience, set up a legitimate struggle among those who are dedicated to the sublime ministry of education...and given to those of sincere faith the means of transmitting it safe and sound to their posterity...There are points of history that should no longer be tampered with: the Edict of Nantes is one of them, and the Law of 1850 is another."[689]

In our own times, the highest authority has spoken in order to protect us from error, ineptitude and obstinacy in these sensitive questions.[690] "The Church is...the mistress of men,

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684 Lecanuet, Vol. II, pp. 493-494.

685 Goyau, *Histoire religieuse*, pp. 584-585.

686 Ibid.

687 La Gorce, *Histoire de la Seconde République,* Vol. II, pg. 293.

688 In his book *De la Pacification religieuse*; see above, pg. 237.

689 *Le Testament du P. Lacordaire*, published by Montalembert in 1870, pp. 147 et sq. Cited by H. Lacombe, pp. 340-341.

690 Encyclical Letter on *the Christian Education of Youth*, December 31, 1929.

supreme and absolutely sure", wrote Pius XI. And from this fundamental principle he drew "the necessary consequence": – viz., the "independence" of this perfect and divine Society "respecting any sort of earthly power as well in the origin as in the exercise of her mission as educator". Therefore, her absolute right "with regard to every other kind of human learning and instruction, which is the common patrimony of individuals and society". Instruction, "the school regulation, personnel, programs and books, and every sort of discipline" must "be guided by a Christian spirit, under the maternal vigilance" of ecclesiastical authority, in such a way that religion constitutes the foundation and the top-most point of the edifice.

Indeed, when Catholics demand and organized schools for their children that are inspired by their faith, they "are not mixing in party politics, but are engaged in a religious enterprise demanded by their conscience.They do not intend to separate their children either from the body of the nation or its spirit, but to educate them in a perfect manner, most conducive to the prosperity of the nation."

Would they, then, ignore the role of public authority? In the clearest language, the Pope urged them against it; he knew that, in such circumstances, meetings, talks and the establishment of a *modus vivendi* were of the first importance: "The Church...is not unwilling that her schools and institutions for the education of the laity be in keeping with the legitimate dispositions of civil authority; she is in every way ready to co-operate with this authority and to make provision for a mutual understanding, should difficulties arise."

Once God's rights have been sustained, "Caesar's rights" will not be discounted: In the first place it pertains to the State, in view of the common good, to promote in various ways the education and instruction of youth...It should moreover supplement their work whenever this falls short of what is necessary, even by means of its own schools and institutions. For the State more than any other society is provided with the means...and it is only right that it use these means to the advantage of those who have contributed them.

Over and above this, the State can exact, and take measures to secure that all its citizens have the necessary knowledge of their civic and political duties, and a certain degree of physical, intellectual and moral culture, which, considering the conditions of our times, is really necessary for the common good."

It was thus that Roman doctrine became clarified. It had been anticipated by the legislation of 1850 to the extent that the latter prescribed religious instruction in schools, showed a special respect for teaching Congregations, attempted to exclude immorality and social disorders from its own institutions, and – not satisfied simply to grant freedom to heads of families – asked for the cooperation of priests in the choice and supervision of teachers, recognized priests as having special aptitudes for the role of teacher and invited representatives of the Episcopacy to take their places on Educational Counsels and on more exalted educational committees.

In fact, Bishops and their delegates were nothing more than a minority among equally empowered colleagues. But they were in a position to represent orthodoxy and – as Pius IX had urge them – defend "the law of God and of the Church; they were listened to respectfully and people paid attention to what they had to say.

Bishops embraced the views of the Pope. To the Upper Council of Public Education they elected four individuals of a very high order, a credit to the clergy, splendid theologians, educators, administrators and Catholicism's best ambassadors to the official world: Archbishop Morlot of Tours, Archbishop Gousset of Rheims, Archbishop Parisis of Langres, and Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans.[691]

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Worries concerning the die-hards proved exaggerated; and the hopes of the authors and the

[691] La Gorce, op. cit., Vol. II, pg. 301.

advocates of the law were not deceived. Christian instruction expanded along with national education. Such a large number of schoolteachers, better trained and judiciously supervised, conscientiously fulfilled their obligations and remained "uninfected by ambition, intrigue, and mischief" that after the February Revolution Thiers[692] criticized their predecessors. The teaching Congregations, sought out by the Communes and promoted by charitable activists, recruited new candidates and broadened the scope of their work.

The "Committee for Private Education" immediately went into action. Between 1850 and 1852 it opened 257 schools. "We must train the present generation", wrote Dupanloup; we must attempt to build the future. His book *Concerning Education* published shortly after the vote in the Assembly, combined the strategies of a arbitrator with the principles of a resolute guide to youth.[693]

Clearsighted people had no difficulty in grasping the situation. Events spoke loud enough: What would become of that professionally educated and moneyed aristocracy, yesterday's "conservative", "enfranchised" middle class, now that it was nothing but a few drops in the ocean of "universal suffrage"? So as not to be swallowed up, it would have to rely upon a class of people that would not beat a retreat. The social and national elite would survive only by negotiating an alliance with the masses, by obtaining a transfusion of new blood; and the success of such an procedure would seem to have depended upon an exact affinity between human organisms, an harmonious movement under the control of heart and brain. It was essential for Frenchmen to know how to understand and love one another. How would they most easily obtain this unity except in the faith, in Christian fraternity? This was what an Ozanam and a Lacordaire sought, and what the founders of schools, religious colleges and residence schools worked for.

Adolphe Thiers feared that education would befuddle unsound heads, that it would inspire – through some sort of loss of status – covetous comparisons and rebellion. He claimed that "it must not be necessarily available to everybody. Education is the beginning of leisure and leisure is not intended for everybody...I cannot allow a fire burn under an empty pot."[694]

The problem could not be resolved in these crudely simple terms. Christianity could not subscribe to such an outright condemnation as to think of knowledge as a dangerous fire without relinquishing the home to incendiarists. It regarded the knowledge of nature, philosophy, the contact of one mind with another as a light for every man who came into the world, provided that God remained the principle and the end of our thinking and that a rectified conscience animated and controlled these insights. The Church denied no mind the right to grow; one only had to recall the history of her educational efforts.

By entrusting education to her one eluded disillusionment and guaranteed sound progress. In this upward movement of the common people, this broadening and continuous renewal of social structures the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle, under the shield of a supernatural ideal, found the appropriate basis for action.

The atmosphere in 1850 favored their expansion. But they did not have to wait so long in order to sow and plant. Brother Theoticus completed setting up his tuition-free school in Passy in October of 1848. Normandy, between 1848 and 1851, counted new schools in Havre (St. Michel neighborhood), Caudebec-en-Caux, La Haye-du-Puits, Montivilliers, St. Lo and Granville. This expansion of the Congregation extended to Chantilly, where the Brothers were occupying the City Hall before a simple woman, a former housemaid, Mlle. Pertuy, sacrificed

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692 Lacombe, pp. 141-142.

693 Baunard, op. cit., pp. 119-120

694 Minutes of the 1849 Committee, meeting for January 8, 1849.

her savings to buy them a house.[695]

The new spirit appeared in Rouen. We know that, since 1833, that city's administration refused the Brothers the title and the benefits of public school teachers. The Committee for Christian Schools was facing a deficit of 4,800 francs for the year 1849; its treasurer did not hesitate to ask for assistance from the Communal Assembly, which, in a handsome gesture that "showed its concern for the working class", restored a balanced budget by means of a subsidy.

There was like generosity for the following fiscal year, at the request, this time, of the Cardinal-Archbishop. The propitious development reached its culminating point on March 11, 1851: we read in a municipal Council report: "We thought that, since the Brothers taught more than 1,500 poor children, it would be altogether right to grant the committee that finances their schools a compensation."The indemnification was computed on a rather lavish basis: the city was to pay the cost of schooling all of the "poor" who attended private schools. Figuring that they represented two-thirds of the 3,174 pupils taught in the course of the previous months, the city fixed at 18,000 francs its share of the annual expense of 27,000 francs. This subsidy, increased as time went on, was paid continuously until the bigoted regime of the Third Republic.[696]

During this period several Communes in the South of France appealed to the Christian Brothers. In Lot the town of Martel welcomed them to its former college on November 10, 1849; St. Céré also housed them in a former Visitation convent, but the cost of the first school devolved upon the pastor, Father Pilaprat. In Gourdon the city government handled the contracts with the Institute.[697]

Tarn always showed a lively interest in Christian education. In 1848 Castres was paying no fewer than thirteen Brothers.[698] In Lacaune, one of the principal Cantonal headquarters of the District, Mlle.Anne Cavailles provided a building and 20,000 francs so that the public school might be entrusted to Religious educators. This project was realized in 1850In the same year the Brothers opened a private school in Mazamet, where they achieved such a success that soon the Mayor proposed to his Counsel to hand over to them the funds that had been left available by the closing of an advanced primary school and to recognize their's as the Communal schools. This proposal gave rise to some lively discussions: the majority of the Assembly feared displeasing the Protestants, who were numerous in the city. Finally, two schools were planned, with budgetary assistance divided between the two religions. Three Brothers were appointed as public school teachers.[699]

Schools in the Aveyron – i.e., in Mur-de-Barrez, Espalion and Laguiole – date from this time. Rodez added to its schools classes for about one hundred children in the Faubourg St. Cyrice. And the Congregation's development in this section of the country was so extensive that Brother Philippe opened up a new District which had Rodez as its headquarters.

What Toulouse had thus lost in territory it quickly replaced with new foundations. Between 1848 and 1850 there were the beginnings of Montesquieu-Volvestre, Rieux, Villemur and Auterive in the Upper-Garonne and Fleurance in the Ger. As a sort of symbolic collaboration and the pledge of a peaceful future, the founder of the school in Fleurance was none other than one of the members of the national school establishment, Louis Monge, a teacher in the high

695 *Archives of Herouville, Historical Ms*

696 Ibid.

697 *Archives of the District of Rodez.*

698 Ibid.

699 .[699]Gautrand*, Historique de la fondation.*

school in Bordeaux.[700] In Toulouse, in February 1848, the people who had been over-stimulated both by the news from Paris and by local events recovered composure as they restored objective judgment. The Brothers' salaries had been cut off for six months; this scandal was only temporary. And in 1850 the number of Christian Brothers who drew salaries on the municipal budget was as many as thirty-five or forty.[701]

In all regions, the thrust, that had been momentarily halted, had set off once again with renewed vigor. Thus, in Dreux, where a woman of conscience and character, Mme. Couasnon, over several years, had proposed to realize "a most timely work of charity". "That", she was told by Cardinal Bonald whom she consulted, "would be a tuition-free school for boys". And directed by the Archbishop of Lyons to Brother Philippe, Mm,e. Couasnon and her husband persisted in her plans in spite of obstacles. In the spring of 1847, the city Counsel of Dreux decided against the opening of a school that would be operated by the Brothers: the "Léotade affair" had just exploded in Toulouse; calumnies were being spread, and the Institute's adversaries were making ugly noises. People were as far away as the Eure-en-Loire were being influenced by a contemptible campaign.

However, in agreement with Brother Assistant Calixtus, who had been delegated by the Superior-general – and who, as a native of Chartres wished to see the Christian Brothers' influence extended into the Department of his birth – Mme. Couasnon decided to disregard the uproar. Brother Philippe himself assumed the responsibility of intervening with the Minister of Public Education. Officials on M. Salvandy's staff turned out to be adverse. And while the file on the case was dragged from one office to another, the Revolution occurred. One might have thought that would be the end of the project. On the contrary, the dynamic sponsor would not let that happen. And, on June 23, 1849, she succeeded in obtaining a Presidential decree authorizing the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools to accept her gift. The tiny school, which opened the following October, was to comprise the seeds of St. Peter's residence school.[702]

This latter school was not begun until 1855. Clermont-Ferrand had preceded Dreux by six years. The purchase of land and buildings that were run in connection with a novitiate enabled Brother Visitor Aggeus to respond to the wishes of families by starting an advanced primary school. Authorization was granted by Mr. Falloux on January 25, 1849, and classes began on October 2 with seven teachers and thirty-five pupils. Brother Aggeus retained the overall directorship, but he assigned the task of organizing studies to Brother Geoffrey. And even at this time Brother Annet was among the teachers: the entire future of the residence school was bound up with this proud and powerful individual. For more than half a century he was revered in Clermont.[703]

However brief the period that had elapsed between the end of the Orleanist Monarchy and the coup d'Etat of December 2, 1851, for the Institute as for France, it seemed extraordinarily crowded. Political and social life, education, and religion, everything seemed to have entered into a new phase. A man was about to tap the life-giving springs for his own benefit by diverting several of them from their normal courses and by misdirecting others into swamps or into the sand. He was to waste, nullify and even vitiate a huge quantity of national resources

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700 *Archives of the District of Toulouse*. Ibid.

701 ibid

702 Brother Albert Valentine*, Le Pensionnat Saint-Pierre de Dreux,* 1914, pp. 72-86.

703 Archives of the District of Clermont; and Leon Prugnard, *Historique du pensionnat Godefroy de Bouillon.*

before tossing them into the bottomless pit of a disastrous war. In those days when real greatness and the untainted ideal had been lost sight of, it was still possible, however, for Christian teachers to work for souls.

CHAPTER THREE

Brother Philippe and the Second Empire

Every French project of the Superior-general got completed in the reign of Napoleon III. At the same time, Brother Philippe endeavored to lay new foundations for a world-wide expansion. Our primary aim has been to confine ourselves to the study of the human environment and the political system along with the relations established between the Second Empire and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Later on we shall go into greater depth through an analysis of the minds of the Christian Brothers, their educational philosophy, and their teaching methods. Concluding this exclusively "French" volume with the events of 1870-1871 along with an account of the last days of the Superior in the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot, we shall clear the ground so as to take up in our next volume the "supra-national" history of the Congregation.

The undertakings of the Napoleonic administration fostered material civilization; they promoted wealth, made life easier and, as a consequence, aroused in the middle class and among the common people a desire for education, for action and assurances for a better future. Officials with splendid skills, Prefects selected with care, contributed order, regularity, continuity and permanent structures to the nation. Railroads, highways and telegraph lines sprung up everywhere; cities were transformed; towns, villages, hamlets and farms also took on a new look; there were new buildings, larger and more healthy, if not more elegant or better conformed to good taste. All these homes, all these centers of population between which communication had become frequent, rapid and pleasant had become the dwelling place of a provincial and rural France that had not stinted in its efforts and was aware of its strength; it was there that families of small land owners, already used to comfort, greedy for social contacts and influence over their fellow-citizens, quick to judge their leaders and rulers and ambitious for their sons found security. They built up their inheritance, deposited their savings in banks, bought stocks, and borrowed, if they had to, from the "land bank". France had become a modern nation: universal suffrage, granted by the Second Republic, restricted for a moment by the Legislative Assembly, proclaimed inviolable by Louis Napoleon at the time of his coup d'Etat was translated into the morals of the people before it produced its full effects at the political level.

In such circumstances, popular education grew. School, whether for boys or for girls, was no longer disdained. Efforts were made to introduce it into the heart of the country-side in a less makeshift way than during the Restoration and the days of Louis-Philippe. Teachers were given an adequate training and enjoyed an appropriate status. The Religious Congregations were the beneficiaries of this order, this emulation and this general activity; they saw the number of their pupils grow as well as the generosity of founders; and they, too, were emboldened to build sound and splendid institutions.

The Paris that, with the most unswerving support of the emperor, Baron Haussmann developed by flattening the old capital presented a symbol and a synthesis of imperial France: – broad openings, strategic routes on which cavalry could charge and that could not be choked off by barricades; boulevards, Strasbourg, Sebastopol, St. Michel and the Avenue of the Opera. There was an whole luxurious neighborhood that extended in the direction of

Chaillot, the Monceau plains and the Ternes; the Buttes-Chaumont Park had been laid out; the Louvre was joined once again with the Tuileries; there were covered and open markets; and there were the special, rather gaudy and theatrical churches, Trinity and St. Augustine's; there was the "Palace of Industry" and four bridges over the Seine with resplendent names, like Austerlitz, Arcole, Jena and Invalides. It had been a massive, costly project in which much history and a lot of charm and color had been sacrificed for the display of much that was merely cheap; but there was sanitation, security and light, and there were imposing harmonies that roused the wonder of tourists. In 1867 – the year of the Exposition – Paris, in its magnificent new setting, would display itself as worthy of the world's tribute.[704]

This facade hid poverty and the peril of breaking wide open. It had been constructed too rapidly and practically without foundations. The Second Empire rested neither upon tradition nor upon law nor upon a genuinely free consensus. Violence had institutionalized a dictatorship that had been initially bolstered by the glint of glory and had been maintained by the fear of anarchy. "The common people, hunched the soil, had been accustomed to this submissive posture. But the middle class had the impression of a sort of suffocation." What Gabriel Hanotaux has written bears repeating: "There is a way of feeling at home in a political community which, more than any constitution, more than suffrage and more than well-being itself, contributes to happiness. To think and speak without duress is, for most men and especially for the French, a condition of national health and humor ... Nothing is more destructive than that constant official interference which poisons familial intimacy, the easy contact among relatives and the relations between politicians and their constituents. Life in cramped quarters suffers from this invisible thorn ... And without freedom modern life is intolerable.[705]

This conviction was shared by every intellectual and social aristocracy and soon, as we shall see, it was to spread to a great number of Catholics. Writers, speakers, philosophers, and statesmen trained under the constitutional monarchy, members of the Academy, people in the liberal professions, "society" people, and members of the former nobility were "cool" toward Napoleon III. It was a cause of permanent weakness: the indifference of the upper classes and of the "talented" prevented the regime from reaching the great masses.[706] The government personnel remained remarkably synthetic; they were men of divergent opinions, intelligent and often well-intentioned but who were brought together by a penchant for power and the lure of money. The prince's own entourage revealed persons sometimes of dubious origins and sometimes of questionable morals. With this kind of support, there was little wonder that the structure rocked unsteadily until the day it totally collapsed.

It was threatened by Socialism, which spread among the working class whose life remained precarious and whose soul had been robbed of religious hope. And the Emperor's sincere concern for the workers was not enough to stem the tide of subversive teaching. In the last years of the reign, the "International" drew up a program that anticipated Marxism, in fact, "the Soviet-style Communism" of our own times: "We want nothing more to do with governments, since governments crush us with taxation; we want nothing more to do with armies, since armies butcher us; we want nothing more to do with religion, since religion suffocates our minds. Neither God, nor teacher![707]

What could the Church do? The clergy as a whole and the majority of the faithful, in the

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[704] Hanotaux, *Histoire politique de la Nation francaise*, Vol. III, pp. 518-521 and 524-526.

[705] Hanotaux, op. cit., pp. 483-484.

[706] Ibid., pp. 479-480.

[707] Cited by Hanotaux, pg. 541.

beginning, had bestowed their confidence upon the "President/dictator", the new leader of the Bonaparte dynasty: he seemed to them to mean the restoration of authority. Montalembert himself, for several months, had accepted the consequences of "the Second of December". In an initial surge the Episcopacy gravitated nearly totally toward the Empire: – Archbishop Donnet of Bordeaux, and Bishop (and soon to be Archbishop) Brossais-Saint-Marc of Rennes intoned rhapsodies in honor "of the new Constantine, the new Charlemagne". They were forced quickly to lower the tone. As early as October 30, 1853 Montalembert wrote: Emperor Napoleon III has done nothing whether for or against the Catholic cause, nothing, that is, either significant or permanent. I believe that he is personally well meaning toward the Church, I believe that basically his faith is sincere, although very poorly informed...But between that and being a St. Louis or a Charlemagne is a very great distance indeed. And with precision the champion of former times underscored the Church's situation in France: "Actually, all the good being done is the result of the dedication (of believers) under an administration that we are now pleased to repudiate and calumniate...We sowed under Louis-Philippe, we harvested under the Republic...People eat what they harvest."[708]

Even at the time this comment was made the monarch's inclinations had scarcely taken shape. Perhaps his "Nationalism" had not yet awakened. His interests compelled him to seek the backing of "the Right", without however yielding any of his "Imperialist" prerogatives. The Crimean War, the motive or pretext for which was the defense of the Holy Places against schismatic inroads, found favor in religious circles.

People had to wait for the "events" in Italy, the unification of "the Peninsula" to the advantage of the King of Sardinia and the invasion of the Papal States by Napoleon's allies for Christian consciences to be seriously disturbed. It was then that they perceived that "salvation rested with the Pope and not with the Emperor."[709] Bishop Dupanloup and Bishop Pie objected and condemned. Nevertheless, there was a "great deal of timidity" among the bishops. "Ten or twelve of them were irreproachable, some thirty others of them could be excused", wrote their colleague, the Bishop of Poitiers, to M. Falloux.

Archbishop Darboy of Paris was at the head of the Gallican and imperialist party. Bishop Plantier in Nîmes had "to liberate himself from the seductions" of the civil power. Cardinal Bonnechose of Rouen, "still a magistrate under his Roman purple", had been "admitted into the confidence" of the Head of State; but, actually, he continues to say utter "some useful truths".

Many Bishops were conspicuous for piety and for eloquence and knew how, on occasion, to be bold: such, for example, were Bertaud in Tulle, Desprez in Toulouse and Guibert in Tours. While the Bishop of Orleans strained after difficult compromises between modern ideas and the principles of the Holy See, his colleague – and sometime adversary – the worthy successor of St. Hilary in Poitiers was a good theologian, as was Bishop Doney of Montauban.

In brief, as always the French Church had distinguished personalities. It watched over morals and doctrine, and in general it accorded the Papacy an increasingly eager and filial cooperation. Its relative powerlessness was to be found the gaps that existed in the area of clerical studies, in a fragmentary political formation and in the obstacles created for work in common and for mutual understanding by the manner of its relations with the State.[710]

This dispersion of effort explains why those who defended Catholicism failed to withstand the demands of the Empire in matters relating to education.[711]

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[708] Lecanuet, III, pp. 97-98, letter to Father Döllinger.

[709] Baunard, *Un Siècle de l'Eglise de France*, pg. 159.

[710] Baunard, pp. 160-167.

[711] Concerning "The Ecclesiastical Politics of the Second Empire" the very important (but certainly secularist in

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Three months after the coup d'Etat and nine months before the Prince/President had seized the thrown, absolutism was asserted in opposition to the Law of 1850. The government had already revealed an intention to resume the upper hand in matters of national education; with the Decree of March 9, 1852 it usurped the appointment of all the members of the Upper Counsels of Public Education, Archbishops and Bishops as well as magistrates and representatives of the national educational establishment; and it added to them three Senators, political figures who were to be especially empowered spokesmen for the chief executive whose will had become the ultimate law.

The same decree removed from the city counsels the selection of schoolteachers: henceforth, in virtue of the 4th article of the decree, the Rectors of the Academy, "as delegates of the Minister", would undertake the appointments; local assemblies retained nothing but the right to provide a preliminary opinion.

This system of state control was further escalated in 1854. The law voted in by the Legislature on May 27 and promulgated on June 14 overturned the entire organization introduced by M. Falloux: it divided France into sixteen educational constituencies, at the head of each of which a Rector exercised the broadest powers.[712] That spelled the end of Departmental autonomy, which had secured the control of teachers and studies for independent groups. In each of the headquarters of the national school system a Counsel met, presided over by an upper-level official from the Ministry of Public Education; his inspectors and the Deans of departments assisted him. And the seven other Counsellors – a single Archbishop or Bishop, two "ministers of religion" (Catholic, Protestant or Jewish), two magistrates and two representatives of the civil power – held their positions exclusively from the government.

Below this dominant assembly, the Departmental Council very nearly retained its previous composition, but with inevitably diminish prestige and powers.

Finally – a momentous decision, heavy with consequences for the future – primary education was restored to the political arena: the teachers were at the mercy of the Prefects, since in what concerned the former the powers vested in the Rectors by the Decree of March 9, 1852 were transferred to the administrators who essentially represented the imperial regime.

The State, it was true, only claimed an arbiter's role and alleged that its attitude toward the Religious educators was admirable. In his Circular letter of October 31, 1854, the Minister Fortoul commented as follows on the new legislation: "(A municipal council must) be called upon to state whether it wishes its school to be confided to a lay- or a Religious- teacher. Then, upon a proposal made by the Inspector of the Academy, the Prefect appoints a candidate selected, depending upon the wish expressed, either from the list of qualified persons drawn up by the Departmental Counsel or from among members presented by Superiors of associations dedicated to teaching and recognized as publicly useful institutes . I do not have to add that no pressure should be (brought to) bear upon municipal councils...Everywhere the government seeks what is best and, to this end, calls upon the loyalty of everyone." He refused to pronounce the slightest preference.

While Fortoul was prepared to support the development of normal schools, he didn't want anybody to suspect that this project was a means of placing an obstacle in the way of the

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spirit) book by that name (*La Politique ecclésiastique du Second Empire*) by Jean Maurain should be consulted. (Doctoral dissertation, published in 1930, in Paris.)

[712] Thus the number of Rectors was reduced from 86 to 16, and the situation of the latter was thereby very much strengthened.

"spread of schools operated by the Brothers"; he recognized the value and the benefits of such institutions. However, he pointed out, an effort of "more than forty years' duration" and so many official favors granted to Religious education have enabled the Congregations to operated only "1,700 public and private schools out of 43,000 existing throughout France". It was a simple question of guard against inevitable shortages.[713]

The future would give the lie to these protestations of impartiality. In fact, "the demolition work" – the expression was Bishop Dupanloup's – against the Law of 1850 was about to be undertaken. The law "is being fiercely opposed", wrote the Bishop, because it is "genuinely liberal": "all sorts of twists have been given to it" sometimes in the interpretations by the Moniteur (which published Ministerial Circulars and decisions) and sometimes by a silent and crafty legal procedure, and occasionally by an unexpected jurisprudence...Soon there will be nothing left of that poor law except a few shreds."[714]

The growth of irreligion combined with the encroachments of totalitarian government to revive the struggle. A free rein was given them in this society devoid of principles, and at this time when material pleasures and ambition occupied the body and soul of the leaders and when many tongues uttered with the same indifference and the same skepticism as Pilate, "What is truth?" In intellectual circles Hegelianism was the vogue; and the Positivism of August Comte and Littre' and the atheism of Proudhon spread to the point of penetrating to the common people. The Sorbonne, the College of France, indeed fashionable society, attended to the historical criticism of Havet, the naturalism of Maury and the elegant and sinuous skepticism of Renan. In 1863 the former priest and Sulpician launched his *Vie de Jésus* which fascinated, disturbed and destroyed the faith of many young people. And then came the "the theory of the transmutation of species" or the "Evolutionism" of Darwin and Spender. Resisting these shocks was the work of Father Freppel, Bishop Gerbet, Father Gratry and, in the pulpit at Notre-Dame, Father Felix, who thought they had succeeded when they had merely checked the offensive.[715]

Affected in their faith by the propaganda of false philosophies, Catholics were also aroused in their religious and national loyalty by the foreign policy of Napoleon III. Beginning in 1860 there arose, if not the final rupture, at least distrust between the Empire and the Church. Following the example of Napoleon I before and after the Concordat, Napoleon III had been counting on help from the clergy; but, like the founder of the dynasty, his own errors swept him well out of sight of that wise plan.[716]

The "Persigny Circular", dated October 18, 1864, was adequate witness to a change in behavior. The Minister of the Interior whose dedication to the king and influence – frequently tyrannical – over his master was notorious, condemned the St. Vincent de Paul Society as being a secret and suspicious confederacy; he ordered the Bishops to forbid meetings of all upper, central or provincial counsels; ruthless dissolutions and the interruption of charitable activities followed; the work, especially in small towns and in the country-side, felt the effects for a long time to come.[717]

There then ensued some strange posturing between the civil and religious authorities – mutual irritation, "qualified courtesies and endless wariness" in order to surprise and denounce

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[713] Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 1, 3.

[714] Dupanloup, *Oeuvres choisies*, 1874, Vol. III, pp. 97-98.

[715] Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 535.

[716] Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 535.

[717] La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, Vol. IV, pp. 138-140.

words or gestures.[718] Among officials the distinction began to be made between those who were "clericals" and those who were not. The most visible sign (and the one most likely to be remembered) of a "clerical" employee, bureaucrat or magistrate was that of entrusting the education of one's children to priests or members of a Religious Order; many Prefects noted with humor and called attention to this – henceforth perilous – employment of freedom in high places.

As a symptom of official hostility, between 1863 and 1869 the administration was less and less disposed to open access to the public schools to Societies of teaching Brothers; during that period it only called them to operate 5% of the new schools for boys, while between 1850 and 1853 it gave them 47% of such schools. For the education of girls the figure – although still sizable – fell from 60% to 33%. During the period following the passage of the Law of 1850 more that 2,000 private schools were opened; during the second phase of the Empire there was a total of only 476.[719] Of course, the slowdown was in part explained by the tremendous effort that had been applied earlier, but a kind of ostracism was also being practiced.

As early as 1862 the Prefect of the Ille-and-Vilaine appointed a lay-teacher to a Commune which had asked for teachers from a Religious Congregation. The decision raised a storm; the Archbishop of Rennes stressed the cheeky illegality of it and addressed a petition to the Senate, with an enclosure covered with signatures. His gesture provoked long and lively discussions in the Assembly.[720]

Brother Joseph, Director of Francs-Bourgeois, had set up scholarships for pupils who had finished primary school and were able to follow the courses given in his commercial school. In 1864 he asked the City of Paris for assistance in this generous enterprise: Senator Le Verrier pleaded the cause with the authorities. Twice he sounded out the Prefect of the Seine who remained "steadfast" in his refusal "to assimilate or equate Brothers and lay-teachers in middle schools – a thing that he had regarded as a law in elementary education". A little later he said that the Turgot school seemed to him to be adequate for the Bastille and Marais neighborhoods. "A preconception that would give rise to a lot of criticisms", wrote the petitioner who had been shown the door; and while "broken hearted, (he) repressed comment", he reflected that the imperial official preferred "an idea that was not the most popular", the principle of the secularization of education, which was clearly opposed to the wishes of families.[721]

This principle was to inspire the action of the "Education League" that had been conceived in 1866 by Jean Macé. Bishop Dupont des Loges of Metz did not take long to place the movement under interdict; Bishop Dupanlou, in his brochure *Fears of the Episcopacy Justified by the Facts*, branded it: "Under the pretext of promoting education, and declaring war on ignorance, it spreads unbelief, immorality and it opposes religion; and it lays the groundwork for the destruction of the entire moral and social order. Indeed, it was a powerful and terrifying vehicle that the Freemasons had mounted, complete with a whole organization of public courses, lectures, popular bookstores and the distribution of tracts.[722]

After the year's disastrous events – the Sadowa scandal, the French retreat from Prussian

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[718] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

[719] A. Des Cilleuls, pg. 673.

[720] La Gorce, op. cit., pg. 131.

[721] House Archives of Francs-Bourgeois, Brother Amedy's papers.

[722] Baunard, pg. 122.

threats, and the bloody and disappointing Mexican expedition, to which might be added, for the affliction of men's souls, the catastrophe of the great floods – the Bishop of Orleans could very well stamp with pessimism his pastoral letter "on the misfortunes and the signs of the times". There were calamities of all sorts: "Can we be surprised when we see the way people live? At the upper levels of society there is that elegant and dreadful corruption of morals about which, from time to time, the press tells us; and at the lower levels there are the most menacing passions ... Everywhere, there is an explosion of subversive errors, and war upon God and upon the Church is more widespread, more radical and more relentless than ever. That is what especially appalls me and makes me fear the worst calamities for the final days of the century. In some of recent demonstrations – Students' Congress in Liege, International Congress of Workers in Geneva, Masonic meetings and the machinations of Italian demagogy – the Bishop pointed out the striking concurrence among all the wicked forces. "We shall understand, he concluded, what it costs to have lifted a hand against the Christ and what falls 'round about that column of order and justice once it has been shaken."[723].

Growing up at this time was that generation of positivists who, ten years later, would seize power and immediately spell out oppressive laws against French Catholics. What would have become of our faith had our fathers, over-confident in the appearances of tolerance, had not taken advantage of the options still open to them from the work of Montalembert, Dupanloup, Thiers and Falloux? What if their energy had been dissipated in pitiful disagreements, in polemics and carping criticism from which their cause had already suffered too acutely. Fortunately, the polemicists stood much taller than their quarrels. And far removed from the arenas in which the practioners of hostile systems and methods dealt unkind blows, there were priests and Religious who were exclusively dedicated to Christian education. At first glance, it might have seemed that the apostolate was effortless, since distinguished persons were always showing goodwill to the Christian Brothers and because the Institute and its Superior-general enjoyed great popularity. It is important to draw aside the curtain of illusion and to realize, behind the scenes, the shadows gathering, the changes that were occurring and the actors whose appearance was about to effect a painful ending.

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One of them, who seemed to have padded along, was named Victory Duruy. For more than twenty years he had taught first at the College of Henry IV and then at the secondary school, St. Louis. He had the soul of an academician and, as his friend Jules Simon put it, he was "a free thinker to the core."[724] The *Universal History*, the writing of which he had edited, was materialistic in inspiration; and the first volume, *Man and the Earth*, written by Alfred Maury, proves it. Duruy had embraced the cult of pagan antiquity and of the ancient Roman world. With him and a number of his colleagues, official education took the deliberate tack that it has continued to follow ever since: it moved in the direction of radical rationalism, toward the religion of science. He still very much wanted to train "humanists"; but, repudiating the reconciliation that had been devised in the 17th century between Plato's Greece and the Latins of the Augustan and Christian ages, he dreamed of a classical civilization from which the Church was virtually excluded.

Napoleon III was acquainted with Duruy's writings and summoned him to the Tuileries so that the learned professor might help him with a book called *The Life of Caesar*. He appreciated the honest, conscientious mind, "sound, but undifferentiated,"[725] the author of textbooks who

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[723] Dupanloup, op. cit., pp. 187, 191, 197

[724] *Notice sur M. Duruy*, cited by La Gorce, IV, pg. 287.

[725] La Gorce, op. cit., pg. 274.

had himself remained, as Gabriel Hanotaux has remarked, "something of a textbook". It was the time during which the Emperor, plunging into his Italian policy, ran the risk of conflict with the Holy See; he invited the historian to define, in an obviously tendentious pamphlet, the role of the Popes as temporal princes. A partial transformation in the sovereign's thought prevented the publication of this essay. But Napoleon persisted in supporting Duruy; and he made him Inspector of the Academy, Inspector-general, and, finally on June 23, 1863, Minister of Public Education.[726]

The presence of this man in the Councils of the Empire was "the most striking" sign "of the evolution that had taken place". The breath of Renan was felt in the palace, and soon Sainte-Beuve would be able to celebrate Free Thought in the heart of the Senate.[727]

From then on there was a clear rupture with Catholics on the question of education. A "feverish reformer", the new minister meant basically to guarantee the defense of the national school system. He accepted the Law of 1850 only conditionally. Concerning the education of girls he wrote in a confidential letter to the Emperor: "Up to now we have left this education in the hands of people who have not been a part of their time or their nation."[728]

Inspired, no doubt, with a sense of justice and with respect for the convictions of others, as he was upright and honest in his own, he never acted as a partisan. He would have been indignant if he had been thought aggressive or even hostile. Nevertheless, at every moment he was in the embrace of his own prejudices. He never hesitated in his support for Jean Macé. His staff which knew his mind, his subordinates who were not bound by the same precautions, who – according to practice – tended to show an excess of zeal and follow their inclinations frequently did not even preserve the appearance of toleration. Where their leader wished only to display a mistrust of "clericals", they gave free rein to their anti-religious passion.[729]

Victor Duruy was to increase his efforts, pour out decrees, circulars and bills. The quantity of his work was enormous and it had the constancy, the minuteness and the regularity of a bureaucrat along with the precision of a theoretician. The days on which his inexhaustible pen was quiet were considered to have been exceptional.

He was not without interesting, generous and fruitful ideas. At his prompting research went on in all areas of education: programs in primary instruction, the condition of apprentices, relations to be established between school and trades and the liberalization of vocational education. In this connection neither his good will, nor his competence nor his successful achievements were. Thus, like the jurists in ancient France and the administrators in the First Empire, he was a dedicated servant of the State and he used the power that the monarch delegated to him for immediate and practical purposes.[730]

The results obtained by the Church – and especially by the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle – had not eluded him. His goal, as we shall see, had consisted in diligently considering them, in underscoring their value and in appropriating them: it was a clever tactic and, in his hands, it was a dangerous and alarming one. Bishop Plantier of Nîmes pointed it out when, not without irony nor without bitterness, he wrote to Bishop Dupanloup:

"We must do justice to the Minister at least to this extent: the things his system has borrowed

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726 Ibid., loc. cit.

727 Hanotaux, pg. 508.

728 La Gorce, pg. 284.

729 Ibid., pg. 287.

730 Daniel Halevy, *Trois Epreuves*: 1814, 1871, 1940, Paris, 1941, pp. 68-70.

have compensated us somewhat for the errors and biases of his speeches and his books. The orator in him and the historian is often ungrateful and rather unfair with respect to Catholicism; but the statesman by way of his actions, if not his words, pays tribute to our institutions; he continues to be sparing in his praise of them, but – what is preferable – he attempts carefully to imitate them...If we judge him as being inspired by disinterestedness, he would accuse us gullibility...His borrowings are being turned into weapons against us.[731]

"Continuation school", schools for adults, and schools for vocational education were all so many Ministerial projects the priority for which the Bishop, quite correctly, restored to the Brothers. Apart from them, night classes that were reserved for workers stagnated in a dismal dearth of space and supplies;[732] technical education adapted to the possibilities and customs of each region had scarcely developed. In the area of middle school education the only lay-teacher effort that was crowned with complete success was due to the founder of the Turgot school, the educator Marguerin, who firmly guided his pupils and provided them with stable courses.[733]

All things considered, "we were struck by the fact that what goes on in college has so little to with what goes on in life". This comment by Duruy applied to secondary studies; it was also relevant for the education of the children of the people. Too often, a teacher – because of the very high idea he entertained of his own profession – pondered primarily how "to pluck a scholarly elite from the masses"; a sort of "corporate pride" compelled him to despise the condition of the worker, the craftsman and the peasant. Seeking out disciples and successors, he was in danger of missing his customary mission: – to train a man to be able to continue a family tradition, to share a social life, whether in a workshop or on a farm. He did not see that at school the child found itself in a "climate" foreign to its natural environment. "It has been twenty years", the Minister remarked, "since France has been looking for an education that answers to the needs of the working class". And, to give the reflection its full scope, we might add, "and of the agricultural class".[734]

It had been in this direction, as we know very well, that the Brothers had been working well before the Revolution of 1789. Their undertakings since 1830 had Guizot's blessing. They might easily have inspired Duruy who was, perhaps, thinking of them when he composed his celebrated circular of October 2, 1863. On a broader foundation, more abundant in practical knowledge, of the common school, two secondary systems should be built parallel to one another, the one, classical for liberal careers, the other, vocational for careers in industry, commerce and agriculture. Within the program there was neither excessive centralization, nor rigid control: it was a variable structure, whose composition would change with time and place. Suppose it was a question of schools in the maritime cities. In that case there would be an emphasis on geography and commercial legislation. Border regions would study the living languages most necessary to their relations with their neighbors. Each province would provide drawing lessons with the direction and development most conformed it its own artistic tastes and industrial alignment. Pupils are to be taken to the Chemistry laboratory for experiments, to a piece of ground for a survey, to the country-side to study certain types of cultivation and to factories to observe equipment at work.[735]

This table of contents was to serve as an introduction to the bill that was sent to the Privy Council in 1864 and then presented to the Legislature. Its author's two-pronged approach at Passy took place at the time that this legislation was being worked out. On March 18th three

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731 Letter dated November 30, 1867, included in Bishop Dupanloup's *Oeuvres choisies*, III, pp. 417-419.

732 La Gorce, op. cit., pg. 274.

733 Gossot, pp. 68-70.

734 Halevy, op. cit., pp. 74-75 and 158-159.

735 La Gorce, IV, pp. 277-279.

Inspectors-general arrived as a vanguard; the Minister was to come early in the afternoon in company with Brother Philippe; he inspected the school in detail.[736]

On March 22, 1864 Duruy wrote Napoleon III: However, it was merely a preliminary talk. Duruy had profited from what he had seen. Meeting with some sort of resistance from the members of the committee that was examining the text of his legislation, he proposed to bring them to the Brothers': "There I will show you my system at work." Nine Deputies accepted the invitation. And on May 12, they were welcomed by Brother Libanos. They attended a Chemistry class given by Brother Albert of Mary and then they listened to a reading of compositions in French; the literary tidiness of this school-boy homework charmed them; and the Minister did not fail to comment that these important results were obtained without the help of Latin. They moved on to classes in modern languages: the pupils spoke English fluently. There followed questions in Botany and commercial bookkeeping. In the rooms set aside for drawing a pleasant surprise had been arranged for Duruy: he got a chance to look at his own portrait. The day was concluded with gymnastic exercises.

In the eyes of the legislators it was a persuasive demonstration. The cause of "special secondary education" had won the day. Its vindicator was unsparing in his compliments to the Brothers whom he had asked to bear witness. But he did not conceal from them either that his efforts might work against them: "We are going to compete with you," he told the Superior-general and the Director; "however, it is not easy to contend with Religious Congregations."[737]

The Duruy Law bears the date of June 21-26, 1865. The statement of its rationale is a splendid page in which the Brothers are seen, in brief, as held in honor and in which thirty years of their efforts receive official approval.[738]

The Minister regarded "the expansion of the agricultural, the commercial" and of the industrial middle classes as "the great fact" of the century, "the evident sign of economic change". As a consequence, in order that "the moral and intellectual level of the nation not decline", it was necessary to guarantee an education suitable to these sectors whose importance continued to grow.

Private initiative has understood this. And "spontaneously" institutions have been opened which answer to this "new, real and general need". The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, alone, in its 32 schools, has brought together 7,000 children and youths to be instructed with a view to their role in tomorrow's society.

What then is the program presented to these youngsters, who do not need the ancient languages and literatures? On the other hand, "through an in-depth knowledge of their mother tongue", they must "open and elevate (their) minds". The study of national history will inspire them with a love of their country; and while "it shall not have been given them to enjoy the charms of antiquity at the very source", they shall meet with "its fragrance and savor" in the masterpieces of our national authors.

Modern foreign languages would contribute to the exercise of the memory and to the development of taste. However, there was rather an insistence upon the practical interest in having them taught. Similarly, science was not to waste time with theory: teachers were not to

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[736] La Gorce, IV, pp. 277-279.

[737] "I had a long talk with Brother Philippe, which we both concluded quite satisfied and after which I visited his principal school at Passy for four hours. The law respecting special education...that talk, that visit and our candid analyses will be, I think, a peace treaty finally signed between the Congregation and my Ministry where there has been a tradition of conducting captious warfare against the Brothers that I find unworthy of the Emperor's government..." (Duruy, *Notes et Souvenirs*, cited by Jean Maurain, *La Politique du Second Empire*, pg. 685.)

[738] Duvergier, Vol. LXV, pp. 277-279; *Centenaire de Passy*, pp. 51-52.

loose sight of the utility to the industrialist and to the farmer of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry.

Mechanical drawing would enable the architect and the engineer to translate their concepts into geometrical patterns and to acquaint themselves with scientific apparatus.

Ornamental and imitative drawing "would develop the creative faculty" and would teach "the hand to be bold and the eye to be accurate". The education of the mind is incomplete unless a sense of beauty is added to it.

Overall, the committee selected by the Legislature showed deference for the Minister's thought. Nevertheless, by regarding several subjects of instruction[739] Modern languages, introductory law, industrial and rural economy, hygiene, ornamental and imitative drawing, vocal music and gymnastic, as merely optional, it tended to narrow the differences between the new program and the former "higher education". The committee chairman declared very wise measures taken in 1833 by Guizot and he seemed to have lamented the fact that they had disappeared from the Law of 1850.[740]

He did not, for all that, remove from the education the special character and title that Duruy wished to confer upon it. The schools that would conform to the 1865 program would, like the classical secondary schools and colleges, be categorized as "secondary".

At the end of their studies their pupils would obtain an official diploma, distinct, however, from the baccalaureate. Their examination would not take place in the University Departments but before a committee appointed by the Minister of Public Education.

These advantages were to be shared both by private and public schools. In this respect there was no infringement of Falloux's principle of toleration; for the success of his experiment the educator played with sides equal: "competition" was the term he had used with the Brothers at Passy. And he was true to his word, even though – as he had said at the time – the struggle was conducted under conditions that were rather unfavorable to the national educational system. The Bachelor's degree or, lacking it, a certificate of individual competence was to be, from the educational point of view, the only proof required of a potential head of a special secondary school. No previous experience was demanded.[741]

In fact, for a long time, one would scarcely see any but the Brother residence schools defending the principles and preventing the breakdown of the law. Most city governments were loath to set out along untried paths: their routine saw nothing beyond the old college where a few teachers, frequently unimpressive and frequently embittered by their lot, harped on the rules of Latin grammar to thin contingent of students.[742]

In the last article of the Law of June 21 we read: "Dating from the promulgation of the present law, primary education may include, apart from subjects determined by...the Law of March 15, 1850, ornamental drawing, imitative drawing, modern foreign languages, bookkeeping and the elements of Geometry.

Thus, Duruy, following his promises, broadened the base of primary instruction upon which had to rest the double structure of classical and "modern" education.

For the education of the common people he was to fight resolutely and without fear of colliding with his contemporaries. The *Moniteur* on March 6, 1865 published an article eighteen columns long which repeated, but in "a language much more explicit and positive", Hipployte Carnot's statements regarding the educational obligation and tuition-free schooling: he wrote with a boldness which alarmed the author's colleagues during several meetings of the Counsel of Ministers. This time Duruy had gone too far; he had left himself defenseless in the

739 Ibid., pp. 280-285.

740 La Groce, IV, pg. 279.

741 La Groce, IV, pg. 279.

742 La Groce, IV, pg. 279.

sight of his enemies. The publication of his report in the official journal of the Empire – a curious anomaly, since his conclusions had not been accepted – paved the way for an oratorical joust among the Deputies: the far Left, represented by Jules Simon and Carnot, applauded a program that embraced their own principles; in the bench of government commissioners, M. Parieu, who had once been the Head Master of the national schools and now one of the vie-Presidents of the Privy Council, there was argument against the positions of his successor in the Ministry of Public Education. Repudiated by a majority of the Imperialists but supported by the Republicans, the Minister seemed to be in a poor position: and at the April 9 meeting of the Legislature Havin and Gueroult appended to a speech in praise of Victor Duruy a series of charges that were aimed at private education. Nearly alone, the Brothers of the Christian Schools were spared. Of course, the centuries-long battle that they had sustained in defense of tuition-free education blocked their being listed among "the Congregations hostile" to the spirit of progress.[743]

Guizot, speaking to his fellow-Protestants, had condemned the principle of obligation as open to involving "tyrannical demands". However, the new reformer did not yield to this public outcry: once again, supported by Napoleon III, he pursued his task to the limits of the possible.

The Decree of July 2, 1866 became the law for primary normal schools;[744] it determined the subjects to be taught (which remained those of the previous period), fixed the duration of studies to three years, gave the appointment of Directors to the Minister, stipulated the conditions for the entrance examination, and specified the daily schedule and the types of sanctions. These lay seminaries were henceforth assured of a long future; the need for them was no longer disputed. Like Religious teachers in their "Scholasticates", future schoolteachers during their period as "normal students" received a complete education – intellectual sustenance along with the theory and practice of education. Religious and moral instruction continued to be a part of the program; "prayer in common" and "assistance at the Divine Office" began the day. Regardless of Duruy's secret desires, in these times it was impossible to promote irreligion or to talk about "neutrality". Actually, the climate was, unfortunately, too often scarcely favorable to Christian sensibilities. But at least, within the structures as they existed in 1866, a good Director was in a position to protect the faith of his students: Brothers who occupied this official situation in several Departments worked to obtain unimpeachable teachers for the Communes.

Rulers and Legislators' pronouncements at the time sounded no false notes concerning education. A disciple of De La Salle was able to sign the following report in April of 1867:[745]
The Emperor and ourselves never distinguish the idea of moral perfection from that of intellectual growth...We do not want to give merely instruction to children; before all else we wish to nourish their hearts with good principles and fortify good principles with good example...Upon this condition alone a man does not become dangerous to himself and to others; what gives him light, far from blinding him, leads him.

Popular education, understood in this sense, had a "lively interest" for the king; it thrust itself upon his attention in the name of "Christian fraternity". "To be concerned with the working classes, to love the little ones, to neglect nothing in the material and moral order that would improve or elevate their lot" – that had been (we should confess it frankly) Napoleon III's loftiest rule of conduct.

The passages we have just quoted are from the preface to the law which, added to, rather than

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743 La Gorce, IV, pp. 281-285. Des Cilleuls, pp. 544-557.

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745 Report of a committee responsible for examining a bill concerning elementary education.

substituted for, the Laws of 1833 and 1850, were henceforth to control primary education. Duruy, having failed to obtain tuition-free education universally, made a strategic retreat: the Legislature would allow, with the approval of the competent committee, a rather broad and generous system of "optional" tuition-free education.

For seventeen years a great number of elementary schools were no longer pay-schools: 2,250 municipal counsels, and especially those of cities of any consequence, had dispensed families from tuition in 5,000 schools. They believed that this way of operating was particularly successful and they did not regret the expense that resulted from it, as the Committee statement put it. Tuition-free education, looked at from the point of view of social contacts and relations among citizens can produce nothing but excellent effects. When children are seated in the same rows of desks, some of them profit from the advantages of others in matters of good manners, sensitivity and growth of intellect. The level of the lowly rises. The bonds of childhood will leave lasting memories in mature life and will foster a reciprocal kindness between men placed in the most unequal situations.

On the faith of this optimism – generally justified when the action of the teacher encourages charitable influences and eliminates noxious ones – the majority vote was obtained. Article 8 determined: "Every Commune that wishes to use the option granted by the Law of March 15, 1850, to support one or several entirely tuition-free schools, may, in addition to its own resources and special taxes (which the said law authorizes) appropriate for this support the income from an extraordinary levy... In case (the above revenues and receipts) are inadequate, with the advice of the Departmental Counsel, a subsidy may be allocated to the Commune from the funds of a Department or, failing them, from the funds of the State...

Where a tuition-free school was established, the teachers would receive, apart from the fixed salary, a "possible salary, calculated in proportion to the number of pupils in attendance, according to a rate determined each year by the Prefect"; finally, if there was a reason, there would be a supplement to the salary that would enable the teachers to obtain the "minimum" provided by prior laws and decrees.

The same legislative act encouraged the cities to create "school treasuries" intended to supply help to poor pupils and rewards to the diligent. It added, quite correctly, history and geography to "the obligatory subject matters" in primary education. And it also organized elementary education for girls.

The Ministerial comments of October 30, 1867 laid special stress on those "continuation classes" which were to crown the school years and that the author of the legislation particularly wanted to be "vocational.[746] The activity of the statesman was reaching its term: in attempting to seize female education he had decidedly alienated not only the Bishops – like Bishop Dupanloup[747] – and not only Catholics who had gone over to the opposition party, but all those Bonapartists who found it repugnant to adventure to far to "the Left". When the Emperor handed the fate of the nation and the dynasty over to Emile Ollivier, the latter did not recall the national educational establishment to leadership, with which, however, his Republican past, his

[746] "It is possible (according to the Circular) in one of the schools of cities of considerable population to have studies which promote commerce to predominate, such as calligraphy, mental calculation, bookkeeping and some notions of everyday legislation; in other classes, ornamental drawing or geometrical drawing, mechanical drawing, some knowledge of the Chemistry or Mechanics necessary to the local industries." Teachers trained in the Cluny institution would have been in a position to provide this sort of instruction. For young girls, the Minister advocated elementary agriculture and rural economy, sewing, drawing, the vocational arts, porcelain painting, wood carving embroidery, etc. (Text quoted in *Oeuvres choisies* by Bishop Dupanloup, III, pp. 231-234) It contains a complete program to which, unfortunately, French rulers paid no attention, but which remains singularly current

[747] In 1867 Bishop Dupanloup published his "*Letters concerning Mr. Duruy and the Education of Girls*". He received Pius IX's congratulations concerning the struggle the Episcopacy had sustained "in favor of the Religious education of young French girls." (*Oeuvres choisies*, Vol. III, pp. 25, 74, and 452-455).

Democratic inclinations and his religious agnosticism associated him. Perhaps he did not think that Duruy was versatile enough, nor diplomat enough.

After 1871 the National Assembly did not trouble to use this old educator, at the time doubly suspect for having been connected with the enemies of the Church and for having served the Empire. But Napoleon's former Minister retained until his death the esteem and respect of the most diverse sorts of people, the affection of teachers and of officials whom he directed and whom he surrounded with his advise and his assistance.

Without committing themselves to his politics, the Brothers of the Christian Schools would entertain no bad recollections of him. His relations with Brother Philippe were courteous, and, indeed, cordial. At the educational level they were in essential agreement. And whether the problem arose in elementary or "special" education, in tuition-free schooling, or in supplementary courses, Duruy's ideas squared with Lasallian concepts and his experiments were patterned on their working models. Thus it was that his name, so important in the history of public education in France also deserves to occupy an exalted place in the history of the Brothers' Institute. And this is what we have quite knowingly granted him, but without hiding any convictions about the man, without disguising the hostility he aroused, without minimizing his responsibilities among precursors in the struggle against private education and in the early symptoms of the de-Christianization of the nation.

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It might appear as though this long preface says everything. We do not think so. Devoted to events and decisions of a general sort and external to – although connected with – the annals of the Christian Brothers, it sketches in some lines, selects certain colors and tries to make it easier to evaluate the landscape. The Brothers, at this time completely bound up with their French origins, were – more thoroughly, perhaps, than ever – affected by the acts of the public authority, associated with its initiatives in educational matters and called upon to cooperate in national education. Whether it were a question of social environment, political conditions, educational law or religious climate, the Superior and his thousands of associates were involved. To explain their attitudes and their reactions a psychological analysis would not have been enough.

In the Paris of 1850-1870, in that shining, new capital that we have described, the Motherhouse might well have been included among the official buildings. The Prefectural administration, acting for the city as proprietor,[748] in 1856 erected the building running along Rue Oudinot. The first stone was blessed on July 2: and in the second course at the right of the door a bronze plaque commemorates that ceremony and that date, "on the Feast of the Visitation of the Most Blessed Virgin, in the reign of Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, Hausseman being Prefect of the Seine, the M.H.B. Philip, Superior-general, V.D. B.B. Abdon, Calixtus, Nicholas, Amos, Anthelme, Theoticus, Peloguin and Firmilian, Assistants."Ten years later there was a construction in the same style on the *Boulevard des Invalides*: floors without decoration, unattractive nd very different from the charming Montmorin House – for which they formed the austere jewel-box. The architecture was entirely under the influence of Haussmann, with a layout that served a double purpose: a bureaucracy as well as a Community had been quite naturally set up behind these walls with the impassive face. Of course, a magnificent chapel had been planned which would occupy the middle of the institution. The project was never completed. Until 1879 the Brothers were satisfied with a rather tiny oratory that had been blessed on August 10, 1851. And then, as their situation as occupants began to look precarious, they became comfortable with a structure of light materials hidden by

[748] And with the Institute's monetary cooperation.

sumptuous decorations.[749]

Inside the structure there were the family customs, characteristics, and mementos: corridors with sacred images, rooms adorned with portraits of the Founder and of the Superiors, tables and libraries for work in common, holy water fonts at each door, and simple furniture for the bedrooms. There was monastic peace in the garden which, in the middle of Paris, might have been regarded as spacious; there were shaded walks, arbors and green bowers. The Brothers came there to recreate, to say their Rosary, to meditate with a book of "spiritual reading" in their hand. A huge statue of the Mother of God invited their prayer and made it easier. In the main parlor there stood a statue of John Baptist de La Salle, in marble, by the sculptor Oliva, commissioned in 1862, which, later on, would be transported into the great courtyard.

At the main entrance there circulated Brothers whom an "Obedience" had summoned to the Motherhouse, the poor who knew they would receive a sympathetic welcome and friends to whom hospitality was never refused. Distinguished persons arrived: Ambrose Rendu, the witness to the beginnings of the Napoleonic national school system and to the restoration of the Lasallian Congregation, a venerable old man now, with a past opulent in work and commitment. In 1852 he had dedicated his *Treatise on Morals* to Brother Philippe who responded by saying that he was "all the more touched" by this tribute as he "recalled the tremendous service rendered", for half-a-century, to the Institute by Fontanes' secretary and a most influential member of the Higher Council of Public Education. He offered to place the "excellent book" in the hands of all pupils.[750]

The clergy also knew Rue Oudinot very well. A man in a purple soutane would climb down from a carriage – a Bishop whom Christian education had aroused and who was prepared to demand the teachers he needed from "the Regime". Frequently, the Superior's letters and circulars mentioned these urgent solicitations that came from "holy Bishops", "respected pastors", city governments and charitable people, those appeals from east and west, north and south, those "delegations" which set forth their grievances, their demands and who wished to obtain "preferential treatment".

It was important to avoid misunderstandings by specifying the *sine qua non* conditions for the opening of a school. A broadside dating from 1866[751] spells them out completely:

> 1. ARTICLE 1. Schools operated by the Brothers ... must be completely tuition-free, in conformity with their Rule, i.e., neither the pupils nor their parents must pay any tuition to anyone whomsoever...
> 2. ARTICLE 2. The personnel in each school must be composed of at least three Brothers, two of whom must teach class and the third manage temporal matters. When there are classes in town, besides those in the school, the Director shall have no teaching to do, in order that he might supervise all schools and replace a Brother in case of need. If there are eight classes or more, besides the Director, there shall be another substitute.
> 3. ARTICLE 3. The Superior, in accepting a new school, deals by way of private contract with the cities or the founders who pay the expenses for the residence, the classrooms, the furnishings, reparations, the indemnification demanded by the Brothers, depending upon time and circumstances, in order to provided for their needs.
> 4. ARTICLE 4. The Brothers will not be bound to admit pupils under six years of age nor to admit any more than sixty in the writing classes and no more than a hundred in the others. Brother Director is free to admit pupils who apply and dismiss those

749 *Essai sur la Maison-Mère,* pp. 200-202.

750 Letter to Ambrose Rendu, December 10, 1852. Text communicated by Brother Adrian Charles.

751 Appended to a volume of circulars for that year.

whose behavior merits that they be expelled. However, he never refuses pupils sent away by the city authorities or by the founders. Pupils, once admitted, may follow the courses for as long as parents think suitable.

5. ARTICLE 5. The Brothers will take the children to assist at Holy Mass every school day, unless too much cold, rain or frost, etc. prevents it. On Sundays and Feasts they will assist at the Parish Mass and Vespers with the children, if they are assigned a suitable place in church; on the same days they will teach catechism for an hour-and-a-half; all of this according to the custom of their Institute.

6. ARTICLE 6. In teaching they will follow the simultaneous method developed in the Management of the Christian Schools. This teaching includes, apart from religious instruction, which is its foundation, reading, writing, French grammar and Arithmetic, introductory history, geography and mechanical drawing.

7. ARTICLE 7. The Brothers must be completely free to observe their Rule, both as to what concerns their internal government and to what concerns the direction of their classes; and the whole, in order that they might achieve the uniformity which is one of the principal supports of their Institute and attain the end that their Founder proposed for them.

Article 8 reserves to the Superior-general the right to change a Brother's residence: it grants to cities and benefactors the possibility of themselves asking for a change, if they agree to accept the expenses of it. And Article 9 anticipates the circumstance of a school being closed, determined by a financial backer: the Institute must be informed six months in advance; and an indemnity equal to a semester's salary for each Brother must be paid at the time of departure to defray the costs of the move and the travel.

This text, intended to be handed out to everyone who promoted a school – whether metropolitan, colonial or foreign – quite clearly bears the mark of Brother Philippe. This disciple of De La Salle loved clarity and had a keen legal sense: it was a legacy of the man of the 17th century, the son of magistrates in Rheims, to most of the men who directed his work. The administrator must be as vigilant as the spiritual leader. He refused to allow the Brothers to be dealt with as salaried help, entirely at someone's beck and call, suited for any purpose according to the caprice of their employers, and subject to dismissal *ad nutum*. The Congregation had not forgotten the obstacles it had met with along its route: the constant quibbling about tuition-free education, the disruption of the common life, all the way down to the fateful dispersion of the Brothers that had been ordered in some countries: – the over-crowded classrooms, the crushing work, the inadequate and unhealthy housing, the starvation wages, the insistence upon retaining undesirable pupils; or, on the other hand, the prohibitions against teaching certain categories of children, the expulsion of pupils after the age of First Communion in order to promote some lay organization or to provide industrialists with cheap labor; the prejudices against studies pursued beyond the rudiments; the criticisms regarding religious practices; the refusal to grant the Brothers suitable places in parish churches and the intrusions into their catechism lessons; and the age-old struggles involving the simultaneous method. The nine articles on the sheet of paper in 1866 summarized two hundred years of experience; and they attempted vigorously to guard against capriciousness, encroachment and neglect. They had the same foundation as the Holy Founder's replies to Fathers Baudrand and La Chétardye, to the Bishops and the "schoolmasters" and to the judges in the days of Louis XIV; as the wise and solid arguments advanced by Brother Claude against Dominique La Rochfoucauld and by Brother Gerbaud against M. Lainé.[752]

The Institute could neither live nor act unless its unity, its Rule and its methods were respected. It could not always be understood by goodwill that was the least suspect. Sometimes

[752] See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 197-198, 208-213, 219-228; Vol. II, pp. 327-332; Vol. IV, Part II, chap. ii.

a spirit of domination worms its way into the best of intentions; a meanness and a miserliness which try to disguise themselves with reasonable motives diminishes the charitable gesture. Politics, too, interferes to impose its directives on education; and Brother Philippe was on some occasions constrained to yield to it.

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In spite of the thorns, the dryness, the sowers of tares and those who trampled down the harvest, the good wheat sprang up and spread. With very few exceptions, the city governments of the Second Empire showed no hostility to the Christian Brothers. But they showed only an indifferent haste to call upon them when they knew of their successes only by hear-say. Husbanding their finances, they hesitated at the expenses involved in opening a Religious school; they waited for legacies, gifts, and subscriptions. They wished only to complete what resulted from private generosity.

On the other hand, founders felt quite comfortable with the idea of profiting from the advantages and the security that Communal budgets guaranteed a school. They graciously yielded the property and the income to the cities, which was their contribution and that of their principals; frequently, there was no other stipulation except the designation of the Brothers as the public schoolteachers. It still sometimes happened that this wish was expressed in a language that was too vague and that the agreement was open to evasions. At a time of "secularization" such a legal shortcoming along with interpretations that were more skillful than honest would facilitate "restraint of princes" and the transfer of property, furnishings, and deeds to the profit of the new teachers.[753]

Besides, the government and the Privy Council had declared for a second time the absolute incompetence of Bishops' offices or charities to open schools and, as a consequence, to receive gifts to that end. An opinion of an upper level administrative jurisdiction, dated June 10, 1863, had striven to reserve for the Communes as educational appropriations the income from gifts granted to dioceses or to parishes. In that case the City Councils were empowered to intervene: they would direct the school, determine its organization, and manage the properties that came from the donor. The "Corporation" that the donor had entrusted with his confidence was reduced to playing the role of an executor of a will. In this way, a Catholic whose intention was to endow his fellow-Catholics with a private school, in the end, had procured a public school that was subject to the vicissitudes of the elective system.[754]

To tell the truth, his intentions, at the outset, would not have failed to be respected. After 1860, and especially during Victor Duruy's Ministry, Rectors of the Academy and Prefects might very well have manifested "a natural fondness" for "secular" schools. They capitulated, however, to the influences which were exerted in favor of Religious Orders. If there was a question of a new school, it would have been necessary to select the Religious whom the benefactor had named in his will or in his contract with the city involved. If a city government, encouraged by subsidies or at the request of its citizens wished to replace a schoolteacher with a Brother, the process was more difficult. The officials in the Department and in the Ministry of Public Education would seek pretexts to resist or defer. The normal course was to require a delay until the incumbent retired. For as long as possible the status quo was protracted. To be released from it, the Communes that were definitely disposed to change school personnel would offer the discharged teacher monetary compensation or another administrative position. By means of these sometimes delicate negotiations and with assistance from these different regulations, the Institute succeeded in making uninterrupted progress. In some of its

753 Remarks contain the monograph of the District of Rodez. *Archives of the Brothers of that District.*

754 Des Cilleuls, pp. 446-447.

elementary schools, and while remaining responsible for public operations, the Institute found a position that was not in direct dependence upon the system of national schools. Thus, in Paris, on Rue Enfer, in Rheims, Rouen and Nice it taught children who were given shelter in almshouses under the control, here, of Public Welfare, or, there, of the competent committees. In Paris, with the consent of the Prefecture of Police, it continued to be involved with young prisoners at the Roquette. In Versailles, the Brothers reserved their educational concerns for prisoners, at the behest of Department of the Seine-and-Oise. In Havre and in Marseille, the Institute operated special classes for the sons of customs officers: the Minister of Finances maintained them in Normandy, and the Customs Officers' administration did the same thing in Provence. By official decisions future sailors were also Brothers' pupils in several cities along the coasts: – "The Port School" in the arsenal buildings at Rochefort, "The Ship's Boy School" in Marseille and the "Wards of the Navy" in Brest. These schools were subsidized by the State budget or by that of one of the Chambers of Commerce. Finally, for deaf-mutes there were the foundations that the Ministry of the Interior, the Departments and the Cities handed over the care of the Religious Orders and subsidized: – at Saint-Etienne, Besancon and at Corinth in Savoy. The Sardinian government had been involved with the successful experiment begun in this latter locality in 1841; after annexation,[755] the French government maintained the operation.

The Parisian schools continued to flourish, and the St. Sulpice School had become one of the most important. Coming into this parish, Brother Jean l'Aumônier had realized how little the physical set-up corresponded to the needs of a very dense, very Catholic population; he wanted a model institution in which the courses were organized rationally and where series of courses might be developed with greater scope. He had to wait for twenty-six years. His pastor, Father Hamon, finally decided on a line of action: unsettled by the opening of a Protestant school, in 1863 he bought a huge piece of land on Rue Assas; and he launched a subscription that took in five-hundred-thousand francs. A splendid and spacious structure was built designed for the diffusion of religious education, for the apostolate among the common people and the lower middle class of the neighborhood and for useful social activities right up to our own times.[756] Some humble and marvelous acts of charity were associated with some of the foundations.

There is an example in the District of Normandy. Julie Diftot, a simple cheese merchant in Vernon wondered what gesture would procure the glory of God and the good of her neighbor; and she got the idea of preparing the ground for opening a Christian school. Penny by penny, she saved for years, denying herself the least superfluous expenditure and depriving herself even of necessities. About 1857 she fell gravely ill and called to her bedside her cousin, Josephine Delacour, a schoolteacher in Andelys, to whom she gave 36,000 francs, which represented the efforts of a lifetime. It was up to the proxy to act according to the directions of the dying woman. The pastor/dean of Vernon, Father Moulin, was informed; and the Mayor, the Duke Albufera, accepted the money. Both men hastened to outfit classrooms. The Brothers assumed charge on October 1, 1859, too late, unfortunately, for the humble benefactress to witness here below the fulfillment of her dream.[757]

The Eure, the Lower Seine, and the Straights at that time vied with one another in

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[755] National Archives, F17 12,467. On Rue Enfer, in the Almshouse for Foundlings, two Brothers who belonged to the Saint-Etienne du Mont Community taught the elementary classes; their only official relations were with the Public Welfare Administration.

[756] *Choix de notices*, II, pp. 43-44.

[757] Herouville Archives. *Historique de Normandie.*

friendliness toward the Institute, which had come to Bernay as early as 1852, opened St. Mary's School in Havre in 1854 and then spread to Louviers, Saint-Valery-en-Caux, Neufchatel-en-Bray, Pont-de-l'Arche, Saint-Sauver-le-Vicomte, Villers-Bocage, Sotteville, Andelys, and Barentin.

In 1859 the schools in Rouen employed forty-two Brothers and taught 3,417 pupils. They were fully active in the parishes of St. Maclou, St. Paul, St. Vivian, St. Hilary, St. Madeleine, St. Gervais, St. Owen, St. Nicaise, St. Patrick, and St. Vincent. The Brothers also operated a middle school, apprentice classes, classes for soldiers, and, on Sundays, organized young men and youths for religious services and recreation in a sort of "young peoples' club". Brother Cicilian continued to direct the normal school with his ten assistants. The residence on Rue St. Lo had become too small to house both the professors of future teachers and those who taught very young pupils. It had become urgent to set up two Communities. Brother Gilles, the Director, got the Mayor of Rouen involved in his projects. And, in order to facilitate the leasing of a building on Rue Grand Maulevrier, the City Council increased the annual subsidy granted to private schools. Two years later there was another relocation, this time because of the eventual expansion of the secondary school: the Brothers, whose financial backers had been expropriated, moved into Rue Beauvoisine. The city indemnified them, assisted with the necessary remodelling and assumed the cost of the difference between the former residence and the one for which they would be paying from now on. But the city's concerns did not stop there: there were supplementary subsidies to be used for the payment of taxes, and for the purchase of books and supplies for poor children. In 1865 a special grant was voted in favor of Religious who taught apprentices and their confreres in the middle schools. Finally, in December, 1867 the entire subsidy was raised to 30,000 francs. After so many vicissitudes over 160 years between the local authorities and the disciples of the Founder of St. Yon, harmony had been finally obtained.[758]It marked the highpoint of the Institute in Rouen.

In Nantes, the Community at the Rosmadec Mansion enjoyed the best relations with prominent people and with the clergy. Father François Richard, Vicar-general – the future Archbishop of Paris – looked upon the Brothers with a particular affection and cooperated with "the administrative committee for Christian schools";[759] the evidence of high esteem given by such an edifying priest and the cooperation he brought to the Brothers' activities did credit to the brave group in Nantes and proved that it, too, walked in the paths of holiness.

Moving toward the eastern frontiers, we observe that the position of the Brothers' school in Rethel has been thoroughly consolidated; from the "Priory", which it had occupied after the restoration of 1805, it was transferred in 1855 to a building of the Hospital following a trade negotiated by the Archbishop's office in Rheims. This exchange permitted the creation of a sixth class. Seven years later there was another addition through the opening of a small residence school. The group of Brothers in Rethel had not forgotten that it held the rank of the most venerable antiquity in the Institute. Faithful to the spirit of Adrien Nyel and John Baptist de La Salle and anxious to demonstrate to the population its nearly two-hundred year old dedication, in 1865 it introduced a course in drawing and classes in adult education. Two splendid citizens, M. Gollart and M. Peltier, established prizes in favor of workers who assiduously followed the Brothers' courses. The Director, Brother Berardus, had the air of an enterprising and competent man; the expenditures he incurred successfully transformed the building; and great prosperity was the result of his zeal. And the achievements of a "Brass band" was no negligible part of the fame of his pupils in the Ardennes region.[760]

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[758] *Herouville Archives*. Copies of municipal documents. Account of the residence school in Rouen, 1913.

[759] Letter of November 7, 1866, the original of which we have examined.

[760] Notes disclosed by M. Lefrancq of Rethel.

In Lorraine the schools in Sarreguemines, Saint Avold, Sarralbe, Boulay, and Bitche were added successively to the institutions in Metz. These were so many purchase points from which to move ahead, fully confident, in the diocese of Bishop Dupont des Loges; so many steps which would convey young Lorrainians toward the novitiate or make ready their admission to the residence school of Beauregard which had opened in 1854.[761]

Savoy and Nice, having become French, did not endure any awkward surprises. Indeed, the teaching personnel in their Christian Brothers' schools noticed hardly any political changes. In Chambery, in Thonon, and in La Motte-Servolex the Brothers had already been, whether by nationality or by culture, French. A man like François Fillion – Brother Louis who, in 1860 was a teacher in La Motte – was a native of Chablais in Savoy but did not for a moment think of looking longingly beyond the mountains. His father had served in the armies of the First Empire; while he himself had cultivated the great French authors and taught French grammar with the precision and passion of his compatriot Vaugelas. The morning that this son of ancient mountain stock awakened as Napoleon III's subject, his heart had ceased to be divided. And when, with enthusiasm, he pronounced the word "Country" no one could have had any illusions as to the meaning and the range it had for him.

In Nice, the Director of the Community was a native of Languedoc. Born on January 30, 1821 in the diocese of Montpellier, Barthélemy Avineus was admitted as early as 1834 to the novitiate in Avignon, with the name of Brother Salutary. He became a brilliant teacher, first, in Beziers and then in Turin. Starting in 1853 and for twenty-two years he directed the schools in Nice. His moral stature and his agile mind won him the esteem of the clergy, of the Sardinian authorities and, after annexation, of the French authorities. About twenty Brothers – in the beginning Piedmontese and Savoyard – worked under his charge. But he had an invaluable lieutenant in the person of the "saintly Brother Alexion", Jean-François Perroud who was possessed of a pleasant, obliging and conciliatory nature. The Brothers occupied the former Jesuit residence on Rue Condamine. Splendid classrooms had been built with the 100,000 francs that a Baron Rothschild had placed at the disposal of the city. Pupils and teachers achieved many successes: praise and academic rewards were not lacking to Brother Salutary who gave evidence of an informed literary taste as well as a talent for poetry.[762]

It was to him that the Principality of Monaco owed the first of its Christian Brothers' schools. People had been complaining about the turbulence and the indolence of the children. The youngsters in Monaco loved to play truant in the sunshine, alongside the blue waters that intimated fishing expeditions or which summoned to "blissful ease". They went back to school inattentive, unruly, peevish and rebellious. What would become of these youngsters? Would they remain, like their rocky crags, half-wild for years to come? The Director of Nice promised himself to help his neighbors out; and he obtained Prince Charles III's consent and sent three Brothers. A group of small boys welcomed them with a flurry of rocks. The new teachers were undismayed. There were Institute legends which reminded them of similar adventures followed by triumphant sequels. In the *Conduct of Schools*, in the *Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher* they read how a blend of strictness, calm, gentleness, of clear language and strategic silence, the spirit of justice and tireless dedication succeeds in checking disorder and conquering hearts. They held out, persuaded their pupils, and their classes began on October 14, 1868. The initiator was Brother Theonas, who was Brother Salutary's representative; and, until 1880, he taught at the school, saw it grow and guided it toward a quite enviable future with

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761 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for April, 1939, pp. 105-107.

762 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for July 1935, pp. 206-211.

the support of sovereigns attentive to the needs of their tiny State, involved in the life of their subjects and quite tolerant regarding Religious teachers. The Princes of Monaco made it an obligation, within their domain, to guarantee to the Institute the necessary finances and the soundest material and moral conditions.[763]

We are not leaving the Mediterranean but, off the continent, we return to French soil as we reach Corsica. Earlier accounts have pointed out the work of Cardinal Fesch on his beloved island, and the work, the worry and the disappointments met with there by the Archbishop of Lyon's proxies, Brothers Frumence and Gerbaud.[764] Already functioning in Ajaccio, Bonifacio, Isolaccio and Sartene, the Brothers came or returned to some other places during the Second Empire, especially to Bastia, whose population provided them with a good reception in 1859. A public subscription permitted the purchase of a piece of land and the construction of a marvelously situated building: from the windows and the gardens, the view extended over the city and out to sea; and on the distant horizon was outlined the Italian mountains. This feast for the eyes would no doubt not have been enough for the occupants; and, following the teachings of their Founder, it would not have been right for them to have indulged in it. The direction of their lives was different: they had dedicated themselves to the service of the islanders. Bastia's city government, the owner of their residence, had officially employed them. At Vico their confreres devoted themselves, out of obedience, to Bishop Casanelli d'Istria of Ajaccio, who had sought them for this Commune, which was his birthplace. The Corsicans' affection for the teachers asserted itself with regard to the Brothers who became instantly popular. And family piety, at Bonifacio for example, endowed apostolic zeal with satisfaction. Nevertheless, "The Beautiful Island" frequently turned out, for soul and body, to be an "Island of Suffering": it was said of the Brother's residence in Isolaccio that it "recalled the stable in Bethlehem."Elsewhere, clan rivalries and the bitterness of electoral campaigns put the Brothers in an embarrassing posture, since they had decided not to take part.[765]

If, after this voyage to the far corners of France we come back to the region where the Institute for a very long time had played an important role, Lyons turns up as the one more and more open to educational activity, and more and more attractive to people who contemplate spiritual conquests. The city, which now included Vaise, Guillotiere and Croix-Rousse number 400,000 inhabitants: it's population had doubled since the beginning of the century. There were heard the sounds of 70,000 "trades" instead of the 27,000 of 1827. It was a huge workers' hive and, at the same time, a center of religious initiative and social foundations. Private charity and public assistance, mutual aid and every form of teaching blossomed out widely there. More than ever it was a place where "the movement of hearts seconded the work of the hands". In every neighborhood the Brothers had contributed to this civic peace which had been reestablished after 1848, to this "human solidarity which was clamped upon the class quarrels" and which, under the reign of Napoleon, had enabled the distinguished executive in Vaisse to build or restore municipal monuments, to lay out avenues and wharfs and to plan the Tête d'Or Park. The Church was respected, its preaching and charitable mission did not meet with any serious obstacles.[766] For the Institute which had been reconstituted under the aegis of Our Lady of Fourvière, Lyons remained, from its Marian hill to both banks of the Rhone, a fruitful field, and privileged domain.

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763 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1934, pp. 228-229 and for October, pp. 344-346.

764 For the beginnings of the Institute on the island, see the Indexes to Volumes III and IV of the present work.

765 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for October 1935, pp. 313-322.

766 Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 523.

The capital of Auvergne, in more modest circumstances, scarcely attracted any the less attention on the part of the Brothers. In 1851 Clermont had a Christian Brothers' school in each of its parishes – St. Peter, Notre Dame du Port, the Cathedral, St. Genes, Carmelite and St. Eutrope. A Community of Brothers, besides, dispensed primary education in the region of Montferrand. In all, there were 1,650 pupils in twenty schools. The vast District included new sites that extended into the Haute-Vienne, at Saint-Yrieix, Eymoutiers, Chateau-Ponsat, Dorat and in the Creuse, at Auzances and Souterraine. The Cantal had schools at Murat and at Maurs, and the Correze had a school at Curemonte. In the Puy-du- Dôme, the command post and very active general area, the Institute added to its longstanding configurations detachments of courageous troops in Saint-Saturnin, Romagnat, Pontgibaud, Volvic, Aulnat, Saint-Amand-Tallande, Cournon and Job.[767] With assistance of numerous vocations, there was just as rapid a growth in the District of Puy. In 1852 it was Pradelles, in 1854 Lapte, in 1863 Rosieres and Retournac, and in 1868 Saint-Front and Grazac, and Polignac in 1869.[768]

The entire Massif Central and the neighboring regions was the bed from which providential springs, gushing forth from a Christian soil, fed most of the other provinces. But this resevoir of Brothers retained within its own possession Religious in sufficient numbers to reinforce and quicken all the propelling instruments of the apostolate. Rodez derived much encouragement from Bishop Delalle. As his biographer, Father Alazard, wrote: People will never forget with what affectionate kindness he visited the Brothers, with what tender simplicity he mixed with the small children and exhorted them to piety and to work...Very often on winter evenings he would go out and lavish his advice on young adults...whom the next afternoon would recall to their desks in a classroom. His attentiveness was also noticed among soldiers who came to devote a few hours to study...[769]

Since the time – December 31, 1850 – that the headquarters of the diocese had become the capital of a new district, new schools grew in number in Aveyron, Lot and Tarn. In the three years between 1855 and 1858 the number of pupils rose from 4,683 to 8,169.[770] In Rodez itself in 1859 the Brothers counted 442 pupils, while the school population of the lay teachers fell by 110 pupils, 54 of whom had come from suburban villages. For a time the municipal Counsel thought about making the Commune financially responsible for only the Institute's schools. But it thought better of it. However, ten years later there were only 54 boys frequenting the school that ran competition with the Brothers'.[771]

The latter were, at this time, invited to Aubin, Decazeville, Marcillac, Saint-Chely d'Aubrac, Villeneuve, and La Besse-Vors. The managers of the coal fields were intent upon supplying a religious education to the sons of their employees. In 1854 they asked Brother Philippe for three teachers. The miners' relief fund in Decazeville assumed the expenses of the placement, the rental of the building, the teachers' salaries and the cost of textbooks. Soon, the city government adopted the Brothers' school.[772]

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[767] Archives of the District of Clermont-Ferrand.

[768] *Historique du Puy*.

[769] District Archives. Brother Ildefonse Gabriel's notes. It seems, however, that Bishop Delalle, wishing to found a congregation of teachers for rural areas, attempted to separate from the Institute Brother Director Fortunat whose cooperation seemed to him necessary for the success of his project. To that end he was supposed to have proposed directing the Brother to the priesthood. "Your Excellency", replied the Brother, "you see this white rabat; I hope to die wearing it".

[770] Monograph of the District of Rodez.

[771] *Historique de District*.

[772] District Archives; Decazeville file.

Nearly everywhere the excellence of this education was confirmed. The Mayor of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, M. Lortal who had attempted – unfortunately, without success – to move a Community that had been housed in defiance of sanitation, stated in his presentation of 1866: "Our primary schools, from the point of view of studies, are fully flourishing. The results that our pupils have obtained, whether in Departmental competition or in Cantonal competition, bear witness that the school is entrusted to a competent Director, seconded by intelligent and zealous associates. Such a satisfying situation is surprising when one considers the (physical) conditions in which the pupils and their teachers work."[773]

M. Lortal's sympathetic speech did not succeed in moving the majority of his Counsel. According to the law, it was necessary to ask for a vote of city's "most heavily taxed" citizens: these wealthy people – and the Counsellors who sustained their cause – would have preferred to have left the Brothers' rooms without ventilation and allow the children to follow their lessons over a stable rather than to see a few pennies added to the taxes.

In the Department of Lot, which had already been dominated by a sort of anticlericalism, the Brothers encountered not the hardness of miserly hearts but partisan prejudice. While, in Cahors they obtained, rather than a small, insanitary building, one that was capable of holding 400 pupils, they were welcomed coldly by the Souillac population, which prepared to disapprove of the initiative of their Mayor, M. Doussot, and the contract drawn up between himself and the Superior-general. It was the distinction of Brother Director Laudon to have dispelled this hostility: in 1861 when a fire destroyed two classrooms, a distinguished citizen of the town, M. Malvy,[774] who, for several months, provided the Brothers' school with hospitality in his own house. But resistance revived: and, in 1868 the Brothers stopped being Communal teachers; only secularization functioned in this district under the Empire.

In Figeac, a priest endowed with a good mind and exceptional administrative qualities, Father Massabie, pastor of Holy Redeemer, sought the cooperation of the Motherhouse for the education of his young parishioners. The city was in a position to receive a Gach legacy of 15,000 francs on condition of supporting a Brothers' school: it refused. The heiress of the benefactor concluded a direct agreement with the clergy. Thus, in 1862 M. Gach's estate became the seed-bed for a private school, which very rapidly included three classes and would make possible the opening of a residence school, one of the best in the region, under the able guidance of Brother Ingene and his Sub-Director, Brother Ildelphorian, with his clear and stirring speech, his "flexible imperatives".[775]

Gramat, as well, profited from the favorable arrangements of the Law of March 15, 1850 by way of the generosity of one of its citizens, M. Mercié who had made his fortune in business in Paris.[776] In Puy-l'Eveque the beginning was difficult: perhaps because the Commune lacked the capital, the Imperial government had refused to authorize it to make use of a legacy of 10,000 francs signed over by a Mme.Guiscard with the idea of inviting the Brothers to head a public school. Negotiations were then entered into by the Mayor, the pastor and the heir of the testator. The functioning teacher yielded his position, and,indeed, as soon as he was appointed clerk to the Justice of the Peace, facilitated the arrival of his successors. Steps undertaken with the Ministry of Public Education succeeded. And on December 1, 1866, Brother Idilonian, appointed by the Prefect of Lot, opened the school: only 39 pupils showed up. The people in

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[773] Ibid., Villefranche file.

[774] Father of J. L. Malvy, who was Minister of the Interior in 1914.

[775] District Archives, *Historique du Cahors and Souillac file.*

[776] *Historique de Figeac and necrological notice of B.* Alibert (Brother Ildephorian). *Historique de Gramat*.

Puy-l'Eveque took their time to observe the Brothers at work. They paid tribute to an obvious success, since in the second year of the school's existence there were 80 pupils.[777] The third administrative division of the district, Tarn, between 1852 and 1870, opened schools in the Faubourg of Villegoudou, Castres, Brassac, Lautrec, Labastide-Rouayroux, Angles, and Semalens. To the usual programs of study there was added in the industrial quarter of Villegoudou until 1867 a special course for very young boys who, in spite of their age, were compelled to toil in the factories. On the other bank of the Agout, in the city properly so-called, the municipality of Castres was not reluctant to face a huge debt in order to rebuild the 18th century structure which recalled the lavish times of Bishop Barral.[778]

In April 1852 the lay teacher in Lisle-sur-Tarn was dismissed: the City Council decided to convert a private institution, over which Brother Libier had just assumed the direction, to a public school.[779] Three years later, Lautrec, too, gave its preference to the Brothers who had been teaching in a private school at the request of the pastor; by entrusting their sons to the Brothers, families had conducted a real plebiscite that was rather promptly ratified by the civil authorities.[780] In the region of La Bastide, Brother Philippe's subordinates, starting in 1863, would continue the Marianists' apostolate.

Six Semalens burghers, in spite of their Mayor and the Communal Assembly, took it upon themselves to deal with the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot . On July 7, 1867, they pledged themselves "together and for five years" to pay three Brothers and lodge them in a building of which they would be the occupants. The Superior-general accepted this arrangement. A poster, signed by the promoters, announced that "all children, rich and poor, would be admitted tuition-free". Apart from the usual primary education program, "the dear Brothers would teach drawing, surveying, music, plain-chant, bookkeeping or the keeping of commercial books and other sciences" required in careers open to young people in the locality. Indeed, a serge and a silk-thread industry had brought remarkable changes to Semalens which, in the past, had been only a small village. Its inhabitants had a rather poor opinion of the instruction given by its lone official teacher. And many people were, therefore, quick to give the newcomers their cooperation. The Community was able to enjoy the use of a very large house and its beautiful gardens. Immediately along side, Casimir Seguier, the father-in-law of the landowner, supplied land for classrooms, assumed responsibility for building at his own cost and himself supervised the builders scrupulously.[781]

This journey through Upper Languedoc leads once again to Toulouse and, along the Pyrenees, we moved toward Gascony and Bearn. But further pauses would seem tedious. It's enough, we believe, if we salute from distance the great city in which the Brothers continued to increase their numbers and their schools and from whence departed with tools and baggage groups of Brothers assigned to Upper Garonne, Ariege and Gers.

On the Spanish frontier the former Director of the residence school in Toulouse, Brother Irlide, kept watch. This Southerner with bold ideas, with a taut,a vigorous mind and an austere look, had already turned his eyes toward the Catholic kingdom beyond the Bidassoa; there,

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777 *Historique de Puy-l'Eveque.*

778 Archives of the District of Rodez; *historique de Castres*, and Architect Barthe's explanatory report, approved by the Prefect of Tarn, October 6, 1862.

779 Ibid., Lisle-sur-Tarn file.

780 Ibid., historique de Lautrec.

781 *Historique du Semalens*.

once he had become Superior-general, he would introduce his Institute to accomplish a splendid and fruitful work and, when persecution would arise, it would become an heroic work. Meanwhile, as both Visitor and Director in Bayonne between 1852 and 1873, he organized his region marvelously. During the first years 400 children attended school in four classes. The Principal obtained maximum effort, total efficiency from his associates. Nothing stopped him, neither the double duty he had personally assumed, nor the shortage of money, nor sickness (in the days when a typhoid epidemic laid low a majority of the teachers and struck down 74 pupils as well as the Director himself) nor some local opposition against such a courageous enterprize, against an authority which asserted itself unambiguously. Moreover, during the Empire, he enjoyed the friendship of the public powers. The Mayor of Bayonne, who was also the Deputy from the Lower Pyrenees, M.Labat, extended to him a dedicated cooperation. To the Communal schools which were expanding broadly were added apprentice and adult classes and presently a residence school. The Brothers were able to build a chapel. In March 1870 there was the solemn opening of the St. Andrew school buildings; the interim Mayor, Furtado, gave an address in which, in broad strokes, he told the story of the Congregation founded by St. John Baptist de La Salle. And from the lips of this Jew there emerged a splendid encomium of teaching Religious.[782]

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We have no intention of exploring the Bordelais, (in any case developed by Brother Alphonse) Poitou and the Vendée, where the Institute yielded ground to the Brothers of St. Gabriel, the Central Provinces, less abundant, besides, than the South in Christian schools, nor even Picardy, Artois, Flanders or Cambrai, although this Western region made up an impressive block of Communities:[783]too much repetition would prove tiresome to the reader. And of those genuine strongholds of the Institute at that time that were cities like Lille (which, on the initiative of its Mayor, Richebé, turned over its schools to the Brothers in 1852), like Roubaix and Tourcoing, we shall have to speak again in another volume: their power, established by a group of militant Brothers whose self-sacrifice was equal to their courage – Brothers Adrian, Messian, and Eleutherius were at the forefront – would be manifested during the struggles that followed upon the Third Republic.[784] At that time the school in Lille, called "La Monnaie", would become the citadel for a magnificent defense at the same time that it would become the point of departure for a new and broader conquest among the masses. At the end of the Second Empire the Brothers were already numbering their pupils in the thousands – the sons of the numerous and Catholic families of the Flemish low country.

Out of 89 French Departments at this time, only four – the Lower Rhine, the Vosges, the Yonne and the Cotes-du-Nord – were unfamiliar, or were no longer familiar with the daily deployment of "White rabats". The metropolitan region included than 700 Communities of the Institute.[785] The total number of educational institutions, it is important to note, was greater

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[782] *Bulletin des Ecoles chétiennes*, for January 1910, pp. 33-40.

[783] The list of foundations between 1851 and 1872 in the former District of St. Omer (Departments of Pas-de-Calais, Nord and the Somme) in alphabetical order is as follows: Albert, Aniche, Avesnes, Bouchain, Bourbourg, Bray-sur-Somme, Cassel, Etaples, Epehy, Flixecourt, Guines, Ham, Haplincourt, Hazebrouck, Landrecies, Le Quesnel, Marcq-en-Baroeul, Marquette, Neuville Saint-Remy, Nieppe, Raismes, Saint-Druon, Saint-Valery, Saint-Venant, Sebourg, Vignacourt, and Wattrelos. In 1867 the District of Cambrai was established by breaking up the District of St. Omer.

[784] The Communal schools in Lille were prematurely secularized as early as June 1868.

[785] See Ravelet, *Saint Jean-Baptiste de La Salle,* 1933 edition, the chart on page 457. The overall figure that he supplies comes to 734 Communities (of which eight were in Alsace-Lorraine). It is important to indicate those

than the number of Communities, since in many heavily populated cities teams of teachers each morning emerged from conventual residences in order to go and teach in their respective "neighborhoods".

As early as the beginning of the Imperial period the Brothers operated about 800 primary schools, two-thirds of which were Communal (i.e., public schools); the other third was composed of primary schools within private education.[786]

This large proportion of public schools left the Brothers under the thumb of the academic bureaucracy and obliged them to submit to Ministerial injunctions. That is why the very delicate and complex question of tuition-free education continued to preoccupy and (it must be said) afflict Brother Philippe.

The problem, now, is to consider "the question of gratuity" as a whole. Reacting against the tendencies of the Second Republic, against the "Liberalism" (however timid in this respect) of the Falloux Law, the Decree of December 31, 1853 stipulated that Prefects shall determine, upon a proposal of the Cantonal delegates and with the advice of the Inspector of primary education, the maximum number of children who would be admitted to schools without payment. The list of these pupils, "drawn up by the mayor and ministers of different Religious denominations and approved by the City Council", should never go beyond the number thus fixed. It was necessary to refuse admission to the classroom to the poor – or assumed poor – who did not present a "ticket" issued by the local authority.

Such measures – for which Fortoul was responsible – ran the risk of removing the advantages of the most rudimentary education from many of the sons of the common people. They spread alarm among educators and among all generous souls. They trespassed upon the Rule of the Brothers. However, no matter how closely knit the mesh of the net, the Superior-general hoped that pupils would succeed in slipping through. On March 10, 1854 he wrote to the Directors who depended upon city governments: "It is possible that because of the Decree, the Mayor will ask you to submit an admissions (list) of pupils...You would do well to protest that this decision will probably drive away a large number of children; that parents will experience a great deal of loathing at having to take steps that appear to them to be unpleasant or which will oblige them to interrupt their work. As a consequence, you should plead with the Mayor to be good enough to allow you to admit the pupils provisionally...However, if you should have reason to presume that such steps are tending to impose tuition, it may be necessary to beseech (the magistrate) urgently to extend to you the application of the third paragraph of article 36 of the Law of March 15, 1850: 'Every Commune has the option of supporting one or more schools entirely tuition-free, on condition of subsidizing them with its own income.' You will point out that this article has not been rescinded by the Decree of December 31; hence it follows that each Commune may always take advantage of it, in order to maintain our schools on the footing they now occupy".

To keep the problem "in Limbo" for as long as one failed to get immediate agreement on a solution in conformity with Institute principles, such seems to have been the Superior's very wise strategy. The 20th Chapter had just adopted it on the occasion of its deliberations during the preceding March. A Circular, dated the 15th of that month, commented on the letter of the 10th as follows: "You know, my very dear Brothers, the extent to which the members of our Society have been known, at all times, for their submission to authority, for their conciliatory and pacific spirit; with what care they have, in difficult circumstances, taken every means to anticipate anything that might excite division or discontent. It is beautiful, it is edifying, to see all the subjects of a numerous teaching Congregation devoted heart and soul to the practices

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which had only a brief existence.

[786] Hutin, II, pg. 451.

which regulate their relations with their pupils."

But the Minister was not satisfied with fine words. On July 6, 1855 he blocked the transmission to the Privy Council of a proposed gift in favor of the school system in Elbeuf. The inclusion "of the absolutely tuition-free clause" in the contract had been the motive for this ill-will. In the very curt terms Fortoul told Brother Philippe that "the Decree of 1853 in all its components was obligatory", and that he must "agree to apply it in all public schools". It was "unfortunate" that people had to be reminded.[787]

Nevertheless, the status quo was protracted until the ultimatum of Rouland, who was Fortoul's successor. In 1856 the Motherhouse had not received the customary subsidy from the government. Brother Philippe took his worries about this neglect to the Headmaster of the national school system, who replied on January 28, 1857: "I know the needs of your Institute; I know that the expenses supported by the central establishment in Paris are the results of a vast organization; that to help you to assist your elderly and to train new members is encouragement and remuneration for the services rendered by your schools. But he pleaded the difficulty of balancing the primary education budget. "The cause of this financial embarrassment could be in part attributed to the unfortunate influence" of the Brothers' schools in the question of tuition-free education! Through "a false interpretation of the rules of his Order", the Superior "persists" in following the wrong path.

In order to avoid "disorders" Rouland, nevertheless, condescended to sign an order for 8,400 francs for the year 1856 before the end of the fiscal year. It was a final favor, not renewable unless the Brothers recognized the error of their ways. The official letter concluded: "I expect from you and from your associates the removal of the obstacles to which I have had to draw your serious attention. I hope that you will not place me in the difficult position of refusing you State aid."[788]

The threat became a reality in 1858. Seventeen years later Brother Assistant Firmilian reminded the Office of Public Education of this sanction imposed by the Empire.[789] It was not to the last. Because they failed to take account of the Fortoul Decree, the schools in Auxonne, Tarascon and Cluny were closed. Like Lainé in the time of "Lancastrian" controversy and the quarrel about the credentials, Napoleon III's high-level bureaucrats, in lock-step with their Restoration predecessor, were prepared to regard the Brothers as rebels. And this time there was nobody to suggest a compromise.

The lesser evil appeared to be to submit, in the hope of a change in legislation. For Brother Philippe, that would be an immense and bitter sacrifice.[790] The Twenty-Second Chapter which assembled September 4-22, 1861 defined the limits of the sacrifice in the following way: "The Brothers shall conform to the Ministerial circulars relative to school tuition" until they are able "to resume the customs from which they have been constrained to deviate...They shall supply a list of pupils to the competent authorities; but they shall abstain from any direct or personal intervention in the imposition or collection of a tax, it that is demanded of any of their pupils.

However, as we have already seen,[791] many city governments succeeded in preserving the 1850 system. Others, that had hoped to realize economies by means of family payments, more

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787 Motherhouse Archives, *Note sur la gratuité*, introduced into a volume of Circulars (1857-1858).

788 National Archives, F17 12,461.

789 Ibid., letter dated June 21, 1875.

790 Brother Firmilian's letter, cited.

791 Above, pg. 355.

or less rapidly acknowledged their disillusionment. In Clermont-Ferrand, for example, there was a regular decrease in the number of pupils who paid and the ridiculously low total of the sums received was always less than the anticipated receipts.[792] Nobody dared to take action against those who refused to pay and nobody wanted to exclude any of the poor. The propaganda in favor of universal tuition-free education, while not necessitating, at least bore fruit.

With Duruy, the severity of a Fortoul or of a Rouland were no longer a threat. The Decree of March 26, 1866 restored the matter to the policy in effect prior to 1854. This latitude enabled cities provided with funds, or especially generous, to eliminate tuition.[793] And the Law of April 10, 1867, by authorizing the Communes to collect special taxes from their taxpayers collectively or to ask the central government for special subsidies, definitely directed France along the lines of tuition-free education, without, however, dispensing the Brothers from making concessions to backward city governments.[794]

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In his relations with the State the Superior-general experienced other discomforts. It was no longer a question of putting a monetary value on the daily bread of education but of depriving the members of the Institute of a privilege which belonged to them in their capacity as teachers and of which their freedom as Religious stood in need.

The Law of 1850 was not innovating when, in its 79th article, it declared: "Teachers associated with the public schools, young people who are training for public primary education in schools intended for this purpose, members or novices of Religious associations dedicated to teaching and authorized by the law or recognized as institutions of public usefulness, students in higher normal schools, Deans, Tutors and Professors in colleges and high schools are dispensed from military service, if, prior to the period determined for the drawing of lots, they have contracted, in the presence of the Rector, a commitment to dedicate themselves for ten years to public teaching and if they fulfill this commitment."

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[792] In 1863-1864 there were 852 tuition-free pupils and 448 pay pupils; while anticipated receipts were 10,800 francs, and the sum actually collected was 6,426. In 1864-1865 there were 921 tuition-free pupils and 396 pay pupils; anticipated receipts were 10,800 francs, and the sum actually collected was 5,096 francs. In 1865-1866 there were 987 tuition-free pupils and 309 pay pupils; anticipated receipts were 10,800 francs and the sum actually collected was 3,584 francs. (*District Archives, History of the schools*).

[793] This is what happened at Clermont beginning on January 1, 1867.

[794] In order to facilitate the functioning of tuition-free education, and in order to reconcile the principle of it, indeed, its obligation, with the freedom of citizens, a Brother Rogatianos, the Director in Chalon-sur-Saône, as early as 1864 outlined the so-called system of "the good school." "If the city, instead of granting subsidies or providing salaries, set up "a good school" for every family, each father of a family would be able to choose his children's teacher." The Brother disclosed his idea to some journalists who agreed with it. A Bonapartist Deputy demurred: "But if such a project were realized, the schools of Religious Congregations would very rapidly have all the children!" After 1870 the "Good School" gave rise to heated discussions in the Lyons region. The promoters of a petition wrote: "We beseech the fathers of families to join with us to ask the civil authorities that henceforth all allocations voted by the State or by the Communes for primary education be granted to the family and not to a given school; that a certificate or Voucher be issued to each child expected to follow elementary classes and bring it to the school in which his father shall have entered him; and that the city cashier pay the teacher the sum indicated by the voucher." (*Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for October 1911, pp. 354-355). There is a similar proposal in an article by Denis Guibert, cited by Arsac in his Scrapbook concerning "The Brothers of the Christian Schools during the 1870-1871 war," pp. 22-23: "There is only a single way of removing (every appearance of injustice) from the implementation of tuition-free education and the obligation of elementary instruction: it consists in stating...that the father of a family is free to choose the school in which his son must receive this education and that the State will pay the legal and proportional quoto (corresponding to) the education of the child." It seems to us quite interesting to point out these suggestions which anticipate contemporary claims.

The First Empire had, not without some lapses, observed this rule; the Restoration and the July Monarchy had established it as an explicit law. And since 1815 no Brother of the Christian Schools who had persevered in his vocation was compelled to bear arms. There did, however, remain a problem: did Religious educators enjoy exemption even when their Superiors employed them in private institutions? The text of the law that had been voted spoke of a ten-year commitment in "public education": did this phrase exclude a priori teachers in private schools, residence schools, Scholasticates and Novitiates? In the fifteenth meeting of the 1849 Committee Montalembert objected to such an interpretation: "I am concerned to point out (he said) the unfortunate confusion that was introduced fifty years ago into France regarding what we mean by public education. Today the expression is applied exclusively to State schools. But we must reestablish the genuine sense of the word public. Consequently, I maintain that when there are a certain number of children assembled in the same building and taught in common, that is an institution of public education.[795]

In fact, the Christian Brothers, in this connection, had enjoyed a favorable presumption and precedents that were always useful to recall. Brother Philippe did not fail to argue accordingly in a letter dated December 30, 1850, addressed to M. Parieu: "In certain Academies it was believed that only those of our Brothers who were employed in Communal schools should be allowed to enter into 'the ten-year commitment' and that those who operated private schools could not take advantage of the exemption. I beseech you to be good enough to note that, since the Imperial Decree of March 17, 1808, all of our Brothers have, without distinction, been released from military service; the continuance of this privilege is necessary to the existence of our Institute.

Furthermore, allow me, Sir, to point out to you that the letter and the spirit of the law are completely within the meaning of my complaint...Article 79 reads as follows: 'members or novices of Religious associations dedicated to teaching and authorized...' <So much for the letter. As for the spirit, it cannot be doubted> that the legislators intended to prefer approved Congregations. It would be doing just the opposite, if only our Brothers in the Communal schools were exempt."[796]

But in the offices of the Ministry, opinion did not tend toward "liberalism" in the best sense. There people retained a certain nostalgia for the monopoly and there, too, people absolutely refused to put on the same footing the two forms of education – that of the State and that of the Church – between which Frenchmen might henceforth make a choice. Bureaucrats and legalists were attached to antique concepts. In spite of the Christian orator, public education belonged entirely to the government, i.e., to "the University". Apart from it, private institutions played only a subsidiary role. They must be tolerated and permitted to live, because this is the way politicians had decided the matter; but their teachers and their leaders must not, even with great gratitude to the nation, demand rights other than those, strictly measured and rigorously defined, which were written down in official documents.

The reply, submitted for M. Parieu's signature,[797] interposed a demurrer; it cited the language of article 79: "It is specific" (it added); it does not give rise to any discussion. The Brothers who operate private schools "cannot be exempt from service". No matter how Catholic or personally friendly to Religious Congregations we know the Minister in 1850 to have been, he did not believe it possible completely to satisfy the Superior-general. His legal training, his "totalitarian" presuppositions, remained consistent with the Decree of 1808. When

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795 Minutes, pg. 176, meeting for March 3, 1849.

796 Letter cited in the discussion of the Law of April 10, 1867, Duvergier, LXVII, pg. 92.

797 Duvergier, LXVII, pg. 93

Napoleon I waived enlisting Brother Frumence's and Brother Gerbaud's novices and young Brothers for his wars, he did so as a favor and in order to deflect the destruction of the tiny Society which he thought vital to the education of the common people. "Reasons of State" and not respect for a Religious Rule and still less consideration and reflection on the subject of an educational mission having its own importance, its spiritual independence and its measure of freedom.

Nevertheless, some progress was realized in France as the result of thirty years of parliamentary rule and of three years of a Republic devoid of sectarianism. The thoughts of the Committee that had drawn up the Falloux Law had not been lost on the successor and heir to the gentleman from Angers. In his letter of January 10, 1851, Parieu had pronounced a rigid principle. But its application would not be harsh: far from it. Under the Second Empire the Brothers would, on the whole, avoid army life – and, until 1866, without difficulty. One can reflect, tacitly if not aloud and in the fashion of Montalembert, how very little it mattered to dwell on the difference between Brothers paid by the Communes and Brothers who were the beneficiaries of private generosity; they all had emerged from the same novitiates, were subject to the same Superior and employed the same teaching methods; in the last analysis all were contributing to a work that was both Christian and French.

The "advent" of Victor Duruy was necessary to change this situation. Here, once again, under circumstances that were, in fact, more awkward than pregnant with catastrophe, we shall meet with the heir of revolutionaries who had destroyed teaching Orders even as they proclaimed them deserving at the hands of the nation: – the first born among modern Jacobins, among educators hostile to the Church, among those who, quite happily acknowledged their indebtedness to St. John Baptist de La Salle while they banished his disciples from the Republic after having heaped them with honors.

His Ministerial Circular dated February 4, 1866 seemed merely to have reverted to Parieu's principles. But, this time the national school establishment was not satisfied with a Platonic gesture. Deeds followed words, and to put up a defense, Brother Philippe had to employ tact and a skill that was, on the whole, entirely legitimate and fair.

Two years earlier Duruy had adoringly hailed the Brothers' accomplishments at Passy. But the decision he had just taken ran the risk of striking them down before anybody else. In order to be exempted from military service, a teacher had to be part of an institution of public education, that is, to "a Communal school or a Communal college or high school..." At the Minister's pleasure, private education was reduced to the category of a "trade", certainly respectable and protected by the law; but incapable of conferring official advantages, the highest esteem, upon the people who practiced it. Freedom was sliding toward "toleration"; and the Law of 1850 had lost something more of its vitality and of its original meaning.

From this point of view, we can grasp the historical importance of a change of direction which, taken it itself, was secondary. That is why we have dwelt upon it. In two meetings on June 22 and 23, 1866, the Senate was called upon to pass judgment following several petitions. The violently anti-clerical influence of Prince Napoleon and of the academician Saint-Beuve had been kept alive. And in spite of speeches by Cardinals Matthieu and Bonnechose, the Emperor endorsed the Minister's thesis.

Fortunately, the way in which the troops were called to the colors made it easier to soften the effects of this deceitful blow. The drawing of lots divided the conscripts into "good" and "bad" numbers. In a note dated 1867 Brother Philippe points to an a nearly regular relation in the proportion between the two groups as regards his young Brothers, who, each year, had about 125 "good numbers" compared to 360 who were subject to being "called up". These 125 would, henceforth, be assigned to private schools, since chance had spared them the toil and the dangers of military camp and such a long, painful and exacting period of years that very few even superior vocations could hold out against it. The exempt for family reasons or because of

poor health would also be employed in “private” education. The Communal schools were reserved for all the others for whom the “ten-year commitment" produced its effect.

But the sword of Damocles continued to be suspended over some heads. Brothers’ exemptions depended, in brief, on the good pleasure of the rulers. Should the Minister of Public Education promote or bring about the closing of a number of Communal schools operated by the Institute (several city governments had already shown their impatience with “secularization”) and there would be that many groups of Christian Brothers who would be deprived of a way fulfilling the promise required by the law. The growth of private schools and – especially at this time – large residence schools exposed an every increasing number of Religious to violating the conditions of article 79 as Duruy interpreted it. The Law of April 10, 1867, while diluting them, sanctioned the decisions of February 4, 1866.[798]

Then occurred Sadow, revealing Prussian strength in relation to French forces, and immediately new army legislation was drawn up. The “good numbers", still exempted from seven-year service among first line troops, were to constitute a “mobile national guard”, militarily trained in time of peace so as to become in time of war a reserve that would be immediately ready behind the veteran soldiers. In fact, illusion, prejudice and lethal ill-will would put Marshall Niel’s projects in abeyance. During debate in the legislature their consequences had to be faced. Those Bothers who drafted into the mobile guard appeared to be threatened with weeks or months in the barracks. In which case teacher would miss classes, schools would close and children would wander about at random. Brother Philippe added: novices, and teachers yielding to the temptations of an extremely confused environment would never return to educational posts.

The danger seemed all the greater to him in that the bills presented in the Chamber provided for a retroactive call-up of soldiers who had been discharged in 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1866. In a single stroke five-hundred Brothers would have to put on the uniform: all those teaching in private schools[799] no longer had any right to exemption. It became important to inform the legislators. On December 18, 1867, six days after the bill had been registered, the Superior-general sent them a report characterized by a vigorous dialectic and impeccable logic, which he concluded with a proposed amendment “in favor of teachers, both lay and Religious, who taught a class having at least forty pupils”.

The Archbishop of Paris supported this step. Prayers were called for. If the issue were successful, the “Regime” promised that on “the first Monday of each month, in all French Communities, a Mass would be celebrated for the souls in Purgatory”. The prayer was heard. Article 4 of February 1, 1868 stipulated that review boards would dispense from service in the mobile guard “young men...who had agreed, prior to the drawing, to a commitment to teach in elementary school for ten years and who would be associated, either as a teacher or as an assistant teacher, with a private school that had been in existence for at least two years and that had at least thirty pupils.

It was understood that this exemption would be applicable to teachers in a school “in a proportion of one to each fraction of the thirty pupils”.

Brother Philippe explained: :For the future, as in the past, young Brothers whose numbers

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[798] Article 17. – Private schools which take the place of public schools or which receive a subsidy from the Commune, the Department or the State, are, like public schools, subject to inspection and to the terms of Paragraph #4 of Article 36 of the Law of 1850. Article 18. – The commitment to dedicate oneself for ten years to Public Education provided for in Article 79 of the same law may be fulfilled as well by teachers as by their assistants in those schools mentioned in the previous article, which were designated for this purpose by the Minister of Public Education, after consultation with the Departmental Council. The ten-year commitment may be contracted, before the drawing, by assistant teachers in the schools (mentioned above).

[799] Not subject to inspection and not ranked with Communal schools in terms of the articles of the law of April 10, 1867, mentioned above.

would put them in active army call-up shall be exempted from service in virtue of the "ten-year commitment"; and all those whose numbers are not included in this call-up shall be exempted from the mobile guard in virtue of the same promise, with this difference, that the latter shall may be employed in any public or private school.[800]

These rather subtle arrangements succeeded in perpetuating certain indispensable privileges. They pleased the imperial government which, since Duruy's fall from power, was not anxious to supply Catholic opinion with fresh motives for dissatisfaction, but which refused to undo the work of the former Minister. The influence of official education continued to be insisted upon; private teachers were not placed completely on the same footing with their Communal colleagues. Their usefulness, however, was acknowledged, since they were to profit from the special situation of a nation in arms. Besides, nobody questioned their patriotism: it has been only in our own times that the doctrine has been proclaimed that there is no equivalent for a "blood-tax". In the past, and again after 1870, other responsibilities – and especially those of a teacher – exonerated them. When, in 1872, the National Assembly decided upon the recruitment of large army, enlisting citizens over-all who were of age, it returned to a principle which had been misunderstood by Napoleon III's bureaucrats: the members of teaching Congregations, whatever may be their particular assignment, should not be subject to military obligations because of the vow itself which sets them aside for teaching.

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The service that the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle fulfilled for young men in the normal schools was also a service performed for the State. In 1851 the Prefect of the Oise and the General Counsel of that Department offered the direction of a new normal school in Beauvais to Brother Menée, who had already enjoyed a great reputation in Beauvais as an organizer and an educator. For twenty-eight years the Religious teachers would train lay teachers in the context of a fully Christian environment.[801]

In Rouen the good work went on. In 1850 there were two-hundred-and-sixty-six public schoolteachers in the Lower Seine who were train at the hands of Brothers Calixtus and Cecilian. In 1864 fifty students were prepared to fill positions in Communal schools. Since 1857, they had been putting their talents to the test in "practice classes" designed as model country schools. Moreover, they continued to assist the Brothers for an hour or two each day with other children

Here we are at the pinnacle of primary education where cooperation between the Brothers and the national school system stopped. Further on and higher up, these educators made their way freely under the protection of the Falloux Law. Their residence schools and their parallel institutions – such as the commercial school, Franc-Bourgeois – appeared increasingly clearly to be half-way between primary and secondary in the system in which Duruy attempted to set up his "special education". To them they attracted a public that was increasingly numerous and yet increasingly select; they were secure and they flourished without any serious obstacles on the part of the authorities, indeed, with pledges of indisputable approval, since the government itself sent scholarship pupils on a regular basis to Passy.[802] Later on we shall speak of the

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800 Circular dated February 10, 1868.

801 J. Bavencove, *L'Institut Agricole de Beauvais,* 1921, pg. 28.

802 *Historique de Normandie*. At St. Omer the first class at St. Marguerite's School about 1854 brought together probationary students who were studying for a teacher's certificate. In this way there spread through the countryside teachers who were fundamentally Christian and trained in the methods of Lasallian pedagogy (Historique du district). National Archives, F17 12,466, file of State scholarships to the Brothers' residence school at Passy, 1857-1880.

discipline and the studies in these innovative schools. We shall discuss the methods employed, the results obtained and the influence exercised by very strong personalities and by the quite uniform totality of Brothers' concerted efforts over the sons of Catholic families throughout the course of school years, and, beyond that, over the "alumni" of the residence schools. For the moment we simply want to note certain stages in the history of these institutions.

After 1852 Brother Theoticus, Director at Passy, built a chapel on the site of a part of the Valentine Mansion: the opening of this sanctuary on March 19, 1856 underscored the flowering of the educational enterprise.[803]

One of the distinguished Brother's best assistants received, at the beginning of the Second Empire, the responsibility for directing the group of Brothers – still somewhat hesitant – in the resident school in Rheims. Brother Adorator brought to Champagne an experience he had won in Paris, a strong character and a vast enterprising spirit. He brought new buildings to a successful conclusion, and he developed a program of education: 26 teachers and 275 pupils attested to his success. Brother Renaux, who succeeded him, had also come from Passy and worked for five years on Rue Venice, and while prudent and circumspect habits tended somewhat to retard progress, nevertheless, upon his departure in 1869, he left behind him a Community of 37 Brothers dedicated to the education of 422 pupils. On the eve of the Franco-Prussian War Brother Bajulian finished all of the buildings.[804]

In Brittany "the Likès" took a turn in a most auspicious direction. We refer to the action taken to give the institution an explicit character by moving it out of the old college of Quimper. Brother Charlemagne in 1854 acquired a piece of property – the White House Inn – near the city, on Kerfeunteun Heights. He received support from the Prefect but was forced to defer action because of obstacles raised by the Counsel. In the meantime, he was appointed Director in Poitiers, and Brother Dagobert entered into the promised land: he was a man with a pleasant face, smiling, an intelligent and bright expression, while with his charm, his refinement, and his tenacity he won people over and vanquished opposition. Both Director of Likès and Visitor of the District, he was a leader in every sense of the term. He sought space, open air, and the furnishings and conveniences required for his 430 pupils, twenty-two Brothers and eight classes. He put his official connections to work, boldly addressed several petitions to Napoleon III: the Emperor gave him 6,000 francs, and Finistèrés General Counsel voted a subsidy of 3,000 francs. On December 15, 1859 the Superiors granted authorization to build, and the corner stone was laid the following year. Finally, on April 28, 1864, with a blessing from the clergy, the totally new residence school, henceforth called St. Mary's, was opened. It was a rather large and rather sensible structure, on a hillside with a beautiful view, a center of activity in the midst of an open field and a proud silhouette on the Breton skyline. It was there that, in 1867-1868, Brother Dagobert brought together thirty-six Brothers who shared the household and teaching chores for ten classes. At this time the school population included 342 "boarders", fifty-nine residents who dined at school and 192 day-pupils; this public came not only from the neighborhood but from Departments as far away as Morbihan and Côtes-du-Nord; Glaziks, Bigoudins, Capistes, Leonards, children from Fouesnant, Concarneau, Pont-Aven, Quimperlé, Châteaulin, Carhaix – all the Breton Cantons of Brittony were represented, all dialects intersected, and (since uniforms were still unknown) clothing styles, alive with color, made a strange picture.[805]

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[803] Passy's Yearbook for 1939, pp. 29 and 41.

[804] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1907, pp. 16-18.

[805] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1911, pp. 198-204. *Centenaire de l'Ecole Sainte-Marie*, pp. 47-57.

The inroad of city-dwellers, whose ambitions tended toward careers in government, industry and commerce, encouraged the proliferation of educational programs: "modern" secondary studies had already put in an appearance at the original "Likès"; an industrial department was begun at St. Mary's in 1866. Brothers' pupils would attempt to gain admission to Arts and Crafts schools, to the Roads and Bridges Administration as well as to the normal school in Rennes and to jobs in the Postal Service.[806]

However, the agricultural professorship which M. Olive, the very competent and dedicated teacher, continued to occupy remained the primary achievement and the principal glory of the institution. It gave rise to jealousy and it drew down upon the professor unmerited displeasure; the administrators of a "Departmental farming school" organized by the offices of the Ministry of Agriculture complained about intrusive competition that was too broad and too intense. Olive did not confine himself to rudimentary matters; he exploited the land extensively, varied sowing methods, undertook numerous experiments in acclimatization and trained his pupils fully to reclaim ancestral lands. The bureaucrats, however, claimed that he lacked the qualifications for such a mission: the monopoly on such initiatives belonged to the officials of the Departments and of the State. Outrage erupted when Brother Die's letter seeking financial assistance from the civil authorities revealed the prolific work that had been going on, the projects in process and especially the hope to outfit completely a laboratory for agricultural chemistry. In 1869 Minister Leroux criticized the hardworking assistant for his independence, his "intrusiveness" and "a certain fault-finding spirit" regarding the official farming school. Similar complaints seem to have preceded threats against "Likès". Fortunately, Olive had been supported by the distinguished people who composed the supervisory counsel of the Boullé foundation.[807] He kept his job and his program of theoretical and practical education. A few years later, Boitet, the Inspector-general for Agriculture, shortly after a visit to Quimper, would declare: "In my long career, I have seen a lot of farming schools and agricultural schools set up at great expense. I have never found anything better, one more suited to promote the education of country people than the Agricultural Chair and the residence school at Likès."[808]

Less specialized and offering many points of similarity in their recruitment, their classes and in their practices, Clermont-Ferrand, Toulouse and Beziers, in provinces that were most hospitable to the Brothers, constituted a trio of large institutions that were already in full operation. The resident pupils in Clermont were somewhat cramped for room on land in the lower section of the city in the Auvergne, which they shared with the novitiate. After having been directed by Brother Hermenfroy, they were given as Director Brother Aulin who, in 1862, was transferred to the other side of the compound, as the head of the house of formation. While, at the time, the occupant of the position of Director changed frequently, a wise and valiant pilot remained at the tiller: the Brother Sub-Director, Annet, who, with his eyes on the stars, gave the vessel its thrust, found its position and decided its direction. As Brother Aulin's successor, he had thereafter full authority which, under the protection of Notre Dame du Port, he employed to bring the crew and passengers to the expected shore.

In Beziers the chapel, in 1852-1853, was decorated. Brother Sabinian, teacher of

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806 *Centenaire*, pp. 63-65.

807 For Baron Boullé see above, pg. 261 et sq.

808 *Centenaire,* pg. 72. .[808]District Archives, chronicle of the residence school in Clermont. The institution in Toulouse still had for a chapel only the modest, but rather handsome, structure built between 1863 and 1864 on Rue Caramen, consecrated by Bishop Desprez and dedicated to the Holy Family. Conspicuous in it were the paintings of Brother Jaxilé of Mary who worked under the inspiration of his confrere in Béziers, Brother Samuel.

architecture, directed the beautiful woodwork panelling, while Brother Samuel, a talented painter, began to display his powers in the small St. Philomena oratory and then to unfold his procession of patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs on the walls of the nave in the style of Hippolytus of Flanders.[809] The Director, Brother Leufroy might have prayed the verse, *Dilexi decorem domus tuae.* And while he relied on Providence, he was a leader who still knew how to administer as a faithful servant and as the father of a family; it was certainly to him that the school in Beziers owed its scintillating name: The Immaculate Conception Residence School, in the years which followed the definition of the dogma.[810]

In Provence a seed not long since cast in a furrow sprouted rather slowly in adverse conditions. It had been begun in high hopes. The spiritual director was the saintly Father Timon-David, the apostle of charitable works in Marseille. There were only six pupils on the day the school opened, but quickly increasing to about a hundred, at the end of five years time there were more than three-hundred-and-sixty. But, then, in June, 1854 an epidemic of cholera compelled the school to be disbanded. Brother Euthyme, appointed Visitor of Rheims, was replaced by Brother Cyprius, a teacher at Passy, a young man (thirty-five years of age), active and a remarkable teacher, but he did not succeed. He was not sufficiently flexible to adapt to the southern temperament; to apply Brother Theoticus' methods and schedules in Marseille was a proof of fidelity to, and admiration for, a master without equal, but it also showed a lack of tact and psychology. The people in Provence grumbled when their children had to spend Christmas eve and the Feast of Christmas with their teachers rather than clustered about the traditional "figurines" of the family "crèche".

In September 1855 the Superiors recalled Brother Cyprius to Paris. Their choice of a replacement, this time, was a fortunate one. The new Director, Brother Trivier (Edward Mourard), had never lost sight of prospects full of sunshine. Born in 1817, the son of a deeply Christian family in Bollene, he was a pupil of the Brothers in his native region, a novice in Avignon, Sub- Director in Beaucaire, Director in Aigues-Mortes and (at the age of twenty-nine) the superior of the large Community that had been reestablished in modern times in Avignon. Naturally affable and cheerful, a "striking man" (according to those who knew him), he exercised an "irresistible influence". Together his reputation and that of the residence school in Marseille grew. Beginning in October 1861 they sparkled in a setting consistent with the work and the worker: Brother Trevier had made his Congregation the proprietor of some buildings superbly situated not far from the Longchamp Palace and the magnificent Saint Charles Avenue – a quiet, healthy location from which to view the panorama of the city and the sea. There, the skillful administrator built a structure that was adequate to its educational goals; they were lofty buildings whose principal group, along with their wings, seemed to hang in

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809 *Centenaire du pensionnat de Beziers* and Account of the Institution.

810 The first reference that we have come upon to this term is found in the "book containing the names of the first communicants and confirmations (1841-1911)" in the Archives of the Residence School: "The year one-thousand-eight-hundred-and-sixty-five, the tenth day of the month of May the following pupils received Confirmation from Bishop Ramadiè of Perpignan, in the chapel of the Immaculate Conception Residence School, directed by the Brothers of the Christian Schools..." (The list is signed by the chaplain, Father Regimbaud and by Brother Leufroy.) The name of the institution, by that time official, reappears repeatedly in later documents. However, following steps taken by the Director, Brother Theoctenus, for the chapel (placed under the patronage of St. Mary Magdalen in the time of the Poor Claires before the Revolution) to be, without contradiction, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, there was a decree promulgated on September 4, 1873 by the Holy See to the effect that, since the "renovation" of the high altar "about thirty years earlier", the sanctuary's patronal feast had always been that of Mary Immaculate. Pius IX solemnly confirmed the custom. From this document we might well conclude that the name of the chapel had become, at the appropriate time, the occasion of the name of the institution. (*Archives of the residence school in Béziers.*)

space; and they were encircled by great courtyards opened to the south, shaded by plane trees. The classrooms were spacious and well arranged; a gymnasium, a swimming pool and a bathhouse were added. For the time, it was a striking collection of buildings and a rare example: Duruy, who visited the school in 1866, could only congratulate the Director: "If I had to build a secondary school", he said, "I would use your school as a model." These were, in the Minister's fashion, flattering words, but they were perfectly justified.

Such was the worthy institution overlooking the Mediterranean, the St. Mary's residence school, beloved of Catholics in Marseille who usually referred to it as "St. Charles" because of the neighborhood in which it stood. To complete the plan the Institute provided it with a Gothic chapel which was blessed on May 29, 1862, on the Feast of the Ascension, with Brother Philippe in attendance. Brothers Samuel and Sevoldus did the murals which depicted the life of the Most Blessed Virgin.

Over and above so many other advantages, the pupils were able to enjoy a "countryside" that was cultivated and cared for, and that was no more than a half-hour from the institution. They flocked in great numbers to the school – nearly 500 at the time the relocation. Most of them were residents, happy residents who were certain of not having to experience the "jails for captive youths", in company with their fifty teachers all of whom, with the exception of thirteen lay-teachers, belonged to De La Salle's Society. Between 1867 and 1880 young Southeastern Asiatics mixed with Provencals; after the conquest of the Mekong delta, the Imperial government asked the Brothers to initiate these children from the Far East into French culture; the mind and wisdom of a polished people lent themselves effortlessly to such an effort. Religious educators, fulfilling the role of missionaries at home, taught their foreign pupils the French language, French science, and French history; and they trained them in French customs. With regard to religious beliefs, no more than in their over-seas institutions, they did not go beyond the limits of discretion. The State's choice, subject to family assent, most frequently fell upon the sons of pagans. The Annamites at St. Mary's attended chapel services, class prayers and listened to the teacher's daily "reflection", involving an external participation which did not concern conscience. And if thereafter Grace should operate, the Brothers would have every right to rejoice: on May 30, 1868 their pupils Nghia and But were Baptized in the sanctuary that was dedicated to the Mother of God; nineteen would follow them in the course of the next years, out of about 70 members of the group which came from Saigon to the residence school in Marseille. Brother Trivier, both Visitor of the District and superior of the St. Charles Community from 1867 to 1871, believed that his apostolate was well rewarded.[811]

The beginnings of St. Joseph's school in Dijon, like that of the school in Provence, went back to the times which preceded the Law of 1850. Bourgogne had invited the Brothers of the Christian Schools as early as the lifetime of the Holy Founder: however, Dijon had, for a century and a half, limited itself to employing the Brothers in its primary schools; here the tradition, begun in the South of France through a particularly active center and the enterprising Brothers in Avignon, did not exist. A residence school arose gradually out of an elementary school background through the discerning efforts of Brother Manuel. At first, there was nothing more than a grouping together in "pay classes" of a few children whose parents wished to confide them to good teachers while not putting them in with the poor: a "middle-class school", the people in Bourgogne called it, a simple day-school, with a quite limited program. Opened in 1837, after three years, it was transformed into a partial-residential school. A few pupils came from the nearest villages and sought lodgings among inhabitants. In 1848, the Brother Director admitted several youths to live as boarders. Very rapidly he believed that he

811 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for January 1936, pp. 21-37.

had the makings of a more significant establishment: the splendid tuition-free school on Rue Berbisey beginning in 1850 provided housing for an embryonic residence school. After five years of operation the school counted 136 sons of city and rural dwellers. It became necessary to enlarge the premisses, and work on a chapel was begun; but the project's founder would see no more of it than that, since he died in 1856. Brother Namphase came from Beaune to succeed to the inheritance. He effected a total separation of the resident pupils and the tuition-free pupils by transferring the latter to another building. At this time, the course of studies was so broadened that the Inspector of the Academy, Tacher Barnevol, accused the teachers in Dijon of overstepping their role. According to him, they were providing secondary education, and they were attempting to equip young men for major government competitive examinations. Indeed, Brother Namphase was not certified with the necessary diplomas to direct a school that gave technical instruction. In his place the Institute's "Regime" substituted Brother Pol-de-Leon, who had been the teacher of the top class since 1847 and Sub-Director after the final organization. But it was still necessary to return the schedule of courses – officially – to the level of the elementary certificate: "Teach what you wish", the Brothers were told off-the-record, "but do not advertise your programs in your prospectus or in your school bulletins". Minister Rouland would have hurled his threats against all the Brothers residence schools, if the Departmental Counsel of Côte-d'Or had declared in favor of St. Joseph's against the national school system.[812]

St. Giles in Moulins does not seem to have been subjected to the same restrictions. Its teaching personnel guided youths into Arts and Crafts, Roads and Bridges and the Tax and Postal Services. The school was founded in 1853 with Brother Adelphus as Principal. Bishop Dreux-Brézé of the Moulins diocese, a warm friend of the Brothers and one of the promoters and benefactors of the Junior Novitiate in Paris, had personally requested the opening of the new institution. He had just acquired an old hospital founded in 1499 by Peter II of Bourbon and, after it had served as an insane asylum, it had been let out for other purposes. He situated classrooms and the Community residence in these old buildings, with their mournful appearance and their unimpressive dimensions. They made do, over a long period of time, with perfunctory repairs, and with grading the site in order to build an annex. And, then, the square tower whose silhouette was the characteristic mark of St. Giles was built. These were unspectacular beginnings: there were only a half-dozen resident pupils, to which were added eighteen choir-boys. Nevertheless, academic success was not slow in coming; and episcopal support did not fail. A regular growth brought the work to maturation and it would be the equal of the best in the Institute.[813]

Throughout the years between 1854-1858, which were the most successful of the Second Empire, the most peaceful and the most fruitful for Christian Education, the Brothers' schools multiplied. Brother Visitor, Honoré (John Baptiste de Bray) who had been among the survivors of the Institute's Restoration and one of its highly valued architects, on April 24, 1854 revived

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[812] With reference to St. Joseph's residence school in Dijon, Rouland had certainly attempted to impede the progress of residence schools. In a Committee meeting at the beginning of 1861 under the presidency of Walewski which was composed of the Minister of the Interior, Persigny, the president of the Privy Counsel, Baroche and the Minister of Public Education, the latter questioned his colleagues in the following terms: "Was it right to allow this Community (the Brothers of the Christian Schools), which had already overrun all of France's good schools, to establish great residence schools in which it taught, Greek and Latin apart, the applied sciences, history, and letters and from which he earned great profits?" The Committee adopted the following resolution: "...It is not right to allow too great a freedom to a Community which, no doubt, performs a great service to the people, but which recognizes no other head than its Superior-general and its Procurator in Rome." (Jean Maurain, Op. cit., pg. 469). Fortunately, Duruy, as he himself had said (see above, pg. 350) put an end to this sort of bickering.

[813] Account of St. Giles, 1933, pp. 9-10.

the ancient residence school in St. Omer. Here once again we observe evidence of fidelity to the memory of St. John Baptist de La Salle and to the familial triumphs of the 18th century. There was still fire beneath the ashes; the ruins had refused to drop into oblivion. Born in 1796, Brother Honoré had considered himself as a direct descendant of the victims of the Revolution; he pursued the task which had cost Brother Lysimachus such onerous difficulties; and he crowned the great projects which had been, until 1830, the pride of Brother Abdon. For eight years Brother Honoré had himself assumed the direction of the restored institution which, at the time, like so many other modern Institute schools, was placed under the patronage of St. Joseph. Brother Fideles succeeded him in 1862; and, after a quarter of a century, this very wise administrator would have spread the genuine reputation of his school, not only throughout St. Omer, but everywhere in the Nord region.[814]

Velay was no less cherished by the Brothers than Artois; their dedication, put to a long-standing test in the tuition-free schools of La Puy, they sought to expand in the Marian city, the antique center of French pilgrimage and the ever flaming hearth of religious life. The presence of other Religious Congregations, and especially of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, seemed to have made both the opening of a novitiate and of an Institute residence school in the same place somewhat difficult. A gesture on the part of Brother Philippe had moved Bishop Morlhon, who, in 1854, had launched a national subscription to erect a statue of Our Lady on Corneille Rock; the Superior-general had encouraged each of the children taught by the Brothers to donate a penny. And he brought to La Puy the 15,000 francs that the multitude of mites had fetched. It was in this way that was financed the pedestal for the gigantic monument cast in the bronze of the canons that had been captured during the Crimean War: it was a statue of the Virgin Mother and Child dominating the Romanesque Cathedral, the streets and the alleys of the city, the rocky plain and the surging Loire – a symbol of heavenly blessing over the mountains of France and over the entire nation.

Our Lady of France! The striking expression was to become the name of a flourishing educational institution, when the Brothers were authorized to instruct minds and souls and, without hindrance, recruit vocations among the youngsters in La Puy. The residence school opened on July 1, 1854 in a building neighboring upon St. John's Baptistry. The leader of the undertaking, the Brother Visitor, Paulinus, very soon moved it to Rue Raphael, and then left the direction of it, along with fourteen Brothers, seven classes and nearly 200 pupils, to Brother Charlemagne. Complete stability was not secured nor was total growth assured until the Community owned the former Capuchin monastery. On November 4, 1859 Jean Perrin, baker, for 50,000 francs, surrendered "to M. Dominic Baro, agent for M.M. Bransiet, Bonneil, Vernier and Leduc", an "enclosure" of about five acres, superbly situated outside the walls of the old city, in a quiet neighborhood, on the edge of the countryside. Brother Isinger had negotiated the purchase in the name of the Institute who retired in 1860 in favor of Brother Hugolin who, during fourteen years as Director constructed sound buildings, organized studies, aroused in the former monastery an upsurge of piety and a flowering of serious and disciplined young people.[815]

After Le Puy, and after Metz with its Beauregard residence school where such distinguished personalities as Brothers Euthyme, Athanasius, and Arthur Victor compelled recognition, and where a monumental chapel was built, it was Dreux which was the beneficiary of a fresh endeavor. M. and Mme. Couasnon gave their entire piece of property on Rue Faubourg St.

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814 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1926, pp. 15-16. And *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, Vol. II, pp. 107-108.

815 *Archives of the Notre Dame of France* residence school.

Martin to the Brothers. The gift went back to April 8, 1850; but the benefactors had not specified the purpose to which the donation should be put. And they had retained the use of the site for a period of time. In 1854 M. Couasnon died; and the widow gave up her home and her style of life. Out of other-worldliness, she made her way to the cloister, which she entered in 1860 as a Visitandine in a convent that she had founded. Intelligent and prudent she continued well into extreme old age to follow the growth of her initial project. But it seems that the idea belonged to Brother Calixtus to start a residence school which, strategically situated where Perche meets the Ile-de-France, would serve a double public, the provincials from the small town and the wealthy domains in the neighborhood as well as the Parisians attracted by the healthy climate, the charm of the region and soon by the reputation of the Brothers' institution. It was in this fashion that "St. Peter's" in Dreux got its very attractive, very novel character of being a school of lively minds, well equipped workers, avid for a total education, excellent soil for literary and scientific cultivation, for the growth of personal ideas as well as for – in a climate of faith, Christian practices and the most persuasive example – the dawning of priestly and monastic vocations.

Classes began on November 11, 1855 with thirteen children and three teachers. To its faculty Dreux welcomed the genuine elite from among the Institute's teachers: in 1865 there arrived a young Brother from an excellent Savoyard family, Brother Leon of Jesus (Leon Tissot) who had the face of an ascetic and an artist, with such gracious refinement, remarkable modesty, a consummate discrimination, and who was such a guide for souls that – subject to the Church's judgment – it is, perhaps, not hazardous to call him "holy".[816]

In Bishop Dupanloup's diocese a local project preceded the foundation of a Brothers' school. Near the church of St. Pierre le Puellier, Father Tabouret ran an orphanage which he called "Our Lady of Nazareth". He needed help and he urged his Bishop to ask the Institute on Rue Oudinot for two Brothers; he wanted them to be subject to him and to live with him. Under these arrangements an agreement did not seem feasible: the Congregation did not dissociate members from organisms that are provided for in the Rule; and the Superior-general responded to the episcopal letter of November 14, 1859 with a refusal. In any case he was well aware of the prelate's authoritarianism and of the insignificant place he reserved for independent Religious Orders in the work of the apostolate. Until a better proposal was forthcoming, the Brothers were satisfied in Orleans with their primary schools, the principal one of which operated on Rue Bourdon-Blanc and was called "Saint Bonose". However, since 1854, the Director, Brother Basilides (Guillaume-Hubert Misset), a native of the Ardennes, with resolute designs and straightforward purposes, had set up in his school as small group of about sixty resident pupils and a paying day-school and the beginnings of a program of studies that went beyond elementary instruction. The public authorities had approved of the experiment.

This was the point of departure for a step forward. But Father Tabouret popped up once again along the route. However, this time, quickly, wisely, he withdrew before the trail-blazers who offered every means for securing the next steps. He yielded the direction of Nazareth to the Brothers. From then on there were two projects in the shadow of the old walls of St. Peter's: the orphanage, operating in accordance with its own customs, and a residence school, the nucleus of which was supplied by the St. Bonose's "Boarders"; and both were in the hands of Brother Basilides and his successors. Rue Bourdon-Blanc was to retain the tuition-free school and the Cathedral choir.

Adjustments were made in June of 1856. Nine years earlier an Imperial decree had authorized the Institute to assume the ownership of the buildings that had been fitted out by Father Tabouret. This solution, in the judgment of many people in Orleans, appeared

[816] Brother Albert Valentine, op., cit., pp. 100-113. And *Vie du Frère Léon-de-Jésus*, 1933.

unsatisfactory: the wretched neighborhood situated on the banks of the Loire, with its narrow streets and its piled-up hovels was hardly a place to generate an educational center. The leading citizens in 1867 wanted to obtain from Brother Philippe a project that was better located, a major institution worthy of their city and capable of complying with all the advancements in education, especially by way of professional education. But many years would go by before the realization of these plans.[817]

Chronology takes us to the southern Pyrenees. While the future "St. Euvertus'", whose name reminded the Brothers in Orleans of the days of Claude Francis du Lac Montisambert and Bishop Nicholas of Paris, was still lying in Limbo, the future "St. Bernard's" in Bayonne began to take shape in 1857 under the creative touch of Brother Irlide. Distant prospects were being glimpsed; facing Spain, the promised land, an observation post in the Basque and Bearn country was being readied from which propitious stars would be closely examined, a beacon directing its light toward the mountain passes. Landmarks were laid down in the territory of the Commune of the Holy Spirit; between the rising walls there were eight children who were following elementary lessons. By the end of the year there were sixty. A storm of protest arose from the owners of various boarding houses to close down this competing establishment; but the city put a stop to that. In 1863, the faulty site was abandoned for a residence in an historic mansion, the Dubrocq property, in which Napoleon I had served notice of their overthrow upon the Bourbon kings, Charles IV and Ferdinand VII. The Visitor/Director was relying upon two strong columns, Brother Calimer of Jesus, the Sub-Director and Brother Iblasios, the Prefect of discipline; he had teachers of drawing and teachers of Spanish; the authorities in Bayonne, who were increasingly interested in Brother Irlide's undertakings, through their subsidies, had allowed these courses to be joined to the common education.[818]

The attitude of independent and clearsighted minds was everywhere the same regarding Brothers' education. More than one member of the national educational establishment encouraged the Brothers to persevere along the pathways of intermediate education and not to hesitate in the presence of the risks of the enterprise. One of the proofs of it, especially significant and curious, was found in a long letter, sent from St. Eulalie d'Olt on August 28, 1857 to the Superior of the Institute by a primary school inspector in Aveyron, M. Grailles. It was this that had inspired the decision regarding St. Joseph's in Rodez.

M. Grailles maintained friendly relations with Brother Jurson, the Visitor of the District. He entreated him to set up in the capital of Rouergue a teaching body which would extent the Congregation's influence beyond the primary schools. His correspondent protested that the success of the classes at Notre Dame satisfied his wishes; that a residence school might do damage to that flourishing foundation; and that, furthermore, the anticipated expense would unbalance the modest budget. The dogged inspector resolved to appeal to Brother Philippe in person.

"The honor of the Institute (he wrote), the moral interest of the Department and the good of religion, oblige me to submit to your reflection and to your superior wisdom some observations the urgency of which you will recognize...Better than anyone, my position enables me to judge the necessity and the advisability (of the institution I recommend). Your Brothers have multiplied over the past few years; civil administrations, the clergy, the upper classes in society as well as the small land-owner and the worker have become cordially devoted to them. Everybody expects, with an impatient concern, the timely news of the opening of a residence

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[817] *Historique de Saint-Euverte*, 1930, pp. 4-22. And Henri Turba, account of the origines of the St. Euvertus' residence school in *Historique de l'Ecole Saint-Bonose d'Orleans*, 1937.

[818] *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for January 1909, pp. 36-38.

school. A postponement would be ascribed to the incapacity (of the leaders), heap humiliation on the Brothers, paralyze your efforts and strike the novitiate in Rodez at the heart... "

After these harsh words, the letter-writer vouched for a rapid success. Aveyron, an eminently religious region, possesses ten institutions of secondary education only three of which are operated by laymen; each one has a considerable number of pupils. What would be the future of the first residence school founded in this region by a group which could provide for all the demands of education except from the "ancient languages?" How many pupils there would be who would desert classes that prepare for high schools and colleges...to come and follow the classes of your Brothers! If I had to cite for you the names of the fathers of families who bewail the current conditions, the list would be a long one, and I would write at the top of it: We have some hard choices.

M. Grailles thought it was helpful to inform his correspondent that other teaching Congregations were thinking about taking the place of the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle. Would it be right for the latter to slow their pace and give the lie to their revered Founder? Their rivals did not command the same strength. Rouergue saw matters clearly and spoke plainly: "Since the first stone of your novitiate was laid", the question of a residence school "past from one mouth to another"; the echo of it was reflected from magistrate to bishop, from pastor to villager. It was a "providential action", in which the humble behavior of the teachers, extolled in spite of themselves, had no place. But they would be embarrassed by it, if they sought to offend public opinion.

The conviction so gripped the well-intentioned advocate that a trip to Paris did not deter him in order to convince the Superior-general, even if he endangered his future as a member of the of the educational establishment![819]

This evidence of ardent attachment, of extraordinary and compelling sincerity, was very much of a kind to sway Brother Philippe. Nevertheless, the responsibilities to be undertaken prevented the "immediate" decision that the author had in mind. Besides, it was impossible to act without Brother Jurson. The reply that came from Rue Oudinot on September 3 was confined to expressions of gratitude and approval of the arguments that had been put forward; but "the lack of personnel" obliged a postponement.

Basically the principle was acknowledged. The solution to the problem would not be long in coming. "In conformity with Article 53 of the Law of March 15, 1850, M. Esquerre (François Marie), in Religion Brother Jurson, Visitor of the District of Rodez" professed on December 26, 1858, in the presence of the Mayor of this city, to open a private school directed by "M. Burguiere (François Joseph), in Religion Brother Inglevert, born in Rodez on February 12, 1824, provided with a certificate of competence" and verified by five years of teaching experience.[820]

On March 23, 1859 the Prefect, Baragnon, wrote to the new Director that the Departmental Counsel for Public Education had "determined the number of resident pupils that could be admitted at eighty and the number of teachers and supervisors to be employed at twelve."[821] These were official stipulations, genuine provisions in the bureaucratic style, which did not preclude the development predicted by Mr. Grailles. From the sixty-one pupils who, on February 14, had participated in the inaugural classes, the figure rose to two-hundred-and-nine during St. Joseph's second year. Five years after the foundation three-hundred-and-twelve

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819 Archives of the District of Rodez, copy of M. Grailles' letter in the "*Historique du pensionnat Saint-Joseph"* (following the original sent to Brother Ildefonse Gabriel by Brother Baptist Albert, head of the Office of the Secretary-general).

820 Brother Inglevert, previously Director of the Community in Albi, had for a long time taught in the residence school in Toulouse.

821 Monograph on the residence school by M. Albagnac (Brother Irlide Bernard).

children and youths had gathered around the Brothers. And in 1869 there were four-hundred-and-ten pupils.

The novitiate was somewhat inconvenienced in the beginning in order to provide room for pupils. But, as early as 1860 major buildings were constructed. They would be extended to the extreme south of the city, on a promontory encircled by a magnificent horizon which included: the Segala Woods, celebrated by the poet Francis Fabié, plantations of oak trees bronzed by the autumn and bending down, step-like, to the verdant ground where flocks grazed and where the river thrust its way like a sharp silver blade, open spaces curving over an area of fifty kilometers, deepening to five leagues between Rodez hill and the chalky heights; contemplating these distances, on the left was the picturesque village of Monastère, standing in the valley like a scene from the theatre; on the right, the terraces and the gardens and the city with its houses clinging to the base of the rock, under the protection of its Cathedral/fortress and with the blessing of the Virgin who crowned the marvelously sculptured tower. There were old mansions, manorial or middle class, the Bishop's palace, the seminary, schools, convents and chapels and churches pealing in the quiet of the evenings..."St. Joseph's", forward and off to the side, seemed like a protector who watched and prayed: the Brothers had achieved there, during the second half of the 19th century, a sturdy structure, very much in the likeness of Rouergue itself, one of their favorite regions. In Lozère, in the school in Mende, directed by (Antoine Queuille) Brother Habide, during the period immediately after 1862, was nothing but a modest "rooming house", a hospitality center for the sons of mountain people who, along with lodgings, received instruction that was still rather rudimentary.[822] The residence school in St. Etienne in the Department of the Loire emerged, at the same time, from a long period of uncertainty and instability; a brief experiment had been made in 1849 on Montaud soil; but the building, transferred into Jesuit hands in 1851, became St. Michael's College. Between 1854 and 1858, the Brothers, apart from their Communal schools, operated only a small tuition school, which admitted part-time residents. Courses in advanced primary education on Des Chappes Street had been reduced to a few lessons dispensed mornings and evenings, before and after regular hours, to the better students in the tuition-free institution. For radical changes, we shall have to wait for Brother Papyle to head the Community in St. Etienne. This bold tactician, with an excellent staff, began by bringing the Des Chappes pupils up to date. In 1859 he combined them with the part-time residents on Rue Des Gauds. This compact group, which rapidly consolidated, suggested the idea of a more comprehensive undertaking. The city agreed to the opening of a residence school; but the upper levels of the Institute were not very favorable, and the educational authorities were clearly hostile. The latter thought that the educational program was too ambitious: the Brother Director simply altered the names of the scientific courses, the price he had to pay for retaining the requisite order and content of the courses. And he also evaded official investigations. The "Regime" on Rue Oudinot finally forsook their opposition, which was no doubt sustained by serious arguments: why incur heavy expenses and tie up numerous personnel in St. Etienne when the Institute already had schools in the neighboring regions of Lyons and Clermont-Ferrand? But it was important to realize that the humble village of times gone by, although it still looked shabby, had become an industrial capital. In the midst of a working-class population an intellectual and social elite had grown up; it supplied Brother Papyle with an abundant public, and it encouraged him in his vast views. In 1861, three of the Brothers' pupils were admitted to the School of Arts and Crafts in Aix: – a conquest that influenced opinion at the Motherhouse. Soon a young Brother, marvelously equipped in science, a transplanted Italian named Brother Rodolfo, began to train candidates

[822] *Archives of the District of Le Puy.* Decisions of the Departmental Council for Public Education, February 26, 1862.

for the School of Mines. The outlines of a magnificent future were glimpsed: St. Etienne, followed by the whole of France and then foreign nations that would be exploring their subterranean treasures and building their equipment would be looking for engineers trained in the disciplines and docile to the instruction of an unrivalled teacher.

The premisses in the Des Chappes neighborhood did not fit in with Brother Papyle's plans. A warehouse that had gone broke was for sale on Rue Desirée. The Institute authorized its agent to buy it. Brother Gonthelinus, in his role as architect, adapted the buildings to their new purpose. "So as to show pupils how to get there", it was used in 1863 for the ceremony of the distribution of awards. The transfer of classes was effected on April 5, 1864. Neither in color nor in style did the school stand out in the gloomy neighborhood; its appearance was typical of St. Etienne; but so was its soul – eager work, deep faith, social and charitable preoccupations and a seriousness that did not exclude amusing moments. Its name was decided upon at that time: the "St. Louis Residence School", in honor of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, but also, perhaps, because of the Baptismal name of its Director/founder.[823]

We terminate this journey across Imperial France, this pilgrimage to the principal schools that date from Brother Philippe's generalate, on the banks of the Furens. The list of names may have seemed long; the spectacle of such fruitful undertakings, of such varied activities, may perhaps have enlarged its interest and mitigated its monotony. Like the Capetian kings, well served by their diplomats and their armies, a Superior in a prosperous reign, with a faithful and talented staff, seems like a collector of kingdoms, a builder of citadels, the father of an indissolubly united people, a prince who, year after year adds jewels and gems to his crown.

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We must provide a special place in this account for two achievements, obviously different the one from the other, but neither of which enters into the category of residence schools. The first is the Agricultural Institute in Beauvais, and the second is the Work of St. Nicholas. We shall join to them less important experiments of Choisinets in Lozère and St. André in Puy-de-Dôme. The children whose salvation and education was in question in these provincial orphanages present a sort of analogy with the young Parisians assembled at St. Nicholas; the work for which they were established witnesses, as Beauvais did, to a remarkable educational flexibility and a quite determined desire to perpetuate a rural class in France; the alumni of the Agricultural Institute, for the most part big land owners, would form the elite of that class – perpetuating its traditions, while open to all prudent progress – and the orphans in the Massif Central as in Brittony a certain number of the young people from Likès would, among the common people, continue to be representative Christians.

The Beauvais foundation owed its origin and its success to three men of exceptional merit, possessed of sound minds and hearts permeated with love of their neighbor: Edward Tocqueville, President of the Agricultural Society of Compiègne, Vice-president of the French Agricultural Society and brother of the celebrated historian, Alexis Tocqueville; Louis Gossin, Departmental teacher in the Oise; and Brother Menée, Visitor and Director of Brothers' Communities in that region.

Drouyn de Lhuys had said of his friend, the Vicomte Edward Tocqueville: "He was one of those missionaries, those lay-apostles whose words and example spread good everywhere. He was incapable of being careless about anything that involved agricultural techniques or the well-being of the peasantry. In Normandy, to where family ties frequently drew him, he converted his stay in the country into time for propaganda, timely encouragement and useful

[823] *Account of St. Louis in St. Etienne*, 1929. And Father J.M. George, Achille Sogno, en religion Frère Rodolfo, 1925, pp. 35-41, 46, 47.

advice. He joined to a powerful mind and the lucid loftiness of feeling both ardent convictions and the charm of person and voice; he preached to, and knew how to procure the union of land-owning Frenchmen.

Louis Gossin was the son of the Director of Customs in Nantes and had been intended at first for the bench. The example of his brother drew him toward his ultimate career; for twelve years he managed an estate in the Ardennes. He transformed the land that had at one time been abandoned, working with his own hands alongside his servants. This excellent plowman, like Toqueville, dreamed of accomplishing a mission in the world. In 1841, at the age of twenty-three, he published an agricultural textbook. In 1847, he met a gentleman from Normandy: an exchange of views, steps undertaken in official circles and quite convincingly seconded by Count Alexis Toqueville prospered to the point of founding a chair of Agriculture in the College of Compiègne; Louis Gossin became its titular occupant. He succeeded superbly as a teacher and he spread his influence in many directions by way of lectures and conferences. Appointed teacher in Beauvais in 1852, he taught a course to students in the primary normal school and in this way ran into Brother Menée.

Also a native of Britanny,[824]tall and coarse featured, Brother Menée had the soul of a leader: black eyebrows overshadowed his penetrating, discerning and commanding glance; the lines on his face betrayed indomitable energy; and the mouth, with its compressed lips, opened to utter absolutely clear ideas and brief, categorical commands.

Professed in 1803, his Superiors transferred him from Amiens to Beauvais to direct a primary school which had opened in 1817. He put this institution on its feet and, on Rue Moulin-Allard, equipped it with spacious premisses, and, in 1842, added St. Joseph's residence school, which was quickly given its autonomy, its own programs and its own buildings. A normal school was added to Brother Menée's burdens. However, the head-man believed that he still had the available strength. As a conclusion to his conversations with Gossin and Tocqueville he recognized as urgent the opening of an educational center reserved especially for youths who, having finished their primary studies, felt drawn to a life in agriculture.

They could not count on aid from the State. And the Institute's Superiors became alarmed, and thought they were being asked to assume overwhelming responsibilities. There were teachers and buildings to supply, a farm to lease, equipment and livestock to procure for experimental work; and therefore a considerable contribution by way of personnel and capital, a nearly unprecedented organization to erect, since M. Olive's personal experiment in Quimper could not be compared with it. Brother Menée pleaded the case with his Breton tenacity; finally, he was granted a not very encouraging licet totally beset by objections and misgivings. In 1867 Brother Philippe revealed to the Beauvais alumni association: "I opposed Brother Menée...I refused to yield." "Don't interfere, and you will see", M. Tocqueville, M. Gossin and Brother Director told me. I didn't interfere, and I see."

At that time the Agricultural Institute had been in existence for thirteen years. Authorized by a Ministerial decree on December 20, 1854, a solemn naming ceremony – on December 8, 1855 – placed it under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception. Assistant lecturers, advisers and tutors were carefully selected: M. Gossin taught agriculture and rural economy; M. Dubos, a Departmental Veterinary, animal husbandry; M. Le Pere, Engineer-in-Chief in the Oise, initiated students in "rural engineering"; R. Auger, Imperial attorney, communicated to them his legal knowledge; and for more than half-a-century horticulture belonged to M. Louis Doyat's domain. Brother Milhau, during his fourteen years as professor in Beauvais created a universal reputation as an entomologist. His articles, solicited by the Encyclopaedia of Practical Agriculture, drew the attention of the scientific world. An immense task devolved upon Brother Eugene of Mary, Brother Menée's right-hand man: on some days to shrink face

[824] Born in 1804 in Romazy (Ille-et-Vilaine).

up to ten or twelve hours of class and teach Mathematics, General Zoology, Botany, Physics and Chemistry. With his "consuming" activity, his quasi-universal competence, his rigorous conscience and his appropriating and understanding mind, Brother Eugene was to play a decisive role in the direction of "Beauvais".

Since theory was not enough, the lands of the former St. Lucian's Abbey were selected as experimental fields. As early as 1856, the harvest of a well cultivated soil in full production earned the Agricultural Institute the highest awards a the local Exposition.[825] In comparison with this splendid project the agricultural school in Clermont-Ferrand maintained a rather modest style. A member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, M. Forestier, had laid the foundation for this operation. It had been perpetuated by the St. Mary's Brothers, a small Religious body that had been dedicated in its headquarters at Puy-de-Dôme to the operation of a hospital. Success came only after the orphans were entrusted to De La Salle's disciples. Brother Visitor Arthemius, on November 22, 1853, acquired a vast estate in the St. André quarter at the foot of the mountains crowned by the Dômes range. In order to develop it he put it in the charge of a man from an excellent family in the Auvergne, Louis-Joseph Desribes who was born in Issoire in 1821 and who entered the Institute with the name of Brother Habet Deum but who was always called by his fellow-citizens "Brother Desribes". Physically he was a giant of a man with brown hair, "the shoulders of a cavalry officer" and muscles of steel; morally, he was kindness and gentleness itself, expressed in the most pleasant look and with perfect humility, which controlled words and attitudes; he was tirelessly, discriminatingly and variously dedicated.

Clermont gladly responded to the appeals for money that Brother Desribes frequently addressed to it; it respected in him the representative of a chosen race, the brother of a priest, two Jesuits and four monks; he was also the spiritual father of four abandoned children whom he had energetically raised and trained to earn their bread honestly and in the fear of the Lord.

In 1856 the Director of St. André's was given as his assistant a Brother Genealius, who was called "Brother Jean", and who, as head gardener for more than fifty years, transformed the estate into a sort of earthly paradise. M. Dubreuil, the distinguished professor of arboriculture gave courses to the people of the region in St. André's estate: and the Brothers' students were not without benefits from his presence and his knowledge.[826]

The Choisinets orphanage seemed still more rustic. A patriarchal couple, Philemon Bonnefille and his wife Baucis, who were mountain people, had decided to found it; and it was guaranteed the cooperation of a priest, Father Favier, the Vicar at Langogne in 1850. For this project and for the salvation of the souls of his small protege's in the village, Father Favier sacrificed every other form of ministry and accepted the harshest kind of existence; he thought about founding a Congregation of teaching and farming Brothers. The experiment was practically still born. Instead, the founders turned to the Christian Brothers, who had arrived in 1859, retained at their side the services of initial workman and enlisted with them two of his disciples who were called Brother Narceau and Brother Nereus. They had to manage 272 acres, and instruct and employ thirty-three youths. The situation was precarious, the soil barren and the weather, at an altitude of 3,000 feet, dreadful. At Choisinets there was extreme poverty momentarily mitigated by a Montyon Prize. Under Brother Thomaide's direction the courageous group worked, harvested and cleared the ground. Each afternoon two hours were set aside for primary classes, besides which, one of the Brothers operated the Communal school. Bishop Foulquier of Mende was concerned with the institution. In 1864 the Sisters of

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825 J. Bavencove*, L'Institut agricole de Beauvais*, pp. 15-21, 23, 27-33.

826 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for July 1930, pp. 227-253 and for October, pp. 317-318.

St. Stephen of Lugdares arrived to take charge of the laundry, the infirmary and the kitchen. In this way the work was shared by competent hands and life became a little less complicated. People in Lozere welcomed the former denizens of the orphanage who had been trained to daily labor and were able to blend into a population whose manners were simple and whose faith was robust. Father Favier could move away, serene, when, in 1870, he became the chaplain of the Departmental Police, and then, before he died, pastor of the parish in Auroux.[827]

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The Brothers of the Christian Schools had amply demonstrated the zeal, detachment and style which enabled them to adapt themselves to the most unforeseeable roles and the most diverse circumstances. Were there undertakings that needed to be developed, a work that seemed scarcely feasible, was there some excursion into the realm of charity which, after a promising beginning, was on the point of being wrecked in a storm? A rescuer was needed; and people immediately thought of these comrades of Christian duty tirelessly recruited and set in motion by Brother Philippe.

This was the whole story of the well-known St. Nicolas project. We shall go back to its beginnings and follow it until the time during which it would become, not confused with the Brothers' Institute, but to Brother Philippe's lucid and majestic Generalate.

In Paris, beginning in 1826, Father Martin Bervanger directed the Association of St. Joseph that had been founded by his compatriot in the Eastern Marches, Father Loewenbrück. The program of these two priests consisted in offering material and moral assistance to workers and instructing poor children. As early as the reign of Louis XVIII, the founders had multiplied their ingenious mechanisms: inexpensive restaurants, unemployment funds, employment offices, adult education, society for mutual assistance, clothing cooperative and even group gymnastics. The royal government encouraged them, and Charles X showed them a special kindness.

Father Bervanger was also involved with young prisoners and with hostels. A related association, called the Friends of Childhood found jobs for apprentices; but the latter, because they went unsupervised, failed to satisfy their employers. The priest then got the idea for a vocational residence. As a beginning, he assembled seven young Parisian vagrants and set them up in attics on Rue St. Hippolyte in the Faubourg St. Marceau: an employee managed the workshop, and his wife prepared the meals and kept house. Because of the popular legend, St. Nicolas became the heavenly protector of these children.

At the end of 1827 the project was transported to Vaugirard, to "the Guinguette" house at 6 Rue Grande. The group was larger, forty youngsters distributed over four workshops that did work in brocade, hooks, leather depilation, and the perforation of trays for carding. They also worked on slippers, stockings, metal buttons and matches. And then there was another exodus, this time with seventy apprentices, still in Vaugirard but to 58 Rue Grande.

The head man was more remarkable for his dedication than for his financial talents. Providence, upon whom he relied, used Felicity Lamennais to put Vicomte Victor Noailles on Father Bervanger's trail; the distinguished nobleman, an ardent Christian, a generous soul, was also indifferent both to the vanities of caste and to the goods of this world. Literally, as the "second founder" of St. Nicolas', he snatched it from penury.[828]

When the Revolution of 1830 came the work for awhile seemed threatened because of the views of those who directed it and of their official ties with the fallen regime. Its charitable

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827 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July 1909, pp. 197-216.

828 For a century the Noailles family has continued to be concerned with the future of St. Nicolas.

character saved it. In 1833 it found its final headquarters in Paris at 98 (now 112) Rue Vaugirard and took on as associates the Brothers established in Lyons and the so-called Sisters of Providence. There were six workshops in operation: tailors, typographers/compositors, copper engravers, pocket-book makers, and label makers. The Vicomte and the priest, as pilgrims to Rome, received a Papal blessing.

They separated from the Brothers in Lyons in 1835 and drew up a plan for a Religious Society, including a Superior, Priest/directors and lay-members of the Congregation – "the Brothers of St. Nicolas" – who were subject to a Rule but who pronounced no vows. M. Noailles died in 1837: his comrade-in-arms was left all by himself in the work, where he was a model of unfaltering energy and limitless kindness that was scarcely touched by considerations of human prudence.

Armed with an official authorization through the Decree of January 21, 1839, the institution spread quite widely. The building on Rue Vaugirard by 1836 had become the property of St. Nicolas. A court case, which nearly compromised the founder's reputation and the future of the project concluded in an acquittal in which the victor earned fame and popularity.

Two years earlier an affiliate had been organized in Issy-les-Moulineaux, in an estate that Cardinal Fleury had occupied in the 18th century. This was to be a school of horticulture for orphans. Bishop Bervanger – Gregory XVI had made him a Roman Prelate – made it his regular residence; and his adopted sons called him "Lord Papa". Friendly with them, the man with the gentle and handsome features actually seemed to incarnate the holy bishop of the Golden Legend.

Unfortunately, as old age approached, hands were enfeebled and reins of direction were relaxed, and the project, badly managed, teetered on the edge of disaster. What was glimpsed was not just material ruin but a catastrophe of another kind. There were too many shortcomings among the teaching and supervisorial personnel; and the confraternity of St. Nicolas possessed neither the tradition nor the stability of a Religious Congregation. There were frequent defections and sometimes rash recruitment; while some colleagues turned out to be downright undesirable. Among the 1,400 pupils in Vaugirard and Issy there were rogues who were in a fair way to spread uneasiness in the neighborhood. Sometimes there was no discipline and sometimes it was practiced too harshly. There were awkward incidents; and accusations suggesting theft and immorality were voiced. On August 19, 1857, M. Pillet, Division Head in the Ministry of Public Education, sent a report, couched in extremely severe terms, to M. Rouland: it indicated the melancholy state of the operation: 600,000 francs in debt, food and hygiene feeling the effects of financial distress; and corporal punishment, otherwise reprehensible, had not succeed in mastering unruliness and disobedience among the children.

Sharing the conclusions of the upper-level official, the Minister wrote the following marginal note: "Father Bervanger must be summoned, the need for an administrative Counsel must be explained to him and he must understand that if he objects, I shall pursue with every means in my power the authoritative reform of the abuses indicated."

A scandal erupted: the death of a young boy named Verney, that was ascribed to a brutal beating he had received, or at least, to guilty negligence. The Imperial prosecutor acted on the second complaint only; but the Prefect of Studies, Morel and, jointly, the Founder/director were found guilty by the Court of the Seine and condemned to a fine and the payment of compensation.

The ordeal overwhelmed Martin Bervanger. For some time he had been physically weakened by stroke. Nevertheless, completely lucid, he understood that the time had come for the most painful of sacrifices. He sought out Cardinal Morlot, the Archbishop of Paris: "Save the child!", he told him. At all cost, the Work must endure! The man who had planned it made no claims over it. Heroically, he disappeared from St. Nicolas, to bury himself in solitude, silence

and in his precious memories.[829] This resignation occurred in October of 1858. The Archbishop had been thinking about creating a legal society which would take over the property and assume the responsibilities of the two institutions. On January 16, 1859 he brought together at his palace individuals whose social positions, political connections and Christian commitments bore the highest guarantees. Consolidation of enormous liabilities was obtained by way of a mortgaged loan; and an acknowledgment of indebtedness was demanded for public purposes.[830] And, under the presidency of the head of the diocese, an administrative Counsel was to be the court of last resource regarding everything having to do with the monetary and moral interests of the institutions.

But what was needed was a Congregation to supply the teachers necessary for the direction of studies and the good order of the services and workshops. Cardinal Morlot asked Brother Philippe to take in hand both Vaugirard and Issy. This was a heavy responsibility, for it meant withdrawing eighty Brothers from the schools for the benefit of a shaky institution. The prelate did not spare his entreaties; and Napoleon III himself had declared his interest in the success of the negotiations. For the good of souls, the Superior agreed to become involved. As early as February 12, 1859, the Brothers set to work. A solemn installation took place on the Sunday of April 10. The breath of rebellion stirred in the Parisian institution; but the Director, Brother Souffroy, knew how to handle it. In Issy the welcome extended to Brother Generose displayed a respectful courtesy. But there remained a quantity of difficulties. The hearts of the children eventually opened; and consciences reassume the right path. For the new teachers, it was a question of tact and of tenacity. In any case, they showed that they were up to the task demanded of them. Their management restored a balanced financial situation; and their relations with the students, the families and the heads of the workshops and the domestic servants revived the Charity's former fame.

In 1862 1,540 young boys – mostly wide awake, nimble minded Parisians – inhabited the combined institutions. The buildings on Rue Vaugirard were enlarged over all to make room for carvers and those who made bronze statues, fashioners of musical instruments, opticians, jewelers, designers of shawls, wood guilders, saddle and trunk makers, packing-case makers and packagers and sculptors/carpenters of artifacts. In the suburbs Brother Florel, Brother Generose's successor, provided a serious vocational training and sound discipline for his horticulturalists; he died at his post at the height of his powers. His replacements, Brother Adelme and Brother Photius, plowed the furrow with the same vigor.

A third foundation was added to Bishop Bervanger's boarding schools. Father Mullois, chaplain at the Imperial Court, in 1853, had purchased a farm of fourteen acres in Igny in the Bievre Valley. He was not unintelligent, and he was good willed and enormously pleasant; but he was also extremely rash and not very practical. Haphazardly he embarked upon his dream of an agricultural community, with about thirty orphans and six Brothers whom the Institute on Rue Oudinot thought it had to assign him. Then the disappointments began to occur, and the deficit built up from one year to the next. Fortunately, when collapse threatened, Brother Philippe came to the rescue. Once again he acceded to the request of religious and governmental authorities. In 1863 Igny was joined to St. Nicolas;[831] ten Brothers, four servants and fifty children worked, at first with the assistance of professional advice: the head gardeners

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[829] In 1865 he died as Canon of St. Denis' Basilica. His body rests, as is fitting, in the chapel of Issy-les-Moulineaux, which he had built in 1853.

[830] The Imperial Decree intervened on August 27, 1859.

[831] Imperial Decree of August 12, 1863.

at the Luxembourg and at the Garden of Plants outlined plans for a horticultural school; in this way the Paris region became the beneficiary of a marvelous center for rural apprentices that was better situated and better equipped than the first experiment at the Issy-les-Moulineaux farm. It principal organizer was identified, nine years later, as Brother Bertrandus.

Such, in brief, is the account of a half-century of innovative, charitable and superb enterprises. They were a sort of "Christian Georgics", an epic of work and faith, which recalled the civilizing prowess of the Medieval monks, which retained something of Biblical flavor. Martin Bervanger remained the patriarch of the early phases; and after him Father Mullois played the role of pioneer and precursor. Teams of Brothers succeeded them to exploit the ground that had been won, to direct, pacify, instruct and morally elevate the young tribesmen. Religious and skilled workmen cooperated, and the division of labor was intelligently effected. Vaugirard, Issy and Igny realized the hopes of their founders; they had become family homes and buzzing, active hives. Nothing was neglected – vocational training, physical education and musical aptitude. St. Nicolas' bands echoed joyously on the streets of Paris; and prayer lifted souls above the level of the merely vulgar. Physical need devolved, prudently, upon the maternal attentions of Sisters belonging to the charitable Orders.

We can understand the solicitude of the Second Empire – and of the French Republic before the rise of sectarianism – with regard to such an excellent project. "A certain number of poor children", wrote Brother Photius in 1872, "were supported at St. Nicolas at the expense of Napoleon III and the Empress". The Ministry of Public Education also granted scholarships and subsidies. Jules Simon, after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, continued to pay the room-and-board for several workers' sons.

At the World Fair of 1867 awards underscored the speedy and splendid results obtained by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. An association of teachers and technicians, of administrators chosen from among people of the world and from among religious teachers selected with the greatest care, an autonomous institution guaranteed by contract of help by a flourishing Congregation, St. Nicholas, from the moment Brother Philippe staffed it with De La Salle's disciples moved rapidly toward the most brilliant goals.

We shall complete the definition of its character, its place in education and in the social organization in the 19th century. In 1871 Octave Gréard, at the time Director of Education in the Prefecture of the Seine, spoke in the following terms concerning the problem of apprenticeship: the child in an ordinary workshop is employed "in errands, in carrying things, and in arranging them...and the only thing he learns is how to break up, how to fritter away, his day. His mind wilts; he has lost the taste for work, and he adopts a taste for laziness; and rapidly he falls even lower. Meeting with no encouragement for good and in perpetual contact with men who, by age, strength and passion, dominate him and who do not always respect children, he strains in order to place himself at their level in the only way he can be equal with them – by imitating evil. Vice sweeps him along, a precocious vice – which is the worst of all – a product of a perverted imagination, which physically and morally corrupts life in its source."[832]

In the moral order, as in the professional sphere, equally painful evaluations, equally keen anxieties touched the hearts of educators, sociologists, heads of families and leaders of contemporary industry. The modern legislator was obliged to conjure with "the crisis of apprenticeship"; large employers, Chambers of Commerce, at the same time, multiplied their initiatives. The Brothers, in their "evening courses", in their classes for apprentices, sought to give people – whether adolescent or adult – some of the elements of general education and preserve or awaken their faith. As successors to Bishop Bervanger, they brought to the theory and to the practice of training workers one of the most important and one of the most

[832] Cited in Gossot, pp. 287-288.

efficacious contributions.[833]

[833] Note on the Work of St. Nicholas, communicated by M. Vaubaillon (Brother Annobert Joseph). Brother Albert Valentine, *Un demi-siècle sous le signe de Saint-Nicholas*, Frère Basile-Joseph (Henri Levesque), 1933, pp. 92-114. G. Rigault, Le Frère Philippe, pp. 93-96. National Archives, F17 12,465 and 12,466, St. Nicholas file.

PART THREE

RELIGIOUS DIRECTION AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GENERALATE

CHAPTER ONE

The Government and the Soul of the Brothers of the Christian Schools

In their external manifestations the French activities of the Generalate have occupied us at great length. We now know the facade, the plans and the proportions of the edifice. We have also been able to glance at its depths, to ascertain the power of its structure and the strength of its bonds. It remains to penetrate to the center of the Lasallian household and to attempt to uncover its soul. Of course, in recounting the story of some of its institutions, we have not failed to acclaim their founders and to mark their features in our memories. To establish contact with these men of noble character and of bold initiatives is in itself to enter into the place where they dwelt. Now we need only cling to their steps so as to find ourselves in the company of other animators and of other leaders, their comrades, and to become familiar with the manners and customs of the Congregation in order to realize a sense of total Religious atmosphere.

From the outset we have been aware of Brother Philippe's physical presence. It dominated the circle that the Assistants formed about him – like the Peers of the realm around Charlemagne. Beginning in 1844, there were eight Assistants, and, then, because of the rapid growth of the Institute, in 1855 they became a Council of Ten. The figures of several of them survive in the recollections of people still living: – veterans of years of struggle, lieutenants of former Superiors-general. We shall have to take our leave of Brother Eloi, who restored the schools in Bordeaux, Father Chaminade's disciple, the skillful and dedicated aide to Brothers Gerbaud, Guillaume de Jésus, and Anacletus. With him comes to a close a chapter in the annals of the Institute: he died on April 1, 1847, the last of the old men who remained behind in the Holy Child Jesus House in the Faubourg St. Martin after the departure of the "Regime" for its new headquarters. Everywhere he gained people's respect and affection, like one of the "meek" who here below are blessed and shall "possess the land". He succeeded in delicate missions, and he contributed mightily to political peace and to the harmony of minds. At one time a model catechist, he instructed the clergy in Guyana, in Gascony and in Languedoc. As a septuagenarian, he persisted in the daily study of Christian Doctrine in order to fulfill his Rule. His apostolate was perpetuated among his spiritual heirs with two books which have remained in manuscript: Daily Reflections on Thoughts from the "Manual of Piety" and Thirty Exhortations or Months Preparatory to First Communion. His agreeableness, his urbanity, his readily pleasing sense of humor enabled a solid virtue and a genuinely informed wisdom to show through. Brother Philippe sounded him out on many administrative traditions and profited from the efforts of his last days.[834]

And we are no longer unaware of the intellectual and moral worth of Brothers Calixtus, Abdon and Nicholas, of their many labors in favor of young teachers, in the founding of schools and in the stimulus they gave to conscience and to studies. Under the leadership of the Superior-general, they retained important responsibilities, a preponderate influence – especially the first two, "the Colbert and Louvois" to "the Institute's Louis XIV". He was a leader who deserved to be well served, and he carried to the highest degree the art of attracting

[834] Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pp. 197-198.

the most distinguished as well as the most obedient and discreet cooperation.

In 1844, succeeding Brother Jean Chrysostom was Brother Jurson, whose career as a member of the "Regime" was brief; although it embraces ample and prolific works in the southern provinces of which he remains one of their claims to fame. He was born in Toulouse in 1806, where he made his novitiate and from where he was sent to Bordeaux under orders to Brother Alphonsus. The latter found in the twenty-year old Religious a sharp mind, a remarkable faculty for observation and a surprising aptitude for taking advantage of the experience of others.

Brother Jurson became Sub-Director of the Community in Bordeaux and then ultimately established his reputation as an administrator and teacher in Bayonne. The Superior-general, who was well informed concerning the Brother's accomplishments, in 1842 asked him to step forward and appointed him Visitor of residence schools and, pretty nearly simultaneously, Director of the large Community in Lille. But this change was terminated with the meeting of the General Chapter: as a new Assistant, Brother Jurson would display his powers for work and his skills as a pilot and captain in the Motherhouse. He took a comprehensive part in all the Congregation's activities, maintained its schools and its members steady during the troubled times of 1848 and played a considerable role in the plenary assemblies of 1849 and 1853. However, during the course of the second of these Chapters he resigned, although he had just been re-elected. His health did not seem to have been a factor: he was to live for forty years more, and he employed them diligently. He came down off the heights to live more closely with his Brothers and to cultivate more deeply a portion of the Lasallian patrimony. He became Visitor of the District of Rodez, where he found "his consolation, his happiness", and which he forever marked with his stamp.[835]

Another Assistant who had taken part in the "Regime" for a rather brief space of time (1838-1849) in 1855 was given the responsibility of Procurator-general. This was the venerated Brother Benedict, one of Brother Emery's first novices at Petit College in Lyons. At the beginning of 1871 Brother Philippe was to refer to the virtues of the deceased in particularly warm terms. To quite constant and exact labor Brother Benedict joined charity, patience and humility which won him a reputation for holiness.[836]

Brothers Anthelme, Amos, Peloguin, Firmilian, all four ranked among the most faithful workers of the administration. Italy had given prominence to Brother Anthelme, while Belgium had done the same for Brother Amos. Both of them had been elected with Brother Jurson; and they retained their former "provinces" among the regions that they controlled. Differing in points of origin and in education (the former was a native of the Beaujolais who had entered the Institute before he was fifteen years of age, while the latter, a native of Lorraine and a pupil of his village's schoolmaster, was already an adult when he applied in 1823 to the Institution in the Faubourg St. Martin), they brought to deliberations a vast experience of the world, a great deal of insight, and – what effects successful solutions and unanimous agreements – " an amicable serenity", indeed a simple cheerfulness. Brother Anthelme had a face that did not seem "to age"; his body however experienced the exhaustion of a long life and of occasionally painful missions; having resigned in 1861, the old man retired to his birthplace in Lyons and to the conventual house of Caluire. Meanwhile, Brother Amos pursued his task nearly to the end of the generalate; the Chapter of 1873 accepted his resignation; and Brother Philippe uttered on the spot the eulogy of "this working companion, this so very upright nature,

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[835] Choix de Notices, Vol. I, pp. 14-21. And monograph of the District of Rodez.

[836] Choix de Notices, Vol. II, pp. 51-63.

this man of good counsel."[837]

Between 1834 and 1845 the name of Brother Peloguin was bound up with the schools in Rouen. As Director-general of these institutions he had supplied Brother Calixtus with very valuable assistance through courses in Physics and Chemistry taught to students in the normal school. Thereafter, for fifteen months, he directed the penal institution in Fontevrault, and then assumed control of the normal school in Aurillac and in 1847 became Visitor in Lyons. On December 15, 1849, he took Brother Benedict's place in the "Regime". With his imposing presence, majestic head and searching gaze under thick brows, he was, incontestably, a leader; and worthy of that title also by reason of his merits and his service. People saw in him a cultivated mind and an abundant memory from which he was able to draw captivating stories. His jovial Languedocian temperament made him easily accessible; but he set aside nothing of the distinctiveness of his manner nor the nobility of his character. And he earned affection the moment he had shown the goodness of his heart.[838]

His colleague and compatriot, Brother Firmilian, seemed more severe. Like Brother Peloguin, he had come from Herault, the Department in which he was born, to the novitiate in Avignon. He had been a teacher in that city and, thereafter, in Lodeve, Bollene, Lunel and Marseille. In 1838 he became Director of the Junior Novitiate in Lyons, which was merely a passing experiment. And the following year he received an "Obedience" from the Visitor to go to the District of Paris. The former "southern province" of the Institute was thus providing officers and troops to other regions of France. It was restoring something of the hundredfold of the loans that Normandy, Champagne and Lorraine had made to it during the previous century. Brother Firmilian brought his sober and austere visage to the Communities in the capital and in the Parisian suburbs and made just demands upon all – order, work and regularity. He exhibited the same zeal in the District of Avignon, to which he was returned in November of 1841. He was an indefatigable traveler, whether through the Alps, on the banks of the Rhone, the shores of the Mediterranean or on the cliffs of the Ardeche or the Lozere. He organized the novitiate in Marseille. His reputation for solid virtue and systematic wisdom earned him re-election at the Chapter of 1853. He was a man for patient inquiry and for files to be classified and kept up to date. Among the Assistants he was especially responsible for the office of personnel. In 1861 he wrote an "historical account of the Brothers of the Christian Schools" and had it passed out to the Capitulants assembled at Rue Oudinot. Destined to survive Brother Philippe and to die in 1880 as First Assistant, Brother Firmilian possessed, indeed, many of the qualities of a high-level bureaucrat; but his scrupulous exercise of exceptional responsibility never got in the way of his dedication nor his piety.[839]

One of the sturdiest fixtures of the Lasallian Society was Brother Facile (Benoît Rabut) who was born in Cublize (Rhone) on April 15, 180 and died in Marseille on April 2, 1877. We point to the election of 1861 which situated him with the Superior-general. And it crowned nearly a half-century of a life dedicated to poor children, unfortunate captives and then to schoolboys in Canada and the United States. Brother Philippe, moreover, had no intention of separating from the masterpiece that was in the making in America from the architect with the robust shoulders and the powerful mind: the institutions in the New World were listed under Brother Facile's control along with the schools in Normandy, England, the Indes and Southeast Asia.[840] That

[837] Notice nécrologiques, November 5, 1870 and November 2, 1877.

[838] Notice nécrologique, April 15, 1873.

[839] Notices nécrologiques, 1880.

[840] Notices nécrologiques, July 25, 1877.

enumeration alone is enough to warn us that a fundamental study of this man would be premature. We shall sketch his portrait when we take up the role that devolved upon him in the French prisons; and we shall know him better when he appears to us in all his greatness as a founder.

Similarly, we shall devote more attention to the activities of Brother Assistant Jean- Olympe, and we shall look more closely and with greater admiration at his ashen face with its blunt lines, under wooly hair – "that unfavored integument of a totally supernatural soul"– as soon as we shall reach the threshold of the generalate begun in 1874 by Brother Philippe's successor and, the very next year, concluded by his death.[841]

To these principal representatives of the Institute's central government, it is fitting – we believe – to add, in memoriam, Brother Floridus, Vicar in the Papal States between 1859 and 1870 and, beginning in 1870 until 1880, Procurator-general to the Holy See. His career in Italy was strewn with obstacles and trials, because it exactly coincided with the period during which Pius IX lost temporal sovereignty, and when Italian unity was achieved following a plan contrary to Catholic preferences and in an climate of suspicion, indeed of hostility, toward Religious Congregations. Brother Floridus was an energetic man, experienced in suffering and completely abandoned to the divine will – as he was in the founding of the residence school in Toulouse, as Director of Novices in Clermont and in his duties – exceptional for the time – as Visitor of the houses of formation. Rome would put the finishing touches on the halo for the pristine brow of this candidate for sanctity. Later on we shall have to cross the frontier to tell the story of these labors.[842]

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Following the example of the Jesuits, the Brothers of the Christians Schools are strictly hierarchized under a supreme command. Everything – the personal status of each Brother, the appointment and changes of teachers, questions of a spiritual or material order concerning the Communities, and educational programs – related, in the final analysis, to the Superior-general; everything of major importance, if not of matters of detail, had to end up at the Motherhouse, where it became an object of study and decision on the part of the "Regime". The selection of Assistants, therefore, took on an extreme importance. And once it had been decided by General Chapters (or, in the interval between these assemblies, by "Electoral Commissions") a long incumbency was usually necessary. Prior to 1789, this was not always the case. But the Institute in the 19th century found itself in an altogether different set of conditions of life and of growth: its schools and their teachers much more numerous, its apparent conquests much more widespread, and its legislative arrangements – already international – singularly more complex, it demanded experienced leaders, inured to daily difficulties, in a position to withstand elusive impressions, errors of the imagination and precipitous judgments.

That is why we have just run through – as in the past a person might have done in the peaceable, hospitable corridors of Lembecq-lez-Hal, the former Motherhouse – a gallery of

[841]Bulletin des Ecole chrétiennes for October 1933, pg. 313, taken from Mémoires, Ms. by Brother Pierre Chrysologus.

[842] We have dealt elsewhere with Brother Mamert, Director and Visitor in Lyons, founder of the "Lazarist" residence school and, beginning in 1858, Brother Philippe's Assistant. He was endowed with "powerful intellectual and moral faculties" says his necrological notice (1882). Choix de notices, Vol. I, pp. 32-47. Brother Floridus was the uncle of the celebrated Capuchin in Toulouse, Father Marie-Antoine.

portraits. With eyes fixed upon the picture of a Brother Calixtus or a Brother Peloguin, we become filled with the character and the role of these men, and we can imagine in what ways of abnegation, of humility, of silent docility and of apostolic ardor they may lead their trailblazers. The latter were numbered in the thousands: in 1839, 313 Communities embraced 2,317 Brothers. In 1854, there were 5,723 in 776 institutions, and in 1864, there were 8,385. At the end of the generalate, there were more than 10,000 Brothers in more than 1,000 establishments.[843] They were teaching 144,000 pupils in the States of Gregory XVI, Louis-Philippe, Charles Albert, and Leopold I an entire decade after 1830. In 1874 their public, not only European, but American, African and Asiatic, made up a group of 340,000 pupils.

From now on, without upsetting tradition and without surprising innovations, the administrative system responded to the demands of the organism. Brother Philippe had adjusted and judiciously utilized the institution of "Visitor", which had been anticipated by the "Rule of Government". During the lifetime of De La Salle and under the generalates of his first three successors Communities were directly dependent upon the Superior of the Congregation: in principle, he visited them annually. If he were prevented, he entrusted the inspection to one of his Brothers, *missus dominicus*, temporarily. In the XVIIIth century the "Brother Visitor" did not have to surrender this modest, narrowly circumscribed role.

After the restoration of the Institute, matters were pretty much the same. In order to inquire into the conditions of schools, the teachers' knowledge, the results obtained by pupils, to supervise receipts and expenditures, to provide the Brothers with the means of freely and confidentially talking with a delegate of the "Regime", to communicate and, if need be, explain certain decisions to the Communities, the Brother Assistant, in cooperation with the Superior-general, ordinarily selected a Director of one of the "major houses" belonging to the region in question. Welcomed with respect and obedience as the representative of higher authority, and, furthermore, personally known to his temporary subordinates – his neighbors, his former companions – the Visitor wrote a number of comments on the Community's register, checked the balance of accounts; and then wrote a report to the Motherhouse that could keep the Superiors informed.

It's easy to understand how Brother Philippe found this *missus* as the indispensable linchpin in the regular and uninterrupted operation of the mechanism. In De La Salle's Institute, substantially augmented, the Visitors in a certain sense occupied the place of the "supervisors of justice, police and finances" in the France of the days of the Bourbon kings. Just as the "Masters of Petitions" appointed in ancient times to guarantee the execution of laws and to report to the king, ended up by becoming the most powerful and the most secure bureaucrats in the ancient monarchy, the religious inspectors of the past – whose title no long gives exactly the idea of their hierarchical position – assumed the leadership over vast territories.

In 1771 Brother Florence had divided the Communities into three "Provinces": one, "beyond Lyons", i.e., "the South", and the other two "this side", i.e., "the West" and the "East"; each had its headquarters, Avignon, Paris and Maréville, respectively. But this arrangement scarcely did anything more than defend the Institute as much as possible from annoying and illicit meddling on the part of the Archbishop's office in Rouen; and it promoted the meeting of the "Provincial Chapters" envisioned by Article XV of the Bull of 1725.[844] As for establishing, as a permanent representative of the "Regime", the Visitor whom the Pontifical Decree called upon to preside at Assemblies, Brother Florence refused to come to a decision, in spite of the

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[843] .[843]Essai sur la Maison-Mère, graphic bookplate, pg. 228. And Ravelet, 1933 edition, table on pg. 457.

[844] In these very circumstances, some Visitors were able to exercise considerable influence. Witness Brother Abdon in he North. (See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 562.)

very clear resolution voted by the Chapter held in Avignon.[845]

It is true that at that time the Superior and his three Assistants were able without any exceptional effort to administer the entire Institute. And, of course, after the Revolution, Brother Florence could neither look for a way, nor even conceive the desire, to change ancient custom. Only the Brothers in Rome, as we know, were in the unique situation of living under the immediate authority of the "Vicar-general".

However, the expansion of the Institute demanded comprehensive measures. At the time of the first school in the Low-Countries, broad initiatives and, then, – because of the exigencies of King William – a nearly absolute autonomy had to be granted to Brother Claude.[846] In 1834, during Brother Anacletus' generalate, Belgium, Savoy, Piedmont and the Papal States were the four "Provinces" of the Institute lying outside of France.[847]

It remained to function in a similar way within France. Very broad boundaries were drawn on the map, within which Communities were obliged to receive direction, assemble their personnel into "principal houses" and equip a novitiate. It was in this way that, as early as Brother Philippe's era, the first Districts were organized: Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Toulouse, Nantes and Clermont. The superiors who governed them – whom we might call "Provincial Directors" – were the Visitors; they established their residence at a headquarters, and supervised the training of Brothers in a consistent fashion, the development of schools and the operation of every project. They made appointments and rotated Brothers' employment, except for the Director, whose selection the Superior-general reserved for himself. And some questions – administrative, financial or involving the Brothers' conscience – continued to be subject to the scrutiny and the decision of the "Regime".

This was the first decentralization, or, more exactly, "deconcentration", to use a term current during the last century. Indeed, there was no dismembering of the supreme authority. The Visitors possessed only a partial, subordinate and always temporary delegation of power.

Their responsibility was critical, their travels constant and exhausting and their correspondence massive; since they had to know and understand everything, resolve the many problems posed by the Brothers Director, to settle numerous difficulties between the latter and their associates, between the founders or benefactors of a school and the teachers and to preserve or reestablish good relations with civil, educational or ecclesiastical authorities.

And the area assigned them was extensive. Too extensive, it might be said, because of the sluggish communications and the discomfort and dearth of the means of travel. It was the period during which, within the limits of a Department – which today seem cramped – the energies of a gifted Prefect would be completely absorbed.

Lasallian Visitors yielded to no bureaucrat in the matter of work. The Visitor of the District of Paris had to make the run from Nancy to Cherbourg and from Mézieres to Blois. Within these parameters were scattered seventy-five institutions whose thresholds he had to cross, learn their ins-and-outs in-depth, meanwhile taking part in religious exercises and listening to the revelations of their occupants. Originally the District of Toulouse was a fiefdom that spilled over the frontiers of ancient Languedoc: sixteen Departments – Upper-Garonne, Ariege, Eastern Pyrenees, Aude, Herault, Aveyron, Tarn, Tarn-and-Garonne, Lot, Lot-and-Garonne, Dordogne, Gironde, Landes, Lower-Pyrenees, Gers and Upper-Pyrenees – fed its novitiate; and it supplied teachers to Bordeaux as well as to Bayonne and Montpellier. Clermont served

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[845] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 348 and 349.

[846] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 562 et sq.

[847] See above, pg. 186.

as the capital for a territory which, apart from Auvergne, included Velay, Vivarais, Gevaudan, Bourbonnais, Limousin and even extended beyond the limits of these regions.

It became essential to divide blocks of territory. Bordeaux had already been pursuing an existence independent of Toulouse, although Brothers were still being exchanged between the two cities. In 1847, the "Regime" decided upon the creation of the District of Beziers and, in 1850, the District of Rodez. In the normal course of events, it ascribed to the former the Departments carved out of Lower-Languedoc and Roussillon.[848] In the beginning thirteen Communities constituted the new grouping in Rouergue: Rodez, Millau, Villefranche, St. Affrique, Espalion, St. Geniez, Mur-de-Barrez, Martel, Cahors, Najac, St. Ceré, and, indeed, until further notice, Meyrueis in Lozere and St. Antonin in the Tarn-and-Garonne. A novitiate was begun as early as 1851.[849] The same thing was true of Bordeaux during the same year. Beziers did not open its novitiate until 1856. Belonging to Toulouse at about this time were about forty institutions, mostly clustered about Upper-Garonne and Ariege.

In August 1851 twenty-three schools were severed from Clermont; they were divided up between Moulins and Le Puy.[850] In 1852 Avignon ceded to Marseille twenty-six Communities which operated nearly twice as many schools in Bouches-du-Rhone, Var, Lower-Alps and Upper-Alps.[851]

Most of these changes took place after the Falloux Law. Freedom became the sanction for every hope: the rapid growth of educational institutions had to be anticipated; and it had to be planned by means of a sensible organization within appropriate structures. Thus, in the West, the District of Rouen was composed exclusively of schools in the Lower-Seine; and soon thereafter Calvados and Manche would become the District of Caen. This exaggerated parcelling out lasted until 1867, when the three Norman Departments fell under the staff of a single pastor.[852]

Through Brother Philip's efforts, the administrative geography of the Institute was simplified, if not finally determined. French Districts in 1861, ranked alphabetically, were: Ajaccio, Amiens, Arras, Aurillac, Avignon, Bayonne, Beauvais, Beziers, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dole-Besancon, Le Mans, Le Puy, Lyons, Marseille, Moulins, Nantes, Paris, Quimper, Rodez, Rouen, St. Omer, Thionville, and Toulouse. They covered all regions of the country. And as for the colonial possessions we shall locate them on the Lasallian map of the world as foreign "Provinces".

Under the authority of the Brothers Assistant – among whom the Superior-general divided Provinces and Districts, not according to some preconceived plan, but by taking into account background, aptitudes and linguistic skills – the post of Visitor gave prominence to the most brilliant and zealous members of the Lasallian family. In Toulouse there was Brother Claude who had done well during his stay in Belgium. Outstanding at the beginning of Rodez as a

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848 However, the boundaries of a District did not necessarily coincide with political frontiers; special reasons could be the occasion of joining some Communities to a headquarters which was not that of their Department. Thus, Toulouse preserved its authority in Aude over Belpech and Castelnaudary and, in Tarn, over Lautrec and Lavaur. (Historique du Noviciat de Toulouse.)

849 Monographie du district de Rodez.

850 Historiques de Clermont and du Puy.

851 Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for July, 1935, pg. 205.

852 Historique du district de Normandie Eure did not belong to this District until 1876; after a temporary annexation, Orne was reunited to Mans. Later, the Communities in Oise were to depend upon the Visitor of Normandy.

District was the judicious Brother Lucilus, whose tenure lasted for only two years, as did that of his replacement, Brother Judore. But, in 1854 began the long and vigorous administration of Brother Jurson, a man who was a match for his mission, and, indeed, capable of dominating it through his experience as a former Assistant and the enormous range of his mind. Immediately he saw what Rouergue, with its Christian households, its patriarchal morals and its deeply rooted faith could supply the Institute. There Religious vocations flourished in abundance: the Brother Visitor, while respecting people's inclinations and decisions invited youngsters by the hundreds to his novitiate. With a sure judgment he selected and directed them and put them to work. And with his personal culture and his clearsighted wisdom he challenged and encouraged them to study. There were many future teachers who successfully took examinations for the elementary and higher certificate. Their superior did not covetously reserve them for his own District: but from the institution that he had finally founded in connection with St. Joseph's residence school in 1857, Brothers, well equipped with knowledge and with a fortified conscience, set out for any region that required the circulation of Catholic teaching, especially Paris and Bordeaux.[853]

In the latter city their educational and religious growth flowered under the stimulus of the celebrated Brother Alphonsus, who, as we know, enjoyed throughout the Bordeaux region an immense popularity and a genuinely exceptional position; he exercised his influence on civil magistrates, on the teaching profession and on the socially privileged; he swept his confreres along in his own luminous wake.

In Brittany the "saintly" memory of Brother Valentine, Visitor in Nantes for eight years (1856-1864) continued to be revered. Brother Osee succeeded him at the head of this superb District, which embraced ten Departments. A native of the Franche-Comté transplanted to the banks of the Loire, Brother Osee was a powerful personality with an "easy-going manner". He had succeeded magnificently as head of the Bel-Air residence school. Under his rough exterior there beat a sensitive heart that loved "his Nantes youngsters" as tenderly as a mother. His speech, with its deep tones and zesty expressions, swelled effortlessly in enthusiasm or indignation; he both stimulated and captivated. And his generosity, his sensitivity and his piety earned him universal respect.[854]

His colleague in Quimper was Brother Dagobert, the son of Breton plowmen, who, except for a brief visit to Sables d'Olonne, had never left his native province. He had been a schoolboy in Rennes and a teacher in Vannes, in Nantes the Director of St. Pierre's school and in Quimper the Director of Likès residence school. For a quarter of a century he had worked for the District that had been created in 1854. He was detached, austere, apostolic and a model to his subordinates for his assiduity in studies, his liturgical tastes and for his lively Marian devotion.[855]

Paris had been the ground for the reputation of Brother Artheme, the younger brother of the Superior-general. After Brother Aggeus' death, Clermont-Ferrand would be the beneficiary of the systematic action and the creative energies of a man who was worthy of his elder brother. The new Visitor came to Auvergne at a time during which the Lasallian province that was spread over the entire Massif Central was, necessarily, being divided. Along with a thriving novitiate, he preserved about thirty schools and, out of the 308 Brothers over whom his predecessor presided, a homogeneous group of 176 teachers and professors operating in the

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853 Notices, Vol. I, pp. 14-21.

854 I. Cicé, op. cit., note #5.

855 Notes, #3 and #8, appendix to the biography, Frère Camille-de Jésus, p. I. by Cicé, 1927.

Departments of Puy-de-Dome, Cantal, Loire, Correze, Upper-Vienne and Creuse. Twenty-four years of skillful administration (1851-1875) brought the number of Brothers to more than 400, the schools to 60 and the pupils to 14,000. And Clermont, like Rodez, continued to be an important center of excellent vocations and of religious life.[856]

An offshoot detached from the center in Auvergne, Puy – whose initial boundaries included the Upper-Loire and Lozere – also manifested an edifying zeal and a spirit that was thoroughly in tune with the Founder's Rule. Brother Paulinus and, after him, Brother Hugolin were not unaware of what could be expected of strapping, hard-working mountain people, satisfied with their lot, faithful to their traditions and subject to obedience. They transformed a great number of them into sound teachers. And they did not hesitate to send them into Cantons of awkward access and in among their artless compatriots. Very often the dwelling would be one of extreme poverty; the wind would blow harshly, and the snow would block the roads. In such a climate and in such isolation the small Communities held fast – heroically, like a Brother Benilde, tending, like him, toward total abnegation and a dedication without earthly reward. By the quality of the members and by the results obtained, still tangible after three or four generations, we may judge of the mind, the perseverance and the faith of the pioneers.[857]

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Everywhere these pioneers went they tried to link their disciples with the Lasallian ideal. Actually circumstances and the times occasionally posed obstacles to their best intentions. The increase in the number of schools required an intensive recruitment; there was a danger of admitting postulants of mediocre quality in order to maintain the teaching personnel at the level of educational demands. An unhurried training would make up for the gaps in elementary instruction; and a full year of novitiate would be the minimal period required to enlighten youths as to their duties and provide vocations with an unshakable foundation. However, it happened to some Brothers that they were prematurely snatched from the men who were training them. Armand Le Lièvre, a young Norman peasant, began as a teacher-assistant in Caen, in the Vaucelles neighborhood, in 1864, less than six months after having put on the habit and received the name of Brother Aucte.[858]

Adolph Relaut entered the novitiate in Paris on April 1, 1866 but did not remain there for the time prescribed by Canon Law: "if Brother Adolph of Mary lacked something when he had reached full maturity, it was probably that complete balance between the active and contemplative life that only retreat and solitude can effect."[859]

But men like Brothers Adolph and Aucte were vouched for as excellent religious. Under the influence of their Directors, in regular Communities, their innate generosity blossomed into a total gift to the service of God. They would have been spared a lot of grief, however, and many an annoying moment if it had not been necessary to thrust them, like Marie-Louise in 1814, into the melee before they were able to wield their weapons.

But around about them, how many young makeshift combatants faltered and fell! There were the teachers who had to teach themselves even as they taught their classes, yesterday's children wearied by meditation, overwhelmed by homesickness, for whom the yoke of obedience and

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856 Historique de Clermont.

857 Historique du district du Puy.

858 Armand Le Lièvre, Frère Aucte (by Brother Albert Valentine), 1931, pg. 29.

859 Le Pensionnat Saint-Pierre de Dreux (by the same author), 1914, pg. 418.

the shock of the life seemed intolerable. There were those who vacillated in their permanent commitment. They pronounced the "triennial vows" that were customary in the Congregation or, after 1858, the annual vows, introduced by the General Chapter of that year and which a Pontifical rescript had decreed valid.[860] But they did not renew them. Without taking final vows, a rather large number of the Brothers left neither the schools nor their confreres; they continued to wear the Lasallian habit and rabat; and they were called "employed novices". They incurred no disapproval; their behavior, even in the eyes of the ordinary layman and their piety in the eyes of the better informed were in no way different from the edifying example provided by the other sons of De La Salle. Nevertheless, it was a special, hybrid category and a destablizing element that the Institute was planning on eliminating in order to safeguard its own vigor and without awaiting the moment when the Holy See would decree stricter laws.

The conditions in which educational work was dispensed, the schedules and the overwork imposed upon the teachers, the exhaustion of an instruction that was sometimes disseminated to fifty or sixty pupils scarcely simplified the observance of the Rule for some Brothers. There were Brothers Director who allowed themselves to be inundated by administrative concerns; their subordinates saw them taken away from meditation or prayer by a lesson that had to be prepared or an examination that they themselves had to take. In residence schools, especially in ones just beginning with a reduced personnel, the task seemed to absorb people. This was the case in Beziers before Brother Leufroy. Returning from Italy, Brother Assistant Abdon visited the institution; he questioned the teachers: "Are you faithful to your exercises?" They had no time for them, they replied. They had been saying their morning prayer with the students in the dormitory. And, for the rest of the day, they never left the children; and, in their view, there could be no possibility of particular examen or spiritual reading.[861]

Certainly, the Superior-general worried about these shortcomings. As he had said at the Extraparliamentary Committee in 1849,[862] he feared an influx of candidates ill-informed about their religious obligations and teachers who were themselves scarcely civilized. What he meant to avoid at that time was the inadequate apprenticeship of Brothers in schools, living with confreres of diverse ages and educational levels, who were too involved with their teaching or too incompetent to care for budding vocations. For the lack of something better, he had to resign himself in many places to just this system when the Restoration of the Society was beginning. It gradually disappeared as the number of novitiates increased.

The thinking of the great Institute revivers since the days of Brother Frumence had been to open independent houses of formation, well equipped, possessing a chapel, placed under a paternal command, affectionate and firm, and designed after the model, and thoroughly imbued with the spirituality, of the ancient institutions in Rheims, Vaugirard, Avignon and St. Yon. And without fail, Brother Philip followed in their footsteps. In 1849 he planned the opening of new centers: the realignment of District and the role that had devolved upon the Brothers Visitor rendered these proposals urgent and easier, which, moreover, the civil powers encouraged.

In 1851 the novitiates in Metz. Bourges, Rodez, Talence (near Bordeaux) and Caen were founded. A note written on April 23, 1852 by the Vicomte Melun, delivered by him to the King/President and revealed to the Council of Ministers on May 3 suggests the operation of fifteen novitiates of the Brothers on French territory. The author claims that from these

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860 A new edition of the Rule of the Institute had appeared in 1858 (See Rivista lasalliana for March, 1934).

861 Archives of the residence school: Historique of the Institution.

862 See above, pg. 309.

institutions 400 Brothers could issue annually, if subsidies guaranteed the maintenance of the recruits.[863] Actually, Napoleon III was to show an interest in this work.[864]Thus, he paid the room-and-board in Caen for the young Brother Aucte whose gratitude translated "into a cult of admiration that was somewhat exclusive" with respect to the Emperor.[865]

But money was not enough, without the effort of people and without the cooperation of teachers and pupils with divine grace. And this is exactly why the "Regime" selected the most qualified Religious to direct the novices. Under the guidance of such men an imposing number of Christian educators remained faithful to the Founder's principles. And from this system there emerged a religious aristocracy that was able to climb the heights of holiness: "roped" together unbrokenly were all those who were joined to the most experienced, the most intrepid guides and all those who, following them, would lead groups prepared for every sacrifice, including immolation, on the rocks and the glaciers of the "evangelical counsels".

Since nearly he beginning of the century the Brothers in Toulouse had assumed the leadership of the movement. Their novitiate had been strengthened by the efforts of marvelous connoisseurs of souls, the heirs of Brother Bernardine: Brother Seurin, followed by Brother Victor, Brother Adaucte and Brother Julian. In 1819 Brother Victor was guiding about twenty adolescents. He was just barely senior to his students; but spiritual sons like Brothers Floridus, Jurson, Libanos, and Judore witnessed in favor of his apostolic zeal.[866]

Brother Adaucte – Gilles Joseph Dethier – a Belgian from Fleron-lez-Liege was admitted to the novitiate in Namur at the time that the Institute came to his native land. Driven out by the Dutch persecution, he dedicated himself to French children. His former Director, Brother Claude, appreciated the exile's lofty virtues: and he summoned him to his side at Nantes, first of all, and then at Upper Garrone. Brother Adaucte, a northerner with compressed energy, stamped his mark on the Pyreneans, as Brother Irlide had done on the Languedocians, as Brother Exupérien had done on the Provencals, and as Brother Louis of Poisy had done: – a constellation of major Superiors whose brilliance reflected back upon the great and humble Religious who trained them.[867]

His disciples saw in him "an incarnation of the spirit of the Institute". He revealed himself in his strength of character and in the usual sobriety of his language when, receiving Adrian Mas – the future Brother Exupérien – in Toulouse in 1847 in the midst of the gloom of the Leotade affair, he addressed the young man from Beziers in the following terms: "My friend, you have come to us at a very bad time; but it's a good opportunity to show God your love. It's when Jesus Christ's servants are humiliated that it is better still to follow Him by carrying His

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863 National Archives, F17 12,461.

864 National Archives, F17 12,461. N

865 (Brother Albert Valentine, op. cit., pg. 25.)

866 The father and the younger brother of the Director of novices in Toulouse also belonged to the Congregation. The former, a soldier in the Imperial army, fell into the hands of the Spaniards at the seige of Saragossa and made a vow that he would enter the Religious life if he regained his freedom. At forty-five years of age, he became Brother Roger of Jesus in the institution which his son directed. In 1820 Brother Sylvius became reunited in the same place with the other two members of his family. The three of them became, consecutively, Directors of the Community in Fronton. (Historique du noviciat de Toulouse.)

867 Ibid. and Choix de Notices, Vol. III, pp. 306-316.

Cross."[868]

From Brother Adaucte to Brother Julian there was perfect continuity. Thomas Boyancé, from the Gironde, born in Bieujac in 1823, was raised by a prominently Christian mother and by an uncle who was a priest and who had him enter the Seminary in Bordeaux. After several years of studies, he told his relatives that his real vocation drew him toward De La Salle's Institute. He triumphed over quite understandable opposition. As a novice in Toulouse, he remained under the tutelage of Brother Adaucte, became saturated with the doctrine and the methods, and imitated the austerity of, his Director. To that he added the fire of his own personal temperament, the resources of his clerical training, the charm of his education, of his noble appearance and of his demeanor. In 1850 the assistant succeeded the superior. He was not yet twenty-seven years of age; but youthfulness deprived him of nothing of the confidence he inspired in Brother Claude, nor of the respect that his talents deserved, nor of the gravity of his look nor of the sobriety of his speech. However, his career was a brief one: – in Toulouse until 1861, and then to Marseille where, as Director of another novitiate, he died in 1864.[869]

The work of the Brothers employed in the novitiate in Languedoc was intense. In eighteen years Brother Adaucte accepted more than 1,200 postulants; the number of admissions hardly ever fell: from twenty-one in 1831 it rose to seventy in 1840. The high-water mark was reached four years latter, at which time 145 young men took the Religious habit.[870] Only momentarily did the Revolution of 1848 interrupt the contribution of the Catholic South of France. Among the Brothers of this period there were several who, subject to wakeful and strict discipline and to every demand of a genuine monastic life, amply honored their Congregation; apart from Brother Adaucte's three novices whose names we have already mentioned and who filled distinguished positions, we may recall that there came from Toulouse: Brother Lucard, the Director of the normal school in Rouen, who was also one of the Institute's historians; Brother Assistant, Junian; Brother Jaime, Visitor of Mans and of Amiens in Belgium; Brother Ligouri, Visitor in Canada and thereafter in London; Brother Liacim, Procurator-general; and Brother Justinus of Mary, who organized the schools in Spain.[871]

Virtue blossoms in a climate of fervor, where the most diverse and most one-sided personalities are able to become conscious of themselves, where they are capable of the most varied initiatives and adaptations, and where they can acquire – in the daily exercise of obedience – the idea of leadership. A high-spirited people with open minds, who too easily might have been dismissed for evading difficult duties and for following the bent of personal caprice, of foolish thought and action, had given without stinting of its sons to a thoroughly orthodox, austere and hard-working Society, created in very different times by the Canon of Rheims. After having received at the end of the 18th century the spiritual inheritance of John Baptist de La Salle, the Toulouse region had no doubt combined with it the savor of its own soil: it had contributed a new vigor to the tree, and produced the abundant fruit and rich resources that the Founder had wished. We cannot be surprised, then, that the latter had met with and aroused in the region some people who were his authentic successors.

In spite of the dismemberment of the District in 1851 and again in 1856 for the benefit of Rodez, Bordeaux and Beziers, recruitment did not dry up during the period of the Second Empire. In the Register of Entrants to the novitiate we notice that – from September 3, 1851 to

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868 Le Frère Exupérien, by Brother Paul Joseph, 1916, pp. 15-16.

869 District Archives: le Noviciat de Toulouse, de 1850 à 1904.

870 Lémandus, pg. 492.

871 Historique du noviciat de Toulouse.

July 11, 1853, out of 100 vocations twenty-eight were furnished by the Upper-Garonne, fourteen by Aude, eleven each by Ariege, Herault and Tarn, and ten by the Upper-Pyrenees. Due allowances being made, the effort was being sustained. True, concerning final perseverance, there were only thirty-nine after the "unsuitables" had been eliminated and the "drop-outs" had disappeared; but this was the loss that every Religious family expects to endure, especially when it must invite very young candidates into its midst and when the practice of perpetual vows is not universal and the period of commitment is not absolutely determined.[872]

It should be noted that two strong currents, issuing from Rouergue and the Basque country, were henceforth diverted. Bordeaux and Bayonne drained off the second of these without weakening it. Rodez, between sturdily constructed ramparts, offered candidates from Aveyron a solution that was close at hand. Its novitiate, accommodated at the outset in the buildings of the Communal school, then transferred briefly to Espalion, and brought back for three years within the shadow of the steeple of Notre Dame, was finally set up as comfortably as befitted such a numerous complement. About fifty postulants were in attendance at the beginning of each novitiate year. Many of them were supplied by the Cantons surrounding the headquarters; and it was quite exceptional for any of these youths "to look back, once they had put their hand to the plow";[873] their fathers had accustomed them to docility and to allegiance. Their Religious teachers had observed that they had already been disciplined to work, prayer, frugal food and to the peasant's cot. And while their characters were sometimes rough-hewn and their intellectual background fragmentary, their muscles and their souls were of excellent calibre and their minds were capable of growth. A tough, unadulterated and, indeed, precious metal emerged from this ore. In 1869 the child of a day-laborer, a native of the hamlet of Comps, attended the conferences of his master of novices, Brother Innocent Joseph; he loved this teacher who "through individual attention and suitable advice filled in the gaps" for his disciples; he was to finish, as he put it, his education the foundations of which had been patiently established and indestructibly secured, in the school in the St. Amans neighborhood; he was forever devoted to the Rule, "the principle of life and the joy of hearts"; without whining about rigid "admonitions" or "public penances". At the end of this road Antoine Lafabregue became Brother Superior-general Imier of Jesus, mighty in word and work.[874] For the quantity and the quality of its recruitment as well as for the propagation of Brothers throughout France and overseas, Le Puy vied – practically victoriously – with its neighbors in the South. Its house of formation, opened on the 1st of July, 1850 in the old Gouteyron buildings, assumed its proper posture and its requisite compass in 1854 opposite the cliffs of Puy in an estate that had once been owned by the Carmelites. Here, future Brothers in the hundreds succeeded one another, sometimes destined for their native region, sometimes intended to join, at the end of a few months testing, the big novitiate in Paris or some other center where vocations were not sufficiently numerous to staff the schools. Beginning in 1869, the long and crucial influence of the revered patriarch, Brother Passarion, was to assure the future of this chosen people, this tribe of Juda in the midst of Israel.

Between 1851 and 1875, 839 young men received the robe and rabat in Clermont-Ferrand. Since its beginnings in 1816, the novitiate had had the blessing of the bishops and the clergy. Auvergne, "the land of clear-headed people" – as St. Francis de Sales called it – was lavish

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872 Le Noviciat de Toulouse, de 1850 à 1904.

873 Brother Xiste's (Martin Aussel) obituary Memento.

874 Notice sur le T. H. Frère Imier-de-Jésus, 1929.

with the Institute. Its pastors had sent a number of the best of their flock to the "Jacobins" – the name retained by the old conventual estate in which the Brothers of the Christian Schools were trained. Subtracting those whom obedience had called to other regions and the sixty-nine who died prematurely, the District had 686 members available for deployment; but 320 of them did not persevere. It was a still heavier proportion than at Toulouse – the symptom of some sort of human failure and the undeniable effect of the somewhat cursory training that we have had to indicate and for which the concern of Visitors and Directors was inadequate to compensate; but it was a matter of importance to find the remedy for it.[875]

Among the French provinces which supplied the Institute with a considerable contingent we can list Savoy, Franche-Comté, Brittany and Normandy. Chambery boasted of Brother Ursane who, as a good psychologist, discerned hearts and talents and learned how to show his professorial favors to zealous and imaginative pupils, like Brother Vigbert Louis.[876] The people in Franche Comté continued to preach by example: they exhibited a good will in the service of the Church and the poor and a still more widespread action than in the days of the first novitiate in Dole. This city in the Juras, one of the Lasallian "seminaries" of the 18th century, did not, however, attract novices to the Congregation until between 1858 and 1861. It had been supplanted at first by Besancon and then by Neurey and Vesoul respectively. Finally, after a three year precarious existence in Dole, the novitiate returned and settled in the headquarters of Doubs.[877]

Brother Pionius, one of the excellent Religious who had been born in Bas-en-Basset, in the Upper-Loire, between 1848 and 1854 trained the Institute's young men in Nantes according to principles learned by him in the house in Lyons. He performed the same function in Normandy between 1855 and 1867. Brother Robustian, Visitor, had revived in 1851, the novitiate in Caen, the fleeting existence of which during the Restoration period had been interrupted in 1826. From Oudinot Street the Superiors had sent him Brother Albanus along with six students who had already been partially trained at the Motherhouse: and to this nucleus was joined, a few months later, two postulants from La Manche and Calvados. The small group lodged under the eves of the building in which the Rue Geole Community resided; they lacked space, independence and the minimum of comfort. The District was unable to invest anything more than a pittance; but still the subsidies granted by the city and the Prefecture assisted in covering the initial expenses. In this "attic" 260 vocations were fostered until 1870, i.e., an unpretentious mean of thirteen a year. Of these, the diocese of Coutances had single-handedly contributed 100, Rouen sixty-two, Bayeux thirty-four, Séez ten, and Evreux six. The remainder came from various provinces. When final vows were pronounced, there were 216 new Brothers. The legacy from a Mrs. Courdemanche of Lisieux would enable, with the purchase of the "Mission Enclosure" in Herouville, the growth of the work in a very beautiful estate.[878]

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[875] Vie du Frère Gonzalvien, by Brother Gustave of Mary, 1935, pp. 11-12, and District Archives. We have to stress that most of the Brothers who withdrew were either "employed novices" who had remained in the Institute for a certain number of years without vows or they were young Brothers who had pronounced only "temporary vows": at the expiration of their commitment they were able – in good conscience – to resume their freedom. These defections, annoying as they were and unfortunate but not scandalous, would have certainly been less numerous had the pressure of circumstances not forced the curtailment of the novitiate and yielded the spiritual frailty of so many beginners too soon to the weariness and the human anxieties of the classroom.

[876] Vie du Frère Louis, pp. 35-37.

[877] Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes, for April, 1927, pg. 117.

[878] Historique de Normandie. In 1861 the novitiates in France were: Paris, Lyons, Avignon, Marseille, Toulouse, Clermont-Ferrand, Nantes, St. Omer, Bordeaux, Besancon, Le Puy, Rodez, Caen, Thionville, Quimper, Moulins,

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A look at the novitiates founded outside of France – for example, the one in Namur directed for more than twenty-five years by a contemporary of Brother Adaucte, Brother Nonce – will be tied, as is fitting, to the world history of the Congregation. We would like to bring to a close our present account of the principal houses of formation with the one which functioned in Paris in the presence of Brother Philippe himself. In its most flourishing years it convened 120, 140 up to nearly 180 recruits.[879] It provided a thrust to splendid virtue and to magnificent lives. Directed, for the duration of the generalate by distinguished masters, Brother Bertin, Brother Exuperian and Brother Alban Joseph, its soul reflected the soul of Brother Exupérien, who had been associated with Brother Bertin in 1859, Director by himself between 1860 and 1873 and subsequently assisted, and finally succeeded, by Brother Alban.

Our first task here shall be to rough out a preliminary sketch of this ascetical and noble man whom we shall pretty nearly constantly meet with in the course of most of the events up to the end of the 19th century.[880] Adrian John Felix Mas was born in Poujal, in the Department of Herault on June 7, 1829. The son of a well-to-do family, in 1840 in Beziers, he became a pupil in the residence school directed by Brother Leufroy. As an adolescent he was exposed to the influence of Brother Exupère, Brother Leufroy's successor in 1844. His teacher could not fail to be attracted by a mind of wide scope, by a character upright and steady, by a will both powerful and entirely submissive, from its awakening, to the Grace of God. Adrian Mas genuinely fused the most enviable gifts: his serious and distinguished physical features enabled his exceptional merit as a human being to show through. His classmates spontaneously hailed him as a leader and a model; and in 1845 they selected him as President of the Confraternity of the Most Blessed Virgin; and the following year they were happy to make him the president of their Literary Club.

In a Register of the Marian Confraternity at the residence school the following lines were written in the year 1847:[881] To presume...to praise M. Mas, our former president, would be something beyond our powers ... We shall record, however, for the edification of our readers...and to satisfy our own wishes, that, having worthily fulfilled the duties entrusted to him and having edified all of us by his salutary counsels, his flawless conduct, his sincere piety, his exemplary obedience and, in short, by the good example he has given us under all circumstances, this virtuous young man, impelled by divine inspiration, has withdrawn to the Brothers' novitiate in Toulouse...[882]

In the somber style of the period, the letter also conveys, and quite correctly, the respect and profound reverence with which the young "alumnus" inspired his juniors. His eighteen years had already achieved the gravity of mature age, and a glow of holiness shone about him.

Adrien had to overcome family opposition. His father had posed an inflexible veto. But then

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Beziers, and Chambery. (Notice historique sur l'Institut des Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes, Versailles, 1861.)

879 We refer, once for all, to the biography written by Brother Paul Joseph.

880 Essai sur la Maison-Mère, graphic, pg. 215.

881 Archives of the Immaculate Conception residence school.

882 On January 8, 1848 Brother Exupérien wrote a letter from Toulouse to the members of the Confraternity, a copy of which is inserted in the Register: he says that "it was in the Confraternity's chapel of the Most Blessed Virgin that he received the grace" necessary to enter Religion.

M. Mas died. Could the son add to his family's affliction the pain of his departure? Nevertheless, he persisted, with the Gospel passage on his mind and on his lips: "Who loves his father and mother more than me..." And the mother finally yielded.

On August 28, 1847, in Montpellier, the future Brother of the Christian Schools brilliantly succeeded in his examination for the higher certificate. On September 12, after some anguished moments, he left Poujol. And, on the 14th, in the company of Brother Exupere, he arrived at Father Bernadet's antiquated edifice.

We have spoken of his meeting with Brother Adaucte. We may well imagine that it was followed by many more cordial conversations. Brother Exupérien – the name was an affectionate acknowledgement of his teacher in Beziers – had entered with tremendous enthusiasm along the ways marked out by his new guide – meditation, humility, charity and mortification.

He had not forgotten, of all that, that his love of God and of his neighbor must be expressed, not in the cloister but in the classroom. His Superiors had no intention of placing a light under a bushel; and Beziers, where that light had first burst forth, was to be dazzled by it for eleven years. His beginnings as a teacher were under the leadership of Brother Leufroy who had returned as Director of the residence school. And it was not long before the most advanced class was entrusted to him.

Knowledge, fluency of speech, and deftness in dealing with people – he possessed all the necessary qualities. How could his audience remain insensitive to that precise, striking and frequently importunate speech, to that clear, kind look that was fixed upon them from behind the thin prisms of his spectacles? Besides, no one could mistake Brother Exupérien's moral and religious stature. He was a cautious man, with an unadorned kindliness, and exquisitely civil; and he occasionally consented to smile. But his conversation was inspired by supernatural interests, and behind the serene look heroic virtue shone through.

The fame of the Brother from Languedoc reached as far as Paris. Brother Philippe had received a report about a series of "Meditations" that its author had composed for the use of the Brothers. And a visit to the residence school provided the Superior with the opportunity of appraising this talented subordinate. Subsequently, he summoned him to the Motherhouse for a while. And at the beginning of 1859 he removed him from Beziers for good.

Brother Exupérien's influence was to be expended over a wider area. It was defined in the prayer which – a half century later – was taken from his retreat "Diary":

"Almighty God...every day I promise to offer my sufferings and my life to Your Divine Majesty for the salvation of souls, and, especially, for the sanctification of our Institute."

To be a saint, to stimulate sanctity, to give John Baptist de La Salle, through the Rule and through imitation of the Founder, a posterity which aimed at, and which could reach Christian perfection was nothing less than the goal for which Brother Exupérien – from here on in called upon to work with the Superior-general – strove.

He was given no official title immediately nor any precisely defined function. He was a member of the Secretary-general's Community, which was directed by Brother Leon, and he collaborated on a prayer-book which was to appear over Brother Philippe's name. But, gradually, he gained acceptance into the novitiate: youths listened eagerly to his conversation and his conferences; and Brother Bertin sought out and fully appreciated this cooperation.

And so it was that on December 19, 1859 Brother Exupérien assumed, along side the master of novices, the rank of "Pro-Director". Four months later he had become completely responsible for the training of the novices.

Daily he hovered over them to teach and exhort them. Recently, his novices recalled some of his habitual mannerisms: (check) He stood with both hands in the sleeves of his robe, without a gesture for ten minutes, speaking in rapid-fire pronouncements, in vivid and abrupt images, in admonitions and prophetic utterances – the austere preacher of renunciation and total

immolation.[883] To the fundamental ideas, the basis of his teaching and the incentive to his own action he liked to reduce the themes, or at least the conclusions, of most of his talks. This loftiness, this severity of language was not without disconcerting many of his hearers. They were alarmed by the distance that had to be traveled, by the obstacles that had to be overcome; trembling a little, they followed the hand which, brusquely, began to move and to punctuate the key points; and with awe mixed with fear, they got a glimpse of a wrist bound in a tight penitential band. They would, perhaps, be discouraged if, in personal relations, their Director did not appear quite human to them, prepared to assist and uphold them. They fell under the fascination of his cultivated mind, of his restrained but unstifled sensitivity, and of his crisp and creative imagination. The prayers, the manoeuvers and the sacrifices that Brother Exuperien repeated were not ineffectual: the novices had heard about Brother Irenée, De La Salle's favorite son and, in novitiates, the illustrious model for every teacher; they recognized him in their novice master: there was the same greatness of soul, the same abnegation as well as the same complete detachment from the conveniences, the interests and the curiosities of the world and a similar piety toward the Most Blessed Virgin. There was a difference in the starting points: Francis du Lac had emerged from a life of sin to make his way toward God; Adrien Mas, from childhood, had progressed with a peaceful heart and had constantly dominated pride and the senses. Both attained the heights *sub signo fidei*, under the symbolic sign of their Institute. And their attractiveness, while it may not have been all powerful with respect to unfettered consciences, yet they operated prominently and powerfully on all but the half-hearted, the dawdlers marking time on the plain, and who in good faith sought an entry to Heaven's "narrow way".

In the institution on Rue Oudinot there were the intrepid who were all for leaping, if possible in a single bound, to the point from which their master beckoned to them. *Quis ascendet in montem Domini?* "He who has clean hands and a pure heart...[884] After mentioning, in passing, a Brother Atticus, a teacher in the novitiate in Paris who fulfilled to perfection his modest task, marvelously recollected, penitent and yet uniformly joyful, we cite what Brother Exuperien has said about his two principal assistants: "If I had only trained Brother Alban Joseph and Brother Berain Denis, it still would have been a great deal. They are my eyes, my hands and my heart. I wish to be identified with them in a community of opinion, effort and merit."

Brother Alban Joseph had a beautiful disposition, a tenacious will and great good sense. He looked at reality head-on and used it skillfully, while challenging it and striving to shape it to the ideal. He exactly complemented his Director, who tried to make Alban more tractable, without breaking him and urged upon him a gracious humility, in corde Jesu. Brother Alban's growth brought Brother Exuperien, more than the hope, the certainty of having discovered, enhanced and put the finishing touches on an apostle who would give of himself in total sacrifice: – a man of action, a guide to minds and to character who would exert upon youth, both lay and Religious, an influence permeated with prayer. Brother Exuperien entrusted the future to him: to his way of thinking, he merely played the role of precursor, clearing the thickets and leveling the rough pathways: "Brother Alban", he wrote, "must increase and I must diminish".

Actually, over a very long period, the two Brothers had always together striven for and obtained the same results. And, as we shall see, the elder of the two remained on close terms with his successor. Brother Denis, on the other hand, died prematurely, his earthly mission achieved in a most superb and fruitful manner. Pierre-François Denis, the son of a miller who

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[883] G. Rigault, Le Frère Joseph, pg. 721.

[884] Ps. xxiii, V. 4.

was also an usher and bell-ringer in Mesnil-Bruntel in Picardy, had grown up in the shadow of the church and had served as an example to seven brothers and sisters. Born on January 29, 1841, he entered the junior novitiate in Paris in 1854 at the age of thirteen. He took the habit on November 21, 1857 and, after having first taught in the Institute's Alumnat, on December 2, 1870 he began his work as a catechist, teacher and religious promoter in the senior novitiate. Into his explanations and exhortations he infused a captivating clarity and a gently insinuating elegance. People praised his prudence and his tact with adolescents whose talents he perceived and whose difficulties and weaknesses he conjectured. Personally, he had been experiencing excruciating spiritual ordeals – the "mystical martyrdom of divine purification". In the midst of this distress, Brother Exuperien pledged him a profound affection and sustained him. In the higher reaches of conscience, well above "those terrible squalls", as the master of novices put it, Brother Berain lived in perfect peace. And soon, a shaft of light illumined the soul of the young Religious. Our Lord entered into familiar conversation with him and revealed to this exceptional soul insights which Brother Exuperian was called upon to compile. Questioned on this subject by the Superiors of the Institute, Father Caubert replied: "Have no fear concerning what you think is extraordinary in the spiritual life" of your contemplative: "what he is experiencing comes from the Holy Spirit".

Thus, the supernatural became manifest within the Lasallian family. The wise and saintly Jesuit had declared that Brother Berain Denis' humility should reassure his friends concerning the source and the meaning of the phenomena which were taking place in his life. Brother Exuperien observed that his own personal relations with the friend of Christ "did more good for him than any spiritual book". The more the mystic progressed along the paths of St. Theresa and St. John of the Cross "the more simplified his life became". There remained nothing of his human desires and inclinations; and he acted exclusively under God's guidance.

Dead on November 11, 1872, Brother Berain became in the pious cult of the novices and their Director a secret inspiration to heroism and a heavenly protector.[885] *Adhuc loquitur*. It was indeed possible that by his virtues and his revelations he had supplied the complete confirm for the teachings of Brother Exuperien, who unreservedly was able to publish his own pamphlets and tracts: *Souvenir of the Novitiate, Reasons for Encouragement: To a Young Brother, Spiritual Agenda*, and various meditations, "New Year's" Greetings to his disciples, commentaries on the devotion to the Sacred Heart, to the Most Blessed Virgin and to the Souls in Purgatory, etc.

This guidance extended beyond the novitiate. Without endangering their perseverance and their zeal, the Brothers who had passed under the hands of the Director of novices could not dispense with such a powerful influence. The young Brothers in the District of Paris especially remained the object of mandatory vigilance. They were numerous and spread over many schools; in Paris where they lived in a dissolute, intoxicating and sometimes frenzied atmosphere, they were subject to a lot of worldly contacts. They were preoccupied with studies and with their pupils' success; they were in a ferment and they wore themselves out in getting ready for competitions, in which the talented beneficiaries of Christian education had to win the top prizes.

These were all so many dangers for religious modesty and for fidelity to the Rule. In order to foil them, Brother Exuperien, in accord with the Superior-general, organized periodical days of recollection: these were "the Thursday retreats" which were held at the Motherhouse, to where he convoked, in carefully selected groups, the Brothers of the neighboring Communities, both public schoolteachers and those employed in private schools. There was no compulsion, but

[885] Notice biographique sur le Frère Bérain-Denis, by Father Auguste Carion, 1875; and Vie du Frère Exupérien, pp. 33-35.

there was the most urgent persuasion. At first with a sort of surprise and, indeed, among some, with a sense of misgiving, the invitees were directed to Rue Oudinot: – twenty-five, thirty, sometimes sixty but never more than eighty Brothers. They took part in a series of religious exercises – meditation, reading, Stations of the Cross; and if they wished, they might go to Confession to a Franciscan, Father August; frequently, Brother Philippe gave the closing conference. Throughout the day, the master of novices gave lavishly of himself in meetings with his former novices or with new faces, who were touched by his gentle welcome. In private conversations he poured out personal confidences; and in public talks he repeated his favorite sayings. For six years, between 1864 and 1870, and at the rate of twelve or fifteen meetings a year, many Brothers who had been launched on their professional careers, but had become listless or worn out by the daily grind recharged their stamina through Brother Exuperien's talks and conferences.

In 1873 the Director of the Paris novitiate was elected Assistant Superior-general. In this lofty post, he continued to be a spiritual director. To the very end, he loved his own with the greatest affection, willing nothing except to increase the ardor of their faith and the luster of their merits by means of his intelligent initiatives and at the cost to him of physical and psychological suffering.

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It is crucial not to separate from the "senior novitiate" which was flourishing at St. Joseph's a key institution, the spring from which the river flowed. Without the "junior novices" the Congregation's recruitment would have been very difficult; it would have been in danger of diminishing in quality as well as in numbers. Quite early boys gave signs of vocation: and by obtaining the consent of families to raise their sons in the hearth itself of the Lasallian Society, the Brothers were creating a sort of direct filiation; and they were transmitting to these adoptive children the Founder's integral heritage. Indeed, a considerable number of distinguished educators and leaders issued from this ambience, which was not narrowly cloistral but adapted to the religious and educational purposes of the Institute.

Brother Philippe had understood fully the importance of it; and he had conveyed his convictions to the churchmen and to leaders of Catholic opinion. We are already familiar with the organization and membership of the Committee "for the preparatory novitiate". Beginning in 1839, the Marquise Dreux-Brezé raised funds through charity sales and the "Collections" that followed sermons preached in favor of the work. On several occasions Father Ravignan placed his authority and his eloquence at the service of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. And Archbishop Affre of Paris was very favorable to their cause.

With this sort of support, it was natural to expect success. As early as 1840 fifty-eight of the young teachers in the primary classes were former junior novices. By 1843 their number had reached 136. From the Faubourg St. Martin the youngsters had immigrated to Rue Plumet. And then came the "February Days": the Superior decided that it was necessary to send most of his wards away. Only about fifteen remained and by their presence attested to the survival of the institution.

Indeed, gradually, recruits were once again crossing over the Motherhouse threshold; and their voices in the chapel, their games and their laughter in recreation moved the retired Brothers and evoked joyful and paternal feelings among the most austere of the Assistants. Exactly sixty prior to the Revolution of 1848, the number of junior novices returned to this figure in 1851 and, rising to more than 120 in 1855, by 1866 their total had gone beyond 150. The support Committee had stopped meeting at the beginning of the Bonapartist dictatorship; in large part composed of individuals who disapproved of the Coup d'Etat, it no doubt thought its endorsement could only be a disservice to the Congregation. Until further notice, the Institute was to sustain the project by its own means.

It had just transferred the direction of the junior novitiate to Brother Pierre-Celestine (Pierre Fumet) whose first steps as a student at the Holy Child Jesus House we have noted,[886] and whose fragile and tiny presence we have recalled. The junior novice of 1836 – cherished by Brother Philippe for his heart, his spirit and his talents that are revealed in a letter addressed to his family in St. Etienne and illustrated with clever sketches was, fourteen years later, invested with a genuinely exceptional mission: groups of youngsters who had at one time been gathered together in Lyons, Avignon and briefly in St. Etienne had been disbursed without having produced any permanent vocations. Only the junior novitiate in Paris remained. It had to be kept going in order to show that in it (and, as a consequence, if possible, in similar institutions) dwelt every best hope.

Brother Pierre-Celestine was to give it his effortlessly brimming energy and for thirty years he became the soul of the institution. His sickly appearance, and his irregular facial features on a rather badly formed body were not of the sort to secure him influence. But his language inspired the confidence of children; his goodness won them over; and his teaching enthralled them.

From the very first days of their arrival the country boys, some from Velay, others from Lozere – and still others, fewer in number, from Savoy, the Lyons region, Normandy and Lorraine – felt themselves surrounded by affection, and cast aside their timidity, in spite of whatever tears. Among the more canny Parisians they met with none but excellent comrades and among the senior boys none but obliging and attentive guides. The Brother Director himself good-humoredly acclimatized them. Rapidly they became familiar with the regulations and prepared for prayer and study. Their master, aloud, enlarged upon the theme for the brief morning meditation which would introduce, without burdening them, to mental prayer. He imparted essential catechetical doctrine and a rock-solid primary education. He did not delay to prepare them for future tasks: if they persevered in their resolution, as Brothers of the Christian Schools, they must be inspired with good methods, which were not explained to them *ex professo,* but every lesson conformed to principles that were operative in the Institute. When the junior novices read De La Salle's *Conduct* and Brother Agathon's *Twelve Virtues* they met with familiar ideas and well-known practices.

Very far indeed from Brother Pierre-Celestine were outmoded, narrow-minded conceptions in things that had to do with education. For the most advanced class he applied the program in force in the higher primary schools. He planned for students to possess rather general views and receive an education in which none of their faculties would be neglected. In the dining room a variety of books were read; lectures were given by Brothers from foreign lands and from mission countries. The junior novice built an "educational museum", or a natural collection, for himself. Visits to the Botanical Gardens, the Mint and "Les Invalides" fleshed out his studies in Botany, Zoology and French history.

The artist in Brother Pierre-Celestine claimed his full rights; he saw to it that music held its place in education – especially that the Church's chant was done carefully and with understanding. Drawing, to be sure, was his favorite teaching subject and his great boast. The World's Fair of 1867 furnished some surprising and marvelous examples. To train his pupils' tastes he took them to Notre Dame and to the Sainte Chapelle; and he explained to them in detail Hippolyte Flandrin's frescoes in St. Germain de Pres and St. Vincent de Paul.

Some Brothers believed that the importance give to the aesthetical had become exaggerated. Indeed, it had appeared that Brother Pierre-Celestine had, momentarily, yielded to his personal inclinations. And yet, judging by the virtue burgeoning in "the good Brother Pierre's" garden,

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[886] See above pg. 155.

it had all been done without any serious damage to the souls of his disciples. Three of the pupils in the junior novitiate, from the point of view of Religious perfection, were especially a credit to him: Brother Berain Denis, of whom we have already spoken, and Brothers Victoris and Leon of Jesus, whom we shall meet with elsewhere.

Their mentor had never forgotten his first duty: to watch over budding vocations and never interfere nor retard the work of grace. He proceeded prudently to the dismissal of pupils who were unsuited in order to maintain the high standards of an apostolic school; and after the unfortunate lapse of a century and a half he resumed direct contact with St. John Baptist de La Salle's work on the Rue Neuve in Rheims and on Rue Princesse in Paris.

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Noblesse oblige. The Brothers had to abide by the spirit of their Rule, redouble their efforts and their prayers, while their Founder's reputation came into public view. It had been emerging from the murk in which Jansenism and Gallicanism had confined it. Once preliminary procedures had been successfully completed, Gregory XVI signed the introduction of the Cause on May 8, 1839, five and a half months after Brother Philippe's election. As of the following year, John Baptist de La Salle could legally be called "Venerable", under which title official Institute documents henceforth designated him.[887] On April 22, 1842 a pontifical decree recorded his "reputation for sanctity". On September 6, 1846 the diocesan investigations in Rheims, Paris and Rouen were canonically approved.

The inquiry into the writings of the Servant of God were then conducted over a period of five years under the direction of Cardinal Lambruschini (the "Proponent" of the Cause) with the cooperation of Cardinal Gousset.[888] On January 10, 1852 the Congregation of Rites announced the orthodoxy of the letters in the Founder's handwriting, the only writings that the Archbishop of Rheims believed could be affirmed absolutely authentic.

At the same time, the Brothers' prayers as well as those of others among the faithful, imploring the Founder's intercession, obtained striking miracles. Of the three that Rome examined during the final phase of the process, the cure of Victoire Ferry dates from this period. This woman, who was an employee in the hospital at Orleans, had been knocked down, trampled upon and frightfully bruised by a madwoman in 1832. Since that misadventure, she suffered constant pain – terrible fevers, vomiting of blood, a strange swelling of the body and obvious degeneration. She had been bled more than two hundred times by physicians. People wondered how she survived. One of her acquaintances suggested that she invoke John Baptist de La Salle: the disciples of the great teacher, over the century since Bishop Nicholas Paris and Brother Irenée had introduced them into Orleans, enjoyed a great popularity; and there Catholics were interested in the canonization of the Founder. There was nothing surprising about Victoire Ferry knowing of the Congregation's hopes and reading a biography of the great man. During the night she heard a voice saying, "You are cured!" She saw a heavenly vision...and, in a single bound, she was out of her room; she ran to the church, where she knelt in thanksgiving.

The two other persons in whose favor miracles were performed and whose witness warranted canonization did not enter the picture for another twenty-five years. This time, the site of the prodigies was Rouen, De La Salle's favorite city, the city of his great institution at St. Yon, the city of his retirement, of his last trials and of his death. One might easily imagine that he gave preferential treatment to the Loire region only to please his dear son, the "Knight of

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887 Superior-general circular, dated May 26, 1840.

888 On this subject, see Vol. I of the present work, pp. 435-436, 469, 479-480, 498-499.

Montisambert", Brother Irenée

But there was also one of his disciples who, in 1868, dragged himself painfully to the tomb of the Venerable: Brother Adelminian, Director of the Community of St. Nicolas des Champs in Paris, had, many months earlier, been stricken with locomotor ataxia. This very courageous man was nothing but a feeble cripple; and increasingly his arms and legs were out of his control. He was tortured by both physical and psychological suffering. A nearly superhuman energy brought him to the institution on Rue St. Lo which housed the holy man's remains that had been exhumed in 1835. For nine morning and nine evenings he prayed, but there was no improvement in his condition. Stubbornly, however, he began another novena. Suddenly, he was transfixed by withering pain, and he thought he was dying. He rose full of strength, without the least trace of his infirmity and entirely restored.

And then, in a distinguished Norman family, an eleven year old boy, Étienne de Suzanne, seemed precociously old. Frightfully emaciated, rachitic, and bent over so badly that "his chin touched his knees". He was shaken by fits of coughing which choked him to the point of suffocation. His First Communion, which had been devoutly prepared, took place, as it were, on his death bed. Cardinal Bonnechose, shortly after the ceremony spoke to Étienne's father and mother: "Ask the Venerable De La Salle to intercede", the Archbishop suggested; "he has just saved Brother Adelminian; perhaps he will save your invalid". The boy, however, was suffering more than usual. "I shall be cured, I shall be cured", he repeated. "Mother, please have my clothes ready so that I can go to Mass!" On the day after the ninth day he was indeed standing up, erect, alert and happy. He kept his resolution. Henceforth his growth returned to normal. Count Stephen Suzanne, who had been so remarkably restored to routine human ways, later on became mayor of Arques; and in 1888 he was among the faithful who heard Father Monsabre' preach the panegyric of "Blessed John Baptist".

For Brother Philippe and his contemporaries that far-off moment remained among God's mysteries. Meanwhile, the Superior and the members of the Institute found a profound joy in the account of the miracles as well as powerful grounds for courage, interior peace and perseverance. Providence itself appeared to them in a quasi-visible, quasi-tangible way, and in so doing had perhaps promulgated its alliance with the Institute. Any talk about Sinai or Tabor would have disclosed the Superior's secret and trespassed upon his humility. Still, he took away a well-founded consolation and an initial recompense from those supernatural manifestations.

In Rome, after 1852, "the preliminary examination of the Venerable's virtues" was conducted. Patience was called for. Finally, on July 10, 1873, the Congregation of Rites acknowledged that John Baptist de La Salle "had practiced to a heroic degree the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity with regard to God and his neighbor, the Cardinal virtues of Prudence, Justice, Courage, and Temperance, and associated virtues".

The solemn reading of the decree occurred in the Vatican on the Feast of All Saints. In the throne-room, in the presence of Pius IX assisted by Cardinals Patrizi and Pitra, one hundred Brothers of the Christian Schools were grouped about their Superior. It was a moment of pure triumph, in the evening light which was descending upon the octogenarian, Brother Philippe.

In a letter dated November 1 and then in a circular on December 1 he attempted to impart his impressions and his joy to Brothers everywhere. Specifying that the recent decision of the Holy See was still not "a decree of beatification", he nevertheless emphasized the "vast" progress that had been made; the person of De La Salle certainly hung over every discussion.

It shone from heaven; and it received tributes from earth. The filial efforts of Brother Anacletus and of his successor to bestow upon the genius of the saintly Educator his place in the annals of religious and French history ended at the same moment in which his Institute had acquired a universal fame and in which the Church had envisaged the honors of the altar for the Servant of God.

On December 2, 1872 Brother Philipe wrote to the Directors of the Brothers' Communities: "You have probably learned...that a committee has been formed in Rouen to erect a monument to the memory of "the Venerable"...and that, further, the (Rouen) city counsel has been kind enough to participate in this project...by granting a piece of land. What has to crown our joy is...that the government itself had deigned in a special decree.[889] to authorize the erection of this monument through a public subscription...This solemn manifestation, under the present circumstances, seems providential, because it demonstrates to everyone the importance associated with Christian education...

The statue of John Baptist de La Salle, sculptured by Falguière, arose a few years later on the left bank of the Seine, recalling the Brothers' works and the Founder's death in the Rouen Faubourg.

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On that fine day in November, 1873 whose luster we have just recalled, the Superior-general had spoken before the Pope: "The disciples of the Venerable De La Salle", he announced, "have never swerved from their Founder's principles"; their teaching, like his, is based upon religion and not on the "philanthropy" fancied by the 18th century, nor on "false philosophy". They are closely united to Roman teaching;and they continue to be a manifestation of an unalterable dedication to Holy Church and the Apostolic See.

This sort of testimony Brother Philippe was able to offer with more than legitimate pride. The warm, filial love of his Institute for the Papacy – the explicit legacy of the Founder, tradition and conviction vindicated to the point of martyrdom in 1792 and 1794 – had become that "devotion" which, during the reign of Pius IX, inspired the hearts of Catholics enthused and won over by the noble figure of the Vicar of Christ. This man, elected during the Conclave of 1846, the Gaete exile, the victim of the Sardinian usurpation, the Doctor of the Immaculate Conception, of the Encyclical *Quanta cura*, the intrepid adversary of modern heresy, the good and generous Leader with the magnetic look and the radiant smile, had succeeded in realizing the unity of the faithful.[890]" The more he was attacked by this world's powers, hated and calumniated by sects, the more there grew a "holy popularity", the beneficiary of which was the internal strength of Catholicism. As Bishop Baunard[891] has rightly pointed out this "was a new, but characteristic, phenomenon". And George Goyau, commenting on a book about the Vatican, had previously remarked: "Drawing his children to himself from every nation, Pius IX got these millions of brothers previously isolated and separated no less by their ideas than physically to meet one another and know one another, so that they might lend a hand to one another under his paternal hand...The give and take of common thoughts and desires were then established among the members of the teaching body and those who were taught...The Pope restored blood to the heart of the Church and by it, the Church was warmed in all its members."[892]

The Brothers had entered into the heart of this movement. "That you are enthusiastic in your dedication to the See of Peter, we haven't the least doubt", Pius IX wrote on January 13, 1864

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[889] November 14, 1872.

[890] He lacked for nothing", writes Emile Ollivier, "he was handsome; his voice strong, encompassing and musical; his look was spell-binding; he was a person who was delicate, sensitive, vibrant, eloquent, sonorous." (L'Eglise et l'Etat au Concile du Vatican, Vol. I, pg. 308. Cited by Father Mourret, Le Concile du Vatican, 1919, pg. 182.)

[891] Un siècle de l'Eglise de France, pg. 99.

[892] Cited by Baunard, pg. 99.

to "his beloved son", the Superior of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; from whom he had just received a letter that overflowed in "effusions"; he had not forgotten that the Brothers "took pride" in holding their heritage from a man "who thought of it as his principal distinction to be able to say that he was, and to sign himself, a *Roman priest*."

Among these teachers' pupils, many, persuaded by the exhortations they had listened to in the classroom, had pledged themselves to the small pontifical army to defend the Church's inheritance against the assaults of Garibaldi and the successors of Cavour. The Francs-Bourgeois school had preserved the devout remembrance of Ernest Renaudière de Vaux and Louis Sarazin, the two Mentana Zouaves, who offered their young lives to the Papal cause and finally had to make the sacrifice for France in 1870.[893]

Rome therefore had considered these very special educators as its own. Between the Vatican and Rue Oudinot there was a continuous flow of correspondence: "hardly a year passes but what the Superior-general obtains the concession of some indulgences or some other favors". "The Pope is so good", Brother Philippe declared, "that we fearlessly take the risk of asking him for anything".[894]

The Pope showed his feelings for the head of the Institute by the respect and (at certain times) the familiar affection he had for him. Pius IX relished the Brother's simple, deep piety, his constant work, his boldly serene apostolate and his serious mind. He had seen him five times. Brother Philip's first ad limina visit went back to May of 1859; his circular of June 24 tells the story of the private audience, the Pope's joy at learning about the Brothers' zeal "for the salvation of children" and their complete unity.

In 1862, the beatification of the Japanese martyrs brought a huge crowd to St. Peter's. Many of the tourist were motivated by curiosity: they wanted to witness ceremonies the repetition of which might be prevented by threatening events. These omens troubled Christian consciences as well; but they caused them to respond more enthusiastically to the Holy Father's appeals: impassioned voices cried out "Pius IX Priest, Pius IX King!" Bishops from every country, missionaries, and pilgrims filled the Basilica, the palaces and the city. Services and processions took on an imposing character; it was the final glow of the Popes before the storm that had been gathering.[895]

The Superior-general joined in with the demonstrations of the faithful. The day after his arrival he was overwhelmed in the crush of a public audience: the rabat and the mantle attracted attention. Pius IX, who was instinctively witty, shot him the remark in passing: "Philippe, where will we find bread for all these people?"[896] In June 1867, during the celebration of the 18th centenary of the martyrdom of the Apostle Peter and Paul, the indefatigable pilgrim was on another visit to Rome; the Pope pointed him out to the Prelates and Chamberlains: "That is Brother Philip, who is famous throughout the world".

The Vatican Council was being readied. It was to mark the high point of Pius IX's Papacy, seal the pact between Christian philosophy and the faith and draw the ultimate conclusions from Christ's *Tu es Petrus*. In the French Church, minds were still divided as to the question of

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[893] Brother Exuperien had the privilege of receiving in the Paris novitiate an authentic Pontifical Zouave, who had been introduced to the Institute by the Director of the residence school of St. Joseph: in 1869 Brother Adeolian entered the large Community in Passy; as a skilled and serious teacher, he fulfilled his entire career in that institution.

[894] Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for November, 1907, pg. 346.

[895] De La Gorce, Histoire du Second Empire, Vol. IV, pp. 170-171.

[896] S. Jean VI, 5.

Papal Infallibility: was it fitting, was it "timely" to proclaim the dogma? The Brothers of the Christian Schools did not get mixed up in controversies; but their history and their traditional behavior inclined them in the direction of Bishop Pie, Dom Gueranger and Louis Veuillot. In 1869 the old man in whom the soul of the Institute had been embodied for thirty years eagerly crossed the Alps in order to share in the thoughtful enthusiasm of Christian people.

In his 1873 writings there are echoes of the recent cheers, muted however by the current misfortunes of the nation and of the Holy Father. During the audience which, on October 25, preceded the solemn decree, he was deeply moved to hear the Pope inquire after his health and ask his age – he and the Pope were both born in 1792 – and accept, with thanks, a monetary offering – the Institute's "alms". In a special interview that took place on the 28th Pius IX showed the keenest interest in the educational work effected in France, the French colonies and in both of the Americas.

On Sunday, November 2, the Superior-general, with a heavy heart, bid the Pope goodbye, for although he wished to return once again for the beatification of the Founder, he knew that his eighty-one years did not encourage long-ranged hopes. He wept at the thought that he had perhaps bid his last goodbye to Rome.

This "Roman piety" was something fixed in the memory of Brother Philippe's close relatives. One of his nieces, Sister Marie Bransiet, a Sister of Notre Dame of Le Puy, recalling – from the distant past – the image of her "dear uncle, so simple, so modest, so faithful to the practices of his Rule and so charitable", confessed that he had possessed few remarkable gestures or expressions. But his face appeared to her to light up and become wreathed in smiles, and all that was necessary to transfigure it in this way was to mention Rome and Pius IX.

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The religious spirit of the Brothers conformed with Catholic thought. As early as the 17th century, following the great Spanish mystics and the Bérulles "French School" it was nourished on the devotion to St. Joseph and meditated on Our Lord's Infancy. In its prayers and chapels it assigned a special place to the Mother of the Incarnate Word, to the one whom John Baptist de La Salle's disciples always spoke of, with respectful affection, as "the Most Blessed Virgin". These external forms of their devotional life had victoriously resisted the insidious influence of Jansenism. After Jean Eudes and Marguerite Marie Alacoque, they were developed and completed with the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. And the 19th century was to bestow upon them a new accent.

The Institute thought of itself as a single family with those many Congregations which, on French soil, adopted the Divine Heart as their rallying symbol, laid claim to its promises and sought no other patronage. With a joyful docility, it recorded the decisions of the Holy See, on August 23, 1856, to insert into the Church's calender the feast asked by the seer of Paray-le-Monial and the bestowal upon Marguerite Mary of the title of Blessed in 1864.

To the devotion that was dearest to the Christian Brothers Heaven itself gave a fresh thrust. The entire period of history that corresponded with Brother Philippe's generalate was marked by Heavenly interventions which anticipated or confirmed Christian piety regarding the Most Blessed Virgin, gestures on the part of the Christian world and definitions of the Holy See concerning Mary's privileges. As a prelude, between 1830 and 1836, on the Rue du Bac there was the mission entrusted to Sister Catherine Labouré to promote trust in the "Miraculous Medal". Immediately thereafter, Father Dufriche-Desgenettes, in a sudden inspiration, created the arch-Confraternity of Our Lady of Victory. And in 1842, in a Roman church, there occurred the surprising conversion of the young Jew, Alphonsus Ratisbonne. In 1846 the Sorrowful Mother delivered a harsh and agonizing message to two shepherds on the mountain of La Salette. She appeared once again at Lourdes in 1858, mercifully, ever urgent, and proclaimed herself "the Immaculate Conception", less than four years after the 8th of December on which

Pius IX had solemnly proclaimed the dogma. Crowds rushed to the springs of grace and healing which welled up under the obedient hand of Bernadette Soubirous. And there was more...during the Franco-Prussian war, the Pontmain prodigies...[897] The Brothers, of course, were thrilled with emotion, consolation and hope; their faith was strengthened and illumined.

One of Brother Philipe's final joys in the supernatural order was the decree *Quemadmodum Deus* which, on December 8, 1870, named St. Joseph, the head of the Holy Family, as the "Patron of the Universal Church". St. Joseph had already been the special protector of the Motherhouse, the guardian chosen by the Congregation in the days in which it was organized.

It seemed that there had never been a more favorable climate enveloping the Communities of Christian teachers. "The Institute had been blessed by Heaven", the Superior had declared in 1866. He was especially thinking, no doubt, at that time of the "peace" that reigned – as far as we can boast of it here below – over the school, the oratory, and over the whole of Religious life. And apart from "the freedom to do good, to evangelize and to extend the reign of Christ" teachers were being offered the means of sharing in the fullness of spiritual gifts.

Should they neglect them they would be sinning. And the great concern of the man who ruled the Institute continued to the very end to be to remind the Brothers – not only, as we have said, in novitiates, but everywhere and under all circumstances – both of the duties of state and of the most imperious counsels of perfection.

The harvest was so abundant that it was necessary to look everywhere for workers. In 1874 there were 10,235 Christian Brothers. Vocations were increasing. Usually, the human ambience – especially among the steady families dwelling between the Loire and the Pyrenees – did not discourage vocations. While a priest-son was the occasion of greater pride for parents, there was enough respect and honor for the white rabat so that the recruitment of Brothers did not run into insuperable difficulties. Concern for the future did not raise too much anxiety. And in the eyes of convinced believers, the eternal reward that awaited their children seemed very much to deserve the sacrifice of earthly goods and a name.

There remained the task of seeing to it that every Religious was up to his calling. *Ego eligi vos ut eatis, et fructum afferatis*...At no time can the life of a Brother be undertaken as something merely pleasant, comfortable or easy. Persecution to one side, nevertheless, as well as the daily monotony – classes, prefecting, recreation, interviews with parents – the level of heroism tends to decline: – and often, all the more rapidly as the number of Religious increases. Perhaps the soul of a group, in the very nature of things, tends to crystalize around its weaker members; and the superior individuals in a crowd sometimes fall below their own level.

For a "boost" it needs the example and the determination of a leader, who has to know how to speak out loud and resolutely, how to pray and get others to pray, be a living Rule, a true disciple and a mirror of the Founder. He sorts out the special people from the multitude, among whom he casts the leaven. Having gotten rid of people who were undesirable or inassimilable, he achieves the sort of unity envisioned by the Gospel.

Brother Philippe's love of Christ, his zeal for souls, compassionate charity, quiet modesty, spirit of poverty, steady submission to observances and his Religious virtues were very well known to the Brothers. For those among them who were "in the grip of trials", in his friendly conversations with them, "he was "so sensitive that in fifty year the memory of them would not be obliterated".[898]

Devoid of all egoism and ambition, without ties to worldly pretenses, meddlesomeness or eccentricity – in whatever sense the term may be taken – speaking with facility and energy, but in as objective a style as possible, the Superior-general presented all the Brothers with the best

[897] Baunard, op. cit., pp. 223-235.

[898] Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pp. 191 and 228.

and the most accessible model. In his funeral homily the chaplain at the Motherhouse, and future Bishop of Gap, Father Roche said of Brother Philippe that "there was in him and around him something bigger than himself". "He wasn't just a man, he was a type; he wasn't just a Brother; he was the Brother! – the Brother acclaimed for his life and for the services of his apostolate".

Actually, this rounding off of the angles of personality has rendered the biographer's task a difficult one. At any given moment, Brother Philippe's story is identical with the history of his Institute; in his words and in his works it is impossible to hear or see anything but collective manifestations and activities; and his face tends to merge with the face of any one of the innumerable Christian Brothers who, for over two centuries, have followed in the footsteps of the Founder.

To the guidance which the Communities as a whole required he joined as a rule the experience and the knowledge of others to his own personal contributions; he appealed to tradition, and he resorted to writings and authorities that he himself, with the cooperation of his colleagues, had assembled. But there cannot be the least doubt that he had meditated upon and weighed the doctrines he expounded; he "lived" them before transporting the substance of them into the life-blood of the Congregation. And we can discern his judgment as a psychologist, his skill as an educator and the quality of his "mental prayer" in the style and logic of his writings; which, regardless of the status of works executed on his orders, can fittingly assume his signature. He had certified them with his spirit, his intentions and his responsibilities, even if he did not always write them in his own hand.

Such was *Subjects for Particular Examen*, which had been approved in 1859 by Archbishop Guibert of Tours and reprinted in Versailles in 1863. It is a book of brief and practical reflections, constituting over-all a genuine synthesis of the Christian and Religious life, bypassing nothing that might assist young Brothers, or indeed the professed and experienced in monastic practices, to advance in the virtues of their vocation, by taking daily aim to tap the springs of sacramental grace, to turn trials to account and to better understand their duties as educators.[899]

The "*Manuals of Piety"* are in the same vein; one of them is addressed particularly to the members of the Institute: – a "spiritual New Year's gift" given on January 1, 1860, a series of instructions and prayers, not all of them composed, but arranged, by the Superior in order "to arouse" the teachers' "zeal" and to nourish them with the teachings "of their Venerable Father". The second book, intended especially for pupils, was dated 1864 and displayed Brother Philippe's name in the corrected and enlarged edition of 1872; it includes advice on the subject of Religious vocation, behavior at home and out "in the world", a rule of life, meditations and thoughts inspired by the faith. The important practices of the Christian's day, prayers, Mass and the reception of the Sacraments introduce this collection in which the author evinces a keen supernatural spirit, a robust faith, confident, and without any trace of Jansenism, however demanding, and capable of enlightening, supporting and strengthening a youth who has not yet been touched by restlessness.

Here, obviously, there is nothing of the liturgical substance which supports contemporary Christians and which later on the Brothers would seek out and sample with the same eagerness and advantage as other of the Church's children. The writings of Dom Gueranger had indeed broken ground since 1841 when the first books of the learned Solesmes Benedictine were published. But, while they were encouraged and won the powerful support of Archbishop Parisi, their total triumph ran up against century-old traditions and the quite unequivocal

[899] This book continues to be cherished by the Christian Brothers and by Congregations that wish to draw their inspiration from a spirituality that is both simple and vigorous. A new edition was published in 1929.

episcopal opposition and objections of Archbishop Astros of Toulouse and Bishop Fayet of Orleans. The group of monks who surrounded Dom Gueranger endeavored, passionately and conscientiously, to decipher and collate manuscripts of Gregorian Chant; their Father Abbot was one of those brave souls that loved to take up the gauntlet: the books in which he described and commented upon the annals of the "Liturgical Year" increased the number of those dedicated to reform. In 1854, Rome pronounced in favor of the changes. Pius IX wrote at the time to Archbishop Parisis: "We are extremely desirous for Gregorian Chant to be painstakingly restored and employed in the churches of France." A school of religious music, under the direction of Niedermeyer was founded in the capital in 1856.[900]

However, more than a half-century was required for the collective prayer of the faithful to proceed "in beauty." Routine yielded reluctantly; and there was grief as well with the abandonment of what were very often handsome traditions, with changes in the missal and with the omission of hymns and sequences suffused with the flavor of old France and with the majesty of the ages of real kings. Gallicanism, in constant retreat, at this point organized with its back to the wall.

Its adherents had never enlisted recruits from among the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Where indeed could greater docility to Papal commands be met with than among De La Salle's followers? Religious who were not "clerics" could not supplant "the Church teaching"; they had to take account of the Bishops' wishes, follow rites and sing the parish hymns. Their modesty and simplicity made them loath to assume the initiative. The prohibition that they had inherited from their Founder against aspiring to become "Latin scholars" disposed them to use the "Mother tongue" as much as possible; it was their task to imbue the little ones with the articles of the Credo and devout maxims in the most accessible language; neither children nor families would understand if, pushing headlong into a contentious movement, in the expression of their Catholicity they parted company with ordinary believers. In their schools, then, were repeated the formulas bequeathed by modern ecclesiastical authors. And while, beginning in 1853, the pupils no longer took turns reciting the Rosary from the start of the class to its conclusion, no where did they give up give up – and this is as stirring as it was correct – saying a "decade" of *Aves* at the end of Morning Prayer.[901] In this way was shown, methodically and dynamically, the Brothers' ancient devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin. And, in residence schools, choirs of youthful voices performed dazzling pieces and bands poured out resounding music which delighted the imagination, enabled spirits to soar and continued to awaken throughout more than one lifetime thoughts of faith and the dearest recollections of adolescence.

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In any case, the depth and the stability of the teachings dwelt in the "Founder's" writings – the Rule, the Method of Mental Prayer, the Collection of various short Subjects, Meditations and Duties of a Christian, where they were expressed in precise and exact language, sometimes stirring, routinely imposing and worthy of the times of Bossuet and Bourdaloue. Insistently the Superior recalled and explained them. In this connection, the principal document which reveals him to us – while it informs us about the spiritual condition of his Congregation – is the collection of his "Circulars" preserved in the Motherhouse Archives. Starting in 1822 the Superiors of the Institute had printed the letters of general interest that were addressed to all the Brothers. In 1855 Brother Philippe decided to combine pamphlets that had already been

[900] Baunard, op. cit., pp. 249 et sq.

[901] Decision of the 1853 General Chapter. Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for May 1907, pp. 134-135.

published into a series of volumes. That work has since progressed uninterruptedly.

The "Circular letter" was a very influential tool. By personal correspondence, by presiding at retreats and by conferences given to the novices as well as to the professed, members of the "Regime" reached most of the Brothers. The circular, read in every Community, placed in libraries, and, through the zeal of Directors, returned to in a timely way in the refectory or oratory, left nobody in the dark concerning the Regime's thinking and plans. In distant villages and in countries over-seas it secured family ties and affirmed unity of judgment, customs and even of reflexes.

It was indeed necessary for the Brothers to know one another in order to understand and love one another and in order to seek out models in their group. The accounts of noble lives functioned as a stimulant. The Christian Brothers, faithful to the memory of their dead, were eager – while recommending them to prayer – to take note of the edifying qualities of their lives and their attitude in the face of death. From these "necrological notices" Brother Philippe wrote a special series of books: – not, certainly, panegyrics or hagiographies; in them individuals are sketched with their imperfections, but they also reflect the rays of divine grace and they preserve the clearly marked traces of providential intervention. They bear witness, within a great diversity of natures, to the salient characteristics of a predestined people: the most obscure Christian Brother is the spiritual son of a father who has been blessed by Heaven; and each account emphasizes this filiation and illuminates the resemblances, without hiding the contradictions (if there were any), the distance between the ideal and the earthly realities.

This sort of concrete preaching seemed perhaps as the most searching and the most convincing. Teaching used it for its examples and for some of its proofs. But mind and heart are also captured when the teacher directly discloses the truth. No matter how he tried to veil his identity, it is apparent that Brother Philippe has built the structure of his circulars on the foundations of his personal virtue. During the most glorious moments of his generalate he sought to secure the peoples' educators against the perils of success and against the inebriation that springs from public recognition; he made all the more demands upon their obedience as external threats, mistrust and persecution seemed less to be feared. Every new year the Superior replied to the Brothers' "Seasons greetings" with an analysis of some passages of the Rule, with a homily on "genuine happiness", on fervor, charity, holiness or on De La Salle's favorite devotions. Often enough the same sort of circular would follow during the course of the year. And in this way the Superior's letters were written at a more or less rapid rate, depending upon disposition, energy, the initial enthusiasm of individuals and the army of Brothers that he had hurriedly to deploy.

After Matthieu Bransiet had been elected, the General Chapter, in November 1838, declined to legislate, "leaving the Most Honored Brother the responsibility of supporting the Brothers in the spirit" of the Founder. As early as the 28th of September the young Superior issued the first of his letters; he did not conceal that he had to correct certain abuses. He evoked the marvelous history of John Baptist de La Salle's disciples living with the master in a hovel that was open to the winds, miserably furnished and where neither the larder nor the cellar contained the least provisions; and he concluded with: "Remember Vaugirard!"

To leave the ordinary Christian way in order to adopt a life of the evangelical counsels without aiming at holiness is a *non sequitur* that frequently produces disastrous consequences. God asked more from the servant who had been given five talents. In the Religious Life, as in the use of the moral and mental faculties, it is important never to be satisfied with what has been achieved and to preserve – along with youthfulness of soul – a kind of creative restlessness; we must never confuse quiet, patience, peace and rest in God with laziness and self-confidence. Otherwise, there would be an end to progress, merit and true freedom. Brother Philippe was the declared enemy of this sort of routine and the physician of this appalling spiritual sclerosis, which he shrewdly diagnosed.

"The tepid soul (he wrote on January 15, 1843) is possessed of a sort of impenetrability which renders it practically insensitive to a lot of venial sins. Since it nearly never reflects upon itself, its faith is weakened; God's threats make very little impression upon it, because the good opinion that it has of itself leads it to absolve everything it does...It receives Communion without devotion, and even if it places this sacred fire frequently next to its heart, the heart itself remains frozen...

'Fervor' is the equivalent of warmth and movement, fervor is vital energy. The body shares in it along with the soul: the blood moves more rapidly and the members less stiff and heavy and the brain more definite in generosity, "which can refuse nothing to its God".[902]

There are times when boredom, the *taedium vitae*, assails all of us: nerve fails us, the mind cannot find the nourishment it needs; but especially action languishes. Why does this terrible tedium come to a halt at the door of Religious Communities? Human nature is ever ready to sacrifice itself to it as its accomplice and its victim; and to keep it at a distance, human nature in Religious houses does not have the help – except occasionally – of diversion. Brother Philippe, indeed, agreed that "the life one leads in the Institute is quite uniform...What we were doing during the first years of our calling we shall be doing when age shall have whitened our hair..." What do we have to do 'so as not to be discouraged by such a future, indeed, to consider ourselves fortunate'? Be "fervent"! Fervor is "the salt that seasons this life".[903]

If, without loathing, a Brother wishes to observe the letter of the Rule, he must, by an effort of reflection and an adherence of free will, preserve its inner-meaning. His day, from morning until night, consists in a "concatenation", a criss-crossing of acts of virtue and acts of devotion. He must realize the value of these practices! All of them, "by their very nature tend toward his sanctification, the glory of God and the salvation of one's neighbor". If he performs them carefully, he will be "infallibly transported" to the heights, as by "Jacob's mysterious ladder."[904]

Discouragement is such a foolish thing! It worsens the suffering against which it struggles, the powerlessness which horrifies it. A discouraged Religious might be compared to the fortieth martyr of Sebaste: he leaves the "frozen pond" where he was to give his life for Christ and in the warm bath which his apostasy earns him, he meets "the death he thought to flee".

An enlightened mind and a heart detached from pleasure overcomes this sort of temptation. We should not fabricate "false ideas" about the world, about men, about fraternal charity, indeed about the means of achieving perfection. What we need is common sense and disinterestedness. The "pretenses of self-love" tend to make us lose all enthusiasm, all assurance, in the pursuit of the good.

Purity of spiritual attention, purity of intention, complicate nothing, don't heap up clouds, don't veer to the right or the left, don't mix contraries, don't chase after multiple goals – we hear all of these precepts from the simple, upright man, the man of action who was spontaneously optimistic, sanely realistic and who trusted in Providence as a child trusts its mother.

To raise their spirits he pointed out to the Brothers vigorously exploited projects, the indisputable outcome of a half-century of Christian education: "The Venerable De La Salle's family continues the work of the great Servant of God. Through it the Gospel is preached to the poor and throngs of young people receive nourishment for their souls. A monument to virtue rises in society: we share in the building of its foundations. Jesus Christ is better known and

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902 Circular of January 14, 1846.

903 Ibid.

904 Circular for January 3, 1857.

loved...And we are a part of this growth." [905]Circular for January 5, 1865.

All the sins in the world, all the political and social upheavals, all the excesses that error enjoys will not obstruct the triumph of truth. Brother Philippe wouldn't dream of complaining about his century. Unaffectedly, he was brought to confess that, like his contemporary Dupanloup, if he had the choice, he would not have preferred any other. Evil had hewn an immense swathe in it, of course; but so had the good. With less than a hundred years separating them, compare Pius VI's pontificate with the pontificate of Pius IX. "Where is the work of Satan today?" "The first two-thirds of the present century seem mostly to have been a time of reconstruction...Few epochs having started out so poorly have risen relatively so high...You would have to listen to our old Brothers talking about the last years of the 18th century!

A rebirth had sprung from persecution. In particular, France had once again been covered with churches and monasteries. And it was again experiencing the great Religious Orders in their splendor and in their pristine integrity. The laity was taking part in a spectacular Christian movement: "Third Orders" were flourishing, Archconfraternities were increasing in number, and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul united charity with the faith. The 19th century might have repeated with St. Paul: "Who suffers and I do not suffer with him?" So many "prodigies of dedication" could hardly be anything but signs of "spiritual progress". Besides, the Gospel was preached all over the earth; the Word of God echoed "from pole to pole"; "ancient idols wavered" and shattered, like Dagon in the presence of the Arch of the Covenant. In "the Work of the Propagation of the Faith", once again France was serving Christ.

It was all in that epic style that was so well suited to inspire enthusiasm among the Brothers. They figured among the soldiers in the new Crusade, as their Superior proclaimed, without disguising the uncertain odds in the struggle, but with a candor that might support the valiant and a cheerfulness that swept all misgivings before it.

"Our pupils meet with all sorts of dangers in the world...It takes time for a society to find its way again..." The young who have been trained in Christian Schools frequently find ignorance of dogma and unbelief itself ensconced in the home. And from there it enters into the ambience of negation and blasphemy of the workplace…A large part of the seed of the Gospel is lost; trampled under foot by dissipated minds; suffocated by the thorns of material concerns; swept away by the rage of passion; and frozen by the chill of indifference."

But would one dare deny the lasting influence of good education? The atmosphere around a school where catechism is taught is made wholesome. There is less error and fewer vices, and there is built up a sort of reservoir of purity and truth, from which families and cities profit. Gradually this healthy expanse, this miasma-free atmosphere, where the elect can breath, enlarges; and a genuinely Christian society is in a fair way to emerging. Even in the still uncertain days through which people were passing, while so many beliefs and so many moral positions continued to crumble, persons trained by the Church generally tended to preserve a sense of sin and of death. And in that respect they remained accessible to religious influence and open to grace. For them there was no need to despair of their salvation. Reflection and the disappointments of mature years made it easy to return to the Credo. And then, in the final hours, the memories of a religious childhood were revived, and a cry would rise from the depths of conscience to the Father: "In 1848, a great number of churchmen, and in particular Bishop Fayet...remarked, while visiting the ambulances, that among those who were wounded during the "June Days", former pupils of the Christian schools eagerly welcomed the priests and, on their own, asked to go to confession."[906]

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[905] Circular for January 3, 1857.

[906] Circular of January 5, 1866.

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Such were the experiences and the consolations of Religious educators. To their mission, defined in these terms, there belonged an ideal that was not exactly what one would call the "eremetical" life. Or, perhaps, that contemplative ideal had to be adapted to the obligations of an apostolate. With their cell and their chapel and their vows they were indeed monks. They would be failing their vocation and their task if they did not create about them the "habit of the presence of God",[907] a thoroughly monastic conception of "happiness" by the union of the soul with Jesus, complete abandonment, the spirit of penance, and the subjection of the senses to reason.[908] But as teachers and Directors of schools, involved in earthly affairs, they would only achieve their perfection – which could be positioned quite high – by not anticipating the calls of grace and by persevering in the way traced out by John Baptist de La Salle.

As "children of the saints", their holiness was to imitate the holiness of their fathers. For the Brothers there was neither stability nor progress without the two supports of strict observance of the Rule, and an education infused with the supernatural. In a certain sense their souls were bound up with the souls of their pupils. "The one who shall teach wisdom shall possess eternal life." (Eccl., xxiv, 31). "He who does and teaches the commandments of the law will be great in the Kingdom of Heaven." (Matt. v, 19) "Those who teach many unto justice will shine as stars for all eternity."(Dan., xi, 3). Such were, regarding the Brothers, the Scriptural principles and promises, which, before every other ambition, the Brothers should propose to apply.[909]

The Founder had proclaimed that "the spirit of faith" must inspire their every act. It was the premier virtue, which Brother Philippe described in the light of "those who possessed it in its fullness" and (we might add, since he would not venture to suggest it) by way of the most justified personal reflection: Error has no entry into their minds because they judge everything without passion and, so to speak, as God Himself judges of them. These are those strong souls that are sheltered from inconstancy, since they act only for reasons based upon an abiding order. Reason, in them, gives way to the Divine reason; and thereby they are constantly rising above themselves.[910]

People devise strange illusions about the Religious life when they imagine that it restricts the action of mind and will in favor of obedience. Even after vows have been pronounced, the individual conscience is beset with problems and possibilities. Without being rebellious or openly violating the Rule, it is not impossible for a Brother to espouse mediocrity. In so doing, he runs the risk of suffering as much as, or more than another; and he would suffer "without either the merit and or the distinction of the martyr", without deliberate heroism. But, in the end, he will learn how, in the language of the common expression, "to pick and choose": and he "will choose just enough so as not to lay himself open to too frequent criticism"; he "will avoid what is too troublesome to self-love and the body". These Religious who grant such an important part to "nature", if their numbers increase, infallibly lead their Congregation into decay. But there is no such thing as a "supernatural" man who need not assiduously exercise his mind in meditation and study, determine for himself a line of conduct, and demand of himself a constant effort to obtain by prayer and sacrifice the direct, irreplaceable and incommunicable assistance of grace. From this point of view perpetual vows continue to be daily vows. We must not be satisfied merely to have at one time pronounced them or to have

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907 Circular of January 5, 1865.

908 Circular of January 15, 1847.

909 Circulars for January 15, 1849 and January 5, 1866.

910 Circular for January 5, 1864.

renewed them orally at the prescribed times; we must live them, by giving them a current significance, a justification that corresponds with the experience and growth of the personality.[911]

For this journey without pause – and, here below, without ultimate success – the Brothers are equipped with the same provisions, mental prayer, particular examen, retreats, advertisement of defects, accusations, mortification, and spiritual reading, as other Religious Congregations. They acknowledge, in particular, all the ways in which their Society has been indebted to the Jesuits. But, in Brother Philippe's time, a great number of them, as we know, had received, along with their unpretentious elementary education, only a brief theological and religious formation. Their Superior was not bothered with the way they looked, although at times it was somewhat dubious; he extended his hand to them, like a father to his youngest sons in order to entice them to make their first step.

In January 1850, he "recommended" in affectionately gentle terms "the holy exercise of mental prayer". He was satisfied with the results that had already been obtained: Several Brothers have told us that they are much happier, much more fervent and that they seem to do much more good in class since they have committed themselves seriously to mental prayer, since they have tried...not to waste such precious time.

As early as the following June, he returned to this subject, which was important for him. He "exhorted the dear Brothers...to acquire and to increase the spirit of mental prayer". To his mind, "every Christian Brother who does not make mental prayer begins to get discouraged and then grows disgusted". But the Superior knew the difficulties that this exercise raised: distractions naturally thrust themselves upon a teacher's mind and capture an imagination that, apart from the concrete and the visible, rapidly grows weary. The original force of a beautiful passage from a religious book would arouse and prolong the springs of consciousness: – a maxim, an edifying story, a commentary on the life of a saint, the analysis of an inspired book, the language of which would continue to resound in memory as the aspirations of reader or hearer rose toward God. The Superior was to place in the hands of his disciples a clear and convenient collection of such readings.

The entire circular of March 7, 1859 was dedicated to the "Particular examen". It is full of the most practical suggestions. "We should proceed with a prudent deliberation, recalling that we should soon be perfect if, as the author of the *Imitation* tells us, we should succeed in uprooting a single defect every year". "We should adopt resolutions for a very brief period of time": for example, only "from one exercise to the next", if the effort required for a whole day is too much. And, always, calmly, generously, without morbid subtlety: "When we have an upright will, when we do not devote ourselves to our work through a too natural inclination and our conscience is sensitive and delicate, God grants that, without contention or concern, we are made aware at every instant at the bottom of our hearts of our duties and our faults; like a secret and assiduous censor, a good conscience lets nothing escape."

However, we must continue to fear moral fatigue, which is cared for and healed during that pause, that soul-therapy, which is the annual "retreat". "You know, my very dear Brothers, about the spiritual costs of the scholastic year and how much, as a consequence, we need light, strength, constancy and zeal to fulfill worthily our duties as Christians, Religious and teachers."[912] Thus, once the pupils are on vacation, the teacher, exhausted in their service, immerses himself once again in silence and steels himself for a new apostolic campaign.

And if the ordinary retreat seemed inadequate, he might ask to return to "the holy exercises of

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911 Circulars for June 11, 1854, May 22, 1857, and January 3, 1862.

912 Postscript to the circular for August 12, 1859.

the novitiate"[913] He would plunge once again into the atmosphere of his youth as a Religious and reread De La Salle's history and precepts, and make use of the methods and vigorous asceticism of St. Ignatius. His successors, adopting Brother Exuperien's innovations would push their Congregation more boldly along the ways of a loftier spirituality.

In any case, he would have worked to foster the most fervent piety. And at this point we should mention the exhortations that echoed the central thoughts of Pius IX and the Catholic world: the circular for January 18, 1855, which prescribes a novena of thanksgiving after the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; the circular for April 20, 1861, which celebrates "Mary's blessings" throughout the Institute's two-hundred years, explaining the educative value of devotion to the Virgin, the source of ennoblement, refinement and chivalrous behavior; previously, on February 18, 1860, there was an essay on devotion to St. Joseph; and then on May 26, 1862, there was a treatise on "the origin, object, and motives" and the forms of devotion to the Sacred Heart, the distant prelude to the step by which the Christian Brothers solemnly consecrated themselves to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in June 1873 during their XXIIIth General Chapter.

The Superior was in the anti-Jansenist tradition of the Founder in advocating frequent Communion: "It is prescribed for us by our holy Rule, and it is required by our soul's needs", he wrote on January 3, 1867. "Nobody was more aware of these needs than our Venerable Father; and he imposed upon us the obligation of receiving Communion twice a week, and he explained that this was the merest minimum...He helped us to understand that, in the spirit of the Church...", we should not limit ourselves to that. May the Brothers stand fast against the spirit of rigorism that has caused so much evil in France, the chill wind of disaster that numbs and kills our deepest dedication. Let them meditate on the documents of the Counsel of Trent: we must hope that "the faithful live in such a way as to be able to receive Communion every day". And let them not forget the premise: the Eucharist is at the center of Catholic dogma, discipline and liturgy and at the base of every genuinely Catholic life. "Perhaps we do not talk often enough to the children of the goodness of Jesus Christ and of the mercy he exerts in His Sacraments..." We should instill into them a lively sense of the Real Presence. The tabernacle in which God dwells must not only inspire the most profound respect, but it must appear to the eye and to the heart as the haven of peace, happiness and hope: *Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine virtutum!*

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In this way relations with the Creator and the Savior were well worked out. It remained to specify one's relations with one's neighbor. First of all, how were the Brothers to behave toward the clergy? Their's was neither a parochial nor a diocesan Congregation. They answered to the Pope; but they were committed, like all the faithful, and especially according to the stipulations o the Bull of 1725, to complete docility with respect to the bishops. "Lay" Religious, without the priesthood, in fact without any clerical character, they were prevented from encroaching upon the priest's domain. Their situation became difficult at times; it was important for them not to supply grounds for those who would dominate them or bring accusations against them; we are in a position to form a judgment on these matters from the very candid and psychologically informed guidance that Brother Philippe addressed to the Directors of schools on January 19, 1851:

"Never get into any of those petty squabbles and minor disputes which arise in some parishes. Remember that familiarity breeds contempt and that, besides, there is too great a difference between those gentlemen (the clergy) and ourselves for that sort of thing to be long

[913] Circular for May 22, 1857.

tolerated. Those emotional eruptions, which can be approved by neither discretion nor virtue and which frequently have no other cause than giddiness, the itch to talk, to let things go and waste time, have never come to any good. Sooner or later, the need for a reconciliation with a superior or some other conflict will lay bare the insipid little secrets and secure the immolation of the weaker party. And then everything changes: there is backbiting, estrangement and harassment...Secrets are for the Confessional and not for chit-chat.

We must forego polemics. "No disputes, especially in writing. If we are asked for something against our rules, against our customs, we should speak our minds humbly; and if people insist, we should not be ashamed to say that since we are dependent, we can decide nothing by ourselves."

In brief, the key-note must be, impressive consideration but a resolution that is as unshakable as it is respectful. "Without being overrun by too many visitors, it is, however, important not to make them overly infrequent", especially when it comes to "the pastor", who should "be invited to come to the school to preside over an examination of prayers, catechism and hand out some prizes". Vicars should be dealt with in the same way; "in so doing, we keep their trust and one's own serenity, edify the public" and do a lot of good.

Churchmen headed the list of those to whom the Rule refers as "outsiders". Concerning relations with civil and political magistrates and pupils' families the Rule and traditions sufficiently instructed the Brothers, and Brother Philipe did not insist upon a line of conduct. On the other hand, on many occasions, he imparted to the Communities his views on their obligations of reciprocal support and mutual aid.

When Christian Brothers pronounced or renewed their vows triumphantly they chanted the verse: "*Ecce quam bonum, quam jucundum, habitare fratres in unum*..." It was up to them, whose very name involved the idea of fraternity, to offer a model of supernatural charity in love and mutual assistance. In 1845, the Superior exposed certain illusions the discovery of which could be a danger for young Brothers: "Upon entering Religion, we must not expect to find a perfect human society...As we would like others to support us and put up with us, we, too, must support the inconveniences occasioned by others. In so doing, we shall fulfill the law of Jesus Christ...Silence and pardon are the true sources of peace."

Meddling, slander, thoughtlessness are the fodder for the vices that ravage monasteries where they worm their way in under the benign disguises of lowered eyelids, hands in sleeves and honeyed tongues. Brother Philippe, who was an astute observer, described them, like La Bruyère before him, with the originals in mind: "We should be on our guard against the big talkers, those men whose minds are as barren of God as they are filled with tales, whether true or false; men who utter everything they know and everything they wouldn't know unless they had been listening too much. They know too many things, my dear Brothers, to be unaware of the ones whose disclosure might quite rightly displease us; they know all too well other peoples' faults to be unaware of ours and they have too great a need to talk for us to be able to rely on their discretion. Besides (they will assure you) they have all the right reasons: the glory of God, the good of the Order, the enlightenment of a friend...Yes, indeed, for the glory of God they violate one of His most precious commandments...and destroy the reputation of His children."[914]

If there was a Congregation that required of its members the charity practiced by "Christians in the early Church", it was indeed the Institute of the Christian Brothers with its very strict rules for a nearly continuously common life – intellectual work, religious exercises, recreation, meals and (as late as the last century) even sleep itself did not provide for total solitude.[915] That

[914] Circular for January 15, 1845.

[915] Circular for January 19, 1851.

is why the Superior, in enumerating the qualities of "candidates to be admitted to the Institute", after having required of them "courage, energy, lofty motives, an open and sincere piety" asked further that they be sociable, loving the company of their Brothers and helping others to love their company through a pleasing personality, cheerful, serene and as far removed from tiresome silliness as from a bleak and taciturn humor.[916] As an old man, the Superior eagerly returned to the theme of "fraternal union", which was the title of one of his last letters on May 4, 1872, in which he finds a parallel between himself and the Apostle John who, toward the end of a century-long life, constantly repeated the words: "My little children, love one another". He recalled that De La Salle, when he was near death, recommended that his disciples "have a close union among them". And he, the eighty year old Superior, who contemplated "the end of his pilgrimage", liked to repeat the same words: "Yes, my children, my beloved Brothers, love one another; this is the Lord's precept that summarizes the whole of His holy law."

Just as, with advancing age, his facial expression more freely exhibited his profound goodness, so Brother Philippe's style, in his final years, tended to become more demonstrative. His prestige and popularity in the Institute, as well as throughout France and in the entire Church enabled him to take on the appearance of a "grandfather", without diminishing his vast authority as a leader. In 1852, during a very seriously illness, the attachment of his sons, manifested by their grief and by their prayers of supplication, moved him deeply. During his convalescence, he sent the Communities a brief flyer expressing his warm gratitude. While he himself could neither "pray nor meditate a large number of good Brothers, loving Brothers in Jesus Christ and true sons of the Venerable De La Salle" receive Communion and made novenas for his intention. From all corners of the world he had received New Year's greetings as well as greetings on the Feast of St. Philippe. He replied to these briefly, but with the most moving cordiality.

Between himself and the Brothers he realized that ideal of mutual love that he fostered for the entire Congregation. He showed particular concern for those who were about to die. In his circular for January 4, 1869, entitled, "Spiritual Assistance Among Ourselves", he observed that, "as a result of the growth of the Institute", hardly a day passed without "one or more Brothers entering upon their last agony". And, in favor of them he was mobilizing the full force of prayer and penance which would be their security in that awful journey. The deceased, of course, had their role in this Communion of Saints, about which we learn in the reading of necrological notices and lists: – Brothers, benefactors and friends of the Brothers, affiliated members of the Institute, none were neglected. Lasallian piety was nourished on the dogma of the transferral of merits that is so dear to Catholic feeling and thought.

The chief instruments of concord and unity had to be located among the Directors of schools. St. John Baptist de La Salle had declared that his entire edifice rested on them, and his successors, following his example, had immersed themselves in the task of training and fortifying this elite segment of personnel. Brother Philippe who visited them, presided at retreats in their institutions and who sometimes wrote to them in his own handwriting, also sent them special circulars. There is one of these – dated June 30, 1851 – that instructs them concerning the health of their inferiors and has no difficulty about going into the most exact details, as in a letter from the mother of a family. There is the same decisiveness and the same vigilance in his advice concerning administrative matters: on November 30, 1854 the Directors were urged "carefully to manage their expenses in order to have something in reserve...One who spends all he has often spends what he hasn't. And, upon changing from one school to another, he leaves debts behind him, to the prejudice of the Community and to the impairment of his reputation."

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916 Circular for June 28, 1856.

"You are men whom the Institute trusts", the Superior-general used to say repeatedly to his lieutenants. And these words that went well beyond temporal matters. The interests to be defended were primarily the interests of souls. Those who were in charge were committed to a rigorous observance; there was nobody in their immediate circle who was appointed to spur them on; and this was the controlling reason why they could concede nothing to themselves nor pardon anything in themselves. The important services they performed put them in frequent relations with the exterior world; nevertheless, the man who administered had to watch over his own interior life and wrench himself free from the ruts of routine. To handle all of these tasks head-on he had not a moment to lose.

Here also the grand old man's final word alluded to fraternal charity. "In order for people to say of the Brothers as they said of the early faithful: See how they love one another!", beforehand they have to proclaim a Director's affection for his Brothers. "Love proceeds from the father" and extends to the members of the household; "union is the fragrance which, in the words of the Psalmist, spreads from the head to the clothing", that is from the Superiors to the members of the Community.[917]

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It was in this way that Matthieu Bransiet understood his role as the head of the Brothers. And by raising up a numerous posterity to John Baptist de La Salle, in that posterity he revived the memory of the Ancestor.

Two marble busts, executed by Oliva in 1875 and 1889 and belonging to the Motherhouse, suggest the parallel between the Founder of the Congregation and his best known successor. At first glance it's the contrast that is striking: the peasant and the gentleman, rustic homeliness and a handsome face: the artist had grasped, in all their reality, the differences of social class and early education. What common standard of measurement, it might be asked, exists between these two persons? On the one hand there is classicism and theology and all the treasures of 17th century civilization; and, on the other hand, elementary school, a hasty novitiate, and teaching tasks starting as early as the eighteenth year of his age, following a Revolution that had disrupted education.

Brother Philippe, by way of wisdom and humility, had rediscovered something of De La Salle's genius. He had decided that he was nothing unless he imitated the Founder; he became filled with the written teachings of the Educator and the Mystic, and dedicated to the traditions of the Institute. And his mind was so lively, his common sense so infallible and his faith so vigorous that he succeeded – as we have already observed with Bishop Roche – in becoming more than himself: – a person who had grown, so to speak, to fit the mold that it faithfully replicated.

But he was not the only one who in his own person renewed the basic qualities of that marvelous model. Among Brother Philippe's seniors, contemporaries and juniors the Brothers who clearly bore this mark were legion.

The Superior-general was familiar with the last years, and could tell the story, of the veterans who had assisted in restoring La Salle's work, in sustaining in it "the primitive spirit, the life and soul of the Congregation",[918] and of blending their dedication with that of the saintly Canon of Rheims: Brother Joseph (Jean-Michel Philibert Brière) of Chartres, who had "died in Paris in 1839, as saintly as he had lived";[919] Brother Servulus (Jean-Baptist Faure), died in

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[917] Circular to the Brothers Director, May 4, 1872.

[918] Circular for January 2, 1861.

[919] Motherhouse Archives, file FJj. Concerning this Brother Joseph, see Index to volumes III and IV of the present work.

Toulouse on December 25, 1843, after more than a half-century spent in the service of the Christian Schools and seventy-eight years of a life fruitful in incident, suffering and examples of self-denial.[920]

Brother Vivien, the "Dean" of the Institute and so long in the trenches, did not surrender his arms until he was in his eighties, after a paralysis which had impaired his movements and speech. Eagerly, he repeated to the novices the old stories of ancient France, the Revolution and the Empire; he still loved to recall his relations with Brother Agathon, his work at Rheims and Lyons and the fortunate circumstances in which he preserved so many documents and relics. But concern with the supernatural had gotten the upper hand with him: between 1834 and 1847 prayer filled his days. And if he sought external activity, it was only to teach catechism to a handful of children. Finally confined to his armchair, he accepted suffering serenely and brought his natural pride and independence of mind to submit to the discomforts of illness and old age. He refused special consideration and preferential treatment. When he died at the age of eighty-seven his Brothers recalled none but his edifying life; they wove garlands for him, from which posterity has plucked some of the excess, but without ever claiming to snatch them from that lofty brow.[921]

Brother Patrick (Antoine Radier) preceded him in death by seven months. We have become familiar with Brother Guillaume de Jésus's affection for this old friend and teacher in the residence school in Marseille between 1788 and 1791.[922] Prisons during "the Terror" and exile had separated the two teachers; and then, Radier, "secularized" and married but, while he retained frequent and friendly relations with his old confreres, he was unable to enter their institutions, indeed, share in their exercises or in their retreats, except as a friend. He was "a fervent Christian and a model to his parish" after having been an irreproachable Religious until his thirtieth year. "Finally", writes his biographer, "God, hearing his prayers, broke the bonds which kept him in the world". In 1834, returning to the school in Avignon – which had first welcomed him in 1776 – the septuagenarian once again became a simple novice. With astonishing facility he knit together the two parts of his career; a long standing practice of his usual correspondents had been to address him by his "robing name"; as a skilled teacher and a creator of residence schools, Antoine Radier had never ceased being, deep down in his consciousness, Brother Patrick. After he had once again taken the habit and pronounced triennial and perpetual vows, he devoted himself henceforth to the education of young candidates of the Districts of Avignon and Provencal. He did a marvelous job of training them, according to the old Rule; his vast knowledge, his native graciousness and his gentle piety gave "great charm" to his discourse. In the eyes of his students he deserved to represent an inviting and glorious past. When he was twenty years old, he belonged to the Community in Grenoble, where he had met old men who, in their distant childhood sat on seats in the school in which De La Salle himself had taught the alphabet; he had seen Canon Villars, a man in his nineties, who had had the privilege of talking to the holy Founder and of assisting at his Mass. And, then, too, he discovered among the Fathers of the Grande-Chartreuse recollections of the visit of 1713. In Marseille he knew Brother Sixtus, the last survivor of the "heroic times". This was why, in 1844, Brother Patrick was given the honor of carrying his witness into the process of

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[920] See the same Indices.

[921] Circulars, Vol. I, 1822-1847, account of Brother Vivien – Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pp. 196-197. – Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes for July 1932, pp. 232-233.

[922] Concerning Brother Patrick, see Vol. III of the present work, pp. 422-424 and Vol. IV, pp. 494-496.

beatification: at that time he came to Paris where the Holy Child Jesus House received him as though he were a providential messenger. On February 5, 1847 he died peaceably surrounded by his Brothers in Avignon.[923]

The first novice in 1802, Brother Pigmenion's associate, and a "tireless catechist", Brother Augustine (Pierre Gambert) for two-thirds of a century was to provide the example of his perseverance and virtue. He did not depart this life until 1870, at a time when the Community on Rue Oudinot was in the throes of the Prussian war and siege.[924]

Brother Gerard, fellow-townsman and friend of John Mary Vianney, left everywhere the reputation of an austere Religious, whom death, in 1873, reunited eternally with the Cure of Ars.

Brother Secondian, who was born in 1793 in a village in Lorraine survived Brother Philippe by twelve years. He was conscripted in 1813 and, under Napoleon, took part in the German, French and Waterloo campaigns: like Joseph Darbignac and Louis Arnaud Lafargue before him, he was an "angelic" soldier in the armies of the Republic.[925] There was some time between his military life and his entrance into the Brothers' novitiate. But his pure conscience and his moral strength made him eminently worthy of such a vocation. He followed the Rule in all its rigor. Both Lunéville and Rheims attested to the exalted level of perfection he attained.[926] Another participant in celebrated combat, another truly obedient and humble Religious was Dominic Martin, "the Captain". He, too, was a native of the Eastern Marches. At the age of nineteen years, after brilliantly successful studies, he received his Master of Science degree. In 1830 we come across him as an artillery officer. When the Polish insurrection broke out, he volunteered his services in this splendid cause. He was captured by the Russians and was condemn to deportation to Siberia. Although it was frightful fate and tantamount to being buried alive, the man was possessed of a lively faith; and he promised the Most Blessed Virgin that if his freedom was restored, he would dedicate his life to the education of children in a Religious Order. One of the Tzar's bureaucrats, Prince Makeff, noticed the prisoner and appointed him to instruct his sons. Once this tutorship was concluded, the mother of the youths obtained a full and total amnesty for Captain Martin from Nicholas I. Returned to France, Martin applied to the Brothers' noviciate in Paris on October 11, 1842. With the exception of the Superiors, nobody knew his story nor of his military career. After vows he directed an institution for apprentices in Paris; thereafter he taught in Tours from 1848 until 1865. One of his former military comrades, become a general, visited him in that city and revealed "Brother Martin's" *curriculum vitae* to the Community. Suddenly, the former officer became famous: people in Tours greeted him as a hero and a sort of martyr. Heads of workshops, foremen and workmen – about 800 of them – protesting against the false allegations of a city counsellor who was an enemy of the Christian schools, nearly all of them added to their signature the title "Student of Brother Martin". Such widespread popularity upset the saintly man's modesty: he asked to be sent to a school where he would remain unrecognized and at peace. Brother Philippe agreed to this request. And toward the end of 1865 the "Captain" joined the group of Brothers in Nantes at the Rosmadec House, where he died, in the enjoyment of divine peace, on March 2, 1867.[927]

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923 Relations mortuaires, Vol. II, pp. 10-12. – Bulletin des Ecole chrétiennes, for January 1932, pp. 57-60.

924 Essai sur la Maison-Mère, pp. 224-225.

925 See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 477-481.

926 Essai, pp. 178-180.

927 I. de Cicé, note #24, according to Brother Camillus of Jesus' biography.

We have already traced the careers and distinguished wisdom of some of the Brothers Assistants and of Brothers who had lived the lives of apostles and ascetics, like Brother Benilde and Brother Scubilion. Brother Benilde, a simple peasant from Limagne with a somewhat gnarled look, a stern face, and a body bent over under the weight of work and mortification, went to his reward on August 13, 1862. For forty years, in the mountain wilderness of the village of Sauges, he was absorbed by an obscure and exhausting task; and he vanished in the dawn of a precocious old age. His last rites, on the Feast of the Assumption, assumed a triumphal air: his former pupils carried the casket; and the people cried, "the saint is dead!" *Vox populi.* The Church's decision would confirm that Pierre Romançon, who had "studied, loved, imitated and taught Jesus Christ", and initiated so many of his pupils into the service of God,[928] had realized most completely the model of the Religious educator, according to the directions of John Baptist de La Salle.[929]

A man who is sometimes mentioned in association with Brother Benilde, Brother Scubilion (Jean-Bernard Rousseau), catechist to the Blacks, heeded and respected by all in Réunion, by his death on April 13, 1867, saddened those whom he evangelized. But after that Palm Sunday on which they carried Brother Scubilion's mortal remains to St. Mary's Cemetery, the Creoles and former slaves were convinced that the blessed soul continued to watch over the colony. Pilgrimages to the tomb were organized; and marvelous cures seemed to bear witness to the intercessor's prestige in Heaven.[930]

In the next generation there was a rather assorted series of Brothers who were the source of a legitimate pride and consolation to their Superior-general. There was Brother Barmier, (Joseph Billard) a Bergundian, whose father was a simple porter in Pommard, who was viewed by his neighbors as more than just a fervent Christian, but as a mystic. He had spent some years of his youth somewhat frivolously; in 1842 he entered the Institute, where he was employed practically exclusively as a cook, porter or bursar. Nevertheless his deep piety glowed; and his influence was felt in the Community in Alencon and then in Paris in the Ternes neighborhood, and after 1864, in an especially outstanding way, among the men who frequented the young men's club called "Albert" in Picardy. His love of the Blessed Sacrament inspired him to complete some writings which Brother Exuperien had no hesitation in publishing.[931]

As his counterpart there was the Alps highlander, Brother Sauveur of Mary who, after normal school in Gap, became a public school teacher in 1838 and lived like a Religious in the world. In concert with a priest, Father Lagier, he founded a small teaching congregation that had been recruited principally from among his former pupils. At this time he was called Brother Louis. In 1843, in Gap, he opened a residence school, which flourished. His educational and

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[928] The first winter Brother Benilde spent in Saugues he sent five young men to the novitiate. In 1867, Father Raveyre, his former confessor, met thirty-two novices at the Motherhouse on Oudinot Street, all of them natives of the Canton of Saugues and nearly all former pupils of the saintly Brother. In 1869 there were 245 Christian Brothers on whose vocation his influence had operated. Other Orders and the diocesan clergy were also in his debt for candidates. Each year Brother Benilde brought three or four boys to the Junior Seminary. (Life, pg. 175.)

[929] The investigative process for Brother Benilde's Cause was prepared by the Bishop's office in Le Puy between 1896 and 1899. On April 22, 1903 the Sacred Congregation of Rites signed the "Decree of introduction" and thereafter the Brother could be called "Venerable". Since his miracles have been recognized as authentic, prospects are good that he will soon be numbered among the "Blessed".

[930] Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 264-291.

[931] Choix de Notices, Vol. III, pp. 7-47.

university triumphs did not go to his head. He was convinced that in order to assure the future of his project and the perseverance of its members an alliance with La Salle's Institute was necessary. Brother Philippe agreed to assume the responsibility for the institution in Gap. And, gradually, "Father Lagier's Brothers" met in the District's novitiate. The founder himself settled down under the Rule of the Institute in 1851: he fulfilled his role in the vicinity of Provence as Sub-Director of the schools in Arles and Director of Ciotat.[932]

Antoine Pialoux,[933] born on July 13, 1836 in the hamlet of Marion in the Upper Loire, was the son of a weaver. Family education had contributed powerfully to his character and to the intensity of his faith. The Brothers in Brioude equipped him with sound instruction. And the mayor of the city, who was keenly interested in the young man, gave him a job in the city offices. Some time later, Antoine became an attorney's clerk. Thereafter he discovered his vocation; and, after overcoming his mother's opposition, at the age nineteen he joined the novices at Clermont. His name, Gabriel of the Cross, which he bore after Christmas of 1855, symbolized, in a way, the whole of his future mission, under the aegis of the Archangel, "God's strength" and under the sign of the sorrowful and redemptive Passion. Ten years later, at the residence school in Clermont, he began a splendid apostolate that was destined to supply the Church with superb priests and exceptional Religious.

Brother Gabriel stands out in the full light. Two of his contemporaries lived, like Brother Barmier, joyously obscure and yet rich in extraordinary grace, dispensers of salvation to many: Brother Camillus of Jesus who – in his subordinate rank in the Community in Nantes – won the souls of barrack-room soldiers;[934] and Brother Julius of Jesus, a manual laborer, admitted to the novitiate in Talence in August 1860, cook, refectory worker, and sacristan in Perigueux, Bordeaux and Marmande, so punctual and so conscientious in the duties of his calling, so heroic in his interior life that he earned the veneration of his fellows and a reputation for exalted sanctity among the faithful; touching incidents, prophetic words and noteworthy favors he obtained in prayer before a statue of Our Lady dear to the dwellers along the Garonne showed him in direct contact with Heaven.[935]

All of these Brothers were for a long time – and some of them into our own times – the witnesses and instruments of Divine protection on the Institute. In their wake came youths equally intent upon total sacrifice and upon the sublime quest of a Francis of Assisi, an Aloysius Gonzaga, a John Baptist de La Salle and a Brother Irenée. In training at this time in the Congregation were the Savoyard Leon Tissot, the Alsatian Christian Motsch, the Lorrainian Nicholas Reèche, the Belgian Louis Joseph Wiaux, and the Equatorian Francis Febres Cordero; who, even before 1870, were, respectively, Brothers Léon of Jesus, Alpert, Arnould, Mutien-Marie and Miguel – names destined for the most dazzling brilliance, which we shall encounter once again during the period of their splendor.

Nor should we dare think that their elders, their mentors, were nothing but solitary stars in a somber night sky. That would be to distort history and betray the truth. The most authentic disciples of the Founder during Brother Philippe's Generalate shone on an horizon which, if it were not cloudless, was at least without dense gloom. Their souls' transparency expanded over the entire scene; it penetrated the mists hovering at ground level, but it did not collide with the

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[932] Choix de Notices, Vol. III, pp. 346-350.

[933] Frère Gabriel de la Croix (1836-1887), by Brother Paul Joseph, Lembecq, 1914.

[934] I. de Cicé, Frère Camille-de-Jésus, Nantes, 1927.

[935] Canon Olgiwolski, Frère Julius-de-Jésus, Bordeaux, 1939.

shadow of rebellion. The subtelties of every-day virtue live off that eager piety, that energetic prayer and that dedication that wells up under God's sun. Nothing too harshly offended the eye; nothing irreparably destroyed the harmony; in the last analysis nothing appeared that was unworthy of either the idea nor of the work itself of the master, John Baptist de La Salle. Perhaps a few touches more, a few more pronounced effects were needed: and the end of the 19th century would see the labors of a great administration continued and concluded.

CHAPTER TWO

The Principles and the Success of Lasallian Education

To unite a concern for religious perfection with educational action – within the Christian tradition– was the clear and constant purpose of the Founder of the Institute. His disciples had to conform their life to the Gospel ideal and, with the same effort and the same dedication, commit that life to the service of children. They were not to consider themselves complete teachers without the practice of mental prayer and the examination of conscience, both personal and professional, and without the daily action of cleansing the soul. They did not comprehend education apart from its underpinning, which was, in brief a "philosophy."

One of the principal errors of the Bourgeois positivists who, during the 1880's, initiated the secular school was quite obviously their design for elementary education stripped of an inspiring creed. They claimed to reveal nothing to the mind of the masses except the "useful disciplines": reading, writing, composition, arithmetic, a little drawing and singing, and some knowledge of agriculture or the domestic arts: – "the where-with-all and nothing but the where-with-all". And over that was laid a simple veneer of nebulous spiritualism, a vague deism, which was also provisional, transitional and deliberately and necessarily fated to wither away. In the air and unaccounted for was "the good old morality of our fathers", as they called it, the "categorical imperative" and the mysteries which, intended to restrain the passions, guaranteed the social organization and soothed the proprietors of vast fortunes. The people were dealt with as *minus habens*: they could do the work, while others continued to think for them.

What happened was what might have been expected. How does one prevent people from "thinking for themselves"? A new generation of teachers, liberated from all supernatural belief and also renouncing a conventional, cramped morality, bloodless for the lack of divine nourishment, fashioned for itself a system of ideas that conformed to its knowledge. It had understood nothing but facts, without discussion and without a critical examination of the principles and the results of science; and it wanted to understand nothing beyond the facts. It could end up only by creating a materialistic sociology as a dogma from which it drew its ideas about the world and its principles of behavior.

This was a "philosophy", if one were a stickler for words, but it was anti-philosophical, an enemy not only of Christian thought, but as well of personal culture and genuine humanism, because it reduced education to training and the progress of the spirit and the will to a pursuit of comfort and justified the implacable struggle, the hatred, between classes and between nations.[936]

The faith of the Brothers operated on an entirely different level: it did not confine the young teacher, the student, within the walls of a school, within the rules of arithmetic; it gave them a view of limitless horizons – the soul's destiny, the worth of temporal and spiritual life and the relation of the Creator to the creation. With religious education and a Christian faith that was not a dead-letter, there was also desultory and optional education after the formal school

[936] André Giraud, "*La Sociologie dans les Ecoles normales primaires*", in the periodical *Politique* for February 15, 1931.

program, but the rule of every intellectual and moral effort was that the child's development should always go beyond the "elementary" stage; it should touch the roots of the person, and generate the growth of personality; it should not give way to the shame, to the grief, of being fragmentary.

The Brothers were frequently called "Brothers of Christian Doctrine": historically, of course, the term was inexact; however, it was a description that did them honor and was not wanting in truth. The catechism, with the Ten Commandments and Holy Scripture was the first object and the essence of their instruction; they taught it literally, commented upon it, and studied it daily themselves. The Gospel controlled their education and adapted the latter to the most diverse circumstances, races and individuals. And it was in this way, as the auxiliaries of the clergy, teachers and missionaries, they belonged to the officialdom of a Church which described itself as a "teacher".

Misit me Deus evangelizare pauperibus: following the example of Nicolas Barré, Charles Démia and John Baptist de La Salle, the Brother dispensed the sustenance for the lack of which the mind feels hunger, the reason remains feeble; thus, he disbursed the basic skills of knowing, in association with the fundamentals of Revelation. And he did so as a free offering of an unsalaried worker, because selling the truth seemed like a sort of huckstering and a form of simony; and because the food of the mind, no more than the food for the body, should not be refused to any who ask for it.

The limits of this charity were not written in stone; but they shifted, quite generally, depending upon time, country and culture. However, in the still open spaces, before all other tasks, it was necessary to go on cultivating the ancient field. And may it please God that the Brothers never commit the gravest of infidelities by forsaking poor children and by neglecting the thankless tasks which tie them to the alphabet, the copy-books and the blackboards with the ungainly numbers!

Brother Philippe reminded them of this duty in his circular of January 19, 1851: the Brothers would be betraying their vocation if they "did not try to excel" in all aspects of the traditional program – reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic.

If, on these foundations, there were those who strove to build higher or wider, there would be no hindrance as long as their capacity did not aspire to liberate them from obedience and prudence. The Brothers taught well because, generally, following the hope expressed by Victor Cousin concerning teachers, they knew more than they taught. Passing on from general considerations to details, we note that, besides grammar and mathematics, two other disciplines guaranteed the reputation of the Institute in the 19th century: drawing and geography.

A university professor, summarizing the educational work of Brother Philippe, wrote in 1874: With the exception of a few large cities which have special schools for drawing, nearly everything that our working and industrial population has learned (on this subject) they got in Brothers' classes.[937]

Concerning geography, initiatives launched and carried on by the best teachers in the Christian schools were, during the same period, quite outstanding. Through direct observation, geology, climatology and history, the directors of public education under the Second Empire were preoccupied with revitalizing geographical instruction that had frequently been reduced to desiccated lists of names. They would have appreciated the good will and the success with which real specialists in the Brothers' schools nearly always sustained them and sometimes went beyond them. "Consider what is being called local geography," Brother Philippe wrote to the Brothers in his circular in 1871; "prepare a series of question which accustoms your pupils to observe what is at hand": the river, the road, the hill and the village. For a number of years he had been advocating the use of wall maps, inexpensive atlases and notebooks in which pupils

[937] *Le Correspondant*, for January 25, 1874.

were required to draw exactly the contours of the ocean coastlines, river basins and mountain ranges. Children were also trained to draw outlines on the blackboard. And it was to the Christian Brothers that people were indebted for the first large-scale hypsometric map of Europe, which was published by the French press.

The needs of the time and social progress required room in programs for the physical and natural sciences. Indeed, it was clear that the future farmer, the future factory technician could do without them. Henceforth, elementary education, at least in the upper classes and in the evening classes available to youths and adults, would supply introductory notions of the sciences. Here and there, in order to prepare for the popular professions, the Brothers'pupils had, over and above, courses in surveying, bookkeeping and architecture.

The Superior-general tolerated neither rest nor routine. As early as 1845, he made it clear that he wanted the Institute to maintain its "brilliant" reputation. He was sensitive to the movement of ideas.

In 1863 a letter which prefaced new edition of the *Conduct of Schools* includes the following comment: "Recently teaching has taken on a special character that we must keep in mind. Embracing as its principal goal the formation of the judgment, it accords less importance to the cultivation of the memory; and it particularly employs methods which engage the mind and encourages the child to reflect. The complaint had been leveled against the Brothers that they wasted time with mnemonic devices: without assuming a defensive stand (ten years earlier he complained that too many lessons were learned "by heart", and he emphasized the usefulness of the "Socratic" method and the appeal to discernment in the teaching of history), the Superior sounded the call for a step forward.

On January 10, 1867, he adopted the conclusion of the Minister of Public Education. Duruy had written, in July of 1866 to the directors of normal schools: "Many teachers distort grammar and think that they have done everything when they put a lot of rules in children's heads...In this study, we must avoid abstractions and subtlties, and we must pay particular attention to the examples supplied by the reading and the explanation of the great writers. In this way the refinements of the language are better learned... than by following the details of a grammar textbook.[938]

In nearly the same terms, Brother Philippe said: the teaching of French must, before all else, assist the development of the mind. It is important to be on our guard against complicated definitions and an abstract vocabulary. Teachers, who are more confident in natural reason and in innate logic, should look less kindly upon the interminable analyses of the "parts of speech". The time thus gained should be employed in the reading and the explanation – literal, and indeed philosophical and "spiritual" – of good authors.

The circular also added that these suggestions and principles belonged explicitly or implicitly to the essence of the Brothers tradition of pedagogy. And, indeed, the substitution of French for Latin as the basic instruction, the frequent use of individual interrogation and exercises in catechetical essays were among the more daring and more successful of the Founder's innovations and not without advantage to the growth of human reason.

De La Salle's successor wrote: « We should adhere to thoughtful reading. For this purpose, question the pupils after each section of the lesson, in order to get them to reflect on what was said; ask them what was the subject of the talk, what was said about it, and the reasons given for saying it."

"In the more advanced sections" the analysis of ideas and of style should put the finishing touches on all "spelling dictation". "Quotations from model authors" were to provide the material for these exercises: the pupils' attention should be called both to the foundation and to the form – "the rightness or wrongness" of the thought or reasoning, "the propriety, purity and

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energy" of the language, the use of metaphors, "inversions, comparisons, contrasts"; and all of this, while foregoing commentary which exceeds the audience's understanding.

This is a crucial statement that seem to summarize completely the Educator's directives, which are set forth like those of another teacher of the time, Bishop Dupanloup who, in his book, *The Child*, states that "Elementary studies, under no constraint, must be exceedingly simple...They should consist in reading, writing, introductory arithmetic, the outlines of history and geography and, of course, religion...The important point is that all of this (is taught, learned and retained exactly): little and well; very little and very well – that is the main thing."[939]

Eliminate over-loading, avoid "constraint"; do not consider the pupils as a receptacles or a machines: teachers always agree on these fundamental rules. "What children accept lovingly" (and nothing less) "enters their minds and hearts...and becomes part of them...If we want them to be reasonable, we have to talk reason to them," and they understand; "if we want them to be virtuous, we have to we have to deal with them trustingly, and they will be sensitive, grateful and joyful."[940]

The Bishop of Orleans exhorted teachers to seek the soul and to win the affections. The Brothers' Superior admonished his subordinates to relinquish "totally corporal correction". Speaking in physiological and psychological terms, he reminded his colleagues that one cannot demand obedience and attention from a schoolboy unless one is considerate of his nerves and spares him useless burdens and overwork.

The teacher must be the very first one to observe the rule of silence: in this prescription the Brothers' *Conduct* uttered the wisest of paradoxes: with signs and signals instead of wild gestures, a few clear words instead of shouts and long speeches, and a teacher who hardly ever moves from his desk or from the blackboard; and a well supervised class, on its toes and safeguarded against the pressure of lessons and homework, will remain peaceful.

Furthermore, a child's body needs a certain relaxation of posture; tables providing room for arm rest and seats with back-supports were recommended, at least for the youngest pupils. If there is reason to punish and it seems necessary to impose a penalty, the punishment must be proportioned to the fault; the judge must not forget that the delinquent cannot be deprived of recreation, nor sleep and that between class and the end of the day time is brief and goes by very rapidly.

Some teachers were not easily reconciled to the eradication of corporal punishment. The whip and the cane had played that large a role in ancient education! It had become the *ultima ratio*, after reason had acknowledged its powerlessness. But, to tell the truth, it had retreated too often and too quickly behind that heavy artillery that was so easily manipulated by anger. It was essential, finally, to espouse a clearer idea of the child's dignity as well as of the dignity of the teacher. Cruelty humiliated and degraded, without persuading, and could become ominous.

Brother Philippe had to repeat his orders in this matter. On July 20, 1858 he wrote to the directors of schools that the Minister had evidence of rather serious abuses. The teachers involved had claimed that "the rules" of their Congregation authorized the procedures that had only just been proscribed. In particularly forceful language, their Superior challenged these assertions: were there still those unaware that "the use of the rod, only tolerated in the past, had been forbidden by decisions of the General Chapters"? There was here either "unforgivable ignorance" or "acute ineptitude" that it provided the public authorities grounds for criticizing the prescriptions of the *Conduct of the Christian Schools*.

On July 20, 1860 there were renewed pleas. The Superior nudged the Brothers with the quick hands toward self-respect: "A pupil might very well forget the pain of corporal punishment; but

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939 Cited by Herment, *Histoire de Pédagogie*.

940 Dupanloup, op. cit., pg. 413.

a thoughtful teacher and religious will never forget that he made the mistake of dealing severely with a child...Later on he will be embarrassed to find himself with a magistrate, a priest, or shop foreman or worker who tells him: You beat me when I was in your class."

A teacher must be constantly aware of the *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*! Regarding his pupils he performs "the functions of a visible Guardian Angel". He owes it to them to spare them temptations, from which he must also protect himself. He must not become "the water that cannot cleanse without dirtying". Familiarity, intimacy and excessive fondness are both unwise and imprudent. Brother Philippe's candor was unfaltering. The faults that his own sensitive conscience condemned occurred only as melancholy exceptions in the Brothers' schools. But it was important to keep human frailty on the alert: nature slips down hill easily into pathetic plunges. Scandal, and indeed the appearance of scandal, has to be feared; the best of intentions and natural innocence are powerless against ill-will and a sort of childhood perversion that can compromise and destroy a Brother's reputation.

In order to protect the child's and the youth's purity, the ancient precautions retain their full effect: – strict discipline every hour of the day and night, paternal vigilance, prohibition of confidential meetings, the constant presence of the teacher among the pupils, a family spirit everywhere, trusting relations between the Religious educator and his disciples, prayer in common, games during recreation, outings, simple and joyful celebrations interspersing studies; and this entire program of a well-organized life, which observes moderation in work, nevertheless, allows no room for idleness. The whole of this system of education is founded upon the Brother's renouncement of his personal independence and his ambitions for a career was, as a consequence, unsuited to schools in the national educational system and to schools directed by laymen.

It may be asked how the Brothers succeeded in their many Communal schools to create a joyous climate, maintain order and secure full intellectual efficiency. The surroundings were pitiful; and the tools given the teachers were glaringly inadequate. We can ignore the question of salaries which, prior to 1850, were so meager that they dissuaded a lot of young people who had just finished normal school from a long tenure in public education:[941] Religious were not as demanding as their colleagues who were on their way to establishing a household or of assuring a future for a wife and several children. But the educational equipment, for a number of years, did not answer to the most rudimentary requirements. M. de Salvandy acknowledged this fact in a circular in 1846 concerning primary education.[942] For the lack of supplies the Brothers had to become involved in prodigies of diligence; they themselves produced wall maps, and drawing models; they furnished copybooks and the very pens that their pupils used; and, in the absence of some textbooks, they substituted personal compositions or patient compilations. The improvement of classrooms and residences, which had left so much to be desired in the days of Louis XVIII and Charles X, was still being awaited under the July Monarchy and was to be just barely realized under Napoleon III, and even then poor villages and regions careless about hygiene constituted exceptions.[943] At Besancon,[944] 1843, an anonymous pamphlet, provides an idea of a situation that was all to widespread at this time:

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[941] The same was true under the Second Empire in many places, as Brother Cicilian, Director in Rouen, wrote to the Prefect of the Lower Seine, on February 8, 1853, that "it is not uncommon to witness graduates of normal schools withdraw from teaching." (Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 3, 40.)

[942] Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, i, 2.

[943] *Choix de notices, III*, pg. 389; biography of Brother Simeon. *Observations sur les écoles des Frères de la Doctrine chrétienne.*

[944] The description of the buildings occupied by the Brothers in Besancon in 1843

“The classes, while attended by most of the children, are consigned to an area between four dirty and dilapidated walls...When one enters from Rue Charmont one gets a glimpse, off to the left and above the guard-house, of a sort of shed, a rather melancholy addition to St. Magdalene’s Church. The appearance of this decrepit barn proclaims something very different than its actual use...By way of a small, dark, narrow and noisome stairway...the visitor arrives at what some are pleased to call a Communal schoolhouse. You penetrate into the first hovel...where everything is open to the sky, and the window sashes that are crumbling in decay look like they have never held glass. There is scarcely a vestige of plaster, and every day some old board falls off the ancient woodwork...This room does service as a woodshed, and there is the bucket the pupils use for a toilet. The hallway that leads to the classroom is where the Brothers must meet with people who have to speak to them.”

“The next two rooms, whose windows are rather small and have not lost all their glass, are occupied by pupils in the lower grades. In the first there are 130 children who are being taught how to read: they are simply placed on eleven small benches, each of which is about twelve feet long. This room is about eighteen feet square and about nine feet high. The other is about twenty-four feet square and is also about nine feet high. And usually it has eighty-five to ninety pupils in it.”

“The light comes to the first room from four bay-windows and to the second from five bay-windows ... which overlook either the street or a narrow courtyard ... We reach the classrooms for the most advanced pupils by climbing the five or six steps of another stairway...These two garret rooms, in spite of their poverty, seem rather decent compared to the other two; a poor family might still live in them...They contain seventy-two and eighty-six pupils.”

On Rue Chateur 200 youngsters were crowded into two rooms of a small house, ventilated only from the backyard. And, finally, on Palace Square, the Community residence housed the same number of children who, like their peers in other parts of the city, were squeezed together.

Thus, eight rooms, where, after the necessary reparations, one could scarcely house four working families, was the space which a prosperous city like Besancon, an important center for war and for commerce, set aside as a school for the sons of its numerous population.
One would imagine that they were “prisoners given up for dead”.

Their teachers were grouped together in a building in St. John’s parish. With the exception of the chapel and the common room...the other rooms were so small and so dilapidated that they could hardly be dignified by the name of “bedrooms”. In these cells especially the disaster was total. To be comfortable in them one would really have to bound by the vow of poverty. Visiting them made you think of the Trappists. They were furnished merely with a bed; and occasionally a chair was added.

This sort of residence did not make intellectual work any easier. Of course, as it effected them, the Brothers “remembered Vaugirard” and practiced patience. But the pupils’ work and their health imposed upon the Brothers the obligation of protesting and complaining. Minimal well-being, which seemed to be as requisite for a good education as it was for virtue, Brother Philippe defended in principle at every turn, and gradually he prevailed.

But in suitable physical surroundings the Brothers work flourished. Pupils did not get the idea that they were being treated like pariahs: with promptings from their teachers, they became civilized, physically and spiritually, and they became aware of a sort of social dignity. Progress continued to be felt among the working class, which was less burdened by the weight of poverty, less lethargic and less passive. All children were sharing in the activities of the Catholic renaissance: – the Propagation of the Faith, the Apostolate of Prayer, Peter’s Pence, etc. The clergy and the national leaders were struck by the results obtained, not only in the area of elementary education, but in the realm of charity, morality, etiquette and patriotism: “Our best soldiers”, declared the heads of the French army, are those who have attended the

Brothers' schools.[945]

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The Superior-general was surrounded by a remarkable team of co-workers: they were the ones who edited or revised the textbooks that had been made famous under the authorship of "F. P. B." (Brother Philippe Bransiet) and which had rapidly spread to all Congregations; and, indeed, beyond, into many schools. Taken together they constitute a sort of "encyclopedia" of primary instruction. The French grammar and arithmetic texts had earned the most resplendent success. In educational circles, their essential merits, – their exactitude and simplicity, their total good sense and their concreteness – were extolled. A pupil so equipped at the end of his studies entered easily into commerce or banking or the office of a land-surveyor.

The top authors were Brothers Angelum, Paphnucius, Marianus, Alexis, Pierre-Celestine and Victorus. Brother Angelum was a specialist in arithmetic; but he could be equally well asked to do a Bible History or a Chronological History of France as well as a Collection of Problems. In the writing of historical works he used the assistance of Brothers Agoard and Matthieu.

He had been soundly taught in the Junior Novitiate in the Faubourg St. Martin along with his compatriot from St. Etienne, Joseph Josserand. He completed his professional training in the best Communities in Paris. As Visitor of the District of Paris, he became actively engaged in raising the level of studies, as did his companion, Brother Anthymius. Brother Paphnucius, who had been a carpenter by trade, entered the novitiate in Lyons in 1843 when he was twenty years of age. He began teaching with the very youngest pupils in the residence school called "the Lazarists". He progressed rapidly to teach the most advanced classes. His teaching, which was the product of daily effort and personal study, was condensed first of all into a course for the improvement of his pupils: he gathered exact notions of French grammar from a comprehensive grasp of language and style. Become "Dean of Studies" in the school in Lyons, Brother Paphnucius published *Spelling Exercises and Analytical Method*, which appeared as the books of a master-grammarian, if not of a born writer. In 1859, Brother Philippe, visiting the classes in the residence school, was impressed with his clear and vigorous explanations, introduced by means of outlines on the blackboard. He soon invited the teacher to Paris: he was thinking of putting him charge of the future teachers in the Scholasticate, which at the time was called (for the moment it was to remain a distinctive institution) "the normal school" on Rue Oudinot. But, then, increasingly delighted with the writing talents of this remarkable self-taught man and with his intellectual versatility, the Superior chose him as his personal secretary. In this capacity the erstwhile carpenter worked along with the Superior of the Christian Brothers on the Meditations which were intended to raise the level of culture and religious zeal of his confreres, although he continued to refine the teaching of French.

Ferdinand Buisson, in his report on the World's Fair in Vienna in 1873, spoke glowingly of what the Brothers of the Christian Schools had contributed that was original and new to the educational section; and he said that to Brother Alexis "went the distinction" of having transformed the old geography lessons into something really interesting and useful and not without daring introduced "a collection of rigorously scientific procedures into a popular school". Quite flatteringly and quite justly Brother Alexis' reputation grew in his native Belgium, in France and in Austria.

The reporter's attention was also drawn to "a course in reading for beginners, following a method that combined reading, writing and spelling": Brother Marianus' booklets have reached eleven editions; but that is only a beginning. Methods of revitalization like this one need to be propagated without interruption.

Brother Marianus, a Rhineland German, had been a member of the Institute since 1851, after

[945] Baunard, op. cit., pp. 112-114.

having passed a period of six years in the public schools of his own country. Sent from Coblentz to the novitiate in Namur, he remained a member of the Congregation in Belgium. Brother Visitor Memorian appointed him to teach education at the normal school in Carlsbourg. And, using the work of his countrymen for a model, he trained excellent candidates. In 1864 he succeeded Brother Nonce as Director of the Novitiate in Namur: almost immediately he reestablished the examinations prescribed as early as the General Chapter of 1787 for young Brothers in the Congregation. Besides a written and an oral examination, the tests included an "experimentum", an actual lesson conducted in the presence of other candidates and teachers and subsequently criticized down to the finest detail. It was a way of initiating the Brothers into the art of drawing up a lesson-plan and of systematically compiling their ideas. The same logic is found in Brother Marianus' books: his system of the parallel teaching of reading and writing, which followed from a shrewd psychology, supplied for the shortcomings of textbooks and amply assisted in the advancement of the pupils in the earliest classes. The author also provided an important service with his books on arithmetic and mental calculation.

The Vienna Fair also played a role in throwing light upon Brother Pierre-Celestine's favorite disciple,[946]who, under the name of Brother Victoris, deserves to be considered as one of the glories of Christian education. Victor Mariage, born in 1831, became a Junior Novice in Paris in August of 1846; eager in work, modest in prosperity, likeable and exemplary, he won the approval of his superiors and his classmates. After his vows, Brother Pierre kept him with him. In 1858 he was taken from him so that Brother Victoris could devote himself to completing and propagating his *Writing Method* which he had initiated for the use of his pupils on Rue Oudinot.

For a century and a half, calligraphy had enjoyed a privileged place among the Christian Brothers who, having vied in the past with the "writing-masters", had triumphed over the ancient corporation by shaking off routine, simplifying procedures and by combining rapid and clear composition with a concern for elegance.

After the revolutionary period many members of the Institute remained dedicated to the tradition of ornate handwriting, the beautiful "round", the comfortable "slanting round", the masterly flourishes and all the expertise appropriate to the pen. Brother Leobert, who taught at St. Charles' school in Bordeaux, achieved a certain celebrity in this connection. In 1851 he came to Paris to seek the advice of the calligrapher Lesaëc. Returning to the Gironde he resumed his teaching career with marvelous success. His art inspired him with a real dedication; and his notebooks were filled with rare and splendid autographs that he had discovered by rummaging around in libraries. Important business firms in Bordeaux sought out Brother Leobert's pupils as bookkeepers.

This teacher conferred a prominent role on "tracing" and on blackboard demonstrations. Brother Victoris, whose methods were more spontaneous and personal, and better adapted to the demands of cursive writing, finally prevailed.

A skillful draughtsman and master of the pencil as well as the pen, in 1860 Victor Mariage had published his Introductory Course in Ornamental Drawing; to which he added a few years later his *Methodical Course in Linear Drawing* – two books which contained both a collection of remarkable models and a series of superb explanations. He sent them to the 1867 Universal Exposition; the International Commission selected him for the gold medal; but Brother Victoris said that he owed everything he knew to his Institute and that, if his methods deserved to be rewarded, the name of the Brothers of the Christian Schools alone should appear on the prize-list. He won his point. But the jury decided not to neglect the artist: the gold medal went

946 For Brother Pierre-Celestine, see above, pp. 449-451.

to the entire Institute; while a silver medal mentioned at least discretely the skill which had sought to conceal itself.

His virtue as a Religious yielded neither to his prestige as a teacher nor to his well deserved fame as an artist. For six years a victim of ill health, Brother Victoris accomplished his task in spite of coughing up blood and an assortment of other physical ailments. In 1862 he had to leave St. Nicolas des Champs, to where the Superiors had relocated his teaching, and receive the attention demanded by his condition in the infirmary at the Motherhouse. He placed himself in God's hands. Dead on February 12, 1870, in his fortieth year, he remained revered in the memory of his Brothers. His assistant, Brother Bernard Louis, destined for a longer career, closed out his teaching assignments.[947]

This detour through the authors' gallery gives the impression of ordered activity, of minds ever ready to explain and of a movement constantly pressing forward.

When Brother Philippe issued a severely modified edition of the *Conduct of Schools* in 1870, he stated plainly that "a book of this sort is never finally edited; fresh experience, the growth of methodology, legislative prescriptions and new requirements" make indefinite demands for constant recasting.[948] It was clearly a "developmental" theory, which, no doubt, respected the Magister dixit and which, in fact, did not disturb the fundamental principles nor De La Salle's moral, religious or even his psychological insights, as qualified by the contributions of his disciples and the progress of popular education.

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It is possible to trace this appetite for progress, this marvelous persistence on the pathways of knowledge, in several schools. François Fabié, who so deftly celebrated his native region of Rouergue and combined the creditable successes of a public school teacher with his gifts as a poet, has sketched a rather humorous portrait of his teacher, Brother Ildefonse, although, on the whole, it suffused with feeling and gratitude. "From my very first day at St. Amans in Rodez I fell under the direction of that marvelous man who, later on, was to exert such a tremendous influence on my literary tastes ...(His appearance) was not fetching: – thin, sallow and precociously wrinkled ... An immoderate appetite for "homilies" and sermons, which he accompanied with long prayers...But he was a good teacher, intelligent and dedicated. And did he ever take the trouble to control, to supervise and to inspire! (In 1856) methods were still imperfect and programs were inadequate...And did we ever do pages in Italian handwriting as well as in "round", "slanting round" and in "gothic"! And pages of dictated spelling that the pupils corrected mutually and severely!...And the problems that each one in turn had to analyze and resolve at the blackboard! In order to stimulate us, Brother Ildefonse divided us in to two camps – the Gauls and the Romans. The battles were the dictations...The camp that committed the fewest errors was the victor ... The combat was furious, defeat painful and revenge enthusiastic... [949]

In this way a young peasant, anguished at having left his village, was introduced to the life of the mind and began to rouse his spirits. In the days that followed Brother Ildefonse, at St. Joseph's residence school, opened up wider horizons for him. Henceforth an attentive educational concern, an undeniable skill for rousing interest and exercising the enthusiasm of

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947 *Essai sur las Maison-Mère,* pp. 206-207. *Choix de notices*, pp. 322-339 (Brother Victoris), III, pp. 495-498 (Brother Paphnucius). *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for July, 1908, pp. 237-243, and for October 1910, pg. 337. Maurice Croisé*, Institut des Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes*, Versailles, 1903, pp. 10 and 11.

948 Preface to the 1870 edition.

949 Fabié, op. cit., pp. 59-61

the young disclosed its efficacity. At the same time, in Rodez the leading school expanded its numbers, trained draughtsmen, sent its graduates to Arts and Crafts and also, in concurrence with the Inspector of the Academy, invited a large number of lay teachers to practice their art in its classrooms.[950]

While a poet was blossoming in Rodez, Brother Lucilus in Gaillac was educating an artist, Henri Fauré. The District archives contains a notebook of calligraphy texts as well as some remarkable water color and pen-and-ink sketches; the executor of these works was to become one of the most skillful assistants of the stained glass artist Claudius Lavergne. And upon returning to his native region, he established a factory for the glass arts.[951]

Elsewhere, while famous names did not emerge from among the ranks of the pupils, several teachers – such as Brother Kellac in Millau, and Brother Tempier in Montpellier – attracted attention. Brother Kellac (Amans Fabre) taught for thirty-six years – between 1849 and 1885 – in the school in Millau. His enlightened judgment, his expansive personality and his contagious kindness earned him a solid popularity and an unchallenged authority among his adoptive fellow-citizens. He insisted upon surrounding himself with competent associates: twenty-three of his Brothers had obtained the enabling certificate. The result was a huge growth for the school: as many as 800 pupils at one time were receiving instruction at the hands of the Christian Brothers.[952]

Jacques Royet, an energetic figure and a haughty native of the Dauphine, teacher in Montpellier beginning in 1837, called Brother Tempier and (because of the fame of his science class) had earned the "nickname" of "Brother Geometry". Official awards had confirmed the approbation of his pupils – the bronze medal and the silver medal from the authorities in Public Education. A prefectural decree of September 28, 1854 had put Brother Tempier at the head of the Christian Schools in the city. The Rector of the Academy, in 1858, had invited him to take a place on the Committee that examined candidates for positions as inspectors of the elementary schools. The learned Brother also had talents as an organizer: his influence was felt in a number of ways throughout the city: – adult and apprentice classes, youth charities, the opening of a garden for agricultural experimentation and a gymnasium. On August 15, 1867 the imperial government bestowed upon him the Cross of the Knights of the Legion of Honor, which, at that time, was an extraordinary proof of the respect in which a teaching Congregation was held. And in the Institute, thirty years after Brother Anacletus had rejected Guizot's proposal,[953] a precedent was in the making.[954]There was another in Bordeaux where Brother Alphonsus received the Cross and Red Ribbon at the hands of the astronomer, Le Verrier.
In 1874, the teacher, exhausted, momentarily admitted defeat. The City Council testified its gratitude: "The assembly keenly regrets the premature loss of an official who has been able to win support from all quarters and perform unmistakable services."[955] Fortunately, however, Brother Tempier was not to finish his career until 1905.

Another mathematician and geometer began to provide more than promise during the final period of Brother Philippe's generalate. His was an exceptional nature, in as much as the man's virtue was made of the most reliable stuff. Edmond Brunhes, who was to become Superior general of the Congregation, belonged to a family whose members would occupy distinguished

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950 Archives of the District of Rodez, History of Notre Dame School.

951 Brother Ildefonse Gabriel, op. cit., pp. 30-32.

952 District Archives, History of Millau.

953 See above, pp. 115-116.

954 L. Mercier, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Montpellier*, 1931, pp. 27-46.

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positions in the University and in the Church. Edmond's brother, Julien, became Dean of the Department of Science in Dijon; of Julien's three sons, one of them became the director of the Observatory in Puy de Dôme, another professor of "Human geography" in the College of France, and the third, the Bishop of Montpellier. It was a very intellectual family, and it was a very Christian family. Two of the future Brother's sisters entered the Order of "Poor Claires". He himself, who had lost his father early on, had been brought up under the influence of his valiant and pious mother and an uncle, Canon John Baptist Brunhes, Chaplain of the college in Aurillac. In this city, where he had been born on November 16, 1834, he received his elementary education in the school of the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle. "With their prompting", he wrote, "we worked very well". His own vocation as an educator was not slow to take shape. In 1850 he became Brother Gabriel of Mary in the novitiate at Clermont. Two years later the mayor of Brioude asked for a talented young Brother to begin establish scientific education. The Director, Brother Helouin, not without difficulty, succeeded in getting Brother Artheme to send Brother Gabriel of Mary who, at the time, was teaching the novices in Auvergne. The eighteen year old teacher answered so completely to the wishes of the city and to the hopes of the diligent Brother Helouin that the educational authorities approved of all his ventures: Inspector Nicolas did not spare his compliments in favor of the school in Brioude as a genuine higher primary school operating at a level distinctly higher than similar institutions in the principal centers of population. Beginning in 1865 highway and railroad employees attended Brother Gabriel of Mary's courses. Until 1873 the unpretentious sub-prefecture of the Upper Loire clung to the mathematician, whose fame had already begun to spread – the distant prelude to a more far reaching influence and more genuinely worthy of the merits of the man. But he was not anxious for his future; with an unflagging zeal and assiduity, he sought no merely personal success; he had placed his talents under the sign of total obedience.

A different look, a narrower knowledge but a no less fruitful educational activity characterized Étienne Barthe who had migrated from the South of France and dedicated sixty three years of his life to the children of All Saints parish in Rennes.[956] As Brother Corbinian he had become famous in Brittany as a legendary personality: in 1843 he was teaching 220 small pupils; the classroom was unable to hold them all. He located a number of them in the corridors, wherever they would fit and provided them with monitors whom he had patiently trained. In good weather he settled the youngsters on the Parade Grounds where a Brother had once been martyred:[957] desks, maps, books and pictures had to be conveyed there, and school "in the open air" startled the public. The teacher's reputation maintained order and silence in spite of being rung round by distractions, the circulation of carriages and the near-by movements in the garrison. Should a distinguished citizen pass by, Brother Corbinian did not hesitate to ask: "Would you like to hear my pupils reading lesson?" And often enough the challenge was graciously accepted. We cannot expect to find in this situation a very original or a very varied form of instruction. But the ideas that were stressed took root in the mind through methodical repetition. The Brother's principles and pronouncements delivered in the sonorous accents of his native Castres were unforgettable. And Brother Philippe himself consented – in an exception that did not go unnoticed – to congratulate the acclaimed catechist and tireless guide to young Bretons.

In most places the school program included basic musical training: scales, psalmody, songs. Quite correctly, singing was considered a necessary addition to culture, besides providing the

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956 *Notices nécrologiques* of the M. H. Brother Gabriel of Mary, pp. 11-35.

957 Article by I. de Cicé, in *Le Nouvelliste de Bretagne*, for February 23, 1938. Brother Monitor: see Vol. III of the present work, pg. 325.

soul with a certain enlargement. The music program went so far as to embrace the formation of choirs and "choir-schools". Thus, in Orleans Bishop Dupanloup assigned his Cathedral's choir-boys to Brother Basil. At St. Bonose's school they made up a special class, and, after 1862, they constituted an autonomous school.[958] France had not given music the position it deserved. However, at Passy Brother Leonce had become famous as a composer. His works won him the admiration of Rossini. When we shall turn our attention to the developments in the Institute in other countries, we shall be able to point to the role of Brother Vincenzo who organized a Schola at *San Salvatore in Lauro* that was sponsored by Pius XI and so secured a widespread fame among the churches in Rome for the "angelic voices" of his pupils.[959]

Naturally Paris boasted of a hand-picked group of religious teachers. On the "Left Bank", on Rue Fleurus, there was a very popular Director, a distinguished monastic figure, with an enveloping and gentle look and delicate, sober lips; this was Brother Jean-l'Aumonier whose wisdom and enterprising capacity is known to us.[960] On Rue Lafayette the Brothers were particularly dedicated to Alsacians and Lorrainians whose language was German, in order to put them into a position to pursue their studies profitably in French and to become adapted to life in Paris. It was in this school, St. Joseph's, that the saintly Brother Alpert, who was a compatriot of his pupils, practiced his apostolate for a period of time.[961]

In the Community at St. Nicolas des Champs, Brother Arcadius, a teacher of drawing, marked the artistic activities with a lively enthusiasm. He counselled engravers, ornamentalists and all sorts of workers, numerous in the St. Martin neighborhood, who produced "fancy objects". For them, as well as for his younger pupils, he compiled and published collections of models. In this way he contributed to the support and to the awakening of good taste. When studies in embossing became popular among the habitue's of the evening classes, Brother Arcadius went about making castings among the public monuments and in the beautiful homes in the Marais section of the city; he multiplied copies of them for the use of Parisians. He also lithographed architectural details as well as diagrams of mechanical devises. Apprised of his timely undertakings, Victor Duruy visited the Brother's class in 1866. The modelling effected by the young people interested him so much on one of his official days for receiving people the Minister of Public Education introduced their works to his guests.[962]

It would seem that these glimpses contradict the allegations of historians who persist in proclaiming the obvious inferiority of Religious teachers during the Second Empire in comparison with their rivals in secular education. The men whose lives we have recalled do not seem to have been burdened by prejudice or custom, nor shackled by the so-called narrowness of their education. Among the Christian Brothers, as well as among other elementary schoolteachers, there was, of course, a mass of very unpretentious instructors who restricted their ambitions to the fulfillment of their daily duty without thinking of elaborating their

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958 H. Turba, op. cit., pg.4.

959 *Choix de notices*, I, pp. 314-315. After 1852 music was taught at the Brothers' schools in Amiens and in Dunkerque.

960 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétienn*nes, for January 1914, pg. 61.

961 *Vie du Frère Alpert*., pg. 20.

962 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for October 1921, pp. 334-336. The class in industrial drawing that had been begun at St. Omer in 1853 and taught by Brothers Fulgence and Englemond, had a visit from Dury in 1867; the Minister, who was fascinated by the results that had been obtained, endowed this Brothers' school with a collection of plaster models. (History of the District).

personal cultural background, which was rather rudimentary. But in all walks of life the future is always in the hands of an inspired minority. And such pace-setters, such innovators, were not wanting to a Religious Society which had not forgotten its bold beginnings and its ancient achievements; and their was no evidence that their superiors had applied the breaks to that impulse.

As our final witnesses we shall select the educators in Bordeaux who were bound by a spiritual relationship to Brother Alphonsus. In his advanced age, the vigorous leader had remained in the breach; he was not merely satisfied to preserve intact the positions gained during the Bourbon monarchy. After 1830 the openings of new schools and the enlarging of existing ones did not stop; and after 1850, growth assumed an accelerated rhythm: there were new class on Rue St. Charles, at Rue Neuve,Rue St. Bruno and Rue Du Mulet; entirely new institutions arose on Rue De la Tresorerie, Rue Billaudel and in St. Augustine, St. Remy and St. André,; and a novitiate was founded in Talence. Programs were extended on the constantly tested, constantly reenforced foundations of religious instruction, spelling, arithmetic, hand-writing and drawing. Adult classes, boys clubs, parish boys' choirs and alumni associations had fashioned their own niches without destroying the original compartment. Marvelous workers, model employees, distinguished businessmen, representatives of the bar, the magistracy, the clergy and all the liberal professions, by the thousands, witnessed in favor of their distinguished and "inspired" teacher. At his funeral in April, 1876, ten thousand men from the most varied social backgrounds formed the procession; and their proxies took turns carrying the coffin. The Mayor of the city, Emile Fourcaud, extolled the outstanding Christian "whose every action over a long carrier knew no other motive than the love of God and the love of neighbor". By way of a public subscription a statue of Brother Alphonsus was erected at the site of his tomb in the Chartreuse cemetery.

On the staff of associates were Brother Jurson (François of Mary Esquerre), Brother Jovian (Urban-Pierre Antoine), Brother Amos (Pierre-Michel Lallement), Brother Judore (Pierre Carriere Boneil), who were Assistants or Visitors.[963] But as Brother Alphonsus' nearest heirs who, for two generations were in direct line of descent, we must make particular mention of Brothers Justinius of Mary and Justinius; the latter (Hubert Bragayrac), along with the name of his mentor, had adopted the thought and the methods of the precursor, Brother Alphonsus.

In 1852 Brother Justinus of Mary was the Director of the Community that had been recently opened in Aiguillon (Lot-and-Garonne), where he labored for seventeen years. His favorite disciple has written concerning him:"This distinguished educator, in the full fervor of his educational mission, had provided his school with a quite remarkable structure in which instruction in the various subject-matters were given a broad treatment; and intelligently supplemented, it attracted pupils from distant villages."

A Marian confraternity, a literary club and a newspaper called *Esperance* that published the best compositions as well as chronicles and articles of keen interest to young students,[964] a schola and a choir for male voices put the school in Aiguillon practically on the same footing as some residence schools. Its religious solemnities, distributions of academic awards and recreational competitions, without detriment to the daily round of school responsibilities and the successful completion of examinations, yielded hardly at all in glamor to holidays celebrated in the major institutions.[965]

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963 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for October, 1923, pp. 311- 320.

964 The Educational Museum in the Motherhouse has a collection covering several years of this newspaper, along with albums of outline drawings and water-colors.

965 *Choix de notices*, III, pp. 57-59

A brilliant pupil, Hubert Bragayrac left Aiguillon, his birthplace, to enter the novitiate in Talence in September 1858. Under Brother Alphonsus' orders, he began teaching in the primary grades at St. Nicholas' in Bordeaux. At eighteen years of age he was instructing 172 youngster with the help of monitors, the idea for which had been borrowed from "mutual education". Over and above, he taught geometry to the older boys and, in the evening, arithmetic and drawing to adults. He had a temperament that was proof against overwork; his gifts elevated him to the level of those teachers with whom their Director-general surrounded himself and whom Bordeaux applauded. In 1867 Brother Justinius was the head of the Community of St. Eulalia, and for a very long time Bordeaux would be the beneficiary of his experience and example.[966] The city acknowledged in this man, with the lively eyes, the shapely, well crammed head and the abundant, vivid speech – a deft mind in a small body – the son of noble ancestry, the distant cousin of Michel-Eyquem Montaigne, eager to teach, quick to reflect, skillful in persuasion, and whom skepticism had never touched. And because the city was delighted with his services, it couldn't stand seeing him called to another theater where he would attract the attention of his Congregation and his country.

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Up until now there have appeared on the scene none but "primary school" teachers, defined, indeed, not *stricto sensu*, but in that extended sense they had assumed since the Guizot Law. Their group also included the Brothers Directors of normal schools; and it is only right to pause here for a moment at least to listen to the main one, Brother Cicilian, as he makes his annual reports concerning the institution in Rouen Brother Calixtus' successor taught the normal students of the Lower Seine from 1837 to 1867. He had continued along the ways set down by Nicholas Leduc: "My predecessor", he said, "gave me the prescription for the good I have been able to accomplish". He was a father to his students; and ordinarily his solicitude for the student-teachers met with an affectionate response on their part; his understanding of them was that of an educator and a psychologist; without prejudice and without blinkers he evaluated them, and he pleaded their cause when the occasion arose; he earned them the support and the goodwill of the official world: – the Prefect, the Inspector of the Academy, the Commission for Supervision and the Cardinal-Archbishop.[967]

As early as 1838 the quality of recruits had improved. The twenty-four candidates who had been admitted made rapid progress; their predecessors, who had finished their studies under Brother Calixtus and had been situated in teaching posts in the region, had "prepared them well for studies". The moral climate of the school was described in the following terms: "All our young people exhibit that friendship which unites members of the same family. The way they appear in class, in town and at church services we have found especially gratifying. Religious obligations have been joyously fulfilled, in that simplicity and openness which are the marks of a good conscience.

In 1840 "remarkable results" were obtained in the third year classes, "especially in mathematics, history and in letter-writing". The four candidates for the "higher certificate" were all successful. The "primary certificate" was awarded to the twenty-three students in the second year, in spite of unsatisfactory grades in physics, chemistry and in a history program which still needed to be refined.

The Brother Director did not disguise a certain amount of disappointment in November 1843

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[966] Brother Justinius' *Notice nécrologique*, 1923, pp. 11-15.

[967] Files in the Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, 1, 40 and T, xl, 3. *Choix de notices,* III, pp. 155-156.

concerning “entering students”, who had “a pressing need to be introduced to the rules of French grammar”. Constant efforts would be required throughout the three school years. Thank God, the spirit continued to be “excellent”: normal students vied with their predecessors in their respect for, their attachment to, and their trust in their teachers. They showed a serious desire for work and a deep sense of faith. And among themselves fraternal harmony continued to reign. With regard to alumni who were permanently a part of the structure of the public schools, Brother Cicilian’s vigilance never relaxed: it took the form of letters and even home visits. “Our teachers will do alright...if they are supervised and encouraged.” Three of these teachers who had been censured were summoned back to the school in order to undergo a series of supplementary practice-sessions: – a “humiliation” the “moral effect” of which shook the students on Rue St. Lot.

In 1849 there took place the discussions of the special Commission that was drafting new educational legislation: they pointed to some dissatisfaction with regard to normal schools. The Director in Rouen worried about them; and so, in October, he undertook to demonstrate the usefulness of these institutions in a long explanation of the results that had been obtained. He listed and commented upon the objectives of the courses – the many exercises in the French language, frequent dictation and arithmetic lessons that were followed with appreciation and zeal; extensive exercise in drawing, which included the neat and exact copying of models of machines and furniture and the drawing up of blueprints for buildings and landscapes; and applied geometry: “Not a single normal student is ignorant of surveying, grading and the division of fields”. Furthermore, they are introduced to “the work that goes on in town halls”, so that they can fulfill the functions of secretaries in municipal governments.

Historical information “left something to be desired”. To expand it as far as was necessary, other parts of the program had to be somewhat curtailed. Physics, chemistry and natural history were of interest only to exceptional minds: most people tended to neglect these difficult subjects, the study of which had no bearing on examination results.

On the other hand, horticulture got a great deal of attention. Young people also attached importance to vocal music ever since the public authority, after the Revolution of 1848, had prescribed the obligatory teaching of it. Finally, education, which Brother Cicilian himself taught, gave rise both to theoretical lectures on the role of the schoolteacher and to practical “sessions” in adult classes and among neighborhood children.

The rest of the report retraces the history of the institution in Rouen, where, between 1829 and 1849, 389 resident pupils were admitted; and 288 of them were still working professionally either in the public schools or teachers in the private sector. Taking into account deaths, ten certificate revocations and a few unemployed teachers, it followed that fifty-nine graduates of the normal school had forsaken the teaching profession. The precarious situation of all too many teachers – a topic which had long since supplied their gallant spokesman with solid grounds for foreboding and grievance – accounted for many of these defections. But, in twenty years, only six censures were noted and two temporary suspensions, which, considering the circumstances, was “a very low proportion”; the teacher’s isolation, the annoyances that he had to undergo, the insults that some village worthies never minded to spare him were only some of the things that imperilled an overly sensitive soul.

Brother Cecilian continues: “I have often had to regret being unable to learn in good time of lapses in conduct...I have never overlooked the fact – so well do I know the bonds which enduringly unite the Director of a normal school with his students – the power of timely advice. This is where we must look for the solution to the problem raised by this sort of a school...Our students are our children and, jealous of this status, they strive to appreciate our efforts...Mutual affection continues to be the heart of the operation; it inspires the life of the school... "

While addressing this report to the Prefect, the Director emphasized that “the crude attacks”

aimed at the normal schools had made up his mind to set forth the real situation. The members of the Commission for Supervision, the Honorary Inspector of the Academy, the Headmaster of the Lycée, the pastor at St. Owen, the Attorney at the Court of Appeals, the professor of the sciences who was representing his university colleagues in this group professed complete agreement with Brother Cecilian. They did not, of course, make so bold as too loudly to contradict prevailing opinion, but they told each other that future was secure to the extent that the student-teachers were "in the hands of a competent man", who knew how to obtain good behavior, harmony and effort "by way of a thoroughly paternal discipline and direct a complete and systematic instruction" without ever forgetting the role in society that had devolved upon elementary teachers.

The example provided in Rouen, then, had influenced the decisions taken by the political regime as to the instruction given in normal schools. And, in brief, in February 1853, the Minister Fourtoul published regulations designed to guide educational work that were well within the structures supplied by John Baptist de La Salle's *Conduct*,[968] which was a clear proof of the value of the ancient classic, of its influence upon the organization of French schools and of the talents of the Christian Brothers.

Meanwhile the Brothers were to continue their role as instructors cum apostles among the teachers in Normandy until 1879. During the school year, 1856-1857, Brother Anthymius, temporarily substituting for Brother Cicilian, presented an extremely suggestive "portrayal" of the young people who attended Rue St. Lo. He described their characters and their motivation in a few strokes, which recalled the style of the Founder and of Brother Agathon in their comments upon the various temperaments among pupils and in the treatise "*Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher"*. After detailing what he meant by the adjectives, "very good", "fair", "light", "careless", "heavy", "slow", "stubborn", "narrow", and "dissembling", he situated each student in a competent classification. He was careful to avoid anything like pessimism, believed in the rectification of early educational errors and concluded by commending the "overall portrait" of the institution.

Brother Cicilian was succeeded by another native of the region of the Pyrenees, Brother Lucard (Jean-Baptist Larrondo), who had been a pupil of the Brothers in Bayonne and a former teacher at the residence school in Toulouse. An assistant at the normal school since 1858, he was completely familiar with the surroundings in which he was called upon to direct. This author of the Annals and of a biography of De La Salle was a painstaking worker and an educator in possession of the total doctrine of the Founder and profuse in details of a technical nature. He underscored the growth of the project in Rouen to the extent that intolerance did not put barriers in his way by increasing the number of students, by creating for soldiers (whom the best of the graduates of the normal school would be teaching) courses in drawing, topography, mathematics, history and German and by planning and preparing for the relocation of the school back to the forever lamented buildings at St. Yon.[969] He was forced to forsake his ambitious plans and break off in mid-flight. With him would come to an end on French soil – until, we might hope, a better day dawns – a role that so entirely suits the Brothers of the Christian Schools and corresponds to the purposes of the Founder.

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Without altering the "atmosphere", we shall take up the leaders of the Lasallian residence schools and their special personnel. In all its undertakings, the Institute preserved a strong unity

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968 Departmental Archives of the Lower Seine, T, I, 3.

969 Lémandus, op. cit., pp. 496-498; and Historique de Normandie.

of principles, methods and practices. A Brother might very well move from an elementary school to a larger educational institution; or return to become a teacher of the children of the common people after having taught the sons of the "middle class"; at each point he remained an obedient Religious who used his knowledge according to the wishes of his Superiors. He specialized, if he had received orders to do so, in one of the branches of the instructional programs; and sometimes he earned a genuine reputation as a mathematician, like Brother Gabriel-Marie, or as an agricultural entomologist, like Brother Milhau, or as a botanist, like Brother Heribaud, or as a geologist like Brother Ogerian. But always in his stock of knowledge there was catechism, grammar and arithmetic. Everywhere he followed the rule of his Society which prescribed that he be concerned with each of his pupils with equal attention, "without distinction as to rich and poor", and – should such be the case – to reserve special consideration for the less brilliant, the less well endowed. Class preparation, study in the 'Common Room', quasi-constant presence throughout the day among the pupils, religious instruction given in the form of "reflections" which introduced the morning classes, the general succession of instruction and the whole of his educational life observed the rhythm dictated by the Management. The Institute's success depended upon this cohesive energy, this traditional discipline, this all-pervasive rhythm that had been stamped upon minds and hearts. Beginners assumed traditional responsibilities, middling talents facing towering mastery. In some instances, of course, initiative was frustrated; but the collective outcome outweighed individual losses.

In this way Brother Philippe's plans for the teachers in his major institutions took shape. And while the Superior had not collected into a systematic canon the directives which regulated the organization and the programs in the residence schools, the reason, in the first place, was certainly because the work, under his generalate, had not reached the point of perfection at which we left it at the end of the 18th century;[970] and, also, because it continued to be totally bound up with St. John Baptist de La Salle's educational system as explained in the great Educator's writings. On the whole, the head teachers took their cue from the thought, if not directly from the writings – at this time scarcely known – of Brother Agathon. The central principles had reached them by way of the senior Brothers who had survived the havoc of St. Yon and Marseille. Brother Philippe's wish had been to encourage his subordinates to restore the edifice that had been ripped asunder by the cyclone of 1792. As we have seen, he sent a large number of Brothers to Bézier and to Passy to be trained in the procedures that had been handed down by the earlier Brothers and adapted to the requirements of a new age. He, then, entrusted to them the task of applying what they learned, the successful discoveries, to foundations that were starting up elsewhere, and of spreading throughout France and beyond the frontiers, the spirit, which, without departing from the Lasallian standards, was to mark this "special" Christian education.

That is why we shall once again lay stress upon the *primogenitus* which was the Immaculate Conception residence school in Bézier. Here there was the very successful organizer with whom we are already familiar, Brother Leufroy, who had been trained in the Religious life by Brother Emery during Brother Gerbaud's generalate and who, in Bordeaux, had once been an associate of Brother Alphonsus. For twelve years had been known and loved in Corsica. And between 1834 and his death in 1668, with the exception of a period of four years, he directed the institution in Béziers.[971]

The writings that he left inform us about the soundness and the accuracy of his insights. As early as 1841, as he viewed education from every point of view, he was quick to come out in

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970 See Vol. II of the present work, Part Four, chaps. 3 and 4.

971 *Choix de notices*, I, pp. 134 et sq.

favor of physical exercise: developing the body "must begin", he urged, "under the mother's supervision, but it should be continued and completed far removed from her presence. Maternal apprehension and hesitancy must not be allowed to curb the dauntless movement nor, indeed, the recklessness of childhood games." Actually, his program included "competitive games" which inspired rivalry among the pupils, roused their blood and rested their minds. He sought "well-rounded men": "physical education, intellectual education and moral education, harmonized, connected and hierarchized in proportion to their respective importance would produce such a result."[972] The plan of studies revealed an influence that was no less vigorous. In order to obtain approval for it Brother Leufroy had put up a struggle: prior to 1838, members of the Regime appeared to have misgivings concerning ambitious developments. And then, after an on-site visit, Brother Philippe thoroughly understood the problem in the language in which the head-master presented it and explained it in the forum of public opinion: – a "modern" education suited to a large number of youths who later on would constitute the active, and in many ways the dominant group in their social environment.

Brother Leufroy believed that "Latin and Greek which, at one time, had been the two languages of which everybody sought the civilizing effects", no longer corresponded to the "needs" of most persons. That classical studies opened the way "into scholarly careers and distinguished positions", he freely admitted; but we can no longer "bestow upon them exclusively the scepter for learning".[973]The author of these views seemed perfectly aware of the task before him.

"Religion and philosophy to one side", he divided the subjects which made up the new education into three categories: "Letters", beginning with the humble speller and grammatical rules and extending to French composition, "rhetoric" and "logic", to which was added history and, in connection with Greco-Roman antiquity, elementary mythology; "mathematics", comprising geometry, trigonometry, mechanics, cosmography, chemistry, physics, botany, minerology and zoology; and "the living languages, commerce and the arts": Italian, Spanish and English were given privileged positions in this Languedocan school; like bookkeeping, they would help young people along the way to honorable affluence. Drawing, painting and music – beyond their value as useful knowledge – would tend to make youngsters more sensitive, to open their horizons upon the splendors of the divine creation.[974]

Talents were not to be buried. A Christian must not selfishly keep them to himself but share them and make them productive in order to obey the law of work. A "Literary Society", a little "Academy", soon united the better pupils in the upper classes. Organized before 1844,[975]it held a public meeting on July 26 of that year, and the speech of the president, Charles Caldié, was accompanied by the following note: Meetings are held once or twice a week; each member promises to write something in verse or in prose every other week. The membership decides the themes to be dealt with. Compositions are selected to be published in a hand-written newspaper and read in the school's two dining rooms

The paper was called *Echo of Youth* and it presented its readers with essays, historical accounts, poetry, and, under the heading of "Events and Chronicles", anecdotes that reminded

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[972] Archives of the Béziers residence school, article in the *Indicateur de l'Hérault* for August 27, 1841, probably written, or, in any case, inspired by the Brother Director.

[973] Ibid.

[974] Archives of the residence school in Béziers, program of studies in 1841. A Spaniard, Miguel Nadal, a former pupil at the school who became a member of the Institute with the name of Brother Lactan, starting in 1850 was to make a distinguished contribution to the growth of education in music and modern languages.

[975] An "Academy" was established at Passy as early as 1842 under the inspiration of Father Gabriel.

schoolboys of incidents – pleasant or noteworthy – of life in a residence school. In this way, both small boys and the big ones alike were invited to judge the efforts of their companions, the "Academicians" or candidates who hoped to wear on their coat lapels the silver or gold insignia of their victory. School spirit fed substantially off the paper that had been edited with everybody in mind.[976]

The "Academy", however, would have lost sight of its goal if it had failed to demand exemplary conduct of its members. The Brother Director would not allow that a child occupy the limelight who had failed to combine with gifts of mind an upright heart, a good will and modesty. No one could be admitted to the "Literary society" who was not at the same time worthy to belong to "the Congregation". Religion ruled education. And the pious elite that Brother Leufroy set up was to serve as a model for most of the groups of a similar nature that would be formed in other residences schools.

Separated in 1844 from his beloved religious group in 1844 by a variety of assignments throughout France and in foreign countries, Brother Leufroy wrote from Nantes to the young people in Béziers: "Your rule will be copied in Paris and adopted in all our existing and future schools."[977]

It delighted him to think that his school had been looked upon by the General Chapter as "the model" of the Institute's principal foundations. The primacy according to the project in Béziers gave greater weight to the "recommendations" that the distinguished Brother addressed to his confreres in November 1849. Following are some of the particularly significant points raised on that occasion and which continue to deserve the attention of principals and teachers in Christian education:

"It is extremely important to preserve exquisite and noble manners with children, to maintain one's position as father, doing nothing mean and saying nothing but what is quite worthy of an exalted person." A pupil must not be looked upon as an embryonic consciousness, but as a soul already in possession of his powers and his individuality. Human reason develops rapidly: youthful judgment "in relation to teachers is extraordinary, its appraisals are "frightening for those who have a taste for the position" of educator; its memory seems "nearly infallible" concerning the personality of each individual. It forgets no word, no gesture when self-knowledge, personal aspirations and the sense of the individual worth of the person is at stake.

"Encouragement" has to be the constant "lever". "It is the idiom of a lofty soul and it goes straight to the heart." But the growth of a group requires the addition of an appeal to competition.

"To keep the pupils constantly occupied" is another way of achieving order and "of preventing evils" There must be neither precipitation nor bunching orders together: a great deal can be demanded, but only if one proceeds gradually, unfolding systematically and successively the inflexible "chain" of the teacher's commands.

Finally, minds and affections are won over only by arousing a lively interest in schoolwork, by knowing how "to make study pleasant" and by striving to relieve the life of the resident pupil of its harshness.[978] Brother Leufroy infused his associates, Brother Simeon, Brother Exuperien, his successor, Brother Theocthen (Guillaume Rigaud) with this wise psychology. Brother Exuperien, who temporarily replaced him at the head of the school between 1844 and

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976 Residence school archives, 1844 pamphlet.

977 *Pamphlet on the Centenaire de l'Établissement,* 1931. Archives of the residence school, Congregation book, letter dated March 1, 1844.

978 Archives of the residence school, recommendations dated November 20, 1849.

1848, from the very beginning of his career as a teacher, along with Brothers Theocthen and Libanos, seems to have realized the main ideas of the headmaster. In their dialect the people in Béziers used to say of this remarkable trio that "they were three heads in the same hat." Brother Theoticus (André Claparede) and Brother Libanos (Antoine Veyrac) were to employ the Béziers style at Passy.

The former of these, beginning in September of 1839, assumed the direction of the residence school which had been founded the previous April at the Valentinian mansion at 30 Rue Basse.[979]

When it began it had fifty-six pupils, 253 in 1843, 351 in 1846 and 600 in 1855. Brother Theoticus divided them into groups and sections according to their intellectual development, and verified their progress by periodical examinations. He created religious, disciplinary and competitive traditions which continued to be the concomitants of this sort of education. Firm in the enforcement of rules that he had issued, permitting the pupils neither to elude them nor bargain with him for their cooperation, "this austere figure commanded homage rather than affectionate respect".[980] Nevertheless, under its coarse covering there beat a paternal heart, from which had sprung the principle that controlled all of the education at Passy: "Begin by making happy those whom you would improve".[981]

Elected Assistant on December 15, 1849, Brother Theoticus carried on simultaneously his task as educator and as administrator, as head of a school and counsellor to the Superior-general. It was not until April 16, 1855 that he left his beloved school, to which he would return to die in 1859. Brother Libanos, who had been called from Mott-Servolex, helped Brother Theoticus during the final year of his directorate and replaced him immediately thereafter. He had learned to control his native spontaneity and exuberance without sacrificing anything of his enthusiasm, his generous zeal or his sensitive and likeable nature. His temperament, his mannerisms and his physical appearance were in striking contrast to his predecessor's style. The task, begun with lofty solemnity , blossomed out into a delight that was not devoid of a keen sense of duty. The bust – standing opposite to one of Brother Theoticus – which adorns the entrance to the residence school in Passy-Froyennes and the beautiful oil painting preserved in the room in which Brother Libanos was born on Rue Peyrollerie in Millau reveal, in the majesty of the posture, the refinement of the lines and allows the viewer effortlessly to perceive behind the broad forehead emerging from the curly hair, and in the kindly look, a noble mind and heart. One of Brother Libanos' fellow-citizens, Father Elie Celles, who exercised his priestly ministry in the diocese of Paris at the end of the Second Empire, notes in his personal journal: "What gave me most pleasure in my appointment (as Vicar in Passy) was that I was to be situated close to Brother Libanos. Libanos comes from a Greek word meaning perfume."[982].It is difficult to put into words all that is enjoyable, good and sympathetic in this Brother. He is one of those natures (endowed) with the finest qualities...I find his friendship priceless; and he has proved to me...how I can count on it and on his dedication.[983]

Pupils and parents were both won over. We need only quote from an article published in the *Universe* by one of Veuillot's associates, A. Delaporte: "Observing how he knows each of his

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979 Which subsequently became 68 Rue Raynouard.

980 Brother Paul Joseph, *Vie de Frère Auguste-Hubert*, pg. 21.

981 *Album du Centenaire*, pg. 32.

982 LIBANOS Greek letters (in Herodotus and Sophocles) incense tree (in Euripides) incense, odorous resin

983 Documents belonging to the Lugans-Celles family, in Creissels, near Millau.

children, as he beguiles him with affection, as he encourages and watches over him..., we would be inclined to say that is his "pet"...Brother Libanos has as may "pets" as he has pupils. His heart's treasury is inexhaustible; not only is the least schoolboy his beloved son, but he adopts families...When he meets them in the main parlor, you might think that (these visitors) are old friends. He remembers the names of brothers and sisters..., and he is interested in everything that concerns them...[984]

This gentleness of approach was clear – and anything to the contrary would have been surprising – with regard to the Director's subordinates. It removed none of the influence of a man who, to a human seductiveness, joined an energetically acquired virtue. In 1862, Brother August Hubert, one of the men who perpetuated the project, came from the novitiate. He wrote: "Brother Libanos was then at the summit of his career: zealous, tireless and happy, (undertaking all his tasks) without seeming to be overworked...He could be seen in this youthful environment which was Passy, with high spirits, work, piety and happiness bursting all around him...For those of us who were beginning our Religious life, he had a gift for supernaturalizing everything he touched, so that he raised us to the height of our responsibilities."[985]

While "family spirit" held an honored place in the residence school, with the cooperation of the teachers who sought to give the classrooms a "homey" look, and who, under the guidance of the "heads of departments", introduced into their autonomous groups the marks of their respective personalities, while religious, literary and artistic festivals, organized by M. Limagne, were conducted "brilliantly", embellished with the music of Brother Leonce and, after him, Brother Albert-des-Anges, filled with choral music, strains by the band and the small orchestra, in splendid productions, in chapel and repository decorations, in the richness of the sacred vestments and the altar-boys' apparel, and while First Communion ceremonies were always directed in a stirring atmosphere, immediately after Christian formation, the progress of studies remained the object of flawless vigilance. Step-by-step, the Director pursued the work of both pupils and teachers, was kept informed through bi-monthly grades and, every three months, presided over examinations.

Originally, programs were limited to primary and upper primary instruction. However, as early as 1840, the "university" Inspector was complaining that Brother Theoticus, without authorization, had crossed the line by which the Law of 1833 had separated residence schools from secondary "colleges". Passy had broadly interpreted official definitions and had striven to make something genuinely educational out of simple French composition and applied science. In 1856 the Minister of Public Education began to show a supportive attention to the "methods practiced in that school"; Fortoul granted the first "partial-scholarship" to one of the pupils, Louis Rodolphe; and thereafter similar tokens of "encouragement" were repeated each year. Brother Libanos was able fearlessly to move ahead without. Finishing touches were put on the "commercial classes" that had been begun by his predecessor.

Scientific equipment had become important: M. Lebrun, whose brother was a Christian Brother[986] and who had himself been a pupil at Passy before becoming a teacher at Wazemmes, had supplied the basic items. The collection of physics instruments was soon enhanced. And In 1857 the chemistry lecture-room was opened. A little later in the same year there were four graduates nominated and admitted to the School of Arts and Manufacture: this was the initial success story of the special course in mathematics taught by Brothers Albert of

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984 *Choix de notices*, II, pg. 169 and a letter from M. Jules Artieres, editor of the *Messager de Millau*, a local newspaper that copied the article from the *Univers* for September 22, 1883.

985 *Vie du Frère Auguste-Hubert*, pg. 21.

986 Brother Fidelis, Director of the residence school in St. Omer.

Mary, Aventine and Renaux; it represented a modest beginning – with a very small number of pupils – but without a qualm about the engineering education which, in spite of the obstacles contrived by the Imperial bureaucracy, has earned such fame for Passy.

Furthermore, Brother Renaux steered several young men to the School of Fine Arts. And two other Brothers, Aubin and Athanasius – the latter had been trained in Horace Vernet's studio – assisted in developing good draftsmen.

The institution on Rue Raynouard on the eve of 1870 was a superb educational center. The members of the Academy that was under the patronage of St. John the Evangelist represented a genuine intellectual elite; and it was inspired by loftiest Christian spirit. Here, as in Béziers, it was for the more advanced pupils to provide a virtuous example. And they were also responsible for spreading a taste for "literature". Father Gaume who, at one time, in his notorious Worry Worm, had condemned the pagan classics and accused them of instilling irreligion and immorality in youth,[987] would no doubt have thought that his principles were being successfully put into practice. Quite independently of Greco-Roman antiquity, the teachers at Passy – without, obviously, pretending to turn their pupils into great classical scholars – had succeeded in developing a feeling for literature, an awareness of the better writers and a love for the national language in an environment which had up to then been more or less removed from these templa serena.[988].

Particularly in matters of education Brother Joseph's system at Francs-Bourgeois was related to that of Brother Libanos. It consisted in the cooperation of the teacher with the moral freedom of the child, supported by divine grace. To anticipate so as to avoid punishment, to pose intellectual effort as a virtue, success as a tribute to the Holy Spirit, to place the guilty party face-to-face with his own conscience and to bring him to judge and condemn himself, to repeat (following St. Augustine) *ama et fac quod vis*, summarizes the principles of the future Superior-general who, at the educational level, urged his associates not only to take advantage of the very young's vigorous memory, but also gradually to involve the faculty of reason. The summons to reflection was stressed with adolescents: it was important to emphasize the relation among ideas and the interrelatedness of the sciences. Grammar and mathematics were not merely indispensable pass-keys: properly understood they lead the mind into philosophy. The "upper elementary" program, with the materials at its disposal, should provide balance to men living in families and in political communities and enable them to live off the resources provided by personal conviction. Wise guidance and a vigilance that is free of constraint shrivel neither the mind nor the heart.

A Christian educator is convinced that he cannot, with his own hands and his own efforts, create talent or character. This power belongs to God. We move people only by a kind of indirect action, by an access to Him Who is continually creating, supporting and renewing all life. Dedication, sacrifice and the exhaustion, daily accepted, are so many prayers on the part of the teacher in favor of his pupils, so that the light might enter their conscience. Hence, why increase the number of harsh commands, why burden oneself with apparent defeats and with opposition that seems invincible? "To believe that we are incapable of a spiritual mission and, in that conviction, to leave full freedom to divine action, fearing only to spoil His work, but meanwhile remaining humbly at one's post, is the attribute of workers beloved of the Lord and Master".[989] According to Brother Joseph, there was no better attitude for an educator than

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[987] In 1852 there were lively debates on this subject between him and Bishop Dupanloup.

[988] For what has to do with Passy, see the biography of Brother August Hubert, already cited, and the yearbook, *Centenaire*, 1939

[989] Quotation from the correspondence of Brother Joseph. See our *Un éducateur social, le Frère Joseph,* 1925.

disinterested zeal, an upright intention and mistrust of oneself which, as a necessary counterpart, requires trust in Almighty God.

There was here no question of sealing off the apostolate with timid qualifications in the name of patience and prudence. One obtains results only if one is convinced of the capacity for progress and of the desire for perfection that exists in the human soul. The first goal to be achieved must become the point of departure for a loftier summit; our nature does not allow us to remain stationary. The Director of Francs-Bourgeois drew the bow of individual forces and let fly the arrow.

Deliberately he set in motion a sense of honor. A curse upon "irritating pettiness, offending trifles, inflaming suspicions and embittering penances". The adolescent, even more so than his seniors who have been hardened by experience, rebels against the needle that bursts the bubble of his self-respect. He is disgusted when he is treated like brat or a slave. He can scarcely bring himself to forgive injustice. Hasty and abusive language produces the most unfortunate results: "The wounded", he told the Brothers, "hides his wounds. But his heart parts company with you...And sometimes you cause him to part company with religion and with God...Watch you words: off-handedness has no place in education".

As a rule, we should refrain from public reprimands. An admonition in the privacy of a conversation does not crush "the smoking wick". A good guide tries to disguise the slips-ups of his hiking companions. We should not too facilely believe in irretrievable failure. And as long as neither contagion nor scandal is to be feared, we should prefer to forgive: it is such an agonizing responsibility to commit, perhaps forever, the destiny "of a vulnerable young man"! Brother Joseph tolerated neither vice, nor the vicious nor the promoters of vice. But he not only tolerated defects, he gave them a role to play in education, on the ground that we can rely upon only what resists and over an inconsistent and spineless nature we have no hold. A defect seemed to him to be a deflection, rather than the absence, of a quality: rectified and readjusted within the soul's harmony, it can assure balance and serve as a propellent in the right direction. "Don't be afraid of out-bursts of self-esteem and temper; we need people of character. Encourage these strong temperaments to conquer themselves." The "soft" and the "effeminate" are in danger of slipping much lower.

Flesh is feeble; and isolation increases the danger of temptation. This was why affectionate concern, sincere companionship and simple but profound friendship surrounded the children at Francs-Bourgeois. Since it was a school in the heart of Paris where the pupils were expected to take their dinner in hall, families could, and were obliged daily to take part in the education of their sons. The Principal accorded them a central place in the hearts of the young: tirelessly he kept aglow within them the love of home. And whether by personal interviews or by letter he exercised an influence upon the parents: he meant to obtain the full effect of Lasallian pedagogy through the Christianization of the social environment, preserving and elevating obedience, respect, gratitude and filial piety and by proclaiming the rights and affirming the sacred character of the paterfamilias. And he pursued this apostolate among the school's alumni, as we shall see.

The same procedures were adopted and the same principle applied by Brother Fidelis, the founder of the residence school in St. Omer, and by Brother Apollonis, the Director of the residence school in Dreux; by Brother Lambert in Nantes and his distinguished assistant, Brother Idelphus; by Brother Serdieu who opened a center of work and faith and introduced a novel agricultural movement into Laurac, a village in the Ardeche; by Brother Alman in Thonon and by another Savoyard, Brother Vigbert Louis, whose teaching was so marvelously adapted to each individual child and who raised minds to productive curiosity and to moral and philosophical reflection.

Most of these names, clustered around the name of Brother Philippe, have already appeared in these pages. And there are others who would deserved to be mentioned, if we were drawing

up a list of prize-winners. Franiços Fabié's Souvenirs[990] retells the story of the residence school in Rodez in the days of Brothers Inglevert and Innocent: — the scholars thronging not only from Rouergue, but also from Albigeois, Quercy and the Auvergne; the services sung in the "beautiful chapel" and the splendors of Midnight Mass; the French courses, with sound organization, with their "rather general and unbiased quality ... and quite advanced in comparison to the majority of schools of the period"; the Academy, of which Fabié was the secretary and for whom the future poet, with Brother Ildefonse's encouragement produced his first "descriptive or narrative" efforts.[991] The religious instruction seemed too long-winded for the young boy who was famished hungry for literature; and to the resulting boredom the author attributed the long lethargy of his faith;[992] whereas some of this classmates, on the other hand—like August Séguret, who became a missionary in Laos and died a martyr's death there—were "inspired" by Brother Innocent's exhortations.[993] Fabié's faith, buried in the ash-heap, was rekindled into a lively flame in the evening of life, and the breath of air coming from his distant youth—in the form of Brother Ildefonse's enduring friendship—helped to reawaken it.

But rather than gathering scattered accounts, it would of course be better to throw some light on a prominent personality—the great Director of the school in Clermont-Ferrand. Annet Francis Alexander Lagrange, born in Anzème in the Creuse on February 27, 1824, attended the Brothers grammar school in Guéret. As a Junior Novice in Paris, where he was a fellow-student with Pierre Fumet and Joseph Josserand, he showed early a penchant for literature along with an appealing eloquence: a circle of friends took shape to listen to him. He left the Novitiate in 1839 with the name of Brother Annet. After a probationary period in St. Vincent de Paul's parish, he spent some time in the residence school in Passy. The young teacher's health required a change of climate: the Superior assigned Brother Annet to the school in Aurillac and, then, in May of 1853 they gave him to the residence school in Clermont. It was an important gift which proved definitive. Broad learning, clearsighted commentary and sensitive taste made especially attractive the course in literature that the new-comer taught. Gradually, he rose to assume his rightful place: and, on April 22, 1862, he was promoted to Director, where he remained for forty years.

Of imposing stature and solemn bearing, the head thrown back and carried on sturdy shoulders, with just the suggestion of the look of a popular orator, the first impression he gave might have been intimidating. But the contours of the face, total sensitivity and refinement lent pause; the play of the features revealed intelligence, smiling forbearance and graciousness. Overall he gave the impression of extreme paternal authority; the grasp of the hand and the embrace transmitted a genuine warmth, and his voice played with inflections that moved his listeners.[994]

From an educational point of view Brother Annet was faced with a program that was cautious and capable of expansion. Studies in the sciences on some points outstripped corresponding departments in the best secondary schools. In the literary section, the teacher right from the

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990 Op. cit., pp. 109-118.

991 *Archives of St. Joseph's residence school*, report and history of the "Literary society".

992 *Souvenirs*, pg. 172.

993 Albagnac, Ms. history of the residence school.

994 Canon Régis Crégut, *Biographie du Frère Annet*, 1092, pp. 3-14.

beginning was obviously in agreement with the school's "chronicler", Brother René, who, in September 1856, wrote: "If our pupils learn neither Latin nor Greek, don't they have the right to want a thorough-going knowledge of French?" It was important to expand and complete theoretical instruction and to analyze the great classics. And, lacking the languages, an outline of the books of antiquity was necessary. One was not genuinely educated if one were ignorant of the Greek and Roman writers and of the authors of the age of Louis XIV.[995]

In 1858 the Academic Council decided to unite the upper elementary classes to the secondary school in Clermont. It was one more reason for boldly promoting the work of the residence school: the rivalry between the Brothers and the "University" "promised to redound to the benefit" of all youth.[996] As a consequence, the school's prospectus announced that, with the exception of the ancient languages, classes omitted nothing that would lead to any of the careers

Once in charge, Brother Annet fully realized his plans as an educator. "His first tactic" notes one of his most fervent and most qualified disciples, Father Mandonnet, "was to surround himself with competent and dedicated personnel, by whose means he extended his influence without compromise nor conflict...We saw men grouped around the Director whose merit was the equal of their modesty and whose religious virtue and knowledge was a credit to their vocation."[997] A spirit of order and obedience, a spirit of uprightness and candor reigned. For practical purposes, education was distinguished by a clarity, an ease and a simplicity which preserved the essential elements, an economy of arrangement and scheduling which rather spared (to an extent, by no means small, allowed by Auvergnian vigor) the efforts of the pupils much more so than those of the teachers.[998]

In this way Brother Annet governed by the superiority of his talent, the brilliance of his mind, as well as by the power of the word. A good number of his talks have been preserved: they suggest a style that is highly oratorical and a reliance upon enthusiasm, optimism and energy. The sentences are luxuriant, the thought is lofty, and they express all the concerns of the Religious, the teacher and the citizen. The principle themes are honor, the Faith, the portrait of the young Christian, quality of manners and of language, work and struggle, the spirit of the apostolate, and the spiritual rebirth of the nation. There is no lack of quotations, which testify to diligent reading and an authentic "Classicism". In the succession of guides to the young and propagators of basic education, the Director of Cleremont-Ferrand—whose old age crossed the threshold into the 20 century—effected the transition between Brother Philippe's contemporaries and their modern heirs.

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Besides day schools and residence schools the Brothers influence was propagated through "youth work" Night schools and the St. Francis Xavier Society disposed the Directors of Lasallian Communities, especially in Paris, to organize an entire apostolate in favor of young people; in this way they preserved contact with their former pupils, contributed to social peace and induces numbers of the young to return to the faith.

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995 Archives of the Godefroy de Bouillon residence school, Ms. chronicle.

996 Ibid.

997 .997"The ordinary course is that of residence." But "partial resident pupils" were also admitted, "who were obliged to come at 5 o'clock in the morning during the summer and at 6 o'clock in the winter!" (Prospectus signed by Brother Hermenfroy.)

998 Quoted in the biography of Brother Annet, pg. 18. Ibid. pp. 19-20.

The plan for "Christian youth groups" was outlined around 1843, when the Brother Superior-general, at the request of Vicomte Armand Melun, authorized an effort in St. Marguerite's parish. In 1847 the teachers in St. Augustine's school, in 1852 those in St. Thomas Aquinas' and St. Ambrose's and in 1853 those in St. Denis' took up the movement.[999] The St. Ambrose group was the most consistent and most active and it was directed by the Brothers in the Community of St. Martin's Square; the activity of this great Community developed genuine teams of specialists. And while certainly a great deal of time was spent in religious devotions, an effort was also made to arrange for the relaxation of the members; gymnastics occupied an honorable place. At St. Ambrose physical education followed Mass. And throughout the year meetings were held which afforded young athletes the opportunity of showing their talents.[1000]

Depending upon people and regions, "youth centers" were of different kinds. The one founded in 1856 by the archpriest of the Cathedral in Albi, Father Caminade, took as its model Father Timon-David's group in Marseille; it was called "the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for Christian Youth". The members participated in pilgrimages and had to be visibly zealous in their respective parishes. Beyond a simple shield for morality and beyond the sincere observation of the "Commandments of the Church", it very much seemed that what was sought here was the recruitment of an elite. Beginning in 1870, the diocesan authorities entrusted the Brothers with the youth of Albi, who had been previously guided by priests; but nothing was changed in the essentially religious character of the organization.[1001]

Elsewhere the Institute lent its men to the clergy for the smooth functioning of organisms whose levers of command remained outside the Brothers' control. This was the way it was in Orleans, with the Society of St. Joseph, with the Perseverance Society established in 1850 by Father Myron Aussy, and with the "Young Worker" where Father Poterat asked the Brothers to teach in the evenings.[1002]

In many places a "Military Society" was attached to the Christian youth group, but without merging with it. Soldiers had long since been attending adult classes in Paris, at St. Nicholas in the Fields. At St. Joseph's in Orleans, between 1847 and 1861, there were classes for the illiterate of the military garrison. These had been the first efforts. Brother Adrias, the Director of the school in Cherbourg, joined an attempt on the part of the Conference of St. Vincent de Paul: soldiers were brought together for instruction and for recreation. Under the influence of the Religious, the goal was fully realized. Then the apostle and organizer, Brother Adrias, under the patronage of St. Joseph, began a Society of Perseverance for his former pupils, which included several hundred members. At its center was the chapel, and the reading of, and the commentary upon, the Imitation of Christ was a fundamental provision in its program.[1003]

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999 Vie du Frère Exupérien, pg. 118.

1000 *Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes* for 1921, pg. 340. The Brothers in Lille in 1849 established the first "youth group" in their Urbanists school. Father Bernard procured from the Army Corps of Engineers a section of the ramparts where playing fields were laid out. (District Archives) In Armentières in about 1865 the "youth group" connected with the school had about 400 members.

1001 District Archives of Rodez; d'Albi file.

1002 Turba, op. cit., pg. 354. — In Dunkirk in 1855 the St. Elias Society of Mutual Aid was founded: its members met for games and lectures; and they undertook the very charitable work of assisting at the bedsides of the sick and dying. Their dues enabled them to pay partial salaries to members temporarily unemployed. "The finest organization in my diocese" Cardinal Regnier called it. (Historique du district.

1003 Archives of Hérouville; *Historique du district de Normandie.*

It was also for soldiers that in 1867 the Rosmadec mansion in Nantes was fitted out with three classrooms and a "Circle". The Naval engineer, M. Chalard had obtained this installation, in which several Brothers were active; and at the top of the list was the "merry saint", Brother Camillus of Jesus who, responsible for teaching grown-up boys in uniform to read and thereafter to hand out books to them as well as newspapers, games and letter-paper and refreshments, became their friend and confident and, gradually, the apostle to his "fine young men".[1004]

By the end of Brother Philippe's generalate, "youth groups" had gone beyond the experimental stage. While progressing in accordance with the initiatives of local leaders and somewhat hap-hazardly, they aroused high hopes of victory among militant Catholics. In 1873 the Christian Brothers' General Chapter resolutely shared these views.[1005] What came to be called "post-schooling" seemed to have become a necessary part of education.

Nevertheless, for overall views and accomplishments, it was necessary to await another period, that of the generalate of Brother Joseph. This consummate teacher, in his school on Rue Francs-Bourgeois, had provided a model of what he was to prescribe to be undertaken everywhere: after 1850 a few young people took rooms in the school buildings; this was the beginning of the "Family home" in which employees and students from the provinces could breath an atmosphere suitable to Christian souls; where a rather adaptable but seriously practiced regulation respected everybody's independence while restraining any disorder.

This adaptation, which had originated out of casual circumstances, was quickly introduced into a rational and unified system. In order to organize his alumni and keep his resident pupils in the "Family home", Brother Joseph eagerly desired to form a vital, permanent association engrafted on the school. In 1854 Father Joseph Pontlevoy, the Jesuit Provincial, sent him Joseph Agnel, an elderly businessman in Marseille, who in recognition of the spiritual benefits of his mentor, Father Allemand, wished to devote his income to "a charitable work in favor of perseverance"

Agnel came to an understanding with the Director of Francs-Bourgeois. The new project, while taking its inspiration from Father Allemand's apostolic spirit, was to eliminate outmoded measures and procedures that were so little in harmony with Parisian tastes. Of the young people who to be invited to membership there would be demanded good behavior, piety and a profound sense of Catholic morality. But smiles, gentle and innocent larks and, indeed, noisy frolics would not be forbidden. The rather rigid mould that had been conceived by the revered cleric in 1799 was in danger of being broken by a passionate and alert populace. In Paris the velvet glove was an indispensable device: people accepted discipline but balked at constraints.

On the occasion of his first visit to the "rooms" that Brother Joseph had improvised in his tight quarters, Brother Philippe appeared surprised and confused: he did not expect to find so many games and so much laughter: "My poor Brother", he asked the initiator, "is this really your idea of a charitable work?" Nevertheless, he agreed to return. The "Francs-Bourgeois" people were celebrating a feast of the Most Blessed Virgin; and observing the recollected way they received Holy Communion, the Superior was touched: "Your project has already produced excellent results; continue", he remarked as he bid farewell.

The name of "Youth work", adopted after the inauguration on December 8, 1854, expressed the connection with the institution in Marseille that was so highly cherished by M. Agnel. About 1867 the name was changed to "Club" which flattered the self-esteem of the young

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[1004] I. de Cicé, op. cit.

[1005] *Essai sur la Maison-Mère*, pg. 227.

membership. Brother Joseph succeeded in maintaining an inspired relationship among the three components—School, Club and Family home. The former pupils in the partial residence school were the first to accept the invitations of the Club members. At evening meetings or in Sunday sessions they met their former teachers who were prepared to exchange instruction for counsel and direction for friendship. In this way, every year, from the flow of young people who had just finished their studies, the Club had a regular source of new members. In such a climate there was quickly created a collective spirit, a tradition in which young people knew one another since childhood.

Members who had come from the outside, resident pupils from the "Family home" — products, as a rule of Brothers' schools or private colleges—easily adapted to this structure and its atmosphere. The pupils in the Commercial School were in the habit of looking upon the meeting rooms of their seniors as a kind of paradise that followed upon schoolwork and the place of reward promised to them when they reached their seventeenth or eighteenth year.

The growth of the school and the progress of the Club ran along parallel lines; regardless of their beginnings, all the young people connected with "Francs-Bourgeois" tended to blend together; there was cooperation between teachers, chaplains, "counsellors", elected committee members, benefactors and honorary members in the success of meetings, in the organization of play groups, music, literary studies, devotion, charity, in the physical splendor of the Church's feastdays and in their spiritual outcome: Brother Joseph's patience, tact and warmhearted genius, after some difficult times, accomplished this exceptional marvel.

EPILOGUE

The Last Years of Brother Philippe

If the War of 1870 had not cast its pall over the final days of Brother Philippe and accelerated the national, social and religious convulsions that had been threatened under the Second Empire, his generalate might have appeared to have concluded in the splendor of the setting sun. However, somber clouds had been gathering at the horizon's edge. Since Sadowa and the dismal outcome of the Mexican adventure, France had a sense of the gathering storm; furthermore, upon believing Catholics there weighed the sadness of the Pope who was gradually being despoiled of his States, the threat of anti-Christian sects and the hostility of a world won over by revolutionary sophistry and materialistic teachings.

In the tragedy which followed upon easy and prosperous times, the Brothers of the Christian Schools had not become pessimistic; they continued to give an example of dedication, to which they added a lesson in courage in the face of danger. Quite correctly, their Superior's name was inscribed in the roll of heros. He had previously enjoyed an enormous, solidly founded popularity; his fellow-citizens acclaimed him as an example of the good citizen; and he was recognized as an important person in the State; it was as though his name turned up in a national plebiscite. When in the midst of disaster people sought to save the nation's honor, when they looked for reasons for living and hoping, the serene and lofty countenance of Brother Philippe drew all eyes. The Superior-general, whom violent persecution had spared, was beset by immense suffering endured with and for his country. He became the gallant old man who had expended his strength in the service of the victims of the war. And three years after accumulated miseries and devastation, his triumphal funeral took on the appearance of a demonstration in which France, defeated, humiliated but bent upon revival, wept for her sons while asserting the immortality of her soul, the survival of her ideals and her confidence in her destiny.

From the moment the nation was invaded, the Brothers held themselves at the disposition of military and civil authorities. While the law then in force dispensed teachers and Religious from military service, other means were available to contribute to collective resistance. The Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot, the schools in Paris and in the provinces became field hospitals: "The soldiers love the Brothers and the Brothers love the soldiers", the Superior wrote the Minister of War; "as large number of the combatants have been our pupils; they will be pleased to be attended by their former teachers".

On August 10, the Breton cavalry billeted at the Junior Novitiate. On the 17th, the Community residence buildings housed 250 firemen from Dinar and St. Brieuc. On September 4, as soon as the debacle at Sedan was known, Brother Philippe sent the Junior novices to Moulins. And then, as the siege of Paris had to be expected, he sent seven of the Assistants to organize administrative centers in the Departments.

He himself did not leave his dangerous post. Neither was he inactive and unmoved like a senator in conquered Rome; but concealing his anxiety and refusing to complain, he was prayerfully imperturbable. Under his direction, the Brothers became hospital corpsmen while continuing to pray and teach.

The "St. Maurice field hospital", set up at the Motherhouse under the patronage of the legionary martyr, at the outset accepted only victims of the fever. Brother Philippe was observed at the bedsides of these patients, "consoling them, strengthening them with that simplicity, that profound kindness, and that exquisite courtesy" which won him over to

everybody.[1006]

His associates earned from the chief medical officer, Dr. Horteloup, the tribute: "It is impossible to show greater zeal or great self-effacement ... Brother Archange, Brother Exupérien, and a lot of others, are organizers of exceptional talent."[1007]

Particularly remarkable was the work of Brother Assistant Exupérien. It might have been thought that this great mystic would remain on his knees at Sinai's summit: on August 20 he wrote to one of his correspondents that matters "had reached a very serious pass"; but peace or war, success or its opposite, "things must turn out for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls."[1008] He was prepared to prove, however, that Christian virtue is not reluctant to act. Guided by patriotism and charity, he abandoned the heights and surprised his associates by a practical sense that had been up until then unsuspected.

At Longchamp the Central Committee of the Parisian Press had set up twenty-one tents for the wounded, and asked for assistance from the Brothers. Seventy-five of them answered to the call; and 420 beds were set up, as well as a chapel to serve spiritual needs. During the three months — from January 19 to April 18 of 1871 — that the services were in operation, a great deal of good, both physically and morally, was accomplished. And the principal administrator, admired by the surgeon, Dr. Ricord, was Brother Adrien Mas, the son of an enterprising citizen in Languedoc, and an intelligent and astute man who knew how to appeal to the Brothers' conscience.[1009]

Elsewhere, Brother Nil of Mary, by way of self-sacrificing gestures similar to those of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Louis, was conspicuous. In the Grenelle neighborhood he was known as the apostle to the workers, in company with the saintly priest, Father Planchat. He cared for the smallpox patients in his school, where classes had been suspended. After examining a patient who was covered with pustules, a doctor was asked by Brother Nil: "What do you prescribe for number 8 here?" "It's hopeless", he replied. "The body is already in a state of corruption. Death will occur within twelve hours." As the visit was coming to an end, the infirmarian posed the question once again. "Well", the doctor replied, "if someone had the courage to break open each of the pustules and wash them with a solution of carbolic acid, there remains a slight hope. But nobody would take that chance." Brother Nil carried out the prescription and, in doing so, he knew that he was exposing himself to the fearful contagion. A soldier stated: "I wouldn't have done that, even if they paid me a hundred francs an hour." The Brother replied: "I wouldn't have done it for a million. I did it for the love of God."[1010]

Francs-Bourgeois had just moved to the Mayenne Mansion, their new home on Rue St. Antoine when the Franco-Prussian War broke out. And, as many families had left Paris, a lot of pupils missed the opening of school in October. Brother Joseph designated a part of his Community for field-hospital services and prepared beds in the rooms that only just been put in shape for the commercial school.

On September 15 he wrote to his former pupil George Fontaine: "The circumstances are critical and grave...But our faith can lift us up to the level of events by showing us in these calamities the punishment of an offending nation and a glorious martyrdom for us...Courage is not difficult for us, and we look upon it as an honor to suffer for France...My sons, in large

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[1006] J. d'Arsac, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétienne pendant la guerre de 1870-1871,* Paris, 1872, pg. 207.

[1007] Ibid., pg 215.

[1008] *Vie du Frère Exupérien* pg. 47.

[1009] Ibid., pp. 50-52.

[1010] *Choix de notices*, III, pp. 255-260.

numbers, are exposed on the front lines...May the hand of God protect them!"

Two of them fell: Louis Sarazin, in combat at Bagneux, and Ernest Renaudière de Vaux at the Battle of Loigny. The teacher felt as much pride as sorrow at this double blow: like the Superior-general, at these moments his heart beat only for the nation's cause.

In Passy, Brother Libanos acted in the same way; as early as September 2 he had been lodging cavalrymen. And, then, giving up on the idea of re-arranging school activities, he opened the entire institution to the wounded and the sick; and of the 778 who were hospitalized only 47 died. Brother Leon waked the dead, piously kissing the mortal remains, "in the name of their mothers". The Director took charge of supplying, but not without difficulty, food, medicines and coal. "You found a way," wrote Dr. Coutant in a letter dated February 1, 1871, "to exercise your inexhaustible charity...We lacked nothing, neither food which however was scarce, no medicines which were often so expensive. All of your Brothers were wonderful...Always at the ready...,day and night they lavished the most intelligent kind of care on our patients."[1011]

Paris was the general quarters for the most familiar activities. But in each region schoolteachers, residence schools and novitiates were busy with quite similar tasks. At the old City Hall in Rethel, become an educational center since 1855, on the evening of the 24th or the 25th of August, 1870, the Brothers accommodated the Press field hospital directed by Dr. Sée. Emperor Napoleon III had just arrived with MacMahon's army; forty-five soldiers were welcomed by the Community; and drawings of that period shows cooks bustling about under the institution's gallery and nearby the outline of the chaplain, Father Domenech.[1012] As early as the 26th the French troops resumed their march which came to an end in a weeks time in the disastrous chasm that was Sedan. When the victorious enemy penetrated into Rethel, about fifty wounded still remained as guests of the Brothers; should they recover, they would be made prisoners. Several of them escaped with the cooperation of their infirmarians. The Germans assigned to the classrooms 180 of their own men affected by various maladies, especially typhous. Christian charity comforts every affliction, relieves every sadness and faces exhaustion and epidemic.[1013]

In Brittany the Likès school in Quimper lodged successively 1,800 servicemen who had been called up in the mobilization and then recruited by the government for National Defense. On this occasion the Brothers exercised an apostolate that bore fruit: they continued to pursue their usual tasks among 400 children whose studies were not interrupted.[1014]

The Departments in the South of France took advantage of their safety to assist the victims that the war sent them. St. Joseph's residence school in Toulouse was included among what today would be called an auxiliary hospital: its Director, Brother Hector, presided over the rising, the retiring and the meals of his new staff; he won their confidence and encouraged them to prayer. The neighboring novitiate had also its contingent of sick and wounded; six young Brothers shared the work in the rooms assisted by the other members of the Community. The novices gave their dormitory over to soldiers and made do with straw mattresses in the

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[1011] Passy, 1838-1939, *Souvenir de l'année jubilaire*, pp. 52-55.

[1012] Lancon's drawing, dated August 27, 1870; communicated by M. Lanfrancq of Rethel.

[1013] M. Lefrancq's notes. After the Battle of Sedan, Brother Anicetus, who directed the schools in the city, assembled a number of the wounded. He then journeyed into Belgium and returned with food for the people. (Henry Rouy, *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes à Sedan*, 1892).

[1014] *Le Likès*, 1838-1938, pp. 68 and 69.

Common Room. Later on there were many letters that expressed the gratitude of the recipients of this hospitality.[1015]

The same details were everywhere repeated. It would become tedious to expand upon them. It has been calculated that during this melancholy period the Brothers of the Christian Schools cared for 10,000 wounded and 30,000 sick.[1016] Some of the good Samaritans sacrificed their lives: in Rethel, Brother Bénonian; in Mer, Brother Abercian Joseph; in Clamecy, Brother Honorious Martyr; in Paris, Brother Berrier, succumbed to smallpox or typhus. Fifteen more died broken by the work or wiped out by a combination of contagions.[1017]

Nothing that needed courage was wanting to the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle. Brother Athanasius, the Director of Beauregard residence school, had himself lead under the white flag and with eyes blindfolded to the Prussian General von Kamecke; he asked for authorization to offer the women and children of Thionville asylum in his institution. He spoke calmly, energetically. But his request failed to move the enemy leader.[1018]

It was not enough to volunteer at soldiers' bedsides and resist a victorious adversary. The Brothers, unarmed, faced the machine-gun fire. In the fighting around Dijon on October 30, Brothers Pol de Léon, Regis and Rufin, accompanied by Father Collenet, showed up near St. Peter's Gate, where under very heavy fire, they rounded up the fallen.[1019]

It was the first appearance of stretcher-bearers wearing three-cornered hats on a battle-field. There were 150 of them at Champigny on November 30 and December 1; and besides saving the wounded, they buried the dead. They were seen once again at Bourget, in Buzenval. The infirmities of age did not allow their Superior to incur the risks: in any case they left him strong enough to organize these teams of volunteers, to inspect them and give them his blessing. The day after Buzenval he travelled the road between Malmaison and Garches reciting the *De profundis* before the graves dug by the Brothers. To view, in the stark landscape of winter, of charred ruins, and of the earth on which the cadavers lay this dignified countenance, this honest, straightforward expression, one thought — as Dr. Horteloup said — of the Latin poet's verse: *Justum ac tenacem propositi virum.*

And who, among the medical officers, the miliary officers and the troops did not admire these heros who, "without boasting, without fear", ran "through bursting shells" in their cumbersome attire into the thick of things, farther, according to General Ducrot, than their duty demanded? Brother Baudine, their guide, "did not blanche" in face of the canon.[1020] Equally brave, Brother Paphnucius, the grammarian who was now wearing the Red Cross insignia,[1021] and Brother Albert of Mary convoyed by his colleagues from Passy and walking head erect, while soldiers sought shelter from a hale of bullets.[1022] Along with the Chaplain of Mont Valerian, Brother Paphnucius was appointed by the French authorities to go and reclaim from

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1015 District Archives, History of the Novitiate.

1016 *Album de la guerre de 1870-1871*, pg. 8.

1017 Ibid., pg. 7 and Ravelet, 1933 edition, pg. 469.

1018 Album cited, pg. 27.

1019 D'Arsac, pg. 398.

1020 Dr. Horteloup's letter already cited.

1021 *Choix de notices, III*, pg. 499.

1022 *Passy, op. cit*., pp. 54-55.

the Germans the body of the painter Henri Regnault, who had been killed in Buzenval Woods.[1023]

The Brothers' Institute can boast of one of its members who was mortally wounded on December 21. On that day, at the time the firing was being halted near Courneuve a squad of Brothers were running through the blood drenched battlefield. They were waving the flag of the Geneva Convention that the parties to the conflict were supposed to respect. Nevertheless, a volley rang out from Prussian ranks, and a stretcher-bearer sank to the ground, struck in the chest: he was Brother Nethelm (Jean-Baptist Baffie) from the Community of St. Nicolas of Vaugirard. He was carried to the St. Denis field-hospital in the Legion of Honor Home, where he died on December 24.[1024]

The essential documents for these events are two of Brother Philippe's letters addressed to Brother Assistant Judore and a third sent to the entire Congregation and the Circular of June 21, 1871. The head man scarcely ever spoke of himself: his modesty was opposed to it. And ordinarily he preferred to recount events in a minor key. But sustained emotion is more effective than eloquence. And a simple account betrays both grief and pride.

The letter of October 20, 1870 had been entrusted to one of the balloons that passed over the siege lines. It reached Toulouse on November 2.

"Will this letter suffer the same fate of so many others? If it reaches you, it will let you know that we are quite untroubled here. We come and go as we did six months ago...Our Brothers are doing a great deal of good in the field-hospitals. Except at St. Ambrose's and St. Marguerite's, where Religious have been replaced by teachers whom the people reject, the classes are full...We have had no battles, but small skirmishes which have had no other results than a few deaths and a few wounded...In our Motherhouse there are usually seventy to seventy-five patients. None of them have died without the Sacraments...Nearly all of them go to Confession and receive Holy Communion before departing. Sundays there are ten at the Communion rail and six the day after. What worries us is that we receive no news...Nothing comes, not even from Versailles or from St. Cloud... "

The second letter, at the end of November, was written before the Battle of Champigny: "We continue to be untroubled within our circle with its radius of two or three leagues...Our dear Brothers work in a rather large number of field hospitals, and they accomplish a lot of good from three points of view: charity, religion and the reputation of the Institute...Everyday Paris builds its fortifications in a surprising way, and everyone gets ready as best he can..., Meat and fresh vegetables are in short supply; but bread, wine, rice, dry vegetables and spaghetti exist in great abundance...We can say of our Brothers that their courage and dedication are equal to the circumstances.[1025]

Once the siege was over and communications opened, the Superior, on March 14, thanked the Brothers in the provinces and those in foreign lands for their letters, "full of affectionate sentiments". They "compensated him for the few trials endured"; it would not be "exactly true, of course, to allege that we have not had our share of the sufferings common to all those who were enclosed within the ring of steel. However, my very dear Brothers, believe us that our greatest suffering, our concern day and night, was to live without any communication with you."

[1023] *Choix de notices*, loc. cit.

[1024] Ravelet, op. cit. pp. 472-474.

[1025] The letter of October 20 was duplicated, while the one in November was printed; Brother Judore distributed copies of them to the Communities in the provinces.

This letter came as the preview of an account of the "Brothers' behavior during the war". But four days later the insurrection of the Paris Commune broke out. Brother Philippe was plunged into anxieties more agonizing than those of the previous month. The Circular of June 21, 1871 was the history both of the events of Franco-Prussian struggle and the Parisian misfortunes.

It opens with a declaration of Christian confidence and an act of thanksgiving. The author catches a glimpse of a light at the end of the tunnel, a period "of progress and of triumph" for the Church. The calamity has not crushed great souls; on the contrary, it has exalted them over all the powers of this world. And many people, grown slack in security and prosperity, have recovered the rhythm of their lives in danger and bereavement. "The Cross has been put in place for the Institute"; and the Brothers know by whose hands: those "of the Divine Master". Jesus, "calling them to his Calvary" has not left them without special help nor without consolation.

Wherever the misfortunes of the war had visited, the sons of the Venerable de La Salle had shown themselves worthy of their spiritual ancestry. Those in the invaded Departments by organizing field hospitals and by gathering the wounded from the fields of slaughter; and those in Belgium by welcoming refugees with a kindness which moved the conquered nation to tears and which it will never forget.

Recalling the role of the 300 Brothers who were infirmarians or stretcher-bearers in Paris, the Superior-general paid particular tribute to the young Brother Nethelm, the spotless victim selected by Heaven: "I sat beside him and told him the way the Congregation felt; his fate, a sad one viewed with the eyes of nature, seems beautiful and sublime when looked at with the eyes of faith. He was grateful for my visit and completely resigned to the will of God."On December 26 the body was carried to St. Sulpice for a very solemn funeral.

It was then the final phase of the siege. The intense cold and the shortage of food were the occasion for numerous illness among the exhausted Brothers. On January 9, 1871 a German shell hit ten pupils in the school on Rue Vaugirard. Four died immediately, six were wounded, two mortally. Brother Philippe followed the coffins to Notre-Dame des Champs and Montparnasse cemetery. The bombardment did not spare the Motherhouse: there were was a shell in the Regime's meeting room, in the dormitory and in the gardens. One of the projectiles exploded in the middle of about fifteen Brothers who were busy hauling sand: the workers were only sprayed with gravel, which injured them slightly.

In the days following the armistice, the sick and wounded who were still the Congregation's responsibility were brought together in two centers: Rue Oudinot and Rue Longchamp. At that time the National Defense government wanted to recognize the Brothers' services by nominating their Superior to the Legion of Honor. On this score, Brother Philippe was silent. However, he did not reject the decoration — as he had in the past, first under the reign of Louis-Philippe and then under the Second Republic; but the circumstances were no longer the same. The nation meant to reward the Institute's heros in the person of the Superior: one does not turn down the gift of a mother in tears. Dr. Ricord arrived to pin the cross on the black robe. And in an automatic gesture of humility Brother Philippe cover the emblem with his hand.

His narrative concludes the story of the war in a single sentence: "How many people have suffered more than we have from cold and hunger and have been prey to painful anxieties!" And then he went on to the events surrounding the Commune.

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"Paris besieged, Paris with no countryside, locked behind its forts, within a belt of walls, suffocating in its pride and in its futile anger": it was an awesome image. Two-million-five-hundred-thousand human beings imprisoned for five months. It was a capital "overwhelmed by itself, by its populace, by its burden, by its inaction...It had voluntarily submitted to this punishment; but at the cost of nervous expenditures that had driven it mad."

In this summary Gabriel Hanotaux explains the brusqueness and the violence of the insurrection.[1026] Of course he is not seeking in this way to justify its criminal quality, with the enemy encamped about the city bending the nation under his yoke. He does not excuse the men who unleashed a civil war on the heels of a foreign war and, awash in sophistry — or else intoxicated with uncouth pleasure — they immediately direct their hatred against the Christian faith before gratifying it, among the flames, in the blood of their fellow-citizens.

On February 8, 1871 had elected its "National Assembly" On the 17th Adolph Thiers became the "head of the executive branch of the French Republic". On March 1 the Deputies meeting in Bordeaux ratified a preliminary peace treaty; and the Prussian army entered Paris for four days only. The leaders of "the extreme Left" who, during the siege had incited serious disturbances, harassed a population that had been destablized by suffering, idleness and shame. On March 18th Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas were assassinated; and on the 26th were held the elections which would guarantee power to the fomenters of disorder, the initiators of the "Paris Commune". For political and strategic reasons for which he alone was responsible, Thiers thought it necessary to leave the city to the rabble-rousers and to withdraw the entire governmental personnel to Versailles, where the sovereign Assembly was settled: it amounted to accepting the prospect of another siege conducted by our own troops, with the Germans looking on.

The army, quickly and reliably reorganized, as early as April 3 held the "Communards" in check and beginning on May 8th, opened fire on the capital. On the 9th it occupied Fort d'Issy and on the 14th, Fort de Vanves; on the 21st, without striking a blow, it entered the city through the St. Cloud Gate. And from the 22nd to the 28th there unfolded on the streets of Paris scenes of implacable strife: — "a tragic week" in which volleys of shot and flames crackled, where "hostages" were massacred, where their executioners were also killed and where the most fearful reprisals cut down thousands of revolutionaries on the spot; and then, after summary sentences, others in greater numbers were lead to the gallows.[1027]

Immediately following upon the Revolution of March 18th antireligious feeling took over. During the final years of the empire it had been smoldering in Paris. Once the Republic had been proclaimed it put in an appearance in some neighborhoods with the connivance or under the careless disregard of the leaders of the events surrounding the 4th of September. In his first letter to Brother Judore Brother Philippe mentioned the expulsion of the Brothers from St. Marguerite's and from St. Ambrose's.

Masters of the situation, the partisans excluded the crucifix from schools; and they forbad teachers to conduct their pupils to church. They decreed the confiscation of church property; while members of Religious Orders were first dealt with as suspects, and then they were outlawed.

On Easter Monday, April 10, the Brothers' Superior-general learned that his name was included on a list of the proscribed. The father of one of the pupils in Passy had obtained the information from an unimpeachable source; and Brother Libanos, who was also involved, hurried to the Motherhouse with the view of providing Brother Philippe with every chance of escaping. The Assistants entreated the Superior to consider his age as well as the concerns and the needs of the Brothers. He could leave Paris without hindrance.

A delegate of the Commune, a commissioner of police and forty national guards appeared at Rue Oudinot. They asked to see the man whom they had come to arrest. "He is not here", Brother Calixtus replied. The guards surrounded the building, while the delegate and the

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[1026] *Histoire de la fondation de la Troisième République*, 1925 edition, Vol. I, pg. 24.

[1027] Ibid., pp. 565-571.

commissioner entered, seized the money in the office, and also appropriated two ciboriums, an ostensorium and two chalices. And because the Superior was among the missing, they ordered the First Assistant to follow them.

An angry crowed assembled. Even the national guardsmen showed some emotion. Was it credible that the Brothers were enemies of the people? The commissioner declared that Brother Philippe's substitute would not be arrested. And, in fact, after a brief appearance, Brother Calixtus returned a free man among his colleagues.

The Superior had gotten as far as Epernay when information he had picked up in the newspapers sounded the alarm as to the fate of his dear friend. He hastened to retrace his steps, quite determined not to allow anybody to fill in for him. But at St. Denis he discovered the upshot of the incident. He exercised his right not to expose himself to further perils and so retired to the Communities in the provinces.

In Dijon, where he first stopped before Clermont-Ferrand (where he overtook the Junior Novices who had been living in Auvergne since October) news of Paris reached him. Between April 10th and 13 the Brothers in Montrouge, Belleville and St. Nicholas des Champs had been dismissed. On the 15th all the schools were secularized. And between the 17th and the 22nd the Brothers in Ménilmontant were shut up in their residence. On the 18th military infirmarians replaced the Brothers in the field hospital at Longchamp. And stretcher-bearers in robes and white rabats were forbidden to appear on battle-fields.

The Brothers' schools were completely emptied of pupils between April 19 and May 7. And one evening at St. Sulpice, the members of the Community, whose house had been under guard, left by a window and slipped out of the city.

After arranging for the Superior's departure, Brother Libanos in disguise fled Passy. Brother Albert of Mary, the Sub-Director, along with two of his confreres, stood guard over the residence school, and in doing so he displayed courage and handled the representatives and officials of the Commune with a composure that saved the school from looting and, upon the appearance of the victorious besieging armies, from the perils of the civil war.[1028] On Rue St. Antoine Brother Joseph took the necessary precautions for most of his personnel to take refuge either in Meaux or at Mortfontaine. Continuing on himself at the Mayenne mansion in secular clothing, he awaited the outcome of events. On the 1st of May he wrote that "Here there is nothing disturbing the two young people, Adrian and Eugene Délivré; I have closed "the Circle", dispersed the Brothers and a manager has officially replaced me in relations with the Commune...The manager, who is a friend of mine, has become a lodger in our house, along with his wife. The rest of the building, now empty, provides me and my two associates with a buffer."

One of these brave men was Brother Austregilde, better known to the people at Francs-Bougeois under the familiar designation of "Brother Guillaume" — described by M. Pinta, one of the members of the "Circle", as "a small, stout and stocky man with a lively eye and nearly always dressed in duck trousers and a grey shirt". Brother Guillaume boasted of a whole host of practical accomplishments: — cook, painter, glazier, locksmith, mason, and a carpenter; in the "market-place" his "bluff kindness" and his "candid rejoinders" won him "a lot of friends". For seven months he had been in complete control of canteen that had been set up to feed the residents in the neighborhood. Rising at three o'clock in the morning, he began his service at eight o'clock and served three thousand meals a day. Brother Joseph had secured the running of this very popular institution from the Commune. But it turned out that powerful groups in the quarter sought to fire the Brother-cook; and one of the matrons who stood in well with the powers that be was supposed to take over the direction of the kitchen. One day she

[1028] Passy, 1838-1939, pg. 57. — Choix de notices, pg. 174.

showed up leisurely; Brother Guillaume eyed her: "Citizeness", he said, "go tell those who sent you that if you are going to be prepared to serve three thousand people, you have to be here at three o'clock in the morning!" Crushed by this Mirabeau-like declaration, the interloper returned whence she came and was not heard from again.

And thus there were sometimes moments of good humor and relaxation. Brother Nil of Mary, the marvelous infirmarian from Grenelle, despite official prohibitions, continued devote himself to the wounded. His zeal was temporarily tolerated by the "Reds" who confined themselves to pinning him with the nickname of the "Little Jesuit". Thrust back, subsequently, into his empty schoolroom, he remained there untroubled. Not without some daring, on one occasion, in his Brothers' habit, he rose up in protest at the Ministry of Finance against a grab for funds. He compelled respect. And he used his connections: the Commundard Jean-Baptist Clément, what had attended one of the Brothers adult courses, seems to have arranged certain opportunities for him, especially as to the issuance of passports.[1029]

On April 2, St. Nicolas Issy witnessed the grim features and heard the threats of death. The Director wrote that in that school that had given shelter to the children of the common people only. The invaders had withdrawn without any further ado. And the institution, bereft in the month of May of its leader, Brother Photius, survived with a guard of four Brothers and nine employees. St. Nicolas Vaugirard had the distinction of never totally suspending its operations: "in the darkest days it still numbered more than thirty Brothers and three hundred pupils."[1030] By order of the Commune all able-bodied citizens between the ages of nineteen and forty years were to be incorporated into "marching companies" designed to check the advance of the Versailles army. This conscription did not, of course, exempt Religious teachers. Circumventing it became all the more urgent. Many Parisians lent a hand by supplying the Brothers with civilian clothes, providing them with identifying documentation and assisting them through the fortifications.

Nevertheless, on May 8, twenty-six of these "migrants" were apprehended at the Northern Station. Brother Exupérien was leading them; and he had taken all useful precautions. But as he was reorganizing his group, one of the young travellers thoughtlessly called out to him: "Dear Brother Director, where do we have go?" It was an awkward question which, picked up on the fly by the police, lead to the arrest of the tiny flock and its guide. They were dispatched to Ralph Rigault, the "embittered bohemian", the "big boy with the arrogant build, who moved from revels to terror...a madman unleashed in the Police Department"[1031] and quite prepared to play the role of Fouquier-Tinville. At the sight of the Brothers, with their dignified posture and their austere features, Rigault was seized with fury: "For three hundred years we have been imprisoned by you ...You are criminals, because you indoctrinate the people." To bring "doctrine" to souls! "that's quite an accusation!", Brother Exupérien said later; "it would be very sad should we fail to deserve it!". At that point, he thought it was unnecessary to dignify such a sad specimen of a man with a reply. He merely crossed his arms and prayed in silence. He was locked up "as the most dangerous" of all the detainees, in cell-block no. 35, where he passed the time writing "retreat notes": "From all eternity, You have decreed, O my God, in Your wisdom, the events that are now taking place and the set-back I am now experiencing. Allow me to share Your plans and to acknowledge and adore Your will...May my cell, made precious by the thought that I am kept in it because of Your name, be a cenacle and a heaven for

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1029 *Choix de notices*, III, pp. 261-262.

1030 *L'Oeuvre de Saint-Nicolas*, Paris, 1922.

1031 Hanotaux, *Histoire de la fondation de la IIIe République*, pg. 181.

me...I desire — it seems to me in the depths of my soul — I desire to suffer to the full extent of Your wishes... "

As companions of the saintly Brother — in the common room which, for three days, made do as a prison — there were added the Brothers from St. Marguerite's school, followed by Brother Photius and his assistants from St. Nicolas Issy, who had been captured on the other side of Vanves as they were making their effort to escape.

On May 11 there came the order for a general transfer to Mazas, where Brother Exupérien found himself quite close to Father Caubert, his spiritual director, and Father Olivaint, although he was unable to talk to them. But a well-intentioned jailer undertook an exchange of notes between the Director of novices for Paris and his young disciples. The Institute has preserved some of these exhortations addressed to the captives who were trying to live the life of the early Christian martyrs. "O my friend!" (Brother Exuperian wrote to one of his cell-neighbors) "The Lord has granted us a great grace! Let us pray that this 'retreat' may be epoch-making in our religious lives...Let us beseech Our Lord to bless our dear Institute and France..."

The prisoner was also able to send four letters to his assistant, Brother Alban Joseph, who had not left Rue Oudinot. He thanked him for "a food package"; and he pitied his "poor young people", subjected in Mazas "to such a severe seclusion". As for himself, he said that he was "as happy as possible...The Good Lord has deigned to make consolation abound where sadness and grief should naturally dominate". For the man of God, "it would be the height of happiness if they would set free" all his young charges, "while keeping him as the only hostage".

Meanwhile anxiety spread throughout the Congregation. The Superior-general, who had passed through the Upper Loire, told twenty-seven Brothers assembled in Apinac of the arrest of the Brothers in Paris: "What a loss if Brother Exupérien is put to death!"[1032] However the troops of the regular army speeded up their advance. And as their shells were reaching the field hospital at Longchamp, the Motherhouse was once again, on orders from the Committe of Public Safety, receiving wounded. But the members of this revolutionary body would not allow Brothers at the bedside of their adherents: the Institute's elderly and infirm found asylum at the institution of St. John of God. The other Brothers succeeded in disappearing until the end of the ordeal. Vigilance on the part of Red Cross administrators saved the buildings, the furnishings and the chapel.

On May 22, the besieging army took possession of the *Invalides n*eighborhood, and with that, the Motherhouse was liberated. At that moment Bishop Darboy and his companions were transferred to Roquette. "They came in search of them in order to shoot them", wrote Brother Exupérien to one of the people detained with him. "How fortunate they were! Perhaps our turn is coming...Pray, Pray! Let us rouse ourselves to perfect contrition..."

The day after he told a young Brother, whom he called "good little Page,"[1033] that "the Versailles troops had entered Paris". Actually, the Commune had been checked from one end of the Seine to the other and driven off the heights of Montmartre. But then the smoke and sparks from immense fires filled the skies of the capitol. "The night" of the 23rd and 24th of May was a "horrible" one: Rues Royal and Rivoli, the Tuileries, the Royal Palace, the City Hall and the Hall of Justice were in flames fanned by a violent wind. In a frenzy of despair and vengeance, the wretched incendiarist attempted to engulf themselves in the ruins of the city.

The hostages were gunned down — first those at St. Pelagius, and then the Archbishop, President Bonjean, Fathers Deguerry and Allard, the Jesuits Ducoudray and Alexis Clerc and the Dominicans at Arcueil, and, finally, the "great servant of the people", Father Planchat, Paul

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1032 *Vie du Frère Exupérien*, pp. 56-64.

1033 The family name of the novice.

Seigneret, a seminarian at St. Sulpice, Fathers Olivaint, Caubert and Bengy and, on the 26th of May, several Picpus Fathers in the final and fearful massacre on Rue Haxo.[1034]

What had happened to the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle? They, too, as appointed victims, had been prepared for the sacrifice. In the course of the 23rd, the 24th, and the 25th battles continued around Mazas. Garreau, the Director of the prison, had orders to shoot everyone and then set fire to everything. He had already taken steps with a view to compliance. But during the morning of the 25th a shell burst in the vicinity of the cell-blocks. The cry, "Every man for himself!" went up. The gates opened, and the Brothers escaped.

Upon exiting the prison, several of them found themselves in the middle of a skirmish, and the Communards seized them and forced them to fight on the barricades. It was in this way that Brother Neomedeus Justin of the Community in Issy was killed at the Austerlitz Bridge.

Brother Exupérien and nine other escapee[1035] found a refuge in a house on St. Mandé Avenue.

The owner of the building hid them for thirty hours. As the cannonading continued, a powder-magazine in the neighborhood exploded. On Friday evening, as one of the barricades fell, the tiny group took a chance on crossing Paris and reached the Motherhouse safe and sound. "Pity me", cried its leader to his confreres on Rue Oudinot, "pity me for having been unworthy of martyrdom!" On Sunday, the last two of the Brothers who had been prisoners at Mazas returned to the Community: mixed up in the ranks of the insurgents, they had come within an ace of being court-martialed; their rosary and their scapular attested to their innocence and secured a quick and conclusive inquiry.[1036]

Brother Philippe had returned on June 9 in the midst of rubble that was Paris. As he concluded the story of this period, with his customary simplicity he confessed to the thrill, the tears and the joy: "Since it was time for Benediction, we prostrated ourselves at the feet of the Divine Saviour and rested under His blessed hand, while we thanked him for the providential assistance He had given us. After Benediction we sang the Psalm *Ecce quam bonum*. How impressed I was at hearing, under such circumstances the marvelous words of the prophet...!

He went on to express the hopes of an irrepressibly confidant soul: "It is as though the Divine Master were leading us by the hand through the greatest difficulties...Resolutely we must accept the challenge offered us. God wills the salvation of society and especially the salvation of France; and he wills to effect it through the Christian education of youth."[1037]

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The work of restoration was to run up against serious obstacles. The lower classes had risen in hatred — hatred of authority and of religion. Albert de Mun, to whom the spectacle of the Commune had succeeded in revealing his "social vocation" witnessed crosses overturned and

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[1034] Hanotaux, op. cit., pp. 198-201. — Baunard, pp. 442-448. — Rurnichon, *La Compagnie de Jésus en France, Histoire d'un siècle, 1814-1914*, Vol. IV, pp. 375-378.

[1035] Among them there was Brother Altigian Louis who later on became Director in Le Puy and thereafter Director of the Scholasticate in Paris. He preserved the touching recollections of the religious exercises and conferences organized with the greatest serenity by Brother Exuperien in those critical moments. (*Bulletin des Ecoles chrétiennes*, for July 1912, pp. 217-233).

[1036] *Vie du Frère Exuperien*, pp. 67-69.

[1037] Brother Exuperien the documentation for a history of the years 1870-1871. And he inspired the writing of the following books: *Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes pendant la guerre franco-allemande, episodes de la Commune, and Souvenirs d'un otage.*
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altars desecrated in the church at Belleville; he saw grim resignation, insolent wrath and the expression of unyielding souls on the faces of the accused who had been brought before the military courts.[1038] "An abyss" had been opened up between employers and employees, between the middle-class and the common people, and also, unfortunately, between the Church and the descendents of exemplary Christians. Too many of the "ruling classes" had detached themselves from the masses, too many industrialists had thought about profits without taking into consideration the poverty and the sufferings of the people who worked for them. And when they turned their thought to religion, they scarcely asked anything of it except to restrain the appetites of the poor. Their consciences had ceased to be nourished with the sap of the Gospel; they had become superficial Christians and most of them indifferent and frequently hardened in infidelity. The "apostasy" of the upper classes — declining, perhaps, over the past quarter of a century, but still very widespread — had won over the masses. It continued to be particularly rife among the intellectuals and within the liberal professions. Many a "distinguished person" in small towns gave his neighbors the example of militant "anticlericalism". And although it was perhaps correctly asserted that the majority of Frenchmen continued to adhere to Catholic dogma and liturgy, it was necessary to recognize the role of routine and of a persistent and prudent human respect. In many of the provinces, Masonic, socialist and revolutionary propaganda had already undermined the faith; just as in Paris and in other important urban areas it had obtained overwhelming results. The anarchic tendencies inherent in human nature combined with "proletarian" bitterness and humiliation to guarantee the success of the doctrines of materialism. While religious education had only a few brief years to plant good seed, all that was needed to stifle it was the climate of the factory, the streets and the public meetings.

As the celebrated Bishop Pie of Poitiers explained quite clearly to Bishop Guibert in 1870: "We can expect nothing from the people...No principle remains operative...It's not just that the religious sense has been eradicated, so has the moral sense. I do not believe that anybody has uttered as many truths as I have strewn around me every day: people listen respectfully, but they don't understand. We Christians are in the process of forming a society, a people apart, which no long shares a community of ideas with the greater society which surrounds us, which is breaking up, or, rather, which has become completely dissolved.[1039] Pessimistic, of course, but qualified by the virtue of hope: "When God leaves, later on He writes", the prelate added. Without claiming to issue orders to Providence, people of good will volunteered to fill in the blank page. In that Spring of 1871 a "re-awakening which was both anguishing and relieving" followed upon the "nightmare" of the war, the invasion and the self-destruction.[1040] This was the estimate of one of those who had worked to bring people together. Although wounded and disfigured, the nation strove to revive, as it drew up the balance-sheet of its forces. After all, it had performed every sort of heroism – military gallantry, patience under fire, steadfastness under unprecedented setbacks, dignity in face of the invader and hope in God when all earthly powers had abandoned it. Indeed, the martyrs of Roquette, of Arcueil and of Rue Haxo pleaded in its favor: their good French blood could become the seed of a new generation of Christians.

In Versailles there sat an Assembly of decent people among whom there were many Catholics. Hungry for order and peace, the voters — forgetting a lot of prejudices and deferring their social claims — had swung to a special group of landed gentry, to wise administrators and

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[1038] Albert de Mun*, Ma Vocation sociale*, 1908, pp. 23, 24, and 35.

[1039] Paguelle de Follenay, *Vie du Cardinal Guibert*, II, pg. 442; cited by Hanotaux, op. cit.,IV, pp. 330-331.

[1040] A. de Mun, op. cit., pg. 1.

to patriotic, modest and upright heads of families. Instead of putting obstacles in the way of the Church, these deputies would lend her a hand. And the most zealous among them took part in the great religious manifestations: pilgrimages to Our Lady of Chartres in May of 1873 and to Paray-le-Monial where during the following June the Bishop of Autun and M. Belcastel were to read the formula of the consecration of the nation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. And then on July 24 the National Assembly proclaimed the "public benefit" to be derived from the construction of votive basilica on the summit of Montmartre.[1041]

Unfortunately, neither the genuine dispositions of people nor the general condition of Europe corresponded to the aspirations of the faith nor assisted in the restoration of spiritual and moral forces. Of course, within the Church the Council of the Vatican, with its dogmatic definitions, had strengthened essential truths and with its proclamation of Papal Infallibility had completed the structure of hierarchical authority, the unity of the faithful. But upon considering the situation from outside, there were many misgivings. Pius IX, who had been stripped of "the patrimony of St. Peter", retained only a precarious independence in a palace guarded by Italian soldiers. Catholic nations, conquered, confused or betrayed, had yielded primacy to Protestant or schismatic countries, like Prussia, England and Russia. Governments treated the Pope unceremoniously, arrogantly, and with hostility. France no longer dared to raise her voice; and all she held out to the illustrious prisoner, who had at one time had lived under the shelter of her arms, came down to the presence in Mediterranean waters of the French frigate *L'Orénoque* under orders to remove him to a safe harbor should he decide to leave Rome.[1042] Unbelievers, even those of them who were not hostile, thought that the old man's "doctrinal intransigence" erected insurmountable barriers between the Church and "contemporary society". And while, less rash than their predecessors in the 1830's, they were not predicting the end of Christianity, they anticipated the inevitable decline of that immense power.[1043]

And certainly party heads betrayed timidity and confusion. A distinguished individual like the Duke de Broglie, an aristocrat by birth and temperament and respected in legislative circles, shunned the arts of persuasion and of influencing and leading the crowd. In his case, steadiness of character combined with a relative "pliability" of principles. Basically, he remained more of a politician than an achiever of lofty goals; he cherished a "liberalism" which involved more self-confidence than submission to the demands of the truth.[1044] All about him, even the best persons lacked discipline. Each of them, however sincerely but obstinately, embraced their own personal ideas, their past and their interests. It would have been difficult to find anyone to whom to apply Tallyrand's characterization of someone who "thought a great deal about the future". This individualism, this world of closed horizons, would eventually compromise, curtail and leave suspended the work of reconstruction, which was, nevertheless, an undertaking with such high visibility and such a laudable persistence and — in the immediate consequences — having an undeniable success.[1045]

In the years during which the "Conservative" majority held sway, the Brothers of the Christian Schools benefitted from a broad freedom, respect, and, frequently, the special consideration of the public authorities. Once the Commune had been overthrown, the Council

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[1041] Hanotaux, op. cit., pp. 68-74.

[1042] Halévy, op. cit., pg. 71. — Hanotaux, II, pp. 225-229.

[1043] Halévy, loc. cit.

[1044] Hanotaux, *Histoire de la Nation francaise*, V, pg. 580.

[1045] Halévy, pg. 21.

of Ministers decided that religious teachers would resume their task in the official schools — wherever, prior to September 4, 1870, they had enjoyed the use of a public institution. “We are once again in a position to fulfill the purpose of our vocation”, wrote Brother Philippe to his Institute.

A gesture on the part of the French Academy underscores the popularity of the Christian Brothers. In the United States, the city of Boston had, during the Franco-Prussian War, begun a drive to come to the assistance of Paris which was threatened by famine. The Worcester filled with foodstuffs, made for Europe. But its captain, learning of the armistice and then of the insurrection and the “second siege”, considered his mission as void and sold his cargo to the English. It brought in 800,000 francs, which was an impressive sum in those days. This money was distributed “throughout all of suffering France”. And after accounts were settled there still remained 2,000 francs. The Boston committee suggested that the “Academy’s Forty” add this modest surplus to the annual “Virtue prize”, as a way, according to the committee, “of expressing America’s sympathy for the courage, the generosity, the dedication and the selflessness of the French people” in its tragic hour.

If the award were bestowed on a group, the allocation would be made easier and emphasis would be placed upon the moral significance of the New World’s gesture. The Academicians settled their choice on the Brothers’ Institute. “In was a tribute”, according to the Duke de Noailes in his report, “rendered to a body of men who had achieved genuine distinction”. The “Boston Prize” on the flagstaff would become the equivalent of “the medal of honor”.

Military comparisons leaped naturally to the tongue after months during which the habit that De La Salle had given the Brothers had served as the “uniform” of the stretcher-bearers at Champigny, Bourget and Buzenval. But it would be a long time before the question would have to raised, whether they would have to exchange the robe for barracks clothing. Attentive to religious prerogatives, the Law of the 27th of July 1872 legislated that “every member of, or novice in, an association dedicated to teaching and recognized for its public utility is exempt from military service, provided he had contracted for a ten-year period of service prior to the drawing of lots”.

As another mark of distinction, another witness of respect, the government, in 1873, called upon Brother Joseph, Director of the commercial school on Rue St. Antoine, to join the Higher Commission on Public Instruction as a representative of private education. In this situation, the distinguished educator was able to bring his competencies to light, get a hearing at the hands of his colleagues and win their affection, right into the very years during which the persecution of the Third Republic began to rage.

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The assurances gained had not, in the Superior-general’s eyes, totally dispelled the vision of a demanding future. His worries were forcefully set forth in the Circular dated May 4th, 1872. It was like listening to prophetic language: “The attacks of the irreligious seem to be concentrated on a single point: the education of children. The watchword is everywhere repeated and in every tonality: to prohibit from the school everything that has to do with religion...Describing Jerusalem’s desolation, Jeremiah wrote: “The children have asked for bread, but there is no one to give it to them. In their hunger and thirst, they say: where is there bread, where is the wine...? And then they collapse from starvation.” (Lamentations, II, 12, 19; IV, 4.) Unfortunately, if the plans of the Church’s enemies succeed, the same thing will happen in the supernatural order. We shall once again be able to say: The children have asked for the bread of truth to nourish their souls, but there was no one to break the bread for them. They have been left in ignorance of God and of His works and in indifference with regard to His law; and the children have fallen into error and into vice; and they have become a prey to the demon. Like Rachel in Rama, the Church weeps for her children and refuses to be consoled, because

they no longer walk the path of life.

In acknowledging the reception, on the following November 7, of an article published in *le Constitutionel* by Eugene Rendu, Brother Assistant, Calixtus thanked the author for having objected to a decision of the General Council of the Seine: "Brother Superior and I have read your (article) with the liveliest interest. We recognize in these pages the fundamentally religious mind that you have inherited from young distinguished father...We very much wish to see, Sir, your teaching propagated in order to counteract the perverse ideas which everywhere engulf us. We even go so far as to hope that a great mass of men, who are also decent persons, will end up realizing, as you so truly say, that those who advocate secularized education are striving to achieve atheistic education, and that the former shall hesitate at such a consequence."[1046].

Indeed, atheism, at a bend in the road, was attempting to win over secularism. Whoever attacked the Church concluded by striking at God. But to reach that point, people proceeded by stages. The leaders on the "left" had begun by demanding the gradual elimination of teachers who were also members of Religious Orders. They regarded the clergy, both secular and regular, as being primarily a political adversary: those involved in the restoration of France between 1871 and 1875 considered "the spontaneous, active, zealous and universal support" of the episcopacy, the priests and the faithful entitled them to bank on victory. "Catholicism", seemed "the ultimate preoccupation."[1047] "The most generous and the most far-seeing persons agreed that the collapse of 1870 was a retribution and could become an expiation", and that the return to Christ presented itself "as the first condition" of the nation's "restoration."[1048].

But the republican minority, determined to bring down the National Assembly, had no doubt but what in this alliance of the "clericals" and the monarchists dwelt the supreme obstacle to its ambitions. Men like Veuillot, Pie and Dupanloup wanted to bring back the "throne" by mounting it upon the "altar". Their enemies concluded that the undermining of the "altar" would make the restoration of the "throne" impossible.

And, for most of them, this strategy was inspired by a strong detestation for any philosophical or moral system that was embodied in the person of the Pope. They denounced the *Syllabus,* the Encyclical *Quanta cura*, the dogma of infallibility as the negation of "free thought" itself and of all progress of the human mind. Positivists, Evolutionists, disciples of Darwin, of Herbert Spencer or of German monism, heirs of Voltaire and of Diderot, they meant to build a city from which religion was banished. Their Republic was to be set up in the form of an "Anti-Church".

This project was outlined as early as 1872 in the celebrated address by Gambetta on the 20th of October to the Savoyards of St. Julian: "Let's stop talking about monarchists. There is a party that you know very well, a party which is the enemy of all freedom, light and stability...of all that is healthy and benevolent in the organization of modern society. You have a name for that enemy: it is clericalism."[1049]

To strike at the heart one must first seize the school. Resuming Danton's slogan and Jean Macé's campaign, the cry went up that the people needed education. Schools were too few: in the Department of the Seine alone, 67,500 children were illiterate.[1050] The remedy for this

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[1046] Communicated by Brother Adrian Charles

[1047] Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 41.

[1048] A. Margerie*, Pages d'histoire contemporaine, 1*873, pg. 4. Quoted by Hanotaux, III, pg. 41

[1049] Hanotaux, op. cit., pg. 168.

[1050] Note from Gréard, who was director of primary education in the Department of the Seine, to the Prefect, September 1, 1871. Quoted by Gossot, pg. 276.

situation: let the law decree both the obligation and the gratuity of education!

Conservatives and Catholics were wrong to have been frightened by these two words. The more skilful and the wiser ones, forgetting neither Louis XIV nor St. John Baptist de La Salle hastened to adopt a broad plan of national education thoroughly reconcilable with Christian guidelines. But they were the victims of their social prejudices and of their middle-class ideas. Freemasonry set up shop in the area which they refused to occupy; it fought under more favorable conditions, in the name of democracy and in the name of a school that was "obligatory, gratuitous...and secularized": the three terms appeared to be linked together. The people were shown that a Republic, in contrast to the Church, had no fear of enlightening them; that non-confessional schools would respect freedom of conscience — an inalienable right in the face of a duty which would make it incumbent on every family not to evade the cultivation of the mind. And gratuity assumed the character of bait held out to simple people and to the indifference of the peasantry.

The supervisors of secular education were selected from among Protestant and Kantian ideologues, like Pécaut, Ferdinand Buisson and Jules Steeg. Their moral principles, their "categorical imperative", the vague Deism and their "Evangelism", dogma-free and profoundly hostile to the Church, was intended to arrange for the transition. And it was it this fashion that the way was to be open to the atheists. From the very beginning the goal was patently clear: in every French Commune was to become mistress that "public Freemasonry" described by the young Buisson in his letter of July 10, 1869 to Victor Hugo.[1051] Duruy had been completely outstript: and, furthermore, the abstract philosophy of the new educators was antagonistic to what had given a practical value to the reforms of Napoleon III's Minister: no connection remained between the schools and the "trades"; craftsmen might very well wither away, and manual workers reduced in status and made scarce on the land. Teachers had no mission except to propagate a "bookish" knowledge as "an end-in-itself", a contribution that was foreign both to the traditions and the convictions of our ancestors.[1052]

Bereft of supernatural aspirations, people were to look for nothing but earthly satisfactions won at the cost of the least effort. It was an education that cultivated an excessive appetite for thrift and financial security, a thirst for wealth and feelings of envy respecting the rich; it promoted the abdication of the paternal profession, the development of bureaucracy and an urban proletariat. A civilization that is based upon "frugality" is maladjusted and ends up with egotistical solutions, class conflicts, the weakening of patriotism after it has obliterated fraternal charity.[1053]

In a bill submitted to the National Assembly, Jules Simon — who later on in the Senate was to demand the return to the teaching of "duties to God" — was disposed to settle elementary educational problems according to the principles of neutrality. He cited the example of Prussia whose schoolteachers had, as they put it then, raised up a generation of conquerors. "I'm right in believing", replied Bishop Dupanloup, "that the Minister is not thoroughly familiar with Prussian legislation: otherwise he would not have been silent in the matter of religion". The Bishop went on to establish, on the basis of personal information and official documentation, that Christianity had contributed to the all-powerful neighbor, whom it had been proposed to imitate, the training of its teachers, the inspiration of its courses and the direction of its

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[1051] Halévy, pp. 155-156.

[1052] Halévy, op. cit.,

[1053] Hanotaux, IV, pg. 347.

schools.[1054] His authority easily won the approval of his colleagues. Until the permanent accession of the Republican party, the educational policies of 1850 continued to prevail.

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Like Charlemagne perceiving the Normand barques not far from the shores of his empire, Brother Philippe had a foreboding of a threat hanging over the French sector of his enterprise. But God was to give him two more years of satisfactory achievement and would allow His servant to die in peace.

The difficulties occasioned by the war and the Commune had been dispelled. The institution in Caluire that had been plundered in 1870 by the rioters in Lyons was once again peopled by novices and retired Brothers.[1055]

In Toulouse, a Prefectural decree, following the revolution of September 4, had ordered the Brothers' departure from the parishes of St. Stephen, St. Sernin, St. Nicholas, Daurade, Dalbade, St. Michael, St. Jerome and from the Minimes neighborhood. An injunction issued by the civil court allowed the Religious teachers to continue their residence but without any other resources than the free offerings of the citizens. By dint of a series of postponements they were able to stay on until January 19, 1872, on which date the Minister of Public Education rescinded Prefect Duportal's illegal decree. On the 23rd of the following March the city administration of Toulouse had its suit dismissed by the Privy Council. And a judgment on March 10, 1873 ordered it to pay the Brothers the support that it had withheld since secularization experiment had begun.

Classes had never shut down. More than that, the pastor of St. Sylvia's had opened new ones on the very site on which his church was being built. The Brothers, reduced to total destitution, devoted themselves to the work. And the city, experiencing a change of policy, agreed to assume responsibility for them in somewhat less makeshift quarters.

Other cities also espoused private schools: La Besse, for instance, in the Aveyron, in 1872. Castres, which had voted to open a secularized schools, nevertheless consented to pay a fifth Brother for the Villegoudou annex and negotiated the renting of a new hall that had been made necessary the influx of pupils.[1056].

A residence school was associated with the Communal school in Puy-l'Évêque. In a contract drawn up on September 10, 1873 between the Mayor and Brother Assistant Jodore, the little city in Quercy assumed the cost of maintaining the buildings.[1057]

A great deal had been required in order to obtain the consent of the Superior-general, who wanted a pause in the growth of the number of schools: he had known only too well that the Institute, after forty years of rapid growth needed time to catch its breadth and to draw up a balance sheet of it earthly successes and its spiritual gains and losses. The time was fast approaching when the Brothers believed, quite correctly, that their educational apostolate must be subordinated to the intensity of their religious life; they would realize a lesser good and they would run the risk of misleading people, if, in order everywhere to embrace the task of teaching, they became lax in their selection of recruits, hurried their spiritual and professional preparation, denied themselves the necessary pauses for prayer, retreats and all the other practices in conformity with the ideals of their vocation. The Chapter which had met at this time prescribed against plunging into projects that had been inadequately studied. Indeed, the

[1054] Dupanloup, op. cit., III, pp. 457 et sq.

[1055] A. des Cilleuls, op. cit., pg. 161.

[1056] Archives of the District of Toulouse

[1057] Archives of the District of Rodez.

Brothers would prefer to close institutions which required a number of teachers out of proportion with the schools population.[1058]. Brother Philippe, forearmed by a long—and sometimes painful—experience, indicated to his immediate successors what the circumstances demanded—in fact, a reform that was not long in bearing fruit.

This was why, while those schools that were well operated continued to increase their pupil population, it was only in 1874 that there began the important center of Christian education: the residence school called "St. Genes" in Bordeaux. It was a long time for such a prominent cit to have to wait for this institution. And Normandy, even less privileged than Guiana, could not boast of a school like the one in Rouen until 1880. The foreman had gotten in a vast harvest; but what was that in comparison to the fields that remained to be cultivated on an almost limitless domain? Land-clearers, sewers and harvesters would have to answer to the call of new leaders.

The patriarch was reaching the end of his career. During the first months of 1873 his health occasioned some concern. The Archbishop of Paris, knowing that he was in danger, visited him at his bedside. But when the 23rd General Chapter open in June, Brother Philippe presided. He presented his resignation, which the Capitulants refused. The Chaplain at the Motherhouse heard him sigh: "That's it! I have to keep going to the end!" In July the Superior visited Rouen, where he prayed before De La Salle's relics. And in October and November he completed his final visit to the Vatican.

Once back in Paris, he received the Brothers' congratulations on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of his election as Superior-general. And on the 7th of December he gave the habit to fifty-four postulants. He spoke to them like a grandfather, hoping that they too would reach his "great age", cheering them on to the task under the guidance of Jesus, the faithful Friend, comparing them to "pieces of wax", molded so as to serve as candles in the sanctuary, and as "gold ingots" to be shaped into "ostensoriums, ciboriums and chalices". His conclusion was illumined with the full hope of Heaven: he saw "the joy and the glory" of eternity prefigured in the monastic life.

On December 30 he felt unwell, after a visit to the residence school in Passy. On the 31st he rose with the Community and assisted at the early exercises. Taken by a chill, he nevertheless insisted on going to the Regime's offices where he was expecting a delegation of pupils from St. Nicolas. In a trembling voice he murmured: "My dear children, I wish to thank you for taking the trouble so early in the morning to bring me New Year's greetings; perhaps I shall not finish out the year ... Continue to serve the Lord ... Love your parents ... And love the Brothers...Goodbye!

On January 1, 1874, he once again received Communion in the chapel on Rue Oudinot, and then, went to bed and never rose again. He was seized by pneumonia. The entire Congregation, which had been kept informed by Brother Calixtus, united in prayer with his immediate Community. On the 6th a second letter from the First Assisted stated that the Superior-general was weakening.

He died the following day. By January 9th a circular issued by the Regime recounted his final moments. He had been brought the last Sacraments on the Feast of the Epiphany. "He followed the ceremonies and the prayers with that lively faith that we all recognized in him". At the Chaplain's request, he gave a moving paternal blessing. At about eleven o'clock in the evening, prayers for the dying were recited, in which he took part, partially uttering them himself and responding to the various invocations. When he was told that the Pope had sent him his apostolic blessing, several times his lips moved in a "Thank you". At 5:30 a.m. he once again receive a plenary indulgence *in articulo mortis*. At about 7:45 a.m., at the time the Brothers were saying the Rosary, the death-rattle started. One of those present, Brother Irlide, said the prayers for a departing soul. Brother Philippe still followed, and he attempted to mutter the

[1058] Resolutions of the 1873 Chapter

words. He tried to respond to the Brothers' invocation: "Live Jesus in our hearts!" His final "Forever" escaped on his last breath and marked the beginning of his eternity.

He left this world "in the eighty-second year of his age, the sixty-fourth of his Religious life and the thirty-sixth of his Generalate". The funeral service was conducted on Saturday, January 10, 1874 at St. Sulpice, and the burial took place at Père Lachaise Cemetery.[1059]

Visitor came by the thousands to look upon the deathbed and the revered face and meditate in the chapel where the body was layed out. At St. Sulpice, both Church and State surrounded the coffin: Cardinal Guibert gave the absolution; the President of the National Assembly, M. Buffet, came forward first to sprinkle holy water. The cortege crossed Paris in the midst of a huge crowd of people who removed their hats and made the Sign of the Cross. On either side of the hearse there marched pupils from the Brothers' schools, who spelled one another off as they passed from one neighborhood to the next. A representative of the Minister of Public Education, the Mayor of the *VIIe Arrondissement*, and the President of the City Council spoke at the tomb.

The Cardinal-Archbishop wrote to his pastors: "Brother Philippe was entirely devoted to the service of the people; he might very well have said...that his mission was to teach the poor...He might have added, in speaking to youth, what St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "Even if you were given ten thousand masters, you would never have many fathers who love you as I do, *nam si decem millia paedagogorum habeatis, sed non multos patres."*

On February 5, 1874 Pius IX sent "Brother Calixtus and the other Assistants of the Congregation of the Christian Schools" a "Brief" expressing condolence and praise. The Pope described the personality of the "excellent Superior" as "an upright mind in a sound body, the spirit of faith and charity, a humble veneration and an ardent love for the Holy See, unflagging watchfulness over everything and the virtues of fruitfulness and patriotism".

It has also been the judgment of history. All that remains for us to say concerning the overall work of Brother Philippe can only confirm that judgment: he was an educator and an apostle who, for nearly a half-century, played a preponderant role in St. John Baptist de La Salle's Institute and appeared among us as an instrument of Providence, a benefactor to his people and a noble example of humanity.

[1059] Subsequently, Brother Joseph had the remains of his predecessor moved to Athis-Mons.