HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

VOLUME 6

by

M. Georges Rigault

THE ERA OF BROTHER PHILIPPE

THE INSTITUTE AMONG THE NATIONS

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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

Introduction

This is a second look at the Brother Philippe era. Our previous volume studied the history of the Generalate in France. The present one will describe the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools as it expanded out among the nations of the world. Obviously this sixth volume is bound up with the fifth: one and the same man's name and authority were extended to the French operation and to the opening out into world-wide expansion. We shall once again encounter, surrounding the Superior, individuals who were known to some of his assistants. We shall not have to repeat the fundamental principles of the religious life and of the educational philosophy which continued to be practiced with the same spirit, the same conscientiousness and the same success in Paris, Rome, Brussels and Montreal.

We have already in the course of our journey cast an eye beyond the mountains and overseas. De La Salle's Society, from its very beginnings, has always tended to exceed political frontiers and to assert its universality. As a child of the Church it replicates its maternal traits, especially as it reached maturity. It deserves to be described, in the obvious meanings of the terms, as Roman, Catholic and Apostolic. And such a description precisely proclaims the account that we are about to undertake; and since Brother Philippe worked for the salvation of peoples under the supervision of the Papacy, in collaboration and in concurrence with the Vicar of Christ, it seemed fitting to us to place at the head of this volume the portrait of Pius IX. Indeed, the Generalate unfolded in a context that was both parallel and subordinated to the basic lines drawn up by the Pope. Giovanni Mastaï and Matthew Bransiet were both born in 1792; while the rule of the Superior and the reign of the Pope both lasted for more than thirty years and, from start to finish, chronologically they "overlapped" each other, so to speak. That Brother Philippe's modest, severe and pious features should answer to the smiling majesty of Pius IX is a way of symbolically summing up the historical facts.[1] Moreover, from the moment that our protagonists enter upon the stage, Rome will constitute the significant and vibrant setting; the city will long engross our attention; and thereafter it will remain in the unclouded background, as a firm and thoroughly visible backdrop. It provides the unity of place and of action in a drama composed of numerous episodes and contingencies without number.

It must be admitted that this book runs the risk of giving a most unfavorable impression: it will, of course, be thought to consist of bits and pieces. The reader is kept on the run between Europe and America and between Asia to Africa, at the beck and call of geography and history, without any reliance upon logical development or continuous growth. Events succeed one another and connect up according to an order in the divine plan. We, on the contrary, more often than not, see the reverse side of the weave and we think of it as fairly unravelling. The Institute did not plan methodical foundations throughout the world; it stood at the ready, prepared to pick up calls from the Holy See, the Episcopacy and the civil powers. It was ever ready to go to work provided its reserve of workers was not depleted, and the contractual stipulations harmonized with the Rule left by the Founder.

There was a certain dispersion of effort and, as a consequence, a sort of fragmentation of results seemed to be inevitable. Actually, however, the leaders' caution, ordinarily, declined hasty commitments. When the impossible had to be undertaken, it was the "God wills it" of the faithful captain, rather than the fatalist's "the die is cast" that lead up to the order.

In addition to Roman directives, the origin and development of the Brothers' thrust

[1] As a frontispiece we have chosen "a true to life sketch" which represents the Pope at the outset of his reign when he was still a young man, abounding in hope and acclaimed by Rome and the whole of Italy.

throughout the world contributed critical assurances of cohesiveness, perseverance and success. During Brother Philippe's era, recruitment to the Institute sustained a distinctly "national" flavor. The Superior was surrounded by his own "countrymen"; he observed and appraised their work; he used their capacities, depending upon circumstances, both within and beyond French frontiers: and, it goes without saying, for foundations in new regions, since there what was needed were men to begin the work; but also for countries in which the Brothers had already attracted vocations, in order to give an idea of the program for their social and civil achievements.

Nevertheless, once unity was completely safeguarded, it was appropriate that the Institute take on a regional look; and it was fitting that command and responsibility belong to the natives. Toward the middle of the 19th century this legitimate development was accomplished—or was on the way to being accomplished — in Italy, Belgium, Canada and the United States. And it was to be effected in Germany with remarkable ease.

Mission countries, however, were to continue to make further appeals to the Religious of the Christian world. But in the Far East, in Indochina and even in Madagascar there began to be open up, even out in the countryside, the promise of a future harvest.

And no matter what may have been their origins or their race, the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle, out of a love of God and their neighbor, rose above regionalism. At the same time, they possessed the grace of state which enabled them to understand the most varied mentalities and to adapt themselves to places and to peoples and to handle languages. It is in the Church, as well as in France — a nation of broad humanitarian susceptibilites—that we find this sort of "catholicism". Moral and dogmatic truths do not alter with the change in latitude: similarly, the Founder's Rule, steadfastly observed, measures the lives of Communities in whatever climate. Some figures will give an idea of the progress realized by the Institute between 1838 and 1874 outside of its original boundaries: at the beginning of Brother Philippe's Generalate there were forty-two institutions in "foreign" countries; while at the distinguished Superior's death statistics show a total of 276 such foundations: — 106 in Europe, twenty-six in Asia, forty-six in Africa and 100 in America.[2] The total was more than a third of the institutions operating under the Lasallian "Star".

In 1849, the Papal States, Piedmont, Savoy, Belgium, and the Levant comprised six "provinces" situated beyond the borders of the French Republic. In 1873 the Circular that convoked the 23rd General Chapter enumerated as follows the twelve Districts that would elect delegates, over and above the representatives nominated by the professed Brothers living in France: Algeria and Tunisia; Reunion, Maurice, Madagascar and Seychelles; Italy, Belgium, Germany, Levant and Egypt; England; Indochina and the Far East; Montreal, New York; St. Louis, New Mexico and California; and Ecuador.[3] Quite naturally, we shall be dealing with three groups: Europe, America and Mission Countries. The third group represents some special characteristics, which we shall point out in the course of the third part of this volume, after we have devoted the first and the second parts to the history of the Institute in Christian lands.

The task has been an awkward one: we have had to situate our protagonists not only in the ambience of their century, but also in their human environment and in their geographic framework. We have had to range over the entire earth, at least in spirit, under the direction of

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[2] Archives of the Secretary-General, Rue de Sèvres, Salonica file.

[3] The General Chapter of 1858 had decided: "The number of delegates to the General Chapters shall be thirty-six for France With respect to provinces outside of France, those that have three institutions will be entitled to a single delegate; those that have ten well be entitled to the same; but the Superior may invite a second, either a Director or a Senior Brother. If a province includes forty institutions, it may elect two delegates, without prejudice to the one that the Superior may invited." (Circular no. 255, June 215, 1859.)

the best informed guides for each nation and each language.

The Motherhouse Archives in Rome, once again searched in the days after European liberation, contain a great wealth of material. The documentation that they supplied us increased by a hundred-fold the storehouse of information amassed by our own efforts during the darkness of the captive years: Institute publications, obituaries, biographies, histories of institutions, articles in the *Bulletin des Ècoles chrétiennes* and the *Rivista lasalliana*, circular letters published by the Superiors, general works on the subject of the countries that have been open to the Congregation; especially, as regards Belgium, the writings of Felix Hutin, which we have consulted in the past; and, as regards Canada, the volume entitled l'OEuvre d'un siècle.

And also from Germany, England, and Algeria have some important testimony, which we shall be looking at in the course of our account. Once again, Belgium provides us with a wealth of sources, for which we had the leisure to examine on site, as was also the case with Italy. The United States, Ecuador and Madagascar, the Near and Far East possess and supplied us at Via Aurelia with files filled with correspondence and notes contemporary with events.

Having filled in the background with the assistance of the variety of colors placed at our disposition, we have attempted to give life to a large number of distinguished persons without neglecting the action of the chorus and and the clamor of the crowd.

We bid a final farewell to Brother Philippe. But later on we catch a glimpse of the shadow he casts once again, when we advance into "the promised land" into which he introduced his people.

G. R.

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PART ONE

The Institute in Europe

CHAPTER ONE

Italy

Situating the Italian institutions at the threshold of this new volume demands no long explanation. They had preserved seniority rights over all the other foundations that had arisen beyond the French frontiers. And since the days of St. John Baptist de La Salle and his disciple Gabriel Drolin, they were associated with the center of Catholicism.

Why, then, in 1838, after more than a century of existence, had they not assumed a growth similar to the one we witnessed taking place in the Founder's homeland, and rapid like the ones we shall be studying in other regions of the world?

We cannot obscure the longstanding causes: the inadequacy of material resources, the peoples' indifference to schooling and, in higher places, suspicion concerning education that threatened to rise above the level of the most rudimentary knowledge,[4] and meager recruiting for a Congregation that declined priestly honors and whose austere Rule demanded absolute self-effacement and contempt for all human celebrity.

It must be candidly admitted that the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools adapted slowly to "the Peninsula". It was not a native growth, and its customs continued to be foreign to local traditions; while the spirit which inspired it at first surprised many people on the other side of the Alps. Of course, it proved irrevocably attractive to some of them; and compelling them along evangelical lines, they became excellent Religious in the spiritual family of St. La Salle. The time would come when the pedagogy of the brilliant Educator would be quite clearly understood, skillfully applied, indeed, raised to a new level of perfection in Italy. But such results were achieved only at the cost of commendable effort.

Over a long period of time numerous obstacles had been strewn along the route. Political fragmentation stood in opposition to any organized effort. The complaints and demonstrations that region-wide enterprises inspired handicapped the latter in a variety of ways. During the 19th century too many events followed one upon the other, from the Alps to Sicily, for the apostles of education to achieve unimpaired progress. What aroused public opinion were the aspirations of independence and unity, the struggle against Austria, the expulsion of the "Barbarians" and the creation of a national state with which Europe would have to reckon.

The Church was not without its adherents among the theoreticians and leaders of the Risorgimento: it enough to mention the names of such men as Silvio Pellico, Massimo d'Azeglio and Gioberti. But there were others who charged it with failing to be open the great patriotic movement and, indeed, with fearing its ultimate consequences. After all, the Pope, in his capacity as temporal ruler, was one of the princes whom the revolutionary forces of liberation would strike down. True, Gioberti, had proposed to set the Pope up as the head of a Confederation of kingdoms and duchies; in which case, the New Italy would assume the guise of a moral person, rather than look like a powerful army. This, in the opinion of a lot of people, was an imperfect and misleading solution to the problem. There were the "Carbonari", hostile to religion, who desired the elimination of the pontifical monarchy. And Mazzini, while repudiating the methods of extremists, held out for a Republic, whose capital would be Rome.

Furthermore, the men who placed their trust in the House of Savoy were aiming at the same goal. They dreamed of reviving ancient Rome in all its power and glory, and their tool was to be Piedmont's soldiers. Let their king, then, not afflict himself with a lot of scruples! Since he

[4] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 330-333.

meant to remain such a good Christian, he would be able silence his conscience as he set out against Rome.

And, thus, the "Italian question" involved a problem that had religious dimensions. The patriots' blueprint could be fully worked out only by despoiling the Holy See. From that point on the enemies of Catholicism had a free hand to incite governments and crowds. Their action was closely bound up with national enthusiasms. Programs of political reform included the confiscation of Church and monastic properties and other harsh measures respecting a Church considered inhospitable to the will of the nation.

Schools were not spared. They had to live in the midst of disruption and war, and stand by as rulers who supported them were sent into exile. They witnessed invasions, defeats and foreign occupations. The annexation and the changes in government that would be beneficial to Piedmont were followed by disfavor for the Brothers. Some schools were suppressed. Others were restored, occasionally under conditions that demanded no little heroism. Poverty became penury at a time when public finances and taxes weighed quite heavily on all resources.

Nevertheless, the tiny group of teachers did not capitulate to suffering. And while it endured persecution, on the other hand it won a lot of friends. Catholics came to its assistance. Even the civil authorities showed it their respect, and, in a number of circumstances, took care of it.
In the end, the Brothers maintained their principal positions on the banks of the Po as well as on the banks of the Tiber. And, out of Turin, they continued their influence upon Northern Italy. Under the aegis of the Pope, in safety they fulfilled their task in Central Italy until the 29th of September, 1870, when, once the breakthrough had been effected near the "Porta Pia," Rome no longer belong physically to the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

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In 1838 Gregory XVI had been reigning for seven years. Regarding De La Salle's disciples he had always shown a most considerate concern, a fatherly kindness, although distinctly despotic.[5] To the three Communities which had existed upon his arrival — *Trinita-dei-Monti, San Salvatore* in Lauro and the *Mondonna di Monti* — the Pope added the Home called *Thermes* and a small school called the *Esquiline*. The Ripetta school opened in 1840.[6]The modest instruction given to the children of the common people and the reforms effected patiently but successfully in the institution near Santa Maria di Angeli satisfied the apostolic See. The aged Pope's compliments and smiles were not lacking for the "Fratelli" during the informal visits that the heads of the Church loved to lavish, to the great enjoyment of their subjects.

Thus, Gregory XVI appeared disposed to provide the Institute with new fields of endeavor. Outside the City walls, he was happy with the results obtained in Orvieto, Bolseno, Spoleto, Benevento and Veletri — major reasons for expanding the work. And so, by the end of 1838, Viterbo had a school, which Brother Gregory of Jesus was commissioned to organize. He was still a very young teacher who, for three years, had been the dedicated infirmarian to children who were ill at Thermes. To a gentle charity he united prudence and wisdom; and he comforted souls with the same skill as he treated bodies. In the post to which he was sent, he found himself surrounded by uncultivated youngsters — a gang of grimy kids, ragged, and wild who spent their time on the streets throwing stones. Civilization began with Brother Gregory in the slums of Viterbo. After this effort which caught people's attention, he could be entrusted with the direction of Trinita-dei-Monti; Brother Gregory rose to the top of the Congregation's list in the

[5] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 188-196.

[6]Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, list of Brother's institution in Rome.

Papal States.[7]

He met with a friendly rival in the person of Brother Pius of Mary. The former Vicar-general had humbly accepted Brother Anacletus' order which placed him under the dependency of Brother Joseph.[8] Always esteemed by his Italian confreres and highly regarded by Church dignitaries he settled down at first with his job at Santa Maria di Angeli. There, between 1835 and 1839, he displayed an exactitude and an application similar to those which had at one time won him the adherence of the novices at Orvieto. And then, in spite of weariness and failing health, he aided Brother Joseph in the opening of schools in Sinigaglia, Ancona, and Loretto. He was glad to be able to live in the latter city, happy to be able often to enter its famous shrine in order to pray. The shadow that had temporarily obscured his reputation had dissipated. But he remained the fervent, mortified Religious. The virtues of the ascetic were added to the zeal of the apostle, without damage to the native quality that Louis Ribotti retained as an inheritance of his nationality.[9] In the absence of higher gifts, he possessed the spirit of faith; and he was a model of regularity. The moment was not far off when Brother Philippe would consent to reinstate Brother Pius to the post he occupied in 1832.

Prior to the founding of Loretto and Ancona, the Pope had decided to show, in a manner typical of him, his appreciation for the Brothers. In 1841, he introduced them into the Castel-Gandolfo region, where he himself took his vacation during the summer months. In this beautiful site in the Alban hills, the white palace constructed by Carlo Maderna rises above a lake, which is a very deep basin. Like his predecessors of the 17th and 18th centuries, Gregory XVI appreciated the coolness, the quiet and the charm of this place. Brother Joachim, who had replaced Brother Pius in the Home at Thermes, boldly asked for a Villa in the neighborhood for teachers who had been overworked by their many hours in class and for the elderly who suffered from crushing Roman climate.

The Pope gave the request a favorable hearing. And he placed at the Brothers disposal a building which had belonged to the Cybo family and which Clement XIV had acquired in 1773 from the last of the Cardinals of that name. The Vicar, Brother Joseph, touched by this generous gesture, then proposed to open a school in the locality. A Brief dated June 21, 1841 gave the response that had been anticipated: "It has come to our attention that in the village of Castel-Gandolfo the children are not suitably instructed in reading, Christian Doctrine and in the principle that make up good morals ... Their education will be entrusted to the Brothers...Four Brothers will make up the Community...and they will reside in the Cybo mansion."

An annual income of 300 "ecus" was allocated to the teachers. The local government was to pay two-thirds of the costs, while the Pontifical treasury contributed the remainder. From the very wealthy Duke Tolonia all the school furnishings were obtained.

On the following July 18th were held the inaugural ceremonies. And an ordinance of December 21 obliged the inhabitants punctually to send their children to the Brothers school. Gregory XVI gave every indication that the project was important to him; and he was a witness to its prosperity, which has continued on into our own day.[10] At his death, several other cities of Latium, Ombria and Romagna[11]— and, among them ancient Ravenna — were provided

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[7] *Relations mortuaires*, Vol. III. (Circular dated February 29, 1860.)

[8] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 194-195.

[9] *Relations mortuaires*, Circular for May 15, 1856.

[10] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1911, pp. 100-106. — *Rivista Lasallaina* for September, 1941, la *Scuola pontificia di Castelgandolfo.*

[11] Foligno, rivoli, Corneto. — Nocera, in the Kingdom of Naples welcomed the Brothers in 1843. (Motherhouse

with Christian Brothers, elementary and tuition-free schools. The late Pontiff had earned the acknowledgment that, at least within the limits of his resources and with a staff of dedicated, but numerically meager, teachers, he tried to disseminate education among his people.

"Young Italy,"[12] however, looked upon him as a despot, a reactionary and a dependency of the Austrian Empire. The election of Giovanni Mastaï to the Papacy seemed to herald a new era. Pius IX, a Pope who was only fifty-four years of age, vigorous, agreeable, a noble soul and a pleasant disposition seemed about to open the doors to the future. Patriots spoke of him with enthusiasm, and the chant, *Viva Pio nono* rang out over the whole of "the Peninsula".

The initial measures of the newly elected Pope affirmed these expectations: — amnesty for political prisoners, revision of civil law and the judiciary Code, the installation of a civilian police force, the establishment of a Privy Counsel, and Rome was provided with Communal representation. These were all so many proofs of an enlightened mind and of a genuine desire to work with the leading citizens. But impatient patriots demanded more. Rumors rumbled through the Papal States. Pius IX became alarmed and felt overwhelmed. Under the pretext of teaching him a lesson, the Austrians occupied Ferrara. Hatred flared up — against the invader, of course, but also against those who surrounded the Holy Father, and against the Jesuits who were accused of conniving with the foreigner. *Fuori i Barbari! Morte ai Jesuiti!* were the cries that were heard in Rome.[13]

They were merely the preliminaries to the revolution. From a distance, Mazzini directed the movement; and his power prevailed over the Pope's. A struggle became inevitable, first, between the foreign enemy, Italy's Austrian oppressor and the defender of absolutism, and Piedmont which fought for independence; and then between the princes and their peoples.

We shall deal later on with King Charles Albert's unfortunate campaigns. For the moment we shall remain along the banks of the Tiber where the Pope sought to divert the tempest. Two years had past since, on the 16th of June, 1846, the crowd, trembling with pleasure, bowed their heads for his first blessing. He wondered how to preserved his temporal power, pacify over-heated spirits without sacrificing the rights of the Holy See. The news of the French "February Days", Louis-Philippe's sudden collapse and the commotions which shook all of Europe induced him to make sweeping concessions. A "Constitution" for the government of the Papal territory was promulgated; and laymen were invited to direct politics and administration. The chief minister was a man named Rossi, an Italian who had lived in France where he had won a big reputation as a jurist and who had been accredited by Guizot as a diplomat to Gregory XVI; he struggled to render a constitutional government viable, following the model of western nations. But he also strove to protect Pius IX from republican conspiracies. To create an army, maintain order, organize finances, and bring the Roman aristocracy together with the middle class in the management of civil affairs was, in the general confusion, a thankless task which threatened to crush the most competent and courageous of men.

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Certainly, many abuses had been introduced into the Papal States. Laxity, routine, an easy-going attitude with respect to certain compromises and other shortcomings warranted a great number of protests. The mechanism was rusty and the wheels grated. Indeed, the clergy

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Archives, HB g.)

[12] The name of the Association was founded by Mazzini.

[13] Lecanuet, *Montalembert,* II pp. 356-357, Paris, 1898.

as well as Religious Congregations, in a climate that encouraged slovenliness, slipped into arrangements designed to conspire with human weakness. Conspicuous exceptions did not preclude the mass from deserving censure.

The Italian Brothers were not exempt. As early as 1841 an indication of minor worries was revealed in a petition sent to Cardinal Lambruschini, the Protector of the Institute,[14] by Brother Vicar Joseph of Mary, who, trained in asceticism by the followers of Brother Agathon, had imbibed the whole of their moral and spiritual heritage. His example was sufficient to prove that De La Salle's Rule, the work of the 17th century and elaborated at Rheims and Vaugirard under divine inspiration could suit other times and other countries. But Brother Joseph was induced to take into consideration the anxieties of those who bent under a burden that was thought to be excessive.

The Cardinal had heard repeated entreaties, and he informed Brother Philippe's representative. A candid and humble reply reached him: "yes, the Brother Vicar declared, I know that those under me believe that my manner of governance and direction is too severe. I fear that the spirit of our Institute is becoming diluted. I also seem to have become "too rigid". Nevertheless, I would prefer to acquiesce, if it were possible for me to lighten certain responsibilities "without detriment to my conscience" in order to "support souls in peace".
He went on to point out some "small points" which perhaps might be changed: — points regarding food, outings, and footwear. Furthermore, a new schedule for the study of catechism was to be allowed and, besides — a detail to which the Romans were partial — there was to be a holiday during "Carnival time", in spite of the Founder's prohibition.

Bishop Lambruschini was pleased to consent to these proposals. He dated "from the Quirinal", March 7th, the following decision: "Our Holy Father the Pope, having kindly submitted to our arbitration the enclosed petition, we authorize Brother Joseph of Mary to modify the points of Rule under consideration".[15]

In itself, the incident was of slight importance. Adaptations to local customs and a more rational arrangement of the day's work were readily understandable. Nevertheless there was resistance and murmuring. Misunderstanding broke out between Brother Joseph and his subordinates; their ideas of the "life according to the Rule" differed.

That is why we regard the Cardinal Secretary of State's intervention as the prelude to more serious difficulties. This painful period in the history of the District of Rome was to coincide with the events of 1848.

Two months after the death of Gregory XVI, Brother Pius once again became the head of the Italian Brothers under the protection of the Holy See. His predecessor, who was seventy-four years old had asked for time to think about his last days in leisure. He died in 1847, leaving the reputation for a complete Christian Brother.[16] The decree of the Sacred Congregation for Bishops and Regulars, dated August 9, 1835, had required that the Vicar-general be of the same nationality as his constituency.[17] From Paris the Regime appointed Brother Pius; the choice — the Superiors thought of it as a certainty — would please both the Italian Communities and the

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[14] After the death of Louis Lambruschini in 1854, Brother Philippe recommended his soul to the prayers of the Brothers "because of the important services he was kind enough to render" to the Institute, first, in Paris as Apostolic Nuncio and then in Rome as the Congregation's Protector. (Circular no. 204, August 10, 1854.)

[15] Motherhouse Archives, KH n2.

[16] *Relations mortuaires*, Circular of June 10, 1847. — Brother Joseph died in Bolsena on the preceding April 5th.

[17] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 192.

Roman Curia. For ten years the distinguished Brother had given proof of his obedience. Quite legitimately, it was assumed that his return to a position of trust would no longer give rise to any difficulties.

Indeed, personally he was submissive and, as always, edifying. But did he have the firmness that was needed? Was he too much inclined to side with his Italian confreres and condone everything they did? During Brother Anacletus' Generalate he had nearly run into a stumbling block in the Santa Maria di Angeli Home.[18].In 1848 this institution was involved in a law suit. The Brothers emerged unscathed. And except for the damage done to the reputation of a few individuals, the major Superiors, in contrast to what happened in 1835, earned an increase of prestige from the outcome.

As the result of the administrative reorganization ordered by Pius IX, the Home, which had been so much cherished by the preceding Pope (and which he had insisted be placed "under his immediate authority") became a municipal institution. The city government of Rome would henceforth assume the general supervision of the orphanage. And for this work it appointed one of its own citizens, the counsellor Pietro Castellacci, who was a priest and a Canon and who seems to have been quite competent in these matters. After all it was a task that consisted essentially in evaluating a system for moral improvement. The young orphans, snatched from vagrancy, needed a good education and then they had to be reinstated into society by means of a serious apprenticeship.

Brother Pio had been dedicated to the project. His successor, Brother Joachim, who had directed Thermes since 1839 had, as we know, won the confidence of Gregory XVI. A former pupil at *Trinita-dei-Monti*, he had been a member of the Christian Brothers from the age of sixteen. He had taught school in Orvieto and at San Salvatore in Lauro. His rapid rise to the rank of Director surprised no one: out-going, friendly, impeccably behaved and polished, he was unfailingly correct in every social situation.[19] It remained to be seen whether his direction of the orphanage involved technical inadequacies, or, in any case, a failure to control the personnel. Constantly, Counsellor Castellacci betrayed a keen dissatisfaction. Suddenly, he announced that he would undertaken major reforms.

Informed, the Brother Vicar-general, sent a letter of entreaty to the Pope. He was, he began, already dismayed by the expulsion of his Communities from Ancona, Sinigaglia, Foligno and Loretto, the harshness of which had underscored its antireligious character. And now there was the matter of Our Lady of the Angels which was the occasion of other anxieties. The criticism leveled at the Brothers was becoming a genuine outrage. So much so, that Brother Joachim had decided to retire. A temporary replacement would have to be found for him. The city government's purposes made it impossible for Brother Pius' auxiliaries to continue.[20] The Pope had scarcely finished reading this petition when a second reached him. "Mr." Castellacci had stripped the Brothers of their rights and meant to reduce their numbers to eight. "Calumnious accusation" had been repeated. The Holy Father must intervene "for the good of the home and the teachers' peace!"[21]

The city Councilman, nevertheless, put his plans into execution. He seized the administration of the orphanage, ordered the immediate departure of fifteen of the Brothers and retained only seven of them as teachers. Brothers Joachim and Serafino were required to remain in Rome

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[18] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 189 it sq

[19] Brother Joachim of Jesus' obituary, 1871.

[20] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n10.

[21] Ibid., petition dated June 1848.

until their books were audited.[22] Pius IX appointed Cardinal Altieri to make an impartial inquiry. His Eminence concluded in favor of the Canon. “In order to dispel any ambiguity”, he communicated in writing to Brother Pius on July 19th, judgments he had already conveyed to him orally: “In conformity with the view of His Holiness”, the Brothers named by Castellacci were to vacate the institution the day after next. The city representative had been granted full freedom in order to make whatever changes were necessary. Thereafter the Cardinal would issue a regulation that might “restore harmony” and preserve “the magistrate’s” authority.

It was this harshness that raised the Vicar-general’s objections. In his view, the work of Gregory XVI was being destroyed: reduced to a half-dozen, the Brothers would be unable to discipline and teach more than four-hundred boys. Rather than impose upon them a burden beyond their strength, Brother Pius would prefer totally to abandon the home.[23]

Forebearing, the Holy Father thought that it would be better not to hurry matters. Recourse to the most stringent measures were temporarily suspended. The Canon, however, persisted in his project. He placed the members of the Community under a sort of quarantine; and he continued to criticize their management.[24] We can imagine the disorder that resulted from such a shrill conflict. Cardinal Altieri went so far as to fire off the following harsh letter:

“I have learned with the greatest amazement that, in fact, the Brothers were not supervising the resident pupils at Thermes...I cannot allow such negligence...Whatever may be the final arrangements of the institution, the responsibility of the personnel in charge, including that even of the Brother Vicar, are presently implicated. That is the position of the Sovereign Pontiff.”[25]

The final ultimatum was not slow in coming. It bore the date of August 11. Three weeks previously, Castellacci, accompanied by other city Councillors, had crossed the threshold of the orphanage: he had been received by the four principal teachers, Brothers Crispan, Thomas, Seraphin and Piniano. The former Director, Joachim, had departed Our Lady of the Angels. His associates who had remained in place stated that the resolution that had been taken in concert with the Vicar-general of their Institute as well as reasons of conscience forbade them to accept the new arrangements. They regarded their role in relation to the orphans as finished. An official statement of this disclaimer was then drawn up.

Any further evasion was unnecessary. “Brother Pius,” wrote Altieri, “was immediately to recall” what was left of the Community. And the Brothers were “formally prohibited” from putting in any further appearance in the institution, “for whatever reason.”

In fact, they never returned. The thirteen years of their administration had provided proof of genuine activity and undeniable success. But it appeared that from the very beginning the Superior-general in 1835 had a foreboding of the painful outcome. Actually, he wanted his representative to decline Cardinal Lambruschini’s proposals with regard to the orphanage.[26]

While agreeing that Canon Castellacci handling of the affair was crude, the support he received at the hands of the Vatican administration suggests that his accusations deserved a hearing. A note preserved in the file continues to be disturbing. It appears to be in the

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[22] File cited, Pietro Castellacci’s letter to Brother Pius, June 24.

[23] Ibid. Brother Pius’ letter to Cardinal Altieri, July 20.

[24] File cited, Brother Pius’ third petition, July, 1848.

[25] File cited, letter to Brother Pius.

[26] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 188.

handwriting of Brother Exuperien, who was Procurator-general to Rome: this French Brother, sent by Brother Philippe, saw Pius IX on October 10, 1848. He wrote: "The Holy Father spoke to me about his dissatisfaction concerning the Brothers departure from Thermes. He told me of their irregularity, of their laxity, indeed, of their disorders. And when I told him that the Most Honored Brother knew nothing about this, he added: "Consult on my behalf Cardinal Altieri and ask him thoroughly to fill you in on this subject. Then send your report to the Superior-general... "The Cardinal confirmed everything the Pope had said.[27]

An exchange of views between the Vatican and the heads of the Congregation became necessary. It gave rise to measures of the highest importance, and we shall emphasize their significance for the future of the Brothers in Italy. But before this quite local storm which rumbled over one of the Roman Communities had subsided, revolutionary tempests would stir up much more dangerous currents.

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On November 15, 1848, as Rossi arrived at the Legislature, he fell at the hands of an unknown assassin. The Republicans circulated the rumor that the Minister had been prepared to use the armed forces against the population. After the assassination, a roused mob set out for the Papal palace, demanding the election of a Constituent Assembly and war with Austria. Pius IX refused to yield to rebellion. Threatened, the Swiss Guard used their rifles; and the civil guard took part in the riot.

Denied every means of restoring order and himself facing a tragic situation, the Pope resolved to seek asylum from the King of Naples. He left Rome secretly during the night of November 24 and took refuge in Gaeta. When he learned that a provisional government had been set up in Rome, he sent out an appeal to the Catholic powers in Europe.

The rupture between himself the political leadership was total. The latter had decreed the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies that had replaced the Constituent Assembly. On February 9, 1849, the Roman Republic was proclaimed, as triumvirs assumed its direction; and very quickly Mazzini arose to wield dictatorial power.

It was like a reversion to the Middle Ages, when factions forced the Pope into exile. The Papal States were transformed into a war-zone. On the southern border the Neapolitans thrust their vanguard. The Austrians occupied Romagna, where they were to stay put until 1859. But it was France which was to play the most important role.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had become the national leader, wanted to ingratiate himself with Catholic opinion. The former revolutionary set himself up as the champion of the Papacy. An army under the command of General Oudinot materialized before Rome. Mazzini, supported by Garibaldi, organized the resistance, and, on April 30, the besiegers first attack was repulsed.

Under cover of an armistice concluded with the French, the triumvirate were given time to clear out the King of Naples' soldiers. However, Oudinot received reinforcements: he broke the truce, and on June 3, he introduced his troops into the Villa Doria Pamphilia and the Villa Corsini, which overlooked the St. Pancratius Gate. The city's defenses were paralyzed, and a bombardment reduced its strongholds. When a portion of the walls were captured, Garibaldi's followers retreated into the hills.

It was in this way that the revolution was brought to an end. While restoring the Pope's temporal power, Louis Napoleon, nevertheless, insisted in his notorious letter to Colonel Edgar

[27] File KH n10. — The note in question was probably written in 1849. The author alludes to a conversation he had with Castellacci: the Canon informed him about the chief complaints investigated by the Holy See and which were once again brought to Pius IX's attention on October 14, 1849, when the Pope was at Portici.

Ney that he expected a better system of government from Pius IX. The Pope, offended by this kind of censure, postponed his return. Cardinals della Genga, Altieri and Vannicelli arrived on July 31, two weeks after the Te Deum had been sung in St. Peter's. The three of them composed the governmental commission.[28]

Peace had been restored under the protection of a French garrison. Religious ceremonies, however, had never been interrupted; so as to change nothing of Roman customs and out of respect for peoples' beliefs, Mazzini had permitted the regular sequence of solemn processions.

The Brothers had not been evicted from their schools. Only the school at "Monti" operated by the French had closed its doors. In April, when Oudinot's troops entered the suburbs, Brother Exuperien, fearing a hostile uprising against himself and his countrymen, disbanded his Community. At first, the Villa Medici, on the Pincio Hill, served as a rather precarious asylum. Subsequently, eleven Christian Brothers departed for Civita-Vecchia; while others sought out a refuge among good friends. The period of the seige passed without too much apprehension. Once the city's fate had been decided by the fall of the forts and the occupation of the Janiculum, the Palazzio on Via Zingari[29]received its guests and classes began again immediately.[30]

As early as 1848 many institutions in Ombria and the Marches had been subjected to revolutionary attacks.[31] Their personnel gathered in Orvieto where the novitiate had suffered no damage; and the Brothers remained there peacefully until the storm had passed.[32]

It had now become a problem of looking at the situation honestly. Serious dissatisfaction had surfaced, the most unfortunate symptom of which had been the business at Our Lady of the Angels. Pius IX, although he continued to be reluctant to return to the ungrateful and unruly city, resumed the direction of Papal States. Residing at the palace in Portici since September of 1849, he there welcomed the French representative, M. Corcelles and discussed with him the demands made by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On the 19th of the same month, in a *motu proprio,* he proclaimed an amnesty, which carried a number of qualifications.

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The Institute needed his paternal goodwill. Wishing to be exactly informed, the Pope invited Brother Philippe to appoint a Brother who was prudent and moderate to inspect the schools in the Papal states. The Superior's choice fell upon Brother Leufroy: for his knowledge of people, his dependable disposition and his virtue, there was none more competent to conduct such a delicate mission to a successful issue.[33]

The Director of Béziers had left his beloved residence school in 1844 in order to supervise the District of Nantes. But he lost no time in resuming his place in Languedocian region of the South of France. At the time he was sent to Italy, he had over a period of two years, been guiding the fortunes of all the Communities in Béziers. Brother Irlide, former Director of the

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[28] De La Gorce, *Histoire de la Seconde République francaise*, Vol. II.

[29] Acquired in 1828 through an agreement between the Holy See and the French Ambassador. See Vol. IV, of the present work, pg. 546. regained its residents.and classes were immediately resumed

[30] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g.

[31] See above, pg. 13.

[32] File Hb g.

[33] Concerning Brother Leufroy, see Vol. V of the present work, pp. 161-164 and 514-517.

residence school in Toulouse, future Visitor of Bayonne and future Superior-general, accompanied him to Italy as his secretary. These were two men of the first rank, two genuine assets belonging to the Lasallian family.

They reached Naples toward the end of January, 1850. Eight days later they were received by the Pope. Evidence of his confidence followed immediately — the decree which reads:
"Since the Holy Father is intensely concerned with the Brothers of the Christian Schools who reside in his Papal States..., he has decided to establish a Visitor Apostolic (for these Communities...After information received from the Nuncio in Paris, he has appointed Brother Leufroy for this function, with all the necessary and convenient powers...He grants him the right of access and inquiry into all the institutions, including those which depend directly upon the Holy see, in order to correct reprehensible Brothers and bring his investigation to bear upon the observance of the Rule and the methods of teaching...Brother Leufroy will report his visits to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars for the purposes of approval and sanction. And, so that he not meet with obstacles in the practice of his task, His Holiness suspends, for as long as this project lasts, the jurisdiction of Brother Vicar-general and hands it over to the Visitor Apostolic...He expressly orders, in fact in virtue of the vow of obedience, all superiors and inferiors to submit to Brother Leufroy..."

This document, dated Portici, February 4, 1850 and equipped with the signatures of the Cardinal-prefect Orioli and of his Assistant, Bizzarri,[34].bears witness to something particularly serious. Pius IX, at least until further notice, was relinquishing positions taken by his predecessor, Gregory XVI: — the extremely broad autonomy that the Italian Brothers in Rome had, on appeal, obtained through the decree of the 9th of August 1835 seemed to have involved unfortunate consequences. There were persons who had already regretted the exceptional privileges granted the Thermes Community. And now the Vicar-general had to stand aside so that Brother Philippe's appointee, operating on a direct mandate from the Pope, might meet with not interference in his investigation and could judge and conclude without appeal.

In Rome, *San Salvatore*, the District headquarters, provided hospitality to the two Frenchmen. There they summoned up recollections of Brother Frumence, Brother Guillaume de Jésus and Brother Rieul, the Institute's ancient *missi dominici* beyond the Alps. In his turn, Brother Leufroy had become the embodiment of the Lasallian Rule and tradition, with which he, like the others, combined the most fraternal charity.

Inspired with this spirit and these convictions, he began his investigation on March 14, 1850. Velletri, Castel-Gandolfo, Spoleto, Nocera, Sinigaglia, Ravenna, Bolseno, Orvieto, Viterbo, Corneto, Benevento and Tivoli were visited successively. Returning to Rome, the Congregation's distinguished representative appeared at Trinita-dei-Monti, the school whose origins went back to the time of the Founder. And although the Community organized by the "St. Antonio" group in 1829, did not belonged to the Italian District and was immediately dependent upon the Superior-general,[35]. he did not refrain from going there and while there consulting with Brother Exuperien.[36] The apostolic circuit was completed on July 8.

It remained to draw up an overall judgment. The defects had shown up; and the aberrations were to be feared. Not that there was a lack of goodwill; but minds were wavering somewhat. It was necessary to tighten the lines that bound the Brothers in central Italy and the depositaries of the supreme command; a decisive boost, along with clearsightedness and a tireless vigilance seemed necessary. As a consequence, Brother Leufroy proposed, if not the elimination of the special administration which had ruled over his Italian confreres, and the origin of which went

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[34] Motherhouse Archives KH n2. The date of February of 16, given in Brother Irlide's obituary is, therefore, incorrect

[35] Decree of August 9, 1835, article 5

[36] Brother Irlide's obituary, pp. 37-38.

back for more than a half-century,[37] at least to adapt it to current conditions: the solution, it seemed to him, was to entrust the control of the Roman District to a superior who was a total master of the Founder's teachings. For reasons that had nothing to do with narrow patriotism but for profound psychological motives, this leader, this reformer and arbiter had to be chosen from outside the region involved; and during this period in the life of the Institute only France could supply him.

Brother Pius of Mary, buffeted by the difficulties and the frustrations of recent years, sought only to be relieved of his duties. He talked it over with Brother Philippe with whom he had been residing in Paris since 1849. The Superior-general had summoned him to a meeting of the principal leaders of the Congregation and he continued to keep him on while the Visitor-apostolic pursued his task. The aging Brother Pius, in his room at the Motherhouse, on June 7, 1850, wrote his last-will-and-testament. The son of a wealthy Italian family named Casal, he left a portion of his fortune to the Christian Brothers: he specified that the income from it should go to support poor novices in the novitiate at Orvieto.[38] He would retire to San Salvatore in Lauro. For five years more he could be seen shuffling about the city's vicoli and smiling at the youngsters at play. He made lengthy pauses, like a pilgrim in the fashion of St. Benedict Joseph Labre, at the many shrines, and he was especially pleased by the Chiesa nuova, in the presence of the relics of the ever popular founder of the Oratory, St. Philip Neri. And, enveloped in everyone's appreciation, he died on the 22nd of February, 1856.[39] His resignation as Vicar-general had been effective as of December 14, 1849.[40] Thus, the field was wide open to the reorganization that had been planned.

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In a few weeks Brother Leufroy had his report ready. Cardinal Orioli, on being apprised of its contents, was able to discuss the question with Pius IX, who had returned to Rome in April of 1850. He then summoned the Visitor-apostolic.

The latter, in a letter dated August 14, reported the conversation to Brother Philippe.[41] His Eminence had declared that the Holy Father's decision was as follows: "For this one time only, your General may select and tender to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, the name of a French Brother to be Vicar."

On the strength of his mandate, Brother Leufroy nominated "three members who seemed to him suitable". In alphabetical order, they were Brothers Firmilian,[42] Floridus and Irlide. Concerning the first two, he said nothing further than that their lofty reputation commended them to the Head of the Institute. But he wanted to convey the full merit of the third, his own secretary and closest associate. We are thus indebted to him for a detailed depiction of the man who later on would occupy such a prominent place in the history of the Institute.

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[37] See Vol. III of the present work, pp. 339-334.

[38] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2.

[39] *Relations mortuaires*, Circular of May 15, 1856.

[40] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2.

[41] Ibid. file KH n2.

[42] On Brother Firmilian, who, in 1853, became one of Brother Philippe's Assistants, see Vol. V of the present work, pg. 423.

Brother Irlide, he declared, possessed "eminently the required qualities...Excellent judgment, education, character, skill in human relations, insight, a taste for management and administration and a great deal of polish. He discusses problems with a quiet logic that almost always enables him to carry his point...I have often had reason to admire his prudence, his forbearance, suited to the Brothers in this country, as well as his moderation (which surpasses my own").

After this comment, touched with humility, the letter underscores Brother Irlide's great faith and piety and the proofs that he had given of his attachment to the Superior-general and the Brothers Assistants: he was visibly a true disciple of De La Salle.

"Glowing good health" and the ease with which he spoke Italian especially contributed to make him suited to the functions of Vicar. And, finally, all his sterling qualities had won him Cardinal Orioli's respect as well as that of the Pope.

Shortly after this letter was sent, Brother Leufroy received the official text of the decree that had been signed by the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation: "In light of the circumstances in which the institutions of the Christian Brothers placed under the authority of the Holy See find themselves and following the audience of August 11, 1850, His Holiness has decided that this time the Superior-general would have the power and right to present for the position of Vicar-general a Brother of French nationality, provided he be of blameless life, prudent and experienced."[43]

The Visitor-apostolic's letter was enough in order for Brother Philippe to come to a decision. Brother Pius'resignation had finally been accepted. But the Superior's choice did not correspond with Brother Leufroy's wishes. He decided upon Brother Floridus: "I know of no other Brother in the Institute who more resembles Brother Leufroy", the Superior wrote to Cardinal Orioli on August 22.[44]

The preference was justified. Brother Floridus, who at the time was fifty-six years of age, had numerous contributions to his credit: the training of scholastics in Languedoc, master of novices in Clermont-Ferrand, Director of schools in Toulouse and Chambery, Visitor of Savoy, on each occasion he had proved himself worthy of Brother Philippe's confidence. For the second time he was guiding the residence school in Toulouse when his name was submitted for approval to the Holy See. He had lived through the bitter aftermath of the Leotade trial.[45] Trials had not dampened this courageous man who was constantly prepared to follow God's will. Brother Floridus' contemporaries were not only unanimous in praising his virtue but in recognizing in his action the characteristics of holiness: he spent himself joyously, they declared; no sacrifice seemed too burdensome for his charitable heart; and he embraced any suffering for the honor and growth of his Institute.

He was also endowed with marvelous human qualities; his affable manner, his sensitivity, the rectitude and fastidiousness of his judgment were highly appreciated. A rather long tour of duty in Savoy — a region that was still united to the Kingdom of Sardinia — had provided him with an introductory glimpse into life on the Italian peninsula. He adjusted easily to Italy. Pius IX was quick to show him kindness and then to take to him with a genuine affection. For more than a quarter of a century Brother Floridus remained a sort of Roman fixture.[46]

The Superior-general was thinking about sending him Brother Irlide as his secretary. Because of his relative youthfulness, Brother Philippe had seemed to neglected the man who

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[43] File KH n2.

[44] Ibid.

[45] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 293-295.

[46] Obituary, 1880.

had been so highly recommended by Brother Leufroy: Jean Pierre Casaneuve, who was born in 1814 and (after a brief career in public education) entered the novitiate in 1837, was ten years younger than Brother Floridus. His training in the District of Languedoc and his role in the residence school in Toulouse created ties between the younger and older Brother. Both acted in the light of the same principles and shared memories of common tasks and struggles. They might very well be harnessed together once again to till new furrows.

Besides, it might prove to be a astute move to send a Brother to Italy who had not been involved in the recent inquiry and would not therefore inspire prejudice. The Visitor-apostolic, in order that he himself might not be named for the post in Rome, had informed Brother Philippe about the difficulties that his nomination would have raised in such a demanding situation. For the future, he pointed out in his letter of August 22, the Italian knew him all too well; his "background" had become in their eyes the grounds for complaints and an obstacle to complete understanding. A superior whose impartiality would soar above every suspicion would receive a better welcome.

In time Brother Irlide would have the leisure to confirm this perception of the situation. At the moment, he had to agree that, if Brother Leufroy departed, the prolongation of the stay of the man who had assisted him was crucial. It was here that the Brother Visitor's arguments in favor of his secretary assumed their full impact: the Vicar-general designate could benefit from the experience accumulated by his predecessor's assistant.

The proposals drawn up in Paris obtain the Holy See's concurrence. A decree dated September 27 made Brother Floridus the successor to Brother Pius; it also included the appointment of the two "Consultors" provided for in Articles 1, 3, 7 and 8 of the document of 1835. In the language of these legislative texts it was not just a question of Brothers given honorary titles or of merely providing the Visitor with "advice". They were both to be selected from among the Italians or the French. This time both nationalities would have their representative: the Italian Brother Gregory, recommended for his knowledge and regularity, was provided with a distinction that could enable him to win the respect of his countrymen. His colleague was the man whom the Motherhouse wanted to keep at the Court of Rome: Brother Irlide.

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The new Vicar-general assumed his duties on November 1, 1850. He arrived in a city that was still throbbing with revolution and war and forced to submit to the presence of armed foreigners. The national feeling continued to be especially agitated; and it came across in this way even in the Communities of which Brother Floridus had assumed the supervision. Avoiding conflict and antagonism demanded patience, flexibility and composure; what was needed was an uncluttered idea of the task to be performed and at the same time a strong determination to go directly to the goal.

Through obedience to God and to the Superiors, through love of neighbor and complete forgetfulness of self, the saintly Brother never shirked his responsibilities. His letters to Paris, like those of Brother Irlide's, afford glimpses of how painful certain moments were.

In a report of the French Consultor there is mention of growing suspicions, of muffled charges that lie in wait for the right moment to be more vigorously proclaimed. There were those who sought pretexts for denouncing "despotism" and routinely found a favorable hearing in the clerical community.

After twenty months Brother Irlide was personally convinced that his role was finished. In his view, hostility had accumulated around him. Under these conditions, he thought of himself "not only as useless" to the Vicar-general, but as a cause of difficulties for the work to be done. He remained "unoccupied in a room for thirteen or fourteen hours a day". Repeatedly, he asked

that he be recalled.[47] Brother Floridus agreed and informed the Vatican of the departure of his assistant for France. Back on Rue Oudinot the case was investigated; and about mid-July of 1852, it was decided to use, more successfully this time, the services of a distinguished member of the Congregation in the District of Bayonne. Another Frenchman, Brother Leander, became Consultor. And, in an audience on August 13, Pius IX approved the change.[48]

However, Brother Irlide's sojourn in the Papal States was not as fruitless as his modesty gave one to believe. The mind and the energy of the future Superior had been spread out over an area strewn with pitfalls. And while he claimed to have been a disappointment, he had not contracted any abiding hostility. In 1850 Brother Leufroy said that his secretary's skills impressed the Italian Brothers; and at the same time he spoke of the "affection" for him that "nearly all Italian Brothers" combined with an obvious respect.[49]

While a austere spirit and an uncompromising character may have subsequently kindled fear and revulsion, the respect never flagged; and the District of Rome showed it for Brother Philippe's second successor. The man who was to become the head of the Institute in 1875 would never dwell of the "misgivings" he once uttered — something like the pathetic Joachim Bellay, secretary to his cousin, Cardinal Angevin, lonely and tormented in the Eternal City. Situating the 1850-1852 episode in the broad perspectives of his life, Jean Pierre Casaneuve believed that expatriation had taught him a useful lesson, earned additional experience and that, in the long run, the sources of his spiritual strength were not, on that occasion, seriously infected. In his later years he was still prepared for more strenuous struggles. His faith emerged serene and absolutely unshaken from that encounter at the center of the Church; and, vibrant with memories, it spoke in letters addressed by the Superior-general to the Pope.

From a distance, as previously at San Salvatore in Lauro, Brother Floridus continued to work together with the former Consultor. Beginning with Brother Philippe's Generalate, he understood quite clearly the goal at which the "Regime" was aiming. Paris sought the complete abrogation of the decree of 1835: Gregory XVI's legislation had created an exception within the Institute that was adverse to the good conduct of government and somewhat ominous for the unity of the Lasallian family. The guardians of the Rule "deplored" it. After fruitless attempts on the part of Brother Exuperien and thereafter by Brother Leufroy, "repeated instructions" reached the Brother Vicar to resubmit the question to the Holy See. It was opened up with the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. "I brought the matter up privately with the Pope", was his response, and then His Eminence would invoke secrecy.

On the occasion of a journey to France, Brother Floridus reported this conversation to the Superior and the Assistants. Meanwhile, he had seen the Prefect's assistant, Bishop Bizzari, who entreated him to write a memorandum explaining how the District might be returned to a "normal state".

But Brother Philippe distrusted hasty measures and written agreements: he preferred "to await Providential opportunities". He wanted his subordinates in Italy themselves to take the first step. Their immediate superior did not dare hope for any spontaneous action on their part. And this is why he said that he was "more at a loss than ever."[50]

The *status quo* was to extend well beyond the years that presently occupy us. Apart from the special autonomy of the Italian Brothers, it involved the separation of the Christian Brothers in

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[47] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2; dateless.

[48] Brother Irlide's obituary, 1884.

[49] Letter cited, August 14, 1850.

[50] Motherhouse Archives, File Khn2, Brother Floridus' letter to Brother Philippe, December 29, 1854.

Rome into two groups: the French group at Monti, we recall, eluded the Vicar-general's authority. The Brother Procurator to the Holy See resided in this institution; and he exercised his control over it. "I believe that it is of the utmost importance," Brother Irlide had once written to Rue Oudinot, "that Brother Exuperien and Brother Floridus agree among themselves in order to provide their respective Communities with the same direction."[51]

The origins and the strengths of these two men facilitated mutual understanding. But barriers continued to exist between their subordinates. Although all were subject to the Rule, and although (since 1833) all wore the same habit,[52] and in teaching as in contacts with the outside world, the teachers at "St. Antonio's" spoke Italian, the difference of nationality occasioned a certain awkwardness. It was perhaps a weakness inherent in human nature. During the preceding centuries, the Minimes at Trinita-dei-Monti, under protection of the French Kings, had conducted the most serious sort of polemics with their Italian and Spanish confreres.[53]

The Lasallian institution where Charles X's ambassadors had been employed was a sort of enclave on Papal soil. Between it and the schools directly created by the Popes there was ordinarily no exchange of personnel. The Districts on the Italian side of the Alps supplied it with teachers; and those they sent there were learned teachers and talented people. The schools placed under the Vicar-general's authority received Brothers only from the novitiate in Orvieto, where recruits were not always plentiful and the renewal of personnel remained difficult; this situation, combined with scarce finances, gave rise to bitter comparisons and accounted for urgent demands that the split between San Salvatore in Lauro and Notre Dame des Monts rendered inaudible.

Since the installation in Rome of a French garrison, the Brothers at Monti experienced a quite understandable sense of serenity and security. They quickly opened their doors to the troops engaged in the defense of the Holy See. Every winter for sixteen years they taught tuition-free courses to hundreds of their countrymen. It was supplementary work which enabled soldiers of the Second Empire to retrieve in Rome the ambience of home and their voluntary teachers to exercise a certain influence on unlettered minds and to be able to counted on the support of generals and diplomats.[54]

In fact, the French Ambassador had to intervene in the course of the year 1857 in a rather thorny situation. It had to do with a "college" that had been opened in St. Antonio's in 1854.[55] Exceeding the limits of the elementary education to which De La Salle's disciples had been limited up to that time in the schools sponsored by the Popes, Brother Exuperian and his associates tried their hand at a residence school according to the methods in vogue west of the Alps.

They began modestly with two classes and obtained good results. Pius IX was not unaware of the project and seemed to encourage it. What reasons could there have been for a change of heart? There were grounds to suspect jealousy. And it picked up enough power to prevent the Brothers from enjoying a tranquil future.

In February, 1856 the college had to be satisfied with a reluctant approval. The operation was authorized for only three years. Nevertheless, pupils began to be recruited in a most productive

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[51] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 72. Report cited.

[52] See *Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinité du Mont-Pincio,* by Bishop fourier Bonnard.

[53] *Mémoire historique sur les institutions de la France à Rome*, by Bishop Pierre La Croix, 2nd Edition, annotated and considerably enlarged by Jean Arnaud, Secretary-Archivist of the French Embassy to the Vatican, 1922.

[54] In fulfillment of a decision on the part of the General Chapter of 1853.

way. And by the 23rd of October there were more than a hundred of them.

Success met with displeasure in clerical circles. Grumbling and disapproval spread: the instructional program was not suited, thought the critics, to the children who had been invited to attend the Brothers' school; and, furthermore, the Brothers, by substituting their teaching methods for the intellectual and moral injunctions of teachers who were priests, were interfering with the growth of priestly vocations.

This campaign of hostility ended with the appointment of a superior from among the clergy. Bishop Cardoni of Caristo was named on the 17th of February 1857 to direct the college. The Brother Procurator-general was unable to obtain a postponement necessary in order to refer the matter to Brother Philippe.

Ill disposed toward the Brothers, the Bishop who had been given them as their principal took matters to the Holy See. A committee of inquiry, which was composed of no less than three Cardinals, received a mandate to penetrate the interior of the institution.

It was inevitable that the college's development was stifled. Arguments of hygiene were appealed to in order to reduce the student-body. On the basis of a medical report, the committee demanded that fifty-three pupils be sent away.

Under these circumstances Brother Exuperien had recourse to the French Embassy. The gesture did not produce the anticipated effect. The Vatican put up an unwavering opposition: either St. Antonio's would be restricted to a few pupils or it would close.

The Brothers understood that they would not disarm their adversaries. Postponing the project for a better day, they decided not to reopen the college in October.[56] This set-back, and the intrigue that was the cause of it, bitterly stirred the entire Congregation. The Superior-general felt obliged to assuage emotions with the Circular-letter of April 14, 1858,[57]

The Procurator-general had, briefly, relinquished his ordinary duties in order to visit the schools in Teramo and Atri, in the Abruzzi. Become aware of the "restlessness" which had been gaining ground "concerning the Communities in the Papal States", he returned to Rome and sought an audience with the Holy Father. Brother Floridus accompanied him in this undertaking.

Pius IX welcomed them graciously. He did not consider that the Brothers had blameworthy. The Monti school, as well as Trinita, Castel-Gandolfo and Orvieto had experienced his charities. As for the matter under discussion, the explanation that Brother Exuperien ventured to provide him won approval, which put an end to the unpleasant episode.

Our dear Brothers were reassured: "Our situation in Rome remains the same." These are the words which conclude the official report. In fact, the good will of the Sovereign Pontiff was in no way diminished. We know that Brother Philippe witnessed to it every time on visit to Rome. The Brothers received much more than kind words: the Pope found opportunities to reward their zeal.

Brother Exuperien, recalled to France on 20th March 1859, was succeeded by Brother Anaclet, previously a teacher at Passy and since Christmas 1856 pro-Director of Notre Dame des Monts. Having become head of the community while at the same time he continued the activities of his predecessor this friendly religious had easy access to the Vatican until his death in 1870. Annual payments were made to him for the French mission.

This campaign of hostility ended with the appointment of a superior from among the clergy. Bishop Cardoni of Caristo was named on the 17th of February 1857 to direct the college. The

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[56] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g, *Madonna dei Monti*.

[57] Circular No. 240.which provided the Institute with the text of a letter sent the previous week by Brother Exuperien.

Brother Procurator-general was unable to obtain a postponement necessary in order to refer the matter to Brother Philippe. Ill disposed toward the Brothers, the Bishop who had been given them as their principal took matters to the Holy See. A committee of inquiry, which was composed of no less than three Cardinals, received a mandate to penetrate the interior of the institution.

It was inevitable that the college's development was stifled. Arguments of hygiene were appealed to in order to reduce the student-body. On the basis of a medical report, the committee demanded that fifty-three pupils be sent away.

Under these circumstances Brother Exuperian had recourse to the French Embassy. The gesture did not produce the anticipated effect. The Vatican put up an unwavering opposition: either St. Antony's would be restricted to a few pupils or it would close.

The Brothers understood that they would not disarm their adversaries. Postponing the project for a better day, they decided not to reopen the college in October.[58] This set-back, and the intrigue that was the cause of it, bitterly stirred the entire Congregation. The Superior-general felt obliged to assuage emotions with the Circular-letter of April 14, 1858,[59]

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The Brothers may rest assured: "Our position in Rome has in no way altered". With these words the official interpretation concluded. Actually, the Pope's kindness was unfailing. Brother Philippe, as we know, was witness to it every time he came *ad limina Petri*. And his representatives received something more than nice words: the Pope looked for opportunities to recompense their zeal.

Brother Exuperien, recalled to France on May 20, 1859, was succeeded by Brother Anacletus, a former teacher in the residence school at Passy and, since Christmas of 1856, the pro-Director at Notre Dame des Mont. Having become the superior of this Community, while he fulfilled the other functions of his predecessor, this very friendly Brother, until his death in 1870, obtained easy access to the Vatican. And he was granted annual subsidies for the French school.[60]

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During the same period, another enterprize took root and, without experiencing serious obstacles, was on its way to success. Entirely French in its origins, overall it remained that way until the end of the century; and even beyond that, it preserved the marks of its pedigree.

The institution was associated with the activity of men — lay and clerical—who, outside of

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[58] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g, Madonna dei Monti.

[59] Circular No. 240. which provided the Institute with the text of a letter sent the previous week by Brother Exuperien.

[60] Brother Anacletus' obituary, 1870 and File HB g.

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their native land, but nevertheless, not thinking of themselves as foreigners in the capital of Christianity, strove to strengthen their national ties while dwelling among the Roman people. The chief of them administered "religious establishments", churches, chapels, hostels for students of theology and religious education, created by their ancestors over the course of the years.[61]

The predominant influence secured by their nation since the expedition of 1849 made their mission more necessary than ever and opened up for it a particularly broad field of activity. They could not dissociate themselves from the spiritual, intellectual and moral needs of the families that had accompanied their leaders into Italy: officers, junior officers, bureaucrats — the entire personnel, from administrators to staff, of an army of occupation.

This was why that approached the Brothers of the Christian Schools to ask them to teach the sons of the military in the mother tongue and according to the methods followed on French soil. M. Rayneval, the ambassador, commended the decision, granted it his unconditional support and the full weight of his authority.

For the 16th of August, 1850, the Committee for Religious Institutions' report contains the following entry: "The Committee...working together for education of the youth in the French colony stood surety for the payment of annual fees for two Brothers who, summoned from the national territory, will be responsible to maintain a primary school".[62]

A location was found on via dei Crociferi: — the former monastery of the Clerks Regular of St. Francis Caracciolo. This ancient refuge of penance and prayer became quite well-suited to the dedication of the Brothers. Brother Leufroy wrote to Brother Assistant Abdon. The new school rounds out the excellent solution arranged concerning the Vicariate-general. It's a fine looking monastery that has been handed over to us, with a church, cloister and small garden. We shall be able to have part-time residence pupils and even a number of full-time ones. A street separates us from Trevi Fountain. And alongside there is a small public square...We have to think about providing Brother Exuperien with a good Community...

The institution did, in fact, receive a Community that was dependent upon the Procurator-general to the Holy See. And as its Director, a Brother was selected who was highly qualified to satisfy Brother Leufroy's wishes: we refer to the sub-Director of Immaculate Conception in Béziers, a teacher who was very well known to the Visitor-apostolic.

Charles Joseph Perrier — Brother Simeon — was born in 1814 in Bourg-Saint-Andéol, in the Vivarais. As a young man he was enlightened by the classes taught him by his fellow-citizen, Mary-Joseph Chiron who later on had founded two charitable Congregations and then on Mt. Canigou in Roussillon lead the life of a holy hermit. The younger brother of this priest entered De La Salle's Institute under the name of Brother Prime; and he also left a reputation for heroic virtue.[63].

Seven years later Perrier follow the second Chiron's example; he became a novice in Avignon, where so many disciples of the "great teacher" had benefitted from a most thorough training. Even as early as 1834 his well-balanced mind and powerful will were in evidence. The Visitor, Brother Lawrence, put him to work in the schools in Avignon with such success that Brother Simeon's pupils all their lives retained the recollection of the "fascination" exerted by the enthusiastic teacher. He extracted from them speediest progress and, without detriment to

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[61] Cf. the book by *La Croix* and Jean Arnaud already cited.

[62] Commemorative publication celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of St. Joseph's College, 1910; and *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for July 1914.

[63] Letter dated September 22, 1850, Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2. There is an account of Brother Prime by Brother Paul Joseph, 1910

his central obligations, he worked to propagate his personal knowledge. A lively religious spirit animated and supported his efforts.[64]

The Superiors shifted him to a broader field of activity. In 1840, he was placed under the guidance of Brother Leufroy who, at the time, was Director of the institution in Béziers which had emerged as the prototype of the great Brothers' residence schools. Teacher in the upper classes, instructor to sensible and gifted pupils — Adrian Mas, the future Brother Exuperien and Albert Bruny, the future Brother Louis of Poissy, he was entrusted with the post of sub-Director, in which he effortlessly assumed heavy responsibilities as Brother Leufroy's far-flung missions were protracted.

Rome restored Brother Philippe's distinguished representative; and Béziers yielded its beloved sub-Director. A young literature teacher, who was also snatched out of Languedoc, accompanied Brother Simeon to Italy.[65]

After ten years on Bézier's hillsides, Brother Simeon's transfer was definitive. Charles Joseph Perrier had left France at the height of his powers. For his native land he would henceforth have nothing but far-removed affectionate glances. His noble demeanor and his majestic features would, until his eighties, be inframed in a background of basilicas and palaces along the Tiber.

It was the month of November 1851. The City presented itself to the traveller in its end-of-the-year charm and in the harmony of its autumnal colors. Quickly he adapted to the atmosphere, to the rhythm of life, to Roman ways and solemnities; the man from the South of France still inhaled Mediterranean breezes; and the Italian tongue did not lose its suppleness on the lips of this "Westerner".

At Notre Dame des Monts, where Brother Simeon first put up, his countryman and former colleague, Brother Exuperien, gave him a warm welcome. For eleven months two classes had been in operation on the via dei Crociferi; the Procurator-general had been able to secure their functioning. The project, however, had remained at the embryonic stage; and it occupied too little room to attract any attention.

But its look would change with the introduction of the new teacher. Pupils became more numerous; and studies made great strides. The good work achieved during 1852 encouraged the Brothers to broaden their activity. Modification of the building facilitated the housing of the Brothers, who, up until then had been dwelling in other Communities, and the admission of a few residence pupils.

Henceforth there was a feeling of growing confidence in the French colony. M. Rayneval contributed important assistance by means of loans that he obtained from his government. And then families of a variety of nationalities sought the gratification of sending their children to the new school. As exceptions, the ambassador allowed two, three or four such admissions, which turned out to be the thin edge of the wedge of privilege. It was only a short time before all doors were thrown wide open.

When the courses for the school year 1857-1858 began the non-French constituency was already occupying an imposing position: among the pupils recently admitted there were eight Italians and twenty-two belonging to other nationalities. Members of the Roman aristocracy and middle class manifested an absolute eagerness to gain admission for their sons to a school so intelligently administered.

In the instructional program the national language was not neglected. But it was understood — and success demonstrated the validity of the system and revealed the thought of those who

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64 *Choix de notices nérologiques*, Vol. III, 1935, Brother Siméon.

65 Commemorative publication on the foundation of St. Joseph's College.

patronized the school — that the education, the general culture, and the programs of study conformed to French concepts and practices. The faculty was recruited from France, especially from the region around Béziers: — a remarkably talented personnel which understood superbly both its religious and its patriotic role; and beginning in 1858, it was no longer just elementary instruction that was given under Brother Simeon's direction; but the school "at the Trevi Fountain" assumed the role of a college.

At this time it was populated by 173 children and youths, two-thirds of whom were French. There were about one hundred resident pupils. They were cramped for space in the old monastery. The flourishing project required more room and a better location. The man at the head of the operation had the know-how to promote the alterations. Since 1856 he had added to his duties the title of consulter to the Brother Vicar-general: after Brother Leander's death, his name had been proposed to the Holy See and approved on December 5.[66] Throughout the city he had been surrounded by kindness and, on the part of his pupils, enveloped by affection. He displayed the mastery of a skilled intermediary, with great affability, tact and an imperturbable composure. He was unfailingly helpful, a smile accompanying promises that were faithfully fulfilled. He extended himself, sometimes excessively. Religious circles were unstinting in their respect for him; and he won over the saintly Bishop Segur who, as a member of the Rota since 1852, had taken an interest from the beginning in Brother Simeon's activities and became the school chaplain.

The fame of this marvelous spiritual director lingered on at the school. Afflicted with blindness, the Bishop had to relinquish his duties. But the zeal and dedication with which so many successors filled the benefice would make a powerful contribution to the successful management of the residence school. After him, the French school prided itself to list among its chaplains individuals who were in a fair way to becoming famous: Father La Tour from Auvergne and the future Cardinals Place and Lavigerie.

At the end of his first seven years the reputation of the man who had so skillfully arranged the studies of his young fellow-countrymen and so splendidly extended the moral influence of his Institute and his nation thrust itself more than ever upon the attention of the socially prominent. The Duke of Gramont, who represented Emperor Napoleon III to Pius IX in 1858, gave evidence of his unquestioned respect for the Christian Brothers. It was through the action of this distinguished nobleman that Brother Simeon was able to lease, on Poli Square, the first floor of the Antonio Buoncompagni Ludovisi, Prince Piombino, mansion. Teachers and pupils were moved there; and it was as "Poli College" that the Franco-Roman institution was to be known during the second stage of its existence.

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Between 1850 and 1859 the Papal States were enjoying a relative respite. While the future remained overcast and while the goal of unity constantly threatened the Pope's temporal power and espoused the ongoing work of the Revolution, the setback suffered by Mazzini and Garibaldi had been too decisive not to have occasioned repentance and exhaustion. The Austrians stood guard on the Adriatic and, in Latium, the presence of a French army guaranteed the peace. And while the protection provided by foreign bayonets presented difficulties, nevertheless, the Pope reigned and governed. He had completely won over Catholic fidelity; Pius IX was increasingly heeded and loved by those who professed the full faith. The nobility of his character, the loftiness of his mind, the attractiveness of his entire person conferred a new prestige upon the Holy See; rarely, in previous centuries, had the most distinguished spiritual authority found so few obstacles to the exercise of his ministry. Law coming from Rome was

[66] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2.

received with total obedience, indeed, with enthusiasm, throughout the Christian world. The 8th of December, 1854, when he promulgated the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, was a day of triumph for the Vicar of Christ; and acclamations of gratitude were the response to his gesture as infallible Pastor. The Episcopacy thronged about the Chair of Peter; and, like the *ad limina* visits, the number of pilgrimages increased. An overpowering burst of enthusiasm brought crowds to the feet of the Pope and roused up the most dedicated and courageous defenders in favor of the Holy Father. The City of God, in those times which were so rapidly to vanish, shown in the eyes of the world with an unparalleled brilliance. Louis Veuillot celebrated its charm and its majesty and radiated its "flavor".

It was the time for productive projects. We have described the ones achieved by Brother Simeon. The Italian Brothers could not remain behindhand, and they, too, undertook new enterprises. In 1852 Acquapendente obtained a Brothers' school; and in 1854 and 1855, respectively, Soriano and Civita-Vecchia opened theirs; a fourth school, one of only brief duration, was begun in 1859 in Forli.[67]

In general, the schools that had been in existence survived. The only ones to drop from sight were Foligno, which was unable to recover from the impact of revolution, and Velletri which, after 1850, had lost the will to survive.[68] But during the following year, to the public schools the Brothers added the responsibility for an orphanage that had been created by the very charitable Bishop Cristianopoli. Their zeal furthered the work called *uomo di Dio* which admitted, along with its principal beneficiaries, some of the sons of the local citizenry. What was taking shape was a small college until, in 1858, it won its complete autonomy.[69]

Castel-Gandolfo retained Pius IX's keen affection, as it had Gregory XVI's. During his holidays, the Pope chatted kindly with the teachers; he visited them in their classes, and never withdrew without leaving the pupils some little gift. Still more generously, in order to provide the Community with the joy of the Sacramental Presence and daily Mass in their own residence, during his 1853 stay, he ordered the atrium of the palazzo to be made into a chapel.[70]

Clear-cut countenances emerge from the gray background of tedious hours and humble tasks, like the features, as they began to be sketched, of Brother Antonio of Mary (Dominic Multon), a Roman who was later to become, and for a longtime to remain, Director of Trinita-dei-Monti. From the very desks of this school he had gone on to the novitiate in Orvieto. His reputation for knowledge and for prudence was a tribute to his teachers and deserved to be propagated throughout his Congregation.[71]

More retiring, at first glance, was the role of Brother Lucadi of Jesus who filled none but subordinate positions. But while he lacked the knowledge essential for teaching, he set a lofty example. As a "working Brother" in various institutions, he exhibited an extraordinary dedication and a magnificent spirit of faith and prayer; he had the gifts of an apostle and the virtues that the saints practiced. What a patient journey conveyed to the heights this simple inhabitant of Benevento, who in his childhood had been bullied by his elders, who had required of him to repair shoes before they turned him into a farm hand! Nevertheless, the poor child continued to dream of entering the Institute. He applied to the Community that the Archbishop of Benevento had recently introduced into that city. He was first of all taught the rudiments in

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[67] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[68] Ibid. File HB g.

[69] Motherhouse Archives, File KH p10.

[70] Ibid., file HB g.

[71] A 1925 pamphlet entitled *Opera San G. B. de La Salle.*

three years of elementary instruction. And then, in 1840, he was admitted into the novitiate. His companions regarded him as a model of fervor, just as his confreres in Castel-Gandolfo, in San Salvatore and in Sinigaglia would reverence the "keeper of the kitchen" as one of De La Salle's exceptional disciples. Finally, for a quarter of a century Benevento and this favorite son were reunited.[72]

Among the Brothers on "the Peninsula" there was a Savoyard who belonged pretty nearly totally to Italy. His family name was Lumel, who was born in Moutiers, in Tarentaise, on the 23rd of May 1817. The Brothers in Turin welcomed him as one of their pupils; and he became a novice under Brother Joseph of Mary. He began teaching at Bolsena, and he also taught in Rome. He became a celebrity at the school of Santa Sophia in Benevento, of which Brother Luke seems to have been the guardian angel. Obedience transported him there beginning in 1842; at the time the institution was teetering. It did not take Antonio Lumel long to succeed Brother Anselm as Director. He restored the traditions of work and piety. A skillful teacher and a lucid and energetic administrator, he compelled respect. The civil authorities and the clergy struck up remarkably cordial relations with him. And he met with spectacular success in a tuition-free course in drawing which he initiated in 1843 and which reached its full flowering after the Revolution of 1848. He organized a club for artists and calligraphers which was very much appreciated; but, in spite of the satisfaction it provided the local citizenry, it vanished in the upheavals of 1860. The same thing was not true of the school. The Director had inherited the rock-like sturdiness of his native region, as we shall be in a position to appreciate in its appropriate place.[73]

The Christian Brothers we are talking about pursued their careers beyond the pontificate of Pius IX and the reign of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy. Other names would be joined to theirs at less distant dates. And, surely, even now we would be able to cite the names of numerous Brothers who would bear comparison with these teachers. And virtues of the same class would be brought to light. So as not to protract the honor role, we shall conclude at this point with Brother Cherubino, who taught in St. Antonio's school: "For more than fifty years", proclaims a commemorative plaque, "he was the father of the children of the people". This tribute takes on a special character because it was rendered by Romans who were nearly our contemporaries in favor of a French educator. Brother Cherubino's family name was Fortuné de Virvent. His apostolate was all the more effective because this uncommon teacher, in order to win souls, had amazingly adapted to the Italian language and the Italian ways of thinking.[74]

Moreover, the list of Brothers who reaped the same gratitude from their country of adoption is long. Misunderstandings and human rivalries dissolve in the flame of dedication; and there persists a powerful alloy of national characteristics.

Thus, in the General Chapter of 1858 that had been convoked under the presidency of Brother Philippe, Brother Exuperien, "the delegate for the French Province in the Papal States" and Brothers Floridus and Romuald, "the delegates for the Italian Province" that made up the Vicariate collaborated.[75] They brought an equal determination and fidelity to the service of their Congregation, ever inspired by the spirit of the Founder and ever faithful to the Apostolic See.

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[72] *Choix de notices nécrologique*, Vol. II, pp. 508-516.

[73] Motherhouse Archives, File KH p3.

[74] Pamphlet cited, *Opera di San G. B. de La Salle.*

[75] Circular No. 255, June 25, 1859.

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At this Chapter Piedmont was represent by Brothers Theoger and Michael; while Parma and Modena delegated Brother Hervé of the Cross. The crucial role that had been played by Brother Hervé under previous generalates had, of course, not been forgotten.[76] We shall meet with this distinguished Brother again, and the work of his two colleagues will show up in the course of our account.

Since 1830 and until 1844 the Visitor who resided in Turin was Brother Anthelme. Fourteen years of effort had developed the Brothers' Province. King, Bishops and magistrates encouraged and seconded the educators' exertions, and vast possibilities seemed to have been opening up.

Charles Albert, who ascended the Sardinian throne in 1831, showed from the very beginning of his reign that he was favorably disposed toward the Christian teachers.[77] In 1837, he wished to guarantee their cooperation with the people in Genoa. He found it fitting to operate with special concern for a city which had reluctantly resigned itself to the loss of its proud independence and grieved for the passing of its doges. At the unmistakable invitation of its king, the city negotiated with the representative of the Motherhouse. An agreement ensued; and during November seven Brothers appeared in Genoa. It was a modest beginning, but rather successful for the growth that became possible.[78]

The monarchy's hereditary domain could not have viewed De La Salle's work as a foreign import. Savoy had introduced the disciples of the saintly priest to Piedmont; and it was Savoyard bishops who were to invite them into Pignerol.

Prior to 1832, in the old fortress at the foot of the Alps a former pastor in the Chambery cathedral was bishop. Bishop Joseph Rey — as he was called — with dogged tenacity pleaded the cause of Christian education. At the outset, he encountered the prejudice of Minister Roget Cholex. The Charles Albert's accession renewed his hopes; and, in the royal palace, his entreaties in favor of the Congregations were heeded.

The ground had been appropriately prepared when Bishop Rey had to leave Pignerol to assume the See of Annecy. His successor, Bishop Charvaz, who was also a native of a French-speaking region, shared similar sentiments. His close association with the ruling family contributed to improving his episcopal authority. Prince Carignan had at one time chosen him as tutor to his sons; and now Father Charvaz's eldest pupil was heir to the crown.

Paternal gratitude turned to the advantage of the new Bishop's purposes. In every way, he had thrust himself upon official attention: he was a talented writer, a skillful administrator, a churchman with a brilliant future; Pius IX highly respected him, and in 1852, he would be promoted to the archbishopric of Geneva.

It was to the credit of the Brothers to be championed by such men. However, the Bishop did not attain his goal until after many a long march: he had to convince Pignerol's city government, and discussions dragged on until 1839. Finally, Bishop Charvaz was in a position to extend a welcome to three teachers sent by Brother Anthelme. The leader of the group was Brother Michael, than whom none was more suited to gain the affection of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the people. He offered every surety for knowledge, experience and moral stature, and he possessed a nobility both of heart and lineage. His father, Julian Orfei, performed the duties of gonfalonier in Bolsena. Young Francis began his studies in a school that had been

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[76] See Vol. V of the present work, Index.

[77] Ibid., Vol. V, pg. 77.

[78] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g, District of Turin.

begun by Bishop Jean Baptist Lambruschini, continued them in various colleges, and entered the novitiate in Orvieto at the age of sixteen. He was only eighteen when, as "Brother Michael", he became the main cog in the school in Spoleto. We meet with him later in the schools in Rome, Turin and Parma as a highly esteemed teacher and exemplary Religious. The four years that were to elapse in Pignerol were sufficient to bind himself and the Bishop in the bonds of a genuine friendship. As early as 1840 one of Bishop Charvaz's pastoral letters concerning education includes praise for the beloved and beneficent teachers.[79]

The foundation in Verceil, which followed, discloses an array of rapidly realized initiatives. Clerics and laity, with the Archpriest Peter di Gaudenzi and Count della Motta at their head, asked the Archbishop to consent to a plan for a school. Archbishop Alexander Reminiac, Marquis of Angennes, not only warmly approved, but promised to intervene personally with the Court in Turin.

The Archbishop, who was both prelate and nobleman, was favorably situated in the capital, where he had been born in 1781 into a distinguished family. His priestly virtues still proclaimed the luster of his escutcheon: esteemed were the unselfishness, the zeal and the poverty to which, out of an evangelical spirit, he had reduced himself. As pastor of Vigone and Bishop of Alexandria, before being transferred to Verceil, he had everywhere left the reputation for being a saintly man.

His enthusiasm knew neither vacillation nor retreat. He had scarcely written to the Archpriest than, on January 1, 1841, he gave an eloquent homily in the cathedral, exhorting the people of his diocese to render effective the project that had been commended to him. Subscriptions, lotteries, charity sales — every means was to be employed.

The bye-laws of a shareholders association had been submitted to the government and approved in April. An assembly of representatives was held on the 8th of May in the Archbishop's residence, and the school was opened on November 4. On December 18 Archbishop Reminiac communicated information of its functioning to the city official who expressed his complete satisfaction.[80]

A reading of Charles Albert's "Letters patent" discloses interesting details concerning the relations between the civil and religious authorities in educational matters: the official document, dated March 18, 1843, concerns the tuition-free schools in Chambery. It fits precisely into our pattern, since Savoy was to belong to the Kingdom of Sardinia for another seventeen years.

A Commission was appointed "to administer the property belonging to the Brothers' project": the Archbishop of Chambery was to preside over it, or failing him, one of his Vicars-general. It was to include "two noblemen officials of the city, a member of the Communal Counsel..., a Canon and another churchman", who were to be appointed by the head of the diocese. But this local committee was to be placed under the supervision of bureaucrats from Turin, who were responsible for school "reform."[81]

In government circles preoccupations with educational problems had already come to light; we shall remain on the alert for them.

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[79] *Rivista lasalliana*, for December, 1937, pg. 319 et sq.

[80] *Rivista lasalliana*, article cited; Brother Michael's obituary, 1874.

[81] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g; and *Rivista lasalliana*, for December 1934, pp. 693 et sq. Archives of the Secretary-General of the Institute of the Brothers, Paris. — The City Counsel appointed Count Saint Albin to the Commission; and the Archbishop designated Archdeacon Revel and Dean Pillet.

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Since Brother Anthelme had returned to France where he was henceforth to become one of the Assistants to the Superior-general, he was succeed in Italy by Brother Hervé of the Cross. Ten years fruitful in accomplishment as well as in trials attended this energetic leader. Before we enter into the details of his administration, we shall clarify once again his appearance by means of a comparison — in no sense unnatural — with an individual wreathed in the halo of canonization.

In 1845, Don Bosco, who was already a popular educator and apostle, fired off a small book entitled *Storia ecclesiastica* against the Vaudois heresy. He signed it merely with his initials; but there was a name written out fully on the first page. The book was dedicated *"all' onoratissimo signor Fratel Hervé-de-la-Croix, provinciale dei Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane*." It was accompanied by a letter introduced into the text which stated: "Accept the only tribute the author can offer to you; and consider the book yours."

Don Bosco was keenly interested in the Brothers' pedagogy. And he had adopted as his guide in this study the steady competence of the Visitor-provincial. Through frequent conversations with the latter, by reading *the Conduct of Schools* and the *Twelve Virtues of a Good Master*[82] he had elaborated his knowledge of children.

Thus, Brother Hervé, the disciple of John Baptist de La Salle, was destined to serve as bridge between the 17th century saint and the 19th century saint. Other Brothers in his entourage would strengthen and expand the Institute's relations with the Founder of the Salesians: —especially, Brothers Michael and Basil. The former of these possessed the wisdom and the humility to attract hearts; while the second, no less praiseworthy, had as a pupil, Michael Rua, Don Bosco's future lieutenant and splendid spiritual heir. Don Bosco heard confessions and celebrated Mass at the Porta Palazzo school which Brother Basil directed. Later on he asked Brother Genuino for a copy of De La Salle's Rule.[83] This is why we would venture to allege that the Brothers in Piedmont, in a modest way, inspired many of the activities and many of the successes of the superb mover of the masses. In his work Bosco had obviously taken steps that depended on nothing but his own genius. With compassion, he stooped to those who were totally wretched; he gathered together, civilized and converted young vagabonds who had escaped the influence of teachers; he gave life to a Religious family whose members are admitted to Holy Orders. However, the Christian Brothers, whom he questioned and listened to, would not be slighted precursors.

Their activity seemed irreplaceable; and their position continued to expand throughout the kingdom. It was necessary to secure a normal recruitment; and to that end Brother Hervé dedicate all his efforts. The better to supervise the novices he moved them from Castagnetto to Turin. The training that these young men received was sound, thorough-going and austere under the authority of a superior who was hardly accessible to compromise. The new schools demanded dedicated and competent staffs, and the Visitor assumed the responsibility of providing them.

In 1844 he began by opening an institution for which his predecessor had laid the foundations. The Oratorians in Biella had set themselves up as the sponsors of an invitation to the Brothers; they removed every obstacle and accumulated both backers and funds. Father Goggia had not wasted his time in dealing with the Bishop: Bishop Losana's goodwill

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[82] We recall that the second of these two books was the work of Brother Agathon.

[83] *Messagero delle scuole cristiane* for January-February, 1932, pp. 12-14. — *Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936, pp. 210-211, with reference to Don Alberto Caviglia, author of a "preliminary note on the Works of Don Bosco," Turin, 1929.

translated into the payment of substantial sums of money. Father Sella alone assumed the responsibility for paying for that annual expenses of one of the teachers. The other two were to be supported by the Commune, and a generous donor was found in the person of Mme. Belletti. And agreement was reached between the sons of St. Philip Neri and those of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[84]

In the same month of November southern Piedmont, like the north, was provided with a school: Acqui supplied the response to Biella. And then, two years went by: on February 15, 1847, Suse, a mountain gap, became the drill-grounds for an educational crusade. Led by their shepherd, Bishop Oddone, clerics and laity complemented the liberal bequest of Mme. Delfina Lauteri. A royal decree sanctioned the arrangements worked out by the organizers. And the purchase of a building brought the foundation's preliminaries to a conclusion.[85]

This is nothing more than a summary sketch of the outposts: general quarters, at the center of the circle, was in Turin. The Brothers were familiar with Charles Albert's purposes in favor of the education of the masses; and they lent the king their faithful cooperation.[86]

At the government's invitation, a famous educator, Ferrante Aporti, had just disclosed in the capital his views concerning "homes" for children. The Brothers' institution of St. Pelagius had extended him its hospitality. Aporti's lectures were followed by those of Rayneri which dealt with teacher preparation. On this occasion, the Community's role was no longer confined to welcoming the lecturer; but two Brothers shared with him the responsibility of addressing the assembly.

It was the preliminary to the formation of a complete program. Piedmont intended to take its stand with States that were genuinely "enlightened". And pursuing commendable endeavors, it opened up "methodology schools" intended for future schoolteachers. This was the object of the decree of August 1, 1846.

The decree's language also had in mind functioning teachers. It required them to obtain an official diploma within five years. Brother Hervé of the Cross had sought that the men for whom he was responsible might be dispensed from the regular examination; and he dickered to obtain for them a valid certificate after a questioning session before a committee whose members he had appointed. The Minister of Public Education refused to grant such an obvious privilege. The Brothers yielded and took their places in the methodology schools. Compliance with the law could only have furthered their cause.

Moreover, the Visitor, adopting the most tactful policy, introduced courses in pedagogical formation at St. Pelagius. And in order to teach them, beginning in October of 1846, he summoned from France a Brother who was thought highly competent; the newcomer, who was called Theoger, began in Piedmont under the most fortunate of auspices: as early as 1847,

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[84] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[85] Ibid., and *Rivista lasalliana* for June, 1936, pp. 236-240.

[86] The head of the House of Savoy, in his concern for the cradle of the dynasty, was especially attentive to the progress of the La Motte-Servolex residence school, near Chambery. It was his encouragement that urged the Brother Director, Libanos, to undertake costly constructions. The institution trained officers for the Sardinian army. In 1846, its financial situation was the cause of severe difficulties for the Superiors. "My dear friend," said Brother Philippe to Brother Libanos, "my comments may be troublesome to you. But could you promise me just two years of peace?" The events of 1848 showed that the head of the Institutes' dismay was only too well founded. However, there was only a temporary interruption in the influx of students, the sons of the best families in Savoy, Piedmont and those who were recruited from as far away as the center of the peninsula. (*Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pp. 164-166.)

numerous successes were recorded to the credit of his students.[87]

Meanwhile, Brother Michael, who had returned to Turin, had been planning to start up commercial education.[88] He drew up a program that specialists had described as quite conformed to the needs of a working-class city, fruitful in practical ideas and impatient to increase its wealth. In this respect the Christian Brothers were a step ahead of the statesmen, who were not slow to take inspiration from the Institute in launching their technical schools.

It was the dawn of a new age. The western world was changing; the masses were becoming aware of their strength and were demanding their share of political rights. To rescue them from ignorance, to open up to them more spacious careers and to increase intellectual and moral worth among the people became the mission of conscientious leadership. Guizot in France had understood it, even if he did not completely fulfill it. Christian educators had participated in his efforts; they surpassed the stage of elementary instruction; for certain types of students they prolonged the time given to study; and they adapted the subjects of instruction to varying regions and to diverse social activities. One of their most highly regarded and most successful operations consisted in the "evening classes" which, joining youths and mature men, corrected the inadequacies of their initial education.

Brother Hervé of the Cross was experienced in this work. And he wanted Piedmont to benefit from it. He submitted his prepared plan to the President of the *Regia Opera della Mendicità Istruita*, the body upon which the community of Turin depended.

His letter of May 2, 1845 first of all paid "tribute to Their Majesties Charles Felix and Charles Albert, who have done so much in support of the Institute". He recalled that the school premises and subsidies that had been provided guaranteed the Congregation's growth. In fifteen years 251 candidates had been admitted into the novitiate; this supply of vocations, come from the schools of the kingdom, facilitated the sending of Brothers into nine cities: Nice, Vigevano, Alexandria, Verceil, Saluces, Pignerol, Acqui, Biella and Castagnetto. The administrators of the *Regia Opera* had effectively cooperated in all these superb projects; their generosity, compelled by a profound faith, deserved to be recognized.

But it was possible to obtain still more abundant results. The Brother Provincial went on to suggest the how: a building should be constructed in St. Pelagius' garden where a more suitable novitiate could be situated or where the "evening classes" could be located. In any case, the latter institution seemed to be indispensable for workers and craftsmen. And it must be joined to the conventual residence so that the teachers might not have to go out after nightfall in Turin.[89]

The Charity Councill in its meeting on July 3 examined the proposition and approved it by a unanimous vote. Fifteen days later the State Secretary for the Interior and for Finances presented a favorable report to the king: under the Brothers' direction, the evening sessions under discussion would not give rise to any disorder; there would be no politics involved, which would not be the case elsewhere during that period of popular upheaval. On July 22 notice of royal concurrence was given to the President of the *Mendicità.*

The future location had not been settled. The Brothers decided to locate the courses in their own residence. However, remodeling required a certain delay. And it was not until December 3 that the Piedmont Gazette, the kingdom's official newspaper, published the *Regia Opera's* "proclamation" indicating the imminent inauguration of the institution.

The citizens in the capital could reread the language of that solicitation affixed to posters: "A

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[87] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Rivista lasalliana* for June, 1936, pg. 240.

[88] *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1936, pg. 252; and Brother Michael's obituary.

[89] *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1938, pp. 256-257.

neighboring country", it was announced, have already enjoyed the fruits of this sort of undertaking. It will be no less excellent on Italian soil. There followed a list of course subjects: reading, the principles of grammar and writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping and geometry applied to drawing. There would be a special class for the illiterate.

Those who were directing the Charitable Work did "not doubt but what craftsmen would understand the importance of an education that was adapted to their work and would be eager to obtain it". They relied similarly on "parents, heads of industrial establishments and shop owners to promote among their sons, their apprentices and their employees" a regular attendance at the Brothers' courses.

During 1846 480 pupils enrolled. Their number uniformly increased. It grew still more when the city government sponsored new classes over and above those of the *Regia Opera*. Don Bosco would not have taken Brother Hervé as a model until 1850 and even then only for what had to with exercises in musical scales ("solfeggio").[90] His program remained, moreover, somewhat more cursory, indeed, strictly introductory. The Brothers were more daring. And while they could not guarantee a complete technical training in classes that lasted only two hours (once a week) from October to end of March, they at least intended to procure rather comprehensive notions for their pupils. They especially cultivated the art of drawing which we constantly meet with in schools that were strictly speaking their own. In this sense, they trained qualified workers, architectural clerks in addition to commercial employees who in Brothers' schools learned to calculate, write and keep books.

The initiation of a course in French procured them an audience from a different social class. It owed its success to Brother Salutaire, a former teacher in the residence school in Béziers. Sent to Turin with an "Obedience" as "Inspector of schools", this remarkable teacher (who in 1853 would become Director in Nice) grouped about him priests, lawyers, physicians and military officers.[91]

French, which was highly useful in a kingdom which, at the time, stood astride of the Alps, also gave entry to a literature and a way of thinking that was capable of engaging the attention of cultivated people. The latter, attentive to the Brothers, were delighted to acknowledge the sound learning of one of their luminaries. Among the people who were involved in the evening courses was Silvio Pellico. And members of the government, like Cavour, Casati and Boncompagni, in order to show their appreciation for the expansion of the program, agreed to preside at the distribution of awards in St. Pelagius' Church, which concluded the school year.[92]

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Nevertheless, restless minds threatened to upset this quiet work. One Minister, as we have noted in passing, had been worried as early as 1845. And his view reflected the Court's. Charles Albert was listening to voices that demanded both civil liberties and the unity of all Italians. But to grant them satisfaction was to incur Austria's enmity. In the face of the armies at the disposition of the almighty Metternich, the King of Sardinia weighed his weakness. *Re Tentenna!* ("wavering king), the Liberals scoffed. But the wavering was easily understandable.

However, in 1847, the Pope's example and the concessions wrung by the Florentines from their Grand Duke implicated the northern kingdom in the reform movement. As revolution burst over Europe at the outset of 1848, Charles Albert on March 4 proclaimed the celebrated

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[90] *Rivista lasalliana* for September, 1934, pp. 446-447; and article cited in the issue for June, 1938. *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1938, pp. 256-257.

[91] Brother Salutaire's obituary, 1907.

[92] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — Similar courses were given in Pignerol, Suse, Verceil, Vigevano and Acqui.

Consitutional Law which henceforth would govern the relations between the Savoy monarchy and its people.

Metternich fled Vienna, and the government was helpless. Milan and Venice, taking advantage of Austrian confusion, arose against their oppressors. People in Piedmont thought that the time had come for the liberation of all of Italy. Their army offered the Lombards and the Venetians "the support that brother owes brother". The struggle began with a victory for Charles Albert at Goïto. But the enemy was strong enough to regain the offensive. And in July there were defeats at Somma-Campangna, Custozza and Volta. The people in Milan had to be abandoned and an armistice was signed.

In the spring of 1849 new hopes were born. While the Imperial forces were obliged to stamp out a revolt in Hungary, the King of Sardinia repudiated the truce. He had hardly traversed his eastern frontiers when he learned of the invasion of Piedmont by the Austrian Marshall Radetski. Fearing that his retreat might be cut off, he withdrew as far as Novara, where he fought throughout a whole day. In the evening the exhaustion and demoralization of his troops deterred him from continuing the war. Nobly he sacrificed himself, while his abdication and exile diminished the severity of the conqueror's conditions. In his place Victor-Emmanuel II was crowned king.

Peace was reestablished — precariously, since the destiny of the entire Italian peninsula was in the balance. In Turin no effort was made to stifle national aspirations. Meanwhile the refugees from Milan were welcomed, and Venice, bowed once again under the yoke, was the object of sympathy. But, without despairing for the future, people returned to urgent tasks.

It was important to draw up the balance-sheet of assets that were still intact, to maintain political status and to continue to achieve progress in the physical and cultural domains. And it was in this way that the king and his ministers perceived their duty.

The period after the unsuccessful campaign, then, was employed in a "renewal" in which all good patriots participated. Within their ranks, and in spite of certain "liberal" leanings, the Brothers of the Christian Schools took their places. Lectures in methodology for public schoolteachers were then restored to the courses at St. Pelagius.[93] Two accredited Brothers were included among the teachers in this program. Reyneri's advice and directives continued to be respected.[94] It was during this period that the Brothers in Piedmont published a series of works for the use of their pupils: spellers, geographies, drawing models, courses of commercial law and arithmetic.And they quite fully contributed to the introduction of the metric system into the kingdom.

As early as 1833 they had inserted into an introductory science book a "table to reduce the old standards of measurement to the new and vice-versa. The way had been remotely paved by governmental decisions. On September 11, 1845 a law had been issued to the following effect: beginning on January 1, 1850, the weights and measures of the system introduced into France would be exclusively authorized in the states governed by Charles Albert (excepting the Island of Sardinia).

Without waiting, the Brothers accustomed their school population to the use of appropriate devices. Rulers of a meter and of a decimeter long were distributed to the children to measure the length of the classrooms and the desks and the height of the teacher's chair. A square meter in wood became the standard for obtaining the dimensions of the schoolyard. To this concrete utilization they joined theory that was explained in "Tables" with numerous illustrations representing liters, kilograms, etc. Simple pamphlets contained the fundamental notions for use

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93 Motherhouse Archives, File HV g.

94 *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1936.

in the primary grades, while the *Norma teorico-pratica* was directed at more advanced students: three or four years after its first appearance 120,000 copies were sold. And authors of similar textbooks had only to copy these clear and precise pages.[95] Similar action warranted official goodwill which, while it was an unquestioned possession of the Brothers under the previous regime, it tended to wane since the accession of Victor Emmanuel. The new monarch was not an unbeliever; although his private life often contradicted his moral principles, he remained attached to the ancestral faith. But he refused to overreach his constitutional powers; and he sought to work in harmony with the party in power and not obstruct the bold innovators who had already been hailing him as the leader of a genuinely modern State.

Thus, he was induced to play a role that was ill suited to the religious traditions of the House of Savoy well before an open conflict arose between himself and the Pope. A variety of measures were enacted which damaged the Church, and, directly or indirectly, the Christian Brothers.

One of these was bound up with the obsession to create a huge, powerful army that would embrace a maximum number of citizens. All Piedmontese, Genoans, Savoyards and Sardinians were called to the colors: the "right numbers" in a lottery would alone dispense a part of the annual contingent from this obligation.

The Bill was introduced in 1851. The Brothers were troubled by it; since they had enjoyed exemption from military service since the decree of December 23, 1839. Robert d'Azeglio volunteered to present a petition to the Senate, in which they invoked their admitted right. The Assembly at the time seemed favorable.

But the government did not consider itself beaten. Another version of the Bill was brought up for discussion. And this time teaching Congregations retained very little chance of eluding its severity. And at this point the Minister of War, anticipating the senatorial vote, on his own authority abolished the 1839 privilege. Six Christian Brothers were summoned to military service. Several Communal and Provincial Counsels reacted against this memorandum of July 30, 1853. The Bishops intervened with the king; but to no effect; and on February 4, 1854 the Senators adopted article 187 which decided the question in favor of the Minister.

Previously, Brothers who remained faithful to the Institute until the end of their thirty-fifth year were once for all finished with military service. Henceforth, legislation exempted from military obligation only the Brothers who had entered the Congregation prior to 1851. All others were to be subject to the lottery. Several, after enlistment, did not return to their Communities. Others, selected for conscription, used their option of finding a replacement by means of monetary considerations.[96]

The arrangements undertaken by La Marmora disclosed the thought in the political world. Cavour, who was the great master of the moment, had declared that a "national" perspective in face of the foreigner was incomprehensible without a "reforming and liberal" determination in the country's affairs. In virtue of this principle, he proposed the suppression of convents thought to be unproductive and the confiscation of their property by the State. Pius IX threatened to excommunicate him; and at the same time, he addressed urgent warnings to Victor Emmanuel. The king experienced some compunction and sought to rein in his Minister. Cavour was prepared to resign, but his continuance in office was indispensable. The law of 1855 was promulgated.

It asserted the triumph of a movement that had been hostile to the Church. Supported in high places, Free-Masonry and people of the same stripe went into action. It went without saying

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[95] *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1936 and March, 1938.

[96] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g. — Brother Philippe's circular no. 268, December 13, 1860. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1935, pp. 239-261.

that the Brothers would become their victims.

The initial attack occurred in Alexandria. In September 1850 the city government fired from the public schools the teacher who had been introduced eight years earlier.[97] In September 1851 the city government of Pignerol did the same thing. Other institutions had to be closed in the course of the following years: Castagnetto, for the lack of money in 1853; and Racconigi, under orders from the Minister in 1855. During Mardi-gras in 1859, the authorities in Genoa engineered a crude dismissal of eleven Christian Brothers; in 1848 they had experienced a moment of alarm; and they were obliged by the revolutionaries to take off hastily. In the present instance, the injunction, while apparently more legal, was no less peremptory: the seals were affixed during the afternoon of the same day. Brother Hervé was present: and, lacking money, he was obliged to allow several members of the Community leave on foot. Protestations in favor of the exiles resounded throughout the city: but Genoa did not recall its Religious teachers for nineteen years.

Saluces had reduced its teachers to famine: at about the same period as their confreres in the great Mediterranean port, they gave up teaching the classes that had been begun by Bishop Giannoti in concert with Brother Anthelme. And on the list of proscribed institutions the school in Acqui was the last, during the events of 1860.[98].

It is essential for us to pause a little longer over the decisions that were taken in the capital. We shall the better understand the character of the campaign that was being conducted against the Institute.

On April 10, 1851 a Turin newspaper indicted the education given by the teachers in the public schools: in its view, they did not measure up to the intellectual needs of the people and were extremely hostile both to the scientific spirit and to national aspirations. Father Peyron, a University professor and a learned Orientalist, assumed responsibility for the rebuttal; this defense of the Brothers was published in the newspaper Risorgimento, which regularly spoke for Cavour. At the same time, a pamphlet dealt with the most bizarre accusation: the malicious had alleged, against all probability, that the Brothers were working for Austrian interests and that they had engaged in anti-patriotic propaganda in Milan and Venice (where they had never operated schools)!

Nevertheless, the Minister of Education, exhorted by the city administration, thought that he had to proceed to an investigation. The Commission that he appointed for this purpose fulfilled its task scrupulously. And on June 10 it came to the following conclusions: the people had certainly benefitted from the instruction dispensed in the elementary classes, and in the technical and evening schools; one could do nothing but commend their discipline and acknowledge their learning. If shortcomings had to be indicated, it was, indeed, in the area of the sciences; memory was too much emphasized and the role of reason was too much restricted. Furthermore, the Commission wished to see some importance given to the elements of hygiene, domestic economy and civics. Overall, there appeared nothing of a nature to compromise the integrity of the parties concerned, nor their reputation for toil and dedication.

Following upon such a verdict, the city perceived that it would have been wrong to have divested itself of its Religious personnel. And, on a resolution moved by Count Coppi, it in fact declared itself satisfied with the education that was being given.

The debate was renewed in 1855. With the termination of the scholastic year upon which they were entering, the contract reached between Turin and the Brother Provincial had to be

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[97] Since 1837 the Brothers in Alexandria had been also teaching those who had been detained in prison; they continued this work until 1853.

[98] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for June, 1936, pp. 248-253, and for December, 1937, pg. 357

terminated or renegotiated. The Liberals were restive: in their opinion to entrust the up-coming generation to men who were committed to the delusions of other days was unworthy of a city that encouraged enlightenment. Of course, a competition set up between the Brothers' pupils and those of some lay teachers had not turned out entirely badly for the former; it was nonetheless necessary that a clerical training should, with all haste, be supplanted by a completely modern education.

This premise found an advocate in the person of M. Nuytz, the secretary of the municipal Commission. He freely admitted the Brothers' diligence regarding their professional duties and their successes before examining boards; he paid tribute to the good behavior of their pupils; and he did not deny that their replacement would translate into a serious expenditure of money. In fact, their adherents' every argument remained sound. But it succumbed in the presence of a factor which liberated minds, determined to provide for Piedmont's future, believed was of a higher order: a teaching Body, which persisted in dependence upon Church authorities could no longer be sanctioned by the Commune.

That was the sophistry upon which the majority of the Counsellors leaned. The removal of the Brothers seemed necessary; and it was carried out during the vacation period of 1856.[99]—

The *Mendicità Istruita* school was not affected. Actually, since October 15, 1854, it had been doing double duty as a college in the Association's building under the patronage of San Primitivo. The sons of well-to-do families took advantage of it, not only for elementary instruction, but for commercial classes and for preparation for the kingdom's military Academy.[100] It was the beginning of a institution whose vicissitudes and ultimate success we shall recount.

Catholic confidence in the Religious educators had been an established thing. After the City Counsel's decision, a group of citizens offered monetary assistance to the discharged teachers in order to open other classes. These were the *scuole del Comitato* which operated for a few months at St. Pelagius. And then the expansion of San Primitivo College compelled it to go elsewhere; it was removed to Rue Arsenal and became Porta Nuova school, to which a partial-residence school was attached.

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Brother Hervé's Visitorship in Piedmont was completed in 1854. At that time, a new province of the Institute was created, which included the schools in the Duchies of Parma and Modena. To handle it, Brother Hervé, in an arrangement with the Superior-general, located his residence in Reggio Emilia and left Brother Theoger the responsibility of continuing the tasks

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[99] Motherhouse Archives, File Hb g. — *Rivista lasalliana* from June, 1936, pp. 253-257.

[100] In Nice the Brothers were grappling with difficulties of a very different sort. the problem of languages had arisen in the county that had been restored to the House of Savoy after the fall of Napoleon I. On September 7, 1833, Tonduti Escarene, the Minister of the Interior, told the Counsellors in Nice that King Charles Albert had decided to turn popular education in the major centers over to the Christian Brothers. "In complying with the general will," the Counsellors responded, "we ask that the Brothers teach French, the language that is customary in the city." The new teachers opened their classrooms during the following January. Brother Director, Hilarion, and his successor Brother René after him, taught the children as well as the working men in such a way as to give satisfaction to the local administration. But in 1849, the Minister of Public Education, Piacentino, drew up a plan to eliminate the teaching of French. And after him, Farini Romano persisted in this policy. The result was a sharp conflict between the people in Nice and the bureaucrats sent out from Turin. The city government encouraged the teachers and Brother Urain, the new Principal, in their resistance. In the end, the Piedmontese government failed to impose its point of view. The annexation of 1860 was to bring about the solution that had been sought by the people in the county. (Louis Cappati's article in L'Armanac Nissart, 1932, pp. 101-109.) Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

that had been begun in the Kingdom of Sardinia. We shall now accompany Brother Hervé to the South, casting a glance backward, as we do go, to the work accomplished with the cooperation of the princes who reigned in their tiny capitals.

The Archduchess Marie Louisa, the Bourbon dynasty in Parma and the d'Este House in Modena wished for the good of their subjects at the same time that they sought for assurances against the impending Revolution. Their situation was nothing less than guaranteed: the trusteeship under which they were held by Austria rendered them suspect to young people who dreamed of independence. They personified in the eyes of a great number of Italians the absolutist *ancien regime*, limited by the carving up of the country.

The unrest of 1830-1831 had, for the first time since the restoration of 1814, shaken their thrones; and the protection of foreign arms continued to be indispensable to them. They proposed, however, to bolster that support by the addition of a moral factor by disseminating Christian education among the people. This concern preoccupied all of them. In 1844, their neighbor, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was prepared to summon the Brothers to Livorna; but, in spite of Brother Hervé's assiduity, the project came to nothing.[101]

Maria Louisa, who had subsidized a Christian Brothers school at St. Alexander's monastery in Parma since 1836, was more fortunate. [102] In 1843 she encouraged Canon Cigala, Provost of a church in Piacenza to follow her lead by introducing the Brothers into the former convent of St. Vincent. And when, with the help of the generosity of the Countesse Marazzani, the distinguished priest had welcomed three Brothers, the Archduchess supplied an annual subsidy in order to establish equality of income with their confreres in Parma.[103] She had only just incorporated the Congregation as the result of a report by her ministers, one of whom had cited a passage by a member of the French Academy, that had praised De La Salle.[104] The text, which was quoted in the original language, may have stirred up some old memories in the soul of the deliberately drowsing former empress.

When she died in 1847 the Brothers had the best of reasons to mourn her passing. According to the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, the Duchy was to be returned to its former masters, the descendants of King Philip V of Spain, the grandson of Louis XIV. The new Duke had scarcely entered upon his family inheritance when insurrection drove him out. A provisional government was set up in Parma and was about to declare a merger with northern Italy. And it proclaimed the idea of altering its educational system. Brother Aventine, the Director of the principal Community, refused to yield without putting up some resistance. He manoeuvred tirelessly; and he was lent a hand by citizens who had entrusted him with their sons; he finally succeeded in saving the school.[105]

The Bourbons, back again after the Austrian victory, showed total approval for the Brother educators, whose salaries continued to be budgeted to the State. In 1852 they were invited to head a charitable work designed for poor children and sponsored by the ducal family. Two years later they opened a residence school in their building. In 1857 the Regent-Duchess

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[101] *Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936, pp. 164 et sq. — The law in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany required that schoolteachers be approved as employees by the Communal magistrates. It was a condition that interfered with the Superiors of the Institute in their administrative responsibilities. It was such an impediment which, in 1857, was to put an end to negotiations that had been set in motion for a school in Figline. (Ibid. pg. 198.)

[102] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 197-198.

[103] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[104] Droz, in his book Des applications de la morale à la politique.

[105] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Rivista lasalliana* for June, 1936.

offered them more room: a part of her own palace henceforth served for the instruction of the residence pupils and a lodging for the Community.

Sister of the Count of Chambord and prematurely widowed,[106] Maria Louisa of Bourbon ruled Parma in the name of her eldest son. She sought to give the young prince a French education. Her admiration for the Christian Brothers led her to apply to their Superior-general; and the attempt was reinforced by an appeal on the part of the Pretender to the French throne. The Institute, no matter how consistently respectful it may have been toward the Second Empire, preserved a basic attachment and indebtedness to the ancient monarchy. Additionally, its status in the Duchy required it to comply with the wishes of the Regent. In order to fill the delicate post of tutor, Brother Philippe selected a teacher who had given proof of his talents.

Aimé Badoz, Brother Pierre Chrysologus, was a native of Franche-Comte, born in Montmahoux in 1818. A student at the Normal School in Besancon, equipped with a higher diploma upon his graduation, and then briefly a Dean of Studies, he was admitted to the Institute at the age of twenty-three years. Enthusiastic labors as an administrator in the residence school in Lyons followed by teaching success in Grenoble brought him to the attention of his superiors.

His extraordinary appointment caught him completely by surprise. Docily, however, he left for Italy where he was welcomed by his confreres in the residence school of St. Alexander. He was a member of their Community, and each day he set out for the palace.

The year was 1854, and Robert Parma was a boy of eight years, talented and affectionate; however, his special incapacity for attention and his apparently invincible laziness would complicate the Brother's task. Three months of day-to-day patience were required to teach the boy to read without error a text that was only thirty words long. Any but a Religious filled with a sense of duty and faithful to De La Salle's ideals would have been disheartened. In this struggle against the tendencies of a restive child, the tutor was not support; his own personal efforts were supposed to produce results. Besides, during the first year, he had to assume the responsibility for teaching young Marguerite, the prince's sister. And then, at the beginning of 1856, the Regent's second son, young Prince Bardi, shared in the lessons. Brother Pierre Chrysologus shouldered the total burden until 1858.

At the time the Duke was beginning his Latin studies. At the end of about three quarters, the special teacher appointed for this task took to his bed and died. He was worn out by the effort; at least that was what those who were intimate with the Court believed.

The man from Franche-Comte resumed the exclusive direction of his pupil. And he continued to do so for several months more, as long as Robert had no other official tutor. When a priest, Father Novello, arrived to play the role, "Lasallian" pedagogy did not appear to be pointless: instruction in French and many other associated tasks were allotted to the Brother.

He had completely won the regard of the Duchess and the Count of Chambord, the uncle who hovered over the education of his nephew with a quasi-paternal concern; and he was grateful to the Brother for having set the foundations for a good intellectual, and a sound religious, training. Furthermore, the children were ardently devoted to their teacher.

They were not to forget him during the exile to which the turmoil of 1859 condemned them. The separation did not occur without some strain: Brother Pierre Chrysologus remained in Parma where, until 1862, he stayed on as sub-Director and then as Director of the institution which continued to function. Duke Robert, delivered from political vicissitudes, led a life of Christian moderation, surrounded by his numerous descendants. In memory of his teacher, each year he donated 500 francs to the Institute in order either to contribute to the needs of the Community in Parma or for the support of a novice. After Brother Pierre Chrysologus' death,

[106] Her husband, Charles III, was assassinated on March 25, 1854

on March 1, 1899 he sent a letter of condolence to the Director of the residence school in Béziers, where the deceased had been living: "Never", he wrote, "has the affection that we have had for him faded."[107] The princes of the House of d'Este, destined to the same fate as the various branches of the Bourbon dynasty, manifested the same confidence in the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The region they controlled in Emilia included one of two Italian cities that were called "Reggio". There had at one time been an orphanage there that had to be closed in 1838 because of serious disorders. Bishop Peter Raffaelli wanted to put it back into operation. The considered the Christian Brothers for this task and suggested their cooperation to Prince Francis V. In 1850 an exchange of letters brother the Bishop and Brother Hervé together. As a result a ducal decree prescribed that the Commune of Reggio come to an understanding with Bishop Raffaelli and the administrators of the Charity Board with the view of inviting the Brothers. The Brother Visitor made an on-site inspection of the situation. A final settlement took place on April 23, 1852. The teachers who had been promised arrived on May 6, and orphans once again filled the institution, which was called "St. Augustine's".

In spite of friction which threatened undermine the Director's spirits, the institution resumed coherence. He quickly added classes for the sons of the poor and, subsequently, a tuition-paying college.

Following upon the initial foundations Brother Hervé of the Cross became Provincial in the Duchies. He was hoping for the steady growth of his Congregation throughout this region and into Venice as well.[108] There were vocations to be had there: and to that end a novitiate was opened in the buildings in Reggio — the third institution of this sort in Italy after the ones in the Papal States and in Piedmont.

The Brother Visitor, a man with a large-ranging mind, ran into a lot of pettiness in the confined climate of his new administrative headquarters. Scarcely installed, during July of 1854 he got wind of murmuring on the part of some distinguished people: "The Christian Brothers' schools provide too much education, useless and, indeed, dangerous for the people; they are laying the foundations for revolution and training a generation of followers of Mazzini." In this way old "conservatives" grumbled, people who were jealous to maintain the barriers of caste and who shuddered with the breeze that seemed to them to portend a storm. In particular, the use of the metric system was an object of scandal for them! this kind of nonsense made good teachers shrug their shoulders. The Bishop had said that he was quite satisfied with the results of a thoroughly religious and sensible education. But Francis V tended to believe the fault-finders. In order to reassure him, Bishop Raffaelli's warrantee and the influence of Brother Hervé had to enter into play. A ducal visit of Reggio on April 30, 1855 succeeded in dissipating misunderstandings. It allowed the teachers in the orphanage to enjoy a greater freedom of action. Shortly thereafter, a conflict between the Provincial and the members of the Counsel of the Charity Board brought about the resignation of the President, Marquis Gherardini and his confederates. This exodus was followed by three years of peace and fruitful work. New buildings housed the forty orphans and seventy-five residence pupils. And in 1857 the Prince returned to preside at the examinations of these youths and congratulate their

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[107] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — Brother Pierre Chrysologus' obituary, 1899. — *Bulletin des Ècoles chrétiennes* for October, 1933 and January, 1934, personal recollections of the former tutor of Robert of Parma. — Another member of the Badoz family, Aimé's own brother, had a great reputation in the Institute, under the name of Brother Pol de Léon. We shall discuss him in another volume. (See the Index to Volume V of the present work.)

[108] In about 1858 Canon Tomadini, the founder of an orphanage in Udine asked for help from the Brothers. His fellow citizen, Father Antony della Savia, secretary to cardinal Asquini, pleaded the cause with Brother Vicar-general Floridus. In principal, Brother Hervé consented. But, for the lack of personnel, he was unable to satisfy the good Canon. (*Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936.)

teachers.

Decidedly won over to the Brothers, he had, as early as the days following his preceding visit, instructed his Interior Minister to promote the opening of a school in Sassuolo. Four Brothers were brought to live in the former Servite monastery, and a solemn inauguration took place on May 24, 1855. The people in the city were at the time somewhat less than lukewarm toward the Duke of Modena; but the presence and the behavior of the Brothers altered public opinion: "They are really apostles in my territories", declared Francis V in his enthusiasm; "they have transformed Sassuolo!" And he hastened to seek the opening of another school in Carrara — a project that was completed in November of 1856.

In its turn, Massa was able to make contact with the disciples of De La Salle. The legacy of a Mme.. Guarenghi had, during the time of Francis IV, been settled upon the founding of the "St. Philip Neri Institute" for the educational and professional training of young boys. Petitioned in 1857 by the President of the Charity Board on the question of a change of teachers, the reigning Duke thought it would be a very good idea to make an appeal to Brother Hervé. Negotiations were concluded on February 14, 1859.[109] A few months later all territories belonging to the House of d'Este was united to Victor Emmanuel's kingdom.

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Meanwhile Cavour had achieved his goal. The participation of a Piedmontese army in the Crimean War had given him the opportunity for which he had so long awaited: representing his sovereign at the Congress of Paris, among the diplomats of the belligerent States and the great powers, he placed the "Italian question" before Europe. Skillfully, he began to circumvent Napoleon III. The French Emperor wanted the liberation of the Italian peninsula; but he balked at launching into a military campaign against Austria. Orsini's attempt in 1858 prompted his decision; the man who had nearly assassinated him wrote him a moving letter from prison: "Your Majesty must liberate my country!" Cavour had then been secretly invited to the discussions at Plombières, from which he emerged with ironclad promises.

The year 1859 opened with Napoleon's disquieting words to the Austrian ambassador. The Vienna government decided to take matters in its own hands: it sent an ultimatum to the king of Sardinia. Piedmont was attacked, and France came to its aid. And with Magenta and Lombardy freed, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna (after the departure of their Austrian garrisons) set up provisional governments in close ties with Turin.

The battlefield of Solferino, covered with tens of thousand of dead, seized the imperial soul with horror. The conquered continued to be formidable; and the intervention of Prussia threatened to change the course of events. Napoleon III and Franz-Joseph concluded an armistice that was followed by the Treaty of Zurich. By way of compensation Piedmont had to be satisfied with Lombardy.

However, through plebecites she received all of central Italy. Napoleon subscribed to this expansion and in return received Savoy and Nice. The Kingdom of Naples fell into the hands of Garibaldi, whom Victor Emmanuel joined to crush along the way Lamoricière's tiny Papal army. The annexation of Ombria and the Marches knit together the two pieces of the new "Kingdom of Italy".

Pius IX retained only Latium, the ancient "Patrimony of St. Peter" between the Mediterranean and the Apennines. He protested against the plundering of which the Papacy was the victim, and he excommunicated the expropriators. But they defied the Church's anathemas: to complete the unity of the country, they needed — along with Venice whose fate would be sealed in 1866 — the preeminent City, the capital of the Caesars, the Mother-city of

[109] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936.

Christianity.

The troublesome "Roman" question disturbed so many people, occasioned so much wrangling and division in the French Empire and separated the House of Savoy from the Holy See. Italy under Victor Emmanuel II was to pursue a policy inaugurated in Piedmont beginning in 1850, i.e., the restriction of the influence of the clergy and measures against Religious Orders. To unrest among the people there was added the difficulty arising from sudden territorial expansion and from the need to assume a rank in Europe that suited the new situation: the modified State required a large army and a powerful navy; taxes weighed heavily upon a population that had only a limited income; and Sardinian law frequently adapted awkwardly with the *modus vivendi* of the annexed provinces.

In this sense the realization of unity, so ardently fancied, demanded a great deal of sacrifice. Those who abided by their innermost convictions were the most grief-stricken. Nevertheless, Italians remained attached to their faith: and the dynasty was pained to be placed in conflict with its past. Even Cavour, who had originated the slogan, "A free Church in a free nation", in the days after his triumphs did not die without the Sacraments.

The text of the Law of November 13, 1859, which systematized national education had preserved the catechism at the head of compulsory schooling. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were able to adapt themselves to legislation that was not opposed to their pedagogy. Reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and the metric system — the subjects of the elementary cycle continued to be precisely those which they had been teaching children; and they had been for a long time practicing a program of higher studies: — i.e., the rules of literary composition, calligraphy, the keeping of commercial books, geometry, drawing, introductory history, geography and the physical and natural sciences. [110] The prescribed "gratuity" was in conformity with their Rule. The certificate required by the government could hold no terrors for teachers in the "systematic schools".

Ecclesiastical personnel was excluded neither from public instruction nor, *a fortiori*, from private institutions. And while anticlericalism had to rear its head and while the Congregations were at one time officially dissolved, the Christian Brothers for all that would never lose the domain in which they exercised their zeal. The hostility which lie in wait for them in political circles in no way corresponded to the attitude of the people. Factions might very well hammer away: but the confidence and the gratitude of the masses remained faithful to the benefactors of youth.

These conditions were corroborated in the ancient Duchies. In Parma in 1860 the Community was ordered to vacate the Jardin Palace, into which the Piedmontese authorities wanted to introduce a military college. The intervention of very important people, including Count Nigra, contrived to save the situation: St. Paul's Convent, which the year previous had been taken from the Madames of the Sacred Heart, sufficed as a refuge for the Brothers' residence school.

The Brothers had provisionally retained the public school set up since its beginnings at St. Alexander's. In 1862 the State withdrew them. Since the residence school had just been closed by Brother Visitor Theoger (after the death of the Director, Brother Aventine), St. Paul's took in the teachers and pupils of the elementary grades, who henceforth were to be maintained by Catholic charity. It was a short term solution: at the end of a few months it was necessary to yield the site to a normal school for female teachers. The Brothers, however, did not leave the city: Brother Ciriaco rented a building. And in 1865, in a more permanent way, Canon James Battei accommodated the private school in his own residence.

Since October of 1847 the tiny group in Piacenza was headed by Brother Francis Milanesi, a distinguished educator who was everywhere respected. "He so completely possessed the spirit of his Institute and taught his classes so perfectly that he would have initiated the Christian

[110] *Dictionnaire pédagogigue*, F. Buisson, (1911 edition), article on Italy (by Aurelio Stoppoloni).

Brothers schools if John Baptist de La Salle had not preceded him into the world." This tribute on the part of the Provost, Mgr. Cigala, placed the Founder's disciple on a rather lofty pedestal. And in 1859 and 1860 the feelings of the citizenry were clearly expressed, since during the fateful years nothing had changed for the teachers in St. Vincent's convent. It was only the third year of the Kingdom of Italy, and the 5,000 lire that the dethroned princes had been paying annually had been stricken from the governmental budget. Rapidly funds collected by friends of the Brothers guaranteed the support of four tuition-free classes. Further, at the suggestion and with the monetary backing of the very devoted Provost, the opening of a semi-residence school drew upon a population that was able to assist in case of need.[111]

While Carrara and Massa endured,[112] Sassuolo, which was also a recent foundation, disappeared in the quarrels of 1860. The Director, however, Brother Constantine, had guided his ship well. Violently jostled, but at the same time fearing, quite correctly, that he would not remain master on board his vessel, he headed for more quiet shores.[113]. In Massa the provisional government was favorable to the Brothers. In 1862 the city asked and obtained another teacher from Brother Visitor. Two years later there were six of them. Nevertheless, the intrigues of the Free-masons succeeded in having them dismissed. (Rivista lasalliana, ibid.)

In Reggio Emilia a great career, marked by notable accomplishments and severe suffering came to an end for Brother Hervé. After Francis V's exile, the difficulties increased. A local newspaper, the Crostolo, launched a series of articles against the Christian Brothers. The Communal Counsel amused itself with arbitrary innovations: in June 1861 a prohibition against admitting residence pupils without the administration's consent; in July a ban on dealing with any children but orphans; the reduction of salaries; and petty vexations of every kind.

The Provincial was reconciled to closing the school and the boarding department, so as to limit himself to the orphanage. But even here, he was badgered. The civilian directors of the institution assumed adversarial postures: Brother Hervé published a report, a response to accusing voices, vindicating the Brothers and their stewardship; there were "explanations" on the part of a Father Pucci who, in a pamphlet, set himself up as counsel for the accused. The population became aroused and irate in favor of the Brothers. The administrators were forced to give ground: at their request, the old fighter agreed to retain responsibility for the institution. However, the polemic gained new life, and echoes of it were heard as far as Turin, indeed, as far as Paris.

The higher Superiors believed that the changes that had occurred beyond the Alps and the dismissals, whether achieved or contemplated, must involve the reunion of Emilia with the District of Piedmont. Beginning in 1862, Brother Theoger stood in as Visitor to the former States of Parma and Modena. Brother Hervé of the Cross was to be no longer anything more than Director of Reggio.

He had obtained the necessary changes in the orphanage's regulation. But this was an empty victory, since anarchy was being fomented in the place. A royal commissioner arrived to investigate, and he authorized the Brothers to resign.

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[111] Motherhouse Archives, HB g

[112] Domenico Cigala Fulgosi, Provost of St. Antony's Basilica, restorer of the church of the Theatines, died on January 23, 1874 in a small, humble room that he occupied not far from the Community. His dear confratelli, as he called the Brothers, surrounded him on his death bed, after thirty years of having benefitted from his generosity and his example.

[113] File Hb g. — *Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936. The people in Carrara vigorously exhibited its determination to keep the Brothers when it learned of the expulsion of the princes of the House of d'Este: a group of youths volunteered to watch over the Community day and night. In 1866, an intervention on the part of the agent Giromella once again saved the institution which, however, was finally closed in 1873

These were the last steps in the Calvary that the man with the prophetic name had begun to ascend in the far-off days of Gregory XVI.[114] Misunderstandings, accusations and mistrust had often beset him. He had been plagued by illness and infirmities. Bishop Rafaelli had somewhat relieved this pain; in his episcopal residence he had sheltered the old man whom he venerated and whose wise counsels he had constantly sought. Like his colleague, Bishop Neuschel of Parma, unhesitatingly he described the virtues of the former Provincial as heroic and holy. In August of 1863 Brother Hervé finally retired. He travelled by way of Turin, which enshrined so many of his fondest recollections. He crossed the frontier in September and was received first at Avignon and then at Béziers where he had spent some of his youthful years. It was there that he was to meditate in all the fervor of his soul, and there his sufferings would come to an end. On August 26, 1873, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, Brother Hervé died in the peace of God.[115]

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During his brief stop-over with his former confreres in Piedmont, there was a deep despondency that needed the solace that only Brother Hervé could give, the remedy of his heroic example. The capital continued to be troubled by a painful incident affecting San Primitivo College.

In 1861 Brother Theoger, at the time Director of that institution, was understood to have been served by the Minister of Public Education with a prohibition against continuing classes in secondary education:[116].he had immediately appealed the decision to Privy Counsel, and, in the end, won his case. But this victory incited the hatred of the opposition party which discovered the obsessions of certain teachers who were jealous of their rivals' successes. Liberals, Free-masons and lay-teachers were eager to wreak ultimate vengeance. Unfortunately, Brother Theoger's behavior played into their hands: with respect to him, it was a question of a moral lapse that could destroy him in the eyes of families. Once Minister Amari was informed of these rumors, he ordered an inquiry in April, 1863. The Brother, who had become Visitor, was at the moment on his way to Florence. An order issued for his arrest was unable to reach him. But by leaving Italy and abandoning his Institute, the Brother, probably more defenseless than seriously guilty, gave credit to the accusation. From that point forward his enemies were able easily to trigger a disaster: from the government they obtained the closing of the College. And, widening their success, they forced the Brothers to abandon the Porta Nuova semi-boarding school, whose Director, Brother Simphronian, was also a Frenchman.[117]

It was a terrible blow, but the Congregation did not succumb as a result of it. While awaiting the hour of ultimate justice, it pursued its vital tasks and showed that it was worthy of confidence and respect. And while the *Scuole del Comitato* had not existed since 1861, the *Medicitaà istruita* was not without the service of the Brothers: a man of work, prayer and virtue, Brother Casimir of Jesus, guided the classes; and under his direction a group of excellent teachers were trained.[118] St. Palagius, relinquished in 1857, with the move to Rue Arsenal, once again housed a Community. And two others in the city operated primary schools.

Nevertheless, it was a restricted activity. Recruitment had felt the effect of anti-clerical

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[114] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 190-191.

[115] *Rivista lasalliana* for December, 1936, pp. 176-190 and 208-210.

[116] With at least the tacit consent of the Superiors, the pupils had been given a "classical education," since their families had difficulty in understanding how their sons could be oblivious of that root language, Latin

[117] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[118] Brother Casimir's obituary, 1906.

propaganda and of the disfavor of public authorities. So few postulants applied that the maintenance of a national novitiate presented a problem to which there was no solution. Brother Assistant Mamert advised that the few young men whose vocations were emerging should be sent to Chambery. The first such departure took place in 1864; and henceforth and for the next twenty-eight years, Savoy offered a home to novices from the District of Turin.[119].

Indecision and resistance on the part of the young were easily understandable: there was a law in the making which exceeded in severity by a very great deal the earlier schemes of Cavour. "We shall not meddle with the charitable Orders", the Minister had said in 1855. Ten years later, all Congregations were threatened. Together with Chancellor Vacca, the Minister of Public Education, Baron Natoli, prefaced legislative steps by issuing a circular which required from local authorities the statistics for "Religious teaching bodies."[120] It was subsequently published as an indictment: these societies, "remnants of the Middle Ages", are incapable of modern adaptations. "Despotism" has employed them in order to "consign minds to Limbo"; we must not be forced to rely on such teachers to provide "energetic" instruction and "to infuse hearts with a sense of civic duty".

Vacca submitted his bill to the Chamber on April 12, 1865. Discussion had been going on for two weeks when a royal decree abruptly suspended it: sectarian fervor in the Assembly had surpassed anticipated limits.[121] Following general elections, the law was revived. But the vote on it did not take place until the next year, as the war against Austria was unfolding, in which Italy had covenanted with Prussia.

On July 7, 1866 Victor Emmanuel II approved of the following arrangements: Congregations would cease to exist as "moral persons". Buildings and furnishings the ownership in which belonged to the Congregations would legally fall into the hands of the State. Respecting the Congregations' membership, they would receive annual pensions by way of compensation: 480 lires annually, if they were priests and 240 if they were not priests. Mendicant Orders could claim only a more modest subsidy for their members.

Furthermore, members of Congregations were guaranteed the exercise of all the rights of free citizens. They would not be prevented from living together as they pleased nor obliged to continue their customary activities.

This was the end of ancient privilege, the abolition of the system in which the civil power acknowledged the vows and approved the social role of a religious militia. It was not a blatant persecution. The Christian Brothers ran into a certain amount of hostility; and they were required to bow before some awkward demands. But they did not meet with insurmountable obstacles.

The government did not dispute their right to an annual pension. However, appealing to the letter of the law, it meant to deal with them as "laymen". A court case ensued and dragged on until 1871: the decision found completely in favor of the Superiors.

Generally, laws applied to the Institute demonstrated, obviously, a desire for accommodation. The governmental commissioners who appeared unexpectedly on May 18, 1867 at St. Pelagius were in admiration of the *Regia Opera* rules governing the institution. In other schools, they confined themselves to a declaration to the effect that the Brothers had officially lost their status as "Religious". At the Grugliasco school an over-zealous agent confiscated several chapel ornaments and a part of the library. By way of a time-honored

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[119] File HB g. — In 1873, in order to put young Italian Brothers in a position to obtain a valid diploma a scholasticate was established in the institution called Grugliasco, founded as a school in 1862 through the generosity of Senator Cotta

[120] The officially supplied figures may be summarized as follows: 1,112 institutions; 12,286 professors, teachers of both sexes and other personnel; and 97,440 students. *Rivista lasalliana* for September, 1934.

[121] *Rivista lasalliana* for September, 1934.

financial transaction, the Community recovered tapestries and candelabra. The city retained the ownership of the books; but the Brothers would be obliged to lend them to the public and see to it that they were returned.[122]

In Turin intransigence set in on two points: While the administration of *Mendicità* was authorized to support the Brothers in the service of pupils, it was on condition that the teaching personnel give up both its usual residence and its characteristic habit. With regard to the change of residence, immediate compliance was demanded; those who directed the Charity Board had no intention of discussing the matter with the Italian government. It was therefore necessary to relocate the Communities of St. Pelagius and Porta Nuova.

Abandoning the habit was a more delicate problem. It will be recalled that at the time the District of Turin was founded the Brothers, who had come from Rome, wore neither the wide-sleeved mantle nor the rabat.[123] In order to get them to conform to prescriptions of Rule, Brother Hervé of the Cross and Brother Anthelme contended from August 1831 until December 1832. At that point obedience triumphed over deep-rooted prejudices and local customs which civil and ecclesiastical authorities regarded approvingly. And now the 1866 legislation was once again ruling out the habit that had been adopted by the holy Founder.

It was up to the Superior-general to decide. The circumstances were no longer the same as thirty years earlier. He was dealing with a political program that was armed against the Church; and in order to stave off graver evils, the Pope granted special facilities to Religious. The episcopacy had stressed the point that scruples, however legitimate, were out of season and must not destroy Institute structures.

Such considerations weighed heavily upon Brother Philippe. After having surveyed opinion among his Assistants, he invited the Brothers in Italy to make an explicit request.

This was the substance of their letter of June 14, 1867: "We, the undersigned, professed Brothers in the Communities of the District of Turin, in view of the absolute resolution adopted by the *Regia Opera della Mendicità istruita* that the Brothers, in order to continue to teach school, must cease wearing the Religious habit, state that we are submitting to urgent necessity and we beseech the Most Honored Brother Superior-general to be kind enough to allow us to modify our habit by making it nearly like the one worn by priests...We hope that these times of painful trial will end as quickly as possible and in this way we shall be able to resume the holy livery of our Venerable Founder."[124]

The superior, who, for four years, had been rekindling the energies of a group of men beset and anxious, was Brother Genuino. He had been a novice in 1843 and, at the period during which he made his perpetual profession he was sub-Director at San Primitivo College, which had only recently been founded. He brought a burst of enthusiasm to the program of studies. His speech, brief, clear, straightforward, his strong character, the ease and the dignity of his manner, the sureness of his glance and the scope of his knowledge lent him both prestige and influence. At the time that he was assuming the direction of the institution the unfortunate events of 1863 were taking place. The Superior-general hastened to send an obedience as Visitor to this native of Piedmont who was esteemed by his countrymen, a man totally dedicated whose reputation had remained intact.[125]

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[122] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[123] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 78.

[124] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1925, pp. 217-218.

[125] *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, II, pp. 146-158.

At thirty-seven years of age, Brother Genuino had preserved the fire of youth; he could expect a long future. And in fact he guided the province until his death in 1901, at the dawn of a new century.

In 1867 he had to shoulder exceptional responsibilities, since the Congregation was no longer recognized by the State and since the Christian Brothers, henceforth dressed in a hand-me-down habit, assumed in the eyes of the world the guise of a curious sort of semi-cleric and semi-layman who fulfilled the role of teachers. It was as a citizen, legally exercising total independence, that "M. Andorno", on June 22, signed an agreement with the administrators of the *Reggia Opera*, which declared that, for the time being, it was leaving its schools in the hands of private teachers, represented by two of them, Messrs. Andorno and Antoniotti. (The latter was Brother Casimir of Jesus.) In view of the upcoming surrender of the buildings at St. Pelagius, attached clauses, dated June 30, stipulated an increase in remuneration which would enable the evicted Brothers to pay expenses for their room and board. A final "well-done" was addressed to the entire Community in recognition of services rendered since the days of Brother Joseph of Mary.[126]

The group of Brothers surrounding "M. Antoniotti" at Porta Nuova continued the work and, according current practice, preserved the name of "St. Pelagius". Along side, and indeed in the same building, Brother Genuino reestablished the semi-boarding school. At one time he had relinquished its rooms to a priest, Father Tasca, under whose direction a small college, dedicated to St. Charles, admitted a few students in the years between 1865 and 1867. Because the institution fell once again into the hands of the "distinguished professor J. B. Andorno", the representatives of public education were apprehensive; they were not unaware of the identity of the Religious behind the name and of the role that member of the Institute had played in the residence school of San Primitivo. Did the strong measures of 1863 no longer have any effect? Was San Primitivo to arise from the ashes? The "Provveditore", on orders from the Minister, sought to prevent such a resurrection. But Brother Genuino knew he was within his rights; and he threatened the educational bureaucrat with a court case should authorization for the opening be refused.

Once a future had been guaranteed, he cast the harsh past behind him. An elementary and a secondary program were organized simultaneously. Lay assistants were hired to initiate the children in Latin. Gradually, the courses in secondary studies were augmented. And in October of 1868 the Brothers added a technical school.

Success had been of such a scale that the group at St. Charles took over the buildings on Rue Arsenal for its exclusive use. The Community hired by the *Regia Opera* selected a dwelling on via dei Fiori in September, 1869; it then placed itself under the patronage of a St. Felix, whose relics were venerated in the conventual oratory.[127]

It was seen that before long the growth of the college would require a relocation. To carry this enterprise to a successful conclusion Brother Genuino asked for financial assistance from his fellow-citizens. The people in Turin proved to be regally generous. In 1872 the Visitor/Director was able to acquire a hugh piece of property that the city had placed on public auction. One of the members of Christian Brothers' Institute drew up the plans for the building, and the construction was completed in 1875. And because the institution deserved a very lofty

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

[127] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — *Rivista lasalliana* for September, 1934. — After the separation of the two Communities, the college Brothers continued to wear the sacerdotal habit in order to avoid giving rise to quarrels. Besides, "changes" were effected between them and their confreres at St. Felix: it was therefore necessary to abide by the attire that had been agreed upon with the administrators of the Regia Opera.

and a very powerful protector, St. Charles gave way to St. Joseph.[128]

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In general, while the historical period that opened with the Battles of Magenta and Solferino was punctuated by a series of trials for the Christian Brothers in Piedmont, they emerged from these paths with honor. Their heart, dedicated to the Church, had been afflicted; but committed by tradition and by gratitude, and in spite of temporary bitterness, to the national dynasty, they certainly were not indifferent to the reputation and the magnification of the nation.

Religious who, only the day before, had been under the temporal power of the Pope felt their position changed most painfully. The upheavals in the Marches and Romagna had taken on a form much more revolutionary than anywhere else. It appeased a passionate populace to destroy the ancient order of things.

In these areas, as well as in Ombria, the Brothers remained under the authority of the Vicar-general; but a political boundary now separated them from their Roman confreres. They feared, and not without reason, the unleashing of anticlerical passions. Here a scholastic pogrom marked the beginnings of the Kingdom of Italy; and even when hatred did not enter into play, money and support were in short supply.

The schools in Ancona and Forli disappeared in 1861; Pope Leo XII's foundation at Spoleto in 1863; those in Ravenna and Loretto in 1864; and Sinigaglia in 1865. The closing of the Brothers' school in Loretto is the most pitiful account in our story. It was induced by tactics that are genuinely horrifying; and it is only with a certain distaste that we are resolved to give at least an idea of it.

After the invasion of the March of Ancona by the Piedmontese, the party that threw in its lot with the conquerors had full freedom to sate its factional appetites. And the Christian Brothers were to become its principal victims.

Suspicion of immorality had attached to one of their servants, a man named Nazzareno Agostinelli, an employee of the college. The enemies of Christian education saw this circumstance as a windfall to consummate the ruin of the Community. Their undertaking consisted, from the beginning of the incident, not only to declare the Brothers in sympathy with the accused but to direct against them the reproach of public opinion. The rumors became inflated, and, in October of 1864, scandal erupted.

A few weeks earlier, the way had been paved by insinuations against the Good Shepherd Sisters. A mob had materialized at the gates of these nuns' convent. Nuns and monks pervert our children, cried the leaders. The convent was situated in the neighborhood of the Brothers who, heedful of the threats, could anticipate their impending realization.

Nevertheless, they hadn't imagined anything so odious. The bureaucrats and magistrates in the new government displayed the most intractable prejudice against "the people in black" holed up in Rome. They conducted the inquiry with the deliberate purpose of smearing their adversaries with unprecedented shame.

On October 18, the Inspector of Schools, the *Provveditore*, and the Director of the Normal School visited the institution. They demanded the appearance of four children whom they subjected to a secret questioning. The Inspector, Lazzaro Isnardi, then drew up his report, in which he accused eight teachers of the worst sort of vile actions. In this way it was learned that the unfortunate children, cynically grilled, had repeated without understanding the obscene language that the three men had used with them.

No head of family had ever raised a complaint; for twenty years no salacious incident had ever been pointed out among the personnel responsible for the orphanage, the college and the

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[128] *Choix de notices*, II, pp. 148-149. (Brother Genuino's obituary.)

elementary school. It became necessary, however, to close the schools; and the Brother Director notified the parents of this decision on October 22. The Brother Visitor, who had been immediately informed, sent most of the Brothers in Loretto to a variety of schools.

He was to hurry to and follow on site the unfolding of a hideous trial. On December 2 an armed force entered the Convitto Mariano Pio where some Brothers were still living. One of them, Brother Pacifico Balestra, was arrested.

Then began the judiciary's preliminary examination. Monici, the magistrate in charge, waved investigation into premises and any confrontation between teachers and pupils. Twenty-six pupils filed in front of him: all of them youths whom he had brainwashed and compelled in the brutal manner of Lazzaro Isnardi. Only one of them dare to object to the deposition filed in the Inspector's report. Two more were to retract before the Court of Appeals and ascribe their lies to the threats of imprisonment uttered by Monici. At the meetings of an informational commission, appointed as a supplementary inquiry, fourteen schoolboys who had been called to testify replied: "We never saw anything suspicious in our schools".

The judge did not alter his views. Citing the initial report and relying on the statements extorted through fear or intimated to artless innocence, he transmitted the file to the royal prosecutor. The indictment incriminated six Brothers: according to this document the accused had committed their crimes between 1861 and 1864; but of the five who had already been preserved from prosecution by the Vicar-general, one of them, Brother Zenonian, had belonged to the Loretto Community only since May 1863, the second, Brother Francis Saverio, had just arrived on May 1, 1864, the third, Brother Adolph, had, on June 12 of the preceding year, received a new appointment. Neither with respect to them nor with respect to their confreres, Brothers Andrew and Jean Baptist, had the dates and the circumstances of their conjectured acts of depravity been successfully determined.

Conviction *in absentia* was handed down on March 29, 1865. There remained Brother Pacifico, in prison since December, who was to be prosecuted.

From Sinigaglia Brother Floridus wrote to Brother Procurator-general Anacletus on April 12: "Sometimes I need to take my poor heart in my two hands to prevent it from taking leave of me...According to all appearances, we shall have to endure a terrible storm. I do my best to prepare for it at the foot of the Cross, beseeching Him that, since He has willed or permitted that we ascend Calvary, He grant us a glorious resurrection. It's a tightly woven conspiracy and I anticipate that it will be very difficult to undo".

Ten years of solitary confinement was the sentence inflicted, June 12, on Pacifico Balestra by the Assize Court in Ancona. The Brother Vicar was unable to save him, and the slanderers savored their triumph. Living in the midst of ridicule and in an atmosphere of persecution, the Brothers felt so insecure that they took precautions in their correspondence. Brother Floridus' letters during this period assumed a very significant guise. Whether he wrote to Rome or even to Paris, he assumed the language of disguise and referred to himself exclusively under his civilian name, "August Amilhau". Here and there a number of "code" terms emerge: Pius IX is "Uncle", while matters concerning the Institute are dealt with in commercial language; the Brothers become relatives, good friends, *amici sempre carissimi*. It seems as though that in the Italy of 1865, or at least in the central provinces wrung from the Holy See, we catch the scarcely diminished echos of the voice of Brother Agathon conversing with the still loyal Christian Brothers in the days of the French Revolution. Of course, it was not to be a drama with a tragic ending: blood would not be spilled. But peoples' suffering reaches a climax in more cruel encounters than the approach of death: Brother Floridus had experienced it once before in Toulouse.[129] He felt it once again in Loretto.[130] The future held more anguish for

.[129]Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. See above, pg. 22.

him. In 1870, still at work under the supervision of Pius IX, the saintly Brother was doubly afflicted, as a French patriot and as a man dedicated to the Papacy. He was not wanting for the consolations of the spiritual life; and to the very end he remained strong in the defense of his Brothers and in the vindication of his activities.

Toward mid "Peninsula", in 1861, the Institute had left the school in Nocera, and a similar fate was anticipated for the school in Benevento. The latter city, a Papal enclave in the Kingdom of Naples, was inevitably lost to the Pope when the followers of Garibaldi and the Piedmontese expelled the Bourbon Francis II. On September 3, 1860 the people in Benevento rallied clamorously to the victorious troops and struck down the tiara that since 1815 had topped the obelisk erected in the days of Talleyrand and substituted the coat of arms of Savoy. Cardinal-archbishop Dominic Carafa had to quit his palace and his diocese and seek refuge in the Vatican.

Members of Congregations had received orders to disperse. Would the Brothers also sound retreat? The spirited Director, Antonio Lumel, did not think so. His reputation with the citizenry had been well established. During September, the respect that he had inspired kept the highly excited bands of people away from the gates of Saint Sophia. Not a shout disturbed the Community whether at prayer or at rest.

The summer vacation was drawing to an end. On November 3, the traditional date, the Brothers resumed their classes. For them nothing had changed. Exactly one week later, the City Counsel of Benevento deliberated: new laws issuing from Turin obligated it to finance elementary education. Who would it select as teachers? Four persons were named: Gaetano Verrusio, Prosper Airenti, Michael Ceccheti and Emilio Naldini — the four colleagues of Brother Antonio, who was to remain as the Principal of this teaching personnel.[131] It was a bitter-sweet satisfaction for Brother Floridus — consolation in the midst of the suffering which assailed him. He could contemplate with a certain amount of self-gratification this group at work on the banks of the Calore and the Sabato, this oasis spread out at the foot of the Apennines. His confreres there were people in whom one had to have confidence: Brother Prosper Airenti had belonged to a most religious family in Piedmont: his was a lofty soul and an exceptional mind: a meteorologist and an astronomer, he had opened an observatory in Benevento from which both science and agriculture benefitted. Stanislaus Gatti, a Prefect and rather aggressive rationalist, did not hesitate in 1869 to pay public tribute to the Brothers' services. While Brother Prosper's impressed the unbelievers, his faith, his modesty and his patience, on the other hand, edified his religious following. Racked by a slow-moving illness, he accepted suffering marvelously. He was still a young man when he died on May 5, 1877.

Francis Ceccheti, Brother Michael, covered a more spacious career. Born in Sinigaglia in 1834, he came to teach in Benevento as early as 1852, after his novitiate in Orvieto. He earned

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.[130] Documents Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. covering the criminal trial; Brother Vicar-general's letters. — The subject was about to be revived in 1878 when Rome became the capital of the Kingdom of Italy. Brother John Baptist Sbargelli, known at the time as Brother Raffaelle, and employed in the Institution of San Salvatore in Lauro, was found by the police as the result of the gossip of people who had no hostile intentions. Arrested and brought back to Ancona, he was to be hailed into the Assizes Court and would have had to serve time for his condemnation in absential, when the Prosecutor-general of the jurisdiction agreed that there was invalidity and had the accused released. Ibid. Brother Floridus' letters of March 9, and April 9 and 29, 1878. The second of these, addressed to Brother Assistant Aimarus, gives a resumé of the events of 1864-1865.

[131] Vincenzo Jannace, *I Fratelli delle scuole cristiane a Benevento*, 1834-1917. .[131]Dominic Ricci, Biography of Brother Prosper.

the following commendation: “Model for zeal and action, tireless teacher, balanced temperament, deferential regarding the authorities and happy to devote himself to the sons of the people”. He was to be one of Antony Lumel’s successors in the direction of the school, after Brothers Emilio Naldini and Clodoald Mingarelli. The Minister of Public Education honored him with a silver medal and with the honored title *direttore didattico*. The beginning of the twentieth century the people in Benevento would celebrated the old teacher’s “Golden Jubilee.”[132]

They clung to Brother Antonio until his death on October 6, 1883. The St. Sophia school has continued to be one of the delights of their city. In its ancient setting youths in increasing numbers work and thrive. As early as 1862 it was necessary to think about adding new classrooms. During the following year the City Council equipped the institution with more modern furniture; it also decided to provide poor children with school supplies. In 1865 there was another expansion and another financial liberality: a teacher called up as a reinforcement was granted a salary of 425 lires.

Nevertheless, hostility surfaced among the local officials. The spirit that blows from north to south in Italy makes a lot old loyalties waver. At the time that there was question of applying the law of July 7, 1866, a certain Giovanni Tizzani, a government employee, sought to use the occasion for his own advancement: he declared the buildings to be national property; and he seized the notarized titles and the archival documents.

The storm was brief, but violent. As in 1860, Brother Antonio withstood him. While his Institute no longer officially existed, the group he directed would not be banished. The city confirmed the Brothers in their functions as schoolteachers paid, as always, by the Commune. The Director’s influence was effectively utilized to secure for all the Christian Brothers in the kingdom an identical pension with that of priests who belonged to Religious Orders.

The position of teachers had become more sensitive; however, their relations with the civil powers worked out in a rather normal manner. And politician were not slow to sing the praises of their school, as the following text (that dates from December 28) proves: “Education is provided by teachers with dedication and love. The children go gladly to school; they are concerned about studies, and usually they are faithful to do their homework and maintain perfect discipline...We can say with pride that our boys’ school can defend the most honorable rank among those of the principal cities in the province”.

At the time more than 500 students were distributed over five programs that went from the preparatory class to the upper secondary classes.[133] In this instance the change of political regimes had no disastrous effects. In the shadow of the sanctuary of Monte Vergine, under the protection of the Madonna, venerated by Campagnia in this lofty spot, the Brothers peacefully pursued their work of Christian civilization.

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In Rome and within the patrimony of Peter, they still enjoyed, for a few years after 1860, total religious and civil liberty. To tell the truth, though, this good fortune did not happen without some misgiving: the Pope’s temporal power was being maintained only with the support of France. Everything betrayed the precariousness of the situation. Garibaldi, returned to Sicily, had been greeted there by enthusiastic crowds with the cry, “Rome or death!” Basically, the Italian government was in agreement with him; but it dared not incur the

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[132] Article published by the *Settimana di Benevento* for November 23, 1902. — Motherhouse Archives, File KH p 2.

[133] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g and KH p 2. — *Rivista lasalliana* for June, 1940.

discontent of Napoleon III. The Condottieri, leading their volunteers through the southern provinces, had their route blocked by a Piedmont regiment and was forced to submit to a captivity which, on the whole, was benign. T

The skirmish at Aspromonte in 1862 seemed to have proved to the Emperor of the French Victor Emmanuel's good faith. As a result, Turin was able to enter into conversations with Paris in order to obtain the withdrawal of the garrison which protected the Papal States. The end product was the notorious protocol of September 1864. Italy promised not to invade the territory that had been left to Pius IX and to oppose Garibaldi's incursions. The transfer of the kingdom's capital to Florence was to demonstrate that the Savoy monarchy had given up its ambitions for Rome.

France then agreed not to continue its protection of the Holy See. Its occupation was to be terminated during the final days of 1866. Indeed, on December 11, at the expiration of the time-limit agreed upon, the blue, white and red flag of France disappeared from Castel Sant' Angelo.

When people witnessed the lowering of the "tri-color" at the Vatican and from along the Tiber, there was apprehension mixed with "a slight, perhaps imperceptible relief". In some sense, "the foreigner, even when helpful, was always a liability."[134] And occasions for friction between the military and the clergy were never lacking.

And, then, for a period of months an unexpected calm followed the departure of the protecting troops. The distractions of Carnival-time, the Lenten "Stations" and Holy Week Liturgy followed one upon the other in the customary fashion; the City prayed and processed with fervor under the eyes of the Pontiff-King who, in June of 1867, quite solemnly commemorated the 18th centenary of the martyrdom of the Apostle, the first Pope. There was the same influx of people as in 1862 for the beatification of the Japanese martyrs. And then came the announcement of the impending Ecumenical Council.

Summer passed. On September 28 a band of "red shirts" marched on Acquapendanti and spread into the neighboring region. It ran into the Papal Zouaves near Bolsena. The invasion forces infiltrated from the south and through the Valley of the Tiber. On October 22 the revolutionaries attempted a blow at St. Paul's Gate and the City of Rome. Others came down the river on boats.

Count Armard, French Chargé d'affaires, emphasized the complicity of the Florence government and the seriousness of the danger which imperiled Pius IX. The French Emperor decided to send an army corps. While the expedition was being readied, Garibaldi personally arose and attacked Monte Rotondo. On October 28 he came within 9 km. of the City. But a last-minute hesitation in his strategy gave the French time to arrive. And on November 3 he was defeated at Mentana.

"Italy will never seize Rome" declared Rouher, who was the vice-Emperor of France. At the Vatican, people wanted to have confidence in that "never". Bayonets from the other side of the Alps and "Chassepots" which had scattered the invader formed an armed defense on the seven hills. The city's population resumed its carefree existence.

Around the Holy Father intense anxiety replaced the customary concerns. It was important to take advantage of an unhoped for, and perhaps an enduring, stay of execution. Besides, how could the Church mistrust its future? It had been listening carefully to the voice of its leader; and it was looking forward to the dogmatic definition of infallibility. On December 8, 1869 the Council was to open.

No Congregation was more docile to the directives of Pius IX than the Christian Brothers. Those who transmitted the orders to them continued to be Brother Vicar-general Floridus and

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[134] Pierre de La Gorce, *Histoire du second Empire*, Vol. V, pp. 263-264.

the Brother Procurator, Anacletus. The former had been maintained in office at the expiration of his ten-year term. “I desire nothing but what will please Your Beatitude”, wrote Brother Philippe to the Pope in 1860, “whether you prolong the authority of Brother Floridus or whether you select another Vicar, either French or Italian”.

The Pope’s views were clearly stated: they continued to endorse those Brothers whose example and authority contributed so convincingly to discipline and to the unity of the members of the Roman province. A decision was adopted at an audience given on June 22, dispatched under the signature of Cardinal della Genga, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and, on November 15, disclosed to the Directors of institutions by the two consultants of the Vicariate, Brother Gioacchino and Brother Simeon.[135] Ten more years were added to Brother Floridus’ apostolate in Italy, and they were to be the last years of that particular arrangement.

The authority he exercised in cooperation with Brother Anacletus was recognized by everybody because of its importance. The Vicar in charge of Italian Communities in the Papal States and the Procurator-general to the Holy See represented the “Regime” actually and legally at the center of Catholicism; they were in a better position than anyone else to keep the members of their Religious family informed concerning the guidelines of the Court of Rome. Indeed, the Twenty-Second General Chapter, held in Paris in September of 1861, decreed that for the future their “obediences” would carry with them the privilege of being seated, without prior election, at the Institute’s general assemblies.[136]

Equipped with excellent teachers the Papal schools made important progress. Trinita-dei-Monti was, at the time, initiating a particularly brilliant period with Brother Giacinto, whose “advanced training classes” dealt with a broad program: mathematics, bookkeeping, drawing, history, geography, foreign languages and introductory philosophy.[137] At San Salvatore, Brother Vincent was to direct the *schola cantorum*, which was soon to become illustrious. Pius IX himself inspired its foundation. In order to highlight the splendor of major ceremonies, he wished to supply choirs in the patriarchal basilicas with children’s voices. In the early days of his priesthood, he was a confessor to the young pupils in the Ponte Sant’ Angelo neighborhood; and he was charmed by their singing for the month of May and for the patronal feastdays. Having obtained the Brothers’ support, the Pope met a born musician in the person of Brother Vincent who had become captivated by the masterly compositions of Maëstro Capocci.

The training of the schola was the object of the Brother-musician’s every concern. The project had developed so superbly that its distinguished founder granted it his solemn blessing. At the performance of February 1, 1869 there were assembled with the Pope a large number of the “Most Illustrious” and the “Most Reverend” who listened to sixty singers, sweet soprani and harmoniously resonant alti.

A few weeks later, San Salvatore in Lauro pupils played their role at St. Peter’s on Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Easter Sunday. Their audiences lavished praise. And it was decided that five of the best pupils would take part in the “offices” in the Sistine Chapel and in the Julian Chapel.

This was the beginning of the youth groups that Brother Vincent was to lead in song, for the glory of God, in Milan, Naples, Benevento and as far as Lourdes. And while he developed

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135 Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2. – Brother Gregory, Brother Giacchino’s predecessor, had recently died.

136 Brother Superior-general’s circular, no. 327, December 15, 1866.

137 *Opera di San G. B. de La Salle*, 1925 pamphlet, pg. 36.

talent, the teacher took care not to neglect virtue; he quite correctly believed that the most stirring notes, and the only genuinely moving ones, flowed from both pure hearts and melodious voices.[138]

Trinita, San Salvatore, along with Madonna dei Monti, were institutions with long traditions. We are aware, of course, that the Esquiline and Via Ripetta boasted schools of a more recent origin, and several classrooms were opened on the Via Magnanapoli in 1868. Finally, the turn of the teeming Trastevere would come.

The thousands of children on the right bank of the Tiber, in their wretched dwellings and in their congested, vile-smelling alleys deserved to attract the attention of the sons of John Baptist de La Salle, the servant of the poor. Pius IX had commented on this point to Brother Floridus on September 3, 1867. Upon the conclusion of preliminary agreements, a building was rapidly completed. The Pope visited the site in October of 1869 and pronounced it suitable for its purpose; he then handed over to the Brother Vicar the "Brief" to open the new institution. Six teachers and a Director, Brother Antonino, were made responsible for the education of the affable *ragazzi*, a little disheveled and unwashed, but indisputably gracious.

For the support of the Community the Brothers were to receive an annual honorarium of 600 ecus and maintain seven people on these substandard funds; at the time the cost of living in Rome was not expensive. A month after the Pope's visit, 250 children from the Trastevere arrived to be instructed in the rudiments.[139]

The project pleased Brother Philippe. He thanked Pius IX with the warmth and feeling that sprung from De La Salle's pen in 1710 upon learning from Gabriel Drolin of Clement XI's confident gesture.[140] The Founder would have acknowledged in the carissimi fratelli of the ancient quarter the authentic successors to his own courageous disciple. And perhaps a mysterious voice might have told him of the ecclesiastical splendors destined for some exemplary pupil sprung from the Roman people.

With the same benevolence, the architect of St. Yon would have looked upon Brother Simeon's work in the Palazzo Poli. In 1865 seventeen Brothers were employed in this institution. Four of them continued to be paid through the efforts of French officials who also assumed the responsibility for paying the rent on the school building.[141] As always the personnel came from the French Districts; and the program of studies continued to take its inspiration from Béziers and Passy. But among the students the predominance of Italians continue to grow. Out of 78 newcomers in 1868, 47 were Italians. It was a tribute on the part of Roman families to the excellence of a thoroughly Christian education and witnessed to the interest that they attached to a culture of which Brother Simeon and his associates were the legitimate representatives. Regardless of the political changes that might occur, the college founded for the sons of foreign army officers would survive.

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Napoleon III had declared war on Prussia; and, as a number of Bishops had to return to their homelands, the Ecumenical Council suspended its meetings *sine die*. France recalled its soldiers from Rome; and the Holy See retained for its defense only its own army of volunteers, with its all too meager manpower.

The King of Italy grasped the opportunity of disaster at Sedan to unify the "Peninsula". Faced

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138 *Choix de notices*, I, pp. 314-316.

139 Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

140 See Vol. I of the present work, pg. 332.

141 La Croix and Arnaud, report cited.

with Victor Emmanuel located in the Quirinal, Pius IX proclaimed himself a prisoner within the Vatican walls.

The conflict between the two powers prevented Catholics from exercising total patriotism with respect to the House of Savoy. In virtue of the *non expedit* of 1874, they were forbidden to take part in legislative elections — a protest that was to last for more than thirty years.[142]

Thus, nearly ineluctable contingencies determined the direction of the new Italy. The majority of the country continued to be made up of believers. Since the *non expedit* did not extend to local government, many men "of the right", and especially members of the aristocracy, shared the peoples' confidence. These patricians who bore distinguished names and who were traditionally dedicated to the common good, managed, with competence and disinterestedness, the affairs of cities and villages. They presided over charitable projects, they supervised educational institutions.[143] We see them occupying this role along with the clergy and members of Religious Congregations.

The parties in power, however, broke away both in doctrine and in action from the Catholic masses. On their own authority they attempted to settle the fate of the Papacy; the "Safeguard law" declared that the Pope was "inviolable" and recognized him as possessing the free disposition of the Vatican Palace; the honors of a sovereign were due him; and ambassadors of foreign states continued to be accredited to the Court of Rome.

Pius IX could not accept a solution that had been devised without his consent and which ran the risk of placing him under trusteeship. He continued to protest against the confiscation of his temporal dominion; and he refused the monetary compensation that the Italian Parliament had voted.

The overall measures adopted immediately after 1870 by the legislature justified his disaffection and his uneasiness. Church property was nationalized; theology faculties were suppressed in official universities; the position of chaplain disappeared from residence schools; welfare organizations escaped Church control; and a rigorous supervision was placed over institutions of Christian education. Finally, in a few years' time, catechetical instruction in the schools would be subject to family option.[144] June 29, 1873 marked a crucial moment in the politics of Cavour's successors: the total abolition of Religious Orders and the allotment of monastic wealth to the state concluded in all the provinces of the monarchy the destructive work of 1855 and 1866. The Pope raised his voice at the Consistory held on July 25 to condemn this serious violation of the liberty and rights of Catholicism.

Religious society, as set up over the centuries on the "Peninsula", and especially in Rome, was driven back to the margin of civil society. Misunderstood, when it was not violently persecuted, it had to think of itself as foreign to the nation's development. It continued to survive, however, as strong and as radiant as ever, in spite of its turning in upon itself. The authority of the Holy See was asserted everywhere in the world. The Pope had gained a striking reputation in the struggle he conducted against error and disbelief. His suffering had made him all the more revered in the eyes of the faithful; and his apparent defeats were turned into victories. And every day, Italy, regardless of what it did, had to reckon with the decisions that emanated from the Vatican.

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[142] The Italian government did not think that the attitude dictated by the Pope to the faithful was contrary to its own interests. "The Curia's intransigence (according to the future King Humbert I in 1874) was a fortunate arrangement for Italy, because it allowed the movement that would lead to a pacification of the conflict to mature." (Benedetto Croce, History of Italy.)

[143] Ibid. pg. 103.

[144] Ibid. pg. 80.

There was maintained the center of spiritual activity, of theological science, of the missionary apostolate and of disciplinary and moral legislation. The Sacred College of Cardinals, the major Congregations appointed to the various branches of Church government, the episcopal and priestly hierarchy, seminaries, "academies", works of mercy, charity and education, the Vatican was the structure that resisted the severest shocks and the most skillfully planned assaults.

The Venerable John Baptist de La Salle's Institute remained closely bound up with the Rome of the Popes. It had been given as its "Protector" Cardinal Pitra, for whose selection Brother Philippe was able to express his sincere gratitude on the occasion of a Papal audience on January 26, 1870.[145] He was a distinguished French Benedictine, a disciple of Dom Guéranger, who gave no thought to the fact that the Holy Father had conferred upon him a wholly honorific title. He placed at the service of the Brothers the ardor of his zeal, his strength of character and the prestige of his virtue and learning; and during the nineteen years that he remained their "Protector" he withheld from the Brothers neither counsel nor support.

Until 1880 the Procurator-general with whom Cardinal Pitra had to deal was a man familiar to us: Brother Floridus was no longer Vicar, since the term of his second "obedience" arrived in August 1870. One of the "Consulters", Brother Gioacchino of Jesus replaced him. By this reversion to the stipulations of the decree of 1835, Pius IX was acceding to the wishes of the Italians. But, with the full consent of the Pope, the "Regime" wished to maintain at the Curia the collaboration of a very gifted man. Brother Floridus, the experienced veteran and extremely well liked was to succeed his late friend, Brother Anacletus; and he, too, like the latter, was to continue to function until his death.

In 1871, he witnessed the death of his successor in the Vicariate. On September 27, Brother Philippe addressed the following petition to the Holy See: "Since Brother Gioacchino, Visitor-provincial with the title of Vicar, died on August 27, the principal Brothers of the Communities of the Roman Province have expressed the wish that the late, regretted Brother be replaced by Brother Romuald, a native of Rome, who has been Director in Ravenna and for over seven years has been at the head of our institution, St. Ferdinand of Ternes in Paris".[146]

We can understand how the nomination of this Brother won most of the votes. The position he had occupied in France put him in direct contact with the Superiors on Rue Oudinot; he became familiar with the most authentic Christian Brothers' traditions; and, while he was a recognized teacher and an excellent Religious, he had also earned claims to gratitude from his adoptive country because, as an stretcher-bearer during the Franco-Prussian war, he had dedicated himself to the wounded. Furthermore, his confreres in Italy had not forgotten his work in Romagna. Their effort on his behalf turned out to be a bond as enduring as it was substantial. With joy they saw him return to his native land and, with the help of Brothers Simeon and Mario, take over the direction of their Communities.

Several institutions had succumbed during the recent upheaval: Soriano and Viterbo in 1870, and Corneto and Canino in 1871. Tivoli and Civita-Vecchia fell during the following year. Apart from the schools in Rome, there remained only Bolsena, Orvieto, Acquapendente and Castel-Gandolfo.[147]

Even in Bolseno the Brothers had endured some difficult times: a provisional city government had confiscated their building once the Piedmontese were installed in the capital. Nevertheless the lake fishermen kept the Christian teachers of gtheir children, under the

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145 Circular no. 348 bis, dated March 10, 1870.

146 Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2.

147 Ibid., File HB g.

protection of their dear saintly Christine.

In the end, it was Castel-Gandolfo that welcomed the Congregation's recruits. Brother Romuald didn't think that Rome was very favorable for the study and prayer of young disciples. He wanted more quiet for them, more space and more open air than could be found in the ancient Roman neighborhoods. He obtained from the Pope the upper floor of the Cybo Palace which had been occupied by a detachment of Papal soldiers in the days when Pius IX still took his holidays in the region of the Alban hills. On October 31, 1872, Brother Vicar-general lead Brother Director of Novices Emiliano, Brother Alexander and three Postulants to the site.[148]

Confiding in Providence, the Institute prepared the way to a better future. When faced with a government whose benevolence could not be counted on, the present was uncertain. But it was necessary to guarantee a legal existence in the City which had been removed from the Pope's authority. The schools Trinita-dei-Monti, San Salvatore, and in the Trastavere, with their personnel and their Italian programs did not have to fear a pitiless suppression. They would more or less encounter a few vexations. The Vatican, no matter how reduced its resources, would continue to assume the payment of the teachers; the Brothers' renunciation would accommodate itself to material discomfort.

But what was the future of the St. Antonioi School, which was originally French and which did not depend upon either Brother Gioacchino or, after him, Brother Romuald, who were both Italian citizens? Its 1829 charter and its immediate connections with a foreign government raised rather sensitive questions in the aftermath of the seizure of Rome. Brother Floridus who, as Procurator to the Holy See, was responsible for the school, turned to Lieutenant-general La Marmora and explained to him the nature of the institution and the goals pursued both at Notre Dame dei Monti as well as in the associated schools of Magnanapoli, St. Mary Major and St. Roch.

The response was unequivocal: within the year the members of the Community must be equipped with State diplomas and submit to academic inspection.

While Brother Floridus was entreating the French ambassador accredited to the Quirinal in order to point out a line of action to him, the Minister of Public Education was making his bureaucrats responsible for an investigation, the Minister of Finance was saddling the building with an annual tax of 3,000 lires and the Office of Public Lands was contesting the ownership of the Institute's property. It was at this time that the Law of June, 1873 became effective.

The matter was taken in hand at the Farnese Palace. The Marquis Noailles prescribed that his department study the diplomatic and judicial documents relative to the founding of the school. Discussions were held with the Commission for the Settlement of Monastic Property, which negotiations extended into 1875. At the time, France, scarcely recovered from its defeats and suspected of ill-will toward Victor Emmanuel, did not get much of a hearing from a government that was seeking support from Berlin. In any case, justice triumphed. The Italian commissioners recognized the special position of an institution founded by King Charles X, supported by the subsidies of Frenchmen in Rome and the residence of the representative of a Congregation whose headquarters was in Paris. While, in 1881, with the restoration of requirements, it was necessary to yield, and comply with the educational system of the country, St. Antony's School would nevertheless continue to be under the protection of the French Republic; and it would be required that accounts be presented for the embassy's approval.[149]

Similar anguish had been experienced at the college in Poli Palace. Brother Vicar wrote, on

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[148] Ibid., and *Rivista lasalliana* for September, 1941.

[149] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g and KH n2. – La Croix and Arnaud Report.

August 28, 1872, to Brother Assistant Mamert: "You know our critical situation. In Rome all eyes are on our college; its friends hope that it may succeed in order to save some of the children; its enemies look upon it with jealousy and would like to see it collapse".[150]

The departure of the imperial garrison had occasioned inevitably a reduction in the number of students. Subsequently, the statistical curve began to ascend once again. But henceforth, it was the Roman factor that made the principal contribution. The French language had yielded primacy of place, but, in complete harmony with the language of the majority of the student population, French often rang out in the workrooms and on the playing fields.[151].Expressions borrowed from the teachers' native land combined with Italian phrases. And among all the children the custom survived to call a Christian Brother Cher Frère, exactly in the manner of their counterparts on the other side of the frontier. The tragedies of Corneille and Racine, La Fontaine's fables and Bossuet's sermons were familiar literature to Brother Simeon's students. And parents were delighted to hear their sons speak easily and correctly a language which occupied such a high place in world civilization.

In this sense the Brothers work in Italy was far from expiring, in spite of the collapse or the modification of the foundations upon which the first institutions were constructed. With the cooperation of the Church and of families, it continued in Piedmont, Parma, Benevento and in the capital. Struggles, difficulties and misgivings were to be expected; in his last hours, Brother Philippe had reason enough for anxiety; like most Catholics among his contemporaries, he was distressed by the dissolution of the temporal power of the Popes, and he feared assaults on the part of Freemasonry. But, having confirmed his Brothers in their faith, he had not lost hope in stabilization, reconquest and greater successes in the future. He had opened the whole surface of the globe as the field of action for his Institute. And, first of all, in western Europe the Christian Brothers, in spite of opponents and persecutors, had met with a mass of the faithful who were prepared to understand them, to assist them and to spread their schools.

150 Motherhouse Archives, File KH n2.

151 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1914; Brother Siméon's obituary, 1899; College Yearbook, 1910

CHAPTER TWO

Belgium

In the era of Brother Philippe, after France, it was the small, heavily populated, enterprising and generous Kingdom of Belgium that contributed to the most magnificent growth of the work of the Christian Brothers. Here the Brothers, indeed, undertook enterprises and founded institutions which became models for other nations. From this point of view, their efforts, between 1838 and 1874, as a prologue to the total accomplishments of the following period, deserve a particularly attentive examination.

This flowering was so superb because it grew in an atmosphere of freedom. We have referred to the principles of the Constitution of 1831:[152] new nation owed its birth to a revolt of people in the name of oppressed conscience; thus, it repudiated absolutism in politics and sectarianism in religion; and it demanded of its citizens to preserve their union through mutual respect for opinions and beliefs and through greater individual and collective initiative, as long as it did not imperil the nation.

This sincere union found one of its best expressions in the celebrated "article 17" voted in by Congress in December of 1830: "Education is private; every obstructive measure is forbidden; prevention of violations is reserved exclusively for the law."

Deeds corresponded to the letter of the law. As we saw, in June of 1834, the Belgian episcopacy decided to resurrect the ancient University of Louvain which, after having been opened in Malines, was finally moved two years later to the city of its birth. The Masonic Lodge, called "The Philanthropic Friends", presided over by Theodore Verhaegen were able to reply to the Bishops by founding the University of Brussels.[153]

Until 1842 the central government abstained almost totally from intervening in the school system. Only the Communal and Provincial authorities, through the laws of March and April 1836, had acquired rights that were quite justifiable: — the appointment of teachers in the public schools, the inspection of classes and the supervision of the power of those teachers who received public funds.[154].

Moreover, there were no obstacles placed in the way of the clergy or Catholics to increase the number of completely private schools. While the Brothers relied upon the Communal government at Péruwelz, Bouillon and Chimay, while at Nivelles, Soignies and Gembloux their "adopted" class welcomed every child, while the Minister of the Interior, the Provincial Council and the Communal Council or the Welfare Bureau partially assisted them in Dinant, Ath, Tournai, Charleroi and Mons, the schools in Namur, Liége, Verviers, and Brussels (important and early foundations), remained in the hands, and at the expense, of the Bishops, the pastors and the committees which had recalled the disciples of De La Salle to Belgium.

It was by way of an appeal to the charity of the faithful of Liége that in 1840 Bishop Van Bommel, ever devoted to the cause of the Christian education, meant to create new institutions.

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[152] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 54-55.

[153] *Histoire de la Belgique comtemporaine,* 1830-1914, Vol, III, Part Nine, Education in Belgium Since 1830, by August Mélot, Brussels, 1930.

[154] *Moniteur belge* for July 6, 1842: Report of Minister Nothomb Concerning the Educational Situation

And "his success outstrip his hopes."[155].At that time, Liége numbered 18 Brothers, four schools and more than 1,000 pupils under the direction of the energetic Brother Gilbert.

The political regime established in 1831, therefore, bore excellent fruit. In spite of difficulties and anxieties with which the nation grappled in order to consolidate its independence, a splendid accomplishment was realized: Belgians, avoiding partisan quarrels, vied with one another in dedication and understanding in order to increase their store of knowledge, and, especially, in order to improve the education of the masses. Primary schools, which numbered 4,046 before the rupture between Brussels and The Hague reached the figure of 5,189 at the end of ten years.[156] Their school population had increased to 160,000 pupils. Among the promoters and benefactors of education, a distinguished place belongs to the Bishops and pastors, to the great aristocratic families and to the middle class which, launched into industrial and financial enterprises, had begun to enjoy a remarkable prosperity.

Thus, in Verviers, a textile center, the Simonis firm, which had been known since the 17th century, employed a part of the revenue that it earned from the invention of mechanical equipment for the benefit of the children of the people.[157] In Namur the zealous apostle of Christian education continued to be Joseph William Danheux; no one more than he strove to supply funds to teachers whom, until his death, he surrounded with a sensitive concern.[158] He met with friendly competition, however, in the persons of Victor Bodart and Lady Julian Brabant; this Namur family proposed to guarantee the future of the Brothers' Institute in Belgium; in a deed, dated January 5, 1839, they gave the Major Seminary (provided with all legal rights) the building in which resided Brother Amos, the representative of the Superior-general in the kingdom. "Buildings, gardens and out-buildings" were henceforth to serve the Brothers, the teachers of the poor, under the protection of the Bishop. And the Vicar-general, Nicolas Jeanty, crowned this generosity by contributing a capital sum of 40,000 francs, the interest on which would constitute the Community's annual income.[159]

In Brussels in 1832 the names of the highest nobility were included on the list of the early founders of popular schools: the Mérodes, the Arenbergs, the Man d'Obruges and the Sécus. And we shall be pointing out other names, in the course of the century, on the "Committee for the Christian Schools" which continued to consider as an essential project the support and development of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in the royal city.

These great lords consorted with the Deans of St. Gudule and with the pastors of St. James and Notre Dame de Sablon; the same charitable concerns and the same understanding of the social order inspired alike priest and layman. Elsewhere, priests retained the initiative and assumed the responsibility for foundations; in Boom, in the Province of Anvers, a Vicar, Father Deckx, operated a primary school with the help of his colleague Van Zeebroeck; in 1840, he induced the heirs of Bishop Van de Velde to erect a school building on parochial property and a chapel in which the children could come and pray. Later on, he handed this foundation over to Brother Amos' associates.[160]

In Hainaut, Benedict Joseph Lemaître, pastor of Charleroi, did not have to wait so long to

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155 Hutin*, l'Institute des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes en Belgique*, Vol. II, pp. 38-39, Namur, 1912.

156 Ibid., pp. 370-373

157 Nothamb, report cited.

158 *Livre d'Or du centenaire de l'Independence belge,* 1930, pg. 409.

159 See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 56 et sq. Hutin, II, pg. 143.

160 Archives of the Brothers' Institute. History of Boom.

arrange for the Brothers' cooperation. He was terrified by the irreligion that penetrated the souls of his flock in this city in which human bodies were subjected to harsh labor. Through the instrumentality of a journalist, named Kersten, he sent up his cry for help: he needed money to attempt the necessary rescue. Subscriptions, loans, lotteries followed one upon another: a building was purchased on Rue Dampremy, on the left bank of the Sambre. In October of 1840,[161] three Christian Brothers took possession of it.

In 1842 the convergence of these energies had obtain considerable results, which translated — as concerned the Brothers of the Christian Schools — into the following statistics:145 teachers, 16 schools, and 7,130 pupils.[162]

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The first phase was smartly negotiated. But the route to be traversed stretched out almost infinitely. How many were the vagrant, shepherdless children, indeed how many the citizen still without the most rudimentary education! In a report presented to the House, Minister Nothomb provided the following inventory of "totally illiterate militiamen": out of 3,423 from the Province of Anvers in 1837, 1,284 were illiterate; in 1841 there were 1,590 out of 3,813; in Brabant in 1836 nearly half of those called up were unlettered; five years latter there were 2,556 out of 4,896. Limbourg and the Province of Namur were a little more evenly matched: in the latter 608 recruits out of 1,934 and in the former 676 out of 1,690 at the first test knew neither how to read nor write; 541 out 2,335, 715 out of 1,807 were similarly described according to the official figures in 1842.[163].

While Belgium at that time was not included among the most disadvantaged nations, it had no reason to be satisfied. And while private undertakings had fulfilled their tasks quite well, they were in no position, from border to border, to replace the State.

The State, of course, had not disengaged itself from education. From the ancient Dutch system it had retained the "normal schools" in which to train a certain number of country schoolteachers and where, at the same time, the sons of the middle class prepared for collegiate studies. Through subsidization, the State also encouraged popular education: for this purpose 2,718,000 francs were written into the budgets of the ten previous years.[164] The laws of 1836 had imposed obligations upon the provinces to assist the scholastic structures that had been introduced into the cities and villages. Perhaps it would be difficult for a government that was mindful of its duties to confine itself to such a modest role, to remote arbitration. The 17th article of the Constitution, the principal declaration of which we have quoted, concludes with the following with the following passage: "Public education funded by the State is also subject to the law."

This text created controversies: champions of absolute freedom refused to regard it as the beginning of broader legislation in the area of education. In their mind, the majority of Congress had thought to do no more than to forbid any encroachment on the part of the civil authority into the domain reserved to the Church, families and organizations. Catholics, who defended this interpretation, feared a return to the "Napoleonic University" in Belgium. They found themselves surrounded by people nourished on 18th century ideas and suspicious of the

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[161] Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 287 et sq.

[162] Idem., II, pg. 39. — A seventeen institution, while located in France, was associated with the Belgian group: that was the school in Trélon, founded in 1839 by Count Felix Mérode. (Op. cit., pp. 234-235.

[163] *Moniteur belge*, for July 6, 1842

[164] Nothomb Report.

clergy, who were called "liberals" and who, historically, must be designated by this term, which is certainly open to ambiguity.

An alliance had been set up among conflicting parties against King William. It had existed since the declaration of independence under the aegis of King Leopold. And it was in order to avoid disrupting that alliance that any fundamental law concerning education had been postponed for as long as possible. In the domain open to benevolent activities each had to take its chances. However, basically, no one thought that such a situation could continue. The liberals could not admit that the State should renounce what they believed to be its rightful supremacy by abstaining from its prerogatives not only of supervision and control, but of the direction of national education. Catholics had to acknowledge that the system adopted up to that time was shot through with awkward loopholes: Communes were not obliged to open schools; so that throughout the country there lingered zone of illiteracy. Further, here and there, teachers were likely to be selected without adequate guarantees. At the same time, their future was precarious: one might suffer in a village as the result of frugality pushed to the ultimate limit; while another became the victim of personal hostility.

In order to establish a reasonable law that was also capable of preserving both religious and political peace, it was crucial to bring the Belgians to make reciprocal concessions. Neither the Church nor the State was to possess an educational monopoly. Religion would have to retain its place in the school; and ministers of religion would have to rule on the orthodoxy both of teachers and of textbooks. The central government was to require the opening of a local school in every Commune;[165]Except "in a case of necessity" where several neighboring Communes "might be authorized to cooperate in the founding or maintenance of a school." (Art. 1 of the Law of September 23, 1842.) and it was to require teachers to prove their educational competence and their moral character, while allowing the Communal Councils to choose between lay-people and members of Religious Orders; and it was to draw up a program of studies and supervise its implementation.

In this way the two powers, the civil and the ecclesiastical, in mutual understanding and in a most fruitful manner, would have to cooperate. Bishop Van Bommel had defended this position in a pamphlet that was widely read and extensively commented upon his colleague in Ghent, Bishop Delebecque, to tell the truth, feared the remote consequences of a new modus vivendi: "Catholics", he observed, "have made heroic efforts to develop private education; we are about to loose all that; one day they will take it away, and we shall have to begin all over".[166] On this point his prediction was accurate. Families, satisfied with the catechetical instruction provided by public education, showed less interest in the private schools, which, however, survived without experiencing any legal obstacles. Thirty-seven years after the Law of September 23, 1842, when a sectarian government wanted to screen young children from the Church's influence, the guarantees of liberty contained in the fundamental text of 1831 would take on their full importance; the proud personality of Flamand and Walloon was inflexible; and the faith of the Belgians proved unfaltering.

During the period of which we speak Catholics maintained the full authority of the law and liberals respected it, as we shall notice in the principal orientation of new educational legislation. There we shall once more meet with the inspiration which, in France, dictated the ideas of June 28, 1833,[167]but more emancipated from statist and "academic" canons.

This breadth of view becomes apparent from the opening articles. "When a locality is

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[165] Mélot, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

[166] Ibid.

[167] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 81 et sq.

adequately equipped by private schools with what it requires by way of elementary education, the Commune may be dispensed from the obligation of establishing a school of its own".[168]

Of course, it was up to the civil government — "permanent deputies" of the Provincial Counsels and, in the last analysis, the royal government — that it belonged to decree the dispensation or the authorization; and the Minister, for serious reasons, might withdraw approval from a school.[169]Communes, however, enjoyed a vigorous independence, since the mayor and the his counsellors chose the teachers. And the sole purpose of designated restrictions was to eliminate the incompetent: during a transitional period Ministerial approval would be necessary for the appointment of teachers; indeed, many did not immediately have up-dated certificates. They claimed a profession, past experience or a fresh and fair knowledge. Once a time-limit of four years had passed after the promulgation of the law, candidates would have to prove they "had successfully attended" courses in a Normal School: but — and here again we meet with excellent "liberalism" — besides State Normal Schools and "education classes attached to the old 'Normal Schools'", which henceforth were called "higher elementary schools", the Belgian system acknowledged and sanctioned the existence of private schools whose pupils would be admitted into public education, if they wished it and if their work warranted it.[170] The Christian Brothers did not delay to make marvelous use of this arrangement.

In a matter which greatly concerned them — gratuity — the official text of the law only partially coincided with their Rule. Like France at this time, Belgium believed that education, even elementary education, had to be paid for. Only poor children were absolved from paying any compensation. Each year, the Communal Counsel, following the advice of the Welfare Bureau, "decided upon the number of the indigent" that could be admitted to the classes. For the schooling of this group the local budget would carry as an expense either a subsidy or a per capita payment.[171] As teachers in public schools, the Brothers ran the risk of running afoul of the government if they were unwilling to accept anything from well-to-do families. On the other hand, they had no reason to refuse the aggregate subsidy set aside to defray the expenses of non-paying pupils.[172]

The heaviest responsibility for elementary education, on the whole, fell to the Communes: this was inevitably the correlative to the autonomy which Belgian tradition granted to the Communes. It involved the building and maintenance of appropriate school-sites, guaranteeing personal residences and salaries to teachers, the minimum of which was 200 francs — the same basic sum that their colleagues on the other side of the frontier had been receiving since 1833. But Provincial Counsels had to vote subsidies in order to assist cities, villages and rural communities to manage pension funds and to found scholarships for students in Normal Schools.[173]

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168 The Law of September 23, 1842, arts. 2 & 3.

169 Art. 4.

170 Articles 10, 33 & 35. — With special approval from the governement, the Communes might still invite teachers other than Normal School students to the function of teacher.

171 Article 5.

172 Moreover, it was quite expressly to facilitate an agreement between the Communes and the Brothers that the term "subsidy" was mentioned together with "tuition," at the request of the representative Devaux: "In the Communes," he said, "where a subsidy is granted to a school, for example to a school of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, except to admit the poor children of the neighborhood, [I believe that] the government does not mean to substitute individual tuition for this mode." (Parliamentary discussion of the law, meeting August 12, 1842.)

173 Articles 20, 21, 24.

With respect to the program of studies it was important not to leave it to the impulse of a local authority. Article 6 listed the subjects of study: religion, morality, reading, writing, the legal system of weights and measures, introductory arithmetic and, according to the language spoken in the region, French, Flemish or German grammar. It was an unpretentious but indispensable fund of human knowledge, like that which the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle had been supplying their pupils since the 17th century and quite similar to that which Guizot had prescribed for the children of the people.

The courses taught in the Normal Schools and in the advanced primary schools gave rise to the hope that for the benefit of future pupils, future teachers would learn to elaborate this very sparse subject matter: why teach Normal students drawing, surveying, geometry, natural science, music, gymnastic, geography and history,[174] if they didn't have to use them to inspire the more talented children to new horizons? By improving his own mind the teacher would in fact be pursuing his primordial, however humble, task: he would be joining the useful to the essential; he would be exhibiting a capacity for varying and expanding his lesson plans in accordance with the aptitudes of his pupils and with the needs of time and place. Lay and Religious teachers would vie with one another to provide the nation with genuinely educated youth.

And prior to all knowledge, he would situate his conscientious responsibilities. In 1842 legislators who would desire to deprive children of a religious atmosphere were quite uncommon. At that time most of the Liberals wished only to restrict priestly influence without claiming to destroy the Faith. Their tenets claimed nothing more than respect for diversity of convictions. They secured the law's approval, since the sons and daughters of non-Catholic parents were dispensed from attending catechism classes.[175].

For believers, instruction in dogma and morals would be provided generously, competently, with a complete control of the subject matter "under the direction of the clergy professed by the majority of the pupils."[176] "At any time" the pastor — for schools with Protestant or Jewish children, the Minister or the Rabbi — could enter the classroom, had the right to attend religion courses and, in this matter, could examine the knowledge of the young auditors.[177]He would not be faced with an ill-informed teacher: but in every Normal School a chaplain not only fulfilled his duties in the chapel but was included as a member of the teaching staff.

And, as a matter of course, in institutions founded by the heads of the Church this cultivation of the Christian mind was vigorously promoted and enhanced as well by the practice of the Commandments, the frequentation of the Sacraments and by the various practices of piety.

Priests' activities went even further. Over-and-above the local clergy, there functioned an inspector, a diocesan appointee when, because of the Faith of its school population, the institution belonged to the bishops' jurisdiction. This trained representative assessed the moral quality and the catechetical skills of the teacher.[178] Further, he teamed up with the civilian administrators, the Cantonal and Provincial inspectors. When the Principals met "in conference at least once a quarter" and the teachers within their competence, the church delegate was in a position to fulfill his role on this occasion: he expressed his opinion in these deliberations; and if the conference dealt with moral or religious questions, rather than a counsellor, he spoke as

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174 Article 33.

175 Art. 6 in fine

176 Same art.

177 Art. 7.

178 Art. 7. Same article.

one who presided over the discussion.[179]

A "Central Educational Committee" took charge of the direction of the official educational philosophy. Every private school that wished to receive a subsidy "or any allocation" from the Commune, the Province or the State, as well as the public schools, were placed under its control. At the same time it had to be open to the civilian inspectors. Its textbooks had to be subject to inspection by upper-level administration.

But here, once again, the State displayed its desire to cooperate with the Church. The bishops' delegates had access to the Central Committee. While they merely had a voice in drawing up study programs, they exercised a vote whenever religion was under discussion. Approval on the part of "religious leaders" was certainly indispensable for books that had to do with morality or revealed truth. As a consequence, the civil authority protected itself against going beyond the limits of its competence; and each year it was to require an Episcopal report concerning the way teachers fulfilled their educational task in cooperation with the clergy.[180]

It was in this fashion that the Belgian educational system was set up for a lasting future. Of course, it was no longer the limitless freedom which had prevailed immediately after the Revolution of 1830. There was an undeniable tendency toward centralization, toward government control of popular education; and quite distinctive ambition put in its appearance to strengthen national unity by subjecting minds to the same practices and by giving them a fixed direction. In the new system the Church gained nothing: the State deprived it of the paramount position that in ancient times it had occupied in the formation of minds.

But the State treated the Church as an ally. It invited the Church into its counsels, it joined the priest to the teacher, it acknowledged the Episcopacy's teaching authority, and it appreciated the effectiveness of religious Congregations. Between public and private school, far from raising insurmountable barriers, its purpose continued to be to multiply contacts and to stimulate competition. Students in private Normal Schools were admitted into the structures of official education, with the sole proviso that the Principals of these institutions accept the supervision of Provincial inspectors. Communal "adoption" converted the system created by Catholic initiatives into the city mechanism. In fact, foundations which did not enjoy this privilege were not ignored nor were they considered suspect: the teachers they selected were invited to take part in Cantonal conferences and to cooperate there for the "progress" of education.[181]

Finally, to the competition set up between schools all children were admitted: compulsory for classes under inspection, these contests could be extended to the entire school population.[182] The vote in the Chamber in favor of the law was nearly unanimous. Of the representatives, only three members voted against it: Delfoss, Savart and a militant Freemason named Theodore Verhaegen.

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Such was the edifice in which henceforth the Brothers, back on Belgian territory for twelve years, would live and act. Their name had been mentioned on several occasions while the legislators' work was being hammered out. Catholic members of parliament advocated the teaching of these skillful and dedicated Religious, insisted that their methods be followed, their Rule be respected, and that the Communes be assisted in the ways of retaining or choosing such

[179] Article 7 and 14.

[180] Article 7, 8 and 9.

[181] Article 14.

[182] Article 29.

remarkable educators. The Liberals repressed their prejudices, flaunted their impartiality and even seized the occasion to pay tribute to those whom nevertheless they considered hostile to "modern thought".

A Conservative member, M. Brabant, having requested that the Communes not shrink from assuming responsibility for Christian Brothers' schools in spite of the total gratuity involved in their philosophy, M. Lebeau, a Liberal who disclaimed all sectarianism, spoke against the amendment: he saw in it, he said, the prospect of a "dangerous reaction", an eventual pretext for closing schools. In his view, then, it was in the carefully considered interests of the Brothers that he opposed granting them a too large place in the school system; for, in a variety of circumstances, he had experienced the service that these teachers were able to provide to elementary education. He understood "the successful results of their patience, their gentleness and their teaching", the excellent influence that they exercised "on the character of the poor children entrusted to their care".

The Interior Minister, Nothomb, was entirely of the view of the previous speaker: "Like the Honorable M. Lebeau", he valued "the marvelous dedication and selflessness of the Brothers". Furthermore, the government proposals "could not be more favorable to them". Since there was a new obligation incumbent upon the Communes to admit the poor tuition-free into the schools, mayors and supervisors would strive to fulfill this duty "with a minimum of sacrifice". With full freedom they would certainly appeal to teachers who were prepared to ask for nothing more than was necessary.

The reply did not supply a perfectly adequate solution to the problem. Brabant appeared to be satisfied with it. But he hastened to vouch for the upright intentions of those Religious with whom "he was intimately connected": people must not think that they "will interfere" where they are not wanted. "They have no thought of escaping civil authority." And in order to manifest the fidelity of the Christian Brothers, their advocate alluded to the line of conduct that they had pursued in France: "This institution, which has its principal headquarters and its Superior-general, in Paris", and which is certainly not in the position that some of our countrymen imagine (by assuming that it is "the tool of an omnipotent clergy"), this institution is subject to all the requirements of the French law of 1833.[183] In this way Belgium would not regret having placed its confidence in the disciples of the great educator from Champagne. The Belgian government, for as long as it remained faithful to the inspiring ideas of 1830 and maintain moral unity and religious peace among its citizens, raised no serious obstacles to the growth of the Institute's schools. These would continue to deserve the goodwill of the Episcopacy. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines and his suffragans, in a circular addressed to the pastors on January 26, 1843, wrote: "Think of yourself as fortunate if it is given to you to see at the head of your educational institutions the good Brothers to whom we are pleased to pay tribute. Assure them of all our affection...[Quite gladly] we add the mark of our esteem and gratitude for them to the tributes of the representatives of the nation dots, and to the praise that public opinion accords to these friends of youth".[184]

The quality of the men whom Brother Philippe had chosen to oversee successfully the Christian Brothers' schools was to justify this friendly attitude. Brother Amos had succeeded to the position of Brother Claude, the discerning negotiator and diligent organizer. Head of the Belgian schools since 1835, Brother Amos was a sturdy native of Lorraine who had just past his forties when the law involving elementary education had been concluded in Leopold's kingdom. His candid glance brightened an otherwise rather heavy, frowning face; his shoulders

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[183] *Moniteur belge*, for August 13, 1842.

[184] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 39-40.

were able to support the burden of numerous undertakings; his broad forehead brimmed with energy, wisdom and maturely meditated decisions;[185] and thoughts were orderly sorted, tasks executed precisely. He was a Brother who was profoundly convinced of his mission, a guide who took the right road without a backward look. Like a good father he surrounded both his spiritual sons and the young children of the people with attention. He wanted to see novices who were pious and learned, teachers who were zealous for their work. But he also insisted that they reside in spacious, adequately equipped buildings; and that there be no haggling over expenses when it came to the Brothers' health or the care provided the infirm and the elderly.[186].

Assured of the cooperation of both church and civilian authorities, Brother Amos, with his unassuming group of some 180 active teachers,[187]and 36 candidates in training, agreed to broaden the base of his operations, which, as we shall see, were to develop in Namur, in the Province of Luxembourg, in Brabant and Hainaut, as far as Flanders.

But in 1844 he was to leave his post. He was the Belgian Brothers' delegate to the General Chapter held in Paris beginning on the 2nd of February. There he was made an Assistant, an office which, as a good and courageous adviser to Brother Philippe, he filled for thirty years.[188]

Brother Xiste, a native of Nantes and longtime Director in Marseille, promptly replaced him as Visitor-provincial. The position demanded a great deal of drive and tact, since the number of Brothers' residences had by that time risen to twenty-four, with thirty-four schools and 119 classes to maintain, with constant satisfaction to be given to bishops and committees of benefactors, and with a variety of interests to be protected vis-á-vis the government, the Communes and civilian inspectors. Would Brother Xiste's strength support the burden? He certainly did not lose favor, since, at the end of three years, he was authorized by the Superiors to remain in Belgium and support his successor in the handling of temporal services. He died in Namur in 1862, a pious old man surrounded by respect.[189] The Visitor appointed in 1747 was Brother Sancien. He came from Avignon, preceded by a reputation for administrative skill and a sensitive kindness. Born in Douai on July 2, 1800, he had not entered the Institute until he was twenty-two years old, at the end of his military service; he had been moved to the depths of his soul by a preacher in a church in Versailles. And as soon as he was liberated from the barracks, he hastened to the novitiate in the Faubourg St. Martin. At first, he continued to be employed in the famous Parisian institution, fully formed in the Religious life and no doubt, too, never far out of sight of Brother Guillaume de Jésus, in the principles of wise management. He then became a teacher in the schools of Rouen, a city rich with memories, and the custodian of the mortal remains of the Holy Founder. The South of France, where obedience called him in 1839 as Director, was the beneficiary of his zeal for eight years.[190]

Thus it was another Frenchman whom the Superior-general called to head the Belgian Communities. But, like each of his predecessors, Brother Sancien became devoted to his adopted country. He rapidly became acquainted with the laws that he was commissioned to administer; he was knowledgeable and, within reason, conciliatory when called upon to confer with politicians. Neither in speech, nor in temper, nor in mentality did he feel foreign on the banks of the Meuse nor of the Escaut. He made friends as, tirelessly, he pursued his task.

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185 See the frontispiece in Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 128.

186 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 138 et sq

187 Ibid.

188 Concerning Brother Amos see the Index to Vol. V of the present work.

189 Hutin, pp. 170-171.

190 Ibid., pg. 195.

During Brother Philippe's generalate, Belgium had no other local Institute Superior. And during the first months of the following generalate the Visitor, in a final effort, was still at his post. Having predicted the day of his death, he died on the Feast of All Saints in 1874. In February of 1847 he headed 210 Brothers spread over twenty-nine institutions; he would leave forty growing Communities in which resided 475 Brothers.

In his seventies, illness had not spared Brother Sancien. In order to force him to take some rest, about the end of 1869 Brother Philippe appointed as his assistant Brother Marianus, with the title of Auxiliary-Visitor. In another volume we have written about this native of Rheims:[191] his role in Belgium was of the first importance. We shall examine it later on and we shall discover the soul and mind of a very talented teacher who had bold ideas and exercised a prolific initiative.

Around these captains there were valuable lieutenants who guided an obedient and tenaciously experienced team. Louis Francis Clément (Brother Charles) was one of the handsomest Christian Brothers of the 19th century:[192] he continued to direct the schools in Brussels; born in Picardy and a novice belonging to the District of St. Omer, where he had fallen under the powerful influence of Brother Abdon, become a Parisian at St. Germain Auxerre, he was able, from the moment of his immigration outside of France, to gain the friendship of his new fellow citizens. The Brabant nobility respected and supported him; his many pupils paid him affectionate tributes. Until his death, he belonged body and soul to Belgium. And in 1882 his adopted land would give shelter to his remains.

For the salvation of the souls of the children of the people, and for the success of Christian civilization St. John Baptist de La Salle's native land fraternally provided its northern neighbor with some of its best apostles. The Catholic region of Germany did the same and was to preserve the tradition of sending many of its own sons. But, from the very beginning, a people that was completely devoted to the Church found in its own midst a seed which was to blossom out in a splendid flowering: we have already met with the names of Brother Macorat and Brother Auxence — true Walloons.[193]

We shall see Belgian recruits increase, and we shall pause to view the work and the features of resolute founders, of distinguished teachers and real saints in Ghent, Malonne and Carlsbourg. Here we shall sketch the profile of those two model Brothers who established the reputation of the schools in Tournai: Brother Macrobius and Brother Maur.

The former came to Clovis's ancient city in 1831, where he was welcomed by a superb group of distinguished people from among the Dumortier-Willaumez', the Boucher-Lefevres and the Caziers.[194] He was born to a family who lived in Namur; he entered the Institute of the Brothers well before King William's persecution; and, upon leaving the novitiate, he taught youngsters in Liége in 1821. Rather than abandon his vocation, he followed his Superiors during the days dispersion and exile. Gentle, kindly, and of delicate constitution, he was able to put pressure upon himself and overcome fatigue when the interests of souls were as stake. Bishop Gaspard Joseph Labis of Tournai thought of him as one of his most active associates in the charitable and educational works with which his episcopate was amply provided. New schools were opened and catechetical instruction was organized in the most effective way

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[191] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 498. The Saint Vith Canton, in which Brother Marianus was born, has belonged to Belgium since the treaties of 1919.

[192] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 64-65.

[193] See the Index to Vols. IV and V of the present work.

[194] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 559, and Vol. V, pg. 61.

possible. They were also emboldened to attempt courses in "arts and crafts": apprentices sought instruction under the authority of some of the city's employers. The commercial mentality of some of the business people, who speculated on pupils' work, and their attitude toward the Brothers who were treated as underlings, unfortunately, obliged Brother Macrobius in about 1842 to put an end to the enterprise. There remained to them the distinction of precursors: in an as yet far off future, the work, significantly transformed but this time feasible, would be revived.

Four years after illness had forced the splendid worker to put an end to all exertion,[195] Brother Maur became responsible for the schools in Tournai. Julian Joseph Moureau, as he had been called, came from the same province as the former Director. Born in Jambe-les-Namur on June 26, 1816, at the age of thirty-one years, he took possession of the assignment that he would occupy for the rest of his life. Physically, he presented a striking contrast to Brother Macrobius: powerfully built, with a broad, full face and thick, prematurely grey hair, he was possessed of a quiet energy, a sense of certainty in his glance; on his lips, and in his eyes, as well as in the curve of the ample nose there was something which grasped and, with a firm grip, held the attention and the confidence of the listener.

Brother Maur was involved at the head of a school in Dinant that was composed of four classes. The six decades of his tenure in Tournai completely revealed his personality. Until August 26, 1877, the date of his death, he was in a position to quicken the life of studies: the level that they were to achieve would elevate the Brothers' schools in the city to the first rank in popular education throughout the Province of Hainaut. Such was their success that several middle-class families and, indeed, some from the upper levels of society, chose to send their sons to the Brothers. The Director was unable to say "no" to urgent overtures: — on condition, however, that the classes remained tuition-free, in conformity with the Rule of the Institute. Parents — many of them the Community's regular benefactors — simply retained the right, as was fitting, to contribute their alms to the coffers of Leopold Delmarle, who was the treasurer of the School Commission. In the beginning, the sons of the rich and the sons of workmen took their places in the same teacher's classroom, and between them friendly competition was encouraged. Later on, as the middle-class school population increased, it was thought necessary to start special classes for them, which would become the school that was to be called "Notre Dame."[196]

The poor, however, were not neglected. Brother Maur proved his partiality for them: he preferred to teach those who were preparing for First Communion. He bestowed a patient concern upon the less well endowed and, for their benefit, deployed every resource of his pedagogical skills. Further, a devotee of cleanliness and hygiene — in this, as in other qualities of his character, genuinely Belgian — where pupils were concerned he refused to economize on fresh air, water or sanitation. His sense of order and consideration surfaced at every turn as well as his authority and his kindliness.[197] In Tournai he left behind him a blessed memory.

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This rapid excursion through the portrait gallery has enabled us to glimpse in the background the schools that were already flourishing. The majority of the initial foundations dated from a

[195] See portrait in Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 336. Brother Macrobius had to retire to Châcon-sur-Marne in 1843, where he dies of typhoid fever on October 18, 1844 at the age of forty-five.

[196] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 310 et sq.

[197] Ibid., pg. 335.

period prior to 1842. In this respect Bishop Delebecque's opinion[198] is confirmed — at least in part: the law which in important ways pacified Catholics, as a normal counterpart, had a chilling effect on their zeal for private schools. Overall figures for the period whose history we are writing provide eloquent witness: in 1840 there were 2,284 private schools of the 5,189 institutions for elementary education; in 1875, while the general total exceeded 5,587, the category of schools attributable to individual initiative (and especially to the injunctions of the clergy) was reduced to 1,480.[199]

Nevertheless, we must know how to interpret statistics. As regards the Brothers' schools we should fall into total error if we thought that they had deteriorated in activity, quantity or results. The truth is exactly the reverse. Their teaching personnel increasingly rose to the level of its task; its popularity continued to be vast; and since the school population was growing, an intensive recruitment of teachers was required. Very few Christian Brothers' schools were closed. New ones were opened; and old ones were expanded or acquired affiliates and extended their instructional program and the circle of their influence.

This, indeed, was the mark of the times: in cities in which the Brothers had been known pastors and committees which previously had concluded agreements with the Institute's Superiors were not only determined not to do without such a valuable and outstanding service, but they sought more significant programs. And elsewhere, this example had its effects; local circumstances provoked a call for help sent up in the direction of the Visitor-provincial in Namur or the central government of the Congregation in Paris.

The growth of the schools in Brussels is a good illustration of this situation. In the neighborhood of the collegiate school of St. Gudule, there existed at the time "a maze of alleys twisting around small gardens and orchards": it was the neighborhood of Notre-Dame-aux-Neiges. The population that dwelt there, poor and illiterate, represented all sorts of nationalities: — Italians, accordion players, organ grinders, studio models who posed for artist's in the neighborhood.[200]

In 1842 Protestantism sought to proseltyse in this environment that was so easily seduced by charity joined to indoctrination. Its synod, in the Belgian capital, had just decided, with the encouragement Prussia's plenipotentiary Minister, Count Arnim, upon the opening of a school in the neighborhood of St. Gudule. The Dean of the parish, Father De Coninck, alerted by the Jesuit, Father Boon and by Brother Charles, notified the members of the Commission that sponsored the Brothers' schools. It was immediately decided to introduce into the parish a Community of De La Salle's disciples. Once a group of aristocratic ladies had collected the necessary funds, Brother Philippe would issue his approval. And on January 5, 1843, four Brothers set to work in a building on Rue Batterie to teach classes.[201]

Their Director, Brother Uladimir, gained an extraordinary influence over the ladies who sponsored the project. He was an enterprising, skillful and persuasive man; and his female benefactors propagated a reputation for sanctity in his favor. In 1851 he started up a subscription with the view of expanding the school premises and building an impressive chapel. His efforts met with the most dazzling success; and money poured into his coffers. An artistic exhibition supplied him with complementary funds; it was held in the palace of the heir apparent, the future King Leopold II; and high society rushed to attend. Following his son, the

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198 See above, pg. 93.

199 Mélot, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

200 Hymans, *Bruxelles à travers les âges*, Vol. III, pg. 522. Quoted by Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 489.

201 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 483 et sq.

King deigned to become involved in it.

A distinguished architect, Léon Suys, eagerly drew up the plans for the construction: on the first floor, there were work rooms flooded in light; and on the second floor, was the chapel in Byzantine style that could seat a thousand pupils. The painter, Jean Portaels, whose studio was nearby, agreed to decorate the sanctuary. Assisted by his students, he created a beautiful collection of frescos. A master-glazier in Ghent, Joseph Girard, did the windows.

Brother Uladimir was attended by a chorus of praise; and more than ever he was enjoying a pious vogue in high society. The chapel, blessed by Dean De Coninck, became the center of a "Guild of St. Anges", intended to supply spiritual and material assistance to the children of the people and in which the Duchess of Brabant, Marie Henriette, was a member. Distinguished visitors showed up at Rue Batterie: soon, entrance cards were required in order to restrict the influx.[202]

All of this furore disturbed the Superiors of the Congregation. They feared the humility and the solid simplicity of the Brothers would suffer from it. In June, 1854 Brother Assistant Amos removed Brother Uladimir from the Community. The school, however, continued to thrive. It was to endure unpleasant moments when the civil authority decided to renovate the Notre-Dame-aux-Neiges neighborhood: the buildings were expropriated and the chapel was torn down. Portaels, broken-hearted, would be a witness to the removal of his frescos.[203] Rather unfortunately, the art was forfeited; but, thank God, the Catholic project was not involved in this destruction: it was to rise once again, still in the neighborhood of St. Gudule, at full strength and with fresh hopes.[204]

The financial cooperation and the moral support of the school Commission continued to be guaranteed to the Brothers in Brussels. Their oldest group — the one immediately under Brother Charles' direction — was cramped for room in the premises on Rue Poicon. In 1844 the Community's benefactors purchased "the St. George garden", the former estate of the"Arbalète Guild" on Rue Alexiens. In the building that the illustrious fraternity had constructed during the 17th century and in the additional structures that had to be provided after the Brothers' Community took over a magnificent work would be realized: — daily classes for children, evening classes for adults, Sunday meetings of apprentices and soldiers.[205] And later on, on the same spot would be laid the groundwork for another institution of enormous scope.

The move was effected on November 3, 1846. Henceforth, Brother Charles' associates gathered under the dome of the chapel that the Commission had made ready for them. Then, each day, many of them disappeared into the various neighborhoods to teach their classes. In 1854, eight Christian Brothers' schools, totaling twenty-seven classes, were functioning in Brussels. A ninth was opened in 1858, in the Faubourg Scharbeeck, and one year later, a tenth in St. Josse-ten-Noode.[206]

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202 . *Notice sur la chapelle des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*," published in Brussels by Greuse, 1851

203 Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 494.

204 Brother Uladimir included among his collaborators a Fleming of noble extraction, Augustine van de Cruyce who, at the age of fifty-four, in 1845, asked Brother Philippe to enter the Institute. He was admitted with the name of Brother Augustine of Mary, after the Superior-general had formally forbidden him to dispose of his fortune in favor of the Congregation. A novice in Namur, a cook at Rochefort, and bursar in Malonne, Brother Augustine then taught the "beginning class" in the Community of Notre-Dame-aux-Neiges. This Belgian counterpart of Montisambert died a holy death on March 13, 1848. (Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 491-493.)
See note #50 above.

205 Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 424 and *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, Vol. III, Paris, 1935, pg. 321.

206 Ibid., pg. 500.

The Walloon region, which had been the first to bestow its confidence on the disciples of the Canon of Rheims, was not the only one to seek their services. The capital city had already offered the Brothers the opportunity of making contact with a population that was at least partially Flemish in origin and in language. This opening to the west took shape immediately after the primary school law. On February 6, 1843 was inaugurated the Alost school, where three Brothers became employees of the Commune.[207] Subsequently, other Brothers appeared in Ghent. The Institute was about to become known in the great Flemish city and once for all gain acceptance among a people of lively faith, of a serious and practical turn of mind, who combined an artistic sense with a taste for business and were always prepared to cherish those who served them well.

People in official places had no role in this project. The initiative, quite spontaneous and thoroughly noble in inspiration, arose out of Catholic charity; it was like the handsome arrangements of Ponthon and Gense in Calais and of Abot Cocherie in Boulogne in the days of St. John Baptist de La Salle. And, like that, it was alongside a church in the old French port on the banks of the Liane, that the plan suddenly sprang to life: a resident of Ghent, M. Casier-Legrand in 1846 during a visit to Boulogne met the Christian Brothers; their piety and their attitude toward their pupils edified him. He wanted to his young countrymen to have teachers like them.

He belonged to the St. Vincent de Paul Society which, born thirteen years earlier of the zeal of Frederick Ozanam, had grown so rapidly, jumped the frontiers, and taught Christians of different nations the lesson that the Church needs apostles from every rank of the faithful. Pious laymen in Ghent had started a "Conference" modelled on the one supplied by the Parisian students: Count Joseph Hemptinne was its secretary and leader. Casier-Legrand spoke to him about the Brothers: why not invite them to instruct poor children in morality and catechism? Their influence would bolster the endeavors of the members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

Hemptinne was easily persuaded. He volunteered to take steps in the right places, and, armed with the spirited approbation of Bishop Delebecque, he visited Brother Visitor Xiste in Namur. Everything was arranged as the petitioner had wished: and on October 1, 1846 Brothers Exuperances, Manahen and Maxire, in their white rabats and black mantles, showed up at St. Bavon, St. Michael and St. James. Father John Baptist Ost, pastor of the Cathedral, welcomed them: he was taking on the expenses for one of the teachers; Hemptinne and his friends were to assume the heaviest financial responsibilities. The classes, which began in the building of the former "Sunday school" on Rue Apostles, were to remain a foundation belonging to Ozanam's followers.

The experiment fully realized expectations; a second school, St. Mary's, witnessed to the benefactors' persistent zeal. Then came the year 1849: people were aware that the first school to be furnished near St. Bavon was too small. The St. Vincent de Paul Society acquired the former episcopal palace, on Rue St. George, a residence with a majestic facade, an elegant style and a broad stone staircase, where the Brothers were to live comfortably in an ambience that was totally ecclesiastical. They moved in on May 5, 1850 and placed St. James' school at the disposal of the children of the neighborhood. Finally, at the same time, they were entrusted with a fourth institution, St. John the Baptist on Rue Phoenix.

A more important project, which was to bear the name of a venerated bishop of the Belgian Church, would enable the Brothers in 1866 to concentrate around the city's ancient limits. We shall describe "St. Amand Institute" at greater length, which was called upon to occupy an important place in the Flemish region. When the Community took possession of the place, it

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[207] Institute Archives, *History of Alost*.

had twenty-three Brothers and, apart from the new establishment, operated five primary schools.[208]

We return now to Hainaut and the work of a man of great accomplishments whose lavish fortune and lofty intelligence combined with an active faith and marvelous charity provided him with a singularly comprehensive set of means. He is a man who has taken a position in the foreground of the history of his country: Ferdinand de Meeûs, born in Brussels on the 9th Prairial in the Year VI (May 29, 1797-1798) — at the time the French Revolution had instituted its calender into Belgium — was of an ancient Brabant stock. Instructed from his youth in finance, the owner of a beautiful mansion in the capital of the country, as early as 1830 he figured among the distinguished men of his nation: thus, he was involved in the events which ended with the overthrow of the Dutch administration. Loyal, for as long as he could be, to King William I, he heartily greeted the proclamation of national independence. The provisional government had recourse to his incomparable talents and placed him at the head of the "Company for the Advancement of National Industry".

With a remarkable skill for manipulating and using capital, with a very precise sense of the power of association, Meeûs — whom King Leopold distinguished in 1836 by making him a Count — endeavored to promote canals and railways, to exploit mineral wealth and to create industrial firms in Hainaut. In so doing, he took a considerable role in retooling the new kingdom, which gradually became transformed into one of the most superb production centers in all of Europe. His biographer, Thonissen, calls him the man "who gave a new moral life to work". He describes him as in all his activities giving meaning to the family motto: *Virtute et prudentia*: "an austere piety" writes the author, "an absolute submission to the laws of the Church" were combined in the soul of this Christian gentleman with an ambition to serve his people and to thrust them into the broadest avenues of civilization.[209]

He was both a child of the world and a child of the light. He did not allow his native talents to lie dormant; rather, he expanded them for the benefit of the community. He understood that a rich man must act as God's steward; and he put "mammon" to work for eternal goals. As early as 1840 he organized the "Prudential Fund for Miners in the Mons Region": the Count, who created it, wanted it to secure assistance and pensions for workers; its funds were contributed by all the local industries that were supported by the powerful bank of which he was the president.

This Fund, furthermore, had as one of its objects to support schools in which tuition-free instruction was provided to the children of the mining region. The successes obtained in Mons by the Christian Brothers inspired the founder to endow other institutions of the same sort. And we shall detect evidences of his influence in Charleroi, Jemappes, in Châtelet — throughout all of Borinage where there thronged a population compelled to handle a pick at the bottom of mines, to push carts filled with coal, to pile up waste and gather the slag whose pyramids pierced upwards over the vast plain.

As we have seen,[210]. the pastor, Father Lemaître, in 1840 had founded the first school on the banks of the Sambre.[211] It thrived, but it was inadequate for a burgeoning population. Ferdinand de Meeûs assumed the expenses for other classes introduced into the region in 1851 and into which 140 pupils were immediately admitted. It was not to tarry at that modest success; during the following ten years the expansion of premises and the increase of teachers

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[208] Institute Archives, History of Ghent

[209] Thonissen, *Vie du comte Ferdinand de Meeûs*, Louvain, 1863. — See also Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 67-76.

[210] For Jemappes, we adopted the Belgian lithograph

[211] See above, pg. 90.

were effected both at Rue Dampremy and at the city limits. Futhermore, at Charleroi there were the beginnings of evening courses for adults, lessons for illiterate children who, forced to work in the coal mines, had to be prepared to receive the Sacraments.[212]

In the village of Jamappes the "Borins" were hardly better instructed. The ancient village was also entering into a new era; its fields, where once armies contended, would henceforth, pending social strife, be the scene of harsh industrial labor. People there would remain simple: — a good-natured smile still spread over their faces. But in uncouth minds feelings of hatred could take root; and it was there that irreligion grew like a bramble.

The Communal Council, informed of a plan for a Christian Brothers school by the Committee for the Prudential Fund, declared, in its meeting for July 6, 1842, that it wanted to have nothing to do "little Brothers". All decisions were postponed for a long period of time. Finally, M. de Meeûs resolved to go ahead on his own initiative: he obtained a lease on a building, called the "Jemappes Chateau" on the road between Mons and Valenciennes. He renovated the old structure; and in June of 1851 three Christian Brothers began to teach classes there; in July a fourth arrived to direct the studies of the oldest boys. And, in addition, every Sunday there were courses for the benefit of working youths.

Two years later, the local political administration, having changed its views, granted, out of Communal funds, a subsidy for the Brothers' salaries, for furniture and even for "novitiate expenses". It had been dissatisfied with a M. Vamour who, previously appointed to take care of poor children, "had missed the mark". Thus, in the final analysis, it elected to accept the Religious teachers. On September 1, 1854 the Community was transported to a huge, comfortable house in Jericho Square; and the entire expense devolved upon Ferdinand de Meeûs.[213]

Quaregnon and Frameries, neighboring centers of population, were also provided with teachers. At Châtelet, near Charleroi, the pastor, Father Potdevin in 1853 welcomed Brother Matthias and his two associates: to the earnings from a parish subscription, the mayor and the supervisors added their installments; and here once again the President of the Company intervened with a final contribution. The Brothers' school assumed the rank of an official school.[214]

Ordinarily Count de Meeûs scattered his gifts in a singularly unobtrusive way. After an interview with Brother Philippe in Paris in 1850, he had a visit from Brother Sancien: at the time he had been occupied in supplying out of his personal fortune what neither the clergy nor the Communes nor the Prudential Fund were sufficiently solvent to assume. "But keep quiet about it", he enjoined, "I want to be known to God alone." Brother Sancien kept the secret until the day after the benefactor's funeral. At that time, he considered himself absolved from his promise; and in a letter that he sent to the members of the grieving family both the sensitive feelings of the great Christian and the extent of his generosity became known.

No matter how frequent the gifts, they guaranteed the support of the institutions only during the lifetime of the donor. In order to provide for the future, M. de Meeûs devised the "Civilian Association for Charitable Trusts". He set it up on December 3, 1855 between himself, his four sons and his son-in-law. He allowed two kinds of stocks: "foundation stocks", involving neither interest nor dividends; and "sharing stocks", involving 2.5% interest and payable at full redemption. Of course, the Count and his relatives provided the trust with funds which, for

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212 Institute Archives, History of Charleroi.

213 Institute Archives, Jemappes file. — Article in *Voix de Jemappes*, quarterly organ of St. Ferdinand's Institute, no. 2 for the year 1934, and information supplied by Brother Maurice Edward.

214 Institute Archives, *History of Châtelet.*

them, would remain unproductive and they would demand nothing from it. A varying portion of the available income would be set aside for the schools, depending upon their needs, and as "a shelter for the elderly and the infirm". Surplus funds would be added to the capital in such a way as to guarantee the trust for the poor against every eventuality.

The great financier could be discerned in such an intelligently conceived plan. One had especially to respect what, for the time, was a highly developed social sense, the scheme of a "capitalist" who was concerned with the fate of the lowly and who refused to view in workers nothing more than mere "human material".

The "Charitable Trust" performed in conformity with the desires and the anticipations of the man who designed it. Beginning in January 1857 it allotted subsidies to Brothers' schools in the coal regions: Jemappes, Quaregnon, Charlerois, Boussu, Dour, Frameries, Châtelet, Châtelineau, and Bouverie. Thereafter it spread its benefits to all of Hainaut, to the Province of Namur, to Brabant and as far as the Province of Anvers. For twenty-eight years the Brothers received nearly a million, which was not in depreciated paper-money.[215]

Provided that they were assured of a mode of life in harmony with their Rule, the Brothers were everywhere prepared to undertake apostolic work. In Namur where they were first called and where their Visitor resided, by a multi-sided dedication, they continued to deserve both the bishop's affection and Catholics' adherence. Their evening school, frequented in 1847 by 250 workers, was recommended to the attention of the provincial government, which subsidized it for a few years.[216] Besides, they were catechists — and, beginning in 1840 — teachers of common-law prisoners. At the request of Canon Hauregard, the administration of prisons, in 1846, authorized two Brothers to remain on site day and night; and it entrusted to them the supervision of youthful delinquents.[217].

On April 7, 1852 the Diocese of Liége lost Bishop Van Bommel, the promoter and defender of Christian education. On his deathbed the prelate once again turned his attention to the children he wished to save: so that their gratitude might be expressed in prayer, he ordered that each of the pupils be provided with a memento-picture. The Christian Brothers lamented him, especially Brother Gilbert who had been honored by the late Bishop's personal friendship and by his intense and engaging concern.[218] Nevertheless, the susceptible old teacher did not allow himself to be overcome with grief: eleven years remained to him to employ his final energy in the service of his beloved friends in Liége. He trained some good successors in the great city on the Meuse. During the episcopacy of Bishop Montpellier, who was no less favorable to De La Salle's disciples than Bishop Cornelius Van Bommel, the Brothers spread over the vast spaces that straddled the hills and the river: they worked in the shadow of ancient sanctuaries and famous monuments for the welfare of a people somewhat infatuated by the easy life and rather jealous of its independence. The Brothers were able to understand them and please them. And they stirred the admiration of the people when, in 1866, during a cholera epidemic which sorely tried the people the Brothers won their admiration by caring for their sick.

Their schools operated in the parishes of St. Marguerite, St. James, St. Denis, St.

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[215] The Charitable Trust continues to fulfill its purpose. Today it is set up as "Non-profit Foundation" with all the freedom that current Belgian legislation grants to this type of organization. It owns several buildings that house educational, religious and philanthropic works. (*Voix de Jemappes*, article cited.)

[216] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 135-136.

[217] Ibid., pp. 175-176

[218] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 62. — Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 181.

Bartholomew, and St. Pholian.[219] And a new one was opened in the Outre-Meuse neighborhood, which was due to Father Starren, the pastor-dean of St. Nicolas. The enterprising pastor had acquired an uncultivated field alongside his church, where, following Brother Sancien's plans, he built two parallel buildings which were soon connected by an administration building.

The Brothers began classes on January 8, 1866. At the time, they traveled each day from the conventual residence in St. Marguerite's parish. In order to put an end to the exhausting journey, Father Starren, who was already paying their salaries, set out immediately to complete his work; by the end of 1870, the residence was finished; and a Community was formed there under the direction of Brother Martyr. It boasted a spacious and attractive chapel that was blessed on June 14, 1871 by the Vicar-general, Bishop Neven.[220]

The capital of the province was not the only beneficiary of the Brothers' activities. Verviers, on the banks of the Vesdre, employed the Brothers within the picturesque circle of its crags and pasture-lands and in the center of its noisy factories. There the Brothers continued to teach the children and take them to St. Remacle's liturgy. There, too, they had other tasks to perform: after 1841, Brother Apolonius took over the school for adults that had been previously directed by a priest, Father Heuvels; one of the classes in this school had been assigned to the study of geometrical drawing and to the drawing of ornaments and machines. It was headed by a "former engineer" who had become Brother Aunis; he was to train "a whole cluster of architects and manufacturers in Verviers". This sort of success, in a city devoted to the mechanical arts, determined the members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to assign to the Brothers the apprentices in the major weaving industries; it was a more modest work — the youngsters were available only on Sunday evenings — but one which that fitted in with the local program.[221]

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It appears, then, that the law of 1842 — while its "psychological" effects, so to speak, militated against private education — allowed St. John Baptist de La Salle's Institute to grow and consolidate in most of the Belgian provinces. It permitted members of Religious Congregations to assume the direction of Communal schools; but, and this should be noted, there were very few Brothers's schools that shared in this category. It was the reverse of the situation that occurred in France after the law of June 28, 1833. And the reason was simple: Guizot's system, which was rather rigid, allowed Religious educators to opt only between public service, with its unreasonable demands (sometimes tempered by compromises), and freedom, with all its risks. Further, the Institute, incorporated since the imperial decree of 1808 into the Educational Department, enjoyed an official status which induced the Superiors to cooperate with the State at the risk of submitting to certain inconveniences. And so it continued until the 3rd Republic, expelling from its schools teachers bound by monastic vows, placed the Church and the faithful under the obligation of a more daring use of their independence.

More flexible and liberal, Belgian legislation did not exclude private education from all the advantages conceded to the nation's immediate officials. It regarded the utility and well-being every institution capable of growth as the intellectual and moral patrimony of the citizenry. Why, then, should the Brothers sacrifice a right which allowed them the satisfaction of

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219 Hutin, pp. 403-404.

220 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 396 et sq. and History preserved in the archives of the institution in Louvain.

221 Hutin, Vo. II, pp. 224 et sq.

integrally following their Rule, of governing themselves according to their customs, without impinging upon their success of their schools?

Such was the question raised after the vote of Parliament; and Minister Nothomb himself suggested the answer. On June 13, 1843 he wrote to the Cardinal-archbishop of Malines and to the Bishop of Namur:

"Members of Religious Orders, including foreigners, may be chosen as teachers by the Communal Counsels: this has been formally accepted in the course of the discussions of the fundamental law.

"Schools operated by Religious Orders may be adopted or subsidized by the Communes: once again this has already been accepted.

"Of these two approaches, which is the one most likely to cause fewer occasions for conflict and provide greater stability to education in the Communes?

"Having examined this question at length, I have no hesitation in acknowledging that the second approach is preferable, i.e., that is the arrangement in which the school operated by the Religious Order is adopted or subsidized.

"By adoption or subsidization, the Superior...retains the power of all individual choices and all changes of personnel; subsidization or adoption is not a sign of confidence in a Brother...singled out by name; it is a sign of confidence in the Religious Order as a body.

"If, on the contrary, the first approach were to gain acceptance, personnel changes would no longer be possible without consultation with the Communal Council.[222]

It is impossible to ask for a better explanation. But one point still had to be clarified. Teachers in adopted schools as well as those in schools that were strictly speaking Communal were subject to all the conditions of the law. What was principally in question was the system of civilian inspection which involved the control of programs and textbooks. Would superiors take kindly to their subordinates complying with these obligations?

Brother Visitor Xiste, in an understanding with the Minister and "acting in the name of Brother Philippe", on January 19, 1845, "agreed" that the schools involved submit to the general rule. The moment any one of them received the privilege of adoption or was merely provided with a subsidy there was no need of a personal adherence on the part of the Brother Director: ipso facto, in virtue of the above statement, the inspectors had the right of access.[223]

A similar solution was negotiated concerning the examinations that were intended to create the essential competition between pupils: article 29 of the fundamental law had provided that contests would be established either through the inspection jurisdiction or through the Canton; scholarships allotted by the Provincial Counsels were to be the reward for the brighter pupils.

For the system to take effect it was necessary to wait until the complete plan of elementary education was in place. The first results were announced in 1849: The Christian Brothers schools in Tournai took one first place prize and a second place. From year to year victories were earned by a large number of schools operated by the Brothers, both Communal and adopted. In 1862, as Hainaut's deputies decided to award twenty-four prizes rather than the eight which had been granted in the past by each Canton, the Christian Brothers pupils in their schools in Tournai won seventeen of them.[224]

At this time, however, the Liberals were in power. They removed official appointments as well as subsidies from Religious educators. Bizarre tactics were employed in the competitions,

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[222] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

[223] Ibid., pg. 43.

[224] Ibid., pp. 32-37.

in which, henceforth, the Brothers, on the advice of the Bishops and ecclesiastical inspectors, refused to enter their pupils.

The hostility of the Liberal Party had been in evidence much earlier in several cities. In Liége, at its meeting of March 23, 1844, the Counsel had decided that it would not adopt "foreign schools". In this way, it thought to deliver a blow directly at a Congregation whose leadership was of French origin; however, it was aware of the peoples' friendliness for a man like Brother Gilbert and for all those teachers with a mentality at once national and Christian. And more than 1,400 youngsters in Liège were at the time were receiving instruction concerning a language and a civilization that was dear to the Meuse-side dwellers.[225]

Officials in Brussels were no less opposed to Christian education. With respect to them there were no grounds to hope for any kind of a subsidy. In 1857 when the mayor demanded that Brother Charles supply the list of endowments that ensured the existence of the private schools in the capital, the wary Director, getting the whiff of a trap, replied simply: "Our schools survive on the charity of friendly people...As a consequence, there is no need to fill out your questionnaire."[226]

After 1847, when the union between the two large political groups which had realized Belgium's independence was broken, the school question, while not yet raising serious difficulties, was beginning to become a stumbling-block. The Minister of the Interior, M. Rogier,[227] wanted to promote a genuine seizure of public education in favor of the "State" — understood in the widest sense of the term. In this connection, the autonomy of the Communes was derided. The question of the transfer of teachers was raised in a way other than during the days of M. Nothomb, as emerges from a letter that Rogier addressed on April 29, 1848 to the Brother Provincial.

"The Brothers of the Christian Schools are not allowed to operate Communal schools as members of a Religious Order, but as simple citizens...They must submit to all the same prescriptions of law as do lay-teachers ... [They may not leave] their posts *without the government's authorization*."

Brother Sancien thought he had to comply with such a formal brief: "Henceforth, we shall grant no transfer to our Brothers who have been admitted as Communal teachers without your consent. I shall inform you of the reasons which may induce me to ask you for their exeat".[228].

Such a conciliatory nature was no obstacle, and the Minister and the local authorities who agreed with him on several occasions registered their misgivings and their hostility toward the Religious educators.

The school in Ath, in Hainaut, had a governmental allocation of 500 francs a year, which it lost after the Liberal elections of 1847.[229]Beginning in 1850 the subsidies granted the Brothers in Namur were entirely eliminated: the city and the province dissociated themselves from the conduct of the classes.[230] The Communal school in Bouillon, operated by the Christian Brothers, had been honored in 1843 with a visit from the Belgian sovereigns: Queen Louise graciously accepted a welcoming address on the part of one of her "fellow-countrymen",

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[225] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 377-378.

[226] Ibid., pg. 439.

[227] Public education was included in the services of the Minister of the Interior.

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[229] Ibid., Vol. III, pg. 223.

[230] Ibid., Vol. II, pg. 179.

Brother Director Vital, who "like herself was a Parisian"; subsequently the King sent a benefaction to the splendid teacher.[231] But princely favors were inoperative eight years later when the mayor and his Counsel decided, with the approval of the Minister, to replace the Brothers with secular teachers; and the white rabats disappeared from the banks of the Semoy.[232] In 1852 it was the turn of Soignies to withdraw building and subsidy from the Brothers: Catholic generosity, directed by the pastor-dean, was able to save the operation.[233]

We must acknowledge that during this period the ideological offensive was limited to skirmishes, which were brought to an end with the appearance of a Minister inspired by better principles. M. Decker, invested at the time with the full confidence of Leopold I, supplied the teachers of Christian education with the unequivocal evidence of his intentions on the occasion of an important incident.

A question arose as to the interpretation of the law governing the "militia" promulgated under the Dutch regime in 1817, and still in force after 1830. Article 91 of the law exempted from military service "for good and all...ministers of the various religions". The dispensation was valid "for one year" only — according to the language of Article 94 — in the case of future teachers; and it was also necessary that they be pupils in an official normal school and educated "at the State's expense". To continue to enjoy the privilege, these young people, each year, had to account for their professional status. If, at twenty-three years of age,[234].they did not find a position in a school recognized by the government after having completed an examination of competence, they were compelled to serve under the colors or find a replacement. Only the chance stemming from "drawing lots", which was continued as legal until the end of the 19th century, could absolve them from both obligations.[235]

In practice, young Brothers — since their Institute had been recalled to the kingdom — had not experienced military enlistment: either because they were grouped with the clergy, or because their houses of formation were regarded as normal schools, or because, for special reasons, the system of replacement had been employed after "a wrong number" had been drawn. But they all did not explicitly fall into the anticipated categories, and it was always wise to take some precautions.

Following a tactic that had been attempted by a friend of the Institute, on April 28, 1855, M. Decker wrote as follows: "My dear Sir: You know me: You understand therefore that I have...heatedly defended your worthy protégés. My distinguished colleague in Foreign Affairs [Count Vilain XIII] has forcefully assisted me...The Minister of War [Greindl], a generous and good man, has acceded to our wishes. At the moment, you must be assured, as well as the good friends of the children of the people, for whom obligatory military service would be double duty, along with the charitable service in which they are voluntarily involved".[236].

Assurances accorded with such thoughtfulness satisfied the Brothers' advocates. Until further notice, it was impossible to expect more detailed information. The Minister had sustained an extremely bitter struggle, and he was about to be overwhelmed in the turmoil.

The question of the "property of the poor" became his fateful stumbling-block. For a number

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231 Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 119-120.

232 Ibid., pp. 128-129.

233 Ibid., pp. 347-348.

234 Twenty-four years, according to the law of May 8, 1847, which modified the fundamental law of 1817

235 *Histoire de la Belgique contemporaine,* Vol. II, pg. 375.

236 Original in the Motherhouse Archives, Rome

of years it had been looming on the horizon: should the administration of the charitable patrimony and assistance to the poor be exclusively assigned to the welfare bureau? Or should the task of appointing administrators be left to the donors? Most frequently administrators were members of the clergy or of Religious Orders. This is why Liberals pointed with alarm to the risk the State ran of having to deal with an increasingly lavish "*mortmain"* at the unrestricted discretion of the Church.

In 1849 the Minister of Justice, M. Haussy decided in favor of the competence exclusively of the welfare bureaus: and he declared null and void all testamentary clauses which tried to substitute other instrumentalities. The King, however, clearly disapproved.

Compromises were sought out. After the Catholics were returned to office, Alphonsus Nothomb drew up a bill which granted the citizens the authority to select an administrator for their foundations, with some controls and provided that the King approve.

The man who had been selected to defend the bill in the Chamber was Jules Malou, whose brother, the Bishop of Bruges, had taken a position in a book entitled *The Freedom of Charity in Belgium.* The Liberals replied with the trenchant eloquence of Frère-Orban and his pamphlets on *Mortmain and Charity.*

The parliamentary discussion which began in April of 1857 was certainly stormy. The Freemasons mobilized their forces; and the leftist Deputies were fierce. Their leader, whose language as a rule was cast in an academic style, went so far as to utter the bitter threat: "Once you introduce privilege, you have provided the nation with a legal, legitimate and invincible rallying cry: 'Down with monasteries!'"

Frère-Orban appealed to popular passions, and he was echoed on the streets of Brussels. While the majority voted in favor of the bill's two essential articles, riot erupted in front of the National Palace and went on to break the windows of the Capuchins and of the offices of a conservative newspaper.[237]

Disorder spread. Anvers, Ghent, Mons, Liége, Namur, Bruges and Louvain witnessed upheavals in which anticlerical wrath not only attacked monasteries but every Religious habit and soutane.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools were not spared. One of the most serious incidents during that month of May occurred in their institution in Jemappes. On Pentecost Sunday a band of loud-mouthed ruffians, most young people from the capital, ran through the small town shouting: "Down with the calotte!" At about six o'clock in the evening, the group, considerable augmented, appeared in Jericho Square: a volley of rocks rained down on the windows of the Community residence; and the shutters on the first floor were demolished by a shower of paving stones. Then the rioters blitzed the interior of the house.

The Brother Director, Megrin, with two of his associates, sought refuge in the attic. A third, Brother Méloir, joined them carrying the ciborium which he had just hastily grabbed while passing through the chapel. Huddled about the Blessed Sacrament, the Brothers began to pray.

The assailants, however, seized the furniture and the linen and attempted to start a fire. The besieged Brothers, in danger of being burned alive, abandoned their hiding place. On the stairway they were forced to do battle with the help of metal kitchen utensils with which they had armed themselves; but they were unable to clear a passage. Hemmed in, manhandled and injured, they just missed getting killed. The Director was being dragged off on burning mattresses when one of the workmen in the town, a blacksmith, succeeded in snatching him from his tormentors. Brother Méloir took advantage of a lull in the proceedings to escape over the roofs and drop down on a neighbor's home: during the struggle the ciborium had tipped over in his pocket. As soon as he was out of danger, he restored the Sacred Species to their

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[237] Carlo Bronne, Léopold Ier et son temps, Brussels, 1942, pp. 289-292.

place and consumed the tiny fragments. Although his injuries were causing him acute pain, in view his host's wary reception, he did not dare to delay in that haven; and so, in the middle of the night he fled to the village of Boussu.

The riot was brought to an end in the flames of a pyre that had been fed by the school's tables, desks and chairs. The building however was not burned down. Brother Mégrin, hailed as the "hero of Jemappes", regrouped his faculty and continued classes.

On the 2nd of the following September the people who were responsible for the violent scenes that had unfolded were brought before the criminal court in Mons: thirty individuals were condemned to prison terms ranging from thirty days to three years.[238]

In the political realm the situation had become increasingly confused. To get out of it, Leopold I adjourned the Chamber, which meant abandoning the legislation under discussion. After the Communal elections which increased the power of the Liberals, M. Decker and his associates saw that their withdrawal from office was inevitable. Rogier and Frère-Orban became the heads of the new government. On December 10, 1857 Catholics in the Chamber constituted a minority of only thirty-eight representatives as against seventy members of the opposition party.[239]

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The "Leftist" victory was to endure on for thirteen years. And while, at the time, school legislation was scarcely altered textually, the men in power aimed to "apply it as secularly as possible."[240] On October 1, 1861, Mr. Deschamps, who presented the law of 1842, wrote to Brother Sancien:

"Within the legal system the situation of teaching Congregations has become almost untenable. Personal appointments for Communal teachers create tremendous difficulties with regard to transfers...The adoption system had as its goal to open a wide door to Religious Communities: there are those who want to close it".[241]

Indeed, it was not long before M. Rogier intervened with the mayors in order gradually to bring about a sort of laicization of the schools. Initially, his policy took aim at those schools that the idealogues contemptuously called "the little Brothers". Their principles were offensive; but it was in an indirect way that people sought to strike them down. The law prescribed that Communal teachers attend conferences organized by the inspectors in the Cantons; and it invited all other teachers to participate in these meetings. Until 1857 the Brothers who operated "adopted" schools did not take part in them: their Superiors seemed to discountenance the journeys that such an obligation entailed and the more or less lengthy absences from regular residences. They strove to maintain for the Institute full independence with respect to the choice of methods and with regard to the recruitment of school population.

This attitude, which was certainly intransigent, was not calculated to please the representatives of public education. Even during the period in which Catholics held the upper hand, it created difficulties in Hainaut. Questioned on this matter by the diocesan inspector, Canon Ponceau, M. Decker replied: "I wish that your influence might bring the Brothers to

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238 The newspaper *l'Étoile belge* for June 3, 1857. Archives of St. Ferdinand Institute: ms. of Brother Méloir's account. — *Voix de Jemappes*, 1937.

239 Bronne, op. cit., pp. 293-297.

240 Mélot, op. cit., pg. 32.

241 Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 63.

comply with the common law. I do not understand the reason why they refuse to do so. There is nothing humiliating in it for them; and the other teachers submit without difficulty; and, besides, all hands have something to learn from these exchanges of views, as you yourself have acknowledged".[242]

Between the "wish" that he so clearly stated and an outright injunction there was a certain leeway, which M. Rogier meant not to leave stand. In his view, the greatest possible number of elementary schools must submit to the directives of the central authority. The task was to combine together in a cluster Communal schools, "adopted" schools and subsidized schools in such a way that the government might exercise, more than a right of oversight, an effective authority over the teaching body taken as a whole. To reduce the transfer of Religious teachers to a minimum so as practically to create a condition of permanence that was scarcely compatible with Superiors' freedom of action and with the renunciation sought by the Rule; to assimilate members of the Congregations to their lay colleagues or, failing that, to exclude the former in favor of the latter; to bring about a uniformity of programs along lines that would be agreeable to those who promoted the official doctrine: — this what was at the root of the resolutions that had been adopted.

It can be glimpsed in the letter which the Minister sent on March 25, 1859 to Bishop Labis of Tournai: "According to our legal system, the Brothers fall under the control of common law...Those who operate Communal schools are subject to the prescriptions of the law of September 23, 1842 and the regulations that have been introduced in order to assure its enforcement. Those who operate adopted schools must comply with the system of inspection: which especially implies the necessity of giving proof of education and aptitude, of following the program decreed by the authorities, of using only books approved by the government and of regularly attending the quarterly conferences".[243]

To "impede" the normal course of public education would have awkward consequences, as Rogier suggested in concluding his letter. He moved from threats to action. As early as the month of May he compelled the Counsel of Chimay to part company with the Brothers. The magistrates in the little town declared: "We cannot evade the demands" of the government. They were not prevented, however, on September 3, from sending the Superior-general the attestation of their gratitude and of their regrets: "Deprived of the excellent cooperation of the Brothers", they proclaimed the great service the latter had rendered to the population; and they lamented the disagreement that had arisen between the Belgian State and the Institute. And, as final proof of their sincere good will, they were in no hurry to reclaim the control of the building occupied by Institute personnel.[244]

The local clergy, at the solicitation of their Bishop, took the necessary steps to open a private school which they entrusted to the Brothers. Adult classes, which the Commune with its new lay-teachers could no longer sustain, were added in 1865 to the children's classes. And three years later a small residence school completed the projectAnother sign of "Liberal" hostility was a decision on the part of Victor Tesch, the Minister of Justice, dated August 23, 1859, which constrained the Brothers employed in the prison in Namur no longer to pursue the moral improvement of the young prisoners.[245]

During the same period the "adoption" of schools in Gemblous, Péruwelz, Frameries and Châtelet halted. In this last village in the coal country the Communal administration had fought

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[242] Hutin II, pp.30-31

[243] Idem, pp.60-61

[244] Ibid., Vol. III, pg. 157.

[245] Ibid., pp. 161 et sq. — Prince Caraman-Chimay contributed generously to these projects.

to retain the right to subsidize the Brothers' classes. The government broke this resistance: in May of 1860 the Christian teachers were obliged to take refuge in a hovel and receive their pupils in a shed. Subsequently, by means of generous gifts they were set up in a beautiful estate on which a suitable building was constructed.[246]

Also revived as private schools were Quaregnon and Walcourt in 1861,[247] and Alost in 1863.[248] Dinant, in 1860, took the risk, quite legally, of changing a subsidized school into an adopted school: the city sought in this way to evade ministerial criticism. Its illusion collapsed when on July 13, 1865, a decree originating in Brussels announced the withdrawal of the authorization that had been once been granted. Upon the suspension of all subsidies, the Catholics of Dinant and their Dean, Father Roubaud, made a pledge to Brother Director Macorat of their profound respect by assuming total responsibility for the school.

It was understandable that, alerted to the strategy of the Belgian government, the Superiors were reluctant to support, much less expand, a system which had become an oppressive domination. In 1852 the Duke of Arenberg had asked them to send a group of Brothers to Enghien: he wanted to put them in charge of an orphanage. His lordship's proposal got a favorable hearing, on condition, however, that a tuition-free school would be opened at the same time for the children in the Commune. After talks had been concluded and the basic issues established, the question concerning "Communal adoption" was studied. In a letter to the diocesan inspector, Choppinet, dated January 22, 1861, Brother Sancien explained why the proposal had been decided in the negative.

"Our Superior-general, aware that schools are no longer adopted, as in the past, but that teachers are, that we are being forced to inform the government when we effect a transfer, that all teachers are obliged to attend the quarterly conferences, that the selection of textbooks is the concern of the Cantonal inspector...wrote me that his Counsel has maturely examined the matter and that not a single voice was raised in favor of adoption. As a consequence, he has called upon us not to subscribe to this legal arrangement".[249]

On an issue other than the transfer of teachers, textbooks and teachers' conferences, the Institute was in danger of resisting the civil power. In the language of the law only the indigent were dispensed from all monetary payments. Nevertheless, wherever the Brothers taught no tuition was collected. In general, it seemed as though — in a way similar to so many cities in France during the same period — the Communal authorities abstained from over-zealous enforcement of the law. However, there were controversies and there was an appetite to restrict the population in the Institute's official schools to the poor exclusively. In 1856, at a time during which Napoleon III's Minister, Rouland was prepared to condemn Brother Philippe for "financial difficulties" which, according to him, the obstinacy of the Religious teachers caused the State by the tuition-free instruction of their pupils, the Counsel in Gembloux decided to exclude from the school sons of "solvent" families who did not make the required payments. Informed of the matter by the Director of the school, the Superior-general wrote to the mayor: "Such legislation stands in direct opposition to the conditions set down in our prospectus...agreed to in 1840. I cannot allow it to continue."

It was referred to the governor of the Province of Namur. The senior official insisted on the

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246 Ibid., Vol. II, pg. 177.

247 Institute Archives, *History **of** Châtelet*.

248 Institute Archives, *History of Alsot.*

249 Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 192 et sq. Institute Archives, Enghien File.

strict application of the law: the Brothers, in spite of their "Rule", would have to submit or they must "withdraw". "Done!" replied the Superior-general; "the Brothers would leave".

The mayor and the supervisors might well have capitulated. Through the mediation of the clergy a *modus vivendi* had been negotiated. But with the problem of tuition-free education had quickly been linked, probably under the inspiration of the new Frère-Orban-Rogier ministry, the squabbles concerning "transfers" and the conferences. And on April 13, 1859 the withdrawal of adoption had been announced. The Brothers' school in Gembloux no longer depended upon the Commune.

Brother Philippe had defended the Rule. He was no less energetic in face of petitions which, having to do with the same problem, reached him from benefactors of schools. In 1845 he had refused to enter into a discussion on this question with the promoters of a project in Soignies.[250]The admission of rich children into the classes in Tournai had, for a moment, aroused his conscience because the rumor had been spread that their teachers were collecting sizeable contributions from them. A government commission had to assure Brother Sancien that the Institute's regulations were in no way compromised.[251] In 1860 the Superior-general in a letter to the Count of Villermont announced his opposition to special courses for the sons of contributors in Brussels: existing classes admitted that category of pupil; and from their parents there was accepted a "voluntary offering" which the Treasurer of the Commission collected as a "free gift."[252]

Nevertheless, the elimination of State, Provincial and Communal aid placed many schools in a difficult position. Meanwhile, an important change had just been effected in France: after Rouland's formal notices, the twenty-second General Chapter of the Institute, held between September 4th and 22nd, became resigned to tuition, dependent upon Papal approval[253] The delegates of the Belgian Brothers had requested that their country take advantage of the same options. Actually, the petition addressed to Pius IX involved the Institute taken as a whole. However, the Papal rescript which allowed the Capitulary decree did not expressly mention Belgium. Brother Sancien complained about it to Brother Philippe who advised him to launch a movement within the Belgian episcopacy and pledge to support it with the Holy See. In view of "urgent necessity" the Pope granted authorization to accept "support funds" from families. And in this ways many schools were saved.[254]

It turned out to be a timely solution. Soon a new tactic on the part of the ideologues was about to strike at Christian education. It was the law of December 19, 1864. It stipulated that "free gifts" in favor of elementary education in a Commune, a Province or the whole Kingdom "were to be considered made" to the Communal administration, the Provincial government or to the State.[255] Gifts that did not include any indication or special destination would, as a rule, accrue to the Commune.[256] Major seminaries, parochial churches and asylums were entitled only as foundations respecting the training of clergy, catechetical instruction and the education of

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[250] Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 270 et sq.

[251] See above, pg. 104.

[252] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 442-445.

[253] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 378-379.

[254] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 246-247 and 451-452.

[255] Articles 1, 2 and 3 of "the spoliative law."

[256] Article 4.

orphans, respectively.[257]

In each Province a Commission, whose membership would be appointed by the Deputies, "would accept, manage and assign" gifts and legacies in order to supply scholarships to young people in every branch, and at every level, of education.[258]

Thus, founders' intentions went unrecognized. The Freemason Bara, in introducing the bill, cynically asserted that the State could, at its own pleasure, modify the conditions of use of any foundation, since upon it also depended the existence of "moral persons".[259] Regardless of the wishes of the dead; the past had been swept away.

Indeed, the spoliative law was retroactive; it declared "incompetent" systems that had already been established for the administration of funds intended for schools and for awarding for scholarships. It arbitrarily disposed of gifts of recent date, the acceptance of which remained in suspense until the law took force.[260]

Such injustice shocked honorable people. The King himself judged his ministers with severity and, in a letter of March 22, 1865, he echoed the objections of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines: "Your Eminence is not unaware of how much I had wanted the Senate to consider the criticism you had submitted in the name of the Episcopacy...nor the aversion with which I yielded to political necessity in sanctioning the law after the vote in the Chambers".[261].

Power belonged to the Church's enemies, and, in their hands, it became tyranny. Bara, in his duties as Minister of Justice, had the responsibility of putting the legal instrument into play; former administrators of foundations were obliged to turn over titles and records; gifts were designated for purposes diametrically opposed to the wishes of the donors. Priests may have arranged their fortunes in favor of seminaries; but funds which were supposed to support future churchmen provided for the needs of students in the official Universities or in the "Liberal" University of Brussels.[262]

Similarly, several of the Brothers' schools lost either their incomes or their buildings the use of which they had enjoyed under guarantees from royal authorization. Such was the case, in 1870, with the school in Mons; the Commune seized a Rogier foundation that dated from 1818,[263]and which was intended for the children of the poor. Nivelles, Verviers, Dinant, Rochefort, and Boom and all the way to the Motherhouse in Namur would experience similar knavery in still more poisonous times when, beginning in 1879, the "Liberals" would carry the struggle against religious liberties to the bitter end.

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257 Article 9.

258 Article 18.

259 Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 544.

260 Article 49 and 53.

261 Count Louis Lictervelde, Léopold Ier et la formation de la Belgique contemporaine, Brussels, 1929, pg. 354. Indeed, the King eluded the pressure of his ministers as long as he could. Rogier stalked him as far as Geneva. Then, Jules Devaux came to explain to him the dangers involved in refusing to sign. After the Senate's vote, Leopold I, in a letter to the Dean of St. Gudule, branded "these senseless men who, under the pretext of civilization and progress, would like to thrust society aside from the Christian way." And he waited nearly another month before granting his approval. (Carlo Bronne, Léopold Ier.)

262 Balau*, Soixante-dix an d'histoire contemporaine de la Belgique,* 1815-1884, pp. 206-208.

263 Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 65 et sq.

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We shall now divert our gaze from these dreary spectacles in order to return to some of the finest achievements of the Brothers' Institute in Belgium during Brother Philippe's generalate.

They are in the immediate tradition of the Holy Founder. Against a much more expansive background than the 17th century French suggestions, they become visible on the horizons of the Walloon Provinces.

To provide Christian education in its full range and power, a Religious Congregation, no matter how numerous or how dedicated it may be, cannot do enough. The special people that it marshals must be supported and complemented by educators who "remain in the world". De La Salle, we repeat, completely understood the role of lay teachers. One of his successors, Brother Irlide, in a circular letter dated January 3, 1882, would summarize the question as follows:

"The principal duty of the Institute is obviously to train religious teachers who can operate Christian schools while retaining the confidence of families. But this has never been anything but a part of its mission: the training of secular Christian teachers is its other task, which it has not failed to perform since the days in which our Venerable Father, in Rheims and in Paris, established his seminaries for country teachers. Not only is it important, in the major residence schools, to organize courses in preparation for examinations required for the teaching personnel in elementary education, which by itself would ensure a valuable teacher recruitment; but the opening of authentic normal schools would produce the most auspicious and the most efficacious results". And the Superior-general offered to the entire Congregation the example of Belgium.

Indeed, here, Institute initiatives, taken in conjunction with the Episcopacy, had been particularly effective. An explanation that was at one time offered by a great educator, Brother Mémoire Achilles, enables us to grasp the full scope of the effort:

"Normal schools ordinarily become the intellectual centers of the Districts in which they are established. Their faculties perpetuate within the Institute the cult of educational research and sustain it at a high level of development...The Christian teachers that they train are those of our former pupils who remain most intimately associated with us: the similarity between their mission and our own unites them to the Brothers. They return to our institutions for their "retreats" when schools are in recess; and they share in our discussions at teachers' conferences. Through them our influence extends over the whole of education in the region which observes them at work. They are an excellent instrument to furnish our residence schools and our other regional institutions with a highly select pupil-population. It is also among them that our Brother recruiters find support when they are in search of vocations. And while they meet with many "Junior novices" among the pupils of former normal school students, many of the latter themselves find their way to our novitiates. Above all, normal schools, in which the seed of Christianity is cultivated, prepare an abundant harvest".[264]

The Belgian Church, under the system of total educational freedom, was concerned with training a militia of such teachers. During the years which followed the Revolution of 1830 seven institutions for teacher-training were opened by the bishops. The legislation of 1842 favored their development. So that it might be possible for young Christian teachers to enter into the structures of public education, the heads of the dioceses informed the Minister of the Interior on January 28, 1843 that they would submit the private normal schools to inspection. In December a royal decree granted the seven institutions the privilege of "recognition". The directors in charge were invited to inform the government of their program of studies.

Such a program had to include materials detailed by the law. But the latter were nothing more

[264] Institute Archives, note concerning "place of normal schools in the hierarchy of the Institute's activities."

than the merest elements upon which all experts were in agreement. It was for each individual to work with these elemental essentials, to evaluate their importance and their interrelations, to work out the details of the disciplines, to develop some of them and to lighten — if they thought fit — the load of the others. To provide an education which equipped the aspiring teacher to fulfill his professional role was the appropriate and sole demand.

A final examination measured competence; it took place before a jury whose skill and make-up guaranteed impartiality. It included the civilian inspector of normal schools, the provincial and diocesan inspectors, the director of the institution and the professor of religion. One of the candidate's teachers performed the task of secretary without a voice in the deliberations. From the very first, the Brothers in the diocese of Namur were involved in the workings of the system by Bishop Dehesselle, who had been promoted to the Episcopal See in 1836. The prelate had applied to Brother Amos for an outline of a plan of studies for the use of rural teachers.[265] One of his Canons, Theodore Alexis Joseph Montpellier had purchased a building on the Palace of Justice Square and Rue Verte in Namur. A small group of seven young people were the first to be instructed there by Brother Ananias; it grew to thirty students in 1838.

The burgeoning school, temporarily relocated for the year 1840-1841 in the Harlue Mansion, took up permanent quarters in Malonne. There arose, not far from the Sambre, and along the banks of a stream called the Landoir, an abbey whose founder in the 7th century was the bishop-apostle St. Berthuin. The Canons Regular of St. Augustine who occupied it in the days when the French Republic annexed Belgium, were dispersed in 1797. Some of them bought back the estate. The final survivor and the heirs of the others no longer wished to support the upkeep. On February 18, 1841 they agreed to sell it to Bishop Dehesselle who, still seconded by Father Montpellier, sought rather spacious sites in which to house, besides the normal school, a residence school intended for the children of the nobility and the middle class.[266]

It was magnificently appointed. In a narrow glen surrounded by crags and hills, the buildings constructed in about 1740 by Abbot Farsy, carved out a stately silhouette. In spite of much devastation, they concealed traces of a period of luxury and beauty: — Malines leather, Louis XIV fireplaces, banks of staircases and old oaken doors, monumental escutcheons carved in stone. Massive facades divided by columns rested upon sturdy underpinnings; a cloister with exquisite sculptures advanced to join up with the abbatial chapel whose bulb-shaped steeple spread out above the roofs with their violet colors. Gardens surrounded by broken down but nonetheless imposing walls rose by degrees toward a plateau lashed by the winds. A long embankment which sloped toward monastery was covered with an ancient arbor.[267] The soul of the monks seemed suspended in the half-light. And the portraits of their abbots greeted the newcomers, Brother Director Anscar and his four associates. Nevertheless, a lot of surprises awaited the Brothers' Community which found itself faced with people who, devoid of rights, capitalized on ancient customs: a handful of Bernardine nuns taken in by the charity of the Augustinians; the pastor of Malonne who had the use of several rooms; and the mayor of the town who, as the "warden", was permanently installed along with his family. Besides, the villagers entered the enclosure daily to attend Mass or to draw water from the fountain.

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[265] *Revue belge de pédagogie*, for the year 1930-1931, article by Brother Maximin-Louis.

[266] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 151-152. For details concerning the history of the abbey and the work of the Brothers in Malonne, see Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 377-597.

[267] Brother Mélage, *Vie du Frére Mutien-Marie*, Namur, 1927, pg. 38. — Paulin Renault, *l'irrésistible appel, Frére Michel professeur à Malonne, Namur, 1942, pp. 53-54, 61.*

Brother Anscar's exertions had to be widely deployed. He got some people to leave or he reached amicable settlements; and he succeeded in overcoming the most tenacious opposition. But he also met with the most serious financial difficulties; the building, interiorly crumbling, required a great deal of renovation; and in spite of its expanses of space, it did not lend itself well to use as a school. He had to incur continuous expenditures: Bishop Dehesselle and Canon Montpellier provided the money, but their funds were not enough for the projects of the Director who ran dreadfully into debt. His financial policies were undoubtedly the principal reason why he was recalled to Paris in November of 1845.

He was a man who did not lack for talent: he was an organizer and an enterprising individual, but one who propelled daring to the point of painful imprudence. We have referred to his strength of will, which was allied to all the fire of youth — born in 1810, he had become Director in Malonne at the age of thirty-one — and to an exceedingly domineering personality. And while he knew how to command, and while his sonorous voice and his easily engaging language assured him a surprising influence over pupils, he exhausted and bewildered his colleagues. Discipline suffered from a lack of coordination of effort, and from the tentativeness and blundering of some of the teachers.[268] Studies were lackluster.

Although Brother Anscar had previously taught in the normal school in Rouen, he had no talent for focusing programs. Good educational textbooks eluded him. The work seemed to overwhelm the too-few and inadequately directed teachers.

We should add that the Director, badgered by problems and interfered with in his movements, could neither develop his plans nor show what he was capable of doing. He retains the distinction of having made ready the soil for his successors. Both literally and figuratively, he prepared the way; he surveyed the route; and with him there began the pious traditions, the courage in the face of the most difficult tasks and also — what the families respected — a meticulously well-ordered dining room service and a household management in keeping with the splendor of the old abbey.

One of Brother Philippe's decisions contributed a pledge to the project's future. The Bishop of Namur was growing weary of supplying the expenses for the institution; and he eagerly welcomed the proposal that the Superior-general made him to transfer the title to Malonne to the Institute. The notarized contract was agreed upon on October 16, 1846. It was a genuine gesture of abandonment to Providence: during the fleeting direction of Brother Gall, the institution's economic crisis appeared to veer toward disaster. Nevertheless, at the request of the Brother Visitor Xiste, a loan by way of subscription was covered without too much difficulty: Catholics and clergy, once again, showed a magnificent confidence in the Brothers.

They were about to be rewarded. Brother Assistant Amos had uncovered the man who had the ability to repair the situation. Entering the Community Room on November 11, 1846, he approached Brother Martinian, the Sub-Director. "Accept", he told him, "full responsibility for the school. It will remain on your sturdy shoulders". Joseph Dupont, a former teacher in the Province of Luxembourg, entered the novitiate in Namur in 1835 and was a model Religious, ready to obey to the death. Naturally shy, aspiring to a hidden life, absorbed by his teaching concerns, foreign to the ways of the world, he presumed so little on his abilities that the day after his appointment, he wrote to a confrere, the Director in Gembloux: "They have put a man at the head of Malonne who is fit for nothing except to ruin everything. What's needed here is a great person, a man distinguished in knowledge and in holiness".[269]

It turned out that he was the saint and the scholar. Out of a sense of duty and a sense of the

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[268] Institute Archives, *Notes historiques sur Malonne*, Brother Meldas' manuscript.

[269] Hutin, Vol. III, pg. 462.

apostolate, he exerted both heart and intelligence. He had a remarkable memory, and he devoted himself tenaciously to the task; conscientiously, with taste and with erudition, he taught literature, history and mathematics. Conceptually somewhat slow, but extremely sound of judgment, his decisions, prudently pondered, were settled irrevocably. The responsibilities may have been frightening; but mastering his nerves and practicing a composure which nevertheless told on a testy temperament, the new Director imposed his authority and met ill-timed suggestions and injunctions with silence, while winning respect and affection.

Malonne had the good fortune of retaining him for eleven years which, for him, were years of genuine immolation. The anxiety of debts to be paid, of endlessly repetitious expenditures undermined a man of his tremulous constitution, his sensitive and scrupulous soul. As physical energy became exhausted, moral vitality yielded also: a prey to morbid obsessions, Brother Martinian sank into a depression. On October 8, 1857 he had to be moved to the infirmary in Namur, where symptoms of softening of the brain began to make their appearance. At St. Berthuin's Abbey pupils and professors implored the Most Blessed Virgin for their beloved teacher. On December 8, on the morning of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, a flash of clarity gave rise to hope; the unconscious victim asked for the Blessed Sacrament and uttered fervent prayers. He received Holy Communion with devotion. He then fell back into his pathetic condition, only to emerge from it once again for a few moments on December 13. Two days later he died.

His body, buried in the cemetery in Namur was brought back to Malonne in 1864 and deposited in the small St. Joseph's chapel. A pious epitaph recalled the virtues "the illustrious and superb Director" dead at the height of his powers at the age of forty-four years.[270]

The institution did indeed owe him this tribute of gratitude. It would not have survived if this voluntary victim had not infused it with his own blood. Later on we shall speak of the developments of the residence school. Meanwhile we shall continue to deal with the history of the normal school from the time of its beginnings alongside the Landoir until the end of Brother Philippe's generalate.

Forty-four aspiring teachers had followed the courses during the school year 1841-1842. The provisions of the law governing elementary education stepped in quite conveniently to guarantee the future of most of these young people to specify their professional guidance and to expedite — by means of scholarships — the recruitment of their successors. Nevertheless, the normal school in Malonne would only vegetate if the number of its student population did not greatly increase. However, a maximum figure in the forties had been settled on the founders; and Canon Montpellier did not want to deviate from it. But he finally yielded to Brother Martinian's rejoinder: "Were we committed annually to pay off the deficit, only then would I agree not to exceed the prescribed limit."

In 1847 the school population stood at fifty-one normal students,[271] divided into three groups, preparatory, intermediate and advanced. It increased to sixty in 1853 and reached a total of sixty-nine in 1857.[272]

The Brother Director was intelligently dedicated to the training of candidates. Over a ten year period during his tenure students had obtained for the school a quantity of quite distinguished diplomas; and the great majority of candidates submitted to the final tests without mishap; the twenty-two in the advanced courses were all passed the year in which Brother Martinian

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[270] Ibid., pp. 476-483.

[271] Remember that this term was used in Belgium.

[272] Hutin, Vol. III, pg. 434, according to *Rapports triennaux sur la situation primaire en Belgique*.

completed his career.[273] Experimental classes allowed them to probe their aptitudes; until 1851 the Brothers in Malonne had elementary classes in which student-teachers took their turns in doing duty as classroom teachers. When the Commune decided the open another school, the Institute closed its own; but, for twenty-four years it sent its normal students to practice among the children in the village, under the sponsorship of a lay teacher and under the guidance of Religious teachers.

It is easy to imagine how Christian education at St. Berthuin's school became the object of very special concern. Brother Martinian arranged for retreats for teachers, the first of which took place in 1846. Malonne alumni took part, along with some other participants in private and public education in the provinces of Namur and Luxembourg. The retreatants were confirmed in their faith and became imbued with the duties of their profession; to the preachers' sermons and the pious meditations were added educational conferences.

But, in 1856, the liberal government took umbrage at these gatherings. The Minister Piercot, in a letter to the Bishop of Namur, at one time alluded to them as a "pious luxury for laymen". And at a meeting of the Central Committee for Public Education Rogier registered his displeasure with the delegates of the Episcopacy: if an end weren't put to the retreats, he was going "to speak his mind" in a circular letter, even if it meant "being accused of trying to destroy religion in the hearts of teachers". An effort was made to disregard the remark; since, in the long run, prudence requires that civil servants not be exposed to the strictures of their supervisors. And the matter rested.

But harsher blows had to be expected from the party in power. Without striking directly at private normal schools, their enemies attempted to put them into an awkward posture; they disguised their intentions behind fine appearances: in theory, examination questions should be identical for all candidates for jobs in elementary education. This was the explanation for a "regulation" attached to the royal decree of December 15, 1860, which enumerated the conditions which, henceforth, were to apply to those institutions created by the Episcopacy as well as to those which depended upon civil authority regarding subsidies, scholarships and the issuance of diplomas. It was, of course, a matter of justice. But the new programs imposed a severe disadvantage; it would have been fairer to have faced up to the difficulties in which young people in the courses of studies were struggling, if the regulation was to be immediately applied.

The Minister promised provisional adjustments, but he did not keep his word. In July 1861, two weeks away from the examination, the Brother Director in Malonne learned that the jury would question third year students on a collection of topics that had not been required up to then. The confusion was enormous. But in spite of it all, six out of twelve candidates received passing grades.[274]

There were people who lurched, but they didn't fall. Confidence was restored and stability was reestablished. In 1864 all candidates earned their diplomas, a success which was repeated in 1869 and again in 1870. While, three years later, there were seven failures along with thirty-five successful candidates, in 1874 there was a lone aspiring teacher who was failed.[275]

Nevertheless, harassment and vilification were rampant. St. Berthuin's school had become the ideologues' target. It had become important to defame it in order create a body of opinion in opposition to Christian education. The examiners, among whom, since the notorious

[273]Meldas, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 205 et sq.

[274] Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 530 et sq.

[275] Ibid., pg. 581.

"regulation", the liberal members predominated, gave evidence in several instances of an appalling partiality. In order to attract the best educated minds to the State normal schools, the distribution of scholarships was administered in a quiet unequal manner; in 1862 Malonne received 8,630 francs while Nivelles was paid 31,300. By dint of confrontation the Brother Director subsequently succeeded in obtaining a larger share; but the difference in allotment remained, proportionately, pretty nearly the same.[276] It was no thanks to the Ministers and the Deputies that the reputation of the Brothers' school was unsullied.

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Another project with a similar origin and which was also called upon to defend itself and to reap a well-deserved renown, existed in the diocese of Namur. So wide did this ecclesiastical constituency extend over the Walloon region that there should have been two training schools for teachers. Teachers emerged from Malonne for the areas around the episcopal city; one was needed elsewhere in order to spread the seed of the Gospel into the Province of Luxembourg.

A modest attempt was begun in 1838 on the Belgium's eastern frontier at Bastogne, where Bishop Dehesshelle had a Junior Seminary and where courses for functioning teachers had been added to the regular program. From the second Tuesday in May to the last Wednesday in August some of the teachers in the rural parishes convened to pick up some supplementary instruction. Their teachers were priests who, forsaking for a time their Latin and Theology made do as teachers of teachers.[277]

It must have been along the same lines that the Bishop of Namur's colleagues organized the normal schools which, in 1843, they were to subject to legal control. As a system it economized on both personnel and expenses. But in housing normal students and seminarians under the same roof there was danger of compromising the recruitment of the former. There was the possibility that teacher training would be more or less sacrificed to clerical formation. Those involved might well have had misgivings. And, then, composing a sort of ghetto, they might have gotten the feeling that they were "second class citizens". If what was being sought was to give them pride in their vocation and guarantee them every opportunity for work, it was important to establish institutions that were completely autonomous.[278]

Bishop Dehesselle was persuaded, and he was fortunate enough to have found a piece of property on the Ardenne plateau where young people might be at peace in the bracing atmosphere and in a seclusion that would be favorable for reflection and study.

It was an historical mansion, which rose on the edge of a village which at one time had belonged to Geoffrey of Bouillon, the hero of the First Crusade, and then to the Bishop-Princes of Liége, to William de la Mark, the "Wild bore of Ardennes"; and which at one time it had been called "Saussure". In the 18th century a Chancellor of His Highness Joseph Clement of Bavaria, Canon Rougrave, built a manorial mansion on the site. After Charles Godfrey of Bouillon, Prince de La Tour d'Auvergne, had acquired the domain a few years later, the people of Saussure, flattered by being the immediate vassals of the heir of the ancient dukes, petitioned that their region bear one of the Christian names of their lord. And, in virtue of Letters Patent, dated March 10, 1757, Saussure became Carlsbourg.

The German form of the name changed neither the language nor the spirit of the inhabitants.

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[276] In 1866, 9,000 francs as opposed to 35,000 for the normal school in Nivelles.

[277] *Revue belge de pédagogie* for May, 1938, "*Centième anniversaire de l'École normale de Carlsbourg,"* article by Brother Émile.

[278] Ibid., number for the year 1930-1931, article by Brother Maximin Louis.

The Duchy of Bouillon considered itself French: it lost its independence in 1795, during the Revolution and entered as a tiny parcel within the immensity of the Napoleonic Empire. The last duke, Jacques Leopold, died dispossessed in 1802.

The Carlsbourg mansion fell under the control of the French State: its sumptuous furnishings were dispersed at auction. A private person purchased the buildings and the grounds. From his hands, the majestic facades, standing behind massive tours with domed roofs, passed on to a Polish captain and, then, in 1821, to Colonel Grandjean.[279]

Grandjean, who was aware of the Bishop of Namur's purposes, offered to sell at a nominal price. Bishop Dehesselle accepted the windfall. And, immediately, he opened negotiations with Brother Philippe with the view of delegating the operation of the new institution to the Christian Brothers.

The Superior-general hesitated. Of course, the undertaking was not without its appeal. But it demanded prime personnel. In a letter dated August 18, 1844 to the Brother Visitor-provincial, the Bishop vented his anxiety: — a delay would compromise the entire plan. The normal school had to be opened after vacation; otherwise, students would be knocking on other doors; the diocese no longer enjoyed the advantages contained in the law of 1832. Actually, the Minister of the Interior had promised thirty scholarships at 200 francs each, and "adoption" would provide the means whereby the Communal schools would be staffed with Catholic teachers. There did, indeed, remain the one resort of beginning the courses with priest-professors, except that their rapid removal would raise sensitive questions. If the Brothers failed to appear, the purpose of the project would be lost: since what was at stake was to create at Carlsbourg, as had been created at Malonne, a bastion of elementary education; from these two centers the sons of De La Salle would guarantee the diffusion of good educational methods and the dissemination of the Christian spirit.[280] Such a glowing instance reveals a very special deference: Brother Philip, Brother Amos and Brother Xiste were deeply touched. Further hesitation became impossible. Foregoing a school that had been planed for Florenne, the Visitor announced that six Brothers who had been, as consequence, made available, would arrive in Carlsbourg in the beginning of October.

This Community, under Brother Ingaud's leadership, took up residence in an inn until the premises were prepared. It set out nonetheless promptly to perform its task: entrance examinations were completed during the first two weeks of the month. Delighted, the Bishop congratulated the indomitable group. In November 1844, about twenty pupils, the tiny kernel of the foundation, which had received its elementary instruction in the schools in Bastogne, arrived in Carlsburg at the beginning of October.

Legal recognition created no difficulty. The rights granted the Seminary students had been imparted to the resident students in Carlsburg. Valid diplomas increased in numbers. In 1847, after the enforcement of the royal decree systematizing the examination boards, seventeen candidates were passed.

Bishop Deshesselle granted the institution a very special support. The results it had obtained encouraged his hopes: the Director's financial difficulties aroused his concerns. At the end of three years, he became aware of the fact that income was inadequate; he immediately determined to increase payments for room and board; and he personally undertook to pay the salaries for nine Brothers. The Brother Visitor had no longer to be concerned with the debt that had been outstanding; discreetly, the Bishop had assumed the responsibility for its

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279 Émile Chardome, Carlsbourg, *Histoire du château ed du premier siècle de l'établissement*, Liége, 1946. — The Treaty of 1815 incorporated the Duchy of Bouillon into the Low Countries.

280 Institute Archives, Carlsbourg File.

amortization.[281] His affection glowed in the correspondence he exchanged with Brother Ingaud. We get the tone of it in a letter dated January 8, 1850: "If the hopes that I entertain for you and your Community (are realized) everything will be perfect at Carlsbourg. You will grow in virtue like the cedars of Lebanon and all of you, from the Director to the cook, will be good and holy sons of De La Salle".[282]

This friendly simplicity, this cheerfulness, remained one of the qualities of Nicholas Joseph Dehesselle's personality. He also had a warmth of soul, a far-sighted prudence, frequently a very commendable generosity and a gracious forbearance that encouraged people to speak their minds, that placated and consoled and sometimes underscored the suggestion of a smile or an amusing remark. It is easy to understand why the death of the pious Bishop in 1865, after twenty-nine years in the Episcopacy prompted unanimous regrets among the people of his diocese.[283] In him the Brothers lost a great benefactor, who had been affiliated to their Institute.[284] By regarding him as one of their own, by setting aside special prayers for his intentions, the Brothers did justice to a man who, from the sambre to the Semoy, had given wings to the destiny of their Congregation.

Among the Brothers most highly valued by the late Bishop there was Brother Mémoire, successor to Brother Ingaud in Carlsbourg. His appointment dated from September 24, 1851. His energies and talents were to be deployed in the province until September 26, 1876. A bust, sculptured by Jacquet for the gallery of the institution in the Arden captured in a living way the intelligence of his facial features and magnetism of his "penetrating, grave, yet gentle" look.[285] Supported by the Bishop who founded the institution, Brother Mémoire was a pillar that sustained the structure and that expedited the raising of the walls and the lifting of the roof.

The stamp of his personality endures in the programs, principles and practices. Without him, Carlsbourg would not, of course, have been the imaginative and complex community of the Christian Brothers in Belgium, the beehive that joyously bustled in the midst of vast distances, of grassland horizons, of fields and forests.

Before taking an overall glance at this academic "city", we shall pause at the sector occupied by the normal school. One of Brother Mémoire's merits was that he understood that this sort of institution, deprived as it was then of means of communication and out of the way of the principal centers of population, would survive only by achieving a certain superiority over similar institutions.[286] As a consequence, the new Director introduced superior teaching methods; he encouraged teachers to write textbooks; and he drew up regulations and plans for studies that outstript governmental requirements.[287]

Many of the teachers associated with him were top-flight resources. When we shall discuss

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[281] Institute Archives, Carlsbourg File: Bishop Dehesselle's letter to Brother Sancien, July 25, 1847.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Kersten, *Journal historique*, cited by Hutin, Vol. II, pg. 189. Bishop Dehesselle's mausoleum — a beautiful marble statue on the sarcophagus — was erected in the Namur cathedral, opposite the tomb of Bishop Pisani de la Gaude.

[284] Notices nécrologiques, August 1865.

[285] É. Chardome, op. cit.

[286] Carlsbourg File, Brother Macédon's notes (Felix Hutin).

[287] Ibid., Brother Mémoire's letter to Bishop Dehesselle, May 6, 1856.

courses established in favor of children and youths in categories other than educational trainees we shall be sketching the portraits of men like Brother Alexis and Brother Matthew. Here we shall merely call to mind the name of Brother Achilles. Born in Gembloux, Achilles Van Achter was trained under the guidance of Brother Mémoire himself, who was Director of the school in that region between 1844 and 1850; and as a quite dedicated disciple, he was hardly ever separated from his leader and model. Brother Mémoire brought him to the novitiate in Paris, and France made a deep impression upon the young Belgian. On the banks of the Seine, he cultivated his mind, refined his tastes, and enriched his use of undefiled French. In February, 1853 he became professor of education at Carlsbourg. He wrote a textbook on methodology and a book on "Christian education", which were the products of long experience. And then in a vade mecum, published in 1879, Brother Achilles summarized his principles with the view of directing that great mass of makeshift teachers who were to assume the operation of new private schools during the period of the great Catholic "awakening."[288]

As his colleagues in the Carlsbourg Community there was the botanist Brother Maubert, and the drawing teacher Brother Mansuy; his predecessor in the classes for student-teachers, Brother Marinus, did not leave the Arden until 1864, in order at that time to direct the novitiate in Namur. For thirteen years in the company of Brother Mémoire the future Visitor-provincial matured his powerful mind, reflected on his work and deepened the science of education that he so eagerly sought for his entire District: as early as 1865 he urged the young Brothers along the ways that he had opened up for their lay counterparts. In the cloister at Malonne he gathered a large group of them with the idea of introducing them to a series of professional tests.[289]

It was in this sense that Bishop Dehesselle's foundations were to serve as the cornerstone for a number of Christian Brothers' scholasticates. The professional training of student-teachers was an anticipation of, and a premise for, an analogous structure within the Congregation. The associates of men like Brother Martinian and Brother Mémoire had to devote themselves to personal study and, by dint of many late nights, had to complete their initial training at the same time that they were teaching generation after generation of students. Their successors were to approach their task fully provided with all the necessary equipment.

It is therefore impossible to exaggerate the merits of the men who had conferred upon Malonne and Carlsbourg such an enormous celebrity. In 1851 thirty-eight students who were preparing to teach were living in the Tour d'Auvergne Mansion; but a few years later there would be sixty of them. Between 1847 and 1880 there were 506 diplomas granted to candidates trained in the Arden institution.[290]

The great majority of these teachers settled in the Province of Luxembourg. They played a role in supporting the population in their Catholic faith; and if, according to the best judges, in no other part of Belgium is education more widespread or more solidly founded, the distinction for such marvelous results belongs, in large part, to the teachers at Carlsbourg.[291]

It was achieved in spite of the idealogues. As early 1847 the provincial government had withdrawn subsidies from the Bishop's project. In 1865, a fresh demand for a public funds had been met by indignation on the part of the Liberals: Immanuel Tesch, Vice-president of the Council in Luxembourg, stated the reasons for the rebuff in abusive language: the Brothers, in

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288 *Revue de Carlsbourg*, 1910.

289 *Notices nécrologiques*, 2nd quarter, 1888.

290 Carlsbourg File, Brother Macédon's notes; and article in *Bulletin des Ècoles chrétiennes* for July, 1911.

291 Brother Emile, article cited.

his view, constituted a pack of incompetents: and their courses evaded all control. The pupils, brought up on ideas that were contrary to "progress and civilization", remained uneducated, and they became "fanatics": the "retreats" to which they were at one time summoned, but which had since been forbidden by the Minister, supplied the proof of a deplorable state of mind. As a result political favors had to be restricted to the official school in Virton that had been in full operation since 1860.

To refute M. Tesch's allegations it is enough to list the names of former students at Carlsbourg who had distinguished careers. We shall cite a single persuasive witness, taken from the correspondence between two distinguished persons who had remained completely dedicated to the school of their youth. Five years ago, M. Lindemans, a Provincial Counsellor, wrote to M. J. Renault, the inspector general for elementary education: "I was a pupil at Carlsbourg from 1869 to 1872, our school's golden age...In those days, in an out-of-the-way place that was nearly unknown, five miles from the railroad, in a poor and cold region, under the vigorous stimulus of learned teachers — all formidable pioneers, like Brother Mémoir — work was in honor and brought the College in the Arden its preeminent position and reputation.[292]

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From their beginning there had existed in the two great Christian Brothers schools in Wallonia the determination to train Christian teachers. But the Bishop of Namur's lofty ambitions did not stop there. They would end with the setting in motion of the first two, and the two most important, "residence schools" directed by the Brothers in Belgium. The halls of Carlsbourg and of the Abbey St. Berthuin offered a sanctuary, not only to potential schoolteachers, but to a much more numerous population of youths who were to embrace a great variety of careers in life: future industrialists, merchants, military officers, magistrates, government officials, not to speak of vocations to the priesthood and the Religious life.

We have kept the history of the two groups separate: — not only for the sake of clarity, but also because, in their parallel development, they scarcely ever merged. They answered to the same administration; they submitted to a similar moral education and both instructed dedicated sons and active co-workers for the Church. Under the Cross and the "star", the symbol of the Institute, each of them retained its own identity.

With this, Bishop Dehesselle's second project, we return to familiar surroundings. Namur, Luxembourg — and later on, Flanders and Hainaut — were to enjoy this sort of school the origins of which went back to the "St. Yon" of De La Salle's day and which flourished anew in the France of the 19th century.

Until 1841 the Belgian Brothers clung to the essential purpose of their Congregation: to dispense elementary education imbued with the Christian faith to children, and especially to the poor. Would they be loath to go beyond that? In principle, the Superior-general found it impossible to raise objections: he was not about to repudiate the example set by the Holy Founder.

But when an outline of the Bishop's plan was presented to him, he was something less than enthusiastic. Bishop Dehesselle, of course, had no intention of starting up at Malonne anything more that classes that would be preparatory to the Junior Seminary or College, as was implied in the very language of his initial proposal.[293] Brother Philippe's response was evasive, and, then, for six weeks he lapsed into silence. To force a decision, Canon Montpellier who, in these

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[292] *Revue de Carlsbourg*, 1930.

[293] September 1, 1841. Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 394-396.

circumstances once again displayed his zeal, wrote him imploringly: the summer vacation was coming to a close, parents were worried, and they were badgering the Bishop.[294]

The "Regime's" position was divulged on October 24, 1841, to Brother Anscar: in Paris the enterprize was looked upon as awkward; there were financial difficulties, administrative obstacles, and the diversion of personnel that it was thought would be more usefully employed in the tuition-free schools.

Brother Amos, who was still Visitor and, at this time, in residence in Namur, sought to pacify the situation. He predicted that "the future of the proposed schools was as secure as Passy's". Father Montpelliers avowed his disinterestedness and the sincerity of his motives. Finally, Brother Philippe, who had himself been fearful that people might misunderstand the reasons for his own reluctance, generously embraced the conditions set down by the Bishop and the Canon.

The contract was signed on September 9. Several days earlier, Brother Anscar, with the Superiors' authorization, had opened the first classes.[295] We have spoken of his problems, his tentative efforts. In the residence school, as in the normal school, his second successor, Brother Martinian, would rectify the situation. He quickly perceived that the failure would have become definitive, if he adhered too closely to Bishop Dehesselle's ideas. Education could not be confined to the elementary level and be intended uniquely for a few young men of good families, who would then be steered into classical studies. In such a way one would never put together an interesting and total program of studies and never succeed in recruiting a numerous school population.

The new institution had to be modeled on the old French residence schools and boldly embrace the direction which Passy had adopted: and, as a consequence, introduce the "modern humanities". The realization of this plan produced the effect sought after: gradually, pupils flocked to Malonne. In ten years time everything had changed: whereas, in 1847 the school population had fallen to sixty-three boys, at the time Brother Martinian was forced by illness to depart his beloved institution, there were 250 youngsters.[296]

He left it with the memory of his virtues and under the sway of piety, discipline, zest for work and an atmosphere of confidence and satisfaction. "St. Berthuin's Institute" was to flourish under the patronage of the ancient apostle to whom the Renaissance-style chapel built in 1853 was dedicated.

Brother Maufroy succeeded to the inheritance. In him many natural qualities shown forth: firmness, prudence, competence, an attractive appearance and a conversation that sparkled with pithy comments assured him of parents' approval. His was not the lofty soul of a Brother Martinian: and later on, his moral stamina would falter. But for sixteen years, the helm at Malonne was vigorously tended: buildings were enlarged and important improvements were effected; in the winding valley, near the rolling Landoir whose waters, in conduit, were now invisible, stretched the row of classrooms, dormitories, and play fields. Vegetable gardens, orchards, linden trees and oaks crept up the rocky hillsides.[297]

In the Abbey's halls mineralogical, zoological, and in numismatic collections [298] An herbarium, patiently assemble by Brother Maubert, was added. witnessed to the fact that a zeal for science inspired the Director. And the creation of an "Academy" testified to a no less

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[294] Letter dated October 14, Hutin, Vol. III, pg. 398.

[295] Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 465-468.

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[297] Ibid., pp. 486-488. — Brother Mélage, *Vie du Frère Mutien Marie*, pg. 39.

[298] To which there was added a herb garden set up by Brother Maubert

enlightened concern with regard to "Literature".

A robust breath of life made its way through the school. And with it there was mingled waves of God's grace, and Brother Maufroy did not stand in its way. Personally, he was devout; not only did he maintain regularity in the Community, he also fostered devotions to the Blessed Virgin and to St. Anne.[299]

To provide teachers and pupils with the most magnificent example God raises up saints: on September 6, 1859 there arrived at Malonne the young Brother Mutien Marie who was only eighteen years of age. In Mellet, his native region — in the diocese of Tournai —he was Louis Joseph Wiaux. He had entered the novitiate in Namur in 1855 and was a model of obedience and prayer; he had nothing but a very unpretentious education and lacked the talent to teach. After rather undistinguished efforts in Chimay and in Brussels, he received an order to go to St. Berthuin's Institute, where, henceforth, his chief duty consisted in giving lessons in instrumental music; and he was also employed in teaching drawing to the youngest pupils and in supervising the children at play and as they slept. He fulfilled his humble tasks with punctuality; he was the most patient of "tutors" and the most dedicated of catechists, at the same time that he was an accommodating and gracious confrere. When he had a free hour, he hurried to the chapel, where he knelt in adoration or slowly meditated upon each word of the Ave Maria. Upon emerging from prayer, which touched upon the ecstatic, he was heard to speak in moving, intense and sublime utterances. For more than a half a century this Brothers who was distinguished neither for his physical presence, nor the nobility of his looks, nor by the glamor of his exploits inspired respect and universal veneration. He "prayed always" and observed the Rule in its most minute detail. His soul shown through a look that was angelically pure. And his Brothers regarded him, even before his hallowed death as an intercessor of exceptional power.[300]

Brother Mutien was not the only one to inspire a Community whose concord and good spirit continued to be in evidence. He had a worthy competitor in Brother Michael (Sebastian Alphonsus Miest) whose temperament and character were of a very different sort. He was a philosopher, a wide-ranging scholar, a teacher with clear-cut ideas, trenchant principles and dominating authority. But, eight years younger than Brother Mutien Marie, the new teacher did not make his debut until 1858. His teaching career extended over a very long period, and his personality continued to assert itself well into an old-age that was surrounded by recognition. We shall return to Brother Michael in the course of the present history.[301] While Malonne, unfettered by the bonds that had at one time immobilized it, had taken great strides, Carlsbourg was pursuing its no less splendid future. Founded later and in a more open area, this school did not suffer the same problems as the older institution. In the beginning its residence school was only a tiny seed — the mustard-seed whence gradually sprung up the tree with so many branches.

At the outset of the second school year — 1845-1846 — eight young men applied who wished to take the classes but without aspiring to the teacher's diploma. With the approval of

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[299] Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 485-486.

[300] See the fascinating biography of Brother Mutien Marie, *la Voi étroite*, by Brother Mélage, a teacher at St. Berthuin's Institute.

[301] Institute Bulletin, January 1929, and the work cited by Paulin Ranault. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1929, and the book already referred to by Paulian Renault. Born in 1849, in the Namur Arden, Alphonsus Miest was a student at the Seminary in Floreffe, where he received an excellent religious and classical education. His family had intended him for the priesthood; but an "irresistible call" drew him to De La Salle's Institute. In 1866, he was admitted to the novitiate in Namur.

Bishop Dehesselle, Brother Ingaud admitted them. However, he thought that it would be better to teach them as a group, without the technicalities intended for the future teachers. He conceived the program as directed toward knowledge that would be useful in industry and commerce: this seems to have been the origin of what came to be called "the professional school".

The "incomparable mentor", Brother Mémoire, transmitted his dynamism to it. "He had engendered life in a desert."[302] In any case, he had breathed life into the dry clay of the high plain. To the youths — whose make-up grew in number and variety — entrusted to him by their families, he offered a judiciously moderated freedom and a leisure based upon friendship, along with a program of scientific and literary studies.

Recreation consisted in walks through the fields and woods. Seclusion in the middle of a rural countryside facilitated such a pattern; in the fresh air lungs expanded and the flow of the blood quickened. And the heart, too, was untroubled, far from the constrictions of urban dwelling.[303]

This bracing atmosphere, "friendly, hearty, and familial" appeared to the students to be all the more "exquisite" because they were dwelling in a manorial residence with its harmonious lines and its history that evoked princes and people of gentle birth.[304]

In 1860 the Bishop of Namur ceded the property to the Institute. The Brothers undertook a broad building program: over all it was symmetrical, imposing and in harmony with the ancient manor house, but lightened by broad interior courtyards. A chapel of modest size was built perpendicularly to one of the wings. These buildings were clustered between a boulevard lined with century-old linden trees that lead to the village and the vast horizon on which exploded the grey-brown colors of the Ardennes.[305]

All of nature seemed generate energy, and the physical situation itself seemed favorable to reflection and fruitful occupation. In literature, mathematics, history, geography, natural science, cheerfully the pupils embarked along the highroads of the mind, as they did along the country roads. As the consummate teacher and scholar Brother Mémoire was their guide.[306]

He also stimulated the zeal of the teachers. "His contagious activity was passed from one to the other."[307] Like so many Benedictines, the Brothers at Carlsbourg issued a whole host of publications. Brother Marcy published his books in geometry, arithmetic and trigonometry, Brother Milliany his lectures in botany, Brother Mansuy his book on drawing and Brother Mélit wrote concerning his "intuitive" methods in harmony and accompaniment. Brother Marianus explained his "educational material" and wrote several textbooks. And Brother Macédone preceded his patient historical research with a book that had local interests: *Carlsbourg, Formerly Saussure*.

The personal work of these teachers was primarily in favor of their pupils. Brother Manuelian had a talent for making his classes enthusiastic about French writers; and Brother

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[302] Brother Mélage, *Au service des autres* (Life of Brother Matthias of Mary), Namur, 1936, pg. 44.

[303] Émile Chardome, op. cit.

[304] Ibid.

[305] Brother Mélage, pp. 46-47. — Brother Macédone, *Historique manuscrit*.

[306] Tradition relates a conversation between Brother Mémoire and Paul Verlaine whose family was native to the Paliseul and St. Hubert regions. The young man had come on vacation to the Ardennes. "He spoke of the charm of this region of glittering pools, of shivering foliage and of grasses where, during the autumn, drifting white vapors clung to clumps of bulrushes." He visited Carlsbourg, and he talked literature with the Director. Brother Mémoire recommended that he read Chateaubriand, whose apologetical works he praised. (According to Émile Chardome, who was himself a distinguished poet.)

[307] Frère Mélage,op.cit. pp.47-48

Madir introduced young Walloons to spoken Flemish. Brother Medulf prepared pupils for university examinations: tirelessly, over a period of forty years, he repeated the thankless task. In 1868 a new-comer, Brother Matthias of Mary, only recently a novice at Namur, introduced into his "Third Professional" class an "Agricultural Society" which gave signs of the broadest possible development.[308]

Two men lead this distinguished group: Brothers Matthew and Alexis, an historian and a geographer respectively, of whom the second is particularly noteworthy.

Celestine Joseph Mathieu — whose family name became his religious name — was a particularly intelligent compiler. A former elementary school teacher who had graduated from the institution in Bastogne, he became a Christian Brother at the age of twenty-eight years. Immediately after his novitiate in 1856 he was sent to Carlsbourg, which he never left. There he lived the peaceful, regular life of a teaching monk. As an instructor in history, he became aware of the dearth of books appropriate for the use of young Christians. In order to fill this void he assigned general histories almost exclusively: *Caesar Cantú's General History* and *Bouillet's Dictionary*. From these works he put together a three volume synthesis. It turned out to be an event in educational circles, and editions followed quickly one upon the other. The Liberal party, however, was unsparing in its criticism; although the Pope wrote the author in appreciation.

Thus, attacked and castigated, Brother Mathieu continued to revise his book. He provided a fourth volume that dealt with contemporary history (1815-1900), followed by an altered and briefer presentation entitled: *The Major Facts of History.* He was also annalist both for the province of Luxembourg and for all of Belgium, which required an enormous out-lay of effort. Overall it couldn't fail to make heavy reading, and many of its details stood in need of correction. Finality is seldom quality of this sort of research. In the case of Brother Mathieu, equipped with primitive tools, results, which were surprising, were the outcome of a reliable method and a native talent for brevity and clarity. It would be unjust to ignore the circumstances under which the work was written while disparaging it importance.[309]

Mastery yielded to Brother Alexis. The teacher's portrait which hangs in one of the main corridors at Carlsbourg attracts attention. It depicts a man whose superior intelligence is revealed in the well-formed forehead and in the lively eyes whose fire went undimmed by the use of spectacles. The sharpness of his facial features, in a slightly lengthened oval shape, harmonized with his sober posture. We are made aware that we are looking at a shrewd observer, a scholar and a completely educated human being.

Jean Baptist Gochet was born on January 1, 1835 at Tamines, of a well-to-do family that was highly thought of in the region. He made his early studies at the Malonne residence school. He then undertook agricultural work and at the same time became interested in beer-making. Educated, refined, and handsome, he delighted people and people were delighted with him. At thirty-three years of age, he began to think about the Religious life. Confiding in the Superior of the Recollect Fathers in Salzinnes, Father Félicien, he raised the question: — "Is it possible for one who greatly loves the joys of the world...but who is beginning to weary of them, to become a monk?"

— "Why not?", replied the disciple of St. Francis of Assisi.

— I would like to...And since I was a pupil of the Christian Brothers, I would like to join their Institute. I feel I have a vocation to teach."

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[308] Brother Mélage, op. cit., pp. 49-50. — *Rivista lasalliana* for June, 1936, article by Brother Clement; Carlsbourg File, L. Lindemans' letter, already cited.

[309] *Revue de Carlsbourg*, 1911.

On September 15, 1858 Jean Baptist came as a pilgrim to two holy places in France: to the hillside at La Sallette where, twelve years earlier, supernatural events had occurred and to the village of Ars whose saintly pastor was still alive. After praying to the Most Blessed Virgin and having seen the servant of God, he was strengthened in his resolution. On December 8, he took the Brothers' habit in the institution on Rue Oudinot. His novitiate was concluded under the direction of Brother Nonce, the remarkable director of Belgian Brothers in Namur.[310]

The spirited socialite had always remained faithful to his beliefs and his moral standards. His "conversion" was like those of men like Olier or Pascal: it took the form of detachment and ascent. Brother Alexis grew in virtue without ever forfeiting anything of his humanity. And his gifts, henceforth applied to worthwhile objectives, would bear their full effects.

Brother Assistant Amos thought that Brother Mémoire would be able to employ these talents, and so, he sent the young teacher to Carlsbourg.

There he was trained in a great variety of disciplines. The former brewer put his technical knowledge to work; he directed a number of his pupils in the cultivation of plants and trees; and he himself became a remarkable botanists. But it was geography that gave him a reputation throughout Europe.

Frequently immobilized by a form of invalidism that affected his right foot, he spent long hours of reflection and work in his room. It pained him to see the ridiculously small role that was given to geography in education. It has been looked upon as a pseudo-science and a dull list of names. Maps were restricted to sketches of boundaries, sea-coasts and rivers. There were no relief maps and none of them went into details about the nature of the soil.

These questions became important for Brother Alexis. He had already made the fundamental orographic sketches when, in his imagination, there took shape the La Salette Alps with their successive elevations rising toward the sky in the form of an amphitheater. As he sketched this system, it occurred to him to join the points representing altitudes by curved lines.

As he was preparing a map of Belgium, he undertook to put the finishing touches to his system. Van der Maelen's book supplied him with useful reference points; he carried them over into a complete series of maps on which he then drew the curves that represented the altitudes. He could be found on his knees on the Community Room floor lining up the various parts of his research. It was in this way that he completed his first "hypsometic map", published in Liége in 1866.

He was rewarded by official subsidies, and the geologist, Omalius d'Halloy took an interest in the designer's achievement. Brother Alexis continued his work be drawing up a map of Europe. And at the Congress in Anvers in August, 1871, he explained — as his audience listened attentively — to his idea of a well-planned and practical lesson in geography.

Along with the work of Omalius d'Halloy, Brother Alexis studied the writings of Alexander Humboldt and Andrew Dumont. He was keenly interested in the research done during his lifetime concerning the earth's crust and the origin of plication. Following his mentors, he attempted to infer from geology laws having to do with economic and social life. This was one of the subjects he taught at the normal school and at the residence school, and from it there surfaced in 1873 his *Theoretical and Applied Geographical Methodology.*

Meanwhile, the creation of a "submersible relief map" facilitated a visual demonstration of the hypsometric system. A model depicting mountains, hills and valleys in miniature was enclosed in a glass-walled tank, which was filled with chalk water. At first only the summits of the highest mountains were visible above the surface of the opaque liquid; the pupil could observe the continuous and closed curves on the surface of the solution, and was thus provided with an initial idea of a line of elevation. The apparatus was equipped with a faucet which allowed the tank gradually to be emptied; new high points stood revealed, and a second contour

[310] Ibid., 1909, article by Brother Burger

line emerged. In a similar way, increasingly lower elevations were exposed. A numerical value was given to each, as well as a specific color. Then by looking at a wall map and by locating on it the conventional shading, the would-be geographer at a glance could get an idea of the elevation of a country. He was in possession of the key to the science.

Not only hypsometry, but the study of soil and sub-soil, astronomical positions, and climatology were based upon an intelligent reading of maps. From it reasoning would be able to deduce the conditions of life among human groups and the agricultural and industrial wealth of a nation.

Rapidly Brother Alexis' maps spread into schools that were concerned for intellectual advancement. His atlases and his topographical sketchbooks were no less highly thought of. "There is no geography apart from topography", he pronounced in his textbook published in 1873. He recommended the drawing up of a map of the classroom, the school building, before going on to a map of the neighborhood, followed by one for the city, the province and the nation and finally maps of the major divisions of the globe.

After twelve years of teaching, Jean Baptist Gochet left Carlsbourg. In December 1871 Brother Philippe called him to the Motherhouse: he was assigned to provide educational direction to the Brothers in Paris. The stay, which had been envisioned as a brief one, dragged on until 1904. Meanwhile, the distinguished teacher continued his research and published his books for the advantage of the entire Institute. Held in the highest regard by the public authorities and honored by the scientific and university community, he continued to be an edifying Religious, the faithful friend and patriot who never forgot his native Belgium. Together with his distinguished brother, Louis Gochet, he dedicated the family patrimony to the cause of Catholic charities. It was only in extreme old age that he returned to his native land where he died.[311]

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A rapid glance at Alost, Gand and Jemappes will complete the panorama of Belgian residence schools during their initial period. Of the three institutions that we shall stress, one had a rather brief existence; the other two were not to assume their real importance until much later. In their origins, none of them cut anything but a very modest figure in comparison to the flagships operated by Brothers Martinian and Brother Mémoire. And in connection with them, we shall limit ourselves to a few chronological turning points.

Alost in eastern Flanders had been selected in 1854 as a center for a Junior Novitiate. Results were disappointing: only four or five postulants applied. On the advice of the pastor-dean, the Brothers opened a partial residence school, which was intended to earn an income for the institution. After several years they began to admit fully residential pupils. In 1863 eleven Brothers were dealing with eighty-three day pupils, fourteen residents and three Junior Novices. The latter group, with the fewest numbers, was transferred to Gand in March of 1864.[312]

For several years the diocesan headquarters had been asking for an Upper School. Bishop Delebecque thought that such a school was indispensable to go along with the heavily attended elementary schools. In 1858 he appealed to Brother Philippe through the intermediary of Brother Fargeau, the Director of the Community in Ghent. Paris responded with a demurrer: the work of tuition-free education entirely absorbed the energy of the Institute's personnel.

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311 Karl Burger, article cited. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for September 1935, Brother Clementino's article. — Èmile Chardome, op. cit.

312 The Junior Novitiate in Ghent had been admitting Flemish vocations. In 1856, thanks to the generosity of the Viscountess Vilain XIV, it was moved to Caprycke. The young men finished their Religious formation in Namur. (Motherhouse Archives, File ID u8.)

Nevertheless, Count Hemptinne and his friends sided with the Bishop who, in 1861, resumed his appeal. He had convinced the new Director, Brother Meingaud. And he influenced a wealthy Catholic, Alfred Piers Raveschoot, to become the purchaser of a piece of property owned by the city and put up for sale at public auction on November 25, 1862.

It was a collection of decaying buildings constructed a rampart called "Alexians". They had at one time been occupied by hermetic monks. Their cloister had survived, as did their chapel with its walls of black marble and white stone; and in 1717 it had been embellished with a magnificent altar that was the work of the sculptor Pierre Van Baurscheit of Auvergne. It had been destroyed by the French during the Revolution. In order to take over from the hermits, in 1816 the "Brothers of Charity" assumed the care of the insane. A building with pointed windows enclosed the padded cells. When more modern institutions were opened elsewhere, the former monastery endured the worst sort of neglect: its walls fell into ruin and the debris piled up in the stagnant waters of a canal.

An immense effort of excavation, cleansing and alteration of these pathetic quarters was required. The Catholic School Commission, at tremendous expense, was obliged to assume the responsibility; in a contract drawn up on October 1, 1863 M. Piers had agreed to a long-term lease. A few days earlier Brother Meingaud had brought his educational team to the site; and on November 10 the "St. Amand Institute" was inaugurated.

For a very long time its existence was threatened with financial collapse. In a generous, but imprudent gesture, the Brothers had subscribed to financial commitments that it was difficult for them to keep. The dedicated Director attempted to meet the deficit by sinking his family patrimony into it. His selflessness went unrewarded. In September 1866 he was replaced by Brother Milliany.

A man of rugged character and daring determination, this second Director, while he did not succeed in generating comfortable circumstances, gave ultimate direction to the program of studies. From the very beginning St. Amand attracted more pupils than did "St. Liévin" in Alost. In 1865 eight resident pupils joined about a hundred boys who were admitted as partial residents or as day pupils. "Professional" studies, constituting a complete educational program, looked extremely promising. Recruitment quickened with the placing of the older pupils in a position to gain access to business and government careers. And, in 1869 two of these pupils who had passed university examinations became harbingers of a brilliant future.[313]

"St. Ferdinand" in Jemappes, which one day would illumine all of Hainaut, began modestly, passed through painful periods and, after almost fifteen years, seemed no longer a feasible project. The opening of a residence school in the unimportant city of Borinage had been decided upon as a way of providing income for tuition-free schools. Once again in this instance the generosity of Count Meeus was conspicuous. In 1861 — the year of his death — the Christian philanthropist, in order to make way for the future institution, had purchased the property in which, not long since, the "major offices" of the coal industry had functioned. His eldest son had concurred with the Brother Visitor on the necessary renovations.

The schoolteachers in Jemappes transferred their residence and their classroom to this site. But the residence school did not open until 1866, dedicated to the King of Castille, the patron of its founder. A year later there were only forty pupils in the school. And after 1871 their number was not very much beyond the hundred mark, which was too few to support a balanced budget for the Community. And, following the introduction courses for which tuition was demanded, several coal companies ceased to allot subsidies. Other difficulties surfaced in relations with the parish as the pastor thought it quite objectionable that the resident pupils were not brought to Sunday services to join with the rest of the faithful. In the end the project

313 Institute Archives, St. Amand (Ghent) File.

lurched on these obstacles. But, as we shall see, valiantly it righted itself.[314]

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It was not without suffering, sacrifice or disappointment that the Christian Brothers succeeded in providing Belgian youth with a broad education. The principles and drive of their holy "Founder" guided them in their various enterprises, which were also to inspire a young Brother, of bold, creative and cultivated mind, to a new work which would be the crowning achievement of his life and, doubtless, the Congregation's most surprising accomplishment. We touch upon the beginnings of the history of the "St. Luke Schools".

But before we approach this subject, we must clarify its antecedents. This time, also, the action took place in Ghent, and the protagonists were as usual the members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The charitable Joseph Hemptinne was joined by a pharmacist, Florimond Dullaert, whose spare time was employed in the service of the common people, and a Christian aesthete, the distinguished art critic, Baron Béthune.

Like Viollet le Duc, Ruskin and August Reichensperger, Béthune figures in the annals of neo-Gothic Romanticism. He preached a crusade against pagan academicism and against an architecture which attempted, with more or less success, to copy the monuments of ancient Greece and Rome. In his view, we should put up buildings adapted to the climate of a country and to the customs and beliefs of its population. The Medieval masters spoke a language that suited Belgium; and they left behind them works which continue to serve as models. By studying them the modern artist would arrive at true principles. And in their application he need only avoid servile imitation.

Furthermore, such a reversion to Medieval ideas would inspire the restoration of the artisan class. Teachers in Fine Arts Schools had no concern for the humbler trades. They thought they had fulfilled their duty when they had introduced a few students to the drawing of noble facades and to the anatomy of the human body. But an architect doesn't work exclusively for fame; the dwelling he constructs would appear to have to answer to special needs as well as to general conditions of soundness, hygiene and comfort. Otherwise, it would be nothing but an empty school exercise. The sculptor and the painter must strive after something better than the lonely quest for the ideally beautiful: — association for the benefit of great complex units. All the workers on a building or a furnishing — ironworkers, wood finishers, decorators, carvers, glaziers and goldsmiths — are called upon to make a similar effort. Delivered from routine and restored to the traditions of their ancestors, they would recapture the taste for, and the pride in, their task.

Jean Béthune's mind dwelt upon these spacious projects. And Florimond Dullaert offered him the means which would pave the way to their execution — in a very modest way, of course; since the charitable man was concerned to divert young men away from patronage. In about 1861 he got the idea of teaching them to draw. On a piece of paper or a slate he first had them trace out straight lines and curves, and then geometrical figures. The diversion delighted them and then it was taken seriously; and from session to session progress became more evident. Through his advice Béthune came to the assistance of his friend. From then on each worker sought to draw a personal message from the lessons: the carpenter blue-prints for furniture, the mason architectural lines, and the painter decorative patterns. It was possible to dream about a real school in which an artistic education was given in a Christian context. In this way the youth in Ghent would be diverted from the "conservatories", which, from a moral point of view had been suspect and which certainly did not strive to develop skilled

[314] Ibid., history of St. Ferdinand Jamappes.

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practitioners.

But where were qualified teachers to be found? The unassuming Dullaert was under no illusions as to his competence. Once the apprentices had picked upon the basic ideas, they departed. Of the sixty-three who at the outset were in diligent attendance, there were only two at the beginning of the second year. Their volunteer guide confided in Count Hemptinne, since the work deserved the total attention of the man who had invited the Brothers of the Christian Schools to Ghent. Perhaps it might have been possible for the Congregation which he had so highly treasured, from among its personnel, to appoint a competent teacher.

Sounded out on the subject, Brother Sancien turned to Brother Marès Joseph, a teacher in Hornu where he had started up a Sunday School for drawing. The man in question, Charles de Pauw, was twenty-four years of age at the time. He had been born in Sottegem, in the province of western Flanders, on September 3, 1838. He belonged to an intelligent people, with an inclination to understand the beautiful. In Paris, his uncle, August, enjoyed the reputation for being a proficient painter. His parents, living in Brussels since 1848, maintained a trade in objets d'art in a patrician establishment on Rue Haute.

They had sent their son for courses at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, where Charles was taught by Henry de Coene. Once his studies were completed, he became a lace designer at the Gilbert studio. But, as a former pupil of the Brothers, he wanted his talents to serve the salvation of souls. It is reported that one day his mother heard him say: "With God's help I shall undo the evil that youth suffers at the hands of the Academy."

In 1854 he became a novice in the Institute. From Namur he left for a coal-mining village; and among its workers he began his apostolate as a Christian artist.

He replied with dispatch to the orders of his Visitor. Joseph Hemptinne, with his uncomplicated look and a staid smile on his bearded face, welcomed him. Brother Joseph could count on generous backing and unfailing support.

Nevertheless, when, in mid December of 1862, eleven boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen appeared on the premises in Rue St. George, in what had once been the Bishop's stable, the future seemed singularly precarious. All the furnishings placed at the disposition of the new teacher consisted of a large table, benches, a cabinet, twenty-four small boards for pencil drawings and a chart on which was written the musical scale. And the newly founded school's treasury contained exactly twenty-five francs.

The youthful captain's enthusiasm and good will were necessary to embark upon such an adventure. His knowledge was still elementary. And during the early days he had to be satisfied to put the finishing touches on the easy drills that Florimond Dullaert had worked out.

But immediately the influence of a forceful nature and an agile mind thrust itself upon the class, which had rapidly risen to some thirty pupils gripped by the clarity of explanation, the ardor of language and the face that was both attractive and compelling.

From the point of view of the promoters of the project, opinion was no less favorable. Hemptinne provided the Brother with the opportunity of making friends with the painter Helbig and with the art-lover Van de Poele. The one showed the Brother an album that reproduced the works of Fra Angelico, which were a delightful revelation. The other lent him notes in which were gathered his reflections on his reading, impressions from his travels, his meditations in the galleries he had visited; and, an event heavy with decisive consequences, he lent him his collection of molds.

Especially Baron Béthune became for Charles de Pauw a guide driven by the most enthusiastic concerns. Tirelessly he explained his opinions to him. In the presence of this man who was permeated with the most determined views, this strict and staunch Christian, the Brother's conscience felt at ease and his artistic convictions became crystallized. Surely, in order to renew the national taste as well as to safeguard morality and secure the triumph of the faith, "Gothic" would have to be the foundation of instruction at "St Luke's School".

Brother Marès and the young people he placed under the protection of the Evangelist, patron of painters,[315]in their youthful zeal, carried their admiration for the Middle Ages very far indeed. Pondering monuments dating from the 12th to the 14th century, endlessly drawing sketches of capitals, the ribbing of vaults, the shafts of columns, cornices and tympanums, they did not escape naive imitation in their personal experiments. This exclusivity earned them bitter criticism, indeed, ill-founded ridicule. To be objective it has to be allowed that they neither experimented nor even failed without effect. In attaining experience of Medieval styles, they gradually succeeding in grasping their character and isolating their profound logic. There was no question of indefinitely copying the old masters: our ways of thinking, our means of expression, our building tools are no longer theirs. But they continue to teach us the artistic truth that translates into the equilibrium of forces, into the harmony of proportions and into the judicious employment of raw matter. A patient inquiry that familiarizes minds with ancient techniques must lead to an architectural renaissance.

Such was, in the long run, the result of Brother Marès Joseph's work. And his program tended to develop in his pupils intellectual tastes and manual skills as much as, or more than, archeological information. Eye and hand trained on extremely simple models before being exercised on complex projects, mind and memory sustained by readings in literature, history and the sciences, gallant groups were prepared to work in a variety of industries rather than to specialize to early.

In October of 1863 some sixty future art professionals assembled. The relocation of the Christian Brothers Community on Rue St. Michel's to St. Amand's Institute occasioned the transfer of the art school that had been located in two rooms adjoining the Alexian rampart.
In 1866 there took place in the residence school the first St. Luke's Exhibition. The rather sparse attendance did not conceal its surprise: there was nothing in the classical style, no huge compositions "in the Paris manner" What was the meaning of these simple utensils? How did the school expect to rate in the world of Fine Arts?

But neither the teacher nor his backers were intimidated. Brother Sancien sent the young Director as assistant in the person of Brother Faron. [316] M.Hemptinne assumed the responsibility for the support of the new-comer, just as he had paid for the remodelling of the Alexian compound. His fortune, his fame and his family constituted a cherished commitment in the service of the Christian Brothers. Four members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society made up, along with himself and Canon Backère, chaplain at St. Amand, the Committee in Support of the St. Luke School. And to the increasingly active cooperation of John Béthune were added the generosity of Van de Poele, Solvyn and Jules Lammens.

Annual reports, tests by examining boards, expositions and distribution of awards promoted the progress of the institution. Distinguished advocates assumed its defense against the adherents of classicism. The people in Ghent began to respect Brother Marès Joseph's pioneering methods. Long indifferent, and, indeed, mistrustful, priests became aware of the good things that had been accomplished among youth.

Official circles did not take kindly to a rival project of such an independent character. Suspicious investigators began to make an appearance. In the end, they were convinced that some part of public opinion was ill-founded. One of them, M. Rousseau, what was a quite distinguished art critic and later on directed the Brussels Academy, said at the end of his visit:

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[315] Actually it was in December of 1866 that the name became official.

[316] Brother Faron, who was quite elderly, was soon replaced by Brother Matthias of the Cross who, for more than a half-century gave unstintingly of his abundant knowledge to the pupils at St. Luke's. He became Brother Joseph's successor.

“I came with preconceived ideas; but now I see where you’re going, and I applaud you. Your perspective is much broader than our own. The future is with you”.

While difficulties did arise, it was for physical reasons. In the eyes of Brother MIlliany, the Director of St. Amand, his colleague’s pupils in the art school — 165 in 1866 and 200 the year following — were interlopers. Temporarily and with ill-grace he yielded a couple of rooms to them. To throw up a defense against this invasion, he bolted his doors shut. But one thing was certain, this tide could be diverted only by more room. The question was where to find it. Count Hemptinne made repeated efforts and the most tempting offers in order to bring about the withdrawal the Worker Society of St. Joseph, the huge youth organization whose quarters, adjoining the residence school, would have nicely accommodate the expansion of St. Luke’s. For three years patience had to be the watchword. Finally, in September of 1870 an agreement was reached. And beginning in 1871 the school operated normally on more spacious premises. And in the summer of 1872 a fine building, in a style that promoted Brother Joseph’s agenda, was constructed.

Two-hundred-fifty young men flocked there. Three lay-teachers were brought in to help the Brothers. Libraries, collections of molds, engravings, drawings, steelworks and copperworks formed an orderly array.

The institution could already be proud of the work of some of its former students, Pierre Van Kerchove and Richard de Bruyne. St. Luke architects would plan buildings in conformity with the city halls, the tall belfries, the pointed roofs, and the gables native to Flanders; they would “contribute to the grandeur of religious worship” by laying out plans for new churches, thrusting skyward, noble and uncluttered and symbolically aligned, illuminated by stain glass, embellished with rerardos, and outfitted with splendid sacred vessels.

Jean Béthune, with delight and pride, contemplated the path to be followed. On one occasion he summarized his views in words drafted for the notice of up-coming generations:
“Study eagerly good examples of Christian art; try to understand clearly their spirit and feeling; like ancient artists strive to do everything for the glory of God and the good of your neighbor; lift up your soul and purify your heart...And then do not lose hope to reach, indeed, to surpass, the most sublime works of the ages during which the faith was triumphant.[317]

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[317] Following is our bibliography for the St. Luke’s school in Ghent for the period 1861-1874: *l’École Saint-Luke dans ses rapport avec le Comité administratif*, a manuscript by Brother Marès Joseph, in the archives of the St. Luke’s Community in Ghent. — Arthur Verhaegen, Report on education in Christian art, read to a meeting of Catholics in Paris, May 17, 1881. — Brother Marès, report to the general assembly of Catholic workers in the Archdiocese of Malines, April 30, 1889. — Baron Béthune, report to a general assembly of Belgian Catholics, in Malines, September 11, 1891. — Brother Marès, report on the St. Luke’s school, to the Congress of Catholic workers, in Malines, 1909. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1909, April 1922, July 1929. — *Bulletin du district de Cambrai-Lille*, 1921. — Bishop Schyrgens, article on the St. Luke’s schools in the review, Le XXe siècle, for October 18, 1929. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1935, article by Brother Goffredo. — Jaarbock, 1936-1937, article by Brother Franciskus Joseph, with quotations from a decision by Brother Maurice Alfred concerning the directives of St. Luke. — Jaarbock, same year, *Quatre directeurs en soixante-quinze ans*, article by Brother Léopold — Celebration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the foundation, July 10, 1938, toast by Brother Maurice Alfred, Director. In conclusion, we would like to express our deepest appreciation to the superb archivist at the Motherhouse, Brother Maxim, who was long a Director in Belgium. Having returned to his native land following the world-wide upheavals of 1940, he gathered extensive documentation on site, informed us of it, and became our guide through the various institutions in Hainaut, Brabant, Namur, Luxembourg, Flanders and the other provinces.

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Thus, in the space of forty years St. La Salle's Institute became employed in the service of the kingdom of Belgium. Its tuition-free schools, its residence schools, its normal schools, its evening classes and its institutions for professional training spread to most of the provinces. Catholics whose traditions it supported and revived and whose faith it strengthened were not ungrateful. The clergy called upon the help of this modest and dedicated Congregation; simple people loved the Brothers; the nobility and the middle class contributed to the support of the Religious teachers and were not reluctant to entrust to them their sons who were being readied to enrich the traditions and the virtues of their heritage. And when — after a period during which, in spite of unfavorable tendencies, freedom had become widespread — a Freemason government made an assault on the conscience of the people, the latter, clearsighted and well prepared, put up a victorious resistance.

CHAPTER THREE

Central Europe

We turn now to less favored countries. We refer, first of all, to those regions which, since the 16th century, had been won over to Protestantism, which had entered into their basic political and social structure. During the 19th century Catholicism had resumed its vigor among them in spite of the battering that had appeared to have dealt it a death-blow. However, the Church was to become familiar with strife and painful defeats before it won the freedom to expand. In some of the Swiss Cantons we shall observe this slow but persevering work of rebirth.

Elsewhere, especially is this the case for the countries along the Rhine, the Church had retained its defenses. It continued to exercise its authority over minds and exhibit its energy in spite of close proximity to heresy. But it had to ward off the infiltration of the rationalism associated with Calvinist and Lutheran doctrines; and it had to reckon with a government that was foreign, indeed hostile, to Rome, when revolutionary upheavals and diplomatic stratagems installed Prussia in the places once occupied by men who were both Bishops and Princes. The day would come when the triumph of Germany unified by Bismarck would destroy numerous religious institutions and require Catholics to defend their faith.

Along the Danube, within the Austrian Empire, dogma's citadel apparently had remained intact. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that, upon close scrutiny of the edifice, the fractures were beginning to appear. The threefold action of Josephist "Caesarism", Free Masonry and that form of German nationalism that tended to advocate revolt against the Holy See retarded and finally paralyzed Christian life. Gradually Jewish influence, which made itself felt through the power of money and of the press, was added. The secular and religious clergy, with its vast holdings in land and weighed down with worldly distinctions, lost its spiritual authority. The traditional creeds of peoples "tend to reduce to external practices" and to devotions which have no power over intellectual and moral discipline.[318] And if we descend the great river, past the "Iron Gates", we enter into a region dominated by the Eastern Schism and in which the long suzerainity of the Ottoman Empire had disrupted the civilized framework fashioned by the Romans.

This was the Central Europe that was about to be opened up to the apostolate of the sons of St. La Salle. Pretty nearly everywhere here they were known only by reputation. Farseeing and friendly witnesses had observed them at work in France, Belgium and Italy; and friendly voices, never wearying of the inevitable deferrals, sent up appeals to the superiors of the Congregation; sincere and disinterested cooperation was volunteered. To establish and expand their work the Brothers were to find excellent recruits among peoples with strong convictions.

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At Estavayer, on Lake Neuchâtel, in 1750, the Institute put down the shoot of its future development outside France. Forty years later the Revolution uprooted the modest plant.[319] The Brothers had toiled on Catholic soil, where they would not be forgotten. But when they returned among the Swiss, it was, as a sort of wager, to the Mother-city of Calvinism on the shores of Lake Geneva. We have already provided the preliminaries to this curious story:

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[318] Mourret, *Histoire de l'Église*, Vol. IX, pg. 254.

[319] See Vol. II of the present work, pg. 282 and Vol. III, pg. 436.

Father Vuarin's eagerness, the arrival in Geneva in October of 1813, the three Brothers from Petit College in Lyons, the scandalized uproar of the Communal government, and the prompt expulsion of the Brothers demanded by the Protestants and obtained Baron Capelle, the Imperial Prefect.[320]

Geneva, taken away from France by the Treaty of 1814, henceforth belonged to the Swiss Confederation. As a sovereign Canton it retained its laws and customs. And its Upper Council, which strove to preserve for the city its character of a "Protestant Rome", remained the heir of Calvin.

However, the principles underlying the "new law" forbad the banishment of "Papists". A few thousand of the Catholic faithful, of modest circumstances who had come from neighboring regions, continued to organize around Father Vuarin. They enjoyed the unrestricted exercise of their religion but in a climate of mistrust and under the contemptuous gaze of the upper middle class. Their ever-watchful pastor sought to protect their faith. And to that end, nothing seemed to him more necessary than the Christian education of children. As early as 1810 he was guaranteed the assistance of the Daughters of Charity, excellent school teachers who taught none but very young girls.

Father Vuarin refused to despair concerning the boys. Having become extremely cautious as the result of the setback in 1813, he was satisfied, for twenty years, carefully to conduct catechism classes and to entrust a few young priests with the responsibility for elementary education. It was crucial not to excite sectarian passions.

Perhaps one day they would subside. Tired, however, of waiting, the pastor in Geneva, on January 29, 1833, outlined a proposal to Brother Anacletus. His letter was addressed to "M. Vicar-general", as though the sender had lost all contact with the headquarters in the Faubourg St. Martin and continued to think that the Congregation was still run the way it was during the days of Brother Frumence. After a belated reply, Father Vuarin himself asked for a postponement. On September 29 he said that he was persevering in his plans, but that "events" in Switzerland and throughout Europe obliged him to delay their realization.[321]

Indeed, the shock of the Revolution of 1830 was protracted in western nations. The collapse of the Bourbons, which in France unsettled the Church, had its repercussions beyond the frontiers. Immediately to the east of France the Church seemed to have no future, which delighted its adversaries; and it was agreed that they were to be given no pretext for serious attacks.

Moreover, in Switzerland the situation was complicated by a political crisis. Up to that time, the country lacked an executive power capable of imposing its authority upon all the Cantons. The general government consisted in a federal Diet which made no decisions apart from a process in which each of the delegates to the Diet consulted with Cantonal authorities. Three "State Directors", in turn, enjoyed the distinction of presiding over the assembly's deliberations.

In 1830 a "radical" party was formed which promoted the equality of citizens and proposed to procure the unity of the Swiss people by curtailing local autonomy. This movement, which was supported by the masses, was to succeed in bringing about a new order, but not without bitter conflicts. Radical Cantons drew up constitutions which introduced universal suffrage, freedom of the press and total religious liberty. Others objected to this "renewal" and had no appetite for the revision of federal statutes. Catholics took sides with the "conservatives". And we shall see how civil war broke out.

In 1833 this very troubled period was only beginning. No doubt, Father Vuarin did not anticipate that its conclusion was fifteen years away. But he had good reasons for not changing

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320 Ibid., Vol. IV, pg. 291.

321 Achives de la Maison Gen. Dossier JF n

his mind.

Nevertheless, he was increasingly constrained by old age, and it appeared as though he might die before his dreamed was realized. A letter dated June 9, 1838 and addressed to the Superior General indicates the resumption of negotiations. They were not interrupted by the final illness and death of Brother Anacletus nor by the Chapter which was to elect Brother Philippe.

A difficulty had arisen: the teachers' residence could not be contiguous with the school. If, as the petitioner had expressly wished, only three Brothers were to be sent to Geneva, the one who would be responsible for temporal matters would be for most of the day far removed from the other two. The "Regime" objected that such a separation was contrary to the Rule. Father Vuarin agreed to accept a fourth Brother whom, however, the priest was thinking of employing in a rather unusual way — "as a secretary".

Agreement was finally concluded. The Brother Visitor of Savoy conferred directly with the pastor. Required to choose between two residences, a priests' house or a building situated "eight minutes from the city gates" and provided with a garden, he selected the property that would protect the Community's independence. One class was to be opened in it, so as to make it possible for a teaching Brother to be in the immediate vicinity of the serving Brother; the two teachers provided for in the initial arrangement would assemble their pupils in the garret of St. Germain's church, which, for a number of years, had been converted for this purpose.

And as Paris delayed approving these decisions, Bishop Pierre Tobias Yenni of Lausanne and Geneva took a position alongside his revered pastor: on April 21, 1839, he wrote to Brother Philippe: "The pastor has fulfilled the conditions to which you link the sending of your Brothers, who will have the use of a spacious house, a garden and an orchard...It is crucial in his city to supply a more extensive religious instruction and Christian education than elsewhere...It is also important that the teachers we are awaiting appear as soon as possible".

The attempt to introduce members of a Religious Congregation into this touchy city continued to be a very precarious one. Father Vuarin, who had every means of knowing the minds of the city officials, did not think it extravagant to take precautions. As early as November in 1838, he began to deal with the "matter of passports": the information they bore had to be silent concerning the profession of the four travellers; they were to have affixed to them certificates of origin and morality. The pastor in Geneva assumed to the responsibility for obtaining the registration of these documents from the French embassy in Switzerland.

The following April he was still detailing suggestions: "For prudential reasons and in order to anticipate obstacles, it is necessary to send Frenchmen: in virtue of an existing agreement concerning the exchange of residences, the Cantonal government cannot object to institutions belonging to persons under the jurisdiction of the neighboring country, as long as they are provided with testimonials issued by their Minister of Foreign Affairs. Savoyards do not enjoy the same rights".

It was necessary, however, to reflect that suspicions had not been laid to rest. They had come immediately to the surface the moment that the presence was reported of the tiny group of Brothers, crossing the streets in their habits between the Faubourg Plainpalais and the site of the church and school. Citizens became alarmed at seeing pupils lining up at class time, in good order and rank after rank. And on May 19, 1839, only eleven days after the Community had been set up, the Upper Council deliberated on the matter as though it was a most serious question of State. It demanded that the lieutenant of police "examine the papers the Brothers were carrying; and learn in what capacity and to what end they had come to Geneva". The persons responsible were to be informed that it was forbidden to lead children in processional file", which intruded upon the public peace — a sort of provocation that jarred upon peoples' feelings.

A storm of calvinist opposition, questions and underhand manoeuvres broke out… The authorities did everything possible to impede M. Vaurin's initiatives if they could not

altogether stifle them. One morning official seals were attached to the door of Saint-Germain which gave access to the barns transformed into rooms for work.

The courageous old man decided to have the last word. On July 10th he issued a printed circular calling on "kindly souls" to provide the indispensable resources to assure the future of the foundation. He had already paid, he said, 46,000 francs for the initial expenses. The Geneva constitution did not allow him to count on help from charitable foundations as any help from that side was refused to Catholics. The latter were not unaware that the duty of spontaneously and generously providing for the maintenance of their works was their responsibility. Monsignor Yenni strongly supported the request.

The parish priest, provided with money, decided to give greater scope to building up Plainpalais. Following the police action, he had succeeded in assembling the pupils in the spaces of the church. He clearly restricted this organisation. The previously acquired furnishings and the additions was almost enough for all the classes. It would include as well a hospital and an orphanage. Then the Brothers would open courses for adults.

Two hundred and seventy-five pupils attended trhe primary school. The fact that they were somewhat outside the city meant that they did not arouse the same unwelcome curiosity as in the centre. Nevertheless, the anger of the notables was in no way diminished. While they did not dare to renew the draconian arrests, they sought to hinder the growth. M. Vuarin was accused of damaging one of the municipal schools where previously very man Catholic pupils were received. Pressure was put on families to stop anything too favourable for the Brothers.

Innuendos and threats did not go unanswered. In 1840 "one of the letters of the pastor of Geneva to Counsellor Rigaud, the first representative" reached Perisse, an editor in Lyons. It emphasized the crude methods and sectarian attitudes of the government, the trumped up quarrels against schoolboys on their way to St. Germain's, and the appeals made to parents who in one way or another depended upon the public authorities. What was the reason for these mean-minded quarrels? Results demonstrated that consciences were not being held captive. And while enrollment in the school which the representative favored had suffered considerably, the explanation resided in the fact that a parish which was faithful to its pastor preferred a "genuinely Catholic" education for its children.

"There are, Sir, in the Canton more than 7,000 men determined not to worship Calvin's tainted idol." This proud, bellicose conclusion appeared to proclaim to the heresiarch's city the end of three centuries of intolerance. The apostolic life of Pastor Vuarin was about to be brought to an end on conquered soil. The indomitably zealous priest had come to Geneva in 1806 during the Napoleonic regime. Commanding the respect of his adversaries, he continued on after 1814, and for twenty-nine years more he preached, acted, suffered and struggled. On September 6, 1843, God called the good servant to Himself.

The continuity of the work was secured by priests who were worthy of their predecessor: Father Marilley, who was to become Bishop of Lausanne, and then the famous Father Mermillod, vicar at St. Germain's between 1847 and 1857, Bishop in partibus of Hebron in 1864, diocesan Vicar-apostolic in 1872, before becoming Bishop of Geneva and dying a Cardinal.

Under the gentle supervision of the clergy, the Brothers advanced education both in the city and in the suburbs. Around "the Lake "Catholicism made progress, which it owed to the cohesiveness of its various elements, to the exceptional qualities of its leaders, but also to the patience and to the perseverance of its Religious educators.

Nevertheless, Protestant bias persisted, the harsh will which long ago had kept St. Francis de Sales far removed from the fold of a rebellious flock. The Brothers remained suspect in the eyes of the city fathers. They had no legal status; as foreigners whose presence was tolerated rather than allowed, on the pretext of an international treaty which one day might turn out to be inapplicable in their case, mere "individuals" for whom the pastor, in relation to the civil

authority, had assumed the total responsibility, they ran the risk of being expelled. For the first six years they taught as subordinates, without the Canton's consent. The President of the Justice Department and of the Police thought that this situation must be regularized: on November 4, 1845 he ordered that the teachers in St. Germain and Plainpalais take immediate steps to appeal to the Representative, the Commune's highest official: docile to the injunction, the Brothers in a letter sought authorization to conduct primary and secondary classes. It was granted to them for their two schools; but the document specified that each teacher was "personally" accepted. Geneva retained a way of abrogating its approval after a death or a change of personnel. It refused to recognize the Institute.[322]

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It was during this period that all of Switzerland was deeply disturbed. Dissension worsened after the Catholic Cantons, increasingly threatened by radicalism, formed a league — the Sonderbund — in order to defend their sovereign rights. If one of them was attacked, they were committed to a common offense, even if it meant taking up arms. A War Council drew up a plan for possible operations and took appropriate measures.

It was a tragic moment for the country. The association which had been born of resistance to the Hapsburgs and enlarged and consolidated between the 14th and 19th centuries appeared to be on the verge of dissolution. The radicals sought to tighten the bonds, but at the price of religious freedom. Monasteries, and especially the Jesuits had to be shut down, since the later, in their principal college in Fribourg, were thought to be the covert directors of the *Sonderbund.*

Thus, the political quarrel turned into a struggle for and against the Church. When the radicals had obtained the majority in the Diet, they demanded that their adversaries bend to their will. Upon their refusal, a military campaign, enthusiastically conducted by General Dufour, was launched in 1847. It ended after three weeks with the fall of Fribourg and Lucernne and the total break up of the Catholic forces. The new governments, established by the conquerors, relinquished all separatist aims. England had supported the Diet; while France and Austria, who favored the Sonderbund, were unable to intervene in a timely way.

The Constitution of 1848, ratified by the people, respected in principle the sovereignty of the Cantons. But it established legal principles which no one could evade: the republican form of government was the only one allowed throughout Switzerland; it included universal suffrage and constitutional revision initiated by referendum. Citizens were free to reside, practice their profession, follow their religion wherever they pleased throughout the country. The Confederation survived by evolving according to modern ideas into a genuine nation.
This consequence could only strengthen Swiss nationalism.

Unfortunately, it was accompanied by a denial of justice to innocent men. The new charter included the following article: "The Jesuit Order and Societies affiliated with it shall not be admitted to any part of Switzerland; and all activity in Church and school is prohibited to their members. This prohibition can be extended, through a Federal decree, to other Religious Orders whose activities endanger the State or disturb the peace between churches".[323]

In the Canton of Fribourg, overwhelmed by the recent defeat, the effect of the ostracism of the Jesuits was immediate. Bern, the capital in which the radicals' word was law, commemorated its triumph over its western neighbor by demanding victims. For less than three

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[322] Motherhouse Archives, documents in File JF u. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April and October, 1932.

[323] Motherhouse Archives, File JF u. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1909.

years the Brothers had been operating two institutions that were dear to their hearts. Sought out as early as 1816 by Father Charpentier to resume their former post in Estavayer — where the Trappists had attempted to try their hand at education — and entreated again in 1819, in 1824 and in 1834, after long negotiations they returned to the tiny city known to Brother Dominic and to Brother Anatole. They had scarcely time to identify the vestiges of their gallant predecessors. At the end of November, 1847, immediately after the break up of the Sonderbund they were hit by a governmental decree.

A few months later they were also required to withdraw from Châtel St. Denis, to which the Communal Council had called them in 1845; Father Marilley, pastor of Geneva had taken an active role as intermediary between the Catholic authorities and Brother Philippe. In expelling the Brothers, the enemies of the Catholic Church were targeting their supporters in Fribourg.[324] This was, no doubt, why the attack did not fall upon the flock of Bishop Marilley who had recently been installed in the See of Lausanne. The Vaud region, Geneva's Canton, belonged to the victorious clan. There, exclusion was less common; and there was less need to react brutally to religious minorities that had remained peaceful.

In February of 1847 Brother Gideon became Director of the Brothers in Plainpalais and St. Germain. He was a native of Massif Central, a former novice in Clermont-Ferrand, and a man at once gentle, dedicated and cheerful. In his new home he was pleasant; he managed matters shrewdly and without a fuss. Of course, he was unable to rely on official support; and the order, issued by the Commune in 1851 to demolish the classrooms maintained in the garret of the church was a minor annoyance; it had been alleged that the structure was too fragile. But the *modus vivendi* adopted in 1845 was not modified.

So as not to interrupt the children's studies after the old site was closed, Father Dunoyer, in four days, had a wooden shack thrown up in the Community's garden. This provisional structure lasted four years. And the continuous increase in the number of pupils never ceased. A substantial building was constructed. On November 16, 1852 a letter from the pastor thanked the Superior-general for having contributed to its payment. This gratitude also extended to a monetary gift by the Christian Brothers in Paris destined for the building of a church in Geneva dedicated to Our Lady. Brother Philippe clearly showed his interest in the splendid apostolate in which his Brothers were cooperating.

The time was coming when he might well fear that they would be thwarted in their work. Article 51 of the Constitution hung over their head like the sword of Damocles. "We are talking to the Federal Council", wrote Brother Gideon to the Motherhouse on February 11, 1854, "with regard to our expulsion from Geneva. We are, they claim, affiliated with the Jesuits; the General of the Society is thought to be our protector in Rome." And the Director, frightened, pleaded with the Regime to send him a document that would prove the contrary.

It was drawn up the following day in Paris and provided with the necessary certifications: "We, the undersigned, Superior-general, certify that our Institute is a teaching body, especially concerned with elementary education, recognized by the French government and especially by the Imperial decree of March 17, 1808; that our Society has no affiliation with the Jesuits and that their General exercises no guardianship over us".

It is obvious that it was important at such a moment to establish securely the indisputable autonomy of the Congregation and to leave no room for a belief in non-existent shared interests, however flattering. Eighteen years later the same question was to arise, but much more urgently, on the occasion of the Kulturkampf in Germany; and Brother Philippe was to respond to it, no less clearly, but accompanied by a strenuous and lofty commentary that the situation in 1854 did not demand.

In Switzerland there was no question of a relentless, nationwide persecution. Caution

[324] Archives Maison Mère, *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, January 1909

suggested a brief, legally viable deposition and bolstered by a reference to the legislation of a powerful nation. The Superior's gesture was sufficient to dispel the cloud.[325] With the exception of systematic opposition to the Jesuits, a relative broadmindedness in matters of education dominated the Swiss scene. It belonged to the Cantons and the Communes to authorize the opening of schools. Alongside public education, citizens retained the right, natural if not formally guaranteed, to found private schools and to hand them over to teachers of their choice.

Thus, Father Berset, a pastor in Neuchâtel, was able to invite the Brothers to a pretty nearly totally Protestant city. The ancient city, situated between the western bank of its lake and the French Jura, had ultimately entered into the Confederation in 1815 after having been a fiefdom of the kings of Prussia and then, under the Napoleonic empire, of Marshall Berthier. Catholicism had disappeared from the city during the century of Calvin and Zwinglil; and by 1824 Roman Catholic faithful numbered no more than four-hundred. Steady immigration, crossing the nearby frontier, increased the number to about three thousand. Here people from Comté found French spoken; and they formed the nucleus of the parish that was administered by Father Berset.

One day this priest visited the Christian Brothers' school in Pontarlier. Travel by way of the Vale of Travrs was easy; the similarity of customs and interests, and life in the same climate and mountain setting encouraged neighborly relations and an exchange of ideas between Neuchâtel and the people in Pontarlier. The Director, Brother Ostinian, conducted his priest friend into a classroom in which Brother Reticius, a promising young member of the Congregation, was teaching a catechism lesson. Father Berset was struck by the method employed, the pupils' attentiveness and the teacher's clear explanations. At the end of the class, he embraced Brother Reticius and told his guide: "I would very much like to have the Christian Brothers!"

He already had a school. One of his predecessors, Father Stoecklin, opened it in 1842 with lay teaching personnel. A commission composed of heads of families and selected by the parish assembly lent support to the pastor. The civil authority, furthermore, was not unaware of the arrangements for the school; and its inspectors entered the classes and took part in examinations.

Father Berset preferred not to disturb the harmony of its relations with the Cantonal and municipal officials. The religious habit seemed to him of a nature to offend a population six-sevenths of whom professed Calvinism. When Brother Philippe was sounded out, he rejected the idea of his Brothers appearing in Neuchâtel without the robe, rabat and three-cornered hat. It was decided, therefore, to confront popular prejudice. Several Brothers came over the frontier from the District of Besancon in a garb that their confreres had been wearing in Geneva on the other side of Lake Neuchâtel and that had been familiar in Estavayer for such a very long time. On October 20, 1863 the new teachers began their classes.

Nobody could be mistaken about their character. There was an emotional moment in the city, as there had been on the shores of Lake Geneva a half-century earlier. Local journalists sent up cries of alarm. The Roman Church was forcing relations with its monks upon a free city! It was an offense to the country's convictions and a rebuff to Federal law. As in the Canton of Fribourg, it seemed necessary to apply the notorious Article 51.

Neuchâtel, however, was less severe than traditionalists in Geneva, against whom Pastor Vuarin had once contended. The Brothers had caught on in Switzerland by means of the French language. And it seemed natural for their educational philosophy should find an appreciative audience among the countrymen of Father Gregory Girard and Pestalozzi. And, then, the storm

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[325] Motherhouse Archives, File Jf u. — *Bulletin de Écoles chrétiennes* for April 1932.

of 1848 had left behind it nothing but some minor flurries.

It did not appear too dangerous to Father Berset to go all the way to Bern to plead the case of his school. There it had been accepted since the Superior-general's deposition that the Brothers were not Jesuits. As a consequence, the Catholic priest obtained a ready hearing from the heads of the Confederation. There was no obstacle, they said, to the presence on Swiss soil of the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle.

There could be no objection on the part of diocesan authorities to the good pastor's initiative. On May 28, 1864 the praise of the Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva was added to the national authorization: Bishop Marilley, in an official document, described the joy that the opening "of the new center of Christian education" caused him; and "he expressed the ardent wish that the Lord would bless the work and make it prosper for the greatest possible good for the beloved parish of Neuchâtel."

The clouds began to disperse on the slopes of the Jura. In a smiling setting the future began to open up for the schoolteachers whom the Franche-Comté sent steadily to its neighbor. An education that was in complete conformity with the Founder's Rule, a Community desirous of working in agreement with the local clergy and of providing Protestants with the example of a serene and secure faith and a disinterested zeal was finally established on France's doorstep. The Brothers in Neuchâtel would be shielded from the hostility which, elsewhere, was to induce disheartening havoc.[326]

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For several years sectarian passions had been champing at the bit. In spite of an increasingly daring promotion, they failed to curb the expansion of the Institute. But Brother Philippe's superb administration was not to end without harsh adversities, which burst upon the aged Superior from all directions. After 1870 an attack was mounted and carried out against the Church in Europe. It quickly swept away the refuge that the Brothers had maintained at a point constantly under seige, their school in Geneva.

Bishop Mermillod's triumphant apostolate disquieted Protestants. As rector of the parish of Notre Dame, the prelate had opened a school there in September of 1867; it was the third position occupied by the Brothers in the city and perhaps the best situated, with a well constructed building, five Brothers and 200 pupils.

But there were enemies who conspired to destroy it. And they believed that the moment had come when Italy took Rome from the Holy See and when Bismarck contemplated the enslavement of German Catholics. The French defeat had appeared to signal the general triumph of might over right.

In February 1872 the following letter was received at the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot: "The Head Council of the Canton of Geneva has passed a law which abolishes all Religious Congregations of men and women within the Canton. Out of a membership of 104, there was a majority of thirteen votes in favor of this decision". Brother Gideon, who transmitted the bad news, added that if, within three months' time, the executive Council refused the required authorizations, there would be nothing to do but close the school. A petition in writing must be drawn up. That very morning the Brother Director had taken counsel with Bishop Mermillod, who dissuaded him from complying with the injunctions of the civil authority; according to the Bishop, that would mean coming to grips with the harshest sort of intransigence.

On March 18 the chancery in Geneva suggested to the Brothers that they seek from the government an inquiry into their situation. In conformity with episcopal directives, they had

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[326] Motherhouse Archives, File JF u. — Archives of the District of Besancon, *Histoire of Neuchâtel and St. Claude*; brief general history of the Brothers' province; District Register.

refrained from submitting a regular petition. The letter that each one of them wrote and signed on May 1, a few days before the expiration of the prescribed time-limit, tended merely to lay claim to prior rights: "M. President and Gentlemen,...Respectfully, I take the liberty to call to your attention that my presence in Geneva has no other purpose than to fulfill the obligations of assistant-teacher in a private school, founded, financed and directed by a citizen of the Canton (i.e., the pastor, who, in the language of the agreement of 1845, was nominally responsible for the schools)".

As "French citizens" each of the teachers was "provided with a passport and a visa" that were valid until the following October. "Thirty-three years" of uneventful enjoyment "gave rise to the hope" that nothing would change in attitude of the authorities with regard to foreigners whose behavior was above suspicion. The signers "dared" to trust in the government's "impartiality and spirit of justice".

To tell the truth, it was nothing but an appeal to public opinion. There was no doubt that the law would be strictly and promptly executed. The petitions of ten thousand Catholics had proved unavailing.

Classes could not be continued beyond August. Prizes were distributed on the 11th; and Bishop Mermillod spoke from the pulpit at Notre Dame, attended to emotionally by a huge crowd. He himself expected to be persecuted any day, although nothing of the sort ever occurred to silence his powerful voice. During these cruel moments, as a speaker he could only revive spirits and rekindle hopes. He fought tooth and nail; and to the very end he made use of the freedom that had not yet been taken from him. He would save his Catholic schools.

However, the teachers who had made the reputation of those schools had to withdraw. In the name of the School Commission John Dupont expressed the grief and the gratitude of the people. And he awarded them medals of merit on which was inscribed the motto of the Calvinist Republic: *Post tenebras, lux!*

Brother Philippe, assaulted in the person of his confreres, would soon receive, but with only a partially consoled heart, the same testimony of gratitude. Brother Gideon departed for Savoy with a missal autographed by "Gaspard Mermillod, Bishop".

Sixteen teachers left their five hundred pupils. It was the end of the project that had been so patiently contrived by Father Vuarin. The ancient spirit of intolerance, which at the time was attempting to stir up the whole of Switzerland, had completely gripped Geneva; monasteries were closed; parochial boundaries were arbitrarily altered without recourse to the Holy See; and churches were handed over to schismatic groups in rebellion against the decisions of the Vatican Council. Finally, Bishop Mermillod had a sentence of banishment imposed upon him. Like him, Christian teachers were expelled because of their attachment to the Sovereign Pontiff. It was a prelude to the adversities which were threatening in Germany.[327]

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It was not until 1850 that Christian Brother pioneers tread upon the soil of Germany where they were to stamp such a clear mark that its indications would never be lost, in spite of a long exile which followed a fruitful period of penetration, acclimatization and implantation. But it was in the western "Marches" of the country that their arrival was prepared and their work assisted by a cluster of spiritual traditions and by the meeting of minds and hearts.

Roman civilization had been sown in the countries along the Rhine when the forests and plains beyond the great river sheltered barbarians who were the object of the watchful attention, the anxious concern and finally of the dread of the empire of the Caesars. Gaul stretched to the

[327] Motherhouse Archives, File JF u. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October, 1932. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for September 1937. — See also, G. Rigault, le Frère Louis, 1928, pp. 135-151.

Rhine; and the Frankish kingdoms had extended beyond this boundary. And as early as the 4th century of our era, Christ reigned over a people who had been transformed by the Gospel. Trèves, Spire, Worms, Mayence, and Cologne had gradually become centers of the new faith, important diocesan Sees and hubs for the apostolate. In the 8th century Charlemagne set out from Aix-la-Chapelle to overpower and baptize the Saxons.

The "Holy Roman, Germanic Empire", bound to the Church, even in its most violent quarrels with the Popes, had preserved its Carolingian heritage. And when Luther had destroyed the unity of the Christian world, western Germany had remained at least partially Catholic. Because of the ecclesiastical principalities set up in this region, from Mayence to Cologne, the Rhine was called "Priests' Boulevard".

Between 1792 and 1814 the entire past seemed to have been blotted out. But the annexation of the states along the Rhine to France seemed to have confirmed their Latin origins. And even after the Congress of Vienna had placed these ancient ecclesiastical territories under the domination of the King of Prussia, they continued to look to the west. In the beginning the Protestant monarch left Catholics in peace. And far from fragile, religion, surrounded by revolutionary teachings and exposed to the breath of heresy, recaptured a burst of vitality, a light which both reignited many dying embers and illuminated many darkened corners.

There occurred at the time prominent conversions, and Rome welcomed defenders, apologists and marvelous aides who had been among its adversaries of the day before. The movement was underscored when, following Clement August Droste-Vischering, the Archbishop of Cologne, Catholics had to contest the brutal and tactless efforts of Frederick William III who wished to "Prussianize" them.[328]

But the thrust had already taken hold during the first third of the century.At this time we meet with the name of Clement Brentano, a tempestuous and flamboyant poet who, after his return to the faith became the secretary of the clairvoyant Catherine Emmerich. Having completed his work at the bedside of the dying woman who had called up for him scenes from the Gospel and intimate moments in the life of the Holy Family in Nazareth, Brentano supported the charitable enterprises of a Coblentz industrialist, Joseph Dietz. An inquiry undertaken in France by these two men was to supply Germany with its first glimpse of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

The travelers were in Paris in 1827; they visited "various religious foundations, hospitals, orphanages, schools, seminaries and convents...in order to discover their purposes, their spirit, their direction and their results", and in order to imagine the way in which to create analogous institutions in Germany.[329] They were under the guidance of a fellow-countryman, Ferdinand Eckstein, another convert, writer and diplomat, who at the time was working in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is pretty nearly certain that it was through him that the visitors had access to the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin, were the revered Brother Guillaume de Jésus was beginning the fifth year of his generalate. Eckstein had been in contact with De La Salle's disciples; and he wrote about them in an article published in 1829 by the Bavarian periodical Eos. Brentano was later one to duplicate this text in a book that we shall cite presently.

On the return trip Joseph Dietz insisted on passing through Maréville in Lorraine with his friend. The huge institution, reorganized by the Brothers from St. Yon in 1749 at the request of King Stanislaus,[330] was no longer home to any residents but the insane. Nuns now replaced the

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[328]See Georges Goyau book, *l'Allemagne religieuse, le Catholicisme*, Vols. I and II.

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[329] Diel and Kreiten, Clemens Brentano, *Ein Lebensbild*, Fribourg, 1877.

[330] See Vol. II of the present work, pp. 274-278.

former personnel, Christian Brothers disperse by the Revolution.[331] The Sisters belonged to a Congregation that Dietz had introduced into Coblentz. Of course, he was particularly interested in the way they were living; nevertheless, the memory of their predecessors — among whom had been the Blessed martyr Solomon — had not been removed from the celebrated chapel, the chapter room nor the cells.

Clement Brentano found it so charming there that, dedicating a book that was published in 1831 to the Sisters of Charity, he added two "appendices" regarding the Brothers of the Christian Schools; one of them includes Ferdinand Eckstein's article. The other was entitled: *The Story of Madame Maillefer, the Instigator of the Order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools*.

The author was proud of his friendship with the influential philosopher Joseph Goerres, a figure who stands out against the background of this period. To attract the attention of such a man to the Christian Brothers was tantamount to procuring them legal rights in Germany. Goerres had received a copy of Brentano's book; and he recommended it to Louis I, the king of Bavaria, in whom Catholics had placed their hopes and who professed an interest in the story of French charitable projects.

However, his interest did not extend as far as action. Perhaps the seed had been sewn among thorns. And that might well have been believed had not good soil been found elsewhere than at the Palace in Munich. Growth continued to be very slow; but it success warranted the action of the sower.

In September 1833 a religious journal in Augsburg reprinted Brentano's essay. And then over a period of fourteen years — from 1836-1850 — Sion (the name of the periodical) mentioned the Institute more than forty times.

In 1837 one of the editors wanted this Congregation "to set up on German soil". That, he said, was "an urgent need", a task that recommended itself to the zeal of the faithful. "The esteemed Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul are already on site; in a very brief time, they have obtained positive results. The Brothers will be no less effective. They will educate, they will train our youth. May it please God to raise up a priest or pious layman who will bring them here"!

With Father Herbst the strategy took on substance and the light expanded. Herbst was the son of a Lutheran, born in 1798 in the Duchy of Saxe-Altenbur. Absorbed at first with philosophy and philology at the Universities of Leipsig and Jena, at the age of thirty four he became a Catholic. He moved quickly on to the priesthood. And having chosen to reside in Munich, in 1840 he became a counsellor for education in Upper Bavaria.[332] As apostle and pedagogue, he felt keenly attracted to image and the spirit of St. John Baptist de La Salle. In 1839 he wrote The Life of the Founder of the Brothers that was inspired by Father Garreau's book.[333] He concluded it as follows: "The valuable activity of the Institute...will assist, we have no doubt, in preserving popular education from decline in those countries into which the Brothers have not yet entered, but must come. We must expect nothing good from educators as long as their personal religion is not inspired by the spirit of the Church".

Sion had been the first to publish the study which revealed the saint's lofty character, his influence and his successors. Ferdinand Herbst, in fact, for a year had been the intellectual director and the principal contributor to the Augsburg review, where he had found a pulpit from which his voice might shape opinion. The role he played in Bavaria, the experience provided

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[331] Ibid., Vo. III, pp. 284-287.

[332] Rosenthal, *Konvertitenbilder aus dem 19. Jh., 1871.*

[333] Garreau's book, published in 1760, was reedited in 1825. See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 209.

him both by his university years and his official functions encourage us to listen to him with great attention. One of his articles, dated 1841, appears particularly worthy of rereading. It accurately predicted the area in which the disciples of De La Salle could strike their best blow and the lines along which the Congregation might continue its growth in Central Europe.

"Education as a whole would gain from them an extraordinary burst of new energy. They would be a leaven in the teaching body, too many of whom, through indifference and inflated pseudo-knowledge, have become a cross for the servants of religion. The mean-spirited schoolteacher who wants to be told everything and as a consequence control everything intrudes everywhere, as well as his measureless pride, his dissatisfaction with a lot that is to his way of thinking inferior to his talents, the hostility which, out of envy, he bears to priests.

Well, what remedy is there except the coming together in religious congregation, in Brothers' institutions, of the best of student-teachers, the most religious, the most faithful, the most zealous, those who desire to renounce the world entirely in order to live according to their vocation in the love of God? In this way vital strength, which is dissipated through fragmentation, will be united; and so, the energy which Providence stores up in some souls will be used to improve the moral and social situation of the teacher.

In normal schools where wisdom still presides many of the best students would be willing to sacrifice the prospects of setting up their own families in favor of such a marvelous ideal. Among them there are those who would be thinking of the priesthood, if they had the means of gaining the education for it. They would gladly set out along the paths of the Congregation of Brothers; in which, failing a priestly formation, their supernatural vocation would be confirmed. Inclined to such a choice by the love of God, they would be certain of the respect of the faithful and of the friendship of the clergy.

Yes, the Brothers of the Christian Schools would be welcomed among the Lord's zealous ministers, who would be pleased with the cooperation of Religious who aspired to Heaven according to the ideals of the perfect life. They would receive them as comrades in struggle and in prayer, capable in fact of protecting them from the dangers into which isolated priests can fall. Through such an alliance, they would find a more secure hope in the triumph of the faith and they would feel their optimism and courage grow..."

It was in this way that Father Herbst, with magnificent strokes, imagined the future. He flattered himself by an early realization of his hopes in his beloved Bavaria, with the cooperation of "a king enthusiastic for Catholic charities": there the most timely enterprises grew and flourished. In any case, the past seemed to assure future success. At a not too distant point in the past, an institution that was analogous to that of John Baptist de La Salle had existed in the region of Tölz, where, until the end of the last century, the Hermits of St. Augustine operated rural schools. Of course, their rules no longer accorded with the new circumstances; but, in any case, the experiment proved that La Salle's concept was not totally foreign to Germany. With the help of God, it would flourish on favorable soil.

Tireless, the priest-journalist never missed an opportunity to emphasize the problem of Christian education; and he was still posing it for people when he pointed out to Sion's readers the Canon of Rheims' various imitators, the various educational groups who had embraced the conventual life, the Irish Christian Brothers of Edmund Rice, the French Brothers of Father Chaminade or of Father Deshayes, right up to the efforts of the Fathers Baillard in Lorraine... [334]

Then Herbst reverted to his favorite champions. He sent for a copy of the Rule of the Institute and well as of "The Conduct of Schools". Their translation was entrusted to Franz-Maria Brug,

[334] Maurice Barrés, in his novel *la Colline inspirée* wrote about the role of the Baillards, their work in Sion-Vaudémont and their unfortunate rebellion.

and they came off the presses in Augsbourg in 1844, with a preface by the editor of the local review. In it he recalled: "Several times in Sion the question has been raised as to whether or not a Society which, in France and Belgium, has been such a gushing spring should be introduced here. This is why we are presenting to the German reader the authentic writings of the founder. In this way we shall be able to judge the edifice. And those who are in a position to start similar projects will be able to decide whether it is timely, beneficial, and in conformity with the plan of the holy architect. Moreover, we are presenting to teachers, our fellow-countrymen, a suggestive book".

Would all of this preliminary work succeed? A row between Ferdinand Herbst and his editor, Kollmann, temporarily interrupted the effort. But Bavaria was not the only region in Germany that was interested in the Christian Brothers. Westphalia, another Catholic center, where the teachings of Overberg, Fürstenberg, Stolberg and Princess Galitzin[335]had not been forgotten, snatched an echo of the great French teachers. The Monthly Newsletter on the Condition of Christian Education in 1847 published a translation of *The Twelve Virtues*, the celebrated *opuscula* by the Superior-General Agathon.

In his foreword, Father Henry Gisbert Rütjes explained how he was induced to undertake this task: in the spring of 1844 he had visited the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin. "Surprised by its external appearance, he expressed the desire to become equally familiar with the mind of the Congregation." Brother Philippe provided him with three essential books: the *Rule*, the *Conduct* and the *Twelve Virtues*. And he told the visitor: "When you return to your country, please make a more generous use of this triple gift as a witness to your concern for the sacred cause of the education of youth."

The priest from Westphalia promised to please the one he called "the Man of the Order". Having learned that Augsbourg had in part anticipated him, he restricted his task to the translation of Brother Agathon's essay into the German language. In his view, no book contained the spirit of the Gospel "more purely or more clearly"; none better emphasized "the religious and moral principles apart from the observation of which no educational method could be genuinely useful...If, on the other hand, they were strictly applied, there was reason to hope for a complete renovation of education, the marvelous transformation of Germany's children and future happiness."

Thus, Brentano, Herbst and Rütjes became the heralds of the Brothers in the Catholic countries neighboring on the Rhine and the Danube. The vocations that they called for would begin to emerge from among their readers. And, first of all, they were to find employment in the Rhinian province in which soon was to spring up the wheat of a rich harvest.[336]

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A vast hope had been sweeping through Prussian Catholics since 1840. June 7 of that year was the first day of the reign of Frederick William IV. The Church, as we have said, had run up against the despotism of the late king. But it expected to regain its rights with the accession of the heir to the throne. Not because the new king was not a self-proclaimed convinced Protestant; but his fascination with the Middle Ages and his "Romanticism" influenced him to respect Germany's distant past. He liked to day-dream under the domes of cathedrals; and he had a taste for the ceremonies and chants of the people who were faithful to Rome. He gave the impression of being a dilettante and an archeologist; with which he mingle, nevertheless, a basic belief, a desire to understand, and an unquestionable friendliness.

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335 Cf. Goyau, op. cit., Vol. I; J. Janssen, Friedrich-Leopold Graf zu Stolberg, Fribourg-en-Brisgau, 1882

336 We should like to express our profound gratitude to Brother Wilebald and to Dr. Verger whose cooperation was solely responsible for enabling us to write the preceding pages.

Without accepting dogma, Frederick William IV appreciated the power of discipline and tradition. And pervaded with a lively religious feeling, he eagerly selected his reading from among the works of Bossuet, Fenelon and the Bavarian theologian Sailer. And his best friend, General Radowitz, was thought to have been a Catholic.

Some people easily susceptible to illusion asked whether the king himself was not secretly a Catholic. The question failed adequately to identify the pupil of Pastor Ancillon. But who, then, in spite of a rather graceless physical appearance, had not fallen under the charm of his ringing words or his resourceful, though somewhat whimsical, imagination?

In the pamphlet that we have just analyzed, Father Rütjes commended the prince's "great heart". This Westphalian's opinion concurred with the citizens of Mayence and Cologne. There was a time when the people along the Rhine were more composed: when the son of Frederick William III was around they displayed their aversion for Prussia and their dissatisfaction with the way in which Archbishop de Droste was treated.

With his accession the new head of the Hohenzollern dynasty hastened to reestablish harmony. An understanding with the Holy See regulated litigation arising out of mixed marriages, the reason for the Archbishop's arrest. The episcopacy became free to talk with Rome and to publish the Pope's Briefs and Encyclicals. On January 11, 1841 there was initiated in the Berlin Ministry of Religion a "Catholic section" whose members, all chosen from among adherents to Roman Catholicism, for thirty years ensured good relations between the Church and the State.

On September 4 of the following year the Calvinist king laid down in Cologne the first stone of a doorway — a gesture that heralded the completion of the cathedral, as well as a gesture of patriotic unity. In a lyrical flight Frederick William extolled the early and pious builders of the Dam. While the trouble-filled days between 1848 and 1850 left the king in an awkward posture with respect to his people and certainly cruelly humiliated by Austria at Olmütz, they did not alter the situation for Catholics. The new constitution recognized the Church's autonomy, the free practice of religion and the right of association in the very language in which these rights had been demanded. August Reichensperger wrote that his fellow Catholics had rediscovered a freedom of movement that had been forbidden in the German states since the 17th century.

They were about to put it to an immediate use. Twenty years of promotion in favor of the Brothers of the Christian Schools were finally succeeding. And it was Coblenz that obtained the initial foundation.

Father Krementz was at the time exercising his curial ministry at St. Castor's, one of the parish in that city. A much deserving priest with a most promising future (he would become Bishop of Ermland and then Archbishop of Cologne and a Cardinal) he had to be commended for his active and vigilant defense of the faith. He had probably learned what his colleagues in Augsbourg and Münster had thought about the work of the Christian Brothers. He wished to become acquainted first hand with the educational work accomplished in France and extended his research travels as far as Namur and Brussels.

The German zeal for education would open a vast field for educators who were already so much appreciated in western Europe. At the technical level, the spirit and methods employed between the Rhine and the Oder seemed to have been more or less directly inspired by De La Salle. The "teachers' seminaries" envisioned by the Founder of the Institute were already in existence there; and the normal primary schools existed long before the ones which the administrators in the French Departments were, ever so slowly, to initiate. There, students were admitted to these institutions between the ages of seventeen and eighteen years after having been trained under the direction of a teacher or in a college. And when this preliminary formation was thought inadequate, special courses were created, called Präparanden-Anstalten which lead up to the Lehrenseminare. So supplemented the system worked satisfactorily.

Furthermore, the "modern" program of studies inaugurated at St. Yon, completed in the era

of Brothers Florence and Agathon, and restored at Bézier and Passy, had known remarkable success in Saxony and in Prussia. As early as the 18th century there were opened in Halle classes of instruction in mathematics, mechanics and the natural sciences, to which were added an introduction to the crafts. The development of these experiments continued in the Realschulen, which, of course, owed their name to Hecker, the founder of an institution of this sort in Berlin in 1747.[337]

The nation that had once been receptive to Commenius' *Didactica magna*,[338] and to the teachings of Francke and Felbiger was well qualified to understand the regulations of the "Master of the popular school" and of professional education. The Brothers would bring to the Rhine countries the experience of one-hundred-and-sixty years as well as a religious dedication, an orthodoxy and an apostolic energy which many of their colleagues in the science of education lacked.

This is what Father Kremkentz expected of their cooperation. On July 27, 1849, he wrote Brother Philippe to ask him for teachers, and he added: "If you do not have any German Brothers available, please let me know the conditions under which you would admit young men from here into the Order. You could then send them back to us so as to spread into this country the benefits of the sound and Christian education that you lavish upon the French.

In his reply of August 8, the Superior wrote that the Congregation had never recruited in Germany; and it was therefore prevented from supplying competent candidates. But if the Pastor of St. Castor's discovered promising vocations within the circle of his acquaintances, it would be worthwhile for him to apply the Director of the Community in Namur, Brother Modeste, who spoke German and he would gladly admit postulants from the Rhine provinces and train them "just as well" as the Master of Novices at the Motherhouse.[339]

It was a question therefore of igniting in Belgium a flame which would then spread beyond the frontiers. A religious training was to transform into Lasallian missionaries young men of upright intentions and well equipped with the intellectual traditions of their people. Two such young men were sent to Namur.

But in Coblenz both clergy and laity were impatient for action. There had been founded in the city at this time one of those solidly structured associations that Germans know so well haw to build: the *Katholischer Männerverein*, large and ever ready to assert its power. The energy produced by the recent Revolution, the possibilities provided by the Frankfort Parliament for imagining a national rebirth, and the dream — which tomorrow would vanish — of a revived Holy Roman Empire were so many propellants for the most romantic ambitions and fuel for fervent minds. It was up to the Church immediately to put to work this wonderful independence, this influence that the government left unconfined.

Six months had not elapsed between Father Krementz' first initiative and the involvement of the Catholic Association. On January 15, 1850 a letter was sent to Paris covered with the most authoritative signatures: the Mayor of Coblenz' accompanied the names of the Pastor of St. Castor, of Adam, President of the Männerverein, of Klauck, the "soldiers' chaplain", of Meurer, the hospital chaplain and of Lorenzi, Pastor of Notre Dame.

Brother Philippe was confirmed in the information that had already reached his Assistant, Brother Amos, as to the origins and goals of the Society: an institution for orphans was to be

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337 Ferdinand Buisson, *Dictionnaire de pédogogie*, 1911 ed., article by W. Rein, Professor at the University of Jena.

338 See Vol. I of the present work, pp. 24-26.

339 Motherhouse Archives, File Id q2.

founded; its direction would belong to the members of "the most honored Congregation" of John Baptist de La Salle.

Aware of the project in all its details, the Regime, on January 27, sent an approval in principle. However, it did not believe it would be able to assemble the necessary personnel in the near future. And in its view there was only one way "to speed up" the decision: send Brother Modeste Prussian postulants who were already equipped with a teaching certificate.

Messrs. Adams and Meurer precipitated matters. On February 12, they wrote: "We already think of the Brothers as having immigrated among us. We have purchased a small farm a half-league out of Coblenz. Let Brother Modeste come here; he can study the construction plans and arrangements. In order to start up the assistance of a complete team is not necessary: we shall be satisfied with a Director and the two young men who have been trained in Namur".[340]

It was important not to miss the opportunity of displaying the Christian Brothers' robe in Germany. Brother Philippe had reached the most resplendent period of his generalate: in France, with the approaching vote on the law for freedom of education, bright prospects were taking shape; in Rome, the Holy Father had called upon a man who had been invested with the Superior's full confidence to legislated on the future of the Italian institutions; and throughout the world there were clear indications of a progressive growth.

The Superior never hesitated when he felt he was guided by Providence. He ordered Brother Modeste to get together with the distinguished citizens in Coblenz. And they would satisfy the wishes not only of the *Katholischer Männerverein* but also the initial aspirations of Father Krementz who wanted to have elementary classes in his parish as a first step toward a middle school.

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The labors of the Belgian province supplied the materials for the new project. It was its generosity that yielded to its neighbor to the East one of its best Brothers in order to guarantee maximum prospects for Germany's hopes. At the time Brother Modeste, who was born in 1804, was less than sixteen years in the Institute. His late vocation appeared to have been a quite deliberate choice and a highly valued grace. It lead him, in 1835, to the novitiate in Namur. At Liége, Dinant, Brussels, and Frameries, teaching stages were quickly and successfully negotiated. The final one before leaving Belgium brought him back to Namur where, from 1845 onward, he directed the Community, when the Superior-general put in his hands the task of preparing for the introduction of the Brothers into the center of the European Continent.

The bilingualism which is so familiar with residents of a nation's frontier was to assist him in the fulfillment of his mission. To Brother Modeste's advantage we should have to list his invaluable talents and his fund of virtue. His discretion and good judgment were enveloped in silence; his fervor presented his disciples with a constant example, and roused the respect of the clergy and the laity who had to deal with him. Calls from fellow Catholics imposed upon him frequent and fatiguing travels: for eighteen years he was continuously on the move, until the day in January 1868, when Brother Philippe called him to Rue Oudinot and attached him to the general Secretariat. And, before he died at the outset of 1871, he continued to show his courage, his forgetfulness of self and his charity by collecting the victims of battles in the Franco-Prussian War.[341]

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[340] Motherhouse Archives, File Id q2.

[341] Obituary, 1871.

He opened the school in Coblenz on October 7, 1850. Six Brothers were grouped about him; three of whom shared responsibilities for the pupils, 120 strong at the outset. Two novices and a serving Brother made up the rest of the Community.

On October 20 a letter sent to Paris explained the Director's concerns: his associates had been made aware of the inadequacy of their training. Four of them had no diplomas; and they were asking for permission to study after night prayer. A special teacher had been required to instruct them. Without certificates, they ran the risk of not being able to teach, since the President of the Regency, a Protestant, had declared that he would object to them. The backers of the institution negotiated with the authorities in order to obtain at least a period of grace; fortunately they had recourse to the support of Princess Augusta, the sister-in-law of the King of Prussia. Her Highness, whose husband, Prince William, was the military commander of the Rhineland provinces, dwelt in Coblenz: she "seemed very much interested in the school, which she was to visit presently".

It was all the more urgent to set up a body of excellent teachers in that this region attached a great deal of importance to science. The pupils who applied to the Brothers here did not, as elsewhere, come from the ranks of ordinary people: "Nearly all the pupils belong to well-to-do families, sons of notaries, lawyers and army officers..." There is no doubt but what gratuity was observed with difficulty; but it did remain effective for some. Nevertheless most paid tuition, which Father Krementz insisted was optional.

In such circumstances, education could not be confined within rigid limits; it became necessary to restrict the time ordinarily given to writing and assign it "to branches" demanded by parents smitten by broad cultural interests. The Pastor of St. Castor's was forced into service as an arithmetic teacher in the primary grades, awaiting the arrival of a competent Brother. Supported by his parishioners, he spoke of his determination to introduce a Latin course and proposed to entrust this task to one of his priests. Brother Modeste objected to such an innovation: but he was told that his attitude would stir up a conflict.[342]

Actually, Father Krementz appeared so taken with his decision that he appealed personally to the Superior-general.[343] Brother Philippe, energetically, insisted on the Rule. Submission was necessary; otherwise, the Brothers would withdraw.[344]

Finally, the Institute would develop according to its own principles. The level of studies, far from falling, gradually achieved the level found of the *Bürgerschulen*, the city schools, which were comparable to the upper primary grades of the French system. Two hundred pupils were enrolled in 1851.

The Director was superbly seconded by a very young German Religious, Brother Maximianus. He was one of the postulants sent to Namur in 1849. Scarcely out of the college in Aix-la-Chapelle and already manifesting a remarkable will and judgment, he had answered to the Superiors' every hope. His eighteen years did not seem too inexperienced for him to be given charge of the "upper class". In fact, the new teacher exercised an influence which ordinarily would have been out of all proportion with his youthfulness. He was accessible, but serious and never over familiar. He brought his pupils under strict discipline, and trained them in politeness and in courteous manners. His concern, his impartiality and his tact won for him respect and affection. As the result of varied knowledge, deepened by his own obstinate exertions, he provided a sound education. During his catechism classes the children were struck by his power of argument and by the intensity of his faith. The first-fruits of the Institute

342 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q2.

343 Motherhouse Archives, letter dated November 12, 1850.

344 Ibid., Brother Philippe's reply, November 21.

in the Rhineland, Brother Maximianus gave promise of becoming one of the best teacher-apostles and one of the leaders among the Christian Brothers. Unfortunately, he was to enjoy only a brief life.[345]

He seemed to have been in sound condition when the school began its operations. Brother Modeste regretted only that he did not have another assistant of his influence.[346] Nevertheless, his young team promised to grow in numbers and in talent. Thus, the latest negotiations with the Katholischer Männerverein were rapidly drawing to a successful conclusion.

The Association had delegated three of its members for a search throughout some of the principal educational centers of the Institute. The most favorable report had resulted from observations gathered in Paris, Namur, Malonne and Verviers. Five Brothers were sought and obtained for the Kemperhof Estate which was situated in the countryside in the vicinity of Coblenz. They were taken from Belgium, among members who were able to teach in German; and at least one of them possessed the certificates demanded by Prussian law.

The laying of the cornerstone of the future orphanage on June 3, 1850 was the occasion of a ceremony honored by the presence of Princess Augusta. The basic buildings were constructed in four months; and on October 15 they were blessed by Father Krementz. On that day Mr. Adams, President of the Catholic Society welcomed Brothers Méardis, Algidius, Matronus, Madulfius and Mauricianus and handed over to them the care of fifty-two orphans.[347] Under the patronage of St. Joseph, Kemperhof was organized according to the wishes of its sponsors. We shall follow it in its upward progress. It prosperity had also been consolidated by the school that had been opened in the neighboring city. Clement Brentano's earlier writings had turned out to be prophetic in a way: — the voice of the poet awakening, over the long term, the flush of life. In Augsbourg Father Herbst was still alive to learn that his promotion had not been in vain outside of the kingdom of Bavaria: in February, 1851, he reported with delight the Brothers' success in Coblenz. From his lofty platform at the Sion he watched the gallant troop spread southward until, in 1863, he departed the scene.

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In order to secure native vocations for the Brothers in Germany, it was important not to send recruits who arrived to foreign countries. Brother Modeste understood this point so well that, with the help of his Catholic friends, he opened a regional novitiate in December of 1850. Quite naturally, Coblenz, the Institute's first home on the highroads of Central Europe, became the cradle of newborn Religious.

The family's eldest son was Brother Heinrick. This financially secure bourgeois from Garzweller was approaching middle age when he knocked on the door of a school that had been recently opened. In spite of his thirty years, he was able to adapt to the Institute's severe discipline. And he was to observe these obligations for a half-century, engaged in administrative tasks and providing important services with his skills in botany and agriculture.[348]

After him there appeared a number of especially interesting personalities. Ferdinand Hebst had had an inkling of it: it was the Christian education community that would supply John Baptist de La Salle with a distinguished posterity. From the normal schools and the elementary school

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345 Obituary, 1864.

346 Letter, cited, October 20, 1850.

347 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September, 1908.

348 Obituary, 1902.

classrooms there came a cluster of men already trained to the burdens of instruction and fully prepared to educate minds by forming consciences through their own personal sanctification.

The District's second postulant was Werner Müther. Born in Osterwick, Westphalia in 1827, this young teacher had heard Rütjes appeals and absorbed Brother Agathon's teachings which Brother Philippe had recommended to the Germans. He had forsaken a career which had begun quite creditably in order to raise himself to a level at which his ideal became perfection. Presently we shall meet with the distinguish figure of Brother Aloysius emerging against a luminous background.[349]

He had imitators who had uttered the *cur isti et non ego*? There was his contemporary, Brother Adulphus, from Würtemberg in Neckarsulm, who had been a teacher in Biberach in 1845 and became a novice in 1852, and a future Director of Kemperhof;[350] he was a deserving man, a skillful teacher, an accomplished musician and a model Religious. There was also Brother Gottfried, from the diocese of Münster, who had been a student in normal school in 1843, a schoolteacher in Witten am Rhein, an almost completely Protestant town, where, as the assistant to an intrepid pastor, he worked for the creation of a flourishing parish. The Institute admitted him in 1853, where, once he was professed, he was made responsible for spreading the spirit of the Holy Founder to the novices. In view of his achievements in this assignment, Brother Gottfried wrote in his native German a "commentary on the Rule" that Directors in Germany took as their guide.[351]

These studious and profoundly faithful young Germans never faltered in their enthusiasm. Friends attracted one another to the Congregation: thus, the son of a Bavarian teacher in Obershonenberg, having reached the age of twenty-six and himself already an eminent educator, wondered whether he should dedicated himself totally to the apostolate. He revealed his perplexity to one of his colleagues who showed him a letter that he had just received from Brother Modeste, a reply to questions concerning the sort of life lead by Christian Brothers. The two young men agreed to travel to Coblenz; and they brought along a third comrade. Having examined the activities of the group in the Rhineland at close quarters, they decided to share them. It was in this way that Bavaria in 1855 gave the Institute Brother Otto.[352]

It was at about the same time that Brother Edmund had made a similar decision; at first he had been a junior assistant in the school in Morbach, his native village, and then he became a student in the normal school in Brühl;[353]and Brother Hugo, whom the Communal Council in Fritzdorf unavailingly sought to retain by promising to double his teacher's salary.[354] Another normal student at Brühl waited until he was thirty-six years old before heading for the novitiate and becoming Brother Bonifazius.[355]Ibid., 1902. And the brilliant and gallant John Baptist Haas, a Swabian teacher whom we shall meet with in the schools of Central Europe as Brother Eucharius, left Schwäbisch Gmünd in 1861.[356]

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349 Ibid., 1898.

350 Ibid., 1902.

351 Ibid., 1893.

352 Ibid., 1897.

353 Ibid., 1905.

354 Ibid., 1904.

355 Ibid 1902.

356 *Starke Liebe* (Life of Brother Eucharius) by Brother Frederick Brug, 1923.

These scenarios seem quite characteristic: what captivated the Germany's Catholic population in the Lasallian project was clearly the relation between the educator's duties and the evangelical counsels concerning the life of perfection. "Sell what you have, leave father and mother, renounce the idea of your own family, live poor, obedient and chaste in order to win souls and spread the Kingdom of God". The spirit of Christ had entered deeply into a people who had once been baptized by St. Boniface; this faithful nation, struggling against heresy and against rationalism, believed that it was especially necessary to place knowledge in the service of the faith. And nothing seemed more urgent to it than to educate the child, the bearer of humanity's future. "He who receives one of these little ones in my name", says the Lord, "receives me". Schoolteachers, pondering their vocation, understood that a total sacrifice completes its beauty and enhances its divine power. They tended to move according to the correct understanding of their principles; and their mind and heart clung to the inspired ideas of the Canon of Rheims.

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The country attentively observed the enterprise and noted its results. Sympathetic understanding prevailed, extending even into official spheres. Brother Modeste wrote to Brother Amos on April 8, 1853: "Two provincial inspectors visited the classes; one of them was a Catholic, the other a Protestant. The President of the Rhineland provinces sent them. The report that they will send him is going to weigh very heavily in the government's decisions: what is at stake is the granting to the Brothers of an exemption from military service and whether public schools will be entrusted to them".

The bureaucrats' impressions were distinctly favorable. Neither of them hid it. The Catholic inspector, M. Lucas, later on inquired in the name of highest authorities, the conditions under which the Institute would accept responsibility for an orphanage. He asked that a "Provincial" be appointed who would have full discretion to negotiate and close a contract.[357]

Brother Philippe accepted this suggestion. And on February 26, 1854 the title of Visitor of the District of Germany was bestowed on Brother Modeste, who, on all sides, was besieged with requests for a variety of foundations from the clergy, the Communes and charitable associations. As early as 1851 Cologne had asked the Brothers to come; in 1853 there were entreaties from Aix-la-Chapelle, Habsthal, Vallendar, Mulfingen and Münich. Steinfeld, Bamberg, Paderborn, Crefeld, Wadern and Stuttgart initiated their appeals in the years that followed.[358]

Thus, in the western regions opinion ran strong. But it also ran into the perennial problem: the Visitor was not able to produce personnel on the spur of the moment. However regretfully, he had to reply with vague promises. In order to enjoy steady growth, the Congregation needed to become better known, educate its candidates and train its leaders. It had to progress by stages over a territory that was still unexplored. What it needed was a long period of respite and it was questionable whether it would get it. Certainly, they could bank on it toward the end of Frederick-William IV's reign. But the king, afflicted by a mental disorder, totally ceased to rule beginning in October 1857. His brother, Prince William, became Regent; morally sincere, he expended very little care on concerns of a religious nature. He incarnated Prussian militarism. With his accession in 1861 there began the political difficulties between the crown and the Landtag; when the king appealed to Otto Bismarck, the full energy of the nation was directed toward the supremacy of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and in Europe; the wars between 1861 and 1871 followed one upon the other, and they succeeded in eliminating Austria from the

[357] Motherhouse Archives, ID q1.

[358] Ibid.

German Federation, mutilating France, and, within the new Empire, giving rise to the Kulturkampf, which awakened Protestant "Caesarism" suddenly roused up against Catholics.

For the Brothers of the Christian Schools it meant ultimately humiliation and exile. For a quarter of a century they had been able only to lay down the foundations of an structure whose completion no longer seemed possible. And, as a matter of fact, their restoration was preceded by horrendous turmoil.

But De La Salle's disciples entrusted the future to Providence. They worked without worrying about human success by considering each passing day as having eternal value. And, thus it was that, without pride or protest, they built soundly and that, while their undertakings crumbled around them under the blows of the oppressor, the enterprises themselves left remnants that were susceptible of restoration.

Coblenz and Kemperhof supplied sufficient scope at the outset for their small numbers. And they worked it perseveringly. Apart from this domain they made only a transitory effort in Crefeld in 1857 and, during the same year a more successful institution in Burtscheid, near Aix-la-Chapelle.

Brother Gottfried arrived in the middle of the winter at the school that he was to direct. The people in Burtscheid were scarcely put to any expense for the introduction of the new teachers: in the beginning the Community had very little furniture — a few mattresses, a lamp, five stools and an old dresser that was to make do for an altar in the oratory. The extreme poverty was described by the young Director in his historical account of the school. To intensify this destitution, the residence was unhealthy: several Brothers fell ill, and one of them died. Nor was there any moral consolation, since the regional authorities were suspicious. Nevertheless, Brother Gottfried was not discouraged; he knew how to organize, teach and persuade. Rapidly, the population paid him tribute; the city's two pastors supported him; and the school population filled four classrooms, which were to flourish until the school was closed in 1873.[359]

Successes followed one after the other in Coblenz where, in 1855, a "Sunday School" was opened, in which youngsters learned to read, write, draw, sing, and read history and geography.[360]

The middle class that had promoted Father Krementz' first school, were no longer the only ones to benefit from the Brothers' zeal. The Brothers could not be satisfied as long as they were not dealing with the poor. They had won the day when the Communal Council had decided to invite them to operate a tuition-free school. The task promised to be a difficult one: Brother Aloysius, who had been appointed Director, found himself facing young savages. A priest who had previously struggled to teach them their religion believed that it was imperative to have recourse to flogging: — a half-hour's punishment for every half-hour of catechism, as he understood the ratio between chastisement and instruction. The Brother used other methods. He selected as his model the acclaimed Overberg; he strove to captivate the imagination, and he used simple, concrete language. A skilled story-teller and a rapid and exact questioner, he kept his audience breathless; and his gracious charm touched the children's hearts. But if he had to subdue a refractory child, he knew how to do it: he closed his eyes to children's levity; but he refused to tolerate obstinacy or impudence. The Brothers' *Conduct* and the treatise on the *Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher* gave him a choice of scaled penalties, and he made a deft use of them.[361]

In 1856 the school was operating superbly. It admitted the most deprived urchins from the

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[359] Brother Gottfried's obituary, 1893. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1939.

[360] Bulletin cited.

[361] Obituary, 1898.

workers' quarters. Charitable supporters of the school strove to obtain clothing and shoes for them, especially during the winter. And with even greater affection Brother Aloysius and his assistants cared for their souls.[362]

Professional courses topped off elementary instruction. But they were falling off in 1860 when Werner Muther, who was gradually becoming the model for the Brothers in Germany, assumed the temporary direction of the schools in Coblenz during one of Brother Modeste's enforced absences. He maintained its status as a tuition-free school, and he reestablished the professional education. Brother Eucharius, Antigonus, Bonifazius, Adesius, Edmund, Bonus, Cosmus, Athimus, Alphonsus and Gottlieb composed his unflagging staff, at the head of which was J. B. Haas.[363] Programs were revised, undesirable pupils were dismissed, and frequent examinations controlled the progress of studies. Success became such that the State secondary school and many public schools were depleted in favor of the Institute's schools.

Kemperhof made equally important progress. In 1853 eight Brothers were working with the orphans, whose number at the beginning of the winter of 1855 had reached the one hundred mark. Financial costs became quite heavy: besides gifts and legacies, they were receiving a substantial subsidy from the city. It was necessary, however, to provide against a persistent problem. As early as 1854 the admission of paying residents supplied a new source of income. The two categories of pupil lived together until the creation of an organized residence school became necessary. This decision was reached in 1860 and with it a plan for extensive construction.

Brother Aloysius was called upon to contribute to this growth. His teaching duties had taken many forms. He sought to develop an educational philosophy: modern languages, science, history, bookkeeping, drawing, music, gymnastics were its paramount parts. While meager resources hampered the purchase of educational materials, the skillful educator made up for their inadequacies by the methodical and detailed preparation of his classes. He won his pupils' attention and he exercised their memories. And he demanded of them a maximum of effort. At Kemperhof French occupied a position of privilege: older pupils were not permitted to use any other language in recreation; and in each classroom the Sunday Gospel was read in the maternal language of John Baptist de La Salle.[364]

The complete modification required several years. But beginning in the autumn of 1861 the work went on without interruption. At that time Brother Maximianus came to Kemperhof. He would have been an especially valuable addition had he not been already weakened by illness. After protracted wear-and-tear in Coblenz the young teacher had to return to Belgium for a fifteen months' rest within the shadows of Malonne. Eventually his health improved, and he was sent back to teach resident pupils in the school on the Rhine. He taught the pupils in the upper grades. And during what leisure he had he translated the books of the Institute into German. The task exhausted him, and he was sent to Cologne for medical attention. The illness, however, turned out to be incurable. Kemperhof received the dying man, who passed away on November 4, 1864 at the age of thirty-two.

It was a painful loss for the District. However, the ranks remained steady, and Germany continued to reinforce them. In 1866 Brother Adulphus from Würtemberg succeeded Brother Méardis, a Belgian, as Director. The members of the teaching personnel constituted an cohesive, active and well-adapted group. The residence school population had gone up to 150 pupils; and it became necessary to enlarge the building.

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362 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, ibid.

363 Brother Frederick Brug, op. cit.

364 Brother Aloysius' obituary, 1898. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September and November, 1908.

The Community benefitted from patronage in high places: Princess Augusta, who had become Queen of Prussia, showed herself unfailingly friendly to the Brothers. Daughter of the Grand Duke Charles Frederick of Sax-Weimar, raised among the philosophers, poets and historians in the most literate court in Europe, and having seen Goethe close up in the joyous years of her youth, she had a cultivated intellect and a generous heart. Frequently her idealism ran counter to the positivism and the crude manners of her husband, King William. Nevertheless she exercised over him the influence of a superior mind and this beneficent action was practiced, as much as he would allow it, in favor of peace and religion.

For Catholicism, into which she was not born, the Queen had a more pronounced inclination than her brother-in-law Frederick William III once had. "I am rather an Evangelical than a Protestant", she had confessed; which, as George Goyau notes, was a "subtle and covert" way of identifying herself. "Whatever was negative, polemical or revolutionary in the Lutheran reform repelled her." Every evening she read "that small masterpiece of orthodox asceticism entitled Spiritual Combat." She read the writings of other religious authors from a variety of Christian traditions. And in all of them she sought to discover the thought common to sincere believers. She strove to ignore differences and build bridges.[365]

Her religious attitude as well as her charitable zeal explains the attraction she felt for the Kemperhof school. We have observed the princess in 1850 taking part in the opening of the orphanage. She maintained regular relations with the Institute. Brother Aloysius, in a letter written to a friend[366] in November 10, 1887 gratefully evokes the evidence of a tactful generosity.

When the Queen of Prussia, he wrote, came each year to dwell in Coblenz for several weeks in the spring and in the autumn, a visit to the orphans and the resident pupils regularly marked the first days of her arrival. She prayed in the chapel, and then she strolled around the playgrounds. She questioned the children in an informal way and followed them to the dining room where she herself pronounced the *Benedicamus* which was the signal for pleasant conversation.

For the Feasts of St. Joseph and St. Nicholas she sent gifts and treats. It was to her generosity that the youths also owed an annual feast on the slopes of Fort Constantine, which overlooked the city. These were gestures of princely kindness which touched hearts.

Interest in the work itself assumed momentous proportions when, in 1857, Augusta persuaded the *Katholisher Mannerverein* to cooperate in the initial steps toward a horticultural school. This very valuable foundation had a constantly expanding success. Vast stretches of land were acquired; there came a time when their expanse reached nearly 250 acres. Under the guidance of a head-gardener, the orphans were prepared for a trade that was fully consonant with their social position and they grew strong working in the fresh air.[367]

The Queen understood very well that the official world had no misgivings about her feelings toward the Brothers and their pupils. She liked to conduct excursions of her princely guests to Kemperhof; and by her own example, she induced visitors not to leave without all of them opening their purses. They knew they were pleasing her when they commended the results of Christian education and contributed to the financial success of the school.

But to locate the deep-seated reason, the central idea behind such attentiveness, we have to discern the believer as she bowed before the altar; we must accompany the noblewoman to the

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365 George Goyau, *Bismarck, Vol. I.*, pp. 119-120.

366 Motherhouse Archives, File q2. — Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September, 1908.

367 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November, 1908.

bedside of the sick: to the dying Brother Maximianus she spoke in accents inspired by faith; she spoke to him of the efficacity of prayer and of the value of suffering that was united to Christ's Passion. A simple monument was raised over the young teacher's tomb through the good offices of the royal benefactor. And other crosses erected in the cemetery similarly attest to a grateful piety toward the dead.[368]

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Bismarck, who was relentlessly hostile to the wife of William I, accused her of being "old-fashioned Europe, with Catholic and French tendencies". After the inauguration of the German Empire in 1871 his rancor bristled. The Chancellor, who was preparing for his struggle with the Church, feared that the Empress was counselling her husband; he suspected her friendly relations with the French ambassador, Gontaut-Biron whose staff, and especially his interpreter, "the skillful Gérard", whom he considered as a sort of spy introduced by the "hereditary enemy" of the Court in Berlin,

In fact, Augusta made an effort, if not to render the Bismarkian policy ineffective, at least to hold it at bay for a while, and, at worst, to soften the reaction when this was on the verge of destroying the project which was the object of her delight. Finally, she had to admit defeat at the hands of the implacable politician who continued to be invested with the sovereign's confidence; but not without having shown her sadness nor without having abandoned hope for revenge.

To strangle the Catholic Church seemed to the founder of German unification the corollary to the military triumphs of 1866 and 1870. Lutheran and absolutist appetites had never slept in the soul of the Prussian Minister: "He muttered and grumbled" upon reading the Constitution of 1850 which had guaranteed autonomy to religious organizations.

A Church that had freedom of movement shackled the absolutism of the State. Holding sway over consciences and directing the votes of the faithful, it was a power that could become a colossus. How had Prussia, the kingdom born of a revolt against the Roman Pontificate and that had been expanded and consolidated by omnipotent princes, permitted, out of sheer wantonness, the growth of such a dangerous organism and such an invasive power?[369]

It was thus that Bismarck had reasoned. He knew how to win the support of majority opinion. The "National-Liberal Party" had long adopted the position that the presence alone of the Catholic Church appeared to endanger national unity. It was not surprising that Protestants echoed this view: in 1869, the Worms Assembly applauded Bluntschli's speech in which he altered Germany to Rome's influence. The following year, a congress meeting in Wartbourg heard the same speaker announce the approach of a great struggle in the defense of science and freedom![370]

Immediately after the Treaty of Frankfort war was openly declared against the Church. Bavaria asked for a law that would punish priests guilty of "imperiling the public peace" by slipping tendentious commentaries into their sermons. The Reichstag welcomed this request: and a new article in the penal code, voted in on November 28, 1874, made the authors of an offense so described as liable to imprisonment.[371]

The celebrated "paragraph from the throne" was a preface to the final assault. In order to fine

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368 Brother Aloysius' letter already cited. — Brother Maximianus' obituary. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes,* for September, 1908.

369 G. Hantaux, *Histoire de la fondation de la IIIe Republique*, Vol. IV., pg. 53.

370 George Goyau, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

371 Ibid., pp. 206 and 209.

tune the plan of attack, the Chancellor made use of a hardworking aide, Judge Falk, the Minister of Religion in Prussia beginning in 1872. Falk took away the Pastors' rights to inspect schools.

Then, in order to strike at the Jesuits, who have always and everywhere had to suffer the severest blows, the Reichstag became involved. On June 19 it voted in a law of expulsion which was ratified by the Federal Council five days later.[372] "The Society of Jesus and analogous Orders and Congregations are excluded from the territories of the Empire. They are forbidden to maintain any institution. Existing establishments will be closed within a maximum time-limit of six months. The Members of these Societies who are foreigners will be deported. As for Religious of German nationality they may be confined to residences determined by the civil authorities".

Would they now, as they had done in the past in Switzerland, claim that the Brothers of the Christian Schools "were affiliated" with the Jesuits? The question was raised during parliamentary debates. A government commissioner, before the Reichstag, gave an affirmative opinion.

In Coblenz the directors of the *Männerverein* were alarmed. The law having been promulgated of July 4, they thought that the Brothers' projects had to be preserved at all costs. To repudiate even the appearances of cooperation with the Congregations under suspicion seemed to them to be an indispensable first step. It also seemed wise to spare the national sensibilities by severing the bonds which tied the Brothers on the Rhine to France.

These two points were covered in a letter which, on August 10, Mayor Lottner, Pastor Weissbroot of St. Castor's, Pastor Roderich of Notre Dame, the Chaplain Father Meurer and a few other members of the Orphanage Committee sent to Brother Philippe. Not only must the Superior-General declare that he acknowledged no relation of dependence between his Institute and "the Jesuit Order", but he must undertake, "within the next six months", to detach the German Communities from all obedience to him, in order to allow them to live as "a distinct branch", preserving with the Motherhouse nothing but a similarity of traditions and rules.

The letter's authors did not conceal the fact that such a demand ran up against the most serious objections. It shocked the Brothers in Coblenz who proclaimed their fidelity to the head of the Congregation and they explicitly refused to perjure themselves with respect "to their holy vows". They would rather abandon — as their supporters honestly confessed — "undertakings that had been heaped with blessings."[373] Nevertheless, the Committee, the guardian of the interests of the institutions, pleaded with the Superior to impose upon his confreres the bitter pill of separation as commanded by the "laws of the land".

There was nothing to do but to wait for Brother Philippe's resolute reply. Since the period during which his predecessor, Brother Guillaume de Jésus, with a sigh, yielded to the pleadings of the clergy in Namur and, in an attempt to rescue the Belgian Brothers from persecution, temporarily abdicated the right to shelter them under his direct authority,[374] the Congregation had watched jealously over the enforcement of its "Rule of government."

In Germany, less than anywhere else, could it allow it to be brought into question. The course that political events were taking justified every misgiving. And precisely because the Church was being severely threatened, the adversary was to be given no ammunition, not even the idea

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[372] Ibid., pp. 298-299.

[373] Brother Eucharius in particular stood out among those who defended the unity of the Congregation. Life, by Brother Frederick Brug.

[374] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 566-572.

of an apparent disagreement among warriors in the same cause.

Such were the reflections that inspired the Superior-General in his letter of August 22, 1872. He wrote to the Catholics in Coblenz: "However strong my gratitude for the many sacrifices you have made in the interest of the institutions entrusted to us, and however lively my gratitude for the distinguished and kind support with which Her Majesty the Empress, your august Queen, has embraced these projects since their beginning..., it is my duty to inform you that I cannot fall into line with your proposals.

It of course absolutely true to say that our Congregation that our Congregation in no way depends upon the Society of Jesus. But if by the affiliation mentioned in the law one must understand (and this no body doubts) the identity of goals at which both Societies aim, namely the Glory of God and the salvation of souls, far from hesitating to make a statement, I proclaim aloud that such is our end."

After having thus refused to utter, however vaguely, a *vae victis!,* Brother Philippe takes up the more sensitive problem: and, in its solution, he felt all the more confident in that he had no fear concerning his confreres' intentions. There wasn't the least rift in the unity of the Institute; and just as the pontificate of Pius IX had rallied the hearts and minds of the faithful around the Holy See, so the generalate of the tenth successor of John Baptist de La Salle had cemented in an indestructible way the stone of the edifice that had been restored after the Revolution. The German Brothers, therefore, would "never" be authorized to consider themselves independent. They surely would prefer "to be sent into exile" — their highest Superior was "interiorly convinced" of it — "rather than to evade their holy obligations". Forestalling any future importunities, the letter closed with the following declaration: "Any new venture involving me will completely fail."[375]

The Katholisher Mannerverein was not unaware of the reasons for this superb intransigence. All it did was to ask the Director of Kemperhof to send the Prussian government a copy of the Congregation's Rule so that there might be no ambiguity as to its meaning. But, in fact, which article of the Rule could lead one to the conclusion that the Brothers did not enjoy total autonomy with respect to other Religious Orders? The document itself was sufficient without there being any need to deny a solidarity of ends and efforts with the Jesuits. Nevertheless, the civil authorities clung to a suspicion: the German edition of the Rule that had been presented to them was several years old; and, dating from before the Chapter of 1861, it included the decisions of that Assembly in the form of handwritten additions. These notes gave rise to skeptical interrogations. To put a stop to these, the government was given the most recent French edition in which all of the regulations actually in force were printed. From that point on there was no longer any talk of applying the legislation of July 4 to the Brothers' Institute.[376]

Kemperfhof, furthermore, continued to profit from special treatment, since the government was not unaware of the attentions of the Imperial Patronesse. While public instruction was to be forbidden to Religious Congregations in Prussia and while private schools would have to submit to rigorous control, these measures — the Minister of Public Education declared in a decision of December 22 — did not involve "the orphanage, the agricultural school nor the residence school" that had been founded outside of Coblenz.[377]

However, it was nothing but a respite. The winds of persecution had been blowing too violently not to sweep aside everything in their way. The full blast of the storm arose at the beginning of 1873. On January 17, in the Chamber of the Landtag, the materialist Virchow, the "enemy of God and of Christ" hurled the word *Kulturkampf;* the German spirit, in his view,

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375 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q2. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November, 1908.

376 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for November, 1908.

377 Ibid.

was fighting for civilization against the powers of darkness and reaction. *Kulturkampf!* Fanatics would heed this cry, loaded with hatred and it would enter into history[378]

It remained the earmark of Bismarkian politics for seven years. We need not enter into detail concerning the laws by which Major Seminaries were placed under State supervision, Junior Seminaries were closed, theological instruction was assigned to universities, lay courts were given jurisdiction over ecclesiastical trials, bishops' authority over the clergy severely curtailed, appointments to Church offices were subjected to the pleasure of the government and marriage was transformed into a purely civil ceremony. The conscience of the faithful was revolted, and the episcopacy organized resistance against the administration. The Chancellor responded with prison sentences and removals from office.[379] Parishes and dioceses were stripped of their pastors. Several fell under the administration of "Commissioners" appointed by Berlin. When Pius IX condemned these intrusions, these impious deeds, Germany withdrew its representative at the Holy See. The quarrel between the Pontiff and the Empire became inflamed, as during the days of the *Hohenstauffins.*

Catholic resoluteness did not falter; and in the end it would put an end to anti-religious activities and gradually weaken the odious "May Laws". Nothing foreshadowed such a peace during the times in which so much destruction had accumulated and when the expulsion of various Religious Orders, pigeonholed as "Jesuit", went on apace. In spite of Bavaria's momentary defense of the Redemptorists and Sax's pleading the cause of the Fathers of the Holy Spirit, it was decided in the Federal Council on May 13, 1873 that both Congregations had to leave Reich soil. The Vincentians, the Madames of the Sacred Heart were, in turn, also struck down by ostracism. The expulsion of other Congregations was only temporarily postponed.[380]

A decree of April 7 had required the Brothers in Burtscheid to close their school.[381] It was a melancholy warning for the institutions in the Rhineland. Prudence dictated that a refuge be found in a foreign country, which turned out to be Henri-Chapelle in Belgium, an old mansion that had been called "Josephsthal". It was there that Brother Gottfried brought the novices; in this way the future was protected, and budding vocations were tended in peaceful surroundings.

But the axe had been applied to the trunk of a vigorous tree. The Superiors of the Congregation prepared to listen for the sounds of the blows that would bring down the District of Germany. By calling him to Himself, God spared Brother Philippe if not the anxiety of anticipation at least the pain of the tragedy.

On May 31, 1875, seventeen months after the great Superior's death, a law was promulgated that required all Catholic Congregations, except those dedicated to the care of the sick, to remove themselves from Prussian territory. They were allowed a grace-period of no more than six months. Educational institutions, however, might seek a longer postponement.

It was the sole hope that remained to those who supported Kemperhof, beginning with the Empress herself. Careful to avoid overly displeasing Her Majesty, Falk personally inspected the school. No matter how sectarian one might have thought the Minister to be, his understanding had to be recognized as well as the interest he took in studies and the desire

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[378] Goyau, op. cit., pg. 392.

[379] The Bishop of Trèves, Matthias Eberhard, in whose diocese the Brothers resided, was among the courageous men whom Bismarck jailed.

[380] Goyau, op. cit., Vol. II, pg. 14.

[381] Brother Gottfried's obituary, 1893 and *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1939.

which, on several occasions, he showed in paying tribute to the marvelous role of the Brothers. He attended several classes in the orphanage and in the residence school; and he praised the Brothers in ways, which, surely, were not wanting in sincerity: “I have rarely come across”, he said, a school that is so well maintained. Impartiality and the experience he picked up in the course of his career and, doubtless, the deference he owed the work of a distinguished and powerful princess, dictated this language. He figured among the oppressors who wreathed their victims in flowers. As long as the law allowed him, he spared the Brothers in Coblenz, which is to say for four years. May 1, 1879 marked the end of the first phase of the Brothers work on the banks of the Rhine and, on this most inhospitable day, of the departure for Belgium of theReligious personnel and of 200 pupils.[382]

[382] Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for November, 1908. — And the Life of Brother Eucharius. — The Kulturkampf was extended into countries annexed through the Treaty of Frankfort. In Metz the two Communal schools operated by the Brothers on Taison Street and on Mazelle Street were taken from them in 1873. An order to close also struck down several private schools. The German authorities accused the Brothers for belonging to a foreign Congregation. Unavailingly, the city government in Metz pleaded that they had citizens’ rights. Brother Hilaris, Director of the Community, and well thought of in the city since 1840, grappled with the annoyances and endured one court case after another so as avoid totally fleeing the place. With his two assistant (and thirty pupils who would rapidly become one-hundred-and-twenty), he succeeded in saving the school in the St. Vincent neighborhood. It was the last survivor, miraculously afloat, of an enterprise which had once included four schools, in which twenty-four Brothers taught 1,800 pupils. Nor was the Beauregard residence school spared. Inspector Remmer and Schulrat Schmit show up there in 1874. Remmer claimed that he had witness a lack of discipline among the pupils. He heard them laughing when the Schulrat was speaking in German to one of their classmates who didn’t understand German. On June 8, the Director was called upon gradually to eliminate French beginning with the lower grades. He failed to do anything about it. Schmit returned on August 10, seething: "Mr. Director, you shall hear from me presently!" On August 20, the school was closed. Brother Athanasius moved it to Longuyon in France. (Brother Hilaris’ Obituary, 1906; *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September, 1907 and for April, 1939.

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While the Reich banished the Brothers, the Germanic world was not lost to them. Not only did they continue to find recruits in Germany, from where vocations spilled out over the border and friendships which would patiently pave the way for a return; but sixteen years before the Kulturkampf the District of Germany gave birth to the District of Austria. The schools of the two countries had from the outset been subject to the same incentives and remained united under the same authority. The history of the Institute in Central Europe forms an indivisible whole. The tide created by Catholic propaganda in German language countries followed its natural bent down the Rhine valley toward the Valley of the Danube. When political disruption forced it to go underground in the areas dominated by Prussia, it still flowed under the clear sky of the Hapsburg empire.

Far from setting up obstacles in its way, the ancient dynasty itself was not slow to trace out a rather broad route for it. On this occasion it had not abandoned its fastidious bureaucratic practices of somewhat inept supervision. It had not, however, misunderstood the value of Christian education and the assistance contributed to it by De La Salle's disciples for a pacifying and civilizing effect on its people.

Informal steps had preceded, however unsuccessfully, the government's initiative. On November 8, 1854 Brother Modeste informed the Motherhouse concerning a letter written from Austria by Father Holtmann, a Vicar from Coblenz. The latter, the previous year, had gone to Vienna, where he had collected funds for novitiate in the Rhineland. As a consequence, the attention of some distinguished people had been attracted to a Congregation that was in a position to be very helpful to both Church and State. A resident of Vienna, Count Odonele, had discussions on this subject with the fund-gathering priest, who set before him a detailed plan: — namely, the opening of a novitiate in the Austrian capital and the start-up of a orphanage which a Society called "St. Severin" was to finance and the control of which was to be placed in the hands of the Brothers.

The Superior-general and his Assistants did not view this project as a practicable one. Efforts at Coblenz were still too fresh in mind for prudence to fail to be cautious regarding far-away ventures. Brother Modeste handed on the Motherhouse's negative response to Father Holtmann, who was moved to write to Count Odonele: the time was ripe, he thought, for the Brothers to penetrate the domain of Franz-Joseph who, after revolutionary uprisings and civil wars, had gained the upper hand. His consolidated power justified an optimistic view of the future. The Church had no longer to fear obstacles: a Concordat was to be negotiated with Rome, which was to do away with what had survived of "Josephism", recognize the rights of Bishops, especially regarding schools. In this connection, considerable effort would be demanded, since "education was backward", a disquieting amount of religious ignorance was in evidence, and everywhere there was a lack of "good teachers". Father Holtmann concluded that the Institute was facing an urgent obligation.[383]

In spite of this position, Brother Philippe postponed his decision. He needed a guarantee stronger than the promise of an isolated foundation, the goodwill of a few individuals and the sanguine assurances of the German priest. However, by 1856 the enterprise had taken a new course.

The Austrian Prime Minister, Baron de Bach, tended to agree with the policies that had been adopted by Catholic circles. He was relying upon the clergy to preserve order. The 1855 Concordat had taken effect. As a consequence, there was nothing surprising about the favorable hearing that the friends of the Brothers had encountered at the hands of the

[383] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8.

government; since what was being sought was the Christian renewal of the nation, why not call upon a teaching Congregation that was very highly regarded? It would be given an opportunity to demonstrate the excellence of its methods, if a beginning was made by employing the services of some of its members.

Conversations between Vienna and Paris were initiated. Bach dealt with the Superior-general diplomatically, as one power with another. The intermediary was Baron Ottenfels who, at the time, was filling in as the Austrian ambassador to the French Empire. After several discussions, Ottenfels, on September 5, 1856, wrote to Brother Philip that, since his government's purpose was "to put the direction of orphanages and foundling homes in the hands of the Brothers of the Christian Schools", he asked the Superior-general immediately to send a proxy to deal with the Prime Minister.

The Visitor of Germany was appointed to this mission. In fact, he was to play an extremely active role in these circumstances. But with him there was to set out — as supreme plenipotentiary — one of the Assistants, Brother Amos. Ottenfels supplied them with a letter of introduction to Baron de Bach.

The two Brothers could only congratulate themselves on the welcome they received in Vienna. Nevertheless, they confined themselves to a simple exchange of views. On October 27, in a letter thanking the Prime Minister, it remained only for the Superior-general to hope that his confreres might be entrusted with either a primary school or an orphanage along with buildings whose extent and arrangements would facilitate the existence of a novitiate.

A member of the Imperial Counsel, Weiss, was appointed to continue the negotiations. His letters inform us that the Cardinal-Archbishop of Vienna had said that he was prepared to set aside a residence for the Brothers in his junior seminary and that the Archduke Maximilian assumed part of the expenses for their travel. Finally, on March 19, 1857, the situation was quite clear: "When the Brothers shall arrive in Austria, the direction of the boys in the imperial orphanage will be given to them."[384]

The residence in which the group from Germany was to call home had had a long history; founded by Empress Maria Theresa, for more than a century it been housing school-boys. But it had also been a genuinely "imperial and royal" orphanage, and it bore its dual function with pride. It was there that distinguished educators, like Vierthaler, had earlier cared for the pupils of the monarchy. But the school had since drifted toward decline. It required all the virtue and competence of De La Salle's disciples, of Brother Modeste and Brother Otto, of Brother Mainaudin, and later on of Brother Eucherius, of blessed memory, to restore energy and revive enthusiasm.[385] But what the new teachers needed before all else was a giant injection of patience. The contract that had been worked out in April between the Statthalter of the province and signed on May 6, 1857 left the Brothers in an ancillary position. Called "Inspectors", their functions included "presiding over the children's religious devotions, supervising the dormitories, the refectory, recreation and study halls ... in a word, contributing to the preservation of order."[386] Actually, they were considered as a squad of auxiliary police officers. The lay-director of the institution had retained his role; and there was just one Brother who was in contact with him and who transmitted the counsels and instructions of this exalted individual to the other seven Brothers. Meanwhile, the teaching body, too, remained unchanged.

Of course, this was nothing more than a temporary *modus vivendi*. The contract's essential

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384 Support for everything in the above account is founded upon documents contained in File ID q3.

385 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1933.

386 File cited.

articles mentioned only the use of available space, compensation schedules and the provision of food. The Brothers urged the opening of a novitiate as soon as possible. Once they had succeeded in making themselves known and in recruiting, their position would change.

Meanwhile, that position appeared precarious. There was a certain amount of mistrust, indeed, of hostility. They were given very few opportunities to function as educators. Keeping them under control and adopting toward them an attitude of undisguised prejudice, an effort was made to disparage them in the eyes of the pupils. Discipline, which had already been badly undermined, could not be reestablished in an atmosphere of confrontation.[387] If a suitable readjustment was not quickly found, the misunderstood teachers would consider their presence as useless. Why should they have been called from such a very great distance? All that they were asking was to take control of the orphanage. And until that happened, they would seem like intruders in the institution. They could not even start planing future enterprises, since, every evening, once their daily duties were completed, for the want of their own residence, they became the guests of the Redemptorist Fathers.

These were the arguments that Brother Modeste exploited. He upbraided the administration for its delays. And on August 17, 1858 a new agreement was concluded between "between the Statthalterei of southern Austria and the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Vienna".

"This Congregation, in the person of the Brother Visitor, beginning next October 1, shall assume responsibility for the imperial and royal orphanage along with the school attached to that institution". It was to conduct the primary classes; for as long as the upper grades were handled by other teachers, nothing was to be done there without consultation with the Brother Director. Instruction, books and methods were not to depart from the educational system in vogue in Austria. The Brothers were to find jobs for finishing pupils, carefully select their employers and continue to be in contact with apprentices. The Statthalter, furthermore, did not abdicate its rights: its delegates were to inquire into the education, schooling and health of the orphans."[388]

This time the term "take possession" mentioned in the document seemed to be operative. Brother Modeste demanded and got the transfer of the building that was necessary for both the Community and for the novitiate. The period of experimentation was over. Mutual commitments on the part of the imperial administration and the Institute were declared to be of "indefinite duration", except for exceptional cancelations on both sides.

The Interior Minister granted his consent to the contract in 1858. Then a double effort was made within the institution: both disciplinary and educational reform involving the pupils, and religious and educational preparation of young men who had been admitted into the Lasallian family. Success was not to be immediate. For a long time Austrian vocations were not sufficiently numerous to dispense with the cooperation of Brothers from foreign countries. Within the orphanage reorganization did not advance without difficulties; the senior members of the teaching personnel yielded ground gradually; and annoying strategies were added to grumbling and criticism. But the new teachers held out, their influence grew and the results of their efforts became clear. Emperor Franz-Joseph wanted to see for himself. Accompanied by the Empress, he visited the entire institution: the sovereigns' approval disarmed the opposition and opened up a bright future for the Institute.[389]

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[387] Brother Otto's obituary, 1897.

[388] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8.

[389] Brother Otto's obituary.

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Great hopes were fed on applause and promises. The interest shown by Franz-Joseph I in his great-grandmother's project was quite sincere; and the Emperor's affectionate respect was never lacking to the Christian Brothers. But frequently it failed to translate into action. Prior to 1885 the political climate in the empire was, perhaps, scarcely favorable to the Congregation. The "District of Austria" began its solid growth after that date, under the direction of Brother Marianus. His first years were embraced by a period of internal struggles and wars that had ruinous consequences. Catholicism could only suffer from the defeats weathered by the Hapsburgs in 1859 and 1866; and it had nothing to gain from racial rivalries and the quarrels of political factions. The "Liberalism" which had triumphed in Vienna was its adversary; and the Ministry of 1867, and Ministry made up of lawyers and professors, did not scruple to interpret the Concordat as it pleased, in spite of Pius IX's objections. A return to "Josephism" was taking shape. And a strong reaction on the peoples' part was not something that could be counted upon.

In this troubled and intense atmosphere, the ardor of some wearied, and ventures veered sharply. In 1868 a welfare committee asked the Brothers to take charge of a prison in Penzing, near Vienna. Brother Otto, appointed Director, applied his efforts toward the moral correction of the prisoners. Suddenly there was a change in the make-up of the sponsoring committee, a consequent change of policy, and the Brothers were obliged to withdraw. Disorders followed their departure, which was quickly deplored; but it had become impossible to undo the damage.[390]

In contrast, the persistence of Anton and Jacob Lang seemed all the more commendable. These two men, who had been modest craftsmen who had succeeded in becoming wealthy, determined to employ their fortune in a Christian way; and they placed in the service of their fellow workers. They might very well be acknowledged as the precursors of Catholic social action. In Fünhaus, in the Vienna suburbs, they founded associations of apprentices, workers and foremen. They were concerned to shape the professional conscience as well as to combat destitution and sickness. Quite spontaneously they were attracted to the needs of the very young; and in 1869 they founded a school for boys. They fitted out a handsome and spacious site, furnished at their own expense and asked the Brother Visitor of Austria to send them five Brothers. The institution, frequented by about a hundred children (and, over and above that, on Sundays, by about fifty adults), realized the expectations of its benefactors, who were quick to look upon it as their favorite undertaking. A few years later, they enlarged it; and, then, with the approach of old age, they arranged to transfer the ownership of the building in Fünhaus to the Institute.[391] I

In Anton and Jacob Lang found themselves a peaceful asylum, and a refuge in moments of awkward setbacks. And in 1872 their situation in Vienna had once again turned perplexing. Conflicts arose between the Director of the Orphanage and the Statthalterei.

The causes were interference on the part of the civil administration, bureaucratic niggardliness in matters of finance and disagreement with regard to the Foundation's internal administration.

A flourishing interval had followed upon the reorganization in 1858. The talents of the Director appointed by Brother Modeste figured profoundly in much of this prosperity: Brother Mainaudin — Francis Xavier Pfitzner — a Pole by birth, an enterprising personality and a beaming optimist, knew how to arrange things, manoeuvre and control. He reconciled the

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390 Ibid.

391 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q9. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1930.

arrangements of the Court and the city; he was stood in well with the Emperor, and he won the ear of the bureaucrats. Besides the orphans in his school he succeeded in introducing paying resident pupils, who were provided with a rather extensive educational program.

In December, 1867 the Superiors called Brother Mainaudin to another task and replaced him with Brother Vincentius in the Austrian capital. Perhaps the new Director was both less flexible and possessed of less prestige. In any case, he seems to have been resented in high places and to have been perceived as in want of a better understanding of the material needs and educational requirements of his institution.

As all his efforts proved unavailing, he decided to issue an ultimatum. Along about September of 1872 he informed the Statthalter of southern Austrian that the Brothers were going to leave the orphanage.

Before adopting such a tactic, he should have consulted the Régime. His hasty decision prompted astonishment, anxiety and some scandal. Brother Vincentius was immediately replaced by Brother Gottfried. Letters from Brother Philippe and Brother Amos to Emperor Franz-Joseph and to the Minister of the Interior repudiated the over-bold Director and pleaded that nothing be done on the spur of the moment.[392]

Nevertheless, the difficulties were not ironed out. Five months passed under the continuing fear that a final rupture was inevitable. Abruptly in March of 1873 Brother Mainaudin appeared in Vienna; and his friends and confreres were informed. He had not asked for permission to make the journey; and, as he wrote to Brothers Assistants Amos and Beaudime, he believed that he alone as the "founder" was in a position to save the situation.[393]

While the gesture could not be fully condoned, it deserved to be allowed to take its course. In fact, Brother Mainaudin was given all the room he needed to operate. He inquired, interceded and negotiated; and by August 18 he had obtained an understanding with the government concerning the conditions under which the Institute would retain the direction of the imperial institution.

He won an increase in the *per diem* sum paid by the State for each orphan. The maximum number of pupils was to be determined annually. For 1873 the maximum figure was 376. The admission of paying resident pupils was authorized depending upon the amount of available space. The over-all budget was to take into account the receipts and expenses of this type of pupil with a view to determining the amount of the subsidy.

Financial questions were carefully defined. But concerning the relations between the Congregation and the civil authority, the semi-official negotiator yielded on important points. Tenure, for instance, was to be granted only to Austrian, or naturalized, Brothers, provided, furthermore, that they were equipped with a teaching certificate. The removal of the Director could not be effected without the prior approval of the Statthalter. After 1867, this latter point became grounds for litigation.

It is easy to account for the reason why Brother Mainaudin did not wish to press this point: he was too involved personally. The Superiors, however, thought the demands of the bureaucrats unacceptable; what would be the Superiors' power if a secularized administration placed a curb on their decisions and successfully inserted themselves between them and their confreres?

However, no one disputed the provisional character of the terms arrived at on August 18. They were supposed to serve as the centerpiece for discussions conducted by Brother Philippe's official representative. Letters from the Superior-general to Archbishop von Rauscher of Vienna and to Statthalter Chorinsky preceded the mission of Brother Assistant

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[392] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8, letters dated October 1872.

[393] Ibid., letter of March 10, 1873.

Renaux and Brother Marianus, who had only just added to his rôle in Belgium the task of visiting the German and Austrian Communities.

On December 16 the Brother Assistant wrote to Paris that the governor of the province had welcomed him and his companion quite graciously. This friendliness was not just a matter of pure form, but revealed a real desire for conciliation. The agreement could be modified in accordance with the wishes of the Régime: it went without saying that if the Director who was appointed had to be *persona grata* with the administration, his eventual change would meet with no obstacle. Concerning teachers, Chorinsky accepted the employment of foreign Brothers. But this item became a stumbling-block when the contract, signed on December 20, was presented two weeks later for the Minister's ratification. A settlement was suggested: in the case in which Austrian Brothers with teaching certificates were not sufficiently numerous, the Brothers might receive lay-teachers (who were also citizens) to help them with the classes.

On February 6, 1874 the integral contract raised no difficulties for the Assistants who, since Brother Philippe's death, had been handling particularly urgent matters.[394] Henceforth, the Institute, consolidated in Vienna, would courageously shoulder the burden of new tasks.

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Between 1861 and 1871 it ventured beyond the Empire's frontiers. For the first time Rumania set eyes on the Brothers with the white rabats, who had come there from German lands. A far-off post associated with the bastion of central Europe, the school in Bucharest proved that a desire for a missionary apostolate inspired Brother Philippe's forces everywhere. The tiny advanced-guard, sent ahead to reconoitre the Lower Danube, struggled for a few years — long enough for the Rumanians to remember the Brothers and gladly consent to see them return.

What was at stake was a foundation (the outset, quite modest) that had been sought by a Catholic prelate for his flock — a few thousand faithful among a people whom the Greek Schism had kept separated from Rome. He was Bishop Angelo Parsi, "Bishop of Nicopolis, administrator of Walachia", an Italian Passionist Father, who knew the work of the Brothers in his homeland. And, then, his situation at the threshold of the Austro-Hungarian Empire placed him within the sphere of influence of a government which endeavored to support Catholicism in eastern Europe. Bishop Parsi, then, had opportunities to go to Vienna, where in 1860 he visited the school directed by Brother Mainaudin. Immediately he set out to provide this sort of teacher for the children in his "Episcopal school".

Informed by Brother Modest, the Superior-general was not indifferent to the request. At the time, the Romanian principalities of Walachia and Moldavia had earned a great deal of public attention: nominally subject to the Turks, they had remained practically unscathed by contact with Islam. The great powers, assembled at the Congress of Paris in 1856, had determined upon the reorganization of the two sister-provinces. Napoleon III, who was always partial to nationalities, had suggested bringing the Rumanians together into a single state. He ran into opposition from Turkey and Austria — the former which exercised control over the provinces and the latter which was not at all interested in creating problems for itself along its Transylvanian frontier. Nevertheless, under the aegis of France and through the indomitable determination of elected assemblies, Romania was born.

Since 1858 Walachians and Moldavians were virtually united. They had only to select their ruler and proclaim their existence as a nation. This restoration of a people deserved to be noted and encouraged. They spoke a language derived from Latin and they retained recollections of ancient Roman colonization. It was for the West, then, to take a step in the direction of their

394 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8.

new-found brothers.

Their country was far from pleasing or prosperous. The on-going battlefield for the Russians and the Ottomans, time-and-again armies had ravaged and ruined it. Its forests had been cutdown; it village were miserable conglomerations to thatch-roofed huts. The peasants possessed neither furniture nor table-ware and cultivated fragments of soil that belonged to their lords.

We get a glimpse of the picture in the unpublished report that Brother Modeste left entitled Itinerary: Vienna to Bucharest.[395] In April 1861 he had received an order from Brother Philippe to go and have an on-site discussion with Bishop Parsi. The Franz-Joseph government viewed this effort favorably, because it believed that it might increase its political influence by means of the Christian Brothers in Austria. It promised a subsidy through the Foreign Affairs budget, and other gifts were subscribed to by Viennese benefactors.

The Institute's delegate and his companion, Brother Wenceslaus, embarked on April 29 to go down the Danube as far as Roustchouk. And then a very uncomfortable horse and carriage transported them over-land to Bucharest. This capital of Walachia seemed a very strange city to them: — completely eastern, with its dirty streets, its low-lying houses, and its population dressed in striped clothing; and, yet, against a squalid and somewhat barbarous background, here and there, there emerged evidences of elegance and opulence: — the Palace of the "Boyards", theaters, stores and dashing carriages bouncing over ruts in the streets. Bucharest was already showing signs of a magnificent future. It had turned to France for models for its own intellectual and social life. And, under the aegis of Prince Alexander Couza, it was setting itself up to become the symbol for Romanian liberation and renewal.

Nevertheless, the two travelers were not favorably impressed with what they saw, or with what was reported to them, of the moral and religious condition of the masses. Even Bishop Parsi's school incurred their stern judgment: the children, under the tutelage of lay-teachers, were devoid of discipline and wallowed in ignorance.

This Bishop received his guests kindly and entertained them for ten days, from May 2 through 12. In discussing the details of the contract, his desire to accommodate and his generosity greatly affected the Brother Visitor. It was agreed to begin classes on the 15th of the following September.

Brother Wenceslaus was named to direct the institution. But once the agreement had been concluded and the preparatory arrangements had begun, Brother Modeste recalled him temporarily to Vienna.

On October 11, when, after a delay of several weeks, a team of three Christian Brothers arrived to begin the work, Bishop Parsi was no longer in Bucharest. Failing health forced the missionary Bishop to return to Italy. Hospitalized in his native city of Civita-Vecchia, he died there on February 24, l863. His vicar-general, Father Augustine Bernardoni, fulfilled the late Bishop's purposes until the arrival of his successor, Bishop Pluym, in November, 1863.

The school-year 1861 had begun modestly with only fifty pupils. The Brothers spoke no Romanian, and, as temporary expedient, one of the former teachers lent them a hand. Two years later the entire program of studies was conducted by the Brothers. Besides Romanian, both German and Hungarian were spoken in the classes. The school population increased rapidly; so that, by 1862 it had reached 120, and 175 in the following school-year. Beginning in 1863 a fourth Brother arrived to reinforce the teaching staff. And, as early as 1864, seven Brothers were teaching 200 boys. Science, history and drawing had been added to the elementary instructional program. The school gave vocal music an important place, which enabled the members of the choir to perform beautiful renditions of the Church's chant.

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[395] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8.

The majority of the school population was Catholic. But it also included a large number of schismatics as well as a few Protestants and Jews. Non-believers did not have to show up for classes until after catechism. However, most of them preferred to assist at these lessons.

In this way the Brothers, within their humble domain, contributed to Christian civilization and to the successful development of the nation. In 1866, when the election of Prince Charles Hohenzollern had placed the final stamp on Romanian unity, the school in Bucharest seemed thoroughly consolidated. Over-and-above its 250 pupils it had admitted about fifty apprentices who required supplemental instruction.

But almost immediately a certain softness was noted in the statistics. Further, the problem of teaching personnel continued to plague the Superiors: Rumania supplied no vocations, and Austria provided too few to staff a distant mission. The isolation of a handful of men at the far end of Europe became draining.

Strapped for personnel and at a loss in the selection of a Director, Brother Philippe decided to discontinue the experiment. On July 29, 1871 he announced to the Apostolic Administrator, Bishop Ignatius Paoli, the withdrawal of the Brothers. At this time, the French Brothers were unable to contemplate replacing their German confreres. Until further notice, then, this was the end of the project.[396]

[396] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q2 and LI h.

Chapter Four

England

In 1855 the Brothers once again, crossing the Channel, came to grip with a people hostile to the Roman Church. They were making no claims for an easy conquest; without fear of error, they had reason to believe that their work in England would for a long time remain unassuming and that their recruitment would scarcely answer to the needs of Christian education. Sought out by a few courageous apostles, they refused to run away and hide. Since Catholicism "was being reborn" in Great Britain, once called "the island of saints", the Institute of John Baptist de La Salle must also attempt to flourish there.

The celebrated "Oxford Movement", having introduced many Protestants to Catholic rites and dogmas, succeeded in bringing a number of them, and not the least remarkable among them, to the point of complete submission.[397] We mention here only the two most famous names, those of two Anglican ministers, one a profound thinker and the other a great man of action and both destined eventually to be made Cardinals, Newman and Manning.

John Henry Newman left Anglicanism in 1845, and the following year became a Roman priest; in 1847 in Birmingham he organized a priestly group on the model of St. Philip Neri's Italian Oratory. Henry Edward Manning, who at first was surprised by his friend's decision and told him he thought it was "a sin",[398] was making his own way toward submission to the Holy See: in December 1850, nobly and courageously, he parted company with his fellow Anglicans; and on April 6, 1851, he took the final step.[399] And after having spent three years in Rome and received Holy Orders with the view making another, valid, start in his priestly career, he founded the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles.

An Englishman and a Catholic both by birth and public profession, himself a priest and as keenly dedicated to the Papacy as he was profoundly British in sentiment and style, Bishop Wiseman had been the catalyst in these reconciliations. While some individuals, timorous and accustomed to huddle in the shadows, looked upon the people of the Oxford Movement with suspicion, and while the Apostolic Pro-vicar for London, Bishop Griffiths, gave the new converts a rather chilly reception, Wiseman opened his arms and his heart to them. Through the scope of his intelligence and the boldness and the breadth of his views, he gained an influence that daily grew more profound.[400] Beginning as president of Oscott College, in August 1847 he succeeded Bishop Griffiths; and with the death of Bishop Walsh in 1849, he became Vicar-apostolic.

The sometime convergent, sometime parallel efforts of Wiseman, Newman and, presently of Manning, would rescue the Catholic Church in England from the humiliating situation, the semi-slumber, into which it had been cast by three centuries of persecution. Since 1829 Catholics had enjoyed the rights of citizenship: the "Catholic Emancipation Act" had allowed

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[397] See Paul Thureau-Dangin's three volumes entitled *la Penaissance catholique en Angleterre au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1899-1906.

[398] Ibid., op. cit., Vol. II, pg. 87.

[399] Ibid., pp. 218-226.

[400] Ibid., pp. 2-4.

them to vote, to become Members of Parliament, to become officials, if not Prime Minister or king! They included in their number people of distinction and several members of higher aristocracy; and their clergy was not without merit. But prolonged suffering had induced a sort of paralysis, and a transfusion of new blood seemed urgently necessary.

Wiseman, henceforth the most important individual in this circle, understood that it was not enough to preserve the tradition, to live off memories. Beyond the Channel, religious Congregations had been destroyed: he would re-establish them, and put their zeal to work. In this connection, he could only approve of the enterprise of the great converts. In only two years, he himself had introduced about ten religious communities into his diocese;[401] and we shall see that he was not unaware of the appeals that would be made to the Brothers.

But before the latter took any firm decisions, a squall assailed English Catholics, without, however, inducing disaster and without actually compromising plans for vast undertakings. In July 1848, the inauguration of St. George's church in Southwark — the largest structure for Roman Catholic worship built in the London region since the 16th century — had testified, even in the eyes of Protestants, the progress that had been achieved.

Perhaps the time had come for England to emerge from an ecclesiastical administration intended for missionary countries. Wiseman for the first time intervened with the Holy see for a normal hierarchy to replace the eight apostolic vicariates. Events in Italy had postponed a decision. But, finally, in a Brief dated September 29, 1850, Pius IX established twelve Bishoprics and an Archbishopric. The promoter of this proposal and the skillful and zealous pastor of the tiny London flock was made Archbishop of Westminster and a Cardinal.

From Rome, where he had conducted the negotiations, he wrote a letter to his flock that resounded in triumphant rhetoric. In the climate of Great Britain it produced the flashes and the rumbling of a storm which the Cardinal, at his desk ("near the Flamminian Gate") had not anticipated. As early as October 14 an extremely violent article appeared in the Times. And then the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, entered the arena: writing to the Anglican Bishop of Durham, in a letter that was made public, he vented his "indignation": in his view the Pope's gesture constituted an offense to the Crown and to the English Church.

Ancient passions were stimulated. There were clamorous demonstrations, and priests were insulted on the streets. Would there be return to the persecutions of the 16th and 17th centuries? No: the loyalty of Catholics and the wisdom of statesmen had put an end to all that. All that was needed to restore calm was Wiseman's own frank explanation: his "Appeal to the English People", a pamphlet published on November 19, allayed misunderstandings, won over public opinion and encouraged the faithful at an extremely disconcerting time.[402] Meanwhile, this entire anti-Roman agitation had produced on Manning the effect of a liberating blow; no longer did he hesitate to locate the weak link in his position. Welcomed on the day of his submission by the Cardinal-Archbishop in St. George's church, he attested to the victory of the true faith, and he assumed the guise of the conqueror's greatest reward.

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A new era had opened up for the apostolate, and thoughtful, charitable people were certain of it. The Superior-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools belonged to that small group that was concerned not only to consolidate but to expand the Heavenly Father's kingdom. During these years he might have been seen more frequently than ever bent over the map of the world, looking for places suitable for the expansion of the Christian Schools. In November

401 Ibid., pp. 23-24.

402 Ibid., pp. 199 et sq.

1853, during the course of a meeting of the Régime, Brother Philippe expressed the wish of establishing the Congregation in the British Isles. His immediate intentions might be summarized as follows: to provide the sons of French families residing in London with the means of studying under the guidance of Religious teachers; similarly to assure parents who sent their children from France to learn English in that country and who frequently said they were obliged to send them to Protestant schools; finally, to open up for the Brothers a center of study where teachers in resident schools or Brothers who were being prepared for missions in the Far East could come to finish their language training.[403]

These were the themes proposed for the Assistants' reflection, the groundwork for a preparatory study. Experience would later on justify a more searching inquiry. It was already a great deal to have been able calmly to stake out the road that one was going to built. English law and custom guaranteed teachers the broadest freedom of action. During the first third of the 19th century the government still observed a policy of detachment respecting public education; it left it in the hands of societies which, by means of voluntary gifts, supported schools: the two chief societies were called the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society.

In 1832 the State began to intervene. A sum of $20,000 was budgeted in order to assist parishes or associations which were building schools. It was a cautious, nearly timid, gesture that suggested an official generosity that remained entirely respectful of private initiatives. But at the same time it was a too ineffectual and casual encouragement successfully to bring about a change of policy. It was necessary to wait until 1839 to record the birth of a new central agency: in the Queen's Privy Counsel a committee was formed which was to control the distribution of subsidies. Its "Inspectors", in conjunction with school administrators, were to be restricted to deciding the most judicious use of funds; instruction, discipline, and indeed financial administration escaped their oversight.

This, in embryo, was the Department of Public Education. And it took shape only very slowly. Later on, the Committee sought to stimulate teaching vocations and to improve the recruitment of this social category: it granted scholarships to student-teachers, and it lent its support for a privately founded normal school. It devised a certificate of competency for elementary school teachers, but without, at first, demanding this diploma of beginners in the teaching profession.

As industrial growth gave rise to expanded urban populations and as, at the same time, it inspired a more urgent demand for education, England had increasingly to face the inevitable: the intervention of public authority, if illiteracy was to be everywhere stamped out. The spirit of the nation, however, remained faithful it its ancient liberties. Whigs and Tories, both of the great political parties feared the influence of the State on mind and conscience. And it was only with a great deal of caution and by fits-and-starts, so to speak, that the government ventured into the field of education. There was nothing systematic in this development; and there was no single instance of a general educational reform or a new program of studies. The only thing that happened was the expansion of the central authority's inspection powers over various kinds of school.

In 1852 in the Labor Ministry was created the Department of Practical Art. During the following year a branch was added "for science". And beginning in 1856 the entire system was attached to the Committee for Education, which then was given the name the Department of Education.[404]

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[403] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1929.

[404] F. Buisson, *Nouveau dictionnaire de pédagogie*, 1911, article by Michael E. Sadler on England. — Max Leclerc, *l'Éducation des classes moyennes et dirigeantes in Angleterre*, Paris, 1894, pp. 208, 209.

Besides encouragement, the government handed out subsidies. It sought to increase the number of private foundations and to develop the most promising ones. And even if upstarts wanted to open schools, no one stood in their way — regardless of the lack of diplomas and in spite of notorious incompetence. It was for the consumer to judge and select. Many, of course, did not have the discernment that was needed; and not infrequently small farmers and businessmen, victims of inflated advertising, entrusted their sons to fraudulent teachers. They were looking for a school that provided practical instruction, something other than the Grammar schools, which taught nothing but Latin and Greek. There were charlatans who promised to provide the "sons of gentlemen" with an education, described as "superior", that also conformed to the wishes of families. They flattered peoples' vanity and inspired a vision of hopes about to be realized; people only took the bait and fell into the trap.[405]

This was the ugly side of a policy termed "fair-play". But we should not underrate its advantages. As one of the teachers pointed out,[406] as a consequence of the government's absence, "there was no artificial or unvarying model imposed from above on the English schools", which, in a certain sense, "continued to be a prolongation of life in the home", whose "prejudices, no doubt, they sometimes shared". But they also preserved "their healthy and manly traditions", an upright and sturdy concept of human existence.

Thus, without dwelling upon the shoddy quality of a large number of schools, we have to acknowledge the excellent results obtained. Groups of citizen strove to satisfy that tendency of the British character to mistrust generalizations and to embrace what is secure and practical. During the 19th century we witness the creation of "proprietary schools", the products of joint stock companies which, by way of financial and professional guarantees, offered the public a more contemporary school program and better adapted to the needs of the middle class than the old fashioned classes in grammar and the elements.[407]

While educational guidelines were taking shape, the State was becoming more aware of its own role. As early as 1862 it had ceased to be satisfied with being a benevolent provider of funds; it began to attached certain very clearly defined conditions to its generosity, such as class size and attendance, success in examinations and teachers' diplomas.

This development lead to the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which came out of the Forster Bill. The statesman who inspired this legislation opened a new road for his countrymen and would oblige them to take a decisive step without the possibility of a backward look.

The nation was divided into school districts, in each of which constituencies an inquiry was undertaken: did the functioning schools supply the people's educational needs? If not, the Education Department would intervene and decide the number of schools that would be necessary. Their construction and maintenance would be the responsibility of the people in the district who were subject to local taxes (rate payers). To this end, those who were liable for payments were to elect a committee, or "School Board".

School Board establishments were genuine public schools, the sole beneficiaries of tax revenues. Intended for all children independent of religious affiliation, they raised the delicate problem of religious instruction for the lawmakers. Legislation stuck to an over-simplified but troublesome solution: in each district the religion of the majority was to prevail.

Parliament voted in the inclusion of the conscience clause, according to which, religious instruction was to be provided before or after classes; in this way, non-believers could

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405 Leclerc, op. cit., pp. 16, 17.

406 Bountmy, in the introduction to Leclerc's book.

407 Ibid., pg. 17.

withdraw their offspring from attendance. Furthermore, teachers were to refrain from personal dogmatism. There were to be no metaphysical or moral accounts other than exhortations drawn from the Bible.

Certainly, many believers — and especially Catholics — could not be satisfied with religious instruction reduced to these dimensions. The objection had been anticipated: the answer lay in maintaining the greatest possible freedom in educational matters. Parallel to the "Board's" institutions were the "voluntary schools", operated through the most diverse auspices: the Anglican Church opened up the largest number of these, since it did not encourage its faithful to avail themselves of schools in which religion exercised little influence. The Catholic Church also adopted this view. Subscriptions and endowments supplied the necessary capital, to which had to added school salaries — a maximum of nine pence per pupil, per week — allowed, as a general rule, as an income of rather considerable importance.

Voluntary schools received absolutely nothing from local taxes. On the other hand, they were entitled to share in State grants, provided they exercised no "confessional" constraints (religious ceremonies and courses in religious instruction were to remain at the option of families) on their pupils, and provided "her Majesty's inspectors" granted their approval to a school's administrative organization as well as to its study program.

This system worked for thirty years, until after the end of the 19th century. By restricting the school tax to the use of Board schools, it furthered the objectives of "non-conformist" sects which were indifferent or hostile to dogma, uniquely committed to the interpretation of the Bible and prepared, as a consequence, to consider public schoolteachers as at least their tacit allies. But while it left the field wide open to all sorts of proselytism, ultimately it spurred in a very special way the founding of religious schools. It has been estimated that, in the rapid growth of the school population between 1869 and 1876, the School Boards' share scarcely went beyond a third. The majority of the new pupils, therefore, frequented the voluntary schools. No doubt, many of these were not confessional schools at all, such as those that depended upon the British and Foreign Schools Society. It remains certain, however, that the Anglicans, Catholics, Jews and a few other religious denominations supplied the largest effort.

Official subsidies, instead of tax monies, contributed regular and vital assistance. In 1872 the government extended these "grants" to an altogether new sort of secondary school, which offered young people a three-year course of scientific studies. The educational setting thus underwent interesting alterations without there appearing the least desire to control minds.[408]

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Such, during the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, was the climate of affairs in England, the atmosphere within which the Brothers come from abroad would have to become familiar. While the question of an effort on Protestant soil was being weighed in Paris, Brother Philippe was entertaining a proposal which would speed up his decision. A Redemptorist, Father Reyners was at the head of mission that resided in London, in the neighborhood of Clapham. His brother, who also belonged to the Congregation of St. Alphonsus Ligouri, had struck up in Belgium a friendship with one of the Superior-general's Assistants, Brother Amos. In this way bonds were established between Clapham and Rue Oudinot. Since Father Reyners had had wind of the pending projects, he asked that Brothers be sent immediately to his region. A preliminary investigation was held: Brother Theotique undertook it in the company of the Brother Sub-Director of Passy, Brother Bartholomew. The choice of these two men indicated a desire to establish a college on foundations similar to those of the celebrated Parisian school.

The travellers reached London on May 26, 1854. Father Reyners introduced them to the

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408 .[408]Sadler, Leclerc, op. cit. — Motherhouse Archives, File ID q7.

highest Church dignitaries: Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Grant of Southwark. An interview was also arranged with Father Manning; for, since his return from Rome, the famous convert had taken a very active part in the life of the Church in Britain. It was, perhaps, at this time that Wiseman had a glimpse of his successor in this lucid and meticulous assistant.

Manning, who was a member of the London School Committee, proposed for the Brothers the direction of several elementary schools: nobody seemed to know where or how to recruit good teachers; it was for the Brothers' Institute to sow the seed!

This sort of suggestion could not be immediately accepted. Nor could the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster's offer, however seductive, of a vast and beautiful residence for the proposed college. That would have been a reckless commitment: the limited personnel at the Institute's disposal for the English project would have to make its debut unspectacularly and plough its furrow with the means that fortune would provide.

Brother Theotique insisted on this modest and wise plan of action. When, in February, 1855, Brother Bartholomew finally left Passy to undertake the project that had been contemplated, the Régime enjoined upon him to confine his attentions to the leasing of a house and for a brief period of time.

After a month spent with the Redemptorists, the Institute's representative found a building, called "Netherton House", in the neighborhood. On April 18, with the encouragement and the blessing of the Bishop of Southwark, he moved in along with Brothers Agathange, Adelman and Asclepiades.

Soon the Community included eight Brothers, seven Frenchmen, and an Irishman, Brother Francis, who had returned from America. A ninth Brother, Walter, English-speaking and who had been brought back from the other side of the Atlantic, joined the pioneer Community.

It was not too numerous for the double task demanded of it. While they were preparing to inaugurate a small-scale college, the Brothers had also to satisfy the Redemptorists by accepting the direction of the parish school. The institution, which belonged to the Fathers, admitted boys into three classes. (A Notre Dame Sister taught the girls.)

The Brothers were succeeding a lay-teacher who had the right diplomas and who was assisted by "student-teachers" who were being trained under his direction. This team, organized in conformity with the country's customs, received governmental subsidies. By inviting French Religious teachers, the sponsors could not have been unaware that they would lose this source of income. Practically, they assumed the complete support of the new teachers. It was a heavy burden which, as early as 1857 their Superior, Father Coffin, thought to be overwhelming. As a result, he wished to impose tuition on the pupils. But the Brothers replied: "We teach tuition-free!" And since they failed to convince the man who was thinking about a balanced budget, Brother Philippe's decision put an end to this phase of their mission.

The elementary school in Clapham, placed in the Institute's hands on July 12, 1855, remained under their direction for only two and a half years. The college was to experience a very different future.

It was opened three weeks after the primary school in Netherton House, which was the residence for the entire Community. During the first days only four students registered. By the following autumn that figure had grown somewhat. The project seemed to have surprised the local population. And it incited the anger of journalists who demanded that these "papists monks, camping boldly at the gates of the capital in order to corrupt English youth" be punished! In these words was the spirit which, five years earlier, had inspired the Protestant polemic on the occasion of the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England.

The Brothers were not excessively surprised. When they were better known, these superficial squalls would subside. Their school prospectus stated their purposes clearly: in this secondary residence school: "the effort would be made to inculcate habits of order and good manners; above all, the aim would be to make students good Christians, respectful sons and useful

members of society. The study program includes religion, Bible history, reading, writing, English grammar and composition, geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, bookkeeping, introduction to physics, chemistry and biology, drawing, the French and German languages, and, optionally, an introduction to Italian and Spanish."

On the whole, these were the same courses which at one time had been taught at St. Yon, Angers, Marseille and — during our period — were being taught at Béziers and at Passy. They were a fortunate importation, a fortunate adaptation, to British soil. We have already pointed out how this style of instruction suited the temperaments and the needs of the British people. Many efforts had been attempted along the same lines; and all of them were neither shams nor blunders. But, in Catholic circles, there was a serious void: the Jesuits and the Benedictines presented their program of classical humanism to the sons of the aristocracy and the affluent middle class, while the children of the people attended the parochial school. Between the two, prior to the Brothers, there was nothing. It was they who, in London, were to realize exactly the work the initial model for which had been provided by the Holy Founder.

However, between August, 1855 and September, 1858 things had hardly gotten beyond the experimental stage. Three Directors, Brothers Bartholomew, Aimare and Dauphin, succeeded one another so rapidly that the future of the college was in doubt. The energy of a fourth leader bolstered the situation.

He was Brother Aimarus. From Bray-sur-Somme in Picardy, Jules Edward Gaussuin entered the Junior Novitiate in the Faubourg St. Martin in 1844. As a boy of fourteen years of age he already showed the soundness of his judgment. Endowed with a ready intelligence and a vast memory, he demonstrated a special facility in the study and employment of languages. This was certainly one of the reasons which, in 1855, had lead to the decision to send the young Brother to Clapham. He taught a class in the tuition-free school, became the Procurator for the residence school, and then Sub-Director. He became responsible for its direction after Brother Dauphin.

Four productive years foreshadowed the future Assistant's career. He won the respect of his fellow-citizens in the land of his adoption. Looks, bearing, character, he had everything that was of a nature never to confound them: — a somewhat haughty coolness, a refinement marked by subtlety and accompanied by reserve; brief and incisive speech, becoming stature, a sturdy body, dignified movement and assertive gestures. He could anticipate and act; and before his thirties, he was a man of prudence and clear purposes whom the Superiors would employ in the most varied tasks and whom they would invite into their counsels.[409]

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During the first months of his administration Brother Aimarus fitted out a three acre estate, called "Brooklands", that was better situated for his college. Hardly had the students settled into the new quarters than an epidemic of scarlet fever broke out and assumed dangerous proportions. The Director placed his complete trust in St. Joseph, and he implored the help of the Institute's heavenly protector. The illness stopped without causing any fatal consequences. In a gesture of gratitude and under the auspices of Bishop Grant a solemn consecration occurred on March 19, 1859: Saint Joseph's College at that moment became part of the history of the Christian Brothers.

And so it remained, in spite of sharp reverses. The sixty students (and not all of them were residents) were not enough to maintain a balanced budget. It was a problem that became a major concern for Brother Aimarus' successors — the American John of Mary, the Frenchman

409 .[409]Motherhouse Archives, ID q6. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July, 1929*. — *Rivista lasalliana* for March, 1935. — *Album du Centenaire de Passy*, 1939. — Brother Aimarus' obituary, 1906. — And various notes sent by Brother Clair Stanislaus, teacher at St. Joseph's College, Beulah Hill, London.

Hermenegild and the Canadian Abban. There were the payments on the property, which had been purchased outright on February 28, 1862.[410] In Paris there was a general inclination to discontinue a burdensome experiment. In 1865 the Superior-general talked about closing St. Joseph's College. But Brother Euthymius whose opinion had considerable weight with Brother Philippe, protested violently: "Most Honored Brother, if you close that school, you will have to answer to the Institute for it!" He prevailed and, along with Brother Facile, was appointed to rescue the finances of the English residence school.[411]

As "Visitor-Director", Brother Imidonis was sent to London in December of 1865. Nothing outstanding concerning Clapham marked the twenty-eight months of his administration. He left the Congregation. The man who replaced him, Brother Liguori, was a saintly Religious, and enlightened educator and an excellent leader. We have shall numerous opportunities to observe him at work. In February of 1868 he had been recalled from Canada to devote his attentions on the schools in England. He was an excellent choice. At St. Joseph's the level of studies had risen to the point that henceforth senior students routinely faced official examinations and competitions. Beginning in 1870 physics and chemistry were taught by Brother Potamian, the American, born in Ireland, who, under his civilian name of Michael O'Reilly, became a Doctor of Science at the University of London: — the first Catholic to earn this degree in three hundred years. His work on magnetic fields had put him in contact with such leaders in the learned world as Huxley and Lord Kelvin. Dr. O'Reilly was to enjoy a flattering reputation; and Brother Potamian was to bear witness in the British Isles, in the United States and in the Far East as a diligent worker in his Institute.[412]

We leave the college in Clapham as it moves into the future. It was the principal foundation on the other side of the Channel during Brother Philippe's generalate; but it was not to remain the only one, after the Brothers had unloaded the Redemptorists' primary school.

The Bishop of Southwark continued to show his kindness to the religious educators, a instance of which he had given Brother Aimarus in 1859. During the following year, he asked him to open a day school in the neighborhood of his cathedral church of St. George. He promised to pay a part of the expenses and he would keep his word.

Classes began at 68 Kennington Road on March 1, 1860. At first there were twenty-two pupils, and then forty-nine; and by Christmas Eve there were 108. Instruction was supplied by two Brothers who, each day, came from St. Joseph's Community. The new school was placed under the same patronage: St. Joseph's Academy.

Its size required a separate team of teachers, which, in August of 1861, came to four in number under the direction of Brother Stylian and independently of the group in Clapham. The Superior-general and Brother Facile acknowledged them in a visit in October. And in a pastoral letter Bishop Grant declared that the clergy in St. George's parish was delighted with the services rendered by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Over-and-above their day classes, they taught courses in the evening as well.

For twenty years, beginning in 1865, St. Joseph's in Southwark benefitted from ample energy of Brother Acheul. Since he had belonged to the initial Community at Netherton House and had, as a consequence, enjoyed a long period of seasoning, Brother Acheul worked wonders. He succeeded in enrolling 130 pupils, nearly twice as many as St. Joseph's College

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410 In the names of Brothers Aimarus, Edwin and Abban (Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6, note in the handwriting of Brother Calixtus, Assistant, March 14, 1863).

411 Ibid., Brother Acheul's letter to the Superior-general, Brother Joseph, January 22, 1889.

412 *Rivista lasalliana* for March, 1935. — Brother Ligouri's obituary, 1875.

during the same period. He provided secondary education with a success that is told in the correspondence carried on between himself and the Bishop.[413] His Academy occupied the top rank among Catholic schools, and although it was housed in sub-standard buildings, in 1876 it earned governmental approbation.[414]

These very notable results the Director owed to nothing but his own gifts, combined with the intelligence and the dedication of a small number of associates. He himself complains somewhere in his letters of the inroads made upon his team for the advantage of other undertakings.

The principal Directors or Visitors, Brothers Aimarus, Imidonis, and Liguori, in spite of personnel shortages, were unable always to refuse requests that came from Catholic parishes. Thus, on October 1, 1861 St. Mary's school in Wolverhampton was opened. It assembled 300 children, divided into three classes, and admitted besides about forty youths for evening courses. Its Director was Brother Abban, (François Gendreau from Québec), at the time twenty-four years of age, who was to dedicated half of his lifetime to the work of his Congregation in England and Ireland. The crew had set sail in good shape under the command of a wise captain. However, its passage was interrupted. Father Reilly, the pastor of St. Mary's, had agreed to pay the Brothers $100 a year for living expenses. The amount turned out to be woefully inadequate. It became necessary — as account records at St. Joseph's College show — for Brother Aimarus to dip into his own funds to the extent of about sixty pounds, plus travelling expenses, to supply for Wolverhampton's needs. The pastor, who had been asked to increase the subsidy, suggested that the pupils could be asked to pay tuition. As they had at Clapham, De La Salle's faithful disciples refused. And as food became in increasingly short supply, they began to steer their craft ashore. In October of 1862 they left Wolverhampton.[415]

Three years passed. And now the Brothers were called by the clergy in Holborn, a London neighborhood more central than either Clapham or Southwark. In a three-story, extremely inconvenient building they set up a secondary school, an extension of St. Joseph's Academy. There were four Brothers and ninety pupils. The project lasted from January, 1866 until October, 1868; and then it was abandoned for the lack of suitable quarters.[416]

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At this date the capital and its vicinity ceased to be the exclusive arena for the Brothers' activities. Since the entire English episcopacy had their eyes on the Brothers, the latter had to be prepared to be mobilized at a variety of locations. Effectively as early as 1862 a projected institution in Leicestershire had been under discussion. Although negotiations came to nothing, they did pose problems and introduce personalities that give them an interest in their own right.

Conversations centered about the reorganization of a reform school, known as Mt. St. Bernard. The Cistercians, who had founded it, had withdrawn from the enterprise as the result of a mortifying setback. The lay administration which had replaced them had even less success in reforming the lives of the young delinquents. Chaos overwhelmed the institution. And matters had reached such a pass that, after all that had been said and done, the issue had been brought to Rome's attention. The Holy See withdrew Mt. St. Bernard from the Bishop of

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413 About twenty of the Brother's letters are preserved in the archives of the Bishopric of Southwark.

414 Motherhouse Archives, File HB y. — And notes communicated by Brother Clair Stanislaus.

415 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6. — Brother Abban's obituary, 1895. — Brother Clair Stanislaus' notes.

416 Brother Clair Stanislaus' notes; Motherhouse Archives, File HB y.

Birmingham's jurisdiction and entrusted the study of possible solutions to Cardinal Wiseman.

The Cardinal shifted the responsibility to Bishop Manning, who had become his *alter ego*. On November 5, 1862 Manning met with Brother John of Mary, the Director of the residence school in Clapham, and asked him if the Brothers' Institute was averse to directing institutions like the one in Leicestershire. The Brother told him that the Holy Founder had been the first to give an example of patient concern for rebellious or wayward children, the "libertines" whom he had admitted to St. Yon; and that, since that time, his disciples had on numerous occasions followed his example. On the strength of this declaration, the Bishop wrote Brother Philippe on January 5, 1863: "Send us Brothers."

An agreement in principle followed almost immediately, since as early as the 9th of the same month, Manning approved a draft contract submitted for his inspection.

The Superior-general had signed "obediences" for early departures when, on January 29, a letter arrived from England asking for a postponement. Shortly thereafter, Manning, on his way to Rome, passed through Paris, and — in a conversation with Brother Philippe — suggested that the Superior seek information from a new intermediary, Father Rawes.

Father Rawes, while indicating to the Motherhouse the reasons of health that had interrupted the traveller on his way to Italy, called the representatives of the Brothers' Institute to London for an exchange of views. The Régime's delegates, Brothers Firmilian and Facile met with Cardinal Wiseman on February 29. And finally, they were introduced to an official of the Education Department, Inspector Turner.

It was only then that the obstacle was revealed which, in such an abrupt way had stood astride Bishop Manning's zeal: Frenchmen were not welcome at Mt. St. Bernard. In spite of the superiority of the Brothers' educational philosophy, it seemed ill-suited to the reformation of young Englishmen unless interpreted and applied by educators of the same nationality.

The Brothers Assistant could only express their regrets to the Cardinal: "We cannot", they wrote him on February 17, "for the moment supply more than two English Brothers. This is what we told Bishop Manning when he first spoke to us of this project."[417]

In order to cooperate with the public authorities, it would be necessary to await a more complete "naturalization" of the Institute in Great Britain. But wherever the clergy welcomed them, the Brothers enjoyed full freedom for their apostolate.

The first colony to issue from St. Joseph's College in Clapham for a distant destination located in the Isle of Jersey. In order to equip this Anglo-Norman soil with a Brothers' school a touching accord between the north and the south of the Channel took place.

A missionary priest, named Father Volkeryck, who was the Catholic pastor in St. Helier, had an opportunity to experience in continental Europe the results obtained by the Religious educators and catechists. Having witnessed their introduction into London, he thought that it would be of benefit to his own flock if he arranged a meeting with the Director of Clapham. It was 1864, and Brother Aimarus was in charge of the Community and the college. His reputation had quickened Father Volkeryck's desire. But as a petitioner he had come on the scene too soon to procure anything more than a promise.

He had to make do with patience, but he had no fear to appear persistent. In September 1864 he sought the intercession of a French bishop many of the members of whose diocese hired on as agricultural workers in Jersey: Bishop David of Saint-Brieuc told Brother Philippe how very much he would like to see the sons of his Bretons in the care of the teachers in the white rabats during the harvest immigrations.

In 1865 the Bishop of Southwark lent his support with fresh representations: in fact, the Isle fell under Bishop Grant's jurisdiction. The Bishop's plea in favor of Father Volkeryck was

[417] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q7.

reinforced with affectionate tributes in favor of the Brothers in London.

The Superior continued to postpone his approval. Nevertheless, from St. Helier there reached him a series of quite formal commitments: the Brothers, welcomed into St. Thomas' parish, would receive a house, furnishings, linen and a salary of $28 apiece.

The final agreement was reached in October, 1866. Shortly thereafter, four Brothers arrived from Clapham. Their leader was a native of Luxembourg. Named in religion for the English Archbishop who died in the defense of the rights of the Church, Brother Thomas of Canterbury had taught at St. Joseph's College. His youthfulness — he was born in 1842 — was no obstacle to his winning the respect of the people of Jersey. And, besides that, everybody, old and young alike, loved him. Indeed, Protestants entrusted their children to him. Two months after the school had opened it was instructing a hundred pupils.

Unfortunately, Brother Thomas' health, under the weight of exhaustion, failed rapidly. After the second school year he had to leave Jersey. Brother Abban, arriving from Liverpool where we shall meet him presently, replaced him. In 1871 came the third Director, Brother Albanius who with superb mastery performed an analogous function in Montreal.

Whatever the native land of the teachers, the island had a great deal of charm for them. They enjoyed its mild climate; and they were surrounded by the good wishes to a peaceful population, attached to its fine old customs. In the classes a certain number of Frenchmen fraternized with Anglo-Normans. And so, both languages were taught. Furthermore, the Catholic faith benefitted from the example and the teaching of the Brothers' Community. For the thirty years of the existence of St. Thomas' Elementary School many religious and priestly vocations had taken root there.[418]

Recrossing the sea, we shall now make a call at Liverpool: — a port city with an immense wharf, with ships and countless warehouses, a teeming city where thousands of workers, thousands of poor, with pitiful wages, were crowded in upon one another in gloomy buildings. There the Brothers found tasks that harmonized with the directives of their Founder and—in this work as well as in their disappointments and trials — numerous occasions for merit.

The city included many unfortunate boys who wandered the streets, children neglected by a father or mother who were drudges in a factory, children totally abandoned. These were the open sores of period and of a nation which, pitilessly, sacrificed human beings to the gods of wealth. "Philanthropy", however, finally bestirred itself, and Christian charity also entered into action; from whence arose those "industrial schools" which, often, were too similar to "work houses", and those "orphanages" that were sometimes makeshift arrangements.

It was here that Liverpool would first employ the zeal of the Brothers newly transplanted to British soil. They would strive to apply their methods and exercise a salutary influence.

The first appeal was made by St. George's Orphanage in 1866. The Institute responded by sending Brother Abban. He was determined to justify the confidence of the Bishop to whom the institution belonged. The Director and his associates set to work surrounded by youngsters between the ages of six and fourteen, who had been more or less trained for various trades. They had been given neither accountable "managers", nor financial assistance, nor any guarantees that could be considered clearly stipulated. This was why, once the Brothers withdrawal had been decided upon, Brother Abban left for Jersey in 1868.[419]

The Congregation's services lasted longer at St. Ann's Orphanage, called "Providence". There a priest inspired by generous purposes, Father Nugent, had been maintaining a home for

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[418] Archives of the District of Quimper, Jersey File. (The island today has a school belonging to this District. — Brother Stanislaus' notes.

[419] Brother Abban's obituary — Brother Clair Stanislaus's notes. — Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6.

24 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q5.

about forty pupils; and, besides, during the winter, he flung open the doors of his institution to all sorts of homeless youngsters: "Providence" then became a refuge in which young down-and-outers — sometimes as many as 500 of them — found something to eat and a place to sleep. On August 14, 1866 six Brothers set up a Community there under the direction of Brother Clement. They lived on wages of twelve pounds sterling a year each, while Father Nugent assumed responsibility for their housing and their food. This total dependence, enforced with jealous rigor ended — as we shall learn later on — by effecting a violent split.[420]

Beginning in 1887 and for nearly two years, the Lasallian institution called "Providence" had an odd affiliate: it was an "industrial school" on board the ship Clarence, which was nothing more than a school for "cabin boys". Its organizer had asked Brother Clement to detail two of his associates to be elementary instructors for 200 young candidates. With experience, it became clear that, as dependents of a lay administration, the Brothers would find it very difficult to keep intact their religious observances. As a consequence, life on board ship came to an end.[421]

A "school for the poor" was "opened in 1866 and closed in 1869", because the Brothers had been subjected to a too painful interference "on the part of the Jesuits in charge of the parish."[422] The Society of Jesus, however, had not given up the idea of coming to an understanding with the Institute, since, subsequently, there existed a primary school that had been accepted — at the request of Father Porter — by the Brothers, under the patronage of St. Francis Xavier.[423]

But a better way turned up; and to develop it these pioneer Brothers had available to them both a rare tool and effective cooperation. From 1868 on, in their Sacred Heart school they trained "student teachers" who were intended for the schools in Liverpool and who, as time went on, became more numerous. After about ten years Sacred Heart included about eighteen "student teachers" along with a Community of fifteen Brothers. The Institute was able easily to operate the six elementary schools,[424] which, shortly after 1866, it now controlled in Liverpool.

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This enumeration of activities (some of which were transitory) must not mislead us as to the Congregation's importance in England during the days which preceded and followed Brother Philippe's death. There were no more than about forty Brothers in the Communities that were functioning in 1878.[425]. While St. Joseph's College inspired priestly and religious vocations — among others there were those of the Redemptorists, Father Bennett and Father Stebbing — England hardly supplied any recruits to the Institute.[426]

In the beginning a few postulants in their adult years applied. In order to provide them with

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421 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6.

422 Ibid., note on schools closed in England.

423 Brother Clair Stanislaus' notes.

424 Not including St. Francis.

425 Brother Clair Stanislaus' notes, following the Archives of St. Joseph's College

426 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1929. — *Rivista lasalliana* for March, 1935. Brother William of Jesus was the first Englishman to enter the Brothers' Institute (in 1858).

an insight into the spirituality characteristic of the Congregation, the Directors in Clapham could use nothing but books written in French. Surrounded by the unknown applicants became confused and their courage failed them.

Then, another way was found: young Englishmen were sent to the novitiate on Rue Oudinot. They set out in the best of spirits, determined to demonstrate their affinity for their former teachers and to prepare for their future under the supervision of the leaders of a Society which had confirmed them in their faith. But, then, they would be overtaken by melancholy. A Brother who was closely connected with them has written: "Language difficulties and differences in the customs, spirit and aspirations of the two peoples did not make things easier...When the experiment was conducted prematurely it produced poor results."[427]

It was important, however, to resolve the problem. Brother Ligouri, who had become Visitor, gave a lot of thought to the central facts. It was crucial for the Institute in England to stabilize itself; there was absolutely no reason why it should not exist there. It had only to supply its own personnel requirements, without having recourse to France or America.

There is an overall presentation of this topic, dated February 21, 1873. Brother Ligouri was staying at the time at the Motherhouse; and he wrote his report with the Brother Superior-general in mind. We have, he wrote, "an interesting mission to accomplish in England. The clergy seems to sense the need to cooperate with teaching Congregations, and several Bishops have already offered to put us in charge of their schools".

These were bright prospects. But, "nothing can be undertaken without a novitiate". And a novitiate cannot succeed if it exists outside the country. Not that it would be able immediately to attract a lot of Englishmen. But the Brother Visitor was counting on the Irish to fill the houses of formation. The Irish, with their generous hearts and robust faith, were likely to understand Lasallian idealism and submit to the austerity of the Rule. Numerous in certain English cities, they had no difficulty in becoming involved in the life around them. The priests among them served in the Catholic parishes. And with the Irish in the schools there would be Brothers familiar with the language and with British customs.

For this eventual recruitment "a suitable residence" had to be made ready. It would be enough to remodel the building that was presently "occupied by the Community in the residence school in London". Annexes would have to be built for the various services. And immediately Brother Ligouri sketched out his plan.[428]

His proposals were accepted and a novitiate was opened in Clapham; although it did not totally comply with the wishes of its founder.[429] Besides, he had hardly any time to establish his project. On January 5, 1875, at the age of fifty years, he died. The Redemptorists who revered him and were delighted to have him bear the name of their Holy Founder, celebrated his funeral Mass. At their request, Brother Ligouri's remains were buried in the cemetery at Kensal Green, near Cardinal Wiseman's tomb.[430] It was a distinction that was thoroughly merited by one of the great craftsmen of Christian education, the distant herald of a rich harvest.

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427 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1909.

428 Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6.

429 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1909.

430 Brother Ligouri's obituary, 1875.

Part Two

The Institute in America

CHAPTER ONE

CANADA

In between the first works of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in England, their vast undertakings in North America. Canada and the United States had loaned their mother country — whether of recent or ancient date — a few men who were able to adapt the Brothers' traditions to the customs and practices of the British nation. As a result names with which we are already familiar will reappear in our narrative, as, following Brother Philippe's envoys, we range through the New World.

Once before, during the last year of Brother Anacletus' generalate, we went ashore on the banks of the St. Lawrence River.[431] What concerns us now is not the birth but the growth of a project in a promised land. From a shrub it would become a powerfully limbed oak. Such would be its vigor that one of its branches, transplanted without loosing any of its primitive sap, would take root in the United States. There, like the forests and the cities, the Congregation's schools would rapidly grow up and multiply. Of all the Districts founded in the 19th century those in Canada and the United States would quickly be included among the most thriving. They would justify the reputation of the Brother who presided over these foundations and organizations: Brother Facile, the former Visitor of the French "reformatory centers", who was henceforth destined to display over stretches of an entire continent the energy of a Conquistador.[432] We can no longer delay the moment for singling out this not inconsiderable figure. We shall attempt to place him against the background of his activities and, around that, to assemble the features of some of his associates. And, perhaps, in this way, we shall succeed in reconstituting the landscape and the atmosphere, but especially in better understanding the character peculiar to the Brothers on the other side of the Atlantic.

Nevertheless — it is important to emphasize — that it is in the United States mainly that the memory and the evidence of Brother Facile persists. And it is there that our search shall preferentially be pursued. Before recounting how the Institute, mobilizing its Canadian Brothers, would victoriously penetrate the "Yankee" world, we shall devote our entire attention to the progress realized from Montreal to Québec and from Toronto to Ottawa between 1838 and 1875. The history of these northern institutions is a prelude to the stride southward; but it retains a special interest of a very high order.

At the outset, except for the sake of the clarity of the account, events in either country cannot be dissociated from one another. Thereafter, each adopted a course characteristic of an autonomous existence; the political frontier became the boundary between the two religious provinces without, however, becoming a barrier. Exchanges of personnel and the sharing of ideas and methods continued to be rather common; and apart from obedience to the same Rule and the same leader, which constituted the basic unity of the Congregation, community of origin, geographical proximity, similarity of spirit and of bold resolution continued to bring the Brothers of Canada and the United States together.

The following two chapters are therefore not simply juxtaposed. The third, although much briefer, is only added because of our overall plan, since the story of the schools in the new

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[431] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 198-308.

[432] Concerning Brother Facile's role up to 1848, see Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 268-273.

world, as a whole, finds its normal place after the account of the European foundations and before a study of the apostolate in pagan countries. And this is why we shall speak, finally, of Ecuador where, as early as 1863, was begun the immense and fertile work the Christian educators in Latin America.

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Housed in the Seminary in Montreal, Brother Aidant and his three confreres cut a pretty sorry figure. They had no possessions, not even a bit of furniture; and for over a long period of time they would have to restrict their expenditures to the absolutely indispensable. In order to divert hostile curiosity, they were given priests' hats to wear.[433] And, thus, they seemed to be living in the shadow of the clergy. The venerated Bishop Lartigue — with the best possible intentions — had placed emphasis on this dependance when, on January 2, 1838, he wrote to Brother Assistant Philippe: "Far from the Motherhouse in France, and far from the supervision of their Superior, the Brothers here have greater need than in Europe for a Bishop's concern and protection...I shall do all that I can to promote their new school, foster the exact observance of their Constitutions and sustain in their hearts the remarkable fervor that they brought with them... "[434]

Surely, the Bishop and the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice respected the minds and hearts of the Religious whom the Institute had entrusted to them. As they had promised, they were alert to give De La Salle's disciples every means of maintaining themselves along the ways pointed out to them by their Founder. The Canadian environment around Montreal had remained so faithful to French traditions that the Brothers did not feel themselves totally uprooted. They could talk to their new fellow-citizens about the ideals their Founder had set in the 17th century for young men in Rheims and Paris.

In fact, they had scarcely confronted the initial experiences of their apostolate than they met with three novices: the schoolteacher in the village of Lorette, Francis Xavier Gilbert, asked for the Brothers' habit; and he was followed by one of his friends and one of his pupils.

These hasty decisions, actually, had only a very brief future. Gilbert, as Brother Joseph, taught a class at the same time that he was being initiated into the observance of the Brothers' Rule. Unfortunately, Brother Aidant's tact somewhat failed him; too much smitten with his own homeland, this native of Bourgogne, who believed in straight talk,[435] offended the Canadian's national pride. This was the conclusion that Aidant's associate, Brother Adelphus, had regretfully reached. And, besides, a man of thirty years of age who was already a teacher launched upon his career was not to be handled like a schoolboy. Discouraged, Francis Xavier Gilbert withdrew. His companions had left the Community ahead of him.

But the Community was not despondent under the influence of this setback. Another postulant was quick to apply: he was Nicholas Goulet, a native of St. Roch de Richelieu. He took the name of Joseph (he was referred in English as "Brother Josephus of Mary"). And like his predecessor he was both novice and teacher: he taught the third class until the arrival of Brothers Gélisaire and Zozimus, who were sent in December of 1839 by the Superior-general as reinforcements. Goulet persevered; as the first professed Canadian, in the Institute he was to become the bridge between old and "New France."[436]

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433 The Brothers in Canada did not resume wearing the "Three-cornered hat" until 1842.

434 *L'Oeuvre d'un siècle*, Centenary of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Canada, 1937, pg. 97.

435 See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 206-207, Brother Aidant's letter to Brother Eulogius.

436 Brother Symphorian Louis (under the initials S.-L.*: Les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada, Montreal*,

From that time forward the movement that lead zealous and pious youths to the Congregation never stopped. What was needed was to be able to mature these vocations at leisure: Father Quiblier, the only one who had the necessary resources, volunteered to find a place. He fixed his choice on an historic house, the former residence, a century and a half earlier, of Paul Le Moyne, the lord of Maricourt, a member of a family of heros that, in Canadian annals, has been compared to the Biblical Judas, Jonas and Simon Macchabee.

The property, situated between Rues Côté and Chenneville, Vitré and Lagauchetière had most recently belonged to a certain Alexis Laframboise, whose name the house retained for a very long time. Another floor was added at the expense of the Sulpicians. Classes were conducted in the outbuildings. The main building housed the teaching Brothers and the novitiate.[437] For thirty-four years — between 1839 and 1873 — the Institute was to train its recruits in the shelter of these walls that were crammed with memories and whispered prayers.

Brother Anacletus' right arm, Brother Philippe, had strongly supported the Régime's decisions concerning Canada. Become Superior-general, he was always keenly interested in this overseas project. As early as April 23, 1839 one of Father Quiblier's letters was on its way in order to recommend the work to him, to disclose the situation and to reveal some very broad viewpoints.The friend and defender of the Brothers in Montreal wrote: "The news of your election contributed not a little to soften the bitterness of my sorrow at the death of that excellent man, Brother Anacletus. As the inheritor of his spirit, you will also inherit his feelings for us."

In America people were expecting the arrival of two assistants that had been promised by the new Superior. Without this rescue team, Brothers Aidant, Adelbertus, Rombaud and Euvertus were about to collapse under the burden. The letter continued: "I dare flatter myself that your choice will be as successful as that of your respected predecessor. The four Brothers whom he sent here are excellent Religious and skillful teachers. There is a unanimous chorus of praise and admiration (directed at them). The Bishop of Montreal burns with the desire to see this school prosper. The Governor-general, with whom I discussed lengthily their work, their instruction and their success, told me that he would visit their classes and that he would be delighted to put them in charge of the Normal School.

The beginnings foreshadow the future: people already note the total transformation of the school children who have been subject to the discipline of Christian education. "Hundreds of other children are seeking to be admitted into the classes."

"Ten teachers" would not be too many. And because Montreal included an English minority, Father Quiblier, as a priest who thought before all else of the spread of the Gospel, expressed a hope for some English-speaking teachers. Moreover, the bilingualism in force in Canada since the Treaty of 1763 made a knowledge of the two traditional languages indispensable. The Sulpician proposed to Brother Philippe to draw up an agreement with Edmund Rice's "Irish Brothers":[438] he thought that this Society was "united" with De La Salle's Institute and might be in a position to train candidates "who would complete their novitiate in Paris or in Montreal". Such a project was impracticable. And the genuine solution happened spontaneously when a number of youths, sons of Irishmen who had immigrated to the New World or come themselves from their distant native land and fought in the ranks of the Brothers

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1921, pp. 17-18. — L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pg. 65.

[437] Brother Symphorian Louis, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

[438] See Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 486, note #7. — We shall have to speak again about these Irish Brothers in another volume.

of the Christian Schools.[439]

In conclusion, Father Quiblier referred once again to the "consolation" and "happiness" he experienced in the presence of Brother Philippe's confreres. He promised to rescue them from the narrow quarters in which the Community was still living. This was his "most urgent" task. Financial difficulties alone, following upon the insurrection of 1837 and continuing to be felt, had occasioned some delay.[440]

The Superior of the Institute could not doubt the assiduous affection of his correspondent. The transfer of the novitiate to Rue Côté would soon provide what proof was needed. He was also assured of the Bishop's good will. In 1840 Bishop Bourget succeeded Bishop Lartigue. Two years earlier the former had been invited, as coadjutor-Bishop, to bless the classes where both teachers and pupils were making a beginning. He was to control the diocese until 1876 and leave behind him a blessed memory; alluding to him Bishop Bruchesi, when he took over the guidance of the Church in Montreal was right in saying: "The chief craftsman of our activities was an Athanasius for his orthodoxy, a Charles Borromeo for his priestly zeal and a Vincent de Paul for his charity."[441]

For all of these reasons, Bishop Bourget was grateful for the work of the Brothers, apostles of the catechism, auxiliaries of the clergy and educators of the children of the people. He sought to extend their activities, and as early as 1832 thought of putting them at the head of a normal school for the training of rural schoolteachers,[442] and later suggested that they become involved with deaf-mutes.[443]

Meanwhile, the structure was being consolidated. Instead of the hasty arrangements on Rue Notre Dame Street and Côté, it was decided to centralize the elementary classes in a new building. St. Lawrence school, on Rue Vitré was inaugurated on November 16, 1840. Almost immediately it became too small for the influx of students. Eight-hundred-and-sixty children had to be admitted during the first months.[444]

And then there occurred an undertaking that realized one of Father Quiblier's dreams; and he experienced its full development before he left Canada to accept the charge of a parish in London. Young Irish lads were to have the Brothers as teachers in a school which open in 1841 under the patronage of St. Patrick. Brothers Adelbertus, Paul, Lawrence and Cassian had courageously set to work to study English in order to teach the sons of a Catholic population in that language. This venture prefigured the surprising and so very successful effort that the Institute was soon to achieve in English-speaking countries. The precursors would first of all find their rewards among the Irish: religious vocations, taking root in St. Patrick's school, would come to flower in the novitiate in Montreal.[445]

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439 Thus, among the earliest, Brother Ambrose, the future Visitor of the District of New York.

440 *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 57-58.

441 Ibid., pg. 97.

442 *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938.

443 *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 98. — Bishop Bourget discussed the question with Brother Philippe by letter on March 16, 1850. The Superior-general was unable to take any action for the want of specialized teachers.

444 Ibid., pg. 73.

445 Ibid., pg. 299.

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A city founded by heros and saints and once consecrated, under the name of "Villemarie," to the Mother of God was an excellent choice for the implantation of the Brothers. Here, one was at the very heart of Canada, on a majestic site that seemed to recapitulate all the natural wonders of the country and which evoked three centuries of discoveries, the struggles and the evangelization along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

But no matter how important Montreal was, no matter how splendidly, even at this early date, its future stretched out before it, there was another city that was still more cherished by the French-Canadians: Québec, their ancient capital, the work of Samuel Champlain on a promontory at the threshold of the magnificent River.

Québec had remained proudly faithful to its past. Its entire appearance recalled the Old World and the regions from whence came its first inhabitants. And the descendants of colonists from Saintonge, Normandy and Poitou continued to resist the influence of the British conqueror; and they defended their language, their religion and their customs against the most furious assaults.

Seventy-eight years after New France had been handed over to England, hopes for pacification had been scarcely realized. On June 10, 1841 the Governor-general, Lord Durham promulgated the "Act of Union". Under this slogan, which may have been misleading, a policy was pursued which strove to bind the French elements with the immigrant mass from Great Britain. "Lower Canada", populated by the older Catholic Canadians, had been constitutionally joined to the region north of the St. Lawrence, "Upper Canada", where English and Protestant colonists had become increasingly numerous.

London's plan, however, had been thwarted. Growing and increasing by God's law, French-language families opposed the incursion with the closely packed ranks of their own children. In the Province of Québec alone the 150,000 people who dwelt there in 1791 were succeeded by two million at the end of the 19th century. And this people understood the need for a spiritual and moral cohesiveness and a wisdom which, without rejecting the contributions of other people, would proceed gradually in the process of discernment and eventual assimilation.[446]

In order preserve their heritage of Roman faith and Latin civilization it was necessary for children to receive a sound education. When the results obtained in Montreal by the Brothers of the Christian Schools had been passed on to the Archbishop of Québec, the latter decided to provided his own diocese with teachers who had come so highly recommended. Archbishop Signay of Québec and his co-adjutor, Bishop Turgeon, along with Father Baillargeon, pastor of the Cathedral, consulted together as to ways and means. They found a building, estimated the extent of expenses and won the cooperation of some distinguished people in Québec. They then turned their cause over to an advocate who was immensely qualified to plead it well: Bishop Charles August Forbin-Janson.

By driving the Bishop of Nancy out of France, the Revolution of 1830 had given free scope to this apostle's fondest dreams. He traveled through America as a missionary, rallying Christians for a peaceful crusade. And the Canadian ventures conformed completely to his aspirations. The Brothers' apostolate had always received his staunch support; and as Vicar-general in Chambéry,[447] in the days of Napoleon, he had invited the Brothers from Petit College into Savoy. And since he presided over the "restoration" of the Institute in the mother

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[446] *Revue politique et parlementaire*, for January, 1925*, "la Conquête des libertés canadiennes," arti*cle signed "Lacer." — George Vattier, *Esquisse historique de la colonisation de la provinve de Québec,* 1928.

[447] And not "Bishop" as erroneously suggested in the index to Vol. IV of the present work.

country, he was eager to comply with the plans of Bishop Francis Montigny-Laval's successor. Watching him work alongside Bishop Signay it seemed as though royalist France had been resurrected in order to throw Québec open to the disciples of De La Salle.

On November 17, 1841 Brother Aidant told Brother Philippe that Bishop Forbin had, since the day before, been in Montreal and that he had immediately revealed to the Director of the Community the Archbishop's proposal. Brother Aidant was being expected in Québec in order to examine the building that had been selected for the Brothers. "Since the extreme cold has halted navigation", travel would probably not be possible before May, when the ice on the River would have melted. Until further notice, the Bishop of Nancy's word might take the place of an on-site inspection; the Bishop guaranteed the force of the commitments that the clergy and the distinguished citizens were prepared to underwrite. The prelate had described the future school in "the most attractive colors". As a result, if the Superior-general would send two Brothers next spring, Montreal "would supply the remainder of the organization with one or two novices", who would have been previously trained; classes could open "in September 1842."[448]

The Superior-general thought that Brother Aidant had not done enough of the ground work. Québec would have to be patient. But that did not mean that the project was in abeyance. Bishop Forbin-Janson continued to be an active go-between. Having returned to France, he undertook fresh solicitations directly with the heads of the Institute. The project preoccupied a large audience, and it concluded with an agreement.

On August 11, 1843 five Brothers disembarked in the capital of "Lower Canada"; Brother Aidant accompanied them, since he was determined to inaugurate his confreres himself. He left them as their Director, Brother Zosimus who, for four years had been teaching at St. Lawrence school in Montreal. One of his associates had recently arrived from Europe, and the other three had just finished the Canadian novitiate.

Classrooms and the Community residence belonged to the "Education Association" — a private enterprise which, empowered for this purpose, took charge of the entire institution and gave it a legal existence. Rue Glacis, on which the building was situated, gave, in the manner of speaking of the time, its name to this, the Institute's first school in Québec.

The pastor of the Cathedral wished to commemorate the opening with a religious celebration over which Bishop Turgeon presided. After the singing of the *Veni Creator*, during the Sunday Mass on August 21, the Co-adjutor eulogized John Baptist de La Salle and the followers of this great man. A few weeks later he brought a crowd of distinguished people to Rue Glacis to observe the smooth functioning of the school.

It was soon necessary to fit out more classrooms. Father Baillargeon assumed responsibility for this task. He also built an unpretentious chapel. The five classrooms could admit 620 pupils. But on July 24, 1844, on the occasion of the "general examination" and the distribution of prizes which took place is the old St. Louis House, 700 showed up. In the presence of Bishop Turgeon and the members of the Education Association the children questioned one another on the entire program of studies; their modest knowledge surprised and charmed the audience.

But a severe ordeal swept down on the institution. At the end of June, 1845, one of those ghastly fires that frequently ravaged cities built of readily combustible materials, destroyed an entire neighborhood in Québec, and the Brothers' school was engulfed in the disaster.

But because the city offered him provisional shelter, the courageous Brother Zosimus was able to manage the opening of the new school year. And in less than a year's time the school on Rue Glacis Street arose out of the ruins. The soul of the school was its Director — the teacher endowed with the vigorous looks and the noble demeanor which impressed both pupils and families alike. He was intelligent, skillful and eloquent, and he especially attracted a large

[448] Motherhouse Archives, File ID h.

attendance to evening classes, of which he was the regular teacher. He was to direct the Community in Québec for ten years.[449]

His companion in the Atlantic crossing, Brother Gélisaire, would also affix his name to a new foundation. About half-way between Québec and Montreal is situated the city of Trois-Rivières. In 1634 Champlain had given it a rough-hewn existence; it owed its name to the confluence of the three mouths of the St. Maurice River which, at this point, pour into the St. Lawrence. Jesuit missionaries had early established one of their residences there. And Trois-Rivières had continued to be a religious center. In 1844 its pastor was Father Thomas Cooke, a very gifted priest who had been distinguished by the Archbishop of Québec with the title of Vicar-general and who, eight years later, became the first Bishop of the diocese that was established on the site.

Father Cooke obtained three Brothers; his parishioners were to pay the cost of the furnishings. As in Québec, an Education Society stood responsible for school expenses. At the beginning of 1845 Brother Philippe received the pastor's enthusiastic letter: "The Brothers couldn't be more friendly. All the children are drawn to them. Our streets are empty: the children are delighted to spend their time with the Brothers. It has only been three months since the school has been opened and already the boys are so changed that they are no longer recognizable: they have become peaceful, pious and lovers of study. If this zeal continues, we can anticipate a total reform, and we shall owe it to your Institute, which has been conceived with such wisdom and is guided with such prudence."

A good part of this recognition was owing to the Brother Director, Gélisaire. He and his successors, Brothers Remez, Camelian, James of Mary, and Gideon supported the zeal of Bishop Cooke, and, after him, the famous Bishop Laflèche. Along with these prelates, who inspired dedication to the Church and an ardent patriotism, the Brothers were cherished servants in "Lower Canada."[450]

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In 1848 they were given a superior the power of whose mind, whose good judgment and courageous resolution gave the strength of ten to those who were subject to his energy. As Brother Aidant had been recalled to Europe to undertake a new series of tasks in Constantinople, Brother Facile arrived in America with the title of Visitor. He was at the height of his powers; he was not yet fifty years of age,[451] and the sturdiness of his person revealed the vigor of his soul. He would face the fiercest cold, the sweltering heat, surmount any obstacle and shrink from no distance.

A man of this temperament was what was demanded to administer a huge region that was on the verge of enormous development. The Brothers, of course, like the Jesuits before them and Chomedey Maisonneuve's soldiers, were only a handful: from four in 1837, they had become twenty-one in 1843 and fifty-six in 1848.[452] But ever-ready to supply the maximum effort, they never hesitated in the face of a world to conquer: the missionaries of the past were their example. By 1845 they had already penetrated into the United States; and they were not going

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449 Motherhouse Archives, File Hb v. — *L'Oeuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 80-81. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938.

450 Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 234-237. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 85-87 and pg. 102.

451 We recall that he was born in Cublize, in the Department of the Rhône on April 15, 1800. (See Vol. V, pp. 423-424 of the present work.)

452 *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 215; *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for May, 1907, pg. 156.

to be satisfied with a short-lived incursion across the border; with Brother Facile, it was an empire that was waiting to be created.

In Canada the moment did not seem particularly bad for huge undertakings. In the political climate, one felt that the breezes were less biting. Antagonism and hatred were subsiding; and obstinate Albion could not underestimate the obstinacy of her partners. Gradually, she was moving toward concessions, and ultimately toward unbiased agreements. After the elections of 1848 the Governor-general, Lord Elgin, read the speech from the throne to both Houses of the legislature in English and in French. The prisoners and exiles of 1837 were grant an amnesty. Canadians, regardless of their origin or language were beginning to come together on a ground of mutual understanding; and they were unanimous in wishing for their country a liberal charter which left the mother country with nothing but a negligible authority. This was the period of political alliances between Papineau and Mackensie, Lafontaine and Baldwin, Cartier and MacDonald.[453]

The result was a greater respect for conscience and a clearer appreciation for religious values. The problems of education and schooling were raised in all their generality but without stirring up confessional debates. There had been a time when people were inclined to sacrifice the Church to the school: thus Jesuit property, following Lord Cathcart's ruling, had been employed to the advantage of the schools. Similarly, as a matter of fact, when Governor Edmund Head had withdrawn from the Protestant clergy the vast estates that had been previously granted by the Crown, the capital produced by their sale had partially constituted a fund for the creation and support of schools.[454]

The system finally adopted granted citizens, at least as regards elementary schooling, a broad autonomy. It entrusted school administration to elected commissioners. In a general way, and making exceptions for some large cities that had their own system, taxpayers and land owners chose the members of the school commissions. Elections were held at the same time that Councilmen were chosen and within the limits of a jurisdiction founded upon the "parish", or reduced to a section of the parish. The "School Council" was, depending upon the region, either Protestant or Catholic: each confession retained responsibility for, and control of, its schools.

Without compensation and regarded as highly honorific, the functions in question enabled the ones who performed them to take their first steps in public life and, as a rule, gave them entry into provincial and national Assemblies.

Those functions consisted, first of all, in determining, budgeting and distributing special tax monies that were exclusively earmarked for school expenditures; further, in contracting, where need be, for loans in order to finance new schools, to repair or remodel existing ones. The commissioners purchased and maintained furnishings, supplied free textbooks to poor children, bestowed prizes and financial assistance and arranged for medical examinations. Of course, they paid the teachers whose selection belonged to their competence. They exercised a certain control over the program of studies, since they decided upon the textbooks to be used in the classrooms. And when they happened to engage the services of a professional "Educational Committee" their authority became all the more weighty in that, in educational matters, it was relying upon experts.[455]

e diffusion of instruction corresponded to the growth and expansion of the Canadian people. This was a correlation that was henceforth clearly articulated in the case of French-speaking

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[453] Lacer, article cited., pp. 128-129.

[454] Idem., ibid., pp. 127 and 129.

[455] *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 169-170.

citizens. Indeed, they no longer neglected the cultivation of the mind as they once had done:[456]. they understood that the future of their people and of their language depended upon it. And they set aside the necessary means to guarantee a stock of knowledge for their children.

Teachers were needed in those regions into which, during the 19th century, the peaceful migration of the inhabitants of "New France" was advancing. Initially the territory they occupied clung to the banks of the St. Lawrence; the more daring pioneers among them then settled along the Richelieu River southeast of Montreal and along the Chaudière River southwest of Québec. After 1830, their successors and heirs spread out, some along the highlands of the Laurentians and others along the course of the Saguenay. They continued to grow in numbers, clearing larger and larger pieces of land, penetrating ever farther with the impatience to "move" and "turn forest into farmland" which, as explorers and farmers, they had in their blood and which their language depicted in such vivid terms.[457]

Wherever they built their homes they immediately formed a "parish". Simultaneously a religious and civil jurisdiction, the parish preserved for the Canadians their love of country, their religious faith and their fraternal union. As one of them has written,[458] the parish "was a reality which involved everything". Since the human structure had its foundation and support in the Church, one can imagine the role of the clergy. The priests had maintained this social and moral structure of the new-born nation which, completely separated from the mother country, ran such great risks of obliteration. They encouraged its initiatives and, indeed, its spirit of adventure, provided that it did not turn aside from essential tasks and that it did not try to depart from the plan that Providence had manifestly reserved for it. Some pastors became apostles of colonization; for where a French-Canadian settled Catholicism took root. A chapel got built; and around it there very quickly formed a cluster of Catholic households. And while one would have to wait a while for a church to rise up out of the freshly turned soil, there was at least a cross to suggest where a church would be.[459]

The school would follow the church. And the work of education would crown the priestly ministry. As often as possible pastors and school commissions would seek the cooperation of teaching Religious. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were already prepared to reply to these appeals; but they could not, nor did they wish to be, alone. Other Congregations would fulfill their own roles in Canada; the field opened out almost limitlessly and the task called for workers by the thousands. In 1847 the Clerics of St. Viator and the Brothers of the Holy Cross appeared on the scene. In 1865 came the Brothers of Charity; and in 1872 the Brothers of the Sacred Heart. And, until the end of the century, new groups organized in the service of youth debarked from Europe or assembled on the national territory.[460]

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Montreal, with its novitiate and its French and Irish schools, remained for the Brothers the city of prosperous beginnings, the haven for candidates in formation and the region of boundless hopes. Québec, however, was in a fair way of offering the Institute opportunities that

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456 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for April 1911, pp. 123-124.

457 On this question, seen Vol. V of the present, pp. 158 et sq

458 Vattier, op. cit., pp. 39-45. — Cf. Louis Hémon, Maria Chapdelaine, Paris, 1921. M. Perrault, Preface to Vattier's book.

459 Vattier, op. cit., pp. 105 et sq.

460 L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pg. 224.

were no less significant. The Brothers' successes in that city were such that they aroused the outcry of some Anglicans: a petition addressed to the Legislative Assembly demanded the removal — voluntary or forcibly of these individuals "who could incite rebellion against the supreme authority."[461] It was an trivial uproar that quickly subsided. Good work gets done without that sort of commotion interfering with it. In 1853 a school inspector, Dr. Bardy, wrote the following report on the results obtained at the end of ten years: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools have one Community on Rue Glacis in the St. John neighborhood and another at Cape Diamond. The Brothers in RuenGlacis have three groups of pupils: the first, made up of five classes, in the Community residence. Here there are 304 pupils, of which 188 are Canadians and 116 are of British origin; seventy of them are resident pupils. Instruction is conducted in French and in English; and it includes reading, writing, spelling, composition, history, geography, arithmetic, bookkeeping, natural philosophy, linear drawing, algebra, geometry, surveying, navigation and music. The use of maps, geographical globes and graphometers, etc...are also shown. The library contains 500 books.

The second school is in St. John's church. It serves 334 Canadian children. And there is the same instruction as above, but there is no upper class.

In the St. Roch neighborhood the third institution admits 637 children; 463 follow the program of classes given in French, while 174 are instructed in English.

The Community at Cape Diamond in its two English classes teaches 140 pupils, almost all of whom are Irish. And a class taught in French groups together 60 Canadians.[462]

The picture sketched here deserves close attention: it clarifies the work's development. French-Canadians, British and Irish — an abundant public that surged into classrooms where they were instructed in the love of neighbor as well as in the love of the Christian faith; the Brothers were respecters neither of persons nor of peoples. And while they had come, first of all, for the children who had inherited the language and traditions of Ancient France, they withheld their care from none; with a very special satisfaction, they tended to favor the sons of the poor and the persistent, the steadfast in faith whom squalor, famine and oppressive legislation had driven far from the land of their birth. As early as 1849 Brother Zosimus, in Québec, was concerned with the Irish whom he admitted to Rue Glacis, primarily, where he placed them, as Brother Aidant had done in Montreal in 1841, under the patronage of their great apostle, St. Patrick.[463]

Dr. Bardy's report shows that the level of instruction went beyond elementary education. No doubt but what the elementary classes continued to introduce thousands of schoolboys to literacy who, at the age of twelve or thirteen, would be reunited with their fathers in shop, field or forest. In Canada, as in Europe, a Brother's school remained tuition-free and, in its basic form, popular. But on this base a more complex structure was quick to rise, following plans invariably inspired by the spirit, the Rule and the example of De La Salle.

The school on Rue Glacis was included, at least partially, on the list of residence schools. It was to be withdrawn for a time from that classification. In September, 1853 — quite close to Québec, at Point Levis — Notre Dame de la Victoire College was opened, to which residence pupils who had been attending school in the city were transferred. The pastor of Levis, Father Déziel, busied himself with the success of the new institution. He had good reason to promote it, since Brother Philippe had selected as its Director a remarkable educator, Brother

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461 Ibid., pg. 81.

462 Ibid., pg. 82. — *Rivista lasalliana* for March, 1938, pg. 119. — Motherhouse Archives, File HB v.

463 *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 302.

Hermenegild, who had been sent from France.[464] Young minds were influenced by the powerfully highlighted character of this man. The seven years spent at Levis were sufficient to create enduring ties between educator and disciples. For Notre Dame College did not survive its seventh year; in fact, Father Déziel's colleagues', after assisting in the recruiting of pupils, made demands that were incompatible with the Institute's principles: they asked for classes in the Latin humanities. As the Brother Director resisted their efforts, they gradually guided the influx of their parishioners to other institutions. The Brothers were obliged to put an end to the project by a voluntary withdrawal; in 1860, they were replaced by priests from the Québec Seminary.

However, the memory of Brother Hermenegild was indelible, a proof of which came twenty-six years later. During this quarter of a century, missions in England and in the Far East detained Brother Hermenegild far from Canada. But he returned there in 1886 in order to gather materials for a history of the schools in America; the resident of Point Levis gave him a most enthusiastic reception. The poet Louis Frechette was proud to include himself among the college's alumni: he acclaimed John Baptist de La Salle in verses that were gratefully dedicated to the beloved Director.[465]

After the Brothers closed Notre Dame College they heartened Québec families by re-opening the residence school in the city. During this period the Institute was radiating out in various directions from its principal positions along the St. Lawrence.

In 1850 Montreal had twenty-seven members of the Institute employed in the schools or practicing an employment in the Community; Québec had twelve, Three Rivers four, and there were a few others in positions more recently set up by Brother Facile: three at Kamouraska, three at St. Thomas in Montmagny, six in Sorel, and three in Beauharnois.[466]

There was one Brother who was living in extraordinary circumstances: detached for service in the wilderness, at Oka on Lake Deux Montagnes, he single-handedly directed the "Annunciation School" under the guidance of three Sulpician Fathers. The facts stand in need of an explanation. Oka was an Iroquois Indian Reservation; a handful of the descendants of the fearsome adversaries of French colonization lived in these regions subject to the authority of the Gentlemen of St. Sulpice who had been lords of the territory since 1718.

In 1849, Father Billaudele, one of the priest travelling-companions of four of the Institute's pioneers,[467] decided to bring the Brothers into the task of evangelizing young "Red Skins". "Lend us", he pleaded with the Community in Montreal, "as an experiment, one of your men for a winter". Father Billaudele, Superior of the Seminary, had a right to be listen to attentively. Brother Romon, a Frenchman who had, at one time, been Director at the central prison in Aniane,[468]was designated; his Superiors, quite correctly, believed that he was quite capable of controlling a gang of youngsters who were naturally refractory to all discipline, just as he was able to bring recalcitrant prisoners to heal. Moreover, since he was a mature Religious, the dangers of isolation for him were not so worrisome.

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[464] Jean Châtel, born in Gannat (Allier).

[465] *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, **pg**. 83 and pp. 493-494. — Brother Symphorian Louis, op. cit., pp. 198-220. — Motherhouse Archives, File ID h1. — Brother Hermenegild's notes on Canada are contained in File HB v.

[466] The total comes to fifty-eight Brothers. Besides, the Montreal District at this time included the three foundations in the United States, Baltimore, St. Louis and New York, all of which comes to a total of 112 Brothers. (Brother Symphorian Louis, pg. 39.)

[467] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 204.

[468] Ibid., pg. 271.

Arriving in December, he resided in the priests' house in Oka and adapted is daily schedule to that of the Sulpician group. The year slipped by in this way. Brother Romon achieved rewarding results, and, as a consequence, he was given an assistant. This beginning of a normal Community failed to develop any permanence, and, at the end of a few years, the primitive conditions were restored: successive occupants of the post combined with a company of priests and taught a single class.

The class, in the beginning, was attended by about fifty pupils. Several "pale faces" had no difficulty mixing with the Iroquois and the Algonquins. The Indians clung to such fierce habits of independence and indolence that the teacher was often wasting his time. The Sulpicians thought that work on the land was better suited to active bodies: and so, they set up a combination school and farm, that was directed by Brother Joseph. At first, it met with expectations; but the mercurial character of the Indian succeeded in reasserting itself. It was thought that, perhaps, that quality might be checkmated in a residence school; but, then, the resident pupils ran away. For a short period of time, the Indians were replaced by orphans from Montreal; and, then, because the institution had no reason for existing, it was closed.

In 1859, the primary school was restored to its primitive model and entrusted to Brother Philip of Mary. For thirty-two years this Brother remained at his post. He experienced a great deal of suffering. The influence that he had assumed over his tumultuous charges and their churlish and troublesome families was not strong enough to prevent them from one day converting to Protestantism, in order to elude dependency upon the Sulpicians! Nevertheless, Brother Philip was able to hold out and save the school. Occasionally, he emerged from his solitude to immerse his spirit once again in the company of his Brothers in Montreal.[469]

Up to now we have followed the progress of the Brothers' Institute only in the regions populated by French Canadians. But after 1851 it went well beyond that. Its first conquest in the English-speaking region was the important center of Toronto, at the extreme southwest of Lake Ontario.

The Bishop of this city, a Sulpician, was Armand Francis Marie, Count of Charbonnel. Having served as the Brothers' chaplain in Montreal before being raised to the episcopacy, he maintained excellent relations with them. And so, when he asked for Brothers for his far-off diocese, Brother Facile was immensely pleased to accommodate him. Thus, in May and September of 1851 two parochial schools were quickly opened. A short time thereafter, the Community in Toronto began a secondary school, an "Academy". Brother Arnold, who had become Director beginning in 1867, enlarged and modified the institution, which he called De La Salle Institute. It was the first foundation in America to bear the name of the Holy Founder. And Brother Arnold proudly gave prominence to the name — a gesture that was to be repeated subsequently by the college's numerous builders.[470]

De La Salle's disciples did not have to wait so long to establish their reputation among English-speaking Canadians. Kingston, in extreme eastern Ontario, matched Toronto in Brothers' schools after February 3, 1853, when Brother Rodolphus and Abnon opened two classes there. Bishop Phelan, Bishop Gaulin's Coadjutor, had invited them and housed them in the Bishop's residence. More of Brother Facile's envoys quickly completed the team. Kingston had previously only had schools that were attended by both Protestants and Catholics indistinctly. The commissioners to whom educational control belonged demanded that the newcomers submit to a public examination at which Catholic and Anglican Bishops sat

469 .[469]*Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1913, pp. 46-54. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle,* pp. 499-500.

470 Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — Rivista lasalliana, for December 1936, pp. 223-224. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle,* pp. 88-89.

side-by-side. The test turned out to be a triumph for the Brothers and did credit to their fellow-Catholics; in fact, the favorable impression created in the city allowed the people in Bishop Phelan's diocese to elect their own school commission, open confessional schools and collect their share of governmental subsidies.[471]

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While the Brothers were being dispatched as scouts on the highroads of the colony and were establishing stable outposts, their central position in Lower Canada continued to grow. On August 24, 1853 Brothers Leo and Bromius left Montreal for Yamachiche. This large town started out in 1703 as a charming village on the spot where the river forms Lake Saint Pierre. Its first European inhabitants, following upon Iroquois rowers, were the Lesieurs and the Genlinases who had arrived there from Saintonge. The Recollects and the Sulpicians took their turns serving the parish.

Father Dumoulin, a secular priest, and pastor since 1825, heard of the teachers who taught in Three Rivers, which was about five miles from Yamachiche. He considered it his duty to establish a similar foundation. The school commission had obtained a grant of $2,600 from the Québec government. But as the project was nearing completion Father Dumoulin died; nevertheless it continued to thrive, and his flock expressed their satisfaction with it.

The entire population went down to the wharf to welcome the Brothers at the end of their voyage down the river. In procession the people led them to the church with music and salvos of musketry. The school, dedicated to St. Anne, had to make do with slim finances. Having become a residence school, it would founder in 1872 as the result of a fire; but only to rise from the ashes and, under the impetus of its Director, the wise and pious Brother Salustian, provide the Institute and the clergy with a large number of distinguished candidates.[472]

During the same year as St. Anne in Yamachiche, a school was opened at l'Islet, and as usual on the banks of the St. Lawrence, but this time downstream from Québec. And, between 1858 and 1889, in the days when it was directed by Brother Chrysostom, it was especially distinguished for its courses in hydrography, surveying and telegraphy. One of the sailors trained there during that time was Captain Bernier who was celebrated throughout Canada for his Polar expeditions; he told of his gratitude to the Brother who launched him on his career and guided him and how, throughout a life of adventure, he had remained faithful to the principles of the college he cherished.[473]

Charles Gagnon — Brother Chrysostom — belonged to a family three of whose sons entered the Christian Brothers. Ephrem Gagnon, Brother Hosea, became Visitor of the District; Honoré, as Brother Jerome, was associated with St. Mary's School in the Beauce, which had been opened only six years when, in 1861, he became its Director.

The Canadian Beauce was situated on either side of the Chaudière River between two mountain chains. More picturesque, doubtless, than the site in France that bears the same name, it was equally fertile, with abundant harvests in wheat, rye and oats. As early as 1736 a group of colonists settled there and set up St. Mary's parish about thirty miles south of Québec.

In 1855 Father Proulx was the pastor: the three Brothers whom Brother Facile placed at his disposal started up both a primary and a residence school. The teachers opened classes in front of 120 pupils in a modest building constructed completely out of wood. But then fifteen years

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[471] Ibid., pg. 494. — Brother Symphorian Louis, pg. 284.

[472] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 372-374.

[473] Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 224-227. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 498.

direction under the affable Brother Jerome brought prosperity. The Institute became completely acclimatized in this region: the seed scattered by God's workers sprouted up in excellent and enduring vocations.[474]

It is enough to note in passing the attempt at a foundation at St. John Dorchester. On the other hand, a bold incursion into the vastness of the northwest deserves to be more than briefly indicated. Bishop Provencher, the first missionary in this region, had called in the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, one of whom, Father Alexander Tacheé, along with one of his confreres, Father Aubert, had been evangelizing the tribes along the Red River since 1845. In 1853 he succeeded Bishop Provencher as Vicar-apostolic. Trappers and woodsmen, come from the St. Lawrence, had already made up the nucleus of a stable population. The Bishop sought to arrange for the education of their children. At his request, Brothers Andronis, Arcisse Denis, and Telemachus reached St. Boniface during the summer of 1854. For a long period of time they shared Bishop Taché's residence and his table. The future seemed to be taking an auspicious shape; and a Community residence was built in 1858. It was then that difficulties began to arise between the missionaries and the teachers; as the disagreement grew, the Brothers had to exercise their freedom to withdraw. Their departure took place in July of 1860 after only six years of a work that would have made a valuable contribution to Canadian expansion.[475]

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Only four in 1838 and twenty-one in 1843, the Brothers exceeded 100 in 1853 in North American territories that belonged to the British Crown.[476] In 1861 there were 117 Brothers and twenty-four novices. The Institute was teaching more than 8,500 pupils in forty-five schools, offering overall ninety-four French and English classes,[477] parcelled out over the following centers: Montreal, Québec, l'Islet, Sorel, Kingston, Toronto, St. Thomas, St. Mary's in the Beauce, Three Rivers, Yamachiche and Beauharnois.[478] At this time the Canadian Communities and those of the junior circuit in the United States formed a single, exceptionally immense District. To all was addressed the commendation of Brother Assistant Anthelme on the occasion of a spiritual retreat over which he had just presided in America: "I do not think that there exists anywhere in the Institute better designed institutions than your own."[479]

Brother Anthelme offered to men and to projects in the New World a kind regard and the advise of experience gained in France and Italy.[480] He was a leader worthy of every consideration, but, who, in 1858, was able to make nothing but the briefest contacts with his distant confreres. Three years later, the weariness of advancing age forced him to relinquish his

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474 Motherhouse Archives, ID f. — Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 227-228. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January, 1925, pp. 20-23.

475 Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 176-178.

476 *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 215. *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938, pg. 118.

477 Motherhouse Archives,

478 Brother Albeus Jerome's collection of documents, extract from the *New York, Tablet* for August 3, 1861.

479 Brother Albeus Jerome's collection of documents, extract from the *New York, Tablet* for August 3, 1861.

480 Concerning Brother Anthelme see Vol. V of the present work, pp. 78, 197, 422.

office. To take his place in the Régime the Institute's representatives appointed the right man:[481]

Henceforth, he would have to reside in Paris, and his concern was to extend to others besides his favorite sons. Nevertheless, as on several occasions he crossed the Atlantic, he would come to dwell upon the extraordinary growth of the educational and religious work that was hardly thirty years old.

Brother Turibe had replaced him as Visitor, in residence in Montreal. Earlier, the overall direction of the schools in the city had fallen to this Frenchman from Montélimar. From this sun-soaked region Cyprian Pommier had disembarked in 1850 in the Canadian snows. He had adapted to the conditions of his new home. Very learned and especially gifted in the physical and natural sciences, his superiority became obvious. In all probability Brother Facile had directed the Superiors' choice to an individual who would be able to retain positions that had already been won.[482] Nevertheless, the task threatened to exceed human strength. Even the robustness and intrepidity of a Brother Facile would have succumbed if this modern imitator of St. Paul had to pursue his apostolic exploits on the fly. The schools in the United States were assuming an importance large enough to absorb the total dedication of a superior.

Before Brother Turibe's three-year appointment had completely run its course, he was recalled to France. Brother Philippe had decided to establish two provinces in North America. He placed an English-speaking Brother at the head of the new group that brought together the Communities in the States. Canada remained under obedience to a French Brothers.

In March, 1864 the senior Brothers from throughout the former District were assembled in Montreal in order to discuss the practical consequences of the administrative separation. They undertook the redistribution of personnel and financial agreements. Their deliberations were concluded by a solemn declaration: Americans, Canadians, Irish, filially subject to their Superiors, were happy to proclaim their complete unity; they would never forget the common origin of their institutions. They meant never to deny their obligations to the native land of the Holy Founder, France, from whence had spread to the shores of Québec and New York the flame of the apostolate. Finally, they proclaimed their gratitude "to the man whose life was dedicated to the development and the strengthening" of the Institute in this hemisphere, "the very dear and beloved Brother Facile".

Brothers Ligouri, Odilard of Mary, Adelbertus, Bernard, Crispinian, on the one hand, and Brothers Ambrose, Patrick, Bornaby, and Elisha, on the other signed this text.[483] The first of these of signatories thereafter assumed the responsibilities for the Canadian District.

Born in Toulouse, for fourteen years he had been a part of the teaching faculty in the residence school in that city. Then he became Director of St. Giles School in Moulins. As a southerner, he possessed that effortless, profuse speech, that flower-strewn rhetoric.[484] But they were not empty words: Brother Ligouri had been trained in one of the Institute's best novitiates.[485] His enthusiasm was sustained by a profound knowledge of religious matters; and his native fervor had grown to the point of heroic self-sacrifice. He was inclined to any

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[481] Trans. Note: in English in the original, the man whom the American Brothers called their "Father", who inspired their action and their spirit: Brother Facile.

[482] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — Brother Symphorian Louis, pg. 43.

[483] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v.

[484] Brother Symphorian Louis, pg. 44.

[485] Concerning the novitiate in Toulouse, see Vol. V of the present work, pg. 437.

undertaking and prepared for the total dedication of self. An ardent worker, he came close to not knowing how to restrain his zeal: "a man under a full head of steam" is the way he described himself in a letter he wrote toward the end of his life,[486] after a career whose brevity we have already noted.[487] His four years in Canada enable us fully to appreciate the quality of this man. He worked for the spiritual progress of the Communities; and through exhortation and example, he promoted regularity, harmony and fervor. An activist in support of the Religious life, he performed a similar role in relation to intellectual work; he laid out for his confreres a sensible program of studies; and he wanted the Brothers to expand further their reputation as educators. And while he increased the number of new schools, he did so with the understanding that Canadian youth would find in them, not a superficial educational glitter, but an in-depth cultivation.

At the head of the list of the Visitor's auxiliaries was Brother Aphraates. No one had more effectively contributed to the solid groundwork for education throughout the District. In this native of Picardy good sense and clarity of thought combined with perseverance and, when it was needed, boldness. His basic qualities of character showed up in his physical features: a clear gaze, a forehead of noble breadth, lips firm and stubborn; and overall, a harmony of wisdom and pleasant refinement.[488]

Brother Aphraates was born in 1823 and he had hardly pronounced his vows when the Superiors, confiding great hopes in this young Brother, sent him to Maryland. As Director of Calvert Hall in Baltimore, he supplied proof of his mastery. In 1861 he was transferred to Québec as head of all the Brothers' schools in that city. During the following year his major project was initiated.

Father Auclair, pastor of Notre Dame parish, foresaw a future of material prosperity and economic power reserved for Canada. And, not unreasonably, he believed that such a future was tied to bonds of proximity with the United States and to mutual commerce along thousands of miles of a common frontier. The language to be employed could be none other than English, which had already become indispensable in the relations between the colony and the mother-country. It was crucial to assist in the practical mastery of that language among young men drawn to a career in commerce. And in order to prepare them for business without neglecting their religious life, the founding of a Catholic school for this purpose appeared urgent.

This was the subject of conversations that Father Auclair undertook with both Brother Turibe, Visitor at the time, and with Brother Aphraates. He was understood and supported. On August 7, 1862 the Québec newspapers announced the prospective opening of an "English commercial Academy."

Brother Aphraates outlined a working-plan and sought out teachers. The four who were named offered the best guarantees of linguistic and scientific competency: they were Brothers Christian, Potamian, Antony and Aileran. Classes were to begin on September 4 in the "National School"; and, with the exception of religious instruction, they were to be given in English.

The initial expenditures and expenses for supporting the teachers and their salaries were assumed by the generous pastor of Notre Dame. In March of 1865 the building he had commissioned at the corner of Rues Elgin and Saint-Angele was completed; and the Commercial Academy took possession of it at that time.

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[486] Brother Ligouri's obituary, 1875.

[487] For Brother Ligouri's role in England see above.

[488] Portrait in *L'OEuvre d'un siècle.* — Brother Aphraates' obituary, 1901.

It continued under the control of Brother Aphraates, who did not depart Québec before 1884. Generations of skillful and honest businessmen would be trained in this institution. Montreal sought to have a similar establishment; and the successful artisan of the Québec project went to work for the benefit of the sister-city; in 1873 he reached the desired goal. Three years earlier, he had joined to the Academy on Rue Elgin a class intended for French Canadians who did not think that they were in a position to profit from an education taught in a language other than their own.[489]

The Brothers' Institute on the other side of the Atlantic had long borne the mark of that forceful personality. The success of the Commercial Academy had certainly a great deal to do with the Brother's prestige: the way in which he conceived progress in studies and the close connection he maintained between Christian education and a thorough-going professional training answered completely to the aspirations, the desires and the needs of a middle-class public. But there were other reasons to explain why his influence extended well beyond a single school and a single city. During a stay of nearly forty years in the United States and Canada, Brother Aphraates was able to get to the soul and win the heart of his adoptive fellow-citizens; and even in his old age, he became a vital associate of the Superiors who were responsible for America.

What is more, his name became bound up with an important work of textbook publication. From the moment they arrived in Montreal, the Brothers had been made aware that the country supplied no books serviceable in education. As we have written elsewhere,[490] they made up for this dearth by their personal efforts. To the "History of Canada", the arithmetic, the "Digest of geography", edited in 1843, to the commentary on Québec's catechism, widely distributed and of which Brother Adelbertus was the author, a series of books, some in French others in English, was added covering every branch of the program. These had been either written by Brother Aphraates or inspired by him.

Not satisfied to create this library of the profane sciences, he published for the pupils a collection of prayers and sacred hymns, a manual of piety, essays on the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and a "Bible History". In 1869 the Canadian edition of the *Duties of a Christian* appeared at the same time as an English translation of this well known book by St. John Baptist de La Salle.

There was thus established a set of educational tools precisely adapted to the country, which enabled the Brothers to apply their methods without unnecessary confusion. The distinguished Director of the Academy, like Brother Visitor Ligouri, had always a very keenly concern to train teachers of the very highest calibre. The young Brothers who served under him emerged from his hands prepared for the great variety of teaching tasks and conscious of their responsibilities.[491]

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No slowdown of activity followed either Brother Facile's departure nor the Institute's new organization in America. The clergy, on the whole, paid tribute to the Brothers' efforts. And the Sulpician Fathers who, from the outset, had served as guarantors for the Brothers, continued to esteem them and to seek their cooperation.

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[489] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1934, pp. 125-127. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 279. — Brother Aphraates' obituary.

[490] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 207.

[491] *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 524-526.

In Montreal West the Sulpicians administered a huge parish populated by the poor: this was the "Québec neighborhood" where moral problems were mixed up with physical distress. This region became undeveloped land for the Christian teachers to clear away and prepare for cultivation. They set up eight classes here, four for French Canadians and four for the Irish. In 1864 "St. Bridgid's" became an independent community and not merely a "neighborhood". Brother Tertulian became its Director; and he was succeeded by Brothers Odilard, Alphonsus and Leo. In spite of contrary breezes, the work made progress. It served and guided as many as 700 pupils.[492]

By 1865 the same type of school existed in Québec. In this case it was the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who initiated the arrangements. The Archbishop had entrusted to this Congregation, which had won the Canadians' enduring gratitude, a mission church in St. Roch's parish: an effort was made to supply religious service to a population that was growing every year. The new neighborhood in which it was set up was called Holy Redeemer. The Oblates applied to Brother Facile for De La Salle's disciples to come and help them in their mission. It took some time to translate talk into action. But the school was opened on August 16 by Brother Odilard of Mary. In September there were six classes in operation, four French and two English. Unfortunately, thirteen years later an enormous fire engulfed most of the houses in St. Roch and Holy Redeemer; and nothing was left of the school buildings. It took two years to complete reconstruction, courageously undertaken by one of the Oblates, Father Durocher. Finally, on September 1, 1868 Brother Auxian led five teachers back to the site.[493]

St. Ursula's School in Three Rivers increased its growth under Brother Gideon of Mary's efforts. A native of Auvergne, he had received an "Obedience" for the New World in 1864. Brother Visitor, Ligouri, at first, contemplated using him in Upper Canada in connection with a school of which we shall presently speak. In Three Rivers, however, while replacing Brother James of Mary who had returned to France, the Visitor had appointed Brother Andrew. But when he introduced this Brother to Bishop Cooke, the latter did not disguise the fact that the installation of an English-speaking Director was not exactly to his taste; and he insisted that the agreement reached on this matter from the very beginning be adhered to. There was nothing for Brother Ligouri to do but to effect a switch: he replaced Brother Andrew with Brother Gideon and vice-versa. The friendly, dedicated and courageous Gideon, on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the St. Maurice, garnered the success that was due to his qualities, his talents and especially his exceptional intellectual accomplishments. During the sixteen years he remained at the head of the Community he gained experience of the Canadian temperament and he learned how to please the authorities and families. Constantly broadening the public to which he appealed, in 1873 he opened a second school. It was in this connection that Bishop Lafleche, successor to Bishop Cooke, on June 3, wrote to the Mayor and the Commissioners: "I consider myself fulfilling a duty in thanking you for the decision you have taken to enlarge the existing Brothers' residence and to construct an affiliate in the St. Philip's neighborhood...I cannot be pass over the efforts and sacrifices that you have agreed to assume in order to obtain for our people the advantages of an education well within its competence, suited to its needs, and completely religious."[494]

Most of the School Commissions could have laid claim to the same gratitude. And the praise directed toward the Brothers teaching could have been extended to all their schools.

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[492] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for May, 1907, pp. 156-157. — Another Community, called St. Joseph's, also opened in Montreal in 1865.

[493] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v.

[494] Ibid., *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for January, 1924, pp. 127-130.

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Brothers' schools continued to increase in the French-speaking regions until the end of Brother Philippe's generalate: in 1867 occurred the opening of the residence school in Longueil, opposite Montreal and destined to assume its final form as Sacred Heart College; in 1871, Brother Abban, a Canadian from St. Thomas in Montmagny and a former novice in Montreal, at the end of a long stay in Europe, became the first Director of the school in Chambly.[495]

At this time the political situation was exceptionally encouraging. Concluding heroic efforts and a patient dialogue, the final form of the Canadian Constitution had been adopted by the British Parliament and, on July 1, 1867, it became law. One of its artisans, George Stephen Cartier, had done combat among the insurgents of 1837; and what he could not obtain by arms, he had tirelessly demanded through political action, namely, that French-speaking Canadians enjoy full rights and exercise a broad influence in a "Confederation". That quest had now been won: French-Canadians controlled power in the Province of Québec, where they could consolidate their traditional positions. And, enjoying self-determination and favored by a rapid rise in birth-rate, they would be characterized by constant growth.

Nevertheless, they continued to be loyal subjects of the English Crown. The future of the "Dominion", they knew very well, depended upon an agreement on the part of all the citizens of this vast territory. People of Anglo-Saxon extraction had, for a century, earned their place in it by conquest: it would be idle, it would be ridiculous, to dispute that place with them.
The selection of a federal capital six years earlier had underscored the necessarily British character of a nation whose destiny was bound up with English tendencies. At the beginning of the 19th century the region about the Ottawa River saw its first groups of Europeans: a lumberman, Philemon Wright and the workers in his mills, settled there in order to exploit the forests. Thereafter, a rather large contingent of Scotch occupied the neighboring lands. On the spot watered by the Chaudières Falls and the Rideau Cascade, a man named By, an English Colonel and an engineer, in 1826, laid the foundations for a city. It was not long before it became a work-place, strewn with a variety of cultures, and where, here and there, there arose lumberjacks' cottages.

However, Bytown gradually gained in importance. But left to themselves, colonists in their morals were in danger of imitating the Indians. "In this country", they used to say, "there is no God". There coarseness went hand-in-hand with religious ignorance. To know how "to swing an axe" was practically the only lesson that young people learned. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate were involved in creating a mission center in that area: they thought that they would find a flock among people who had come from everywhere. Indeed, along the Ottawa Catholics and Protestants worked side-by-side; and, at the same time, the region became bilingual. Nevertheless, the majority of the inhabitants spoke English and were associated with Protestantism.

In 1847 Rome supplied Catholics with a Bishop in the person of Father Guigues, the Oblate Provincial. In 1854 Bytown lost its name, to become henceforth known by the name of its river. And thus, become completely Canadian by naturalization, Ottawa prepared itself for its splendid future.

Because of its geographical situation and because of the religious and national predominance there in evidence, Queen Victoria designated the young city as the seat of the federal government.

From that point on it was necessary to anticipate a great influx of population and to

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[495] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October, 1910, pg. 300. — Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 290-293.

contemplate, besides, the prestige from which the capital would most likely benefit. As a consequence, Bishop Guigues wished to establish excellent schools. As early as 1845, one of the mission's pioneers, Father Dandurand, had appealed to the Brothers. The Bishop repeated the invitation and prepared a school site. Once negotiations had been concluded, the essential preparatory steps were completed in 1864.

The Brothers showed up on November 5; and on the 14, they began to teach 600 pupils recruited particularly from among the sons of French Canadians. The school, placed under the patronage of Notre Dame, for sixteen years had Brother Andrew as its Director. He had no intention of allowing the school to remain at the primary level; vigorously promoting studies, during the following year, he was able to organize classes at an intermediate level. The program worked out in this way placed a special emphasis upon the sciences: arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry and introductory natural sciences. These were subjects that were most interesting to youngsters who were preparing to launch out into an active life, in industrial and commercial enterprises, in the exploitation of forests and lands. They also received the instruction in practical law which they needed. And as for grammatical and literary formation, the Brothers provided these in both French and English. Instruction in the two languages followed parallel courses.[496]

It is understandable, then, that England's senior representatives on many occasions should have given evidence of a great deal of respect for the Brothers' work. In 1869, the Governor-general, Lord Joung, who had visited the institution on Rue Côté in Montreal had observed with satisfaction the loyalty of both pupils and teachers; and he stressed the excellent results obtained through Christian education. And his commendation was all the more welcome for having been uttered at least in part in the mother-tongue of French Canadians.[497]

In 1872 his successor, Lord Dufferin, having personally familiarized himself with the education dispensed in the classes in Ottawa, was pleased to participate in an official reception extended to him by Brother Andrew. He was presented to the pupils in the company of the Mayor of Ottawa and Bishop Guigues.[498]

The introduction of the Institute to exclusively English-speaking regions, then, did not appear to be strewn with insurmountable obstacles. Actually, Canada's maritime provinces between 1860 and 1876 witnessed the establishment of six Communities: two in the city of Halifax and the others in the areas of Arichat, St. John, Charlottetown and Chatam.

But all these plantings sprung up only suddenly to wither. The school in Arichat was the first to disappear, as early as 1866; the one in Chatam, which was the last to be attempted, did not last more than four years, until, i.e., 1880. When we deal with that period we shall analyze the causes for such a generalized setback: financial restrictions, Protestant hostility and the sudden demands made by several bishops.[499]

Such serious misunderstandings were not to be feared at the center of the Canadian federation. Without further comment upon the entirely favorable opinion in the Province of Québec, we should point out the welcome extended to the Brothers in Upper Canada. There, the growth of the Christian schools was encouraged and, as a consequence, the unimpeded

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496 Vattier, op. cit., pg. 43 and pp. 103-104. — Brother Symphorian Louis, pp. 255-259. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 90-101. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1912, pp. 97-98. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938, pg. 120.

497 Motherhouse Archives, File HB v.

498 Brother Symphorian Louis, pg. 268.

499 Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pp. 491-492.

recruitment of teachers. A judicious and thoroughly warranted patriotism demanded that the Brothers, at least for the most part, belong to the same cultural stock, the same human family, as their pupils.

This was the burden of a letter addressed to Brother Philippe on October 28, 1873 by Archbishop Lynch of Toronto. The prelate was pleased with the apostolic work accomplished in his episcopal city by the distinguished Superior's confreres. And he continued:

"A means which would contribute a very great deal to this work would, without contradiction, be the establishment of a novitiate in the Province of Ontario. In this Province you have three functioning centers: Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa. Toronto deserves your preference...The first reason I advance is the one that prevailed upon the Holy See to establish here the headquarters of the Archdiocese [greater population and ease of access]. The second reason: the Catholic population in the region is, for the most part, of Irish origin, mixed with some English and Scotch; the English language prevails throughout. If you have a novitiate in Toronto, you would be accepting young men from throughout the whole region. They do not want to go to Montreal; it's too far away. You can judge for yourself the advantage it would be to have Brothers here who speak the same language, have the same customs and share the same views as our countrymen." [500]

Archbishop Lynch's proposal was seriously explored by the Régime which, in its meeting of November 24, 1873, approved it in principle. A lot of the ways and means remained to be settled, especially those relating to the financing of the project. The problem was to take several years to solve.[501].

But from now on, in order to facilitate the Brothers' expansion and the governance of their Communities, the Superior-general granted the Visitor of Montreal, Brother Hosea, powers that took into consideration the great distance between Canada and the Motherhouse: the freedom, on his own initiative, to open schools asked for by the heads of dioceses or parishes or school commissions; freedom to undertake the closing of schools that urgently required it; the right to appoint and change Brothers Director in emergencies and with the proviso that the Superior be kept informed, remain the judge of last recourse and the one who signs "Obediences."[502]

Efforts continuous since 1837 had not exhausted a religious aristocracy. Accomplishments led to more ambitious enterprises. And they appeared particularly modest in comparison with the task that would be achieved during the closing years of the 19th century and that continued on into the 20th in a young nation, sturdy, free and faced with boundless horizons and resources.

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[500] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v.

[501] Ibid

[502] Ibid., File ID h1, letter dated 1873.

CHAPTER 2

United States of America

Results of the same order as in the Dominion of Canada but at a level proportioned to a more intense growth of the population and of human activity will be indicated in our study of the Brothers' Institute in the United States. No water-tight compartments separated the citizens in Ottawa, Toronto and Québec — whether Anglo-Saxon or French — from their neighbors in the great Republic. All of them, located on a huge new continent worked with bold methods and intense energy, to uncover and exploit its riches. In the face of the same sort of difficulties, and in order to achieve similar goals, minds contracted a common posture and souls felt an equal need as much for sound convictions as for self-determination.

A Canadian had a tendency to model himself on his American neighbor to the south. But he continued to be jealous of his political independence, and he could not forget that he had his own culture. Once the time of ancient rivalries and war-like struggles had been concluded, the two peoples sought out ways to help one another. What proved successful with one of them turned out to be a way for the other to undertake an crucial experiment.

De La Salle's disciples, known and liked in Canada, had to await the clergy's call from the other side of the frontier. In the cities along the Atlantic coast there dwelt priests who were the successors to those missionaries who had come from France during and after the French Revolution of 1789. Among them the title "Brother" was current; and they longed for the benefits that derived from the Brothers' work. And now, the reversal that had once been experienced in far-off Louisiana,[503] was no longer to be feared: instead of a handful of men scattered abroad at random and, by a disastrous error, left to their own devises, now systematically trained teams were prepared and remained under the close supervision of their Superiors.

As affiliates of Communities along the St. Lawrence, American foundations would not have immediately to begin existence without support. They would borrow personnel and survive on the resources of the regions which sustained them. Only as they approached the vigor of youth, if not their majority, would they cut the ties that bound them to their District of origin.

We are therefore witnesses to the evolution of a normally structured organism. And we shall see it assuming an exuberant vitality, original, distinct, in some ways, from its mentors, but without ceasing to belong, with all its indomitable will and with all its grateful heart, to the Lasallian family.

The Brothers in the United States, in their moral and physical features, combined the characteristics of religious educators with the special qualities of their nation. There was nothing to wonder at in this union: the environment affects the man; and the man consciously welcomes, rather more than he submits to, this influence when, from the outset, a number of similarities are disclosed between his mind and the external world, when ambience and circumstances enable him to achieve his goal.

The depiction of the Institute's situation in North America, sketched in 1902 by a diplomat and an enlightened judge of human character, might, without any anachronism, serve as the text for our account:

"There, the Brothers have found a home entirely favorable to their development, tolerant

[503] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 430-433.

laws, a utilitarian population but one which finds it inconceivable that a civilization, a morality, a genuine intellectual culture can be separated from religion, and, finally, a Republic that is sufficiently strong to be fair, even generous to everyone, sufficiently superior to mean-minded passions not to fear the rivalry of private associations, especially when they are formed among men who do not assemble except to do good.

In these auspicious circumstances the Brothers' work, from the moment they set foot on this free land, had inevitably to prosper. It has branched out into numerous and diverse foundations, adapting itself with remarkable ease to the variety of needs of an industrious, inventive nation that is relentlessly laborious and keenly competitive.[504]

It is, perhaps, only fitting cautiously to temper the dazzling colors of this picture. Over all it is quite exact. That religion held up something of an ideal in and about 1850 in the harsh realities life of immigrant and pioneer life is beyond dispute. Distinguished authors in the large New England cities might very well have leaned toward Deism and Rationalism, but the masses retain their Christian beliefs and sought in Scripture for guides to conscience and for consolation in their difficulties.

A "revival" quickly occurred within Protestantism — a surge toward repentance and an abandonment to Providence after a calamitous financial crisis. But alongside these various non-conformists, the Catholic Church was making continuous and significant progress, and in the influx of immigrants there were many of its adherents. There were the Irish who came by the thousands after 1846, following the famine brought about on their island by the potato blight; there were Canadians who, yielding to the urge to roam or drawn by higher wages gradually increased the circle of their compatriots who had taken refuge in the eastern States after the insurrection of 1837; and then there were the Italians, the Hungarians and even some Frenchmen, although what ordinarily disembarked in New York were Socialists, disciples of Cabet, victims of "June days" of 1848, and victims of the "Second of December", inspired by anti-clerical rancor.

Before these ingredients of unequal value blended — with extraordinary rapidity — into the crucible of the young Republic they had to undergo fierce conflict. "Yankeè Politicians and intellectuals feared assuming responsibility for the poor and the disreputable. And the hostility of "Nativists" as well as of certain secret societies was especially directed against Catholics who were suspected of complying awkwardly with the definition of a good citizen.

But prejudices crumbled or subsided. A broad-based tolerance eventually prevailed, which finally became transformed into mutual respect. Belief in God, the Ten Commandments and the Gospel supplied the foundations for an absolutely essential agreement; religious denominations, without disguising their differences nor shunning controversy were inspired by the same desire: — to contribute to moral and social betterment. "The American spirit", which did not refrain from a great deal of effrontery, breathed only in the sects: the true Church had thrown open to it the doors of the Cenacle; but she did not allow it to disturb the structure.

To learn "how to live" — i.e., to play fairly and vigorously in good physical surroundings — the role of a man on this earth was the way that educators put it to young people. The "active virtues" were to be cultivated and the mind was to be equipped with all the knowledge capable of enlarging the individual's ascendancy over nature and society.

In the years between 1840 and 1860 during which, from ocean shore to the Alleghanys, an intellectual renaissance spread abroad with the philosopher Emerson, the historians Parkman and scott and the poet Longfellow, a solid movement was taking shape in favor of education.

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[504] Report of Baron Courcel, French ambassador, to the General Assembly for the Apostolates of Christian Education, March 13, 1902; cited by Croisé in his pamphlet, *les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*, Versailles, 1903, pg. 38.

Educators, like Horace Mann and Barnard, had awakened public opinion and had demanded recognition of the school.

States in their efforts vied with one another. Each had its own Board of Education and its "Superintendent" who encouraged the development of education. The Federal Government assisted them by apply the revenues from large estates to school costs. In 1867 it organized the Federal Office of Education, an important center for information and ideas.

No legal constraints were practiced on children or their families. But hundreds of thousands attended classes. Once the work-day was over, apprentices and their friends made their way to evening classes that had been set up in the major cities. Cooper Union in New York invited workers to expand their knowledge. Libraries offered their habitués a vast selection of books.

Colleges were opened for secondary and higher instruction: there were about a hundred of these within the ten year period between 1850 and 1860. The majority of them were dedicated to the Greco-Roman humanities. There were some, however, that devised other instructional programs: chemistry, mining engineering, even pharmacy found room, as well as modern languages and history.

All of these efforts were dominated by a common goal. What was needed was to make cultural and technical adjustments. The school provided the tools for "Americanizing" the sons and daughters of foreigners whom Europe had poured out into the New World. With the assimilation of peoples, a homogeneous nationality would not be long in coming.

For believers the official system presented serious problems: the common school, admitting pupils from all religions, was neutral. Catechism was confined to "Sunday schools", which were associated with the churches. It is understandable the priests and the hierarchy would look to the Brothers. There was no question of training youth so as to remove them from the national mainstream. And while the call went out to a French Congregation, such a step implied nothing that would cast a shadow the patriotism of citizens. Religious teachers would come from Paris or from Montreal. But they spoke the language of their pupils and they dispensed instruction that conformed to the nation's intentions. Rather than a foreign influence making itself felt in the Brothers' classrooms, it was the transplanted teachers who became suffused with "Americanism."

During this period connections — intellectual, political or commercial — between France and the United States were insignificant. Occasional travelers crossed the country, furrowed with bad roads, still wearing its colonial look, its country-side strewn sparsely with homes, plantations and farms. From their expeditions they reported picturesque recollections; and the shrewdest observers among them described what they found attractive and prophesied a future whose realizations went well beyond their predictions: thus, Alexis de Tocqueville in 1831, Michael Chevalier in 1836 and Jean-Jacques Ampère in 1855.

On the eve of fundamental changes, the American democracy offered the fascination of youth, bursting with hope and promise. Christian teachers who were prepared to deal with it were not immune to its charm. It pleased them that, while working for God, they were expending their efforts under the canopy of the "stars and stripes", under which they proudly took shelter. And they were to pass on that love to their disciples.[505]

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In a circular dated January 14, 1846 Brother Philippe sketched out a program of conquest; and, speaking of the United States, he announced that he would "send Brothers to Baltimore,

[505] For the general information contained in this section, see: George Weill, *Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917*, Paris, 1919; D. Pasquet, *Histoire politique et sociale du peuple américain, Vol. II*, Paris, 1931; Edmund Préclin, *Histoire des États-Unis,* Paris, 1937.

St. Louis, Texas and Oregon" at the request of the bishops "this vast country".

Accomplishments did not fully conform with plans, but in the long run they would surpass them. As for Baltimore, the first on the list, the Institute had already play a preliminary role there at the very moment the Superior-general was arranging for a permanent establishment in Maryland's capital city.

This State, which took both its origin and its name from Catholic auspices, was quite deserving of witnessing the Institute's beginnings in Union territory. And while Catholics in Maryland were no longer the majority of citizens, the Church at least had regained its rights and strengthened its organization. In 1842 Bishop Samuel Eccleston was the head of the diocese in Maryland, and Baltimore, the seat of the diocese (soon to be an archdiocese) had a major seminary directed by the Sulpicians.

Baltimore is about 450 miles from Montreal — in American eyes, a short distance. It was no obstacle to relations between the clergy of the two cities and to fraternization on the part of the Sulpician Fathers. Priests in Canada had, since 1837, both the time and the opportunity to inform their confreres on the other side of the border of the performance of their schools. Like Bishop Eccleston, Father Charles White, Rector of the Cathedral in Baltimore, was interested in the question. Conversations were undertaken with Brother Aidant: Immigration to the United States, replied the Director of the Canadian Community, was not yet possible. On the other hand, he would be quite happy to train young men who, in the eyes of their spiritual directors, had the signs of a vocation; and, after the novitiate, he would send them back to Baltimore to teach.

Father White accepted this proposal. He and another priest personally conducted five postulants to the novitiate on Rue Côté . They returned to their own country with high hopes. But initiation into the Rule requires a severe effort, especially when there has been nothing to prepare the candidates for it. In the beginning Brother Aidant had run into difficulties with French Canadians.[506]

There was all the more reason for meeting with disappointments with older youths who had been totally uprooted. Young men with upright intentions, whose vocation seemed beyond question, lost heart. One survived, and we shall presently see him in action.

Brother Assistant Reticius, the author of an important report on the Institute in the United States,[507] wrote, regarding John MacMullins, that this novice, with his piety, his innocence and his zeal for the education of the poor, recalled "the Bourlettes and the Jean-Françoises", those pure and ardent souls whom Rheims had entrusted to St. John Baptist de La Salle in the early days of the great Work. Unfortunately, like his distant predecessors, John MacMullins was frail of health.

Brother Aidant had a very high opinion of him; and, in a note sent to Paris, he gave a very warm account of "Brother Francis", the religious name given to the young man from Baltimore. He put him in charge of a class in Montreal while waiting to assemble a group of teachers destined for Maryland.

But, in a rigorous climate, the ordeals of the classroom exhausted the new teacher. It was thought that his native milieu would put him back on his feet. And, with that, Father Coskery, the successor to Father White, had been insisting that the opening of his parish school be no longer postponed.

To Brother Frances Brother Aidant was able to add another American who had completed his novitiate in Montreal. He had no trouble in placing a foundation at risk with the use of these two neophytes.

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[506] See above, pg. 250.

[507] Motherhouse Archives, Ms. CG c.

John MacMullins was the first to set out and, after a journey of five and half days, he arrived in Baltimore. He was followed by Brother Edward. In order to complete the Community, Montreal sent a third Brother to take care of temporal matters. In September 1855 the classes began to operate "in the Cathedral".

The influx of pupils demanded the opening of another class to be entrusted to Brother Ambrose. An Irishman, come to Canada after a childhood spent in the land of his birth, and a novice with the Christian Brothers at the age of twenty-seven years, he was to become one of the most remarkable leaders and educators of the future Brothers' province. Baltimore received the first fruits of his dedication.

Brother Francis and the Brother Edward we no less diligent in their efforts. Indeed, even before six months had gone by they were threatened with total exhaustion. Actually, in the humble residence called Calvert Hall, poverty which was nearer to penury and unrelieved privation dogged the teachers. It reached the point where the Brother Visitor was obliged to withdraw the overworked or seriously ill personnel. The brief life of Brother Francis, who was tubercular, came to an end. He became the victim whose tomb stands at the threshold of the colossal structure that would be the sum-total of the schools founded by the Brothers from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Antilles

The precursor had been sacrificed. But this did not mean that the Congregation had repudiated its task. The closing of Calvert Hall seemed very much to have been a temporary measure. Since the preceding December 8, Bishop Eccleston and Brother Philippe had been in communication.

While professing to have been satisfied with the original school, the Bishop was looking for more seasoned guidance. He was expecting from the Superior-general the choice of "a Brother filled with religious spirit and trained at the Motherhouse in France, or at least in one of the better French institutions".

This letter had not yet arrived at Rue Oudinot when the Régime had drawn up plans to put together a homogeneous group to be sent to Baltimore. This was the project to which the January circular, in its final stipulation, had alluded.

It was effected through the mediation of Brother Aidant, who travelled personally in order to conduct the new workers on to the site. He placed them under the direction of Brother Leopold; and on November 13, 1846, Bishop Eccleston announced to his people the inauguration of an institution that included both elementary classes and a "novitiate".

The latter, of course, could not have been realized immediately. Actually, postulants from the United States continued to go to the novitiate in Montreal. Nevertheless, vocations sprung up in Maryland soil: it seems that Brother John of Mary discovered his among the Brothers in that region.

William Eldredge Husted's family were New Yorkers, educated, upper middle-class and Protestant. He had been given an excellent education; although the interest he took in Catholic theology was the cause of some concern to those who were intimate with him. He was forced to part company with them and settle in Baltimore. As a teacher in this city, or in its environs, he resided with "Papists", in an atmosphere that complied with his habitual cast of thought and grace worked its effects. Not just content with proclaiming his faith in the Catholic Church, William contemplated offering himself wholly to God.

Counselled by the Rector of the Cathedral, Father Coskery, who continued to be an outspoken friend of the Institute, he applied to the Director of Calvert Hall. And thus he became the first postulant effectively to be admitted without spending a preliminary stage in Canada.

Once clothed in the religious habit and given the name Brother John of Mary, the novice became the formation program. In 1847, at the age of twenty-three, he was regarded as "a most worthy and edifying" member of the Congregation. Later on he was to direct a series of

Communities. But, at his own request, he was relieved of weighty responsibilities and went to Marseille where he taught English in the residence school.

He died in 1867, and his memory was evoked along with that of Brother Francis. John MacMullins and William Husted are two rather blurred figures in the vague light of dawn. It is fitting to depict them as clearly as possible before they vanish on the Baltimore skyline.[508]

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Moving northward, New York was to be the Brothers' second staging area. The old Dutch "New Amsterdam", under its English name since 1664, extended, already immense, along its magnificent port on the Hudson River. Almost half-way through the 19th century it was inhabited by half a million people. It became the welcoming place for countless immigrants, and, in some sense, the receptacle in which peoples were combined in a proportion and mixture on which the modern American nation was patterned.

This mass of human beings was in special need of counselors. All too aptly might be applied to them the *Misereor super turbam* of the Gospel. And very likely it was these words that came to the lips of its Catholic pastor, Bishop John Hughes, when he set out to write to Brother Philippe.

At this time, the school in Baltimore was only a year old. The Bishop of New York[509]New York became an Archbishopric in 1851wished to obtain the same cooperation from the Brothers as his colleague Bishop Eccleston. He suggested that they begin by directing an orphanage; and he believed that around such a foundation all the necessary preparatory work would be realized.

The Superior-general replied on July 12, 1846: "Your Excellency, wishing as far as I am able to second your most zealous plans..., it seems to me worthwhile to send our dear Brother Leopold to you, in order to prepare the way... This Brother will inspect the site..., and send me a report."

Perhaps the inspector came too late or perhaps the negotiations were difficult. In any case, the results of the inquiry did not surface until September 27, 1847; and they appeared to be totally negative: the orphanage, Brother Leopold reported to Paris, was still in the planning stage. Furthermore, the Bishop was at a loss to locate the funds required to furnish and support the project.

A stroke of good luck intervened to redefine the problem and resolve it satisfactorily. A French priest, Father Annet Lafont, the Superior of the Fathers of Mercy was pastor of St. Vincent de Paul church in New York City. Aware of the unavailing conversations of 1847, he decided that he would get involved and he won Bishop Hughes' consent.

On March 26, 1848 he wrote the following letter to Brother Philippe: "For a very long while I have been wanting to have your Brothers in New York...A need for your Institute is being increasingly felt in this huge city...Only the other day the Bishop was telling me, in the presence of Brother Leopold, of the great satisfaction he would have in bringing the Brothers into his diocese and of the complete approval he granted to my project; I beseech you to consider by respectful request. Your confreres would, upon their coming, be placed in charge of St. Vincent de Paul's School, which I am now directing. I would compensate them in conformity with your regulations. The Bishop would supply them with a house..."

The Superior-general's exalted opinion of America was once again in evidence: "We shall be very happy to send you four Brothers", he wrote on April 26. Nevertheless, he pleaded with

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[508] Motherhouse Archives, Ms. CG c. — Ibid. Brother Albeus Jerome's Collection. — Brother Symphorian Louis, op. cit., pg. 40 — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 203. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938, pg. 125.

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Father Lafont for reassurance: knowing that the work of the Propagation of the Faith, in that year of trouble and affliction, was withholding subsidies and recalling the Brothers' strict rule of tuition-free schooling, he wanted to know whether, under such conditions, the missionary thought he could pay the teachers and maintain the school.

"I have sufficient funds", Father Lafont insisted. And in the light of this explicit assurance, Brother Philippe announced in a letter of June 17 the immediate departure of the future Community.

It was to be composed of Brothers Stylian, Andronis, Alban and Pastoris. The sailing date was set for the first days of July; and on the 24th of that month the vessel pulled up along the wharf in New York City. Thus, it was not the neighboring Canadians but the ancient France of John Baptist de La Salle that volunteered to assist the United States.

The first contact gave rise to scenes of comedy. The Brothers had travelled clad in the traditional mantle and three-cornered hat. And in this costume they were introduced to the American people who, wearied with the very variety of human customs, thought that this time they have never witnessed anything quite so odd. People broke out laughing in the streets. And the hilarity was only swelled when the driver of the omnibus got the idea of seating the four Frenchmen on the top-deck of his carriage. The crowd followed in procession, and into its merriment there drifted, ever so lightly, the suggestion of malice: they shouted: The Pope! The Devil!, a cry in which it was difficult not to detect Protestant prejudice.

At last, they had reached Father Lafont's house on Canal Street, where there was the cordial hospitality that allayed emotions and brought rest to the travel-weary. Community life began to fall into place during the summer which preceded the resumption of classes.

At High Mass on Sunday the pastor of St. Vincent de Paul's sat his guests in the choir. There was a young man who looked at the strange faces with a particularly friendly curiosity. Later on he questioned Father Lafont, he confessor, about them.

The specially pious parishioner was Francis Barat. He was born in Manayunk, near Philadelphia on December 8, 1820, of French origins. His father, Louis Barat, a former Parisian from Rue Contrescarpe, had followed ex-king Joseph Bonaparte to Pennsylvania after the disastrous events of 1814. In 1848 Francis was a bookkeeper for a New York business firm. But he had set his sites higher: he was wondering whether he should become a priest. As Father Lafont watched over this young man and studied him for signs of a vocation, he employed this earnest youth in his parochial school.

The Brothers' arrival would decide the Franco-American's future. Once he had learned the character and the situation in the Church of these "missionaries without surplices", Barat expressed a determination to join them. His spiritual director approved and proposed him to Brother Director Stylian. The newcomer's first task was not to learn but to teach: during the summer vacation he gave English lessons to the four teachers who had only an indecisive acquaintance with the language.

September brought the pupils, and henceforth the building on Canal Street served as the setting for "the men in the white rabats". Many of the pupils belonged to the French colony that had clustered about Father Lafont, which clearly encouraged the employment of certain educational methods. But there remained a number of children whose mother-tongue was Americanized English, and they knew no other. In the beginning classes were conducted through interpreters: to enhance appearances, Francis Barat was clothed in a black robe and given the name "Brother Joseph of Nazareth".

Normally, there were three classes in operation: two "French" and one "English". Some of the older children spoke both languages; and they were given the duties as "monitors". But Brother Stylian and his associates were very definitely "in charge" of the situation. In 1849 the Director went ahead with a plan to establish the beginnings of a residence school: at the year's outset he agreed to accept as boarding students two fine, hard-working youngsters from a

Franco-American family, Adolph and Henry Elleau. The former was to enter the Institute as Brother Vivian. At the end of a few months a couple of dozen applicants earned the privilege of living as resident pupils on the premises at 38 Canal Street.

In its issue for September 1, 1849 The *New York Freeman's Journal* published the residence school's announcement: the Brothers pledged to give fifty pupils (the maximum number) "a Christian education and sound instruction in preparation for business and the arts". Courses included the following subjects: religion, reading, writing, English and French grammar, arithmetic, geometry, bookkeeping, introductory philosophy, geography, history (especially of the United States), introductory mythology, drawing and vocal music.

While unpretentious, the program was sufficiently varied, and it emphasized practical goals without neglecting the sort of refinements that city-dwellers found attractive. The reputation of the French teaching-Brothers spread throughout New York, and their school methods were respected. And, as for their dress, they decided to forego the danger of shocking the man in the street. After consultation with Father Lafont, they determined to conform with Anglo-Saxon custom; when the Brothers left their house they wore a black, secular suit with the characteristic clergyman collar.

The steps they took to settle in testifies to the sweeping confidence with which they faced the future. Since May of 1849 they had ceased living in the priests' house; and the Community had moved to a house that the pastor had built for them. Not satisfied with that, Brother Andronis, with money from his inheritance and with the approval of the Superior-general put up structures on land owned by the Fathers of Mercy: on November 17, he wrote to Paris: "We can house sixty resident pupils, twenty Brothers and ten postulants".

Thought, as a consequence, was being given to the development of a novitiate. Brother Andronis had already been serving as mentor to Francis Barat who, however, was not alone, since three other young men had sought initiation into a life under De La Salle's Rule. Along with Brother Joseph of Nazareth, Brothers Vincent of Jesus, Valerius and Wilfrid received the habit on the Monday after Pentecost.

Bishop Hughes asked that the ceremony be solemnized, and he himself presided over it in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Speaking to the four young men, he said: "You are among the first whom the United States offers to God in the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. May the Lord accept you. Your responsibilities are immense, since you open the way to many who will seek to be clothed in the same habit". The Bishop went on to praise De La Salle's disciples, repeated his welcome and underscored their importance in a country in which the feverish struggle for wealth compromised the concern for spiritual goods and where the swelling tide of immigrants made Christian education particularly imperative.

We should view this address as the prologue to an almost endless series of undertakings. It had hardly been uttered when a group of Brothers, taking advantage of the assistance supplied by their recruits, accepted the responsibility for a second school in one of the missions of the Cathedral church. Here, as in the school on Canal Street, classes were quickly filled.

Among Brother Stylian's auxiliaries, "Brother Joseph" continued to the one who was especially indispensable. As Brother John Chrysostom, a name he had begun to assume beginning in 1850, he started out by teaching at "St. Vincent's Academy". The influx of pupils required larger quarters; and the Brother Director, together with Bishop Hughes, purchased the building that would function as "the Holy Child Academy".

Brother John stood out in every way. He was an exemplary Religious, pious, charitable and devoted, a teacher with a variety of skills, a talented catechist and a gifted orator, and an eminently thorough and remarkably broad-based scholar who read and translated elegantly authors whose language was English, French, Italian, German or Spanish.

On occasion the Superiors would call him away from New York. Thus in 1854 he was in

Baltimore, in 1863 in London and in 1865 in Marseille.[510] But his customary residence had to be "Manhattan College", which was presently about to rise on the banks of the Hudson and of which, for nearly half a century, he was the soul.[511]

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When, in his Cathedral, Bishop Hughes suggested the huge task in store for the Brothers, the man who was to take responsibility on his powerful shoulders had, for eight months, been performing the duties of Visitor in America. Geographically, Brother Facile's territory encompassed at the time the entire "New World"; but, actually, over the face of this vast region there existed in the Autumn of 1848 no more than five schools: Montreal, Québec and Three Rivers in Canada; and Baltimore and New York in the United States.

The following Spring the apostolic traveller began his rounds. How often, in the years that followed, would he show up to stiffen the spirit, reassert his authority, mend and rebind the ties between confreres within his jurisdiction, and establish new institutions! A countless number of wanderings by coach and wagon were to be added to forty ocean-crossings.

The face with the angular nose, the heavy and rough-hewn features, quickly became commonplace. Under a tough exterior there was a sensitive heart. And while the name "Facile" did not exactly square with the character, it had long since ceased to suggest its antithesis. Although by force of circumstances rather withdrawn in the days when his job was to supervise prisoners at Fontevrault or Melun, Facile's fatherly soul expanded in the company of his loving sons and in the arena in which his task was being accomplished. Beyond the Atlantic there was a single title described this man: The Father of American Brothers. For he was father and patriarch until the end of his life, until he had handed on to another the direct responsibility for his beloved family and until, in 1886, the American Brothers would reverently enclose his mortal remains, conveyed from a cemetery in Marseille, to a tomb in Westchester.

At the time of this transfer — nine years after his death — The *Catholic Review* in New York devoted a long article to Brother Facile's memory. It defines the role of the Religious above all men of action, digging his furrow straight, planting the seed and expecting much more from what he does than from what he says:

"When he came to the United States Catholics were relatively powerless; they possessed neither the social nor the economic influence that they now enjoy. And although they were intensely attached to the faith of their fathers, they did not understand how very necessary was Catholic education, and they had unconsciously adopted the Protestant attitude: they believed that the education received in the public school was adequate, since Sunday School and the family environment supplied religious development.

Brother Facile did not get involved in talk. He was simply dedicated to his work, which he regarded as God's work, and he filled his followers with his own spirit. In a very short time New York prided itself in the parochial schools and academies operated by the Brothers; and other cities asked to share in the benefits granted to the metropolis."[512]

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[510] After a stop in Paris, during which he made an emotional visit to the childhood home of his "beloved father," and had the pleasure of a reunion with Brothers Stylian and Andronis at the residence school in Passy. (Brother John Chrysostom's letter, sent from Marseille on January 29, 1865 to his American confreres. Brother Albeus Jerome's collection.

[511] Motherhouse Archives, File ID h; Ms. CG c, Brother Albeus Jerome's collection. — Brother John Chrysostom's obituary, 1907. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September, 1907, March, 1908 and October, 1925.

[512] Issue for April 1886, Brother Albeus Jerome's collection.

It seems then that in serving the truth the Brothers brought many young people to the light. Faithful Roman Catholics saw their duty more clearly and more boldly accomplished it. The progress of Catholicism progressed through the multiplication of Christian Brothers' Schools. By promoting tuition-free schools, the Institute had preserved the faith that millions of people of Celtic and Latin extraction had transplanted into their new homeland. By opening to the socially privileged residence schools and colleges sheltered from Protestant infiltration, it trained generations of leaders and protected the seed of many priestly vocations.

Brother Facile, the major force in this religious and educational movement, appears to have deserved even an earthly renown. Perhaps a critical eye might detect some shadows in all this splendor. And we shall agree with that, if accuracy demands it. But, before sketching the complex and somewhat hectic history of the American foundations between 1849 and 1874, it seemed fitting, as we paused on the threshold of that history, to applaud the man whom the American hierarchy trusted and one of Brother Philippe's best lieutenants.

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Immediately, the peaceful conqueror turned his attention toward the vast Mississippi Valley. Lacking any urgent appeals, perhaps he was listening to the voices of French tradition. This territory, that included 625,000,000 acres stretching from "the Father of Rivers" to the Rocky Mountains, was in the broadest geographical sense of the term "Louisiana", the diamond in the French Crown that had been ceded to Spain by the shameful Treaty of 1763 and that Bonaparte, after having obtained its restoration in 1800, sold in its entirety to the United States for sixty million dollars!

The coast along the Gulf of Mexico had been populated since the beginning of the 19th century. To secure the mouth of the Mississippi was a matter of extreme importance for the back-country: wood and wheat from Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio came down on rafts and barges to New Orleans. It is easy to see why President Jefferson would oppose the establishment of a European power in such a key-position; and we can imagine how quickly members of the American Congress snapped at the Napoleonic offer, which added to the coastal region the quasi-limitless spaces to the North and the West.

Louisiana, properly so-called, became one of the States of the Union in 1812, with New Orleans as its principal city. We shall presently return to the soil where the flavor of an ancient civilization, the scent of the sea and the hot blasts of a young nation blended. But before that, let us go up toward St. Louis, downstream from the confluence of the Missouri and the gigantic river route that is the Mississippi.

St. Louis was founded in 1764 by a Canadian named La Clède, but it did not develop until after the region had been reclaimed by American efforts. After the establishment of the State of Missouri in 1822, it became a genuine city whose orderly map displays it progress. A Catholic See was established four years later: the new dioceses included the Vicariates of Nebraska and Kansas; and, it was also embraced Nashville, Chicago, Alton, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Santa Fé. Missionary work had something to keep it occupied. The number of the Catholic faithful among Spaniards, French, Belgians, Germans, Czechs, Irish, Anglo-Saxons and Indians was put at 500,000. Five-hundred priests dispensed the Sacraments; and Religious Orders, and especially the Jesuits, also found here a field for their action.[513]

The first occupant of the See, Bishop Rosati, had as his successor in 1843 the Rev. Peter Richard Kenrick, who had previously been Vicar and then Co-adjutor. Bishop Kenrick was of Irish origins and had an opportunity to come to know the Brothers during a stay in Baltimore where his own brother, Francis Patrick, would become Archbishop. In order to bring the

513 Motherhouse Archives, File IFDi5. *Le diocèse de Saint-Louis vers 1848*, historical sketch.

Brothers into his diocese, he worked with the American Provincial of the Vincentians, Father Timon, who seems to have gotten in contact with Brother Philip. Bishop Kendrick himself met with Brother Facile at the beginning of 1849; and so urgent was his insistence that he was given a firm promise of early satisfaction.

The St. Louis foundation, like that of Baltimore, was to be an affiliate of Canada. It had been entrusted to the care of the Director of Three Rivers, the excellent French Brother, Brother Gelisaire. In the company of Brothers Peter and Dorotheus, he left Montreal on August 5 and arrived at his destination on the 18th. Classes were opened on September 11 in a building that had once served as Bishop Rosati's residence.

The Brothers, with the Bishop's approval, taught in their Religious habits. And when they went abroad, they were dressed in the same way. As a means of propaganda, it was not ineffective: several postulants sought admission; and in March, 1850 six entered the novitiate.

It said something about the rapidity with which the Institute took root. In 1851, it had already become fixed in four places: at the Cathedral, at St. Vincent's, at St. Patrick's and in the Jesuit parish. The classes, some of which were in English and some in German, required the full-time employment of twelve Brothers.

But there was a more ambitious project in the works: people in St. Louis wanted to have an "academy" that offered a variety of courses and included a residence department. Brother Facile agreed to comply with their wishes; and on January 7, 1853, in order to do the necessary remodeling, Brother Facile lent Brother Piperian's Community $4,937.00

The man who was placed at the head of the new institution possessed the qualities of an educator and a leader. John Patrick Murphy was only thirty-one years of age; as Brother Patrick, he had belonged to the Institute since 1844. Born in Nenagh, County Tipperary, Ireland, he was raised in Canada, to where his family had immigrated in 1825. After being carefully educated in Bytown among his fellow-countrymen and come to a mature age, he decided to enter the novitiate in Montreal. He was quickly put to work in accordance with his talents as inspector of schools.

Brother Facile signed him on as his secretary. He valued, in fact, the clear mind, the enterprising and persevering dedication of this Irish Brother. And having brought him to St. Louis, he allowed him broad discretionary powers. Perhaps he foresaw even then for Brother Patrick the leadership role that had to come to an American citizen whenever the Communities in that region were set free from tutelage.

Brother Patrick directed the residence school, founded in 1853, during its first eight years. It was a brilliant period for the institution. It saw the college's "incorporation" (on December 13, 1855) into the State's education department by an act of the State Legislature at Brother Patrick's urging. In the eyes of the Brothers' friends, this achievement justified the introduction of Latin into the school's program of studies. Bishop Kenrick thought that it was his duty as Archbishop concerned for the recruitment of his clergy to encourage this outright rejection of a point of rule that had been uninterruptedly observed. Indeed, priestly vocations would occur among the pupils. But the question is worthwhile discussing in the full light of the facts: the subsequent activities of Brother Patrick and of Brothers in similar positions will enable us to deal with it candidly.[514]

Before returning to the East, we need to say something about New Orleans. The Archbishop in 1849 was Archbishop Blanc who had kept in mind the goals and the setbacks of Archbishop Dubourg. The time had come to correct the mistakes of the past. At mid-century there were still many families who had not forgotten their French ancestry and who, at home, continued to

[514] Motherhouse Archives, Files ID h and ID i5. — Ms. CG c. — Brother Patrick's obituary, 1891. — See below, pg. 306 et sq.

speak in the old mother-tongue. The Church's principal representatives — as their names suggest — were not Anglo-Saxon. More so than at St. Louis, in New Orleans the sons and fellow-countrymen of John Baptist de La Salle had emerged into a world in which they had not considered themselves to be complete foreigners.

A natural friendliness surrounded them, because they had brought with them something of the old country. Their return was coveted, and people made promises to Brother Facile henceforth to respect the Congregation's wise regulations. Archbishop Blanc had commissioned one of his priests, Father de la Croix, to collect the funds which are the life-blood of this sort of project. Brother Gelisaire came down the Mississippi in order to come to an agreement with the "assistant pastor of St. Patrick's church", who was the Archbishop's spokesman.

And, then, in December of 1850 Brothers Andronis, sylvan and Gustavus took over an unpretentious parochial school called St. Mary's. Archbishop Blanc housed the Brothers in his own home until the building that was to serve as school and Brothers' residence was completed. The pupils arrived in January of 1851. Father de la Croix was grappling with such questions as whether there should be a residence school: this would become St. Mary's Academy; and the tuition-free school would become an extension of it, under the name of St. Patrick's.

The buildings were put up in less than two years. And the school was scarcely under way when it was dealt a severe blow: yellow fever, which in these hot and humid regions was endemic, cruelly ravaged the city in 1853. Three Brothers died; and a fourth, Brother Piperion who had come to New Orleans from St. Louis to attend to financial matters, contracted the fever, was taken to his bed and died. Brother Stephen of Jesus, a Canadian who taught the upper class, returned to his own country. Brother Gaudwin fled the city to a place along the coast that was sheltered from the epidemic. Brother Sylvan, the last man at his post, became resigned finally to joining his colleague, Brother Gaudwin.

On numerous occasions hardships of the same sort were to afflict the Communities in the South. Over a period of thirty years thirty-three Christian Brothers in this region would perish as victims of the dreadful fever. But it did not put a stop to the work. The task was start up once again by Brother Ambrose in the New Orleans schools. And during the years 1859 and 1860 three schools were opened.

Earlier, on March 3, 1858, St. Mary's Academy had become "incorporated" and accredited to the State. The religious hierarchy, like the political, granted religious educators every means for developing their influence, as a document dated July 4, 1859 shows: "We, Antony Blanc, Archbishop of New Orleans, authorize the Brothers of the Christian Schools to operate within our diocese residence schools and academies, since the education they give youth is suited in a very special way to the needs of the United States. It is particularly useful to the Catholic religion, because it promotes priestly vocations in a country in which the clergy is too few.[515] In possession of support in such high places, the Brothers in Louisiana could be confident of controlling their future. All too soon, unfortunately, they would come to experience the inconveniences, the sorrows and the privations of the Civil War.

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The Institute expanded in the States which, in 1783, provided the ground work for American freedom and beyond them, once their frontiers had been rapidly reached. Brother Facile opened schools in Troy, Detroit, and Cumberland between the years 1850 and 1851. Some institutions

[515] Motherhouse Archives, ID i8; Ms. CG c; Albeus Jerome collection. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1926, pp. 141-142.

quickly disappeared, like the one founded in Washington. A Father Donelan had invited the Brothers to come to the Federal capital. But the attempt proved devastating: there was nothing but very poor quarters for a school, and the teachers, by a rare stroke of bad luck, proved unpopular with the people; Directors, French, Canadian and Irish, succeeded one another in rapid fire. And, finally, when the last Director died of typhoid fever and Father Donelan's bankbook could supply no further subsidy, the Visitor closed the school.[516]

At about the same time a pastor in Philadelphia, Father Carter, asked for, and got, five Brothers. The opening in August of 1853 was formal but friendly. A rather large pupil population — three hundred and eighty children at the beginning of the second quarter — was divided among four classes, two English and two German. In July, 1854, a disagreement arose between the Brothers and the priest over the question of tuition-free schooling. Rather than to demand a remuneration from the pupils, the teachers moved the school to the Redemptorists who served St. Peter's parish. Later on, Community headquarters were established in St. Michael's parish, and St. Peter's became the neighborhood in which the principal school functioned.[517]

The Brothers' efforts in Philadelphia continued to expand. However, New York enjoyed a definite lead. This progress was realized in new localities, and its principal means was action. Father Lafont did not retain his property on Canal Street: he reimbursed the Brothers for their investment in the buildings and asked them to find quarters elsewhere.

That was in 1853. In May of the same year the resident pupils and novices set out for Manhattanville. On soil on which New York had its beginnings, the Institute would take off toward the summit.

The Holy Child Academy occupied the key portions of the estate that had been recently purchased. In May of 1854, fourteen Brothers who had remained behind in the house on Canal Street, in their turn, made their way to Manhattan. They belonged to teams of teachers who taught in parochial schools: each day they travelled into town on public transportation.

The sites that had been initially occupied were finally vacated. Their last inhabitants, after a stay on Mulbary Street, in September of 1856 had the benefit of a remodeled building on 2nd Street, near 2nd Avenue. There would be realized a secondary school that one day would be called "La Salle Academy" and which would recruit by selecting its pupils from each one of the parochial schools. That continues to be the foundation of the structure; twenty-six Brothers in twenty-two classes teaching the children of the common people tuition-free. The Provincial Visitors were carefully to preserve these schools in compliance with the spirit of the Founder.[518]

Outside New York City, after 1854, the influence of the Institute extended to Brooklyn, Albany, and Utica. The "Academy of the Assumption" in Utica, on the Erie Canal, had as its Director for five years Brother Justin, an excellent educator and an able man, who gathered the sons of Catholics under his supervision and was very skillful in winning over the heads of families and political leaders.[519]

The Brothers' reputation had long since traversed the Alleghanies. In Ohio in May of 1815 the Bishops in the ecclesiastical province of Cincinnati had assembled in counsel. They had been concerned with the educational problem. In order to preserve the Catholic faith,

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[516] Ibid., File ID i2.

[517] Ibid., ID i.

[518] Ibid., File ID h.

[519] Brother Justin's obituary, 1912.

endangered by the public schools, a means lay open to them: increase the number of teachers consecrated to the education of youth by religious vows; and, to this end, "to create in the province a motherhouse of the very deserving Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools."[520]

They sent the results of their deliberations to Rome. Pius IX applauded them and commissioned Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, to write to Brother Philippe, who, in turn, consulted with Brother Facile. And, then, on January 31, 1859, he replied to the Cardinal's letter of the previous November 20: "The province of Cincinnati already has a number of schools operated by the Brothers of St. Joseph.[521] Would there be anything inappropriate in our setting ourselves up in competition?

Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati was not disturbed: He "dared foresee the realization of a project that touched the very life of the Catholic Church in the United States". And to his letter of April 12, 1859 he joined testimony from Bishop Spalding of Louisville and Bishop Lefevre of Detroit who were determined, as he himself was, to "supply the most genuine pledge of (their) sincerity".

Brother Philippe was unable to evade this flattering persistence except by an exemplary tactfulness. He engaged in a personal correspondence with Cardinal Barnabo who confessed that he had been convinced. The objection, which had also been raised with Father Chambige, Bishop Spalding's Vicar-general, had not brought a response. The Superior-general sent the American Visitor to Cincinnati for a definitive explanation.[522] Finally, after careful reflection, Brother Facile and Archbishop Purcell agreed to settle for a simple school with four Brothers.[523] It was to be a mark driven deep in the soil as a witness to religious obedience; even though the journey that was ultimately to be made was to take another direction. Temporary quarters awaited the Brothers (there were only three of them) who turned up on September 1, 1860.

On the banks of the Ohio one was still not too far from familiar territory. But an opening to the West had already occurred. Having annexed Texas in 1845, the United States , waging war against Mexico, seized an area, extending from one ocean to another, that was larger than all of France. These were pretty nearly dessert lands, with the exception of a few spots along the Pacific coast. There were arid plains, dotted by Indian tribes; and, toward the West, there was the barrier of the Rocky Mountains, the uneasiness mountain passes and the rivers cutting through the solid granite of fantastic valleys.

New Mexico, Arizona and California, all of them one day would be so many components of the American system. What would be first of all necessary would be people, a birth of civilization. And missionaries would be necessary. In 1858, the Bishop of Santa Fé in New Mexico was Francis Lamy. Many of his missionaries, his associates, came from Auvergne: a generous enthusiasm roused the clergy of this province to the care of souls on the far off continent. Father Eguillon, the Bishop's Vicar-general, and Father Machebeuf, who also became a citizen of the United States, had studied at the Brothers' residence school in Clermont-Ferrand.

Bishop Lamy sent his Vicar-general as an ambassador to Brother Philippe. Wherever France

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[520] Motherhouse Archives, File ID i6.

[521] Congregation founded in Mans by Father Moreau.

[522] Brother Philippe's letter to Archbishop Purcell, October 15, 1859, File ID i6.

[523] Ibid., Brother Facile's letter to the Superior-general, November 30, 1859.

was at work in Christ's service, it seemed that De La Salle's Congregation had a role to play. Nevertheless, at their first meeting the Superior was not very encouraging. In his view, America was insatiable.

Father Eguillon turned for help to Brother Arthème. This junior member of the Bransiet family completely sympathized with the men from Auvergne; he belonged to the Massif Central not only through birth, but also because of his job, since for the past seven years he had been the Visitor of the District of Clermont. His mediation proved decisive, and an agreement was reached on June 21, 1859. Brother Hilarian, Director of the school in Billon, and three others from the same region, Brothers Gondulf, Geramius and Galmier crossed the Atlantic.

Brother Facile, under whose orders they would campaign, added a New Yorker to their number, Brother Optatian. The caravan took off into the silent wide-open spaces. Like the immigrants who were at the time setting out for the West, they travelled on horseback, if not in covered-wagons. It was crucial to go armed with a pistol or a rifle, since hostile Indians could appear from nowhere. A few years later, Bishop Lamy, returning to Santa Fé with Brother Augustine of Mary, was forced to defend himself.

Danger threatened and exhaustion overwhelmed. But, finally, after seven or eight weeks they arrived at their destination. The group got a glimpse of episcopal city's skyline on October 17th 1859. They were housed in a brick residence, next to St. Michael's church. The furnishings were primitive: — a few mattresses on the damp ground.

Gradually, life became less unpleasant. The Bishop decided that the Brothers would admit resident pupils. Construction was undertaken, classes were opened, and a program of studies was outlined. Santa-Fé expected to be jealous neither of St. Louis nor of New York in anything. St. Michael's had taken on the look of a genuinely distinguished college

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It was at this time that the major centers of Christian education thrusts themselves upon the public's attention. The Academy of the Holy Child in its quarters in Manhattanville was at the threshold of a sort of metamorphosis. The quarterly examinations mentioned in local newspaper in 1850 witnessed to a persistent fidelity to the original program of studies: history, arithmetic, algebra, French, and German supplied the substance of the materials on which the pupils were to be questioned; while recitations and singing enliven the scholastic ceremony. It was still the residence school in the traditional mold, a family-oriented school where small boys could come to show what they knew and demonstrate their powers of memory in front of a lineup of relatives and friends.[524] The following year Brother Patrick became Director. Once again he set up goals that were similar to the ones which, by his tenacity, he was able to achieve in Missouri. The level of studies was escalated. Depending upon age and talent, the pupils were classified into three divisions: the Preparatory, the Academic and the Collegiate. Although but a child in the first, a student would graduate from the third prepared for higher studies or the experiences of life.

The system was coherent and sound. And its results were such that, from the moment of its inauguration, the intrepid Irishman contemplated seeking the incorporation of his institution in the New York State educational system. At first he obtained a Legislative bill, dated February 14, 1863, which granted official recognition to the foundation sponsored by Archbishop Hughes and which henceforth was to go by the name of "Manhattan College". Then, on April 2 came the College's Charter: as an "institution for the education of youth in the learned

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[524] . *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1931, pp. 256-264. — Brother Augustine of Mary's obituary, 1906. — Two other schools were founded in New Mexico in 1856: the shortlived Taos School and another at Mora which, transformed into a college, lasted until 1882. Taken from *the Tablet,* Albeus Jerome Collection.

languages, the liberal arts and the useful sciences", Manhattan convened its students at the end of their studies before a jury selected from its teaching faculty; and it issued diplomas which were legally valid in the same way as the degrees that bore the seal of professors in public education.

Complete candor prevailed in the relations between the Brothers and their competitors who had no appetite to denigrate the value of the Bachelor Degrees granted by the College: the scrupulous severity of the jury of Brothers was notorious. And the prestige and the accomplishments of their alumni elsewhere would become proof of the skill of their teachers. Graduates of Manhattan filled places in officialdom, medicine, industry and commerce.

It especially prided itself in the number of its students who entered the priesthood. Of the six students who received diplomas in June of 1866 (the first to take the examinations since the Charter took effect) four became priests. In a period of forty years more than three-hundred young men made their way into the priesthood, among whom were the future Cardinals Hayes and Mundelein. The American Church, and particularly the powerful sector of it represented by New York Catholics, never forgot what they owed to the Brothers.[525] Nothing obstructed nor disturbed this gratitude. We are dealing with people who were not thwarted by obstacles and who tended to simplify their problems. Nevertheless, the trend toward the liberal professions and the immediate education for the major seminary assumed an intense instruction in Latin.

We have seen that Brother Patrick stipulated this language for the collegiate program in St. Louis. Thirty years later he would say that at the time "we were forced by the situation". He went on to assert that he had raised the problem as a case of conscience at the General Chapter of 1854. Actually, while the question of tuition-free education was debated with respect to certain schools in the United States, the "Latin question" seems never to have been the object of discussion or resolution.[526] That the old man's memory, writing to Brother Maurice Josephus on March 17, 1888, completely failed him, we dare not claim. No doubt, as a young Director, he had spoken of his educational plans to the Superior-general and to some of the Capitulants, but in a way that did not require an immediate or explicit response.

Back in the United States local preoccupations absorbed him once again. There, the reasons that had induced De La Salle to prohibit Latin in his Congregation had no current significance. That was "history". No matter how interesting and praiseworthy the Past might be, youthful America did not easily grant it the right to restrict the life of the Present.

Approvals, success and the most boundless hopes accelerated and generalized a movement whose progress had been prepared for it. Brother Patrick did not want for imitators. Baltimore, under Brother Aphraates, had modeled itself on St. Louis and was in advance of New York.

At Calvert Hall,[527] Brother Director Urbis opened a residence school in 1853. His successor, sent from France by Brother Philippe, was to inject into this unpretentious institution the powerful leaven of his own intelligence. Brother Aphraates would gain in Maryland the reputation for being a great teacher who, during his career in Canada, would shine more splendidly still.[528]

In 1857 he insured the future of the institution by moving his residence pupils to a serenely

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[525] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for October 1925, pp. 316-318. — Brother Patrick's obituary, 1891. — Motherhouse Archives, File ID h and Ms. CG c.

[526] As Brother Reticius concludes quite clearly in his report (Ms. GC c).

[527] The original name had been preserved after the remodeling that occurred in November, 1846.

[528] See above, pg. 271 et sq.

beautiful estate set on a hillside about nine miles from Baltimore. The region was called "Ellicott's Mills", and the site "Rock Hill", which included only about 13,000 square yards and a building that was not very large. But the Brothers would build, and they would acquire breathing-room. Three years later they would obtain a mortgaged loan of $20,000 from the Régime.[529] The school had to appeal to a public that was both numerous and select. The young Director drew up a program of studies which included "English composition, and the French and German languages", along with mathematics, theoretical and practically surveying, natural history and astronomy. Drawing and music were not neglected: indeed, these "ornamental arts" formed part of a serious education. Finally, a course in philosophy topped off, fittingly, the schedule of studies.

However, Brother Aphraates did not think that this was enough to establish the reputation of the new College. He was aware of the tastes of families and of the ideas entertained by the clergy: the latter believed that the language of the Roman Catholic Church could not be omitted from a Catholic school; and in the eyes of many families, the classical languages conferred on whoever possessed them the ultimate badge of distinction.

As a consequence, the Director inserted into his announcement the following passage: "In order to respond to frequently expressed wishes, the Brothers have thought it helpful to open a section that will prepare for the study of Latin and Greek."

Rather than complying with public opinion, it would, of course, have been preferable to have guided it, by emphasizing the advantages and the rewards open to modern studies realizable in their most comprehensive fashion within the Brothers' traditional structures. That was what Brother Aphraates later on wished he had done; in a letter dated April 1, 1881, which proposed to the Superior-general of the time, Brother Irlide, the inauguration of classes in the sciences at Québec, showed genuine compunction regarding his reckless innovations of 1857: "The dangers and the disadvantages" of Latinity are absent, he wrote, in scientific education; it is essential to "turn our leading Brothers aside" from a range of preoccupations that are quite foreign to our philosophy of education. "All my life long I have regretted introducing Latin at Rock Hill College."

Alea jacta est... Roch Hill Academy stood high on the list of secondary schools. On February 6, 1862 the State of Maryland granted it articles of incorporation. And on February 23, 1865 it was accorded a charter which empowered it to teach at the university level. Like the Brothers at Manhattan, those in Baltimore enjoyed the privilege of awarding the "Bachelor's degree."[530]

Such was the development of the humble beginnings that was Calvert Hall. By way of a parallel evolution, the same results were obtained in Pennsylvania, Louisiana and California. As a rule, instruction in the ancient languages was, in the beginning, entrusted to laymen. Then, the Brothers began to replace these imported professors, which reduced costs; but it was also a question of prestige, since the pupils showed a particular respect for Latin teachers.

While the American innovations had escaped the regulation of the Régime in France, they could not have been unknown to Brother Facile. The advocates of the classical humanities had always realized that the celebrated Visitor did not approve of their project. He had made an effort to restrain them; and he raised his voice in warning: "We must be careful that we do not become a separated branch", he wrote on January 17, 1859.

After his election as Assistant, he continued to object: the false glitter that people were pretending to give the Institute might very well be, in his view, a symptom of decadence. In 1867 he wrote to Brother Patrick: "We should leave Latin and Greek to others, and be satisfied

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[529] There is a contract dated December 5, 1860 bearing the names of the Brothers Assistant, Amos, Péloguin, Mamert and Baudime (Motherhouse Archives, File ID i).

[530] Motherhouse Archives, Files ID h and ID i, Ms. CG c.

to remain good Brothers of the Christian Schools".

But it was just those Brothers who had succeeded him in the United States who had been won over to the evidently suspect crusade. The Visitor in 1861, Brother Turibe, encouraged Brother Patrick to master Latin grammar. Brother Ambrose supported classical studies in New Orleans. And we have to believe that once the Director of Manhattan College had himself become Visitor, he would not vacate the view that he had thus far defended.

Brother Facile might have grieved over it; but his energy was not such as to stem the tide. Furthermore, he had no intention of altering his convictions concerning his gallant subordinates. Under no circumstances did he ever disavow his affection for America. And a fatherly affection more often than not goes hand-in-hand with a sort of partiality and weakness. He tended to leave in prudent obscurity anything that might embarrass his beloved confreres. Reports to the Régime involving the development of the Congregation on the other side of the Atlantic were suffused with optimism; but correspondence in English seems to have been totally turned over to Brother Facile who, alone of Brother Philippe's Assistants, was in a position to read it.[531]

These are the bits and pieces of a solution to the problem. The Brothers in the United States continued on their way with a composure that was all the more complete in that they did not feel that they were bearing the burden of any disapproval. Indeed, until the final days of the Generalate, they had remained free to act as they pleased. And at the same time, they were accepting the plaudits of the hierarchy.

Archbishop John Hughes of New York, in February of 1859, declared that the Brothers' "residence schools and the academies" afforded an education that was "particularly adapted to the needs of the country". He drew attention to the character of these schools when he added that, by their means, he was looking for a large increase of priestly and religious vocations.

The Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, was even still more forthright: on the following May 13th he asserted that he had authorized the opening of Rock Hill with the view of instructing "those especially who aspired to the priestly life".[532] We already know the views of the Archbishops of St. Louis and of New Orleans. Their colleague in Philadelphia, Archbishop Wood, personally undertook the steps which would lead to La Salle College's charter. This legislation, dated March 20, 1863 is described in the following terms: "The Senate and the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania decrees that James F. Wood, Nicholas Cantivell, Thomas Keina"[533] and their successors be incorporated and established as a legal body...with the name and title of "La Salle College of the city of Philadelphia". The purpose of this corporation is to found a school in which will be taught the elementary branches of education as well as the sciences and the ancient and modern languages...[534]

The heads of the Catholic Church in the new English-speaking world anticipated by more than a half century the final decision of Pope Pius XI. In 1923 when the Holy See thought that it was necessary to adapt St. John Baptist de La Salle's Rule to new educational disciplines, the Institute would show its total obedience. But regardless of its desire to work in harmony with the American clergy, it had no intention of changing the text of its Constitutions for that purpose.

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531 Motherhouse Archives, Ms. CG c.

532 Motherhouse Archives, File ID h and Ms. CG c.

533 At this point, after the names of the Archbishop and the two principal Brothers founder, the other members of the Community are mentioned.

534 Motherhouse Archives, File ID i. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1924, pg. 21.

When the General Chapter of 1873 had to face the problem, it listened to the delegates from the United States with sympathetic attention. The arguments developed included: the wishes of the hierarchy, training of future priests, demands of university charters, and moral support provided by the colleges to the grammar schools. They seemed sound enough to prevent one from destroying something. Until further notice, instruction in Latin was tolerated in the schools in which it was already being taught, on condition, however, that it become the preserve of lay-teachers. This preferential treatment, this very serious exception could not be appealed to as a precedent by other Districts without equally forceful reasons. Moreover, the capitular decision was to remain secret. And, — as a peace offering — in which fraternal charity, perhaps, prevailed over prudence — Brother Patrick was elected Assistant to replace Brother Facile who had resigned.[535]

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The story of the "Latin question in the United States" involves further phases; and in this present volume we are confining our attention to a glimpse of only the first of these. We wanted to get an overall view of a period of some twenty years in duration. And the chronological thread of our account has brought us to the period centered around 1860. This places in the immediate events that lead up to the Civil War, which, while it did not interrupt the Brothers' work, in many places made it singularly unpleasant. It is impossible to describe American life in the previous century without speaking of this appalling crisis.

And we shall come to it presently. But there are certain facts and events involving only the Christian Brothers which will enable us to reach that point.

Statistics for 1861 show that the Brothers of the Christian Schools were represented in eighteen cities in the United States from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The number of Brothers had risen to 238: New York and Manhattan had fifty-four, Baltimore and Rock Hill forty, St. Louis and Carondelet thirty-four, New Orleans nineteen, Troy twelve, and Albany and Rochester ten each. The rest were divided over six Communities — St. Augustine, Brooklyn, Utica, Cincinnati, Galveston, Santa Fé, in each of which there were from three to seven Brothers.

Frenchmen, Canadians and Irish occupied many of the Directorships and many teaching posts. However, recruits born in the country were beginning to constitute an appreciable number. Rather than sending them to Montreal, which had been the prevailing practice, why not gather them together at home? Their religious training would not suffer; their educational initiation would be more precisely adapted to the national needs; and their example would influence youths who saw them. living together. And doubtless vocations would increase, and perseverance would be less threatened, if going to the novitiate no longer involved exile. The question had been discussed for several years; and the Provincial Counsel of Cincinnati had, as we have seen, informed Rome and Brother Philippe.

stponed in 1859, an answer, however, could not be put off indefinitely. It was decided that New York should admit novices. An institution was organized at 50 Second Street, in association with a Community of thirty-seven Brothers. In July 1861, rather than leaving for Canada, Brother Hosea returned twenty-four young men the United States; and ten postulants were joined to them in the new residence. It was around this nucleus that the normal growth of the work would be realized.

In 1866 a first rate master of novices was appointed to give his full attention to candidates for the Religious life. Brother Edward of Mary was an excellent spiritual director; for five years, as sub-Director and then as Director in the novitiate in Montreal, he had the opportunity to study

[535] Motherhouse Archives, Ms. CG c.

and guide souls.

Augustine Belanger was a descendent of Normands who had immigrated to Québec in about 1637 and became lords of Bon Secours in the parish of l'Islet where the boy was born on August 28, 1839. His family, although it had at one time made a fortune on the land in Canada, had been reduced to a very simple circumstances when Augustine came into the world. He was the eighth child, and in order to feed all these mouths, his father set himself up as a schoolteacher. And because the establishment he opened did not prosper, he tried his hand at various trades. The carrier that awaited his son may have served to console him for his own failure.

The Christian Brothers admitted the youth in 1854. And they employed him on various points of the frontier that had been constantly crossed by the men under Brother Facile. In 1860 Brother Edward of Mary was given an "obedience" for New York. During the period in which he was becoming acclimatized to the American scene, he witness the inauguration of the novitiate at "Second Street" under the direction of Brother Hosea.

Meanwhile, he was recalled to Montreal, which provided him with the time and the means to gain the necessary experience. He returned to the United States to take in hand the special young men, the hope of the Congregation. The building which was situated in the middle of the city had very quickly grown too small. Property was purchased in Westchester, on the west end of Long Island: at the end of the 18th century the estate had been the property of one of the principal representatives of the Catholic Church in its relations with General Washington, the Honorable Dominic Lynch. The transfer of the novitiate had been decided in 1870, and construction was completed in May of 1873.

The administrative separation of American and Canadian Communities had been in existence for nine years. In 1864 Brother Ambrose had been selected as Visitor of the new Province. He left St. Louis where he had succeeded Brother Patrick at the head of the college. Baltimore, Troy, and New Orleans had also experienced what they might expect of this man with the eminently practical mind. In class he succeeded in setting the minds of his pupils in motion and in competition with one another; as the principal of a school, he exercised a fatherly control, demanding and getting from his pupils practices of courtesy, refinement of manners and language which brought out a certain self-control and testified to a rather high level of moral development. Brother Ambrose was good at bringing humor to the task, to the struggle, a gift he preserved right into his final days. In July 1869, two months before he died at the age of only fifty-two years in the infirmary at St. Louis, he wrote to Brother Clementian: "I do not want to leave this world without greeting you...I am very happy; my life is over, I've just received the Sacraments. May you enjoy the consolation, the happiness, that I feel today!"

He had entered the novitiate in Montreal in 1841. How many Brothers trained in that institution and free to return to the region of their origin, but once the District of New York was initiated continued to remain in voluntary exile and serve in the United States to the very end! Among them Irishmen, like Brother Ambrose, were very numerous indeed. Their fellow-countrymen, come from Ireland or the sons of immigrants, as late as 1872, would compose the immense majority of the five-hundred Christian Brothers serving in the United States. It was the enlistment of these generous soldiers that would enable the Institute to expand its positions in North America. The invitations, although eagerly accepted, were not about to slacken off: for, no matter how well disposed the American hierarchy was in favor of the Brothers — witness Archbishop MacCloskey recommending to his New York clergy, after the opening of the novitiate in Westchester, to seek out and cultivate vocations to Christian education — Catholics in the United States at this time were not supplying enough vocations to fill the gaps and provided against emergencies. Toward the end of the Generalate, there was a Brother Jasper who scoured the cities and villages of Ireland in search of apostles for the New World: fifteen postulants, nearly all of whom were from the County Kilkenny, embarked with

him at the end of his swift but fruitful journey.

The fidelity of these young men was sometimes heroic: along with expatriation, there was added, in many Communities, material privations, sickness and emotional suffering resulting from mistrust and criticism. Quite correctly, Cardinal Hayes, celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the arrival of the Christian Brothers in his diocese, spoke of the "immense debt of gratitude that had been contracted to these men of God", whose labors and suffering over three generations had been "so efficacious."[536]

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A brief description of the Civil War will give an idea of the feverish atmosphere and the chaos in which the Brothers lived for several years in the United States, especially along the Mississippi and the Gulf Coast.

The nation had continued to grow in extent and in population after the Declaration of Independence. The territories which, by arms or money, it had made its own one after the other had been transformed into States and members of the Union. For a region to achieve the sovereign rights of a 'State' it needed to have only 50,000 inhabitants.

The five million people at the beginning of the 19th century had become twenty-seven million by 1860. First of all, a very high birthrate had single-handedly created a considerable and rapidly rising growth in population. And then, beginning in 1840, there was added the great European immigration.

Wealth in all its forms abounded. But in this connection there was a marked contrast between the North and the South. Industrial and commercial activity prevailed in the northern Atlantic coast, where discoveries on the part of a brilliant handful of inventors had given it the upper hand, without, however, bringing about the abandonment of agriculture. Manufacturing cities sprung up as in England. New York began to assume the appearance of the "Empire State".

The South was much less densely populated. Cotton plantations extended as far as they eye could see. Land owners enjoyed their leisure and lived like great lords; their workers, on their vast estates, their valets, their servants, in their comfortable mansions, in the kitchen, in the office, in the bedroom and in the nursery were negro slaves. Slavery was a Southern plague that the North had never experienced, that it condemned and whose geographical boundaries it more or less wished to limit.

Gradually, however, the advocates of complete abolition grew in number. They emphasized the anti-Christian and inhuman character of an institution that had been reclaimed from the ancient world. The pro-slave forces grew stubborn under attack; and they reached the point of proclaiming that they would withdraw from the Union rather than renounce their "special institution".

Meanwhile in the Northern States a political party called "Republican" was in the making, and it had adopted as its "platform" the prohibition of extending to the new territories laws and customs that had already been condemned by common opinion.

In 1860 this party's candidate, Abraham Lincoln, was elected President of the American Republic. At that time, several "Slave States" substituted threat for action: they declared their independence and seized federal arsenals. As early as February, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Florida, Louisiana and Texas had "seceded". North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia followed. Richmond became the capital of the "Southern Confederation".

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[536] Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection. — Brother Symphorian Louis, op. cit., pg. 40. — *Choix de notices,* Vol. I, Brother Edward of Mary. — Brother David Leo's obituary, 1910. — *L'OEuvre d'un siècle*, pg. 508. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for March, 1908, pp. 97-99. — *Rivista lasalliana*, for March, 1938, pp. 125-126.

The bombardment of Fort Sumpter, at the entrance to Charleston Bay, opened hostilities. The fratricidal initiative had been taken by the "Confederates", who, good cavalry men and good marksmen, were at first to have the advantage over their northern adversaries. They practiced headlong "raids", and they brought the war to the very outskirts of Washington.

The "Federals", however, did not lose heart. The fortunes of war shifted sides. First, the Mississippi Valley and then the region between the Potomac and the James River were scenes of General Grant's successes. His colleague-in-arms, General Sherman, pursuing operations to the west and to the east, invaded enemy territory, pitilessly pillaged it, destroyed buildings and bridges and intimidated the inhabitants. It was war in all its horror. Four years of bloody battles and, in the end, for the States in rebellion, the most awful exhaustion. Money was gone, to be replaced by paper-money whose value fell to zero. Plantations were devastated, while the troops lacked food and clothing. On April 9, 1865 General Lee capitulated at Appomatox. A month later the last vestiges of the South surrendered.

Lincoln had been assassinated on April 14. Before dying at the height of his triumph, he had accomplished his work: slavery had been abolished from the face of the reestablished Union. But what effort and time it would take for the South to get back on its feet! There was no capital and no manual labor. Emancipated, the blacks refused to work. Given their political rights — of which former officers and soldiers of the Confederacy were deprived — the blacks, in their ignorance, served as the tools of greedy politicians, the "carpet-baggers", so called because they came seeking commissions and attempting lucrative ventures, carrying their luggage in a "carpet bag", an overnight case.

The generals who held the upper hand in the region recently in rebellion were partial to the exploiters. These painful times were to last until about 1874, and then corruption spread to the North and the West. Grant, whose popularity had brought him to the presidency in 1868, was not very skillful in the choice of his friends; at one time very poor, he cultivated as sort of admiration for people who were clever enough to enrich themselves. Personally honest, he allowed himself to be compromised by corrupt people. The "spoil system" practiced in the United States by the successful political party frequently handed over public offices to those who were both incompetent and unscrupulous.

Scandal and collapse were the result. And slowly the traces of the ghastly conflict began to disappear from the land and from the souls of the people.[537]

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Inevitably the Brothers' work felt the effects of the national crisis. In the South, some schools disappeared, while others faltered.

A Brothers' Community had been introduced into St.Augustine, Florida in response to the request of Bishop Verot. It had hardly opened when the war broke out. The Brothers were forced to give up the school and return to New York. Only one of them, Brother Alexander, remained in Confederate territory. He went to New Orleans, where he taught a class on Napoleon Avenue. But St. Augustine was never again to look upon the men under orders to Brother Facile.[538] In 1860 they opened a high school in Galveston, Texas. On January 1, 1863 federal troop arrived and bombed the city. The school was hit. It never regained the success it had achieved, and Yellow Fever, in the period that followed, would get in the way of its efforts

[537] Cf. The recently published book by Pierre Belperrron, *La guerre de Sécession* (1861-1865), Paris, Plon, 1947. This book tends to show that there were other causes of "secession" besides the slavery question.

[538] Motherhouse Archives. Brother Maurelian's note, in Albeus Jerome Collection.

at survival.[539]

Secession drove a wedge between the Southern institutions and the older establishments on the east coast. It then appeared critical to grant the Southern schools a broad autonomy. This is why it was decided to open a novitiate in New Orleans under the direction of Brother Thurian. Without waiting for an end to hostilities, the project was set in motion on May 31, 1864. In June of the following year Brother Facile, returning to a United States, once more at peace, arrived in Louisiana bearing the prestige of Assistant of the Superior-general. For eleven years New Orleans would be the headquarters of a District.[540]

It was a District with a history as agitated as it was brief. Brother Isaiah had been appointed Visitor. He transformed St. Mary's Academy into a fully functioning college. Besides St. Patrick's and St. John Baptist's, a new academy with an intermediate program of studies was operating in the city.

But it seems that Brother Isaiah had suffered from the same giddiness as many of his fellow-countrymen. In 1866 he had undertaken an important project: in order to give the pupils at St. Mary's more room, he had fixed his sights on an estate in Pass Christian, overlooking a magnificent view of the Gulf. The college was transported there in May. And then the Visitor/Director turned his attention to adornments: he wanted a domed mansion, with a balcony, Corinthian pillars, a tower overlooking the Gulf and a sea-wall. A journalist visited the estate and wrote an enthusiastic description of it which was published in the May 28th, 1867 issue of the *New Orleans Times*. Dreams of glory! Debts piled up, and bill collectors became zealous. At a loss, Brother Isaiah absconded. He left his sub-Director, Brother Maurelian, believing that he had gone to New York. Every trace of him was lost, until it was learned that he had left the Institute. He aspired to the priesthood; and he succeeded in obtaining ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Marquette.[541]

The years following this escapade were nothing but suffering and adversity: Yellow Fever, grasping politicians and exhaustion, the Brothers endured the full force of all of the South's woes. In 1873 a financial panic spread over the country: the Archbishop of New Orleans was obliged to abandon his support for the Institute's schools. Pass Christian completed its slow death in 1875. In New Orleans only two schools survived which, henceforth became the tributaries of the District of St. Louis, and both of these would disappear by 1900.[542]

The schools in Missouri were unscathed by the upheaval. Prior to 1860 Archbishop Richard Kendrick and Brother Facile had concluded a contract with the view of setting up an orphanage in the Carondelet school, which been previously occupied by the diocesan seminary. At the outset three Brothers supervised forty-seven orphans. The institution made some progress. However, in 1866 the Archbishop decided to discontinue it: he divided the pupils over a variety of fairly similar institutions, and Carondelet was handed over by him to the Brothers as a novitiate. Thus a center for recruits and formation was provided at the right time and place. Postulants applied in respectable numbers: thirty-four during the first few months, and forty-eight in 1967. But a severe weeding out process must have been effected: of the initial group only seven novices survived to be sent out into Community. The second contingent

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539 Ibid.

540 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for April, 1926, pp. 142-147.

541 Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection, issue of the New Orleans Time; Brother Maurelian's letters, for December 1, 1910 and March 9, 1914.

542 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*. In 1918, the Brothers resumed the operation of the two schools in Louisiana.

provided the Communities with twenty-seven beginning teachers.[543]

With an increase of personnel, instruction was made more widespread. St. Patrick's Academy was opened in St. Louis on May 1, 1868 in buildings that were owned by the Institute. The Brothers did not neglect the common people; premises were sufficiently spacious to include, apart from tuition-paying pupils, seventeen elementary classes, for an average total of 1500 school children.[544]

And, then, in 1872 Archbishop Kenrick bought 300 acres in Glencoe where he built an asylum in which to house and educate indigent orphans without any family. Six Brothers began the patient task of guidance and rehabilitation, while a "Board" took care of the finances.[545]

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Returning to the North East, we enter an atmosphere that seemed scarcely touched by the encircling storm. At the height of the Civil War New York had begun its novitiate and Manhattan, Rock Hill and La Salle Colleges had either obtained or applied for their "university" Charters.

It was the moment at which Brother Patrick's prestige was at its peak. He stood high on the list of distinguished Catholics in the New York area. Along the way, he had struck up close ties with Dr. Silliman Ives, a former Protestant Bishop who had become a militant Catholic and the author of the highly respected book, *The Trials of a Mind in its Progress to Catholicism.* At the request of the Director of Manhattan, Dr. Ives undertook to translate books from French; and he also delivered a series of lectures to the Brothers' pupils.

The small urchins that swarmed over the streets of New York City attracted the charitable soul of Silliman Ives. Of course, there was no lack of "asylums" and "reformatories". To them the courts entrusted juvenile delinquents and destitute children. But all of these institutions operated to the advantage of Protestantism. And it was easy for them to win over their Catholic pupils, who were susceptible to the influence of their environment and frequently situated in remote areas under the supervision of people bent upon proseltyzing. These were some of the thousands of defections, especially from among the sons and daughters of European immigrants, that could be counted each year.

Like Silliman Ives, Archbishop Hughes sought ways of preserving the faith of so many children. In 1862, after administering Confirmation in a church in Manhattan, the Archbishop assembled some distinguished people in the parish rectory. Along with Brother Patrick and Dr. Ives, they included the eminent lawyer, Charles O'Connor, Eugene Kelly, Charles Connolly and an outstanding scholar, Mr. Anderson.

"Can you provide some of your Brothers?" the prelate asked Brother Patrick. And as the reply was in the affirmative, the Archbishop declared: "Very well, gentlemen, in the name of God, let's get to work!"

The subject under discussion was the opening of a school that would be both an asylum and a reformatory, a "Catholic Protectory" sponsored by the Archbishop. Kelley, Connolly and O'Connor agreed to contribute $5,000 each immediately. And after them the public was invited to make it's contribution. People were appealed to in the following language: "Thousands of underprivileged Catholic children are nearly sure to lose their faith...Can we be indifferent to them? No, God has confided them to us as a very special trust. Every member of the faithful, including the laity, under the authority of the Church, assumes an awful responsibility for their salvation. Bishops and priests, of course, have as their mission to direct this sacred work. But

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543 Ibid., File ID i5.

544 Ibid.

545 Ibid.

they cannot succeed without your cooperation... "

There were neither excuses nor evasions, and donations poured in. A seven-member committee drew up a proposal for a regulation, the eighteen articles of which were adopted on February 11, 1863. “The Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children of New York”, an Association for the protection of neglected children belonging to the Roman Catholic faith had become a reality.

Its leaders’ moves in the New York State legislature were successfully concluded on April 14. The charter of accreditation stipulated that the institution was to admit boys of less than fourteen years of age, who had been deprived of family support, vagrant and homeless and vulnerable to a life of vice; depending upon individual cases, the ruling of a competent official was required for admission, or the intervention of the “public welfare committee” or the consent of parents or guardians.

The Superior-general of the Christian Brothers mandated Brother Patrick to open and operate the “Protectory”. Brothers Leo, Reverian, Malachy and Teliow were appointed to ensure the smooth management of its services. The opening — in a building on Thirty-sixth Street —coincided with the granting of the charter; and six weeks later the first pupil was admitted. By the end of June there were forty-three.

Almost from the outset, the building in which the institution was inaugurated was thought to be too small. It was moved to Eighty-sixth Street. A typhus epidemic threatened to compromise the success of the work. But this turned out to be only a transitory tribulation. On November 1, 1864 260 children were hospitalized. In addition to its permanent population, the institution housed, for a more or less brief period of time, resident pupils whom the courts had been committed for temporary supervision and who would be restored to their families after the prescribed time. About two-hundred boys in this category found their way into the Protectory during its first fifteen months of existence.

It was important that the older boys among those who were in for lengthy periods of time learn a trade. Shoemaking was to be the initial experiment. But to achieve its full development the Catholic Protectory needed more room. The great relocation of 1866 was to determine the future.

A vast estate in the rustic center of Westchester County was bought for $40,000. As early as June 1865, Brother Teliow, the Director, set out to develop it. Together with Dr. Ives, he built two important buildings: one of them was intended for the use of the girls’ division that was to be run by the Sisters of Charity.

The other, on My 1, 1866, became home for the Brothers and their four-hundred pupils. Educational and professional studies were organized. Drawing, music and singing were included in the program, to the shoemaking shops were added tailor shops; bread was baked in the institution’s own ovens, and an orchard, a vegetable garden and a farm gave employment to pupils and brought in a great deal of money.

Eight months after the move to Westchester the twenty-one Brothers had 416 pupils in class and 246 apprentices working the needle and the awl. Brother Teliow’s administrative skill and energy had brought the institution to the heights of effectiveness.[546]

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New York, then, filled the foreground of the Brothers’ educational activities. Twenty years had passed since Brother Stylian had disembarked: the first school had handed on its spirit to a

[546] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1910, pp. 49-58. — Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection, article from the New York Star, 1872. — In 1868 the Archbishop authorized the use of a chapel. In 1868, expansion permitted a number of shops to be built: shops for printing, typography and cane-bottom chairs, etc. The pupil population had risen to 1,079 children.

College, three Academies and thirteen parochial schools.[547] The latter alone taught more than 5,000 pupils. There were already so many "Brothers' boys" who had established their homes in the city or their business headquarters that Brother Stephen of Jesus, who had been a Director in New York between 1867 and 1874, founded an extremely active association under the patronage of the Holy Founder.[548]

In 1869 Manhattan had 720 students matriculating at the College and the preparatory school. A printed flyer that dates from the period gives the names of fifteen professors, starting with Brother Patrick, "Provincial of the Brothers and President" and including two music teachers. Brother Paulian was the Director of the Community and taught mathematics; Brother John Chrysostom introduced young people to the mysteries of rhetoric. And there were specialists in French, German, history, philosophy, English literature, natural science, Latin and Greek.[549] Along with theoretical and literary studies there was a "Commercial section".

In a few months time Brother Ogerian, a native of Franche-Comte, a naturalist with a great reputation in his own country and in his Congregation for his work in geology, mineralogy, accompanying Brother Facile to Canada and the United States, would arrive in New York. Although still a young man, he suffered from poor health. Nevertheless, he meant to make himself useful to the institutions that welcomed him. He began a series of lectures on cosmology at Manhattan College. His audience had only begun to relish the opening discussions when, on December 13, 1869, the distinguished lecturer suffered a massive stroke, and he died within forty-eight hours.[550]

Whether enduring lights continued to shine or a too rapidly fading ray disappeared, Manhattan remained a bright star on the American horizon. Gradually other establishments arose, although at first they shed a very modest light. A future college had been in the making in the District of Columbia. As a result of the pleas of the pastor of St. Patrick's, Father Walter, in favor of his parishioners, the Brothers returned to Washington in 1866. They were housed in wretched quarters with furnishings in keeping with the dwelling and bedding that had come from barrack rooms. But they proceeded to take over the classrooms in St. Matthew's parish where they gave proof of their educational skills. "St. Matthew's Institute", legally recognized in 1870, would disappear only to give rise to "St. John's Institute", which would itself boast of university privileges.[551]

In Newark, New Jersey an excellent little school was opened on September 1, 1866 and operated under the kindly scrutiny of Bishop Baley and the pastor, Father Doane. The Bishop had visited the classrooms many times and saw that the children were superbly instructed: "Before the Brothers' came, (the children) were loud, rowdy, coarse and rude kids. And now you would think you're looking at a bunch of Jesuit novices!" And Father Doane, on the strength of the Bishop's words, exhorted the members of his parish to encourage vocations to the religious life among the Brothers' pupils.[552]Ibid.

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[547] Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection, article from The New York Star, 1870.

[548] Brother Stephen of Jesus' obituary.

[549] It is interesting to note the professor of philosophy was the pastor of assumption parish, Father John Breen and the incumbent professor of classical languages and his assistant were laymen (Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection.)

[550] Brother Ogerian's obituary, 1870.

[551] Motherhouse Archives, File ID i2.

[552] Ibid.

In Philadelphia steps were being taken to respond to the demands of families whose sons were unable to attend La Salle College: the diocesan administration purchased a beautiful piece of property where St. Mary's Academy on August 31, 1867 opened with 100 pupils.[553]

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We move now to the West. It was a region that had already been transformed by the pioneers, a section of the country where states were in the process of organization and cities were growing at a remarkably rapid rate. Here the Brothers would have to work hard and suffer disappointments but summoned their patience long enough until they, too, would experience resounding and substantial success.

They had been teaching in Illinois since 1861. The city which bore the name of their Founder, after the famous explorer La Salle, over a period of twelve years had entrusted the discipline and instruction of young Protestants belonging to the well-to-do class as well as young Catholics — who were admitted tuition-free if they were poor. In 1873 a misunderstanding with the local clergy brought about the departure of the teachers, who were replaced by another Congregation.[554]

Bishop Duggan, the administrator of the diocese, introduced the Institute to Chicago. Brother Facile insisted on coming to an agreement with the prelate; and he made a firm commitment before knowing how his Brothers were to be housed. Brother Candidian, with four companions, had to be content with a wooden cottage. In spite of the precarious residence, the Community succeeded in realizing a double enterprise: a parochial school and an academy; and by 1865, after four years of effort and while living conditions had not improved, a steady progress had taken place in education. Soon, nine teachers were needed for the five classes in the academy with its 204 pupils and for the 196 children divided into two classes in the primary school. Here and there tuition was obligatory except for the poor.

This institution, situated on South Desplaines Street, was not the only one that the Brothers took in hand. Bishop Duggan called them in 1863 to St. Bridget's House, an orphanage whose development was not without its financial cares, which Brother Romuald and his successors were to endure. Considerably later Brother Teliow was to place at Chicago's disposition the incomparable talents that he had displayed in New York. However, throughout the difficulties, the orphanage remained sound; the educational methods practiced there attracted the attention and the approval of the local townspeople, many of whom sought for their own sons the privilege of sharing classroom with the orphans. Thereafter the institution admitted, over and above the orphans, a small group of paying resident pupils.[555]

Finally satisfied with the results achieved, the Bishop turned his mind to procuring new challenges for the Brothers' zeal. On Van Buren Street, within the parochial jurisdiction of his Cathedral, he constructed a magnificent edifice that was large enough to house thirty Brothers. The Brothers, however, who were teaching in the other parish were left in their woeful surroundings. A new Community took possession of the comfortable structure on September 1, 1867. At the outset there were only four Brothers. They were able to start up four tuition free classes and an academy.[556]

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[553] Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection, quotation from *Histoire de la Mission de La Salle* by Rev. Shaw. — Ibid., File ID i4 and Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January, 1924, pp. 119 et sq.

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[555] Motherhouse Archives, File Id i4.

[556] Motherhouse Archives, File ID i6.

In the midst of this prosperity there occurred in October of 1871 the great fire that ravaged Chicago. Along with the houses in the wealthiest neighborhoods, the school on Van Buren Street became prey to the flames. The Bishop at the time was Bishop Foley who laid claim to the site of the former school and refused to rebuild.[557]

It was in this way that a calamity made a group of teachers available. Minnesota and even far-off Tennessee became the beneficiaries of Chicago's misfortune. The future Bishop Ireland had asked for Brothers for the City of St. Paul; as early as November, 1871 Brother Jucondian and his two associates placed themselves at the orders of the clergy at the Cathedral.[558]

Another group left the shores of Lake Michigan in order to start a college in Memphis. For ten years Catholics in this region had been troubled by their inability to secure teachers who met with their approval. The head of the diocese, Bishop Fehan, Bishop of Nashville, pleaded with the Superiors. The objective was attained during the closing months of 1871 when it became necessary to use the idle teachers. They were to get an opportunity to show their skills in the city with the Egyptian name. Under Brother Maurelian's direction and with the support of the Dominican Fathers, pastors in the surrounding neighborhoods, religion, obedience and study would flourish. Yellow fever and business crises, which tried the form Confederate State, were only severe threats to the future of the institution.[559]

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The unshakable steadfastness of Archbishop Joseph Alemany was responsible for the appearance of the Brothers on the Pacific Coast. California's gold had captivated people; thousands of persons had rushed there, the heedless, the hot-headed, greedy souls, men whose imaginations were addled with adventure; out of this brew of human passion a society succeeded in emerging: a half-civilized State which had gradually taken on the American look and was included among the members of the Union. Religion had not been foreign to this part of the world which had once been Spanish. The name of its major city, San Francisco, bore witness to the apostolate of the disciples of St. Francis of Assisi. It had a Catholic clergy, and its Archbishop was Joseph Alemany.

He was a clearsighted prelate, courageous and zealous who was determined to keep the Ten Commandments and the Creed before the minds of the faithful. He was alarmed by the ignorance and indifference that left an open field to sectarian propaganda. For him the Brothers assumed the guise of indispensable auxiliaries. As soon as he was able to make contact with Brother Facile, doubtless around 1852, he signaled his distress.

But California was at the other end of the world. It is understandable that the Brother Visitor would be in no hurry to send out a group of Brothers from whom he might never again hear. Furthermore, foundations had already been squandered in the nearly limitless expanses of the territory. It seemed that somewhere a line had to be drawn.

Respectfully put off by Brother Facile, the Archbishop wrote to the Superior-general: "Your Excellency", replied Brother Philippe, you shall have Brothers when the ones in New York are sufficiently numerous to supply you. The deferral, far from discouraging the petitioner, lead him as far as Rome in 1867. He saw the Pope, and he laid his plight before the Prefect of the Propaganda; Cardinal Barnabo wrote a letter drawing Brother Philippe's attention to "the very

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[557] Ibid., Files ID i4 and ID i6; Brother Turibe's and Brother Edward's letters, September 1, 1874 and June 29, 1875, respectively, to Brother Patrick.

[558] Motherhouse Archives, Albeus Jerome Collection.

[559] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for March, 1907, pp. 83-84.

serious perils" which threatened the Church in San Francisco.

The Archbishop brandished this weapon in the parlor on Rue Oudinot. Finally, the Superior wrote to Brother Facile: The saintly Archbishop says that he came to Europe for no other reason than to obtain Brothers. Fifteen years ago, he assures me, you promised to provide them. It was all very well for me to reply that we had no Brothers available, that the war in the United States had reduced our houses to the barest necessities and that Canada also lacked personnel...He persisted in repeating the words: "I must have them! I must have them!"

The nine Brothers who were to assume the task were finally found. At their head, the American Assistant placed Brother Justin, who had previously been a Director at Calvert Hall in Baltimore. Notable among the others was the young Brother Genebern, a Swiss emigrant to the United States and a man of the future who, in a few years, would succeed Brother Justin.

The travellers took ship in New York City on July 16, 1868 for the Isthmus of Panama, which they traversed and set sail once again, until August 19. Night had descended upon the spectacular California landscape as the ship dropped anchor. The day following, San Francisco, the smiling city, welcomed the pioneers whom the East had sent it.

The Archbishop told the city's inhabitants: "I have not hesitate to scour the world to obtain teachers who are also educators. Thank God, I have succeeded!"

How was he thinking of employing all of this talent that he had so ardently sought? In July 1863, he had opened St. Mary's College: an ecclesiastical committee administered the institution, while two priests aided by lay professors guided the studies. Perhaps they were lacking in educational skills, or perhaps they had not adequately adapted their programs to the circumstances or to the school population. For whatever reasons, failure grew each year more acutely. In 1868 only forty-nine students finished the last quarter's courses.

Archbishop Alemany assigned Brother Justin to the task of restoring life to the institution. Perhaps the establishment of primary schools would have provided a more effective way of coming in contact with the mass of young people who were exposed to ruin. No matter, it was necessary to comply with the prelate's wishes. The former Baltimore Director, moreover, felt a particular attraction to the work of reforming an institution of higher education. He, along with his associates, therefore, immediately took over the physical premises of St. Mary's College.

It was an elegant and rather huge construction of Gothic buildings flanked by a chapel with a delicate bell-tower. The task was to fill the void and relight the lamp. On August 13, the date the Brothers had decided to begin classes, they counted thirty-five students!

They needed only two years to turn the situation around. In 1870 St. Mary's had more than 200 students. And in 1872 Brother Justin obtained a university charter for his College.

The work had already expanded and diversified. A property leased in May of 1870 and then bought facilitated the establishment in Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco, of "St. Joseph's Academy", a small day school, and to make ready a novitiate, for which St. Mary's College was to supply the postulants.

The intrepid, tireless Brother Justin, with the support of the Archbishop, planned and realized a fourth establishment. With $100,000 that he was able to collect he expended, in 1874, on the complete outfitting of a secondary school that had been placed under the patronage of the Sacred Heart.

In this way was established, with a boldness that was altogether American, the District which positioned the sons of John Baptist de La Salle in the middle of a world that was, so to speak, entirely new and on the shores of an ocean with mysterious horizons.[560]

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[560] Motherhouse Archives, File ID i8 and Ms. CG c. — Obituaries of Brother Genebern, 1907 and Brother Justin, 1912.

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Where thankless labors had already been expended, obstinacy heightened to heroism declined to abandon the field. In the semi-wilderness of New Mexico the Brothers lead a precarious existence. Surrounded by the disquieting faces of the Indians or of the feverish activity of the hardly more civilized whites. Catechizing and instruction had become discouragingly problematic.

Brother Patrick, the Visitor of New York kept himself informed of these difficulties. Without being able to receive direct orders from the Regime — Paris at the time was under seige by the German forces[561]— he refused to contemplate the closing of the school in Santa Fé. He had available a man who was obedient, conscientious and energetic; and he sent him to the Far West.

That Brother was called Brother Botulph: Peter Joseph Schneider in civilian life, a native of the Rhineland. His parents had left the region of their birth, Niederzissen, to emigrate to America; and they gave four of their sons to the Institute. Brother Botulph entered the novitiate in Montreal in 1852 at the age of nineteen years. In 1868 he was sub-Director in New York; he demanded complete discipline and absolute order from his pupils; the young Yankees balked; but he did not yield, and he had the last word. As inspector of parochial schools, he fulfilled his duties with the same firmness.

It was in this way that he won Brother Patrick's confidence. "Go to Santa Fé", his superior told him, "and get things going down there!" Armed with these brief words to travel by, the Rhinelander set out to face the perils that had earlier confronted Bishop Lamy and Brother Hilarian. Finally, the desert slipped passed him and Santa Fé hove into sight on the evening of All Saints, 1870.

As Visitor of the District of which this city was henceforth the headquarters and as Director of St. Michael's College, Brother Botulph did not want for difficulties. His personnel was eaten up with homesickness, and he was forced to breathe hope and zeal into them. Limitless patience and unflinching control would see him through; while two Brothers, one from St. Louis and the other from California provided appreciable reinforcements.

Material improvements were realized; and serious work propelled St. Michael's toward a flourishing future. By 1872 the school population had arisen to 203 day students and twenty-two residents. And very soon a new building would be undertaken.

The Visitor had even ventured to open an entirely new school at Bernalillo. At the insistence of an Hispanic-American, José Leander Perca, he appointed Brother Galmier to assist with his many years of experience a hundred or so illiterates ranging in age from seven to twenty-six years.

Until the first years of the 20th century Brother Botulph, without respite, held the reins, overcame obstacles and headed straight for his goal. He made a vigorous appearance and one that was eminently deserving of being included in the same gallery as Brother Facile, Brother Patrick or Brother Ambrose. France, Ireland and Germany had contributed to the ranks of the Institute in the service of American youth a superb selection of their native sons, many of whom were genuinely remarkable examples of the virtues of ancient Europe.[562] The United States had never contemplated underestimating its accomplishments. Those American

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[561] During the War of 1870 the Brothers in the United States gave evidence of an energetic sympathy for France; $5,750 was distributed on their behalf to the victims of the dislocation; one of the New York Communities, single-handedly provided $1,825; while the Brothers in New Orleans, although very poor, gave $1,000. (*Albums de la guerre de 1870*, pg. 11.)

[562] . Brother Botulph's obituary, 1906 *and Choix de notices, I, pp. 425-428. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes,* for October, 1931, pp. 319-322.

Brothers who participated in the work of the twenty-third General Chapter in 1873 obtained from Brother Philippe permission to bring "their" Brother Facile back from overseas. The Brothers' Assembly, in an atmosphere of fraternal charity and filial piety, had prepared a sort of apotheosis for the revered Head of the entire Congregation which had melted the old man's heart.[563] Anglo-Saxon and Canadian America wished to offer the "Founding-father", the Visitor during heroic times, the Assistant who has just resigned his office, a similar demonstration. From Québec to Toronto, from New York to San Francisco, by way of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Missouri, the Brothers wished to show him, in "the most diverse regions", religious educators "animated by the spirit" of their vocation and anxious to maintain "the bonds of unity."[564]

The head of the family traversed the fields of other days, until Brother Philippe's death and the election of the eleventh successor of St. John Baptist de La Salle obliged him to make a rather rapid return voyage. He had found that the harvest was nearly ready, and the harvesters on site: five Districts (four of which were in the United States,[565] seventy-six institutions (fifty of which were outside of Canada). His spiritual descendants, spread throughout both nations, had grown to close to a thousand Brothers and novices; and they dispensed religious and secular instruction to 36,000 pupils.[566]

[563] Cf. Brother Philippe's circular, dated August 5, 1873.

[564] The language of the circular of August 5.

[565] New York, St. Louis, New Mexico, and California.

[566] Brother Facile's obituary, 1877.

CHAPTER THREE

Ecuador

A gift to all the nations, the Lasallian Institute had not penetrated Latin America before the second half of the 19th century had already begun. But what soil seemed better prepared to receive the sower's seed? Ousted from its colonies, Spain had left them the Catholic faith. Throughout the vicissitudes of wars, revolutions, riots, and *pronunciamentos*, religion endured: tainted, of course, by a great deal of ignorance, tied to a number of failures and a victim to the impulses of a great number of politicians; but remaining deep in the great mass of the population, vigorous and bright in the souls of the elite.

A well-spring of dedication lay beneath extravagant passion. What was needed for it to well up was the gesture of a hero or a saint. That gesture had always been forthcoming throughout the ages in the ancient Iberian Peninsula. And it continues to be repeated in our our own times: we shall relate, in its place, how it began, grew and endured in concordance with appeal to, and the development of, the Christian Brothers in Spain.

But there was one Spanish-American nation which outstripped its ancient mother-country. The man who, beginning in 1861, was to govern it propelled himself to the forefront of humanity's most distinguished benefactors. He was Gabriel Garcia Moreno, the President of the Republic of Equador.

The former region of Quito, which had been a dependency of New Grenada during the period of the viceroys sent out by Madrid, was liberated in 1821 by General Sucre, one of Bolivar's aides. After merging with Columbia, the region split off from its northern neighbors and became a separate nation and simply took the name suggested by its geographical position.

Its people — who at the time numbered less than a million — was made up of Creoles and Indians. Its white and indigenous races had intermarried in a variety of ways. Ecuadorians living on the fever-ridden Pacific Coast and in the mild climate of the mountainous regions had been cut off from the rest of the world; immigrants rarely join them; temperament, character and customs persisted from a complex passed: — a mixture of Catholic tradition, a civilization imported from Europe, social practices established by the Spanish, customs inherited from an indigenous ancestry combined with a sense of honor, lofty aspirations and an attachment to idealism mixed with primitivism, pride and unruliness.

In Ecuador, as in nearly all the republics of South America, the conflict between "conservatives" and "liberals", the "party promoting order" and the democratic party, expanded into civil war. There, "Liberalism" came to resemble what the French had experienced between 1815 and 1830 and what the Belgians live with in our own times: — hostile to the clergy, indeed enemies of the Church, and more or less hand-in-glove with the Free-Masons.

In 1852, under the Presidency of Joseph Mary Urvina, the Jesuits were banished. They found a courageous defended in the person of the young Garcia Moreno. The features on this new-comer had begun to assume an identity: — energetic qualities, a mind exercised in philosophy and science and a soul both absorbed and eager. Moreno had analyzed Europe; he had reflected on political and social problems; and the religious problem which, after a period of hesitancy, he come to consider as essential constantly recurred to occupy the attention of a mind that was both meditative and creative.

Urvina exiled this embarrassing antagonist. Moreno, however, made ready his response, which came in 1860: placed, along with General Flores, at the head of a Conservative army, he

undertook a rapid military campaign and won a victory over Colonel Franco. The following year he was elected President.

He was forty years of age, with enlightened ideals, broad powers and a very firm purpose to rule. His intention was to establish an order that was in harmony with justice and laws that conformed with the Gospel. Poverty, as far as possible, was to be relieved, work encouraged and facilitated and public morality reformed.

Garcia Moreno attempted to fulfill this program. He opened lines of communication and he pursued the renewal of urban centers. At this level the obstacles he faced were difficult enough, since the country lacked capital and skilled labor. But how much more numerous were the obstacles when the President took up moral and intellectual reform!

A great number of priests led lives that were something less than edifying; and they did not rejoice at the thought of returning to the duties of their vocation. Besides, a Catholic political program created fierce adversaries among the liberals and the Free-Masons.

But Moreno, who thought of himself as one of God's "lieutenants" was inflexible; he crushed obstacles and disrupted indifference. The civilization he proposed to develop demanded a diffusion of knowledge. Who, then, would dare suspect him of fearing enlightenment? But, to his way of thinking, without the faith one groped one's way and ran into dead-ends.

Education, therefore, was no more separable from religion than the state was separable from the Church. A distinguished staff, most of whom were Europeans whose orthodoxy and learning were fully guaranteed, convened student audiences in Quito.

The Jesuits resumed the direction of secondary education. It remained to organize elementary education. And it was at this point that the President of Ecuador thought of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

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Don José Ignacio Ordoñez, Archdeacon of Cuenca, was on his way to Rome, where he had been accredited by Garcia Moreno as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See. He was to work there in favor of the policies of the Ecuadorian leader and where he would hear of Pius IX's delight at the alliance contracted between the Papacy and the young South American nation.

But before that the Archdeacon stopped off in Paris where Brother Philip received him at Rue Oudinot. And then, in an official letter dated September 28, 1861, Don Ordoñez summarized the reasons for his visit: "As I had the pleasure of telling you, I came from the Republic of Ecuador to ask you, in the name of the President, for Brothers who would be able to set up and direct some primary schools in our country. Our Republic awaits your Institute's cooperation in order to discover the joys of civilized life."

The Superior-general replied that he would attempt "during the course of the year to bring together about ten Brothers", who would study the Spanish language. Thereafter, they would depart for America, where they would be able to form three "small Communities" with three Brothers in each one, and the whole project placed under the control of a Visitor.

Negotiations thus begun, Don Ordoñez made his way to Italy. Conversations were to be carried on between the members of the Regime and the head of the Ecuadorian legation in France, Antonio Florès, the son of a former President. A contract was signed on March 27, 1862, which defined the relations between the Congregation and the Republic, the latter's financial obligations, the manner of appointment and the style of life of the Brothers, and the school programs and rules.

Garcia Moreno insisted on undertaking a personal and minute inquiry into the clauses of the contract before affixing his signature. Antonio Florès announced the ratification to Brother Philip on July 3.

But, suddenly, difficulties arose. A sum of money was supposed to be placed at the disposal of the Superior with a view to the outfitting and embarkation of personnel. After six months,

the money had not yet arrived from Quito. The Ecuadorian diplomat refused to take the responsibility by an advance of funds. Finally, he was rescued from his dilemma thanks to the intervention of one of the Archdeacon's relatives. On January 16, 1863 he wrote to Rue Oudinot: "Since the legation lacked the funds on which it had been banking for the Brothers' travel expenses, Mr. Carlos Ordoñez, in a noble patriotic gesture, had taken it upon himself at his own expense to convey [the Brothers]" to their destination.

The French government, which had been kept informed, regarded the Christian Brothers as the indispensable artisans of a friendship betweeen Napoleon III's Empire and the far-off region on the the Pacific Coast. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on January 27, hastened to inform the French Counsel General in Quito of the conclusion of the talks between Garcia Moreno and Brother Philippe; the Brothers nominated to undertake a real collaboration with the President of Ecuador would leave presently for their post: it would be fitting to welcome them with the greatest kindness and, in every way, to assist them in making contacts in a foreign country and especially with the local authorities.

The ten who were to depart had received the following orders: remaining on the sea-coast at Guayaquil were Brothers Gideon of Mary, Laurence Martyr, and Paternian of Mary; assigned to Cuenca were Brothers Agulis, Junianus and Adrian of the Cross; and going on to Quito were Brothers Yon Joseph, Adelphus Hector and Gaian Jules, along with the Brother Visitor, Albanus.

The vessel, *La Plata* landed the missionaries on February 3. The crossing had taken twenty-five days, in the course of which they had passed from the northern to the southern hemisphere and had experienced the sense of being totally uprooted. They needed faith to accept exile in these remote places.

Without God's help, even a superb courage could shrink before life that stretched ahead. The Brothers left at Guayaquil were soon to be struck down by the oppressive, fever-ridden climate. The surroundings seemed as hostile as the atmosphere. A liberal enclave and the center of a mixed population, Ecuador's major seaport hardly answered to the President's plan. Seven years were to pass before a Christian Brothers school would be opened there. Restored from their illness, the three Brothers had only a single resort: — to join their confreres in Cuenca.

There, on the other hand, success had been quickly achieved. The Brothers had entered the city in March of 1863 after eight days on horseback. City officials and the population were openly friendly to them. After all, it had been under the aegis of the Don Ordoñez, the Archdeacon beloved of his countrymen, who had introduced the newcomers. They were modestly housed, and children of school age were eagerly entrusted to them. And these were not only the small boys from poor familes: among the first pupils of the Brothers in Cuenca there was Francisco Febres Cordero, who came from a distinguished family. Naturally frail, with a sickly body and crippled legs, he had marvelous eyes that radiated intelligence and goodness in an absolutely innocent face. When Garcia Moreno came to visit the school, Francesco was appointed to welcome him in both French and Spanish. From the outset the Brothers had good right to take pride in this gifted child. And the future would confirm and exceed the promise of his early years, as his remarkable literary talents grew and his soul unfolded in a marvelous way. The man who was to become known as Brother Miguel was to give his nation, his Institute as well as both the new and the old world an example of holiness.

It is perhaps not an overstatement to say that such a candidate was sufficient justification for the sufferings and sacrifices of the ten Brothers. On the road to Quito Brother Albanus and his confreres were to meet with a large part of much misery. After navigating the river as far as Babahoyo, they had to mount horses for the journey through the deep valleys and lofty mountains. It was the season of torrential rains. The poor roads had become dreadful footpaths: the animals slipped and the riders ran the risk of falls that could have proved fatal. As evening fell, frequently soaked to the skin, they would arrive at some dismal hovel where they dined on

coarse food and then, rolled up, in blankets they tried to sleep. Without serious setback, but not without tremendous weariness, the trip was concluded on March 13.

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Brother Albanus, the Visitor, built the schools in Ecuador on his his own personal sacrifices. Forty-seven years of age when he left France, out of obedience he gave up a career that had been crowned by meritorious works. He had taught at the Normal School in Rouen and the novitiate in Paris. In 1862 he had been the Director of the school in Mer, a peaceful village in the Loir-et-Cher. Brother Philippe knew him as a man of prayer and penance; he detected in this native of Lorraine a spiritual strength that would prove indomitable. At the outset the Superior's orders took the form of a proposal: Brother Albanus was to agree to replace a work that was austere but without surprises for the risks and dangers of expatriation.

He introduced prudence and tranquility in the extremely delicate organization of his District. He arrived as a foreigner to found model schools in a country whose language he had only recently begun to learn. And he had to be on his guard against prejudice and misunderstanding, accomplish his task gradually and with inadequate tools.

His associates needed to be encouraged. All of them had set out for America with a superb zeal; and the self-effacement of their leader had continued to be an example well suited to inspire gratitude. But nature balked and imagination persisted in further darkening a picture that had been filled with privations and miseries, and homesickness undermined the most conscientious resolutions. For most of them the desire to dedicate themselves and fidelity to the Rule finally prevailed; nevertheless, inevitable hardships would occur, which gave rise to a variety of anxieties among these missionaries.

They lived in the midst of disedifying example — the scandalous behavior of Religious and priests and the easy morals of so many natives and whites. They had to make a persevering effort to sustain the life of the generous virtues. And this was precisely one of the apostolates that the Catholic President of the nation had expected from his hand-picked teachers. Before hopes were realized bitter disillusionment was experienced. The Institute had expected to recruit in a nation that had remained attached to the Roman Church; in fact, a novitiate founded in Quito, opened up to receive young candidates. Between 1863 and 1877, seventy-nine young men took the habit; but Brother Provincial Armine Victor, who cited these figures, notes: "Out of the forty-three that had survived, two had triennial vows, twelves annual vows and twenty-nine decided not to renew their commitment." On such uncertain foundations there was little encouragement to build without a boundless confidence in the efficacy of divine Grace. The splendid spirit of Brother Miguel augured other exploits during days when selection would become less hasty and formation less superficial.

Each year there steadily increased in the classrooms in Quito a school population that the Brothers had inured to regular work. To render the children docile and restrain them, they used measureless patience. While the beginnings may have been marked by some hesitancy and some awkwardness, accumulated experience gave rise to success. In 1868 six Brothers were teaching 250 youngsters in Quito.

Garcia Moreno viewed this adjustment with interest. He was not one to lavish praise, and he rarely showed enthusiastic approval. No one could doubt, however, that he ardently desired to expand his work. Brother Albanus had earned his complete respect.

Within political and intellectual circles equally sincere but more demonstrative friendships were showered upon the gallant Brother. The Minister of Public Education, Paul Herrera and the poet Belisario Peña were in a position to appreciate his human qualities and to revere his virtue.

In 1865 at the expiration of his term of office, Moreno was replaced by Jeronimo Carrión. The head-of-State, as regards the Brothers, continued on in the tradition of his predecessor.

Conflicts that cropped up over the interpretation of the 1863 contract were were smoothed over, and the Legislature approved much needed revisions. The squaring of financial accounts often proved difficult; and physical accomodations continued to be faulty. As evidence of its friendliness the government assigned the Brothers a larger residence and provided them with four "haciendas", the proceeds from which was to contribute to their livelihood.

Henceforth the Community was housed in the "Beaterio", a former convent that had belonged to the "Religious" of Santa Maria del Socorro. But there was still the same poverty which continued to inflict privation and hardship, which in the mild climate they were able to endure; and they shared them with the youngsters who filled their tuition-free classes.

However, illness added its burden to the daily ordeal, and, in February of 1868, it toppled Brother Albanus, who was stricken with an extremely severe case of typhoid fever. The town was aware of the Brothers' anxiety and shared it. Each day, Javier Espinosa, who was President at the time, sent one of his associates to inquire into developments. As death drew near, the saintly Brother faced it fearlessly, and the thoughts that inspired peace in the depths of his soul he expressed as follows: "Since I've been in Equador I have received every Communion as a Viaticum, and now I am happy. I am glad of the sacrifice I made that for God's sake I left France to come here and work for the salvation of souls."

Brother Philippe was amazed by this death, just as he stood in awe of the effort that had been made over the past five years. "In his mission", he said, "the Brother Visitor surpassed himself". Indeed, the loftiness of the task induced the man to translate his best gifts into action. Inspired by the spirit of the Founder and certain of the uninterrupted support lodged in the obligations of the Rule, Brother Albanus realized what one might expect of the complete Christian Brother. His death on March 11 was the occasion for the public and the government in a touching way to show their gratitude and their condolence. The masses thronged the funeral, and the national leaders went into mourning. The vault of the Carmelite church was open to provide a sepulture.[567]

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In a letter dated February 17, 1869, Gabriel Garcia Moreno disclosed to the Superior-general the beginning of his second term as president. His re-election demonstrated the strength and the staying-power of his influence; and it enabled him vigorously to pursue projects that had been begun in the period between 1861-1865.

"With all my heart I want to do all that can be done to elevate and civilize this country through our holy, Catholic religion." Such was the language employed in his letter by this faithful believer. And then he emphasized the "efficacious" cooperation that the Brothers had

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[567] A.M.G. ID 19 and ID 111; Brother Armin Victor's autobiography; *Biography of Brother Miguel* by Brother Paul Joseph, Lembercq, 1913; J. T. Bertrand, *Histoire de l'Amerique espagnole*, Vol. II, pp. 260-266, Paris, 1929. Under the reign of Maximillian (1864-1867) proposals had reached Brother Philippe to send Brothers to Mexico. Father Lanusse, who, at the time, was the chaplain of the French expeditionary forces, wrote to Rue Oudinot on the 24th of September 1866 on behalf of the Emperor who was attempting to stabilize his fragile hold on the country: "Mexico needs teachers, men habituated to sacrifice... I have consulted several bishops concerning your schools, which they knew and hoped to open similar ones in their own dioceses. The Superior-general declined, on November 24, on the grounds of the lack of personnel. However, he did authorize Brother Justinus of Mary, Director of the school in Aiguillon (Lot-and-Garonne) to enter into correspondence with the head of Maximillian's civilian cabinet, (the future general and son-in-law of Louis Veuillot) Captain Pierron. They looked forward to do conditions under which the establishment of schools might be convenient. New conversations were to be undertaken during the time of Brother Irlide and then during Brother Joseph's administration. Mexico, however, was not to become a field of action for the Institute until 1906. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for March, 1907, pp. 77-78.

already contributed. Both in Quito and in Cuenca people were aware of the “enormous good” that resulted from their dedication. And Guayaquil would not be long in enjoying the same advantages. But these three institutions were not enough. The president declared: “What we need to establish are ten or twelve schools in the most important centers; and, as a consequence, thirty to thirty-five Brothers are indispensable to us. In the name of God, Most Honored Brother, I beseach you to grant us this favor... "

The reply from Paris on the 31st of March was not of a nature to please the supplicant. Since demands were being made upon the Institute on every side, it was training fewer candidates than Europe, America and the mission countries needed. France engaged a great number of them, especially in the public schools and their equivalents, which were the only ones which, in virtue of the recent law of April 10th 1867, guaranteed their teachers exemption from military service.

Once this explanation had been supplied, Brother Philippe assuaged the hopes of his correspondent: North America, he wrote, would perhaps provide some teachers for South America; the Assistant who was going there would find ways of furnishing Equador with some increase of personnel.

Garcia Moreno, in any case, knew very well that the Christian Brothers would not provide for all the demands of public education. What he sought from them was leadership and inspiration. Along with the Brothers and at the invitation of a government stimulated by their example and methods, many teachers — Creoles, mestizos and even Indians — took their places in very simple schools that Moreno sought to spread. In 1869, when he resumed political power, Equador’s 200 primary schools admitted 12,000 children. In 1873 both figures were pretty nearly doubled. In 1875 32,000 pupils were registered in 500 schools.

It was a remarkable growth that was due entirely to the leader who, a victim of Masonic malice, was to die a martyr’s death on the 6th of August of that year. His final words, “God does not die”, the Brothers were to remember and dwell upon as a watchword, which reminded them that hell does not obliterate the work of which God is both author and end.

The Institute’s growth after 1869 and well after Garcia Moreno’s death, was not interrupted by physical obstacles, survived political upheavals, overcame certain personal weaknesses, and was expanded by the zeal of more gifted personnel.

There would always be intrepid and obedient Brothers prepared to ascend the heights of the Andes at the price of fever and fatigue. The group sent out in 1869 amounted to a substantial contribution, which was able to open a school in Latacunga where very soon eight teachers were instructing 600 pupils.

In the years that followed other teachers came to the rescue; among them were the Canadians Brother Dagan (Louis Fournier), who became rapidly exhausted, and Brother Marcien (Martin Venant), who, as Director of Latacunga, dedicated his institution to the Sacred Heart. Missionaries came from distant lands and local recruits had to blend in. Gradually, an amalgamation was secured in Communities that were employed at the same tasks and united in common prayer. The school in Guayaquil was rebuilt in 1870 and those in Loja and Jipijapa were restored in 1831 and Guaranda in 1874. The President of the Republic intervened personally in order that the Brothers might have the benefit of a more commodious residence in Jipijapa.

He observed them at work in the capital, under his control as it were. As time went on and as a consequence of numerous reports, his affection for the Institute became more profound and intense. In 1869 the Brothers in Quito, dependable, meticulous and eager in the work, won the commendation of the National Assembly. They were always available for new undertakings. At the time, their novitiate was functioning at the *Beaterio*. Over and above, in 1871 they agreed to accept the direction of a normal school for the training of lay-teachers. Nearly at the same time, they added, first, a commercial course to their primary classes and then a special

year of post-graduate studies for pupils who would not go on to college.

On the 15th of August 1872 the "Protectory" was opened; this was a professional institution founded by the government. One of the French Brothers who had been associated with Brother Albanus became the point-man in this operation. Brother Lawrence Martyr — a former member of the Communities in Guayaquil and Cuenca — had entered the novitiate in Toulouse in 1860 at the age of twenty-five years, after a period of years as a craftsman. Placed at the head of the apprentices in Quito, he showed that he had not lost his skills for the mechanical arts. Foremen, which Equador lacked, had been called from the United States; but they recognized the authority of a man who was their equal in technical knowledge. And Brother Lawrence's influence was no less great on the young people who sat in his classes. Courteous, kind and accommodating, the Director of the Protectory quickly won the confidence of the Head of State and the Ministers. In this country dominated by the democratic spirit no one was surprised at the cordial familiarity with which distinguished persons welcomed a simple citizen clothed in a black robe or went to meet him in his noisy work-place. Throughout the country the entire Institute experienced the same sort of courtesy. In 1873 a sizable expansion was planned for the Protectory. There was an idea to place some 300 apprentices under the direction of four Brothers and about twenty mastercraftsmen in order to raise the moral and intellectual level of youths who had been abandoned to vagrancy and to train them for the various professions essential to the national development.

Thus, in conformity with the wishes of Garcia Moreno, the Brothers made up an integral element in the progress of the Spanish-American people on the Pacific Coast. The regulation provided by the Ministry for all teachers was an adaptation of De La Salle's Conduct of Schools. The complete work had been translated into Castilian Spanish by Brother Miguel.

On the 1st of January 1875 fifty-two Brothers were teaching 4,000 children in Equador, more than 1,000 of whom were registered in the *Beaterio*. In the eyes of the Institute Quito was like an advanced position from which expeditionary detachments made thrusts into Columbia or Chile in order to establish Christian education throughout all of South America.[568]

[568] A.M.G., File ID 18 and ID 111; Brother Miguel's Biography; Brother Lawrence Martyr's Obituary, 1895; L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pg. 198.

PART THREE

THE INSTITUTE IN THE MISSIONARY COUNTRIES

CHAPTER ONE

The Near East

We now move from Christian countries to regions wherein the missionary apostolate was practiced. We have become familiar with the rebirth of vitality that universal evangelization assumed during the first third of the 19th century, and how De La Salle's disciples were involved in it during the period of Brother Gerbaud. Brother Philippe pursued the work of his predecessor. Not, of course, according to any preconceived plan; for nowhere in his writings do we find what might be called "a missionary policy". However, the Superior-general was always the opportunist, a man guided by facts considered as providential signs.

Before all else he strove to produce good religious and good teachers. Should subsequently they be requested for France or for other nations, for areas dominated by Catholicism or for regions in which the people subscribed to heresy, schism, Islam or idolatry, Brother Philippe, provided he had received spiritual and monetary assurances and if he had the personnel available, never rejected the demands of the heads of the Church and apostolic workers. The Institute's expansion was evidently the result of its supernatural activity and of its educative action. But it happened without the Institute's forcing it. It acted out of obedience and in the spirit of the Brothers' Rule.

Once he was committed, he showed the same zeal as Brother Gerbaud had in the past. In January 1846, viewing the vastness of the fields to be harvested, he called upon bands that were equal to the task, inspired "exclusively by the desire to dedicate themselves totally to their own sanctification" and to the salvation of youth and prepared to go the limit to supply "good example along with education".

On August 12 1859 another circular letter recommended to the prayers of the Communities the Brothers who were taking off from Marseille to go to the Caribbean or America. "Your love for the Church and for the Institute (he wrote) will enable you, with a religious satisfaction, to see our Brothers...becoming the humble, dedicated partners of the apostles who are clearing the ground at the cost of toil and suffering." It was essential that in all schools both teachers and pupils pray for the missionaries. Children were to be instructed in the Apostolate of the Propagation of the Faith; they were to affiliate themselves with the movement, support it with their modest alms and in its favor offer up sacrifices that were proportioned to age and strength. Brothers in foreign lands were to be among the first concerns of their confreres and of their former pupils. They were to pray to God to preserve them faithful to the principles of their "Venerable Father". People should mobilize in sustain the efforts of the brave persons "who spread the Gospel in Turkey, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, the United States, Canada, Reunion, Malaysia and India."

These words suggest that no distinction was made between the Near and Far East and Africa on the one had and North America on the other. True, at this time the Institute along the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi could have described itself as "missionary"; both Canada and the United States were included within the competence of the Propagation of the Faith (and for the same reason as England and Holland) until the Encyclical *Sapienti concilio* of June 29, 1908.

Nevertheless, we need to restrict the use of words: we are aware that schoolchildren in Montreal and Québec shared the same faith as their French-speaking counterparts on the European continent; and that in New York and in Baltimore the great majority in the high schools and parochial schools belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, we find

Catholics almost exclusively in certain colonial institutions — in Maurice, Réunion, Algeria and Tunisia. But these were special instances which, here and there, fell under a general rubric: North Africa was inhabited by Muslims. The English and French colonies in the Indian Ocean seemed to be the threshold, as it were, of a vast world to be Christianized — and hence, the importance of Madagascar.

The Mediterranean "Levant", the rim of enormous sub-Asiatic peninsulas, between 1840 and 1874, had become the principal site for the Brothers' activities. In the beginning, these were always subordinate enterprises; since the Holy See had, normally, assigned responsibility for the initial task to Congregations of religious priests; it was for them to direct and organize the spiritual conquest. The Fathers of the Holy Spirit, the Society of the Foreign Missions (whose recruitment, abolished by the Revolution, had continued non-existent during the Napoleonic Empire), and the Vincentians had taken on new life after 1815. The Jesuits, once re-established, restored three centuries of tradition throughout the world. Other religious groups — the Picpus Fathers, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales — shortly after their foundation were to constitute elite bodies of men marked by generous ambitions and heroic accomplishments.

At the origin of many of the Brothers' overseas projects there were experienced members of the great missionary Orders. The agreements were reached on Rue Oudinot between the Superior of the Institute and a fully empowered priestly delegate. In some instances Rome gave its prior approval and offered quite clear endorsements. At a later date it would supply guidelines or vetos. Beginning with Gregory XVI's pontificate — a Pope whose rôle in the missionary renewal has been so pervasively emphasized by George Goyau — the thrust continued without interruption. The Church had resumed its advance throughout the world. Congregations of Brothers and of Sisters vied with priests: the Little Brothers of Mary, founded by the Venerable Champagnat, set out for the South Pacific; Jean de Marie Lamennais' Brothers of Christian Instruction, agreed to select volunteers for the French missions from among their personnel in Brittony, ; the Daughters of Charity established their first two foreign institution in Smyrna and in Constantinople in 1839; in 1842 they landed in Algiers; and in 1844 in Alexandria, Egypt; while eight years later they ventured into China. Anne Marie Javouhey had already expanded the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny to Senegal, to the Antilles and to Guiana; Emily Vialar lead the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition into Algeria; and, soon, they would spread throughout the entire eastern basin of the Mediterranean and immigrate as far as Burma. There would be Marianists — founded by Guillaume-Joseph Chaminade — in Syria, Japan; Brothers of St. Gabriel in Egypt, and Brothers of the Sacred Heart in America.[569]

The same movement, the same Spirit, swept along the Brothers of the Christian Schools who were senior to most of these teaching or charitable Societies. If, in some parts of the world there was a need for teachers and catechists, people turned first of all to these men whose vocation and methods had prepared them so well for an apostolate among the young.

Such an apostolate was not, nor could it be, directed at proselytism. Quite correctly a teacher would lose the parents' confidence, if he used his authority over young minds to bring about religious conversion. For a hundred years, Muslims, Jews, schismatics and pagans who have sent their sons to the Brothers schools had known that classes began and ended with prayer, and that catechism was taught to all pupils.[570] He also knew that the teacher's sensitivity and

[569] Goyau, *Missions et missionnaires,* Paris, 1931; Baunard, *Un siècle de l''Eglise de France*, Paris, 1900.

[570] This statement is made generally and is valid overall for the mission countries in the 19th and the early years of the 20th centuries. In our own time, Turkish and Greek laws, inspired by an intransigent nationalism, have imposed an official "neutrality" upon the Brothers in relation to non-Catholic pupils. The Egyptian government has embarked upon the same program.

discretion would never allow him to attack family beliefs and that religious instruction would be conducted with sufficient tact so that it would never take on the appearance of polemics. A father did not shrink from handing the mind and conscience of someone dear to him over to foreigners, because he desired, for one thing, the surest moral training and, for another, serious and useful knowledge. Since he received full assurance on these heads, he allowed the Brother to offer the child a model of integrally lived Christianity and to supply him with intellectual notions of Catholic doctrine and insights into Church history.

That such an attitude testified to a certain sympathy, or at least to a lack of hostility, for a religion that had been for a long time suspect there can be no doubt. That the success of an educational program that brought together both baptized and non-baptized in the same classrooms, proposed a creative competition for all in catechism as well as in the rest of the school program and inspired them with common principles, also contributed to the reconciliation of rival castes and to the dispelling of mutual prejudices was the great consolation and the superb human work of the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle. And that, in the final analysis, the end of all of this was that, the triumph of Christ, in soil patiently prepared, might no longer meet with obstacles, should be concealed from no one.

That was the way in which the Brothers assisted in the propagation of the Gospel. They "colonized", not for material gain, nor for science, nor reputation, but to carry the light of the truth. Their enterprise — and we must acknowledge it frankly — did not evade patriotism; a Religious was like the fanciful historian imagined by Fenelon; rather, he belongs "to his time" and "to his country". The Institute, which was French in its origins, its language and, until the beginning of the present century, in the majority of its members, served the purposes of the French people. Prior to 1830 it followed the "fleur-de-lys" to Reunion and Guiana; and it would follow the "tri-color" to Algeria and to Indochina.

We have witnessed one of Napoleon III's Ministers, Drouyn de Lhuys, recommending the Brothers to his representative in Ecuador. It was important for France to enhance its reputation and extend its influence. Its governments, whatever the color of their politics — even "anti-clerical" administrations — welcomed the cooperation of religious teachers — especially in those situations in which longstanding tradition, favorable conditions, the involvement of certain personalities offered the "friendly power", the "powerful protector", an exceptional rôle, as was the case in Egypt, the Eastern Mediterranean and Madagascar, among others. In our judgment there is no reason for withholding comment on the Brothers relations with the French authorities and the subsidies, however modest, that the Second Empire or the Third Republic granted institutions in the Near East.

But it is unnecessary to insist further upon Brother Philippe's patriotism; our previous volume, we believe, has brought this point out sufficiently. There, it was further emphasized that this deeply supernatural man gave no reason for fearing an inversion of values: love of the City of man did not prevail over his attachment to the Christian community, nor did it inhibit the quest for the Kingdom of God.[571]

This, however, was a kingdom that had to be inserted into this world. And there were geographical maps that suggested its contours without revealing its essence. A time would come when it would appear extraordinarily enormous. Do we presume to say that its extent, as well as its unity and its duration, would owe less to leaders deliberating in their Council Chambers than to the pioneers who were steeled to meet whatever conflict, whatever affliction? A reading of the documents gives rise to analogies — both historical and psychological — between the growth of the French colonial empire and the missionary expansion of the Institute in the 19th century. The latter, at the outset, was little more than

[571] Cf. Vol. V of the present work, especially pg. 306.

trail-blazing strewn here and there — pretty much at random — over the planet. Broad plans do not emerge. Sometimes, it seemed as though personnel assigned to far-off regions were being sacrificed; they ran both spiritual and physical dangers; and they risked bitter setbacks. Support they had been promised did not always come in time or where it was needed. There were Superiors who had difficulty imagining the importance of a universal call: — their attention was fixed upon tasks that were near at hand, for which their hearts were set on retaining the best Brothers and teachers. Criticism arose from Communities situated outside the immediate sphere of the high command: — they were being sent Brothers who had failed in France! Such complaints were exaggerated, and the superb results were there to prove it.

Furthermore, there are the outspoken declarations of missionary Brothers. They insisted that regions that had been won over should not be forsaken, and they went on to specify prospective progress. Even in the face of censure, they persisted. To the objection of "fragmentation", they were able to demonstrate that means of transportation had now shrunk distances and that scientific discovery had facilitated "the spread of the Gospel".[572] The time had come to bestow Christ's peace and joy upon the infidel! Courageous and dedicated to the point of total exhaustion and prepared to pay for their daring, they sidestepped obstacles. And if their barque that bore them incurred damage, like the skilled sailors they were, they fixed it; and if their crew was reduced in numbers by illness or — as it happened — by desertion they steeled themselves to double or triple duty. They held out against winds and high seas; and they fixed their gaze upon the star that brought them to port.

Certainly, progress does not take place without setbacks. The founding of every Empire is fraught with frustrations, the most serious of which Institute encountered in India. Elsewhere they were to experience disfavor and persecution. But it was not in vain that it placed its trust in Providence. After a period of perplexing experiments, by dint of a wise and coherent tenacity, it was to administer a steady growth. Peoples profited when they experienced the benefits of Lasallian education. Primary and residence schools and novitiates, the various sorts of educational institutions sprung up one from another. In Christian countries, where recruitment among the natives was possible, the Congregation tended in this sense to become indigenous. Its Rule, carried with them by the French and by them conveyed to the first generations of their pupils was to preside over Southeast Asians as well as Malagache and would be introduced into the intricacies of Far Eastern cultures as well as inspire an up-welling of fervor on the part of African natives.[573]

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Islam scarcely budged, although the Sultan in Constantinople, "the Ruler of all Believers", tolerated members of foreign Religious Orders taking up residence in cities of Turkey, Europe, Asia Minor and Syria-Palestine. A Mohammedan may not change his religion without leaving himself open to the sentence of death: he was thought to be sufficiently protected against propaganda so that, with complete assurance, he might take advantage of the presence of Westerners. After all, Christians were sufficiently numerous in the Ottoman Empire, which, at the time extended from the Danube to the Nile. Their status as raïas — "heads of groups" — in principle, and frequently in practice, put them at the mercy of the Turkish bureaucracy. They appealed to France, which, since the 16th century, had officially watched over their lives and their interests. In accordance with diplomatic conventions the protection of French ambassadors and consuls had been extended to every Church that invoked Christ, regardless of

[572] Cf. Baunard, op. cit., pp. 419-420.

[573] Today Belgian Brothers are introducing native novices of the Congo into the Institute.

the nationality of its ministers. A fortiori, missionary citizens of the protector Nation enjoyed these crucial advantages.

Turkey's political situation gave scope to the apostolate. Its army which, at one time, struck fear into Europe, had disappeared. Greece was independent, and Mohammed Ali, the Egyptian Pasha, had carved out a dominion at the expense of his master. Russia, England, Austria and France stood at the bedside of the "Sick man" whose legacy threatened the peace among them. Actually, in 1840, they were within an ace of going to war when France, against all the other powers, supported the claims of Mohammed Ali. Once the peace had been preserved, people turned their attention toward healing the domestic weakness.

A young Sultan, Abdul Medjid, initiated the era of "tanzimat": — the word means "mending", "restoring order", The influential minister, Reschid, advocated European institutions, and drew up a program of reform. In the presence of ambassadors and other dignitaries a formal reading took place of an edict which guaranteed the life, honor and property of every Ottoman subject "regardless of the religion with which he is affiliated".

Abdul Medjid, a gentle, gloomy man, was unable to realize these radiant promises. Nevertheless, a light had shone in the eastern sky; and while no very profound change was effected, at least the darkness appeared to have been somewhat dispelled.

It was at this point that the Brothers arrived in ancient Smyrna. The Vincentians had invited them there to take over the elementary classes in a secondary school that they themselves operated. Brother Philippe assigned five teachers, who were the object of an agreement that was reached on April 4, 1841. The Vincentian Superior-General, Father John Baptist Nozo "undertook to provide them with a house having a garden", as soon as he should obtain the ownership of an estate intended for the other institutions in the Asia Minor city that depended upon the Missionary Priests. The salary for each was fixed at 600 francs "provisionally during the first year, with an option for a suitable increase, in case that figure proved inadequate".

The contract involved none but the two Religious Societies, and it seemed to both of them that it completely covered the situation. But that was not the view of the Latin Archbishop of Smyrna, Antony Mussabini. The rather special reasons for his dissatisfaction were set forth in his letter of June 10, sent to the Motherhouse in the Faubourg St. Martin: "I know too well the wonderful institution at the head of which you are placed, Brother Superior, to fail to see beforehand the effects of the efforts of your good Brothers. But I cannot approve the steps the Vincentians have taken, who, during my absence and without any authorization from me invited a new Religious Order into my diocese."

Father P. Daviers, the Superior of the Priests of the Mission, apologized by stating that the Brothers were not coming to establish an institution but that they would remain merely "collaborators", associated in the life and the work of the Vincentians who would be the principals and guarantors.

Very well, the Archbishop concluded: and he refused to admit the Brothers even on that basis: he indicated this austere decision to Brother Philippe. The autonomy of the Brothers' Institute was ignored, while the group in Smyrna found itself in an impossible situation.

Meanwhile, Paris decided to adopt delaying tactics. On June 19, the Superior-general conveyed his regrets to Bishop Mussabini and expressed the hope for a kindly attitude toward the humble teachers.

Silence reigned for five months. The Brothers merely planned studies as best they could in the classrooms set aside for them. The Vincentians provided maintenance, room and board; and with regard to the Archbishop appearances safeguarded.

But in November Brother Stanislaus Koska, paying Archbishop Mussabini a visit and not finding him at his residence, left his card on which was written the title "Director of Christian Schools".

The reaction was instantaneous: a copy of the letter of June 10 was sent, to which was added

the following words: “I am unfamiliar, gentlemen, with the Rule of your Congregation, as well as with the conditions according to which people think themselves free to set themselves up in my diocese ... as of now, there is no agreement between your Superior-general and the Ordinary.”

Actually, the intransigence had already begun to dissolve, and between November 4 and 13 a lively exchange of views concluded in a most positive way.

Brother Stanislaus was eager to show his deference and submission. In a letter on the 7th the Archbishop thanked him, “but”, he continued, “your school remains illegal...If, as it appears, you plan to set up a Community distinct from the Vincentians, according to your own rules and in dependence upon your own Superior..., I shall expect, in order to tell you what I think, to study those rules, the conditions under which you come to Smyrna and the relations that are to exist for the future between you and the Ordinary of the diocese.”

On November 10, after studying the documents supplied by the Brother Director, there was a third letter: “I ask you to be good enough to reply to the following question: Will the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Smyrna be subject to the diocesan Archbishop in the same way in which they are subject to Bishops in other countries in which their Institute is established?”

The answer came: “The Institute of which we are members makes a special point of being submissive to Our Lords Bishops...When we came to Smyrna at the request of the Vincentian Fathers, in order to work with them, we had no other intention than to live according to our rules and, as a consequence, in submission to your authority, as we live in all the French dioceses...I hope that for as long as we remain in Smyrna, Your Grace will continue to find us of the same mind.”

This time the meticulous Archbishop said he was satisfied. And, two days later, his fully official approval arrived to fortify the future. The thoroughly characteristic document reads:

“Considering the Rules of the Institute...considering the Bull of Benedict XIII, considering the Brothers’ Prospectus, considering the contract between Father John Baptist Nozo and Brother Philippe, considering Father Étienne’s, the Vincent Procurator-general’s, letter of June 10, in which he state that, in inviting the Brothers of the Christian Schools to Smyrna, the Vincentians had no other end that to be in a position to instruct the poor and support their confreres, the missionaries;...as a consequence, it has been enacted: 1) that the Brothers teach class tuition-free in the Vincentians’ school in stead of and in the place of [the previous teachers]; 2) that in the Vincentians’ school there will be henceforth nothing but elementary education; 3) that henceforth the missionaries will teach Latin only to pupils for the priesthood...and selected by the Archbishop;[574] in consideration of Brother Stanislaus Koska’s letters...We have approved and continue to approve of the foundation of the Brothers in Smyrna and we allow them to remain in our diocese, strictly observing the rules of their Institute as well as the articles in the above conventions and declarations.”

Henceforth, Archbishop Mussabini proved to be a kindly pastor. With a jealous severity he defended rights that no one dreamed of challenging: the Near East was accustomed to witness these rather spirited displays. This one was something of a prelude. Now that the Brothers had set foot on ancient Byzantine soil, they were about to experience harsher quarrels.[575]

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In the theater of human events the view of the scenery from backstage may very well startle and disappoint. We must not pause to contemplate it any longer than necessary. The souls of

[574] This clause, in brief, enabled the Vincentians to perpetuate the upper classes of the secondary school.

[575] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n5. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October 1923, pp. 323 et sq.

the protagonists deserve respect, sympathy and frequently admiration. Their purposes are superb, and, translated into action, they do not depreciate.

At the right distance, clashing colors blend. We succeed in noticing them only out of a scruple for precision and in order the better to appreciate the merits of a larger whole.

As for the scene in which the people who interest us play their roles, it is a framework the dimensions of which are suited to the achievements of the actors. For the moment, we shall leave Smyrna, rich in its centuries-old history, in order to direct our attention to the sparkling Bosphorus.

On July 6, 1841, Bishop Leleu, Prefect Apostolic, wrote to Brother Philippe from Constantinople. The Vincentians, to whom, like the directors of the college in Smyrna, he belonged, were persisting in their program; they wanted more Brothers. And this time they wanted them to combine forces with the missionaries in the capital.

On orders from France, Brother Stanislaus-Koska visited Bishop Leleu. And after he had completed his arrangements with the Prefect-Apostolic, the latter sketched a hasty and optimistic picture of the situation for the Brother Superior-general.

"By way of preface," he declared that "it was necessary to show what Catholicism is and can be through what it does." And everything was auguring well. The "spiritual" and "temporal authorities" raised no difficulties — the French ambassador "was particularly keen on" to bring the Brothers in: "He will provide them with every support". The time is ripe for Turkey. "The country is in ferment. Many heretics sic are being converted. As the Ottoman rule weakens, Christians are winning greater freedom. Institutions [of the sort contemplated] are being introduced without suffocating regulations. Later on, should some European power [such as Russia or Austria] assume control, there would, no doubt, be many more difficulties."

There had been an agreement "on all points" with Brother Stanislaus. "For a good beginning, no less than five Brothers would be needed". And it was important to act before the winter set in.

Bishop Leleu gave evidence of the correctness and breadth of his views: "While allowing your esteemed confreres full freedom to control their institutions, we consider them as our own brothers, as associates in our missionary efforts."

The misunderstanding which, even at this date, had not yet been dispelled in Asia Minor, was not, therefore, going to upset the Brothers' beginnings in Constantinople. And since, "in all probability", the institution in the capital would become an educational and administrative center, "it would be useful" to appoint as its head the Brother who would be responsible for the general supervision of the district.

Brother Philippe endorsed the decisions of his delegate. "Along about the Feast of All Saints," he wrote on August 9 to the Vincentian, "I shall place at Father Étienne's disposal the members you have asked me to send". And on October 14 the Superior-general signed the contract which provided housing, maintenance and travelling expenses for five Brothers.

The Vincentian Fathers welcomed their auxiliaries in the school building which had been dedicated to St. Benedict. The Brothers were men who were fully deserving of the trust placed in them by their hosts, as they devoted themselves cheerfully to the task of teaching. French in Constantinople, as in Smyrna, was the language of commerce; studies were modeled on programs prepared by ministers of public education in the kingdom of Louis-Philip. Christian families afforded the first pupils, whose numbers rapidly swelled, a most diverse growth of European and Eastern groups.[576].

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Appointed Visitor, Brother Stanislaus consecrated the last eight years of his life to the

[576] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1

success of the enterprise. His official residence was in Smyrna, since he had to divide his time between that city, Constantinople, and, as we shall see, Alexandria in Egypt. In the course of a voyage that was returning him to Asia from Africa, he died on July 28, 1849 in Malta, where the vessel on which he was travelling first reached port.[577]

He had been worn out by the strain and the worry. In spite of promises, nowhere did he have freedom of action. His personnel suffered, with no hope of relief. In 1845 the Community's residence in Smyrna was consumed in a fire, and henceforth there was nothing available to the Brothers but a miserable hovel. Along the Bosphorus the quality of life was hardly any better: lodgings were grim and the food inadequate. Existence in magic surroundings did very little for morale; but a powerful spirit of faith and a genuine apostolic zeal inspired most of the teachers. As disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle, privations were acceptable. The assignment was crucifying — all the more reason, in the view of the valiant, to cling to it.

Nevertheless, the Superiors would have been failing in their duty if they had lightly resigned themselves to the situation. Under the constraints which obtained any improvement continued to be impossible. In the absence of material resources the merest survival appeared questionable.

Brother Stanislaus' position had been filled by Brother Aidant. The man who had established the schools in Canada seemed qualified to bolster the schools in Asia Minor. He was distressed, however, over the failure to be supplied with the needed funds, for the lack of which he continued to be completely frustrated in his efforts to open a novitiate. Unavailingly, "three or four postulants" had applied for admission. "In Montreal", he sighed, "the Sulpicians were generous; they built, and they gave me everything they could".[578]

In June of 1851 Brother Philippe determined to undertake an inquiry, which he entrusted to Brother Firmilian, the Visitor of Avignon and a future Brother Assistant, who was a cautious observer, methodical and little likely to be overawed.[579] Regretfully, he came to the conclusion that the two Religious Orders had misunderstood one another. Both groups, the sons of De La Salle and the sons of St. Vincent de Paul, walked in the footsteps of their founders; they were dedicated to the Christian education of youth, and they sought the conversion of the infidel. But while their free competition proved fruitful, cooperative endeavor lead to inevitable conflict.

The investigator, however, did not conclude to the rupture of the alliance. After ten years, the Brothers were nothing more than supervised aides. Prudence — no less than charity — demanded an effort of understanding, one final bid to avoid an irreparable loss. Endorsing Brother Firmilian's opinion, Brother Philippe, in a letter dated August 25, 1851, set forth his position to the Vincentian Superior-general, who was now Father Étienne, the former Procurator, a distinguished leader and universally respected. The Brothers and the Vincentians were two contrasting personalities in the Church and in France. The "temporary Parliamentary Commission" which had drafted the "Falloux Law" listened to them deferentially in February of 1849.[580] It was difficult to suspect that relations between them were not particularly civil and candid. Father Étienne's reply, on September 4, 1851, sought out grounds for conciliation; he acknowledged the need for some physical improvements, and he wondered what administrative positions the Brothers thought of challenging.

Meanwhile, the difficulties in Asia Minor were worsening. The Visitor, Brother Albert, who had succeeded Brother Aidant, spoke of folding up the tents, stacking the arms and baggage

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577 Ibid.

578 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1, letter dated July 24, 1850, to Brother Assistant.

579 See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 423.

580 Ibid., V, pp. 299 et sq.

and returning to France. It was at this time that the conscientious dissent of Brothers Valbert, Andrieu, and Archangel in Smyrna reached Brother Philippe. The following lines were written by Brother Archangel in November of 1852: “The closer the final moment comes which will separate us from our precious flock, the more I tremble in fear of the awful account that I shall one day have to give. What shall I reply to the Sovereign Judge when he shall require of soul for soul? Shall I say that we had no creature-comforts, that people broke contracts and that they placed limitation on our zeal?... Very well, he will tell me, but did I send you to the missions to avoid suffering?” [581].

The Smyrna Community was converted to the Archbishop’s position. Archbishop Mussabini acknowledged his comforters and supporters. From Beyrout, where he had gone toward the end of that year, he wrote on November 23: “My very dear Brothers, I have received your most welcomed letter; I thank you for your loyalty to me and the wishes you have expressed for my early return. I am extremely surprised by the behavior the Vincentians have recently shown you. Nevertheless, I would like to believe that they will be very careful not to dismiss you...Never will the Archbishop, nor the Holy See, nor the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith permit that Smyrna be deprived with impunity of his its fine teachers of the Christian Schools" ... [582]

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What was needed were some forthright decisions, which were to be reached in the course of the year 1853. Father Étienne, after the updating he had received from Brother Philippe on July 15, thought that the conflict was beyond remedy.[583] At the behest of “the Regime” Brother Albert looked for way of maintaining the Institute in the Eastern Mediterranean.

His letter dated July 15 and his report of the 28th,[584] set forth the absolute necessity of parting company with the Vincentians. In Smyrna, the building that had been restored after the disaster of 1845 was no longer used as the Brothers’ residence; it had become first an orphanage and then a hospital. In Constantinople, the Brothers’ work had been broadened, but in such a way as to leave a whole lot to be desired. Classes operated in the Pera neighborhood, but the building was in such a state of disrepair that it was in danger of collapsing on pupils and teachers. The residence in Galata was also an authentic ruin, where contagion reigned; and adding to the discomfort and the destitution, it had a grave influence on the health of the Brothers and it eventually attacked their moral make-up, no matter how heroic they may have been.

The problem by this time had become the following: once the Brothers had recovered their autonomy, how to find the wherewithal to continue the work? The Visitor suggested the opening of two semi-residence schools — one in Constantinople and the other in Smyrna (although such a solution was not possible within the latter city itself because of the existence of the Vincentian school). Of course, the question of personnel raised difficulties. And in order to resolve it, Brother Albert seemed to be relying upon a recruiting program in Lebanon and in Syria. Egypt, where the Institute was free of dependence upon the Vincentians,[585] on the other hand, offered the best prospects from the point of finances and of administrative organization.

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581 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1

582 Ibid., n5.

583 Ibid., n5; Father Étienne’s letter of July 19 to Brother Philippe.

584 Ibid., n1.

585 Cf. below, pg. 380.

Nevertheless, there were no grounds for flattering oneself concerning an early balanced budget without exceptional assistance. But who would provide the subsidies? The Society for Propagation of the Faith and the French government.

Brother Albert had been called to Rue Oudinot. He was to present his demands orally, and, first of all, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It was here that a disappointment awaited him: the Minister had available funds neither for 1853 nor for 1854. Perhaps this was a way of saying no. It would have been a mistake to have thought so. The petitioner took steps to place his request in the hands of the French ambassador to the Sublime Port. He would see him, as well as the Counsel-general in Smyrna,[586]upon his return to the Near East.

As a result, these efforts were for a later date. What was more urgent now had to do with the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. A report[587] described the Brothers' situation in the countries of the Levant. Armed with this document, Brother Albert went to Lyons, the birthplace and chief headquarters of the Charity. He obtained an interview with the President, M. Jessey, who was more warm-hearted than his appearance would have lead one to believe.[588]

As, from Marseille, the traveller returned to his post, he was hopeful. Indeed, M. Jessey had written to the eastern Bishops letters which contained solid promises and disposed the prelates in favor of the Brothers.[589] On December 28 Mr. Berard Glageux, President of the Central Counsel in Paris, informed Brother Philippe that the Propagation of the Faith was sending 12,000 francs to the Archbishop of Constantinople and 8,000 to the Archbishop of Smyrna: the funds were being designated for the Brothers' schools in each of the cities.[590]

Archbishop Mussabini was already aware of the outcome of the negotiations. Since the Brothers' school was finally getting started, he asked the Superior-general for an immediate reinforcement of three teachers. He had not lost a minute — his letter had been sent on December 27.

At the Motherhouse people wanted to be friendly to the Archbishop of Smyrna. On January 28, 1854, Brother Philippe wrote him: "Your powerful intervention brought about the successful issue". A week earlier, the three Brothers who were being awaited in Smyrna, boarded ship.[591]

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The Institute was free, but it still hesitated over the use of its freedom. Until further notice, there would be no other assistance except the money from the Lyons' Charity. Prudence and patience concurred. Turkey was engaged in a war with the Russian Empire. Twelve of its naval vessels had been sunk at Sinope; and Tzar Nicholas was occupying its Danube principalities. The situation of Constantinople was worrisome. In any case the times were not ripe for vast and expensive undertakings.

France and England lined up alongside Abdul Medjid. Their navies moved from the Archipelago into the Black Sea. Their armies induced the enemy to retire from Ottoman territory and then they moved into the Crimea. Between October 9, 1854 and September 8, 1865 there occurred the long siege of Sebastopol. Finally, peace was signed. The Congress of

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586 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1, Brother Albert's letter to the Superior-general, August 5, 1853.

587 Dated August 12, 1853.

588 Brother Albert's letter to Brother Philippe, August 28, same File.

589 Brother Albert's letter to Brother Philippe, November 14, from Constantinople.

590 File ID n1.

591 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n5. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October 1923, pg. 326.

Paris guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; and a victorious France enjoyed a new prestige with its allies and its protectorates.

The Brothers' schools were to be among the beneficiaries. More than ever before, they attracted the attention of diplomatic administrators, who had the task of convincing their governments that encouragement and praise were small change when it came to a question of balancing the books.

On January 19, 1857 the ambassador, Thouvenel, wrote from Pera to Count Walewski, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Napoleon III: "For fifteen years the Brothers of the Christian Schools have established in these countries, and especially in Constantinople, institutions which, each year, have grown in importance. Today they teach 700 children of various nationalities and rites. Their services and their dedication have earned in the eyes of everyone a position that is as honorable for them as it is profitable for the moral influence of France."

These opening lines would inform the recipient, to whom Thourvenel was recommending Brother Albert, who was on his way to Paris. Financially, the Visitor of the District had his back to the wall: the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, overwhelmed with requests, had reduced its usual subsidy by a third.[592]

A note issued on February 9 by the offices on Rue Oudinot went into details concerning the situation: expenditures for the schools in the Ottoman capital had risen to 21,000 francs in 1857, while the subsidy had been reduced to its initial, 1854 figure of 12,000 francs. The school in Smyrna, which would henceforth admit 600 pupils, was allotted only 6,000 francs, even though about 11,000 francs were needed to maintain the status quo. A decline was inevitable and thereafter a collapse was to be anticipated "unless the government of His Imperial Majesty condescended to include [the Brothers' schools] in the distribution" of the funds set aside for the missions and French schools in the Levant.[593].

Of course, even before this note had been brought to the attention of Walewski, the minister had replied to the ambassador. He sincerely wished to assist the Brothers, but in view of budgetary limitations, he was obliged to invite M. Thouvenel to select one of the following alternatives: either strike from his list one of the beneficiaries previously included and substitute for it Brother Albert's schools or be satisfied with a postponement.[594]

The diplomat was perplexed. Thouvenel waited until July to send "the subsidy list" to Paris and asked his departmental chief himself to select the victim to be sacrificed.[595]

Fortunately, the ministerial staff had gotten an idea of which Walewski, moreover, had informed Constantinople: it involved obtaining an increased subsidy from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

On March 2 one of the bureaucrats in the Foreign Office, in touch with the Segur family, learned that intervention on the part of his aristocratic friends had proved extremely effective. In the hope of soon finding in the government the cooperation essential for assuring the existence of institutions as valuable to France as they were to the Catholic Church, "the Propagation of the Faith did not hesitate to commit itself to the payment of a subsidy" larger than any of its predecessors. The Brothers would be rescued from immediate difficulties if Count Walewski, over-and-above, granted them the modest sum of 7,500 francs.[596]

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[592] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sources, "Religious Assistance," box no. 2, 1856-1857, "Brothers of the Christian Schools."

[593] Ibid., same box

[594] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, letter dated February 10, 1857.

[595] Ibid., July 7, 1857.

[596] Ibid., same box, E. Segur's letter to Mr. X...

The supplement granted at the end of the second quarter of 1857 was, in fact, 500 francs short of the required figure. The entire windfall was, naturally, quite welcome. Whether or not Brother Albert returned to the Near East, his achievements stood as a sufficient witness. When he left, enthusiastically endorsed by Thouvenel, the Armenian Archbishop Hassoun entrusted him with another letter. Writing to Brother Philippe, the prelate boasted of his "understanding" with the Visitor. It was especially expressed in the opening of the "St. Paul school" that was exclusively designated for Armenian children in Constantinople. Elsewhere also the Religious teachers had distinguished themselves. I would like, concluded Archbishop Hassoun "to draw your attention in a special way to these near-eastern schools, in order that they be allowed the greatest growth." [597] These hopes were not disappointed. Feeling that they were being sustained, the Brothers forged forward. Their school in Galata, moved from Yuksek Kalderina Street, was transported, under the direction of Brother Verule, to barracks constructed out of materials that the French Services, after the Danube and Crimean campaigns, had ceded to the Christian Brothers free of charge. For 500 francs the Dominican Fathers agreed to the renting of a piece of land on which St. Peter's school was built.[598] The expenses incurred — more than 10,000 francs — were covered by subsidies from Walewski and the Propagation of the Faith.

The Society for Eastern Schools, too, was not long in giving proof of its good will. Brother Mark, the new Visitor, in April of 1858, appealed to the heads of this Association, Admiral Mathieu and the future Cardinal Lavigerie. One month later, the latter told Brother Philipe that 1,000 francs had been sent.[599]

From the moment he had assumed his office, Brother Mark was concerned with the opening of a residence school. In the center of "the Pera" he rented a huge house where he set up both pay-classes and tuition-free classes. The Religious personnel employed in Constantinople at this time was comprised of nineteen Christian Brothers. In September of 1858 they came under the authority of Brother Vauthier.

The residence school had begun modestly, without at first obtaining prior capital.[600] On December 22, 1858 Brother Vauthier made a request for assistance to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which the Superior-general seconded in Paris.[601]Then, a sensitive problem arose, whose component parts and projected outcome require careful scrutiny; since the latter might have compromised the school's future. The Vincentians operated a college in Bebek, and fearing competition, they informed the Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Brunoni, of their objections.

The Bishop sought to be an impartial arbitrator. He wished to preserve both, equally useful, institutions: "I like to think", he wrote to Brother Philippe on February 5, 1860,[602] "that Father Étienne shares my way of seeing the matter".

As a conciliatory measure, he proposed to limit the number of resident pupils. But in the end the school's growth would not have to suffer such a handicap. And very quickly Bishop Brunoni redoubled his entreaties to "emerge from provisional" arrangements and purchase a piece of land. Such steps paid singular tribute to the Brothers in whose favor they were taken.

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[597] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1, letter dated January 17, 1857.

[598] Motherhouse Archives, File n2.

[599] Ibid., n1.

[600] Ibid., Brother Mark's letter to Admiral Mathieu, dated April 22, 1858.

[601] Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, "Religious Assisstants," box no. 2, 1857-1858, Constantinople.

[602] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1.

In a letter dated August 5, 1861, their protector wrote:[603] You see how I value them under the direction of Brother Vauthier, they all work zealously for the education of the poor, no less than for the children of the well-to-do.

But difficulties were then raised by the Superior-general. He was fearful of a financial indiscretion: We do not have the money, he replied to the Vicar-Apostolic on September 3. Some months went by. The Brother Visitor had discovered a building at a unique site along the Asiatic shore. Bishop Brunoni was delighted and pleaded with Brother Philippe to sanction the moving of the residence school.[604].

At about the same time Father Alzons, the founder of the Assumptionists, was in Constantinople, where he was contemplating bringing his missionaries, and the estate which interested him was close to the one which had attracted Brother Vauthier's attention. For the Brothers in Asia, Father Alzons was to become an enthusiastic advocate.

On the same day as Bishop Brunoni — March 18, 1863 — he pleaded their cause before the tribunal of the Motherhouse: "I have investigated the cite at Kadi-Keui (he said)... It's perfect! I hope that you send someone to look at it, if you do not go yourself to see with your own eyes to observe all the good your people are called upon to do in the East, the suitability of the proposed purchase, and the possibilities it presents; perhaps our two neighboring institutions would provide one another mutual support. What I have in mind is a major seminary... "

Impressed, Brother Philippe called Brother Vauthier to Paris.[605] A start was made by leasing Kadi-Keui, and later on it was purchased. Outright ownership was not long in coming, since a "firman" by the Sultan, dated "the first decade of Chewal 1280" (9-18 of March, 1864) authorized the construction of a school building on the site under discussion. According to Turkish law, an act of land purchase had to be transacted in the name of someone who was under the jurisdiction of the Empire;[606] and this person, a Christian,[607] Mme. Antoine Rigaudias, Widow. on March 8, 1867, declared that the property really belonged to the Institute.[608] In May of 1864 Brother Vauthier, in company with the teachers and pupils of the boarding school took up residence overlooking the Sea of Marmora, on the coast where Chalcedon once stood. He left in Pera, on the opposite shore, a semi-residence school and a tuition-free school; this combination was placed in the strong hands of Brother Hugonis.[609]

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So as not to interrupt the continuity of events we have followed the Brothers in Constantinople for a period of about ten years. We shall now return to the Brothers in Smyrna. Brother Albert's projects tended, here in European Turkey, to the creation of a residence school that was capable of supplying a regular income for the missionary enterprise. He was working at that toward the end of 1856, prior to his visit to France. The undertaking, however, was not pleasing to Archbishop Mussabini. With the overbearing zeal he had displayed fifteen years

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603 Addressed to the Superior-general; File ID n1.

604 Same file, letter dated March 13, 1863

605 Reply to Father Alzons, April 10, 1863; File ID n1.

606 File ID n1.

607 File ID n2.

608 Ibid., n1.

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earlier, the Archbishop opposed the Visitor; he broke the man, and thwarted the execution of his plan.[610]

While Brother Albert busied himself in the governmental circles in Paris, the Archbishop of Smyrna complained about him to Brother Philippe. "Mister Superior", he wrote on April 9, 1857," your inferior without my knowledge has authorized Brother Valbert to open a semi-residence school for the children of well-to-do families. I am categorically opposed to such an innovation. It is not my wish that (the Brothers) enter into a shameful competition with the Vincentian Fathers. I urge you to order your Brothers to adopt a course of action to the goal which is theirs in Smyrna; up until now they have behaved quite properly."

The accused, informed of the complaint, retorted to it rather tartly in a report addressed to the Superior-general on April 24; in his view, the Archbishop's rejection stemmed from a fear of seeing a school in peril where Archbishop Mussabini spoke as "founder" and where he situated his favorites; and, further, from a desire to keep the Brothers in tutelage and reduced to a bare living. Easily discouraged, Brother Albert repeated the pessimistic conclusion he had expressed in 1852: too many obstacles had arisen; assistance was too uncertain; it was necessary to beat a retreat all along the line — from Constantinople as well as from Smyrna.[611]

There is no doubt but what the Regime was disturbed by this language. Respect had to be shown Archbishop Mussabini who — quite explicitly — had demanded the Visitor's removal. The ink was hardly dry on the indicting report when Brother Philippe informed the Archbishop of a double decision: the semi-residence school was to be abandoned and Brother Albert was to be replaced.[612]

This arrangement was dictated by discretion, as could be better understood a few days later. At that time a letter from Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, reached the Motherhouse. Its language was harsh. The Superior-general was "called on to employ every means within his power to assure that his subordinates confine themselves uniquely to the goal for which they had been invited to Smyrna, and that thus they may not deviate from their Institute."[613] Brother Philippe immediately sent to Rome a copy of his letter to Archbishop Mussabini.[614] In this way, every assurance was conveyed to the Holy See which, with surprising swiftness, the prelate had alerted.

Nevertheless, the necessities of life continued to be a concern for the Community in Smyrna. On May 25, 1858 funds were sought from M. Glageux "over and above" the subsidy ordinarily supplied by the Society over which he presided. The "invincible obstacle" encountered in Asia Minor threatened the institution.[615] These were painful words that certainly did not escape the Archbishop's ears. In order to put an end to the whispering once again he sought the Cardinal-Prefect's intervention. His Eminence wrote to the Superior on September 8: "I take the occasion to inform you that it would be quite useless to presume to find a way to obtain permission from the Propaganda to open any kind of a residence school in the diocese of Smyrna operated by the Brothers of your Institute."[616]

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610 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October 1923, pg. 362.

611 Ibid., letter of April 25, 1857.

612 Letter of April 25, 1857.

613 May 6, 1857.

614 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1.

615 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n5.

616 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n5.

"Time," say the Italians, "is an honorable man". But we have to get his cooperation—at the cost of patience, humility and self-sacrifice. We reach the year 1863 which found twelve Brothers teaching 400 pupils in elementary schools. Archbishop Spaccapietra had succeeded Antony Mussabini in the See of Smyrna. He, too, was devoted to the Brothers, but with an affection that was less possessive. "I would prefer", he said, "that their motto was that of St. Mary Magdalene of Pazzi: 'Not to die, but to suffer!'" Until the daily ordeal should induce exhaustion, he asked for reinforcements.[617] Brother Philippe's reply: "Impossible!"[618]

But with such a congenial Archbishop there was a rebirth of hope. In 1865, Brother Verule, the former Director at Galata, received a similar appointment in Smyrna. A virtuous Religious, pious and modest, he was also possessed of excellent judgment and tenacity of will. To him belonged the credit for an enterprise that had widespread consequences. He directed a faculty of totally dedicated, competent teachers. He posed the question as to whether the Vincentians would shift the responsibility for instruction in mathematics in the upper classes over to the Brothers. In that case it would be possible to organize a residence school on the French model, without Latin, but with a program based upon the study of modern languages and introductory instruction in the sciences. Such a school would be certain to find a huge public among the sons of businessmen, shipowners and bankers in the Levant. And in this way the Brothers would be fulfilling their entire educational and religious task. The success to be anticipated, paralleling that already taking shape at Kadi Keui, would consolidate the gains of twenty-four years of effort.

It was a view that was also shared by Brother Visitor Vauthier. All things considered, he determined that an end be put to wavering and postponement. Brother Verule was given the task of seeking out a site; which he found and furnished as best he could. Pupils came in such numbers that the Brothers were soon thinking about moving into much larger quarters. In September of 1872, the Brother Director discovered and contracted for a suitable location. The existing buildings were worthless: a "crumbling barracks", Brother Hugonis called it. But in the beginning it had to do. The essentials had been achieved: — material and moral independence, with a guarantee from the diocesan authorities; able teachers, the requisite terrain and a group of like-minded individuals who, at the right time, would be able to come together in support of the Brothers.[619]

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Besides the two strongholds on the mainland, the Institute, in Brother Philippe's time, attempted to erect a number of foundations on the islands of the Aegean Sea. It was a work that was quickly interrupted at the impulse of appetites foreign to the Congregation; but not a work that was wasted, since, in our own century, Brothers encountered evidences of it as they harvested its rewards.

Brothers Symphorian and Ulmer Louis and their companions disembarked at Syra, one of the Cyclades, in 1858. Its population did not exceed 25,000; on an infertile rock, where Homer had situated the birthplace of Odysseus' servant, Eumaeus, people cultivated groves of fig and

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617 Ibid., Archbishop Spaccapietra's letter to Brother Philippe, October 8, 1863.

618 Ibid., dated October 17, 1863.

619 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October 1923, pp. 327-330.

olive. It was impossible to rely upon local funds for the support of a school. What had determined the Propagation of the Faith to grant funds was the presence of numerous Catholics whose ancestors had arrived during the period of the Venetian domination. The hope of Religious vocations had been raised, and a beacon was lighted at the center of the schismatic region of the Mediterranean.

The hand-picked teachers continuously fueled the flame — especially Brother Ulmer who was young and extremely intelligent. He worked hard, and he learned to speak Greek fluently. He added a small residence school.

Why were such auspicious beginnings so short-lived? The clergy believed that success was due to causes other than the zeal and knowledge of the disciples of the "great educator". The Bishop personally dipped into the Propagation of the Faith's subsidy of 3,000 francs a year. With the view of forcing the school to change hands, he first of all reduced the Brothers' portion, and then he cut off the Community's livlihood entirely. In Syra, the Brothers were in danger of starving to death. The Superiors sent the order to leave, and toward the end of the Spring of 1863 the departure was completed. The residence had new occupants, and the classrooms new teachers. And, then, the day came when it was necessary to recognize failure and close the doors.[620] There were similar vicissitudes in Chios. In 1862 Bishop Giustiniani summoned the Brothers to join his flock of Roman Catholics. The large island was in a special way a sphere of the Greek Orthodox faith: forty years earlier 20,000 human beings, massacred by the Turks, had died for their religion as well as for their country. Chios preserved the recollection of these horrors, like the scars of havoc. But it recovered; since the harvest of a Christian civilization has the hope of blooming again. And it soon attracted not only the offspring of the island but also those of the other Sporades and of the neighboring mainland.
The team of educators, lead first by Brother Symphorian and later on by Brother Tiberius were worthy of the reputation secured by the Institute in Smyrna. The Greek-speaking Brother Ulmer Louis joined this Community after the departure from Syra. And while its poverty was extreme, he was welcomed by a joyful courage.

Nevertheless, harsher ordeals followed. During its spectacular history Chios had sustained numerous catastrophes. It had been the victim of Turkish barbarity, but it had also been prey to natural devastations. It had been shaken by fearful earthquakes, which constantly threatened it. One of these had toppled the school. The building was restored and the work of the apostolate went on.

And while it was brought to a halt in 1866, this happened neither for the lack of help nor the lack of heart; but for the lack of money, of course. The denial of the necessities of life, however, does not happen totally without purpose. As in Syra, here, too, it was a question of securing a change of teachers. The school became a college operated by priests, and the Brothers were sent away. They needed to spend only four years among the Greeks of Chios in order never to be forgotten.[621]

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The first phase of the Brothers' activities in the Ottoman was about to come to a close. On the threshold of the second a man emerged whose personality was to fill the Near Eastern world until the end of the 19th century. We have already encountered his name: Brother Hugonis. We cannot leave Chios, where he is buried, and we cannot return to Constantinople for the last time, without taking look at this man's appearance.

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620 Motherhouse Archives, Register E 1, pg. 881., and Brother Ulmer Louis' obituary, 1906.

621 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1908, pp. 219-220, and Brother Ulmer Louis' obituary.

Even then he was already making that impression which, at the height of his powers and at the peak of his influence, he was to make upon so many Churchmen and so many Statesmen who would have contact with the Visitor, the "Provincial" of the nations in Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula and Egypt. It is a quite understandable anticipation: a few creases inflicted by time do not alter a sturdy body; and, at maturity, the soul discloses itself completely as it will persist through a vigorous old age. We retain an image of Brother Hugonis that is in some sense *sub specie aeternitatis*, or, more exactly, according to the pattern which dominates our histories, whether contemporary or future.

The overall impression was that of a missionary Brother: — an energetic tilt to the head and a huge beard covering his rabat, a flowing mantle inured to the ocean's spray and shoes toughened to trudging on any road in any season.

Drawing closer, we immediately detect the basic moral quality behind the facial features. Under a somewhat shaggy mane of hair, thought and hardship creased the brow but without disturbing it; the nose unrolled is imposing, imperious curve over a greying moustache. The black eyes were sunk under the shelter of thick brows and preserved the reflection of light-filled vistas. His was a mind that saw great things and at great distances; and his will was no less daring. His speech was frank to the point of coarseness. But his heart had learned the secret of slipping into his conversation the proof of his goodness and of his affectionate dedication. And all this energy, all this daring, this intransigence, was surrounded by a halo of light-heartedness.

"There is something of Lavigerie in that Brother", a Religious once said what had been familiar with him during the days when the brilliant accomplishments of the African Cardinal and the prolific work of Brother Hugonis suggested as sort of parallel.

Jean-Pierre Hugon was born with a nearly indomitable temperament. In 1845, at the age of seventeen, he decided to join De La Salle's Institute. Leaving Saint-Julien-des-Chazes in the diocese of Puy, this well-situated, well-built native of the Massif Central, entered the novitiate at Clermont-Ferrand. He was religious, inclined to study and richly endowed morally. But rules irritated him, and Jean-Pierre did not shrink from trespassing them. The master of novices, who was a stern man, believed that such a disposition was incompatible with the Brothers' traditions and suggested that the nonconformist return to his family.

It was a tremendous blow to the young man. At the moment of departure, he stood stock still and grew taut: "I would rather die at the doorstep", he said, "than go home". For several hours he was allowed to plead his case like a suppliant. His persistence won out over the severity of his superior and would prove itself strong enough to prevail over his own spontaneous sense of independence. In order to remain a Religious Brother Hugonis promised to make sacrifices; and his entire life was to be a working out of that promise made in Clermont.

For thirteen years he was put to work in the schools in Angers, Nantes and Tours. And in 1859 he became a missionary educator. From that moment on Providence traced out for him a route that was both direct and elegant. *Via Regis, via Crucis*. In fact, though, the triumph came at the expense of suffering.[622]

We meet with Brother Hugonis for the first time when Brother Vauthier entrusted the schools in Pera to his care. At that moment the "administrator" was born. His partial residence school was a success; and by May of 1869, the institution was on its way to a total transformation: the pupils at Kadi Keui were brought over from the Asian side. A large number were admitted into the school in Constantinople as resident pupils. It was a redistribution under masterful guidance. And when Brother Vauthier took ship for France, all of his duties came to rest on the

[622] Brother Hugonis' obituary, 1901. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1908, pp. 220-221, and for July 1913, pp. 210-212.

shoulders of this, his second in command.

Brother Hugonis had to undertake a building program, since the schools in "the Pera" had been raised to the status of a major educational headquarters. The construction was on the verge of being completed when, on June 5, 1870, a ghastly fire broke out in the neighborhood. At the time "the Pera" seemed like a collection of ancient structures built of extremely inflammable materials; its facades formed erratic lines along narrow streets; and latticed balconies, overhanging one above the other, tended to meet one another over the heads of pedestrians. Efforts to arrest the fire's ravages in these houses, suddenly transformed into piles of kindling, and in the narrow passage-ways where the flames rushed in proved unavailing. The Brothers were nearly burned alive, and most of their buildings were wiped out.

They took refuge in Kadi Keui. The estate that they had maintained offered them immediate shelter. As it stood, it was impossible to consider using it permanently. The Brothers' apostolate over the past ten years had assumed an importance that warranted more comprehensive undertakings. But it was necessary to persuade the Superiors who were perplexed by financial problems, by the personnel that had to be provided and the hazards to be met with in foreign lands.

Brother Hugonis came to Rue Oudinot as an envoy from the Near East. The Franco-Prussian War had not yet broken out. The Regime listened attentively to the earnest appeal of a man with eleven years of experience, and already fully identified, heart and soul, with the environment in which he practiced his apostolate.

Complete approval was so easily obtained and the champion himself so qualified to command the situation that Brother Philippe placed him in charge of Kadi Keui and the responsibility for overseeing the Communities in Turkey.

On August 16, 1870 the cornerstone was laid for the future residence school, while, for temporary use, a wooden building was fitted out, and classes were resumed at the end of October. In the absence at this time of the heroism demanded on the battle fields of the Brothers in France, their confreres in Constantinople gave evidence of courage and patience under difficult circumstances. The educational effort and the Religious life, like the discomforts of military life, continued to be intense.

The Brother Director kept alive the spirits of his subordinates. On the model of one of the most remarkable, Brother David Leo, he understood them as faithful disciples of the Holy Founder and most conscientious teachers. In order to lighten somewhat his own task, in November of 1871 he handed the directorship of the tuition-free schools over to Brother Jonathan Amedy.[623]

He retained for himself the burdens of being the builder. A residence school larger than the one in "the Pera" was to rise at Kadi Keui. In order to pay for it, the hand was extended to benefactors, both private and official. During the days of Adolph Thiers' presidency, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintain the traditions introduced under Napoleon III. One of his representatives at the Sublime Port, Ducros-Aubert wrote, on October 17, 1871, to the Marquis of Tamisier: "My dear friend, Brother Hugonis, superior of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine (sic) in Constantinople, is going to France...He has asked me to write him a note of introduction to M. Faugère's successor. As I send it to you I recommend him to your warmest welcome. I don't have to tell you that here, as elsewhere, the Brothers do a great deal of good and that their activities merit attention: in any case, we are keen aware of them.[624]

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[623] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1. — Brother Hugonis' obituary. — *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pp. 231-232. (Brother David Leo's obituary.) — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1913, pg. 213.

[624] Foreign Affairs Archives, "Religious Assistance" Section, no. 8, 1871-1872.

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The two corresponding sides of the tryptich created by Brother Stanislaus between 1841 and 1849 were begun simultaneously. And they can hardly be dealt with in separate studies. The events surrounding the Brothers' institutions in Turkey continue to be subject to the same general rules, and regardless of the place, exhibit analogous details.

So far we have left a veil over Egypt — that important part of the tryptich that Brother Albert called the central panel. It dates from a slightly more recent time. The Egyptian enterprise, conceived in the same spirit and initiated by the same hands as the other Near-Eastern foundations, evolved under different conditions. Paired from the outset with the older institutions, beginning in 1856 and continuing on until 1877 (and therefore for an interval covering two-thirds the period with which we are concerned) it was detached from them. It took the influence and the energy of Brother Hugonis to reestablish — imperially — the original grouping.

Moreover, the country in which the Brothers settled in 1848 was autonomous under the simple authority of the sultan. Awakened by Bonaparte, it was about to subside once again, after a brief French fantasy, into its customary torpor when a soldier of fortune, named Alban Mohammed Ali, became its master and legislator. With the temperament of an oriental despot, the Egyptian pasha combined a keen intelligence. The army he organized fought victoriously in Syria under his son Ibrahim. In 1840 a demand on the part of the European powers obliged Mohammed to return his Asiatic conquests to their to their sovereign. But he retained Egypt along with the right to hand on its government to his heirs.

From the very beginning of his exercise of power, he was surrounded himself with a number of Frenchmen — officers responsible for the training of troops and engineers called upon to direct and increase national production. With their cooperation, he hoped to promote plans introduced by Napoleon.

After the agitation of 1840, his ardor was transformed into a life-long attachment. At that time he told Adolph Thiers' envoy, the Count Walewski: "All my life I shall be grateful to France for what it has done for me; and when I die I shall bequeath this gratitude to my children and recommend that they always remain under her protection."[625]

The French language was given a privileged place. And beginning in 1826 Mohammed Ali sent his most gifted subjects to Paris for instruction in the military arts, industrial techniques, administrative law and medicine. The first of these to return were shut up in a fortress in Cairo, not to emerge until they had completed the translation of French textbooks for classroom usage. Eight to nine thousand pupils, lodged, fed, clothed and even paid by the State, attended classes — elementary, secondary and university — under the guidance of a body of teachers in large part recruited from the kingdom of Louis Philippe.

The school of medicine, opened in 1827 by Clot-Bey, for over a half a century had scarcely any but French leadership. The Higher Council for Public Education, initiated in 1836, included French members along with Egyptians who had studied in France. Young Frenchmen who went there established an "educational Mission" whose leadership devolved upon a committee presided over by the learned Bartholomew Saint-Hilaire.[626]

While this rôle, in a Moslem region, fell to the French, it is important to emphasize that it was not in spite of, but rather because of, its glorious Christian past. Recollections of St. Louis had

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[625] Cited by Father Charles Roux in his *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, edited by G. Hanotaux, Vol. VI, pg. 234.

[626] *Annuaire de l'enseignement francais en Égypte*, 1929.

become linked with the Pasha's esteem for Napoleon. More resplendently than the prestige of the revolutionary soldiers who overcame the Mamelukes in Eastern eyes shown the splendor of the Crusaders. Primarily because of its comportment as a chivalrous adversary and secondly because of its services France had won the right to spread its civilization. Without having to disguise its religious faith, on the contrary, by appearing under the standard of the Cross, France was judged worthy of becoming — rather than the protector — the pedagogue of a people who, dimly, longed for independence.[627]

Of course, among the Europeans there were renegades whom Mohammed Ali used. There were scandalous, however exceptional, desertions. Concerned, above all, with his political interests and the prosperity of his domains and free from fanaticism, he prescribed and practiced a tolerance which, during his reign, continued to grow. In 1839, in his report to Palmerston, the English investigator, Bowring notes: "Nobody experiences the least opposition on the grounds of religious opinion." On the banks of the Nile the Christian found with surprise that he was treated on the same footing as his Moslem fellow-citizen.[628]

The Catholic Church took advantage of these favorable circumstances. Since the 13th century, in the land of St. Athanasius and St. Antony, the Franciscans — called "Fathers of the Holy Land" — were the only ones, like a beacon in the night, to foster the faith. In the beginning, they had practiced their ministry among the western merchants who had settled in the coastal cities. Immediately after the Battle of Lepanto, they became emboldened and located at the French consulate in Alexandria. In 1632 they built a small monastery and a chapel.[629]

Although "the deans among the missionaries in the Lavant", the Franciscans no longer had a monopoly on evangelization. They could rejoice as the new era approached: Congregations, both male and female, were about to join them and make way for the magnificent flowering of works of charity and education. The Daughters of Charity came 1844, settled in a neighborhood of Alexandria, and the street on which they resided would one day be called "Sisters Street."[630]

The Vincentians brought in their train those who shared with them in "M. Vincent's" spiritual inheritance. And while they did not themselves, in the manner employed at Smyrna and Constantinople, call the Brothers, at least they would effectively intervene during preliminary negotiations.

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Mohammed Ali was approaching his end. And by 1844 his mental faculties had suffered eclipse. For a brief period of time he managed to find the strength to rule. But intellectual disarray became marked and by the spring of 1848 seemed incurable. Ibrahim assumed the reins of power: a great warrior, "his father's agent and confident", Egyptian to the soul and loyal friend of France, he had already been thought of as a sovereign of vast capabilities. Unfortunately, he died on the following November 10th. Meanwhile the insensible old man clung to a dim existence until August 2, 1849. His grandson, Abbas, succeeded him; and this time western civilization was in danger of coming up against an enemy. The new Pasha was narrow of mind and vicious of soul. He would have gladly broken with the traditions of his

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627 See Francis Veuillot's article the issue of *Amitiés catholiques francaises* for June 15, 1928.

628 Charles-Roux, op. cit., pg. 57.

629 Brother Gordien's article in the *la Vie catholique* for October 22, 1927.

630 Charles-Roux, op. cit., pg. 76.

ancestors if he had the time and the means. But he was to rule for only five years and in the midst of circumstances which curbed him.[631]

On the whole, the period between 1844 and 1854 marks an interruption of growth. Institutions only just gotten up on the spur of the moment disappeared; many educational, industrial and charitable foundations began to totter.[632] Contributions from the outside became all the more necessary. But regardless of his personal feelings, Abbas placed no obstacles in the way.

For Catholics in Egypt an Italian, Perpetuo Guasco, filled the position of Bishop as well as that of Vicar-Apostolic and Delegate of the Holy See. He had known the Brothers in Rome, and their cooperation, which he now sought from Brother Philippe, seemed to him indispensable.

For the moment, he wanted them only for an extremely limited task: he hoped to delegate to these fine catechists the moral and religious instruction of poor children among his flock. There was no dearth of low-income people in Alexandria the operations of whose port attracted and retained a population of stevedores, unskilled laborers, ferrymen and open-air merchants. Mediterraneans of every race rubbed shoulders with one another on this spit of land between the sea and Lake Mareotis. Italians, Levantines and even French made up the Catholic community. Bishop Guasco willingly agreed to add instruction in secular studies to catechetical supervision; and, since French was the teachers' language of preference, it was to become the common language of the school children.

On these foundations, agreement was reached in May of 1847. The Superior-general's representative was Brother Stanislaus Koska, who did not return home to Smyrna until the last provision governing installation and operation had been settled. It was at this juncture that the Vincentians put in an appearance. They offered to welcome the Brothers into their own residence, and they pledged themselves to effect everything that might enable the Brothers to enjoy complete security and legitimate freedom; they would yield to them — according to their promise — a portion of the land that they occupied through Mohammed Ali's generosity; and they would supply each of the teachers with an suitable salary. Father Leroy, head of the Vincentians, drew up the terms of the agreement, which were accepted by Brother Stanislaus and approved by Bishop Guasco.

Under the Vicar-apostolic's auspices, the beginning promised well. The Brothers occupied a place in the Alexandrian community between the two religious congregations that had preceded them there, the Franciscans and the Vincentians.

A month later four teachers disembarked: — Brothers Adrian of Jesus, Valentinian, Theodore and Serenat. And on July 1 they opened three classrooms with a total of 120 pupils. On the 18th Bishop Guasco prayed for divine blessing upon the beginnings of the project.

At the outset of the first year a decision fraught with grave consequences was taken. Some of the distinguished citizens expressed the wish to have their sons taught by the Christian Brothers. The Director of the Community, Brother Adrian of Jesus, consulted with the Vicar-apostolic, asked for guidance from the Superiors of the Institute and, finally, discussed the matter with the Vincentians. On July 20, 1848 he admitted a few pupils belonging to the class of wealthy business people. It was the beginning of a day-residence program. And from that humble seed was spring up a marvelous harvest. The spiritual off-spring of the religious educators were to multiply over the land of Egypt, as once the descendants of Jacob and Joseph.

The Brothers in Alexandria, the ancestors of this prolific line, were quickly overwhelmed by the task. Three auxiliaries were sent out from France in 1849, and with these reinforcements

631 Charles-Roux, op. cit., pp. 241-243.

632 Idem., ibid., pg. 232.

Brother Adrian could guarantee order and growth.[633]

Nevertheless, a crisis was about to emerge which could have snuffed out the project. The Vincentians had dealt hospitably with the teachers of the poor; they had imagined nothing more serious than the presence, alongside them or in their neighborhood, of a few "white rabats", only tolerably under foot, easily supported in a secondary rôle. They had graciously consented to the creation of a day-residence program in the expectation of pleasing some influential people and of procuring for the Brothers an insignificant source of revenue. The applicants, they thought, would continue to be restricted to two or three dozen children for whom there would be no request for higher studies.

The rapid growth of the school astounded them. They had introduced into their own lands, not just a bush that would never rise above the height of the surrounding fences, but the seed of a strong-limbed tree. There was considerable perplexity in prospect; and, humanly, people were worried. If Alexandria needed a real secondary school, the Vincentians were the obvious choice to assume the responsibility and the distinction. Henceforth, it became advisable for the Brothers to withdraw from an arena in which their surprising energy had been interpreted as an intrusion.

Vexation was translated into coolness and then hostility, and nature dictated the recapturing of the levers of power. It was the moment at which the relations between the Vincentians and the Brothers in Smyrna and Constantinople had become strained, when Brother Firmilian showed up to investigate the causes for all this friction.[634]

Meanwhile, in Egypt challenge had already assumed a more acute quality. Hence, in 1851 Father Étienne asked Brother Philippe to let him know whether the Brothers were definitely going to leave Alexandria. It seemed to them impossible to avoid this painful resolution. Their hosts were on the verge of declaring them dismissed, or, at least practically of excluding them, since they had assumed the direction of the day-residence program, which would become a secondary school for instruction in the traditional humanities. In 1852 on Rue Oudinot the order for the Brothers' departure was drawn up.[635]

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A way out was found by Bishop Guasco, who, over a period of ten years, had sufficient independence to appreciate De La Salle's disciples and had no intention of divesting himself of their collaboration.

Of course, a separation of the Vincentians and the Institute was necessary. Each Congregation would go its own road along which youth would follow them. But the worker has a right to lodging and food. And if the Brothers were to continue to teach, where would they live? And if they operated a tuition-free school, they could not subsist except by means of the tuition derived from a residence school.

Their protector found a solution. It might have been a better one; but they had to be satisfied with what was offered. The task was an urgent one — a task which seemed to be their central obligation and willed both by God and by God's representatives. Let it be done, immediately and within the proposed framework! It would be flying in the face of Providence to probe the future.

The Bishop exercised complete control over the Franciscans. He persuaded them to yield to the Brothers the school connected with St. Catherine's church. Up to that time the priests

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633 Motherhouse Archives, File ID e. — Archives of the General Secretariat in Paris, "District of Egypt" File, Report on the schools of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Egypt, April, 1924.

634 See above, pg. 358.

635 Motherhouse Archives, File ID n1. — And the Archives of the Secretariat-general, Report referred to.

conducted the classes. It was their home, although both the land and the buildings belonged under the custody of the Holy Land; and there could be no question of a property transfer.

But not only would the new teachers have the use of the school and, for a rather long period of time, assemble there young Alexandrians from among the common people; but, on the monastery grounds, wherever there was free land, the Brothers were authorized to build. On April 25, 1853 on the Feast of St. Mark, the apostle and patron of the great Greco-Egyptian city, foundations were laid for a group of buildings which would include the facade of a future residence school.[636]

On the same day the Franciscans and the Christian Brothers concluded a contract which attempted to anticipate and eliminate problems.

The Rev. Father Guardian and Pastor, on the one hand, acting in his own name and in the name of his successors in the Holy Land monastery;

1. and, on the other, the Ven. Brother Adrian, Director of the Brothers of the Christian schools in Alexandria,
2. have drawn up the following articles whose content is the work of the Most Rev. Custodian and has obtained the consent of two Generals:

1. The institution remains the property of the Holy Land, i.e., of the Holy See; [637] 2. It may not be used for purposes other than that for which it was established, i.e., as a school for boys and as a residence for the Brothers;
3. If the Brothers wish, or must, leave the school for a legitimate reason, acceptable to the Ordinary [of the diocese] and the Holy See, they shall not be empowered to introduce other religious bodies or priests without the consent of the Minister General of the [Franciscan] Order, of the Counsel and of the Superior of the Holy Land;
4. If the Brothers wish to operate not only elementary grades, but higher classes as well, i.e., rhetoric, philosophy and theology, and they lack the personnel capable of teaching in these special fields, they shall be taught by members of the Franciscan Order, nominated by the Minister-general and approved by the Ordinary;
5. Spiritual direction in the schools, excepting rights preempted by the Ordinary, as well as the religious discipline of the youths will be entrusted to members of the Franciscan Order who, furthermore, will be obliged to hear the confessions both of the Brothers and of the pupils and will assume the administration of the Sacraments;
6. If the Brothers wish to admit resident pupils, the cost of board-and-room will be determined by the Ordinary without any interference on the part of the Franciscans;
7. The Brothers will retain the free direction of their institution, since such administration in no way involved the Rev. Fathers.
8. The members of the Franciscan Order will undertake no sort of commitment respecting the [financial] support [of the Christian Brothers Community];
9. If the pupils wish learn [over-and-above French] some other language that the Brothers do not teach, the Fathers will have the right to provide suitable lessons, after, however, having obtained the Superiors' permission;
10. Eventual gifts of benefactors to the school will never be understood to diminish the extent of the Custodian's rights over the entire group of buildings.[638] In this situation the Institute

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[636] Archives of the Secretariat-general, report referred to. — Cf. le Lotus*, bulletin for St. Catherine's College in Alexandria* for 1928, pp. 7 & 8.

[637] The Friars Minors' absolute vow of poverty forbade — even taken as a group — the exercise of all property rights. Real estate essential to the Order did not belong to it juridically.

[638] Motherhouse Archives, from the French translation of the contract — and a copy by Brother Donat Charles, Archivist, Notebook 19, no. 3.

was simply using land that belonged to others. Its new residence school — which, with such pride and acclaim bore the name of St. Catherine's — was erected at with funds from the Apostolic Delegation. Legally the situation remained complicated and awkward. From an educational point of view, possible collaboration with the Franciscan Fathers ran the risk of tendencies scarcely in harmony with De La Salle's Rule. Financially, the Community's existence was imperilled: the teachers' income and support for the tuition-free classes depended upon the success of the pay-school.

True, as early as July of 1853, Brother Albert, the Visitor, promised certain success for the institution.[639] At this time the Holy Land Monastery was housing the entire school population. The new building admitted students at the beginning of 1854.

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Drawing up his report during the critical days, the Congregation's delegate to the Near East saw little hope for any but Egypt. We have just heard his views concerning Alexandria. His outlook was no less promising for Cairo where the opening of a school was under discussion. "The chances for success" seemed to him manifold. And in his eyes the capital offered every convenience for organizing a Lasallian headquarters, not just restricted to the Valley of the Nile, but thrusting fingers out toward Syria, Lebanon, and both Asiatic and European Turkey.[640]

Several months previously Bishop Guasco had displayed an intention to broaden the activities of the teachers whom he so much admired. And while he was determined to retain their services he was equally resolute in his decision to employ them in other fields. This is why he showed such ardor in preventing them from returning to Europe and in planning their settlement with the Franciscans at St. Catherine's.

He spoke to Brother Adrian of Jesus about Cairo, where there was only one Catholic school, attended by about fifty children, give or take a few — all boys in the Mousky parish. The Franciscan taught them while, at the same time, they practiced their ministry among the faithful in the Latin church. The pastor of this flock, Father Leonardo, was eager to agree to hand over the responsibility for teaching these young parishoners to the Brothers. Delighted with this agreement, the Vicar-apostolic wrote to Rue Oudinot: he stated that he was prepared to place at the Institute's disposal the building in which he resided during his visits to Cairo.

Brother Albert's ideas won over the Regime's approval. On February 15, 1854 Brother Taparel, Director, and his associates, Brothers Moli, Premon, Peter of Mary and Cleomen began their apostalate in the city with 400 mosques.

In the beginning they were accommodated by the Franciscans. The neighborhood they occupied was without appeal. It was one of those tortuous little alleys in the old European quarter — Mousky belonging to some other century, without broad boulevards or attractive shops; at its far end, Esbekieh had not been completely rid of its swamps, although the tranformation was well on its way. And all around teemed the life of the Arab bazars.

The French Brothers might very well have felt out of place; their hosts were nearly all Italian monks; and their residence, like their diet, was Italian. Between the Brothers and the Fathers good humor and Christian charity prevailed. But how could a certain homesickness be avoided? To western eyes the minerets of El Azhar and the Citadel presented a strange landscape. Islam's city of "victories", El Kahira, on the banks of the Nile, suggested perhaps to the exiles the Psalm *Super flumina Babylonis*.

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639 Ibid., File ID n1, rport dated Jult 28, 1853, sent to Brother Philippe. — Brother Albert asked that a new contingent of teacher be sent out.

640 Ibid.

Brother Taparel fell ill. Nevertheless, he had time to work effectively. At the outset his pupils did not know a word of French. The Europeans in the neighborhood generally spoke Italian. Patience and tact would alter habits. The pupils' affection for their teachers was to influence profoundly both character and mind.

It was immediately necessary to consider the question of finances: there were benefactors on the scene; thus the Consuls-general of France, Austria, Belgium and of the Grand Duchy of Toscuny had contributed generously, and, along with them, distinguished members of the "French" colony. But this kind of support was unreliable. Hence, arose the necessity, here as elsewhere, to open a college as well as a tuition-free school. St. Joseph became the patron of the former, while the latter was placed under the protection of the Holy Family.

Nevertheless, income from the residence school did not completely cover the cost of the classes opened in favor of poor youngsters of the Mousky district. Fortunately, Brother Visitor obtained from the "Propagation of the Faith" a subsidy that was the equivalent of the salaries for the three teachers who had been designated to instruct this group of pupils.

The Director's health was such that he had to be replaced. By 1854 Brotheer Isfrid had taken over the reigns. Once again the teachers took their places under his directions; and there were two of these who, one for forty and the other for fifty years in Cairo, bore the burden of the day and the heat: Brother Nearchus and Brother Sedulis, respectively. After the Brothers' reputation had grown immensely and they had won universal aclaim, the veterans were to recall the very humble beginnings, the sensitive adjustments as well as the suspicion and hostility of the Moslem masses, who occasionally hurled stones at the men with the black mantles thrown over their shoulders.

As early as 1855 the public was already calling the Brothers' institution, the "big school". On the strength of a report sent to the Superior-general on May 25 of that year, it emerges that the Community at the time consisted of seven Brothers who were teaching 102 tuition-free pupils and 74 paying pupils, while only eight of the latter were residents.[641]

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Since its foundation the school in Alexandria had been associated with the District of Constantiople. The school in Cairo could only depend upon the same Visitor, and Brother Albert was zealously involved with both institutions. His final visit to Egypt is recorded as having taken place in April, 1856.[642] He had predicted that the Institute would realize genuine growth along the Nile. The work of Brother Isfrid and his associates, in fact, waranted a great deal of hope; while the support from Bishop Guasco had guarateed the future both in Cairo and in Alexandria. St. Catherine's College and St. Joseph's College constituted two firm foundations setting out from which it would be possible to realize a continuously developing plan.

One had only to anticipate such an eventuality in order to hit upon administrative changes. At this period travel in the Middle East was rather slow and difficult. Overland from Asia Minor to the Nile was an adventure. The crossing from Constantinople to the Egyptian coast presented fewer hazards; however, one had to figure on interruptions, sailing delays, along with modifications of itinerary and lengthy detours: it was in this way that Brother Stanislaus had

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641 Motherhouse Archives, File ID e. — Archives of the Secretary-general, reports concerning the Brothers' schools in Eygpt, 1924. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1909, pp. 233-234.

642 On April 15, 1856 "the Provincial Visitor of the Brothers of the Christian Schools for the Middle East" wrote from Alexandria to M. de Lesseps, Director-general of French Consulates in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to inform him that the Consul in Cairo, M. Delaporte, had refused to grant the Community free postage unless he received formal permission from Paris. (*Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, "Religious Assistance" file, case no. 2.

been carried to Malta, where he died.

Hence, prudence dictated that the Brothers in Egypt be organized into their own District; and that, under the provisions prescribed by the Rule, a Visitor dwell among them in order to undertake urgent decisions; and that, after having made an on-site inspection of ways and means, he submit precise, practical plans to the Superiors.

As soon as Brother Albert returned to Turkey, his substitute in the direction of the Communities in Alexandria and Cairo assumed his duties. Brother Philippe had selected the man who was certainly most competent for foresight and dedication: Brother Adrian of Jesus.

Born in Cantal in 1801, Yves Armandet had already enjoyed a lengthy career as a religious educator when he was sent to Alexandria. As a missionary, he experienced harsh moments: --- struggles to get projects off the ground and to adapt to climates and people; and then with respect to the *modus vivendi* agreed upon from the very outset, a growing sense of discomfort and an anxiety in the presence of a project that seemed to be disinstegrating. No doubt such suffering had much to do with the furrows that criss-crossed the stricking features of the man. But his energy persisted and grew; and reflections on the faith were evident in the gravity of his posture. Physically this man of fifty years stood straight and strong. The new Visitor still had twenty years of work to give in Egypt. He would not die until 1877, surrounded by the dedication of his Brothers and former pupils as well as the heads of the nation, Moslem and Christian.

Trials did not defeat him, while success failed to harden the soul of man at once so docile and faithful. Shouldering the responsibilities both of Visitor and of Director of the Community in Alexandria, Brother Adrain supervised the expansion of the college and moved the tuition-free classes into the new building. In 1858, residents, semi-residents, secondary day-students and tuition-free pupils constituted a fine group of some 400 boys and youths under the tutelage of twenty Brothers.[643]

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Before he died in 1859, Bishop Guasco was able to contemplate with serenity the progress of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Henceforth, Egypt no longer looked upon the Brothers as intruders. Their instruction, while giving religion a central position, allowed young minds to aspire after the human sciences, and the western culture they represented, prudently apportioned and dispensed, answered to the aspirations of a local elite.[644]

The government itself was not slow in recognizing the services rendered by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. At the time the Brothers were being introduced into Cairo, Mohammed Said, the youngest son of Mehement Ali, was succeeding his nephew Abbas. He had been educated in Europe; and arrived at maturity, he continued to be open to modern ideas. His intentions, of course, were superior to his judgment; but for the want of a strong will, his best purposes wavered and dissipated. The circle of people surrounding the Pasha presented a curious mixture; and the money at Saïd's disposal frequently dissolved in extravagances.[645]

Somehow the spendthrift began to turn his attention to useful projects, and the over-confident prince began to select his friends more wisely and listen to their advice. M. Delaporte, the French Consul, spoke to him about the Brothers' work in the Mousky neighborhood: school attendance had been steadily growing; it had become necessary to increase the teaching staff to twelve, and the future would certainly require even more. It was therefore encumbent on these

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643 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for January, 1924, pp. 6 and 9.

644 Cf. G. Lecarpentier*, l'Égypt moderne*, 1925, pg. 154.

645 Charles-Roux, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

fine teachers to seek out larger quarters. But the owned no property, and they lacked the funds to buy land and build.

In the view of one of the historians of Egyptian public education,[646] Saïd Pacha was not very interested in schools. In the present circumstances, the reputation was ill deserved. On August 3, 1858, he generously yielded to the Brothers an estate called "Mabadia". The gesture, of course, merited nothing but graatitude; however, the location, which too far removed from the center of the city, was ill-suited for the purpose.

The Consul-general, M. Sabatier, undertook to explain matters, and he could not have found a more sympathetic audience. The Director, Brother Isfrid, was instructed to let his choice fall on some other Egyptian estate.

On February 17, 1859, Ismaïl Pascha, Minister of the Interior, and at this time President of the Counsel of Ministers, "acting for His Highness the Viceroy, signed a contract with Mr. Delaporte, "representing the Director of the Christian Schools."

"His Highness, cognizant of the petitions made to him, [concerning] the land originally granted...between the road along the Nile and Choubrah Avenue, has deigned to order an exchange of the said land for a portion of the former Cluroumfich factory in the neighborhood of the same name."[647]

In this factory, built during the days of Mehemet Ali, like the one for Indian fabric on Choubrah Avenue, there was a house, the big "caracol" [spiral or voulute shaped]. The government yielded the building to the Brothers, free of all encumberances. It remained only to knock down the remnants of a hovel, the clear the ground and level it before erecting the structures essential for a college. Saïd's liberality supplied the initial funds: a deed, dated February 17, besides the gift of the building, included a donation of 30,000 francs.

The Viceroy of Egypt wanted to show his esteem for France as well as his confidence with regard to the religious teachers. It was the time during which he was providing his friend Ferdinand de Lesseps with the means he would require to undertake the bold enterprise of the Suez Canal. In this way he was pleased to follow in the footsteps and continue the work of his father Mehemet Ali. The Consuls Sabatier and Delaporte and Brother Isfrid were the beneficiaries of these very fortunate developments. The people in Paris were kept completely informed, and they had reason to be pleased. Saïd insisted on personally notifying the Ministry on Quai d'Orsay of the favors he had bestowed upon the Brothers.

Couroumfich --- or Koronfish, as it was usually spelled and pronounced --- was magnificently situated to admit a large number of pupils. Similar foresight justified the magnitude of the plans. A new Director, Brother Euphrasius, began the work, following a plan drawn up by Brother Solaire. He handed over the supervision to an excellent technician, named Brother Peter of Mary. But the man who conducted the operations to a conclusion and who had shouldered the full responsibility was Brother Ildefonsus.

On orders from the Superior-general, he had assumed the leadership of the Community in September of 1860. Two months later the chapel at Koronfish was blessed by Father Gardien from the Franciscan monastery.

The prince's 30,000 francs were, of course, not enough. Loans in Alexandria, Marseille and Paris burdened the builders in Cairo with a considerable debt. The borrowers, who were all treasurers of Brothers' institutions, had acted in the name of the Institute. They cooperated in the success of an institution that was full of promise, and their hopes were not disappointed.

Beginning in 1861 its prosperity began to take root. To it teachers, like Brother Sigebert and Brother Sedulis, made important contributions. The one a Frenchman, the other a Spaniard,

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646 Yacoub Artin Pacha, cited by Charles-Roux, pg. 257.

647 Motherhouse Archives, File ID e.

they combined their efforts for the good of souls and for the systematization of studies. In an independent but connected site --- the third since Bishop Guasco's death --- their confreres worked for the education of poor children: --- eighty pupils, all Christian, learning French, Italian and Arabic. For instruction given in the latter language, the Director employed the services of lay teachers.

In the college the various religious confessions rubbed shoulders without clashing. distinguished Moslems were not reluctant to send their sons into the classrooms with Catholics and Orthodox. The superiority of the educational system triumphed over prejudice. In this way there was to emerge from Koronfish a special sort of citizen whom one would meet with repeatedly in Egyptian administration and political life. Brother Sedulis, the son of a general and who himself had been an officer in the military, exercised an influence on youths from good families.

Some of them went by the title "Mameluk"; and perhaps they were descendants of the famous knights whom Bonaparte defeated at the Pyramides and who, in 1811, wiped out Pascha Mehemet. In any case, they belonged to an aristocracy who surrounded the near relatives of the Viceroy.[648]

In February, 1861 Ismail, son of Ibahim, placed in the Brothers' school about twenty of his older boys whom he had planned to govern the small towns in Lower Egypt. He assumed all the expenses for their residence. This was a clear declaration of convictions that would not be contradicted when Ismaïl succeeded to his uncle Saïd.

With Ismaïl, a graduate of Saint Cyr, the preponderance of French influence became accentuated. The nation developed in the direction mapped out by the man at the helm. Nubar, a Christian Armenian, was his prime minister; and thousands of western bureaucrats held the reins of command. European palaces and magnificent gardens gave Cairo a new face. Decked out with the Persian title of Khedif, bestowed for a monetary consideration by the Sultan of Constantiople, Ismaïl played at being a powerful and sumptuous monarch. And "while he frequently perceived things correctly, he always understood them in the grand manner, indeed, too grandly"...[649] and in so doing courted disaster.

The Brothers could only consider themselves fortunate for his favor. On March 21, 1863, shortly after his accession, he visited the Brothers. This was important assurance for their free growth and stability.[650]In 1864 Ismaïl gave the Brothers in Alexandria land along the road which lead to Pompey's Column.

Cairo would experience, furthermore, how far dedication could go that was inspired by no earthly interest. In June, 1865 a cholera epidemic spread throughout the city. The French Consul, M. Roustan, first of all set up an ambulance service, and then, in a former Brothers' school (now become the home of the Fathers of the Holy Land) he established a hospital. The fifteen members of the Brothers Community answered his call. Abandoning their classrooms, which were nearly empty of pupils, they came to the aid of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Mercy and the Good Shepherd Sisters.

Death ravaged the victims of cholera. Brother Nearchus recounts how twice a day the mournful procession was repeated: --- for the gathering of victims, and the collection and removal of corpses; and very quickly there came a similar stream pouring out of the houses of the Mousky neighborhood.

None of the Brothers who functioned as infirmarians became infected; none of the children

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[648] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July 1909, pp. 225-241; and for April, 1914, pp. 149-150.

[649] Charles-Roux, op. cit., pp. 284-285 and 294.

[650] ibid

who had remained at the College succombed: undoubtedly the consequence, thought the fortunate survivors, of the protection of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, to whom Koronfish had recently been consecrated.

In October the epidemic disappeared. A silver medal, bestowed by the government of Napoleon III, witnessed to the magnificent and quiet courage of Brother Ildefonsus, Brother Sedulis and Brother Nearchus and their associates.[651] The educational task, interrupted or delayed saught and got an extra measure of zeal. In the autumn of 1865 the Director wrote a report to the French consul explaining the situation: eighteen teacher belonging to the Institute taught French Italian, English and mathematics; the course in Arabic was entrusted to the competence of native laymen. In general --- and the list of pupils receiving honors proved it --- the education was quite similar to program in French residence schools during the same period. With the exception of instruction in Latin, it inclined toward secondary education. As an option, Hebrew took the place of Latin as the only ancient language; while Turkish and current Greek could be studied among the modern languages.

Resident tuition --- including instruction --- was never more than 85 francs a month. Still, an increase in the cost of food immediately involved an increase of 35 francs in board-and-room. Some families thought the amount too much; and as their pride refused to take advantage of the tuition-free school, they preferred, although Catholics, to send their sons to schismatic or heretical schools.[652]

Nevertheless, the Brothers were unable raise in the college all the funds necessary to support their non-paying school. After the fall of the Second Empire, they sought assistance from the French government.

On August 24, 1872, M. Ramusat, Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the treasurer of the French Consulate in Cairo to inform Brother Ildefonsus of a favorable decision: 2,000 francs were allotted to the school.[653]

The letter specified that it was an "incidental" assistance. But the beneficiary was forced to seek the equivalent the following year. He pleaded his case briefly but simply: On September 22, 1873, he recalled that "at the request of M. Vogüé, His Excellency the Minister came to the rescue of our school in Cairo. Circumstances, however, have not changed. "Our tuition-free school continues to have about 150 pupils, representing a variety of nationalities and religions, although mostly Catholic, among whom there are several French." This school population would be greater if there were more room. With 10,000 francs "we would be able to build in our schoolyard and so expand our classroom space." A solution of this kind seemed all the more desirable in that there were persons promising the imminent opening of "a tuition-free universal" school supported by the Viceroy's subsidies and which would not involve any religious instruction.

A new grant of 2,000 francs was immediately supplied. The Minister of Foreign Affairs raised no objections about studying the project mentioned by Brother Ildefonsus. But the proposal came to late to be submitted to the scrutiny of the French Ambassador before the period for drawing up the budget had been terminated. "It will be only during the next apportionment of aid to religious schools in the Middle East, ie., during the course of 1874," he wrote to M. Pelissier, Consul-general in Cairo, on November 3, 1873, "that I shall be able to evaluate whether, and to what extent, it will be possible to comply with the wishes of the

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651 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for July, 1909, pp. 243-244.

652 Ibid., pp. 245-246.

653 Foreign Ministry Archives, "Religious Assistance" File, section 8, 1872.

Director of the Brothers' school."[654]

When there was a question of Egypt, just as in the case of Syria and Palestine, the French government ordinarily did not have recourse to evasive language. Brothers like Brother Ildephonsus, Brother Adrian of Jesus and Brother Hugonis knew how to point out the government's interests and indicate where its duty lie. Already on the eastern skyline there was beginning to be cast the tiny but lively shadow of the man who was to win general favor, obtain complete cooperation and whose role would continue to grow: Brother Evagre arrived in Alexandria in November of 1862 from Artois, where he was born. He had shown his educational competence at St. Catherine's College, his fetching kindness, gentle spirit and his exquisite tact. In 1873 the Superiors asked him to direct an institution that the Brothers had just acquired in Ramleh, in a suburb of Alexandria. A semi-residence school was opened and was given the name of "St. Joseph's College" and the stimulus of Brother Evagre's leadership. He was to gather together into his Community a number of native Brothers; thus, there was Brother Barnabas Victor, a Maronite, who, as an adolescent, had taken refuge in Egypt when the Turks and the Druse were slaughtering his fellow-countrymen; abjuring the schism in which he was born, he entered the Brothers' novitiate; he exercized his apostolic zeal among the candidates in process of formation at Ramleh, as well as later on in Bethlehem; and he demonstrated his talents with his writings in the Arabic tongue. It was certainly men like Brother Barnabas who opened up broad and attractive prospects to Brother Evagre. The future was being shaped in each of the institutions --- Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Ramleh and Cairo --- that Brother Assistant Juodore had visited in the course of the year 1873. As Brother Philippe's delegate, he did not return to Paris until the moment of Brother Superior-general's death. The report that he was no longer able to present to the man gloriously responsible for the far-flung foundations would in any case keep the Regime informed of the work and the facilities of the missionary Institute.[655]

[654] Archives of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, ibid., Cairo, 1873.

[655] Obituaries of Brother Judore, 1879, Brother Evagre, 1914 and Brother Barnabas Victor, 1919.

CHAPTER TWO

East Indes and Indochina

With their itinerary fully worked out, although it did not follow lines inscribed on the world map, the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle set out from Asia Minor in the direction of India and the Far East. There they were to find traces of the great apostles and famous missionaries. And while they were not to shed their blood in countries in which Christianity was cruelly persecuted, at least they were to be exposed to more than one sort of test. Neither disappointment nor sorrow would suffer a respite; and more than once setbacks would be humiliating. Because of lack of personnel or of cooperation, situations of primary importance had to be abandoned. A few of these were recovered; the others were lost perhaps forever. Some memories remain particularly painful; the sad history of mankind is filled with our errors and inadequacies; but it is also there that heroic effort and the pure act of virtue stands revealed, as rays that leap from behind the shadows, the brilliance of which will never fade. By directing our vision toward the light we come to understand events and people and appreciate, as far as possible, the Providental plan. Suddenly, the real direction of things stands revealed. The labor improbus — the harsh, the thankless task — receives its reward and justification.

Malaysia, Hindoustan, Ceylon, Burma and Cochinchina would — between 1852 and 1874 — witness the Brothers at work. These were vast territories in which the races of mankind swarmed; in which Brahminism and Buddaism shared millions of initiates; and into which, for several centuries, western nations had been introduced: — in order to preach the truth by the mouths of those of their sons inspired by the love of God and of neighbor; to suppress tyranny and restore order; but also to do business, to make money, to vanquish and to dominate. It was a complex environment of mysterious cities and formidable rivers and jungles; and having braved the perils of the sea, one did not adventure fearlessly into this strangely appearing world. Religious who were primarily intended for the education of the French people needed a courageous faith in order to face the risk as well as a rare wisdom in order to adapt to such a novel backdrop.

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From the outset Brother Philippe had sent the Brothers to the most distant point on the continent of Asia. He had taken this decision neither hastily nor lightly, as we shall see presently. He had marked on the map the Malacca peninsula, Portugese at the beginning of the 16th century, momentarily evangelized by St. Francis Xavier on his way to Japan and then, beginning in 1588, a Catholic diocese. The 17th and 18th centuries brought Protestantism, in 1641 under the Dutch flag and in 1795 under the British flag. And England became so firmly entrenched there that in 1814, one of her subjects, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, took possession of Singapore, purchased by him from the Sultan of Jahor for a handsome sum in cash, along with an appreciable annuity over-and-above. The stategic and commercial situations were equally valuable; for it is here that the two parts of Asia today meet and do business. A handful of competent and persistent men were responsible for these results. When Raffles visited the island for the first time in 1819, it was occupied by 200 natives. Seven years later Singapore counted 13,700 inhabitants.[656]

[656] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o. — Georges Goyau, *les Femmes dans les missions*, pg. 44.

In 1832 the new city replaced Penang as the headquarters of the English settlements along the Straights. Here religions intermingled in the same variety as the people. Here Catholicism, while henceforth being unable to claim a privileged position, regained vitality. The Society of the Foreign Missions found itself entrusted by the Holy See with the evangelization of what was at one time called "Western Siam"[657] As early as 1825 in Penang, Bishop Boucho, the Vicar-apostolic, had opened a school dedicated to St. Francis Xavier; there he succeeded in bringing together 150 children whom he taught personally with the cooperation of some laymen. And quite generously the governor of the colony granted him an annual subsidy of $100.00.[658]

The prelate, however, felt that his educational work remained fragile as long as he did not make use of professional educators. No matter how tolerant, indeed encouraging, the civil authority seemed to be, its special favors were bestowed preferentially upon the Protestant schools. Religious Congregations dedicated to the educational task alone appeared in a position to organize an instructional system that attracted public attention and offset the successes of dissident cults.

Bishop Boucho left in the hands of one of his auxiliaries, Father Beurel, the mission of appealing both to the Madames of St. Maur and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The Superior-general of the former, Mother St. Francis de Sales Faudoas, in a few years, was to send four of her women to Singapore; and the Convent of Penang was to be founded at that time.[659]

Brother Philippe was solicited beginning in 1845. Thereafter Father Beurel was to besiege him tirelessly. The exchange of correspondence stretches between 1846 and 1851. As soon as the missionary had received --- on September 5, 1846 --- a reply, however tardy, to his initial overtures, he shouted his expectations to the housetops. Heresy, he wrote, was pursuing victories in the Far East, where its school were growing. Fortunately, Catholics were mobilizing for the Propagation of the Faith, and their developing activities was enabling the Church to extend the Reign of Our Lord. The disciples of De La Salle take part in the movement. "With the Grace of God" --- Father Beurel concluded --- "I shall have the unutterably pleasant consolation of seeing, before I die, a Brother of the Christian Schools on the soil of Indochina.[660]

Nevertheless, time passed by, and the dream was not transformed into a tangible reality. In 1848 events in Europe were sufficient to occupy the minds of people so that projects for sending persons to the ends of the earth were blurred in the background. In Singapore things were viewed from a different angle: the zealous pastor, impatient to assure the salvation of his flock, acted and spoke as though he regarded the results of negotiations as *faits accomplis*. The town newspaper, The Free Press, published in its issue for June 22, an article written by Father Beurel, who announced "to all the friends of European civilization" the imminent arrival of those teaching religious so much appreciated in western countries. He outlined a plan of education: the Brothers were to give classes in English, French, mathematics, bookkeeping and drawing. Their school was also to include teachers of Chinese and of Malaysian. It was to assemble pupils from all religions; and for Catholic children there would be special times for

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657 Goyau, op. cit., pg. 45.

658 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o.

659 Goyau, op. cit., pg. 45.

660 Letter to Brother Philippe, November 3, 1846, Motherhouse Archives, File ID o.

instruction in catechism. “But at all times the teachers would supervise the moral behavior of each of the pupils.”[661]

A subscription was begun, and by July 29 it had accumulated 5,000 francs. Classrooms were fitted out in a former parochial church that had been deconsecrated.[662] In order to speed up arrangements, Father Albrand, Procurator for the Parisian Seminary of the Foreign Missions, was appointed to deal directly with the Brother Superior-general.[663]

And, in fact, he paid a visit to the institution on Rue Plumet. In April, 1849 he brought a fresh entreaty from the priest, that had been sent from Singapore on January 5, talking about the “vast, beautiful picture that was waiting to be painted by Christian and Catholic education”. Brother Philippe confessed that such powerful arguments made him feel prepared “to overcome his repugnance” for an enterprise of this sort. Nevertheless, he asked for some clarifications, and he included a proposed contract with his letter.[664] By return mail Father Beurel supplied the explanations that had been sought. The Institute’s Rules would be respected, instruction would be tuition-free, and the Brothers would have the advantage of daily assistance at Mass. In a handwritten note Bishop Boucho confirmed each of these commitments.[665]

In the Regime, and with the advice of Father Albrand, what was being planned was the departure of American Brothers for Malaysia. And in exchange French Brothers would be given to the United States. This procedure produced a delay, of which the disappointed missionary complained bitterly: “I dare not charge this response to ill will,” he wrote in his letter of April 5, 1850; “but I moan in God’s presence, and I bow in silence at the disappointments with which He visits me...” Raising the tone, the letter becomes accusatory.

“Most venerable Brother, we live in times in which we must undertake great sacrifices for the Propagation of the Faith. Protestants…surpass Catholics when it comes to spreading their errors...God allows them to work in order to stimulate our zeal, and to serve as rebuke to our cowardice. He will condemn many of us in language such as this: ‘Were you not founded in ordr to help the pastors of the Church in the education of children?’ Look at the Sisters; they triumph over the weakness of their sex and, with a courage that covers us with shame, they travel to the islands of the Southern Ocean, to New Amsterdam, China, Birma and to the very borders of Tibet. Where, indeed, are the Brothers of the Christian Schools? Oh! Blessed John Baptist de La Salle ask of God that your sons incline to our views.”[666]

These were strains of a nature to move the Superior of the Institute, and, in his reply of July 23, he described himself as “filled with sadness”. He lacked French personnel in a position to substitute for the English-speaking Brothers in the American schools. The harvest has turned out to be marvelous: may it please the Lord to raise up workers!

Father Beurel refused to wait any longer. He got permission from Bishop Boucho to leave for France. In Paris he bounced between the residence of the Foreign Missionaries and Rue Oudinot.[667] Not only did he demand the Brothers that had been promised for Singapore; but he

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661 Letter to Brother Philippe, November 3, 1846, Motherhouse Archives, File ID o.

662 Ibid., letter dated July 29 from Father Beurel to Brother Philippe.

663 Ibid., letter dated July 29 from Father Beurel to Brother Philippe.

664 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o, April 19, 1849.

665 File cited, letter dated July 3, 1849.

666 File ID o. — Father Beurel “beatified” De La Salle thirty-eight years prior to the Roman decision.

667 Rue Plumet had just had its name changed to Rue Oudinot.

had been commissioned by the Vicar-apostolic to send some Brothers to Penang to serve with his confrere, Father Bigaudet.

Brother Philippe found this double demand embarrassing. Nevertheless, he had to renounce procrastinating. The final contracts were signed on November 12, 1851; and they provided for a foundation "in Penang or in Singapore" or "simultaneously in both places, if there were no obstacles to such a plan". Father Albrand, who continued to represent his Society, assumed, in the name of the Foreign Missionaries, the responsibility for costs for travel, housing, maintenance, and --- should occasion arise --- for transfer and repatriation. During the first year, and by way of experiment, a salary of 1,000 francs per Brother was fixed upon.

On December 3 the follow letter informed Bishop Boucho of the successful conclusion:"After overcoming many difficulties through the persevering zeal of your worthy associates, I have decided to send Your Excellency six of our Brothers selected out of Europe and America. Still somewhat anxious, the Superior insisted that the religious educators, in their perilous isolation, be accorded "every means for observing the Rule of the Congregation."[668]

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At the same time Father Beurel was setting out with his missionary troupe of Brothers and Nuns. And three months later his ship entered the canal, strewn with small islands, which leads into Singapore; the city arose on a wave of hills between the calm sea and the heights of Jahore.

It was a fairyland backdrop at the end of an uneventful voyage.[669] Less pleasant features remained to be uncovered. The Brothers had to spend four months at the priest's residence. "We shall not form our Community until August 1," wrote the Director to one of the members of the Regime. He was not anticipating a rosy future; day-to-day existence would be difficult; the high cost of food and clothing immediately manifested the inadequacy of the allotted funds.[670]

But there was nothing faint-hearted about this Director. The liveliness of his look and his resolute bearing expressed the energy of his personality. His name was Brother Liéfroy --- Antony Bajou. A Gascon from the Department of the Gere, he had entered the novitiate in Toulouse on May 2, 1828 when he was nineteen years of age. In 1837 he was one of the fine student-Brothers brought together in the Scholasticate in Languedoc under Brother Floride. He went on to found St. Genier's school in Aveyron. As Director in the District Motherhouse Community in 1843 and Visitor of Savoy in 1849, he left his mark on men and their achievments. In his person, it was no ordinary that Malaysia was receiving.[671]

He made the best of the situation. As early as May 1, 1852 he began to teach in the old church set aside for his use. He and his associates, Brothers Gregroy and Switbert subsequently took over a building perched on a neighboring height, called Government Hill. And then a barn-like structure built in the same quarter enabled them to admit more pupils.

These were the beginnings of "St. Joseph's Institute". In February 1853, when Theophane Venard, the future martyr, on his way to Hong Kong, put in at Singapore, he had a favorable impression of the Institute's work: the Brothers were teaching about a hundred schoolboys who supplied the missionaries with altar-boys and choir-boys.

At the same time the St. Francis Xavier school was in operation in Penang, where Brother

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668 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o. — Cf. *Bulletin des Écoles chrétienes*, January 1911, pp. 41-42.

669 Brother Philippe's Circular, no. 185, June 18, 1852.

670 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o, letter dated July 28, 1852.

671 Brother Lémandus, *Histoire du Frères de Toulouse*, 1909, pg. 326.

Liéfroy had brought three of his confreres: Brothers Vénéré, Lothaire of Mary and Hierom of Jesus: --- two Frenchman and an American for whom awaited the responsiblity for eighty pupils, all of whom were Catholic. The British government supplied a subsidy of 100 dollars, which it increased depending upon pupil population and examinatiion results.[672] Brother Liéfroy divided his time between the two schools in the colony. And we can understand how he would experience numerous difficulties, some of which were accounted for by the two-fold origin of his personnel; a total blending of the Brothers from France and their confreres selected from the United States by Brother Facile remained incomplete. Methods and attitudes revealed unfortunate differences. Furthermore, as Brother Philippe had feared, this tiny group separated by so much ocean ran the risk of adopting habits of independence and, almost without intending it, to assume a somewhat relaxed posture.

In 1854, as Brother Liéfroy returned to Penang, John Conolly --- in religion, Brother Gregory --- assumed command in Singapore. He was a skillful educator; and he had a knack for development. Father Beurel acknowledged that without him the school would have collapsed. Of his two associates at this time, one of them, Brother Switbert was quite ill and the other, Brother Modeste, was rather incompetent.[673]

But the clash was to occur between Brother Gregory, overbearing, disagreeable and sometimes even violent, and his erstwhile panegyrist. Bishop Boucho informed Brother Philippe of the circumstances of the quarrel on August 17, 1855. Accord between the missionary and teachers, wrote the Prelate, had been broken. Father Beurel had been providing hospitality to nine or ten boys from good families dwelling in Manila and Macao; and he sent them, as day-pupils, to the Brothers' school. As their numbers increased, Brother Gregory got the idea of opening a residence school, of which these well-to-do boys would form the nucleus. He won the consent both of their host and of Brother Liéfroy. Deep down the former felt that he had been deceived. And he found an opportunity to break the agreement: two resident pupils who had been flogged by Brother Gregory fled the school; and Father Beurel resumed the care of their comrades. To give emphasis to his disappoitment, he halted construction on a building that had been intended for the Community.

The Vicar-apostolic placed his hopes for reconciliation and the restoration of order on the shoulders of Brother Liéfroy. Perhaps, he thought, with him externals were less prominent than with the enterprizing auxiliary; but *ab intus* he was dealing with a genuine disciple of De La Salle. "On this rock it is possible to build," concluded Bishop Boucho.

Finally, Singapore ended up by returning to the control of the French Brother. In January 1858, Brother Gregory "took over as head of the school in Penang."[674]Meanwhile, Brother Liéfroy took over the leadership of a reshaped personnel: "Our Brothers Josuah, Albian of Jesus and Austin," he wrote on July 28, 1860, are three very pleasant persons".[675] As their names suggest, they belonged to the American District. The basic teaching language, of course, continued to be English. With all the success one could wish, the Director declared, "classes proceeded just as well as in the days of Brother Gregory, except for appearances and for reputation." In other words, with less noise, just as much work got covered.

Unfortunately, relations between the Community and the priests' house remained strained.

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672 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o; Register E1, pg. 661. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes*, for January 1912, pp. 12-13 and 17.

673 Letter dated November 4, 1854, to Brother Assistant Nicholas; File ID o.

674 Register E1.

675 File ID o, letter to Brother Assistant [Nicholas].

Father Beurel, who had been so eager to invite the Brothers, had become singularly cool toward them once he had them under his influence. Distribution of funds always provoked painful discussions. In order to live, the Brothers were once again forced to turn to a residence school: Brother Liéfroy contemplated opening such an establishment once for all in a "country house" on "Mt. Sophia" that he had just purchased for the sum of 6,427 dollars.[676]

On February 20, 1861 it included fourteen resident and eighteen semi-resident pupils. A few had been admitted witihout payment. The others assured an income of 137 dollars a month. This absolutely necessary financial mitigation could not, of course, be the only explanation for the existence of this school. At Father Beurel's the boys lived without supervision; and they succeeded mutually to corrupt one another. This was why the Brothers had, in the first instance, intervened. It was a praiseworthy decision, as results proved: both studies and religion profitted from it. Three young men decided to enter the novitiate: two of them were products of the residence school in Singapore, and the third came from Penang.[677]

But a letter from the missionary written during the same period, describes the situation from another point of view. The residence school, he writes, opened without episcopal authorization, had no right to exist. It was prejudicial to the tuition-free school, since it drew off teachers and supplied the usual benefactors with sound reasons for withholding donations. Hence the quandry in which the priest found himself. Furthermore, according to contract, salaries were owed by the Mission only to teachers of the poor. What, then, would become of the original foundation, already so neglected, whose beneficiaries found themselves "treated like pariahs?"[678]

Probably these assertions go beyond the thought of their author, who, on the following May 21, wrote to Brother Philippe in more conciliatory tones: "As for the residence and the pay school, I am going to consult with the Bishop about them...We shall, I hope, authorize both of them. We shall be satisfied with two Brothers for the tuition-free school, and we shall pay their salaries."

The close of the letter gave evidence of a restoration of warm fellow-feelings and offered a glimpse of extremely encouraging prospects: "I am most anxious that our Brothers' school become increasingly prosperous. France is on the verge of setting up bases in Cochinchina, which is close to Singapore...The Brothers will be invited there...And in this way we shall be able to bank on the future.

The promised authorization was not long in coming. On June 21, Bishop Boucho agreed to support the residence school. The paying day-school seems to have been joined to it and given the name of Academy of the Sacred Heart[679] The tuition-free school existed separately, and the teachers' salaries were Father Beurel's sole responsibility.

About this time Brother Gregory was replaced in his capacity as Director in Singapore.[680] And Brother Liéfroy left the extreme Far East.[681] Under the stimulus of American Brothers the

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[676] Ibid., letter cited, dated July 28, 1860.

[677] Ibid., letter to Brother Nicholas.

[678] File ID o, Father Beurel's letter to Brother Liéfroy, February 8, 1861.

[679] File ID o, Father Beurel's letter to Brother Philippe, July 20, 1861.

[680] On August 27, 1862 Brother Philippe made him, as Visitor and Director in Singapore, Procurator-general for the administration of Institute property in Malaysia.

[681] In 1863 he was in India, and then in Egypt. He died in 1869.

skiff maintained its course. In 1863 it included a team of nine Brothers who served 130 pupils.[682] But its direction appeared to be wavering, if not suspect.

In January of 1864 the tiller was in the hands of Brother Hierom assisted by Brother Josuah and three novices. The school had suffered a reduction of teaching personnel and, as we shall see a reduction of pupil population. Father Beurel had sounded the alarm. To hear it as far away as Paris, it was enough to listen attentively to the lengthy complaint. The tuition-free school was closed, he announced to Brother Facile who had received within his jurisdiction as Assistant the English Straits Colony.[683] Instigated by the two principal teachers, physicians had declared the site to be unhealthy. "Bishop Boucho visited the [paying] school on Thursday, January 26. And he found fifty-odd pupils divided into four classes which were intended for 140 pupils. His Excellency told Brothers Hierom and Josuah that they would have to admit the poor as well as the rich into these beautiful and spacious classrooms." Brother Hierom protestedly sharply. And, then, after four days time and the urging by Brother Josuah, he finally submitted.

Nevertheless, his attitude proved worrisome. The priests of the Foreign Missions had grave misgivings about the man's indocility and his appetite for profit. The Vicar-apostolic, in agreement with Father Beurel --- whose reports, judgments and petitions he co-signed --- asked for a change: "If we had a Director like Brother Lothaire," a letter of the January 31 gave assurance, "things would go better..."

Since April 1864 Brother Lothaire of Mary had succeeded the American Brother Botthian as Director in Penang.[684] And now he had taken over the direction of the school in Singapore. In the other city Brother Zeboras, in the midst of countless hasards, was to preside over the continuity of the project: an invincible faith supported him in the worst moments.[685] Taking up and transforming Brother Liéfroy's work, Brother Lothaire, in 1867, built a sound and handsome residence school. The site, however, was not Mt. Sophia: the country-house had been sold. For the new structure the government had made a generous offer which gave evidence of its solicitude for the education of youth: it granted land to the Brothers' representatives on which to build "St. Joseph's."[686]

It was thus that the Communities in Malaysia worked. After fifteen years of effort, they had obtained only a modest success. In the eyes of expert observers, their stability and endurance seemed basically shakey and, actually, somewhat later, would be called into question.[687] A variety of stumbling blocks had strewn the route that had been opened up in 1851: financial concerns, prejudices and misunderstandings. But the most serious danger arose not from without, but from persons within: Brother Liéfroy and Brother Lothaire had put their finger on it. As the latter wrote to Brother Facile in 1872: "In this country there are many Brothers who do not have the spirit of the Institute."[688]

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[682] File ID o. *Historique de l'etablissement de Singapore*.

[683] File ID o, letter dated January 31, 1864.

[684] Motherhouse Archives, Register E1.

[685] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January, 1912, pg. 23.

[686] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o, Brother Lothaire's letters.

[687] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for January 1911, pp. 46-47.

[688] File ID o, letter dated May 4, 1872. — Bishop Le Turdu, Bishop Boucho's successor was to repeat this

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The same difficulties, unfortunately, also surfaced in the schools in Hindoustan. But they were amplified, one might hasard the thought, in proportion to the vast field of action. And their effects were all the more devastating. For the want of a large pool of personnel that would facilitate preliminary selection, insufficiently enlightened persons were employed at a work that demanded exceptional talents and extraordinary vigor of thought and execution.

In October of 1906, Brother Imier of Jesus, the future Superior-general, at the time, in his capacity as Provincial-Visitor, in charge of a broad inquiry into the Institute in Asia, stopped at Colombo where he wrote "some notes on the District of British India."[689].He had studied the history of these institutions in the manuscripts left by Brother Hermenegild, a religious of whom we had a glimpse as a hard-working school principal in Canada,[690] and whom we meet with again at a more recent date as courageous missionary.

Armed with this information and situating ancient data in the light of his own personal investigation, Brother Imier came to a harsh conclusion. He criticized the closing of the schools in India properly so-called and especially those in Calcutta, Agra and Mangalore where --- with a large Catholic population --- the Institute might have inspired exceptional vocations. He did not hide the causes of the collapse: "Paucity of [suitable] candidates", lack of religious and educational formation, "lack of ability, of prudence" and, indeed, a lack of "common sense". In the brief life of the late District there were too many quarrels, rebellions and defections. The honor of the entire family suffers when dedication fails to redeem faults, when the the burden of avoidable errors and deliberate sins does not fall upon each individual personally. The setback on the Indian Peninsula, however strictly limited, served as a lesson. The like was not to occur again in the Congregation's growth at the end of the 19th century and during the first half of the 20th century.

Well before the final sentence was passed, within the wisdom and serenity of historical perspectives, by the distinguished Superior, a contemporary, on-the-scene observer hasarded an opinion that deserves consideration. Brother Ulfin Daniel had been a teacher in Colombo, on the Island of Ceylon. Recalled to Europe and residing at the French boarding school in Rome, he received a visit from a missionary to India, Bishop Sillani. After the interview, on November 19, 1878, he wrote to one of the Brothers Assistants that "in Paris people, it seems, are frequently mistaken about the choice of personnel" intended for Hindoustan. People failed to realize that they were dealing with a country that enjoyed an ancient civilization and that had reached, in many instances, a high degree of intellectual culture. Brother Daniel had personally observed that in India "literature, mathematics and especially astronomy, did not have to take a back seat" to western science.

The District's first two Visitors, added the letter-writer, proved to be inferior to the task: the first was irregular and incompeent, and the second, although a saintly religious, was at a loss when faced with administrative complications and powerless to organize, whether in his memory or his imagination the details of the institutions under his control. It was in this way that the promise of a very bright future evaporated.

Indeed, the beginnings had been made with a great deal of confidence. The Brothers' Community in Penang, in the course of 1857, had been joined by a French priest, Father Barbe, who had come from Bengal by way of Burma. "The Brothers", he declared, "teach school on the banks of the Ganges. These were Irish Christian Brothers who belonged to a Society

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evaluation in March 1874. (Letter to Brother Patrick in the same file.)

689 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o, a 37 page notebook which, in fine bears the date October 26, 1906

690 See above, pg. [263].

founded by Ignatius Rice. The Vicar-apostolic for this region in India, Bishop Carew, had brought them to Calcutta ten years earlier, specifying, meanwhile, that he would become their immediate Superior. The tiny community, henceforth separated from its roots, did not flourish. Bishop Olliffe, Bishop Carew's successor, advised it to join the followers of John Baptist de La Salle, in order to preserve the existence of an excellent orphanage."

Bishop Olliffe, meanwhile, had opened up negotiations with Rome; and Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Propaganda, had given his approval to the amalgamation. Brother Philippe had some foreboding. On his orders, Brother Vénéré, the Director of Penang,[691] went to Calcutta; he had been charmed by Father Barbe's talk; and he did not fail to marvel at the site and the layout of the Bengali institution. The report he drew up for the Regime reflected his favorable impressions.

The group of Irish Brothers included six or seven members. To Brothers Alphonsus and Francis, the two pioneers, had been joined a few youths of European nationality.[692]Included in their ranks was a former soldier of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, who had entered with the name of Brother John. This edifying man who, for a rather long period of time had the responsibility of supervising the orphans and thereafter temporal concerns, fell ill after Brother Vénéré's arrival. For a supplementary religious formation in a totally Lasallian atmosphere, Brother Alphonsus temporarily parted company with his confreres and came to Rue Oudinot to make the novitiate.

Brother Vénéré was called back to France in order there to take part in selecting co-workers. He had been authorized to recruit nine Brothers whom he conducted to India in September of 1859. Since none of them knew any English, their leader set them to studying the language in a country house that the orphanage owned.

Once these preliminaries were behind them, all parties appeared moved by generous impulses. After the admission of the new candidates --- the former Irish Christian Brother aspirants --- the Community totalled nineteen religious. It was now in a position to educate, not only the 130 orphans, but also the 270 day-pupils. The physical set-up left nothing to be desired: it was a spacious structure in the capital of Bengal, situated in the midst of "magnificent" surroundings.[693]

Morale, however, did not remain at its earlier high level. For this change, Brother Vénéré, no doubt, bore the responsibility. He was the Visitor on whom Brother Daniel had passed the very harsh judgment. He was a man born to obey; and when he returned to the ranks, he was found to be beyond criticism. On the occasion of a canonical visit in 1872 Brother Hermenegild's comment on him was benign: "Submissive, regular ..." As a matter of fact, he added, concerning Brother Vénéré's desire to return home after a very active career, "It's still too soon after what he had done, according to the view of a Brother who knows him well."[694]

At the command post, the Visitor of India had been disappointing. Far removed from any controlling influence, a man, probably somewhat indolent, had liberated himself from the more troublesome constraints of the Rule. The people under his authority needed example as much as, or more than, exhoration. The Community in Calcutta felt that its leadership was weak. Discipline became relaxed and unity was broken. French participation was numerically

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691 From April of 1852 to January of 1858. Register E1, pg. 661.

692 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o; Register E1, pg. 902.

693 File ID o. — The same folder contains a letter from Brother Hermenegild to Brother Facile, dated February 10, 1872. He writes: "Bishop Bigaudet would like to have Brother Vénéré in Rangoon, who, since his return and up to now has been a perfect model of regularity..." Bishop Bigaudet who, before becoming Bishop in Burma, had been pastor of the Catholic parish in Penang, had not retained any Director of his school.

694 See below, pg. [413].

reduced with the opening of an affiliate in Burma.[695]

Meanwhile the Irish element was moving in the direction of regaining its independence, for which it had sought diocesan approval. Bishop Olliffe, who had promoted the idea of calling in the Brothers of the Christian Schools, had died in Naples on May 13, 1859. And the new bishop was in a position to see that the experiment was not working. The Irish Brothers had unanimously declared themselves opposed to Brother Vénéré who, in 1861, had taken off for a second foundation in Burma. Upon his return, separation was an accomplished factAs a result there were five French Brothers in Calcutta without employment. They secluded themselves in a house in the country-side. Meanwhile, as the year drew to close, an important project was offered them. This time, they were drawn far away from the coastal regions, into the heart of Hindoustan. In 1854 Bishop Perisco had asked for Brothers for his mission in Agra. And even though he was seconded by the Cardinal-prefect of the Propaganda, he was obliged to wait. Brother Vénéré was given the task dealing with him. Reenforcements from France joined the remnant of the Community in Calcutta. After opening four classes frequented by 110 pupils, the Brothers took on the direction of a cluster of tasks: a residence school for sixty pupils and orphanage housing 150 boys. Meanwhile, the very Catholic climate of the region inspired the opening of a novitiate.

The effort had the very best chances for success. Who threw up obstacles? A note in the handwriting of Brother Assistant Facile[696] accuses "a certain Father Louis". The Capuchins --- of whom Father Louis was one --- were the pastors of the faithful in this diocese. Presumably they were not very enthusiastic about seeing some of their flock drawn to De La Salle's Congregation. Father Louis declared war on the Brothers and induced several postulants to leave, followed by three older novices who had already been given teaching assignments.

Recruitment became impossible; and defections followed one upon another. Physical sufferings, the difficulty and the danger of the illnesses intensified the burden of weariness and affliction. "It would be well," concluded Brother Facile, to withdraw our Brothers from Agra before the school is wiped out by defections." The decision was taken up in Council by the Regime on May 16, 1863. Agra was "on its death-bed". And in July the burial took place. The group of Brothers departed without daring to believe in a resurrection.[697]

Here, once again, what was lacking was energy and an unconquerable faith. What was sought was a sound, effective leader, but they came up with nothing but shadows. Brother Vénéré faded away, and Brother Gregory, whom we have already met, succeeded him. He died in a way that deserved an admiring farwell --- the victim of cholera in 1863 at the moment he was making his way to the Community in Agra.

And then there was figure whose passing was so rapid that Brother Ulfin Daniel neglected to mention his name. The "saintly religious" of whom he speaks is certainly Brother Liéfroy who, although stationed at Toulouse or Chambery but still capable of important service in Singapore or Penang, had been prematurely exhausted in tropical climates. Brother Facile who, from the Straights of Malacca had directed him to India, learned of his lack of success: "he couldn't make head nor tail of it", wrote the grizzled Assistant who had become accustomed to bold decisions.

In the days when Brother Liéfroy bent under the excessively heavy burden, the Institute, abandoning the northern provinces appeared to want to center its institutions in the triangle formed by the South, the Malabar coast and the Coronandel coast.

Four years earlier the Superior-general had written in his circular dated February 9, 1859:"At

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695 Dossier 1D and register E

696 File ID o, rough copy without a date.

697 Motherhouse Archives, File cited; and Register E2, pg. 53.

the repeated requests of His Excellency the Cardinal-prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda and of His Excellency the Apostolic Nuncio to the Emperor's government, we have had to send four of our Brothers to open a school in Mangalore."

These four Brothers were the Director, John Nepomucene and Brothers Raphaire, Berchmans and Pastoris. They arrived in the company of the Vicar-general of the diocese, Father André, with which they could scarcely have been satisfied. From the outset their project advanced in a fashion that paralleled the foundations in Calcutta and Agra. Then, too, it took on a rather novel form. Brother Pastoris opened a novitiate in 1860. He admitted native vocations: --- excellent candidates --- as Brother Imier of Jesus thought in modern times[698] --- faithful to the Rule, showing piety, dedication, zeal and persevering provided they were supported by a vigilant affection.

Two of these Mangalore novices deserve special mention. Both the offspring of Christian stock, they effortlessly fall into line with the sons of John Baptist de La Salle. The Institute was their home until their death, good a loyal religiious who practiced the virtues of their calling and by their example bore witness to what India, had it not been so quickly abandoned, might have been able to contribute to the spiritual family of the Master-Educator.

Brother Timothy of Mary, born in Calcutta in 1835, thought of himself as descending from ancestors who had been converted by the Apostle Thomas. He was certainly one of a very ancient people who were attached to the faith of Christ and who cultivated the human sciences. Both his father and his grandfather practiced medicine. He himself had been committed to the education of children. This educational vocation was on the point of blossoming when the Brothers settled in Mangalore. The young man asked to be admitted into their Community; and he became Brother Pastoris' first novice.[699]

Of analogous origins and similar orientation, his fellow-countryman, Brother Anthony of Paudua was part of an intrepid believing community, members of which rose to the heights of heroism during the reign of Sultan Tippoo-Sahib toward the end of the 18th century. His people dwelt in the city of Bondal; and in 1862, aat the age of twenty-one, he left them to join Brother Timothy. He lived in the Institute until 1901.[700] After a career with whose stages we shall become familiar, he followed in death his senior in religion by six months.

He came to Tellitchery in 1866. This was the house founded by Brother Pastoris to which, over several months between 1861-1862, he moved his novitiate. There Brother Timothy of Jesus succeeded Brother Raphaire as Director. With equal facility he taught both Oriental and European languages; and his skill as a catechist was not inferior to his scientific erudition. In 1868 an article praising the Brothers residing along the Malabar coast appeared in the newspaper *the Bombay Catholic.*

Mangalore, however, witnessed the departure of the Brothers in the course of that year; and Tellitchery, in December of the following year. The reason: local wrangling and disagreement with the clergy. Calicut, where Brother Liéfroy had opened a school on January 7, 1863, held out longer. Here three Brothers, instructing about eighty pupils, were supported by missionaries on funds provided by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

Along with Calicut, the school at Cannanor was to be the final redoubt of the Brothers' forces on the peninsula. Taken over at about the same period, it would not be finally evacuated until 1882. There had been, overall, twenty-nine years of obscure effort, of painful and ill-recompensed labor; and for the want of financial assistance and of moral support,

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698 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o, document cited, dated 1906.

699 Obituary, 1896.

700 Obituary, 1901.

instruction was interrupted in 1864. Three teaching Brothers returned in May of 1865 and reassembled about a hundred pupils.[701] But from one end to the other of this story there persisted the painful impressiion of insecurity and precariousness.

In the two French "showcases" in which the Institute sought to establish itself settling in was never more thoroughly realized than in countries dominated by England. In the west Mahe retained its Brothers' school only between the years 1863 and 1869. The school was scarcely begun when it nearly vanished, because the Governor-general of Pondichery refused to include its expenses in the colony's budget. In July 1864 Brother Pastoris, who had become Visitor, succeeded in reaching an agreement with the local administrator, M. Liautaud: a salary of 1,300 francs was guaranteed to each of two teachers who were committed to dispense instruction to the children of Mahe without distinction of color, cast or religion. The Community, formed in accordance with the Rule of three members, it soon became clear that its income would not be enough on which to live. It complained also of its dilpaidated lodgings, disintegrating, and actually uninhabitable. As every request continued to be ignored, the Superiors became resigned to closing the place.[702]

In the east, Karikal obtained Brothers on November 20, 1863 on the initiative, not of the civil government, but of the priests in charge of the parish; and the Vicar-apostolic in Pondichery agreed to guarantee the school's subsistence. The classes, taught by Brother Hidulphe of Mary, were filled by about fifty small Catholics and fifty small pagans. But by August 1866 the school had folded. The "unruly", responsible for such a rapid collapse, had, unfortunately, included some of teachers.[703]

We have come to the end of unfortunate experiments, of enterprizes that took a turn for the worse. In the Indian Empire, which presently Lord Beaconsfield would offer to Queen Victoria as the brightest jewel in the British crown, the Brothers would succeed in surviving --- if not at the heart of the ancient nation, on the banks of the Hindus and the Ganges, and not even along the coasts where Europeans since Vasco da Gama had become implanted; at least on the extremities, outside the Hindoustan bloc, although associated with the latter by geography and history. Ceylon on the one hand and Burma on the other in the southern portion of the continent of Asia were the well-defended, the well-equipped citadels, the centers of radiant activity, the Congregation's indispensable base of action.

We shall have to deal with the foundations in Burma before those in Ceylon. But along the Coromandel coast we immediately meet with the great island, the paradise of the Indian Ocean. We shall cast a rapid glance on it, since the Brothers' work there prior to 1874 was still in its beginnings.

Bishop Sillani, whose name has recurred incidentally in these pages,[704] wrote Brother Philippe on September 6, 1866 that together with the Visitor, Brother Pastoris, he was thinking about opening a Catholic school in Colombo. And so he was asking that four Brothers be sent.[705] The reply was hardly encouraging. Nevertheless, there was an attempt to set up a Community during the following year. After an interruption, it was resumed and gradually solidified. At the fresh beginning on May 1, 1868 the humble seed hidden in the gigantic flower

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701 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o and Register E2, pp. 100 and 121.

702 Motherhouse Archives, Register E2, pg. 109.

703 Ibid., pg. 68. — And File ID o, historical notes, 1881.

704 See above, pg. [405].

705 Motherhouse Archives, File ID o. The original letter is in Italian.

gave no grounds for predicting that it itself would blossom magnificently.

A seed of the same species was sown in Negombo on January 7, 1870. It was placed in the hands of native Asians, Brother Peter of Jesus and Brother Timothy of Mary. The latter would henceforth make Ceylon his adoptive country. As Director of the new school, he transformed a village school into one that rivalled the best colleges. He exercized such a strong influence over his pupils that many of them became priests or joined their preceptor in the Institute. Later on, when it became necessary to close Negumbo, Brother Timothy moved to the island's capital. And the contribution of his talent, his dedication and his energy provided the leadership of the school in Ceylon formed the groundwork for a magnificent future.[706]

At the sight of this marvelous Brother at work, the Superiors might very well, in fact, hope for a reversal of some of the recent disasters. And the language of the letter that Brother Hermenegild wrote to Brother Facile on September 5, 1872 becomes easily understandable. The Visitor, residing at the moment in Colombo, thought that this spot by itself presented every possibility for serious and regular recruitment for the District of India. "If we are only going to rely on European Brothers," he added, "we might as well give up all the schools. Whereas if we put to rest existing biases, and with discretion and wisdom we appoint native Brothers as Directors, we shall have an opportunity to multiply our numbers."[707]

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In lower Burma, as in Singapore, Calcutta and Ceylon, the apostles of the school had entered a territory in which they had been preceded by British arms and politics. After the war of 1852, Great Britain continuing its longstanding ascendancy, annexed the Irawaddy delta.

It was the moment for Catholicism to take up the challenge of the Protestant sects within the country. Natives, if they wished to enter government service, had to pass rather difficult examinations, and as a consequence to attend schools organized in the European manner. They frequented the first teachers skilled enough to instruct them.

When Father Bigaudet, a friend and patron of the Brothers in Penang had received --- along with his episcopal consecration --- the office of Vicar-apostolic for Pegou and Ava, he resolved to assist his activity with the work of the educators whom he had come to prize. As pastor of souls as well in that part of Burma that was still independent as in the coastal regions, he anticipated the broadest possible apostolate for the Brothers. Actually, maintaining the most cordial relations with King Mindon-Min, who ruled intelligently and wisely from 1853 to 1878, Bishop Bigaudet earnestly encouraged him to provide a Brothers's school in his capital, Mandalay. The missionary bishop had to await more than a quarter of a century, involving considerable upheavals, before a college was opened in upper Burma.[708]

On December 16, 1859 he wrote to Brother Vénéré who had recently arrived in Calcutta: "Yes, Blessed La Salle's (sic) family will prosper in Asia and will effect in India the marvels that it has realized everywhere it has gone...My very dear Brother, I now turn to you: I shall not recoil, as you know, from any sacrifice in order to bring our Brothers to this Mission. And I need three of them, first of all, for Moulmein...And with God's help, I shall answer for the success of the enterprise."

Father Ducotey, the Vicar-apostolic's agent, came to an agreement with Brother Philippe's representative. And on May 24, 1860, the articles of a contract were ratified in Rangoon by

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[706] Obituary, 1896. — Motherhouse, Register E2.

[707] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o.

[708] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o.

Bishop Bigaudet. Classes had already been in operation at Moulmein for about a month. They had experience such a success that the priest invited the teachers to take over the direction of a small residence school that he had operated personally. His bishop seconded his request. And in a letter dated December 28, 1860 the Superior-general gave the necessary authorizations.

The second foundation --- the one in Rangoon --- was in the making. Its personnel, like the three Brothers in the Community in Moulmein, had been selected from the group in Calcutta. It increased by one teacher after the unexpected secession in Bengal of the Irish Brothers from the French associates of Brother Vénéré. On September 8, 1860, the new teachers chosen for the Burmese youngsters counted thirty-eight pupils in a decrepit building --- that at one time had witnessed the celebration of religious worship and that the Bishop had remodelled as a school. By the end of the school year more than a hundred children filled the classrooms. The former church was replaced by a structure built of brick. And in 1868 the Brothers moved into a spacious, beautiful building.[709]

Like Father Ducotey, and like Bishop Bigaudet himself, missionaries intended for the evangelizatiion of the city of Bassein were promptly turned into teachers in order ward off the dangers of Protestantism. Their efforts were not without their rewards. The task, however, turned out to be too absorbing to be reconciled with the priestly ministry. What was required were vocationally specialized educators. Three Brothers were summoned and began to teach on July 1, 1862. In approving the contract with the Visitor of India, the Vicar-apostolic wanted more than anything else that the school in Bassein train catechists for the Mission and candidates for the Seminary in Penang. Such pupils were called “Karins.”

Actually, many did enter the clergy; while others accepted the more humble role for which they had been prepared. The Brothers, however, were unable to dedicate themselves exclusively to this type of pupil; they were also teaching children in the Day School, which task alone was labor enough for them; although one of their number was concerned uninterruptedly with the “Karins.”The situatiion finally became intolerable when the missionaries no longer wished to pay for any more than two teachers, who lived as inferiors fed at the table of their employers. The upshot was that the Brothers were free of responsibility for the future seminarians and the like.

Then, in 1870 a regular Community composed of three members was reestablished. It lasted until February, 1879, on whcih date the Brothers were withdrawn from Bassein.[710] It was an extraordinary episode, which posed no obstacle to the progress of the Brothers’ work in Burma. The religious educators would not be able to overcome the prejudice and the bias and win the respect of the British authorities, secure the friendship of their pupils --- Buddists as well as Christian --- and have a serious influence on the nation’s upper classes without ever forgetting their obligations regarding the little people and the poor.

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Penang, overall, was the trunk from which would spring the branches of British India. Father Beurel believed that it would reach out to Indochina. And, no doubt, it was the fruit of the same tree that was to ripen on the mouth of the Mekong; but in this restricted area the planting would be effected directly by the French.

It was to grow in a soil watered by the blood of many martyrs. King Minh-mang whose father Giao-Long had been a friend and patron of missionaries, deserves the name of the “Annamite Nero”. As the result of his edict for a general persecution, four Vicars-apostolic, two

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[709] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o and ID o4. — *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for September 1908, pg. 291.

[710] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o4.

Pro-vicars, twenty-seven priests and hundreds of Christians perished between 1833 and 1840. The immolation of the Blessed Francis Gagelin, John Charles Cornay, Dumoulin Borie go back to this period.

Minh-mang's successors showed no less hatred for the faith. Tu Duc was particularly cruel. The missionaries Augustine Schoeffeer and John Louis Bonnard were martyred, the one in 1850 and the other in 1852. The period of the bloodiest violence occurred six years later and continued on until 1867. Of the 10,000 distinguished persons who were imprisoned because of their adherence to Christianity more than half of them were put to death. Seminaries and convents were destroyed; priests, French, Spanish and native, religious and Aanamite catechists were hunted and executed. Bishop Cuénot died prisoners chains; John Theophane Vénard, a courageous and joyous martyr, suffered his final torture on February 2, 1861.[711] Perhaps nowhere has been better verified Tertulian's words sanguis martyrum, semen christianorum. Annam and Tonkin together in the middle of the 19th century numbered about 500,000 Roman Catholics.

France had taken a large part in this evangelization. When Tu Duc's first victims fell, it decided upon an armed intervention. This gesture, unfortunately, at first incited a spreading of the slaughter. But by imposing itself upon Indochina, French power opened up an era of spiritual and material transformation within the country.

In the beginning, France's only goal was the preservation of a listening post. After Admiral Rigault Genouilly's expedition in 1858 and the taking of Tourane, Saigon was won by main force. The capital of Indochina and three adjacent provinces were ceded to Napoleon III by the treaty of June 5, 1862. Tu Doc was committed --- a preposterous promise --- to respect the freedom of Catholics in the Annamite empire. The following year the King of Cambodia placed himself under French protection. And then in order to put an end to incursions and rebellion the governor of Indochina in 1886 seized the western provinces of Vinh-Long, Chaudoc and Hatien.

These were the foundations for the future edifice. The military leaders had scarcely begun to lay them down when they applied the cement that would stabilize them. Admiral Charner began Annamite education for soldiers and French colonials and a French school for natives. Admiral Bonard continued this project.

Coming third in line, Admiral de La Grandière took his inspiration from his predecessors and was even more enterprising. He wanted to shield his officials from the intellectual influence of China and give life to a sort of national character. A resolution dated July 16, 1864 established primary schools in all the major centers: almost immediately fifteen schools were in operation. In 1866 there were forty-seven schools frequented by 1,200 pupils.[712] The Admiral never visited an urban center without going into a classroom, questioning the pupils and distributing prizes.[713]

Recourse was had to makeshift teachers, to salaried government interpreters, who sincerely acquitted themselves of their tasks. Would it not be preferable, however, to make an appeal to genuine educators who dispensed a systematic instruction, by way of tested methods, train a local elite and prepare the nucleus necessary for moral progress and for economic development? There was no doubt concerning the answer.

This is why the governor thought about the Brothers of the Christian Schools. On Juy 17,

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711 Baunard, *Un siècle de l'Église de France*, 1900, pp. 425 and 451-457. — Goyau, *Histoire de la nation francaise*, pg. 608. — Hanotaux and Martineau, *Histoire des Colonies francaises*, Vol. V (l'Indochine, by Edmond Chassigneux), 1932, pg. 373.

712 H. Froidevaux*, l'OEuvre scolaire de la France aux colonies*, Paris, 1900, pp. 156-157.

713 Ibid.

1865, Chasseloup Laubat, Minister of the Navy, wrote to the Superior-general:

"You have been kind enough, at the request of Rear-Admiral de La Grandière, to place six Brothers of your Congregation at the disposal of my department in order to be sent to Indochina and to be employed there as school-teachers. I give my entire approval to the arrangements agreed upon between the Admiral and yourself.[714]

On the following October 20, one of Brother Philippe's circulars announced to the entire Institute that "urgent concerns of the Ministry of the Navy and the Colonies" had determined the departure of a group of Brothers who were going "to bring Catholic and French instruction" to Saigon. The embarcation was to take place from Toulon "on a government ship". The leader of the selected group was Brother Jaime.[715] Provided with the title of "Visitor-provincial" he was to remain, within his competence, independent of the District of India and of British Indochina.

The school whose direction La Grandière had intended for him had been founded in 1861 by the Missionary Fathers. It was called "Adran College" in memory of a courageous 18th century Bishop, titulary of this See, Bishop Pgneau Béhaine, a counsellor and supporter of Giao-Long. The government of the colony had encouraged innovators. The decree which had created educaational scholarships for 100 pupils stated: "The extension of French education is of primary necessity for the future of Indochina; it is important to teach the young Vietnamese our languages and our customs in order to supply various posts with competent employees; in order, also, to recompense, through the education of their sons, families that have shown dedication to France."

The missionaries wanted to withdraw from the College, believing that it was enough for them to have provided an impulse to the movement and that their priestly duty involved other activities. When the Admiral was assured of assistance from the Brothers' Congregation, he bought the building, gave orders for its remodelling at the government's expense, and determined the salaries at 1,500 francs for each of the teachers and 2,500 francs for the Director.[716]

Brother Jaime and his confreres were in possession of the building on January 9, 1866. They were not given a palace; they had to stoop to enter the rooms with low doors, in which the Community was assigned living quarteres. It was so tiny, so lightly partitioned that during the hot weather the thermometer registered between 85 and 105 degrees F. The ground was just as poorly protected against moisture as the walls and the ceiling were against the sun: during the rainy season water formed ten or twelve inch deep puddles in the dwelling. The classrooms and dormitories were no better: they were simple staw-huts, in which one panted in a stifling atmosphere. In such conditions, the climate, difficult for Europeans, became insupportable; and health could only suffer from it perilously.

The Brothers, however, put up a marvelous resistance to sickness and to what they found distasteful; they took hygienic precautiions; and they accommodated themselves to the penury of their surroundings until the colonial administration tardily determined to concede some modest conveniences.[717]

A former pupil at Adran College, Father John Baptist Tong (who became Bishop Tong to his

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[714] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o6.

[715] Circular no. 320.

[716] Motherhouse Archives, File ID E6. — And *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for May, 1908, pg. 145.

[717] A residence for the Community was constructed in 1869 and classrooms in 1871. In 1874 the Brothers built a chapel at their own expense.

Vietamese countrymen) told Brother Neopole of Jesus on the occasion of the latter's "Diamond Jubilee" on August 15, 1909: "You were one of six brave men who, in 1866, came to these shores...You were thirty-five years old, you were at the height of your powers, powers that you did not spare...Time has passed, the city has grown, schools have been built, generations have moved through their classrooms, and those who were small children in your charge are today men living at every social level and in every corner of the country."[718]

This is a tribute of gratitude the language of which, selected with precision, sumed up long years of courage, zeal, educational competence, tact and prudence in relations between western teachers and Oriental pupils, of effort, sometimes heroic, constantly replenished and finally crowned with success. For half a century, and inspite of an interruption incited by official sectarianism, the Brothers had effectively contributed to the intellectual and religious progress of Indochina, to the pacification of peoples and to the understanding --- so desirable and yet so precarious --- between civilizations and races.

The early difficulties are scarcely hinted at in Brother Jaime's correspondence. On the contrary, the Visitor-Director appears ever ready for some great burst of energy, happy and serene. "We are enjoying the regard of the Admiral and his entourage," he writes to Brother Philippe on February 25, 1866. He received a less warm welcome at the hands of the diocesan authorities; and he explains quite frankly the reason why: "Bishop Miche is offended because you did not write to him recommending us to His Excellency. I made all the excuses I could...I am convinced that his displeasure has no other cause than having been practically cast aside by the government,which took the initiative in inviting the Brothers to Indochina."

This cloud would pass. The ranking representative of the Church did not deal harshly with the missionary teachers, who were able to enjoy government favors with a clear conscience. A favorable wind, then, was filling their sails at the moment they were getting under way on their apostolic cruise. "The pupils will return," continued Brother Jaime, "next week...They are all resident pupils whose fees are paid by the government. Several Europeans, however, want to send their children to us from morning until night. I do not think that the Admiral will be opposed."[719]

Admiral de La Grandière wished only to please the Brothers; he was happy with the arrangements they had made, and was interested in their early results. At the end of seven months he wrote a very flattering report to Chasseloup Laubat and included several of the native pupils' workbooks by way of persuasive documentation.

In October 1866 the Minister informed the Brother Superior-general of the Governor's complete satisfaction. A new group of teachers was asked for in the colony.[720] Brother Victor had already embarked in order to replace Brother Alpin. Four of his confreres, with "Obediences" dated January 8, 1867, were to join him later on.

What was taught at Adran College? In the beginning, a little French and arithmetic. The Vietamese improved their command of their own language and became expert in writing it in Latin characters, the *quoc ngu* introduced two centuries earlier by the missionaries.[721]

In 1869 this program was supplemented by geometry, introductory surveying and geography. Actually, it was necessary to prepared candidates for some examinations, especially in order to put natives in a position to become schoolteachers or to fulfill the role of

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[718] Motherhouse Archives, File ID o6, report of the celebration, August 15, 1909, in Saigon.

[719] File ID o6.

[720] File ID o6, letter dated October 22, 1866.

[721] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for May, 1909, pg. 146; H. froidevaux, op. cit., pg. 159.

clerk in the office of land registry . Five years later Admiral Krantz would impose the study of history, literature, cosmography, algebra and the physical and natural sciences on the pupils in the upper grades. Many of Adran's alumni followed administrative careers. Some of the more brilliant candidates would finish their secondary and/or higher studies in France, with the colony paying for travel and residence.[722]

The school in Saigon remains the clearest and the finest success-story of the first Brothers in the Indochina. But the public authorities valued their cooperation too highly not to entrust other responsibilities to them. On March 1, 1867 three Brothers arrived in Mytho, where they consecrated their efforts to a hundred schoolboys nearly all of whom were from Catholic families. A month later, the Community in the capital sent other Brothers to Cholon: the pagans who swarmed in this urban center stared with hostility at the black robes and white rabats; for the most part, their children evaded the instruction dispensed by the new teachers. The latter decided that their work was unavailing; and in 1871 the Visitor concluded in favor of closing the school.

At the time of the annexation of the provinces situated to the southwest of the Mekong, the Minister invited Brother Philippe to send more of his pesonnel to the Far East. Every request received an affirmative response.[723] It was in this way that the schools in Vinh-Long and Bac Trang were opened. Brother Blandinian started the one in Vinh-Long in 1869, where his classrooms were frequented some sixty children, about half of whom were practicing Christians. After him and in the same place, Brother Basilisse of Mary labored: toward the end of the 19th century we shall meet once again with this Brother who had a reputation for holiness working with the Chinese and, then, once again with the Vietnamese.

No matter how desirous the Institute's Regime was to supply groups of skilled teachers, its reserves were thin. Reinforcements, in stages and restricted, were always too few for the task. As a consequence, most of the teachers spent themselves beyond their strength. Weariness battered at their heads, weighed them down and crushed their entire moral and physical being in the debilitating climate of southern Indochina.

The French government, however, returned to the charge. Over-and-above the fifteen Brothers subsidized by the colony's budget in November of 1866, it asked for five more missionary Brothers. It was now seeking the advantage of a Lasallian education for Cambodia: "His Majesty King Norodom wants to open a school in Pnom Penh", wrote a ranking bureaucrat from Paris to the Superior-general.[724] Inspite of a significant eagerness on Brother Philippe's.[725]Ibid., letter dated December 19; the Superior-general declared that he was placing five Brothers at the Minister's disposal.

It was already becoming difficult to extend or even to preserve the ground that had been progressively won. New enterprises would have to obtain from the country itself the quantity and quality of workers required. Such a blossoming of vocations would be the task of another time. In those far off times people were only gathering the first fruits.[726]

The Brothers' Congregation, therefore, could only number its five schools — even though they were among the best — among the 130 schools for boys included in the statistics for

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722 Ibid., article cited.

723 File ID o6, letters of October and November 1867.

724 Ibid., letter of the Director of the Colonies, November 26, 1868.

725 Brother Joseph Pierre, born in Lai Thieu, was one of the first South Vietnamese to enter the Institute. He was a member of a family that included martyrs. After a serious novitiate in 1866 in the District of Marseille, he spent most of his life in temporal work in Saigon, Hong Kong and Rangoon. (Obituary, 1900.)

726 ibid

1870.[727]

It understood and fulfilled the intentions of the civil Governors within the full extent of its means. After ten years of French occupation, 10,000 natives had frequented classrooms; many of them had learned the elements of the French language; most of them had received a little learning and knew how to write in the Latin alphabet, which facilitated relations between Europeans and Vietnamese.[728]

Brother Jaime had given proof of tenacity and of a lofty conscience. He did not spare himself in his service to his pupils. Exhausted, on February 18, 1872 he had to leave the colony that was so deeply in his debt. On the 26th of the following December, Brother Lothaire, arriving from Singapore, took over the direction of Adran College.[729] In the person of the new Visitor there appeared in Saigon one of the pioneers of the Indochinese peninsula.

[727] H. Froidevaux, op. cit., pg. 158. — The opening of schools for girls was the result of initiatives on the part of the Sisters of St. Paul of Chartres.

[728] Ibid., pg. 159.

[729] *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for May, 1908, pg. 148.

CHAPTER THREE

Madagascar and Its Outposts

Our chronology, based upon the dates of foundations, should lead us directly to North Africa. But this time we believe that a geographical order will be preferable. As we return from the Far East, it is appropriate that we pause in the southeastern part of the continent of Africa, on the great island of Madagascar. Of course, this land did not know the Brothers until 1866. But much earlier there was being readied, indeed at its very gates, the apostolate of which it would beneficiary.

Reunion --- formerly called Bourbon Island --- would be the stronghold from which plans of conquest were contemplated, the camp in which the soldiers of the military expedition would train. We have already singled out the work of Brother John of Matha, of Brother Scubilion and of Brother Parasceve in favor of the Creoles and the blacks.[730] A quick supplementary study will serve as a preface to the history of the schools in Tananarive and Tamatave. And since Reunion must not be separated from Mauritius --- both of which were miniature oversea versions of France --- in the Indian Ocean we shall have two ports of call to make before reaching the end of our voyage.

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A great figure cast his shadow across the horizon, above the waters, at the summit of the mountains. Acts of leadership and benediction still seem to hover over the southern landscape. We acclaim the man who decisively planted St. John Baptist de La Salle's Institute in that part of the world: Augustine Béranger, a citizen of Nantes, a former novice in Vannes, former Director of the school in Montereau, a strong-minded Breton who was at once a skilled teacher, an organizer and a leader, with a mind, heart and will that were meant for one destined to be a missionary and founder of schools; this was Brother John of Matha.

When he debarked at St. Denis on July 14, 1833 there were six Brothers and three schools on the island of Reunion. When, as an old man in his seventies, broken by over-work, he retired, 126 Brothers were teaching in 109 classrooms spread over twenty-six schools, who instructed, catechized and counselled 4,700 children and adults and who extended their influence, beyond their immediate circle of pupils, to thousands of people, black, brown and white.

The head of all the Communities starting in 1835, Brother John of Matha initially opened a local novitiate. This was an essential operation, since it would supply personel adapted to the climate and the customs as well as well as submissive to the Rule without waiting for uncertain reinforcements from the mother-country.

The steadily increasing numbers of teachers is evidence of the success of the novitiate: Reunion alone went from thirty-six in 1847 to fifty-two in 1855; then, in 1859 the number rose to sixty-one, seventy-nine in 1865 and eighty-three in 1870. And the list of the schools that were opened continued to grow longer almost from year to year: in 1841, St. Leu; 1842, St. Louis; 1843, St. Peter; 1844, St. Andrew; 1845, the opening of classes for adults; 1849, St. Joseph; 1850, St. Rose, St. Philip, and "The Possession"; 1851, St. James; 1852, Salazie; 1856, St. Mary; 1859, St. Susanna; 1860, Champ-Borne; 1861, St. Anne and Entre-Deux; 1862, "The Resource"; 1863, Three Basins; 1865, Bras-Panon. The list forms a pious, melodious litany, interspersed with names having a colonial resonance. We shall see how Mauritius, Madagascar

[730] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 49-52 and pp. 290-293.

and the Seychelles contributed their special names.

Powerful of character, radiating faith and personality, Reunion, so justly proud of its civilizing dynamism, included Christian Brothers among the representatives of its spirit and among the benefactors of its people, as Father Fava, Vicar-general of St. Denis and future Bishop, declared in his prayer at Brother John of Matha's funeral in September of 1870.[731] A great man increases by ten-fold the worth of his entourage; Brother John of Matha, although was not completely free in the selection of his associates, employed those who were given to him in a marvelous way.

One of the most gallant groups placed at his disposal was the one he was given in 1846. He had received the special assignment of working with slaves. "His Excellency the Minister of the Navy, in a letter that is filled with goodwill toward the Institute and of praise for our Brothers in Reunion, has asked us to support him with the view of emancipating the blacks, whom he wishes to train in the practice of religion and, at the same time, to prepare for freedom". In these words the Superior-general in his Circular of the previous January 14, announced the project.

The ten Christian Brothers who were then embarked were given very clear directives. Quite probably they had been provided with a brochure written in the style of an appeal on behalf of the slaves to the French clergy and which, accompanied by the weighty remarks of Pope Gregory XVI, dated December 3, 1839, condemned the abominable "negro slave trade."[732]

We shall not rehearse the results obtained by the zealous and skillful catechists up to the time of the mass liberation which occurred in December of 1848.[733] But we shall mention the name and refer to the work of Brother Mening, a Belgian from Anderlues, who volunteered to leave for the Indian Ocean with the nine other "emancipators".

He taught hundreds of blacks who, in their language, wanted "to win Baptism and First Communion". By 1850, he had become Director of Novices. Responsible at the same time for the infirmary, this patient botanist studied medicinal plants and successfully worked at the curing of fevers. His charity found a wide application on the occasion of an outbreak of cholera in 1859. The island was ravaged by the epidemic; instances of self-sacrifice were everywhere in evidence; while in St. Denis, Brothers African and John Calybitus became examples of serene heroism; and in Sainte Marie Brother Scubilion attended and finally healed his pastor, Father Carrier. Brother Mening came to the aid especially of Indian workers who were particularly afflicted by the plague. Many of those who were dying asked him for Baptism. The apostle still had three years left during which to win over souls and care for bodies. He brought as many as 600 adults back to the use of the Sacraments. And besides his novices, he was the Director of the Community in Saint-André. He fell in action on January 28, 1863 at the height of his powers.[734]

Brother Scubilion died in 1867. With religious fidelity he remained dedicated to the task he had begun at the same moment as Brother John of Matha. His reward was to see religion repected on the island. On December 8, 1855 he wrote to the Director of Avallon: "When I

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[731] Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — Brother Philippe's Circular, no. 352, November 5, 1870. — H. Chassagnon, *le Frère Scubilion,* 1902, pg. 59. — *Choix de notices nécrologiques*, Vol. II, pg. 425.

[732] Paris, Poussielgue, 1844. — Acopy of this publication is preserved in the Motherhouse Archives, File BH v.

[733] See Vol. V, pp. 290 et sq.

[734] Brother Mening's obituary, 1863. — H. Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 165-167..[734]See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 482-483, concerning the cult associated with his burial place.

came here the colony had only twelve priests...And now there are more than sixty, with a very zealous bishop leading them...Previously, the churches were too splendid; now they have built a large number of churches and chapels; and these do not answer the demand.[735]

Jean-Bernard Rousseau, the youngster from Annay-la-Côte and Tharoiseau in Bergundy, the young teacher made over at the age of twenty-five into Brother Scubilion, never dreamed of returning to France. Everything that was in him strained toward the service of his adopted fellow-countrymen. The African light spread a halo around his ascetic face, his hollow cheeks, his lustreless, diaphonous complexion, and his lofty forehead under greying hair. From 1850 to 1855 he worked in the school called the "Possession", where he started a night school, while his confreres, Wenceslaus and Benezet maintained the day school. On Sundays he assembled blacks for Mass, catechism, Vespers and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. There were opportunities for vigorous singings and vocal prayer. And when Bishop Desprez[736]came on a pastoral visit, he was greeted by a population of emancipated slaves and new Christians.

His last years, beginning in 1856, Brother Scubilion spent in the Community of Sainte-Marie. As an old man he taught their prayers only to the very young. He was sacristan, a duty that delighted him; and he presided over the physical needs of the Brothers in a thorough-going spirit of charity. He induced a very special group of young people to organize a "Congregation of St. Aloysius Gonzaga". Meanwhile, he did not neglect his precious blacks, and not only the former slaves, but colored peoples of all sorts, Semites, Chamites, Indians, South Africans or natives of Madagascar whom colonists "hired" for the sugar-cane fields. The gentle apostle went out to meet them, chatted with them casually, and those of them who were so inclined he led by the hundreds from paganism to Baptism.[737]

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In Mauritius the Brothers' mission was on a different footing. Here, the religious educators had no mandate from the civil government as they did in Reunion after the Restoration of the French monarchy and again under the Second Republic.

The "French Island" was English, according to the Treaty of 1814. It had to have its old name restored to it --- "Maurice", as it was called in honor of Maurice of Nassau and the Dutchmen of the Wybrandt van Warwyck Squadron at the end of the 16th century. However, the more recent past was not wiped out: Guillaume Dufresne's gesture of placing his foot on soil that had been abandoned by the Dutch and declaring it, according to one of Louis XIV's instructions, a "French Island"; the settling of the first colonists from the new motherland in 1721; the founding of Port Louis, the capital, by Mahé de la Bourdonnais, who from 1735 to 1740 had layed the foundations for a comfortable city, a reliable fortress and a serviceable port; and finally, after the Revolution, during the Napoleonic wars, the defense of the Tricolor flag by General Decaen in an ocean dominated by English warships; and the heroic defense, far

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735 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for October, 1922, pg. 332.

736 The future Archbishop of Toulouse and a Cardinal

737 H. Chassagnon, op. cit., pp. 123 et sq. — It is important to bestow at least a respectful mention on one of Brother John of Matha's most active aides: Brother Hieronimo, a native of Aix-en-Provence who died prematurely at St. Denis, Reunion in 1868, at the age of forty-seven years. He was principal of St. Paul's school, and thereafter was called to St. Denis as Pro-director. In 1861, Brother John of Matha turned over to him the total control of the important school in the capital of Reunion; and he also got the major Superiors to agree to name him as his auxiliary in the administration of the District. Brother Hieronimo was a man of distinguished intellectual and moral worth; by his goodness he won hearts and he deployed a thoroughly supernatural zeal in the service of souls. (Obituary 1868. — Cf. passim, but especially pp. 23-24, of the biography of Brother Gonzalvien by Brother Gustave of Mary.)

removed from any help, until the inevitable surrender in December of 1810.[738] The island's population continued to be French in feeling and in language. De La Salle's followers were to help them maintain their traditions and their beliefs. They were dealing with a sensitive and proud people, and they were equipped to understand them. And they were dealing with free men, because, since the Emancipation Act of 1835, the blacks on this island were as free as the whites.

Without any obstacles on the part of the British authorities, a Brothers' school was opened in Port Louis in 1859. Brother John of Matha entrusted the direction of the institution to Brother Hortensius,[739] a Catalan from the diocese of Perpignan. He was a man who had inspired the people of Mauritius with a respect for the teachers and religious trained by his Congregation. Fifteen years of work bound him by unbreakable ties with the people and the objects of that island. In more than twenty-five notebooks he was to compile a variety of curious and candid information covering the sister-islands, Mauritius and Reunion, their histories, customs, primitive inhabitants and their contemporary residents.

His finest work was the prosperous operation of the residence school of St. Joseph's. But his concern was not withheld from the tuition-free school, which was a part of the larger institution. Brother Hortensius' success paved the way for the educational enterprises of "Pamplemousses" (1863), "Cassis" (1865), and Mahébourg (1867). In this latter year, moreover, Brother John of Matha was encouraged to lay the groundwork for Port Victoria in the Seychelles Islands, another former French possession.

The Grand Port school in Mahébourg, was opened at the insistence of the missionary Father Thiersé. Three Brothers arrived from Reunion. One of these, appointed to be Director, was Nicholas Valentin, Brother Bonaventure Eloi. A native of Lorraine and the son of a family in Metz, he had a very lofty air, tall, with attractively distinguished looks and the spiritual qualities to match, and a powerful mind superbly equipped. He was also a talented painter and a gifted musician. He was thirty-four years age, with hopes for a life of fruitful and charitable activity. On June 30, 1870 he contracted malaria, and in nine days he was dead.

French Island, of course, had its idyllic attractions. But it was a post-Eden paradise: --- ravaged by epidemics, surrounded by storms and shaken by cyclones. It was overrun by cholera in 1863; and, at the time, Brother Hortentius, like the Brothers on Reunion forty years earlier, expended himself in courage; stricken by the contagion and witnessing the death the physician whom he had accompanied to the bedsides of victims, Brother Hortenius took care of himself, and he survived the scourge.

Toward the end of 1866 there was another attack. A malignant fever was everywhere rife. It swept down upon Port Louis with extreme violence; so that in four months 24,000 persons succumbed in the capital alone. A second time, the Director of St. Joseph's residence school, the Brothers in his Community spent themselves, took risks and survived.

Unfortunately, they did not all escape the third disaster, a frightful cyclone on March 11 and 12 of 1868. The building which housed the residence school collapsed. In order to preserve the Blessed Sacrament, Brother Jeaume Joseph hurried to the chapel, where he was later found crushed under the ruins clutching the tabernacle in his arms. There were five other victimes: Brother Zebenas, a Creole native of Reunion like Brother Joseph, two resident pupils and two servants. About a dozen persons were pulled alive from the debris. Nearly all the teachers and pupils bore marks from the calamity; and a falling beam struck Brother Hortensius, breaking

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[738] Hanotaux and Martineau, *Histoire des Colonie francaises,* Vol. VI (French Island and Reunion, by Peter Crépin), Paris, 1934, pp. 321-325, 335-337, 408-409.

[739] Came to Reunion in June of 1846.

his nose and fracturing his skull.

Wounds would heal, and walls would rise again. The Director, who supervised the reconstruction, was recalled by the Institute to Reunion in 1874. For sixteen years Brother Hortensius was to labor among people other than his cherished Mauritians. But the separation was not to last forever. Returning in 1889, he was made responsible for the direction of the Curepipe school, and, as he had wished, he died on the island he had so much loved. A family belonging to the French aristocracy, the Ormonts, owned a vault in the Port Louis cemetary, and they requested that the body be buried in it. There, since 1896, has been the earthly resting place of the great worker.[740]

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In a letter that Brother Scubilion wrote on December 8, 1855 to the Brothers of the Province in which he was born there is a passage that deserves our attention: "In the ten years the Jesuits having been working to implant religion in Madagascar, they have had a lot of difficulty and, up to now, the undertaking has made very little progress...We should pray that the Cross might rise on the highest of Madagascar's mountains...I hope that the time is coming that the followers of our venerable Founder will spread in great numbers throughout this island...Twenty-two years ago I asked the Lord for this gift. As for myself, I would like to be] one of those who would have the joy of evangelizing Madagascar."[741]

The saintly Brother entertained ambitions for the conversion of the natives of Madagascar which, over two centuries, had inspired other Frenchmen, even as they participated in the projects of commercial and political institutions. Madagascar had haunted dreams and enticed apostles ever since 1639 when Captain Rigault, a sailor whom Cardinal Richelieu held in high regard, after having sailed the Indian Ocean, declared that the place should be "colonized". Along with Nicholas Fouquet, Peter de Beausse and Desmartins, Rigault established the East India Company in 1642. Fort Dauphin was built on the southern coast; and Vincent de Paul sent several of his Vincentians to the mysterious island. In 1648, Stephen Flacourt, a native of Orleans and a close relative of de Beausse, became "Commandant-general of the island": actually a rather pompous title that veiled rather modest functions. But this early colonist had some rather noble preoccupations; he appealed to his countrymen to interest themselves in the salvation of souls: Madagascar, he told them, was a land "in which the Christian religion was so easy to plant that all that was lacking was the determination of churchmen". He emphasized the need for a form of preaching that would outdistance the propaganda of Islam and the efforts of Calvinist preachers. He published a "small catechism" containing the prayers "that missionaries should teach neophytes and catechumens".

Unfortunately, the project was a dismal failure. First off, Flacourt found Fort Dauphin to be in woeful state. The mother country had failed to persevere in the support of it; and the colonists were behaving in a manner that invited disaster; they failed to take advantage of their situation; and they made enemies of the natives. September 1674 marked the end of the undertaking.

There is scarcely any need to mention Count Maudave's emphemeral revival in 1768 and, then, at the beginning of the 19th century, the arrival of Sylvain Roux at Tamatave and his disappointment, unless what we mean to allude to is an important orientation of national

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740 Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — Brother Philippe's Circulars, no. 351, dated September 15, 1870, and no. 352, dated November 1870. – Brother Hortentius's Obituary, 1896.

741 *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes,* for October 1922, pp. 332-334.

effort.[742]

Peoples' imaginations continued to work along the same lines. For persons filled with Christian charity the conquest at stake was nothing less than the extension of God's kingdom. In 1821 a young Sulpician, Phileas Jaricot, brother of the Foundress of the Society of the Propagation the Faith in Lyons, wrote to his sister: "A few weeks ago we received a letter from an old priest on French Island. He wrote of the situatioin on Madagascaar...This island, for so long watered by the sweat and blood of the Vincentians, now seems ripe for the harvest. There is not a single priest on the island, which is larger than France and densely populated, but the inhabitants long for Christianity so much that they go as far as French Island to have their children baptized. The fine old man was so moved by such neglect that, in spite of his age, he wanted to consecrate the little strength he had left to the task. But, unfortunately, in such need, he is of little help! If the chilled blood of an old man could be so stirred by the thought of the way these poor people have been treated, shouldn't our backs crawl and our hearts shudder within us?"[743]

These missionaries on Reunion, like the Parisian seminarian, felt that "shuddering" of the spirit within their inmost being, that divine restlessness. But they moved in harmony with echos that were relatively much closer. One of the Hova princes, Andraianopoinimerina, on the high plateaus, had founded a genunine and strong kingdom; his successor, Radama I, who had been ruling since 1810, was open to European influences; and in 1819, he had welcomed a Frenchman by the name of Robin, a non-commissioned officer who, rebelling against military discipline, escaped from St. Denis to the coast of Madagascar. Robin had become something of a celebrity in Tananarive, where he introduced the Latin alphabet that became a very useful tool in helping foreigners learn the Imerinian dialect and, as a consequence, in facilitating relations with the head of the principal regions of the island. It was hoped that he would use his influence in favor of his countrymen. An advantage for France was tantamount to a victory for the Catholic Church; while a favor yielded to the English, whose ambitions were fairly evident, would lead the Hovas directly into Protestantism.

Radama did not live long enough. A woman, who succeeded him, was implacably hostile to Catholic priests; theis was Ranavolona, who, for her readiness to sacrifice human lives, earned the name of "Bloody". She and here all-powerful Minister, Rainijohary, surrounded themselves off with a grim xenophobia. Moreover, during the reign of Louis Philip, the French government ignored the Madagascar problem; it didn't have to worry about the consequences of its inactivity.

The project that statesmen neglected would nonetheless be realized. Missionaries devoted the full measure of their efforts to it as well as their capacity to endure hardship. Bishop Solages set sail for Reunion in 1832 as Prefect-apostolic. And there on the shore of the country of the Betsimisarak, alone, in a miserable hut that stood by the Andevorante Lagoon, he could go no farther. He died of hunger and total neglect. The body of this victim was sacrificed, in a sense, as a stepstone for the boldness of his imitators.[744]

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They would come from the East, from the French island whence arose the light to illumine a

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[742] Hanotaux and Martineau, op. cit., Vol. VI (*Madagascar du XVIe siècle á 1811*, by H. Froidevaux), pp. 18-20, 29-30, 43, 80-81, 93-96, 116.

[743] Quoted by G. Goyau in his book *Missions et missionaires*, Paris, 1931, pp. 110-111.

[744] Hanotaux adn Martineau, op. cit., Vol. VI; Madagascar de 1815 à 1906, by Marius and Ary Leblond, pp. 120-130. — De La Devèze, *Aux prises avec Ranavalona la Sanguinaire*, Paris, 1936, pg. 18.

world plunged "in prison darkness and in the shadow of death." *O Oriens, splendor lucis aeternae!* the Catholic faithful in Madagascar could say as they turned toward the horizon on the Indian Ocean. Around 1845 a wealthy Christian family, the Desbassyns, gave the Jesuits its property, a beautiful colonial estate, called "The Resort", where Father Jouen opened a very well-planned school: children from Nossi Bé, Ste. Marie and Moyotte were admitted as missionary pupils. Given a religious education and an adequate general instruction, they returned home or settled down in Madagascar itself. In this way Catholicism was propagated, at least by example; and it carved out an eventual access route for itself into the homes of those thus baptized.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools had been involved with the enterprise from the outset. At first, they had entertained the hope of being directly involved with the Jesuits "in one of the islands to the south [?] of Madagascar."[745]It's not clear of which island Brother Philippe is speaking. The islands in question are to the east and to the west of Madagascar. Their Superior-general successfully maintained their interest in the project by announcing to them on April 29, 1844:[746] "What is being discussed is the admission, on behalf of the missionaries, of youths intended to be catechists...We shall train them; and then they will spread over the region...It's an undertaking that is important for religion, since the natives could not be better disposed to embrace the faith."

Brother Philipep had met with the Prefect-apostolic whose accounts enthused him: "When he enters a village, all the inhabitants assemble at the chieftain's to listen; the majority immediately ask to be taught the prayers. And, as a rule, they ask him to teach their children all day long. The children, who are not without talent, easily remember the principal truths...And they teach them to their parents. As early as the second year catechumens may be admitted to Baptism."

And the "letter" concludes with the words: "What a marvelous school! But to fill it we shall need genuinely simple apostles".

Modest and zealous apostles were to be found throughout the Institute. Reunion rightly boasted of a certain number of them, but why none of them had set sail no one seemed to know. But the Brothers' interests, so keenly aroused, continued to be directed toward the goal of broader conquests. Performing a service for Father Jouen gave them an opportunity to observe the Jesuits' young pupils close-up: as long as the task of establishing "The Resort" lasted, i.e., from 1846 to 1848, the Brothers taught native residence pupils in their school in St. Denis.[747]

Furthermore, included under the colony's jurisdiction were people of the same origin; Brother Scubilion had taught many of them, of whom he retained fond recollections.[748] Seeking adventure in Madagascar, he thought, was not exactly like burying oneself in oblivion.

For him and his confreres the waiting continued. But their feelings, their longings, their prayers remained fixedly with the bold Jesuit "scouts". In 1853 Fathers Goré and Piras had succeeded in landig on the west coast of the island, near Baly, in the region of the Sakalaves.[749] And these had their counterparts in the North and in the South, ever on the alert and always in dangeer of denunciation and expulsion.

Nevertheless, the future began to emerge. And it was French designs that were shaping it. In the first place, on Reunion missionaries, colonists and administrators continued to act: their

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[745] Circular no. 135, supplement.

[746] Brother Gustave of Mary, le Frère Gonzalvien, Paris, 1935, pg. 38.

[747] Letter cited, September 8, 1855.

[748] De La Devèze, op. cit., pg. 16.

[749] ibid

goal was to promote a favorable movement and prepare the paths for a peaceful conquest of Madagascar. The Colony's general counsel, reestablished in 1855 by Governor Hubert Delisle, sent a steady stream of proposals and requests to the Mother country. In the second place, in Tananarive France and the Catholic Church benefitted from the presence of Jean Laborde. In the history of Franco-Madagascar relations this man played a central role. Cast up on the "Big Island" in 1831 by a shipwreck at the age of twenty-one, he became the master of his fate. His reliable character and his talents as an engineer obtained for him an extraordinary influence over the Hovas. Queen Ranavalona excepted him in her hostility to whites, and she made him responsible for creating a munitions industry: he was a man of ambitious visions, which he knew how to realize. In 1837 the entire village of Mantasoa was built under his instigation in order to house his workers in the vicinity of his factories.

Jean Laborde --- or Ramosé as the natives called him --- remained a convinced Christian and a fervant patriot. "His life, which was persistently militant" --- as Marius and Ary Leblond have written --- "witnessed in favor of the French character", comprehensive, generous and humaine.[750] It was that life which, like an imposing prelude, rose to the position of leadership in the work of evangelization.

"The factory manager" particularly exercised his influence on the heir to the throne, Prince Rakoto. He suggested that he make contact (secretly, because of Ranavalona) with the missionaries on the neighboring islands. It was in this way that a ship from Reunion belonging to a merchant named Lambert, brought Father Finaz, the Prefect-apostolic for Ste. Marie and Nossi-Bé, into the waters off Tamative at Eastertime of 1855. In June, disguised as "M. Hervier", Lambert's secretary, the Jesuit went up to Tananarive, and delivered a letter to Rakoto from Father Jouen. On the 8th of July, in great secrecy, he celebrated Mass in the presence of the young Hova chieftain and his friend Laborde.

Christ had come among the pagans, but for a long time He remained silent and waiting. And although by the end of 1856 Father Finaz was joined by two of his confreres, the group continued to live *incognito*. A surgeon from Reunion, Dr. Milhet-Fontarabie arrived to perform an operation on Rainijohary's brother; the doctor was accompanied by Father Weber (under the name of "M. Joseph") and by Father Jouen (under the pseudonym of M. Duquesne). The latter was soon to return to where he had come from, while Father Weber remained, in the beginning as the convalescent's infirmarian, and then, since he had been found out to be an excellent mucisian, the queen asked him to begin a "Conservatory of Music".

The upshot of these manoeuvres involved the overthrow of the existing government. Accordingly, within Rakoto's entourage there arose a conspiracy against the prime minister. A traitor, however, disclosed the plot; and Rainijohary believed that the French were implicated. In July 1857 he expelled the lot of them, including Jean Laborde.

A period of great peril ensued, during which Father Weber withdrew to the east coast, and Fathers Piras and Goré fled Baly. The Mission sought to resettle in Tullear, but found no final place of refuge except in the far south, in a region inhabited by the small tribe of the Mahafaly.[751]

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August 1861 marked a turning point in the story. On the 16th of that month Ranavalona died and was succeeded by Rakoto, who took the name of Radama II. Laborde, who had fled to

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[750] *l'Histoire des Colonies francaises*, Vol. Vi, pg. 20 and Ramosé *Oui a vie aventureuse de Jean Laborde* (1805-1878) by Eugene David-Bernard, Paris, 1945.

[751] De La Devèze, op. cit., passim.

Tamatave, alerted the Jesuits who had retired to Reunion. Fathers Weber and Jouen responded immediately. The former arrived in the capital of Madagascar as early as September 23 and was received with open arms by the new king. The other missionary, escorted by Laborde and Lambert, followed in October. On December 25 Christmas was joyously under the skies of the southern hemisphere.

Such, indeed, was the birth of God's Church in the humble cabin Madagascar where Masses would be said. The sons of St. Ignatius Loyola had set up the crib; and they expected to invite the sons of John Baptist de La Salle their watches and their efforts in this sort of Bethelehem.

And while several years were to pass before this cooperation became an actual reality, the Brothers in any case had visualized it immediately. The evidence lies in a "resolution", dated April 28, 1862 in which the "the professed [Brothers] of the Insitute assembled in Chapter at St. Denis", under the presidency of Brother John of Matha, agreed to replace the Jesuits at Notre Dame, and proclaimed that they were completely prepared, with the consent of the Most Honored Brother Philippe, to direct the school that would provide Madagacar "with teachers and apostles". Furthermore, they had no doubt about the views of their Superior-general; and with him, they hoped that the "big island" would not reject them. They considered the role that had been assigned them at Notre Dame precisely as a prelude. Less than a week later Brother Mark[752] entered the school founded by Father Jouen. In the circle of the priest's associates and his successors there were many Jesuits about to set sail for Madagascar. The Jesuit founder was careful to take advantage of every tie that might bind his people to those to whom he was entrusting the Jesuit's apostolate: the school band at Notre Dame had been invited to Tananarive for Radama's coronation; and after a flattering triumph it returned to St. Denis in the company of eighty-six natives of Madagascar, some of whom were to be taught, other to work.[753] Meanwhile, negotiation continued between the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers. They would conclude with a new Missionary Superior, Father Cazet. Writing to Brother Philippe,[754] he explained: "Our Fathers in Tananarive have three classrooms of boys...Our schools are respected...But we are too few in numbers...And this is why we have frequently thought of you...And so, I come back to that matter."

Finally, on October 23, 1866 agreement was translated into a contract signed by Brother John of Matha and Father Jean-Baptist Cazet: Three Brothers were to be placed at the Jesuit's disposal; they were to be housed, fed and maintained by the Mission, which was furthermore to pay them a very modest salary for their support and personal needs; and it would be responsible for all school costs.

"The Brothers will accommodate themselves to conditions, to places and persons as far as it will be possible for them to do so without violating the spirit of their Institute. On its part, the Mission would try to supply them [the Brothers] with spiritual and material assistance...[755]

The trio selected was made up of Brothers Gonzalvian, Ladolian and Yon, and its departure was set for November 7. The voyage was preceded by a visit to Brother Scubilion: "Now", declared the saintly old man, "I can die in peace." And, with a prayer for God's blessing upon the missionaries, he embraced them.[756]

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[752] Future Visitor of Constantinople

[753] Brother Gustave of Mary, op. cit.

[754] Letter dated July 18, 1865, in op. cit., pp. 41 and 42.

[755] Brother Gustave of Mary, op. cit., pp. 42 and 43.

[756] Idem. ibid., pg. 45.

The situation of the Catholic Church in Madegascar, although apparently not fundamentally threatened, had become rather disadvantaged over past few years. The Jesuits, who had benefitted from their friendship with Radama II, had been able to develop their religious apostolate without separating it from their efforts at moral and intellectual education. In 1862 they introduced into the Hova capital the printing press that they had previously been operating on Reunion. They wrote a grammar and two dictionaries of the principal languages on the island; they then dispensed their religious and educational publicatiions throughout the native settlements. They themselves had assumed the task of elementary education in which, after catechism, instruction in French occupied a place of importance. Parallel to these efforts and encouraged by the Superior of the Mission there was begun the work of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, who were teachers to the young girls of Madagascar.[757]

But in 1863 the king succombed to an assasination. His widow, Rasoherina, was proclaimed queen of Madagascar. Personally, she showed a great deal of friendliness for Catholics. Jean Laborde continued on as her counsellor; and, tirelessly, he spoke and worked with the view of protecting both missionary propaganda and French interests. Unfortunately, his influence met with a number of obstacles. Beginning in July of 1864 the real power fell into the hands of Rainilaiarivony, the Prime Minister who was sympathetic to British and Protestant causes; it was they who had thrust him to the forefront and inspired his policies. Henceforth, the struggle --- sometimes muffled, sometimes clamorous and violent --- was ceaseless for a double stake: the conquest of souls and political influence. If England won, heresy triumphed; and the Church and France had entered into partnership.

In his letter of July 1865 to Brother Philippe Father Cazet had mentioined the “shocking activities of Protestantism”, to the restricting of the scope of which he was relying on the zeal of the Brothers.

It witnessed to a remarkable confidence in the associates of Brother John of Matha; and the man in whom the Superiors had invested the direction of Tananarive proved himself worthy of the distinction.

Étienne Chambaron --- Brother Gonsalvian --- was thirty-nine years of age at the time. Born in Tivien, near St. Flour on October 15, 1827, he belonged to a family of farmers, rugged and sturdy natives of Auvergne. Raised in a severely Christian home, from enfancy --- as he himself asserted --- he dreamed of dedicating his life to the missions.[758] His vocation, as it took shape, guided him to the Institute of the Christian Brothers. Two years of studies with the Brothers at St. Flour equipped him with a modest stock of learning. He was then admitted to the novitiate in Cleremont-Ferrand where, in all his activities, he revealed that quiet energy, patient but somewhat stiff, that was to characterize him over a long career.

He began teaching in Riom, where he remained from 1841 to 1849. But a call from the Superiors of the Congregation coincided with an interior movement to take Brother Gonzalvien far from his native land. After two months spent in the Motherhouse Scholasticate, the young Brother embarked from Brest on January 9, 1850, sailed for ninety-six days and arrived on April 15 at the port city of St. Denis on Reunion. He quickly won the respect of Brother John of Matha. At the outset an instructor in the lower class of the city school, he climbed up through the various levels to the post of Sub-director. He had been exercising a beneficial influence on both pupils and Community members, and had become strongly attached to “this marvelous land of Reunion” when the Brother Visitor appointed him to open a school on Madagascar. He was given as associates two men “of color”, who had entered the

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[757] Hanotaux and Martineau, op. cit., pg. 138. — Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 37 and 38.

[758] Letter written in 1872 to one of his sisters. (Brother Gustave of Mary, pg. 4).

Institute under the names of Brother Ladolian and Brother Yon; they were men of dedicated hearts, agile minds and a physical appearance that presented numerous likenesses to the faces on the "big island".

On November 24, 1866 the three travellers, borne on sedan chairs, appeared at the gates of the capital, which opened up to them immediately. Laborde and the Jesuits had prepared their advent. Father Jouen, at the time Prefect-apostolic, declared that his most cherished desires had been fulfilled. The people gazed on the newcomers' costume with curiosity. The Queen came out on her balcony. Once the formalities of the welcome had been completed, the Community set up shop in a quarters that had once served as a sanctuary for idols; they consisted of two tiny rooms and an attic under a thatched roof.

Four days later there occurred the first contact with the fifty-five pupils whom the Jesuits had been instructing. Brother Gonzalvian noted that "they were skilled in arithmetic and their penmanship was suberb"; and, prepared to be most agreeably impressed, the missionary teacher sketched briefly the following overall portrait: they were "cheerful and easily stimulated by competition...It's like being among French youngsters!"[759]

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It was necessary to learn the language and the customs of Imerina. Brother Gonzalvian applied himself to the task without neglecting anything of his responsibilities as a French teacher nor without sacrificing any of his dignity as a Religious. The queen continued to lean in the direction of the Catholic Church, and she sent her adopted son, Ratahiry, to the Brothers' school. This decision encouraged some very highly placed individuals, in fact, some of the members of the royal family, to demonstrate an unmistakable affection for the Jesuits and for the teachers in the Catholic schools. And once again pupils came to the three Brothers' classrooms; so that by December, 1876 there were 142 of them.

Rainilairarivony, however, restricted the movement's growth. In the beginning he had fulfilled Madagascar's obligations regarding the Brothers by offering welcome gifts to the Director, Brother Gonzalvian. But basically he harbored quite unenthusiastic, if not downright hostile, feelings. Several of his children frequented the classrooms of "independent" teachers, i.e., those affiliated with Protestant Churches. After Rasoherina's death he adopted a less complicated position.

The queen fell ill, rather mysteriously, in the days following a long journey she had taken to the eastern part of her kingdom. And on March 27, 1868 she was baptized by Jean Laborde. She died on April 10.

Rainilairarivony knew how to manage events to accord with his own ambitions. Thwarting a plot hatched within the palace, he remained in possession of the supreme authority whose trappings he yielded to Princess Ramoma, whom he proclaimed queen with the name of Ranavolona II.

The festivities surrounding the coronation revealed the direction in which Prime Minister meant to turn the religious development of the country. The images of the tutelary divinities, the Sampy, were not carried in the procession. On the columns that supported the royal canopy were written inscriptions taken from the Bible. The passages had been supplied by English ministers. In her discourse from the throne, it is true, Ranavolona declared that there was to be "neither pressure nor prevention regarding prayer". It was the proclamation of an open handedness of which Catholic activities might effectively take advantage. However, the Protestant party might well have drawn attention to its victory: it had taken root at court and it was its members who had persuaded the queen and the minister, the head of state and the

[759] Brother Gustave of Mary, op. cit., passim, especially pp. 50-54.

"leader of the people" to receive Baptism.[760]

France sought to reestablish a measure of balance of forces, if not a complete reversal of rôles. M. Garnier, the plenipotentiary sent by Napoleon III to the Hovas, in August of 1868 succeeded in obtaining a treaty of friendship and exchange; and while he made very few demands, he preserved the essentials: the right for his fellow Frenchmen to teach and practice their religion, and to build churches, schools and hospitals.

Brother Gonzalvian was delighted — and all the more intensely in that the signing of the agreement became the occasion for a modest triumph for one of the pupils of the Brothers' school. The young man, Marc Rabibikely, was appointed to write out the diplomatic document in decorative handwriting: his text prompted Rainilairarivony's enthusiasm. And in the latter's circle the Hovas dignitaries declared "The Vazaha (Whites') handwriting is not as beautiful as this young subject of the queen!" M. Laborde who, as French Consul, was present at the ceremony, asked Marc to appear; and when he saw him he smiled and said: "I am not surprised at the skill of the writer; after all, he is a pupil of the Brothers!"[761]

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"Although our schools have a splendid reputation, nevertheless we do not attract pupils because conflict mounted against us by the Protestants." So spoke, in 1871, the gallant commander of the Brothers' Communities in Madagascar.[762]Inspired by a great faith and pressing the spirit of sacrifice to the limit, at no time did he allow himself to be incapacitated by difficulties, attacks or misunderstandings.

In July 1896 Brothers Ignatius of Jesus., Indronis and Ignatius Andrew arrived to round out the teaching staff. New schools could be started up in Ambohimitsimbina, a suburb of the capital. On October 26 of the same year another institution was opened in Tamatave. To this city the Jesuits had decided to move their educational center, called Our Lady of Help. The Head of the Mission worked smoothly together with the Brother Visitor to create on Madagascar's eastern shore a genuinely indispensable center. The Director of Our Lady of Help, Father Perseverance, with two associates, went to Grande Ile. Forty-five children, 20 of whom were resident pupils, were assembled. These unspectacular numbers did not improve very rapidly.[763]

Jesuit plans did not always harmonize with De La Salle's Rule; and there were personality conflicts as well as temperamental disagreements. Brother Gonzalvian endeavored tirelessly to restore peace and preserve his subordinates within the lines set down by the Institute. And his strong hand did not object to accomodation until he perceived a serious threat to the religious life of the teachers; which actually occurred when Father Jouen declared his intention to spread the Brothers out, one by one, into the various parishes in Tananarive.

But this was only a momentary misunderstanding. Very quickly one of the Brother Director's inspired innovations promoted a sound reorganization and the best employment of programs. On the advice of the late Brother Hieronimo, former pro-Visitor for the District, the Director himself, at the beginning of October, 1869, assumed charge of the evening school, which became a training school for native teachers, as assistants to, and stand-ins for, the Brothers.

What they had in mind was "to bring together former pupils" who regretted their dispersal at

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760 Hanotaux and Martineau, op. cit., pp. 139-144. — Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 66-69 and 78-82.

761 Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 76-77.

762 Idem., pg. 93.

763 Motherhouse Archives, File HB v. — Brother Gustave of Mary, pg. 82 et sq.

the end of their school years. Two years later, the missionary Father Callet said that, in fact, it was a sort of "normal school". And the informed observer described Brother Gonzalvian as the "Minister of Catholic education" among the people in Imerina.[764]

From that time there were four educational centers in the parishes administered by the Jesuits in Tananarive. The Brothers continued to operate the two principal ones; while they precisely controlled the other two where laymen, trained in Institute methods, taught the children.

Gradually the system was extended. From Paris, Brother Assistant Jean Olympe recommended the broadening of the program to his subordinate in Madagascar. He wrote: "When the Jesuits want to open a school propose a good pupil who will come to you from time to time for advice and whom you can assist by showing him the path to take...When you can do so, it wouldn't be a bad idea to visit these pupils-turned-teachers to see them in operation and give them directions."[765]

In this way schools were organized in the villages adjoining the capital. The Brothers' superior visited the schools at fixed times, and his inspections left them breathless. He sometimes added a conference, at which times his auditors met at Andohalo, the Community residence. While he was exacting, Brother Gonzalvian was careful to envelop his authority in a paternal gentleness; and he succeeded in inspiring the young Madagascarans with an affection that was mixed with reverential fear. "My young schoolteachers are doing rather well," he reported, "but I have constantly to supervise them ... They are most attentive to put my recommendations into practice."[766]

Later on a syllabus for these educational sessions would be worked out; and an effort would be made to develop the professional skills of the teachers. And their spiritual life would be bolstered through religious talks and the annual "retreat".

In this environment were sown the seeds of some excellent vocations, the first-fruits from among the people of Madagascar within the Institute of St. John Baptist de La Salle. It would be premature at this point to recount the story of Brother Raphael Louis in its entirety. But the young Raphael Rafiringa, born in 1856 of a blacksmith, a Hova Chief who stood in very well with Ranavolona I, tells us himself of his beginnings as a pupil under the guidance of the French Brothers:

"I first came to know Brother Gonzalvien in 1869, the year, that is, when I arrived in school at Mahasima, in St. Joseph's parish. The teacher was one of his former pupils; and on mornings the Brother Direction used to come a visit us...When he was with us he seemed to be totally taken up with us. Nevertheless, he was responsible for other schools both in the city and in the country-side; he was appealed to for everything that had to do with elementary education: — the appointment of teachers, study programs, reading lists and textbooks...

In 1871 he had me attend the real Brothers' school...where I saw him at close quarters...The mere sight of him, as he prayed in church inspired me with a growing attachment for Christianity; for, although I had been baptised [on November 7, 1869], in the beginning I did not have the faith.

His assistant, Brother Ladolian, was, like himself, a holy man... We hardly dared touch their soutanes. Their appearance was enough to persuade us even before we had grasped their sound and serious instruction.[767]

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[764] Brother Gustave of Mary, pg. 90.

[765] Quoted by Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 122-123

[766] Ibid., pg. 123.

[767] Cited by Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 128-129.

This was the sketch, in his sixteenth year, of a man who, for half a century, would become increasingly prominent and who would play an important rôle in the affairs of Madagascar.

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Brother Raphael Louis' admiration for Brother Gonzalvian is readily understandable. It is scarcely necessary to stress the valor manifested by this pioneer Brother during the most unpleasant period of his undertaking. He had begun in 1869 with two confreres; and three more had thrown in their lot with colony in 1869. It was an all too fragile personnel with which to set out to conquer a kingdom. Even so, for a period of time its numbers would be reduced to a figure below the minimum specified by the Rule.

Tamatave, which was outside the region targetted by the main group of Brothers, drew Brother Ignatius of Jesus away from Tananarive in 1871. In that maritime city Brother Perseverance had failed to win favor among the missionary clergy. Brother Gonzalvian, in search of a pacifying solution, thought that Brother Ignatius could work out well there; and, on the spot, he divested himself of a reliable and congenial associate. At the same time he must have sent Brother Ignatius Andrew, who was not up to major responsibilities, to Reunion.

In 1874 Brother Yon died, and illness forced Brother Indronis to return to St. Denis. The Director and Brother Ladolian were left alone. The two of them had to operate the schools by encouraging the cooperation of native assistants and survive the annoyances and foil the stratagems of extremely hostile adversaries. Without lowering the flag they awaited reinforcements. Difficult struggles and numerous trials were reserved for the conscientious disciple of Jean Baptist de La Salle until the time of the canonization of his model.

Unquestionable skill as a teacher, a competence, perhaps somewhat narrow but faultless, for organization and the zeal of an apostle have won for Brother Gonzalvian his position at the top of the list among the French in Madagascar. A real talent for architecture has also added to his reputation. Was this an innate gift or acquired science? For the lack of evidence on this point, we shall simply have to assume that natural endowment combined with patient, unobtrusive research.

Quite apart from preliminary experiments, there remain in Tananarive a number of works that are the products of an experienced hand. As early as 1867 the Brother wrote that the Jesuits had employed him in the construction of the church of St. Joseph in Mahasima. They commissioned him to draw up a plan for the arches. They also asked him to supply a sketch of the interior decoration, the details of which were executed by one of their lay Brothers and his team of native artists.

Later on, Brother Gonzalvian was "invited to take up compass and straight-edge" in honor of "Our Lady of the Sacred Heart". A missionary, Father Limozin, proclaimed in September of 1870 to Brother Visitor Hermelian that it would be "a superb church...an example of the most soaring, the most radiant Gothic". In order to meet expenses, contributions were sought from the islanders on Reunion and Mauritius. The structure was completed in 1872; and on May 31 Father Cazet, who had succeeded Father Jouen to the post of Prefect-Apostolic, presided at the dedication.

And, finally, when the mother-parish in Andohalo decided to replace its impoverished hovel of a church with a cathedral dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, Brother Gozalvian's proposed plan won out over several others. On May 8, 1873 the cornerstone was layed for the arched edifice, which, in the mind's eye of the architect was already pointing its two bold steeples skyward. Unfortunately, however, the work was interrupted for the lack of money.

And, by the time it was resumed, Brother Gonsalvian, overwhelmed by the burden of school responsibilities, had to withdraw from directing it. The architect selected in his place preferred a more severe style. He "corrected" and simplified the Brother's plans. On the whole, the structure, although a rather distinguished mass, never won the complete approval of the adept.

The facade towers would remain shortened.[768]

The man who drafted the original plan refrained from all criticism. Accustomed to inhibit self-love, he cherished only a single wish: to promote the splendors of the Catholic Church in opposition to the temples dedicated to heresy.

The inescapable competition got expressed in a variety of ways. And shrewdly Rainilairarivony manipulated it to promote his own interests. He provided his fellow-Protestants with numerous indications of his approval. He sent one of his sons, Panoely, to London to receive a "Methodist" education. On the other hand, he agreed to send another of his sons to France; this was Antony, or "Randrava", who was received by Brother Libanos at the residence school in Passy. There is no doubt but what his presence in one of the Institute's schools denoted a new stage in the relations between his father and the Brothers in Tananarive. The prime minister became visibly more attentive to the needs of the missionaries; and he raised no difficulties for the growth of Catholic schools nor their frequentation by an increasing number of the native population.

Father Cazet was banking on Antony's stay in Paris for important results. He was an honest, docile child but, unfortunately, only modestly endowed and scarcely in a position to profit from the education he was receiving. He was transferred from Raynouard St. to the Francs-Bourgeois school for a second chance. There he rejoined his countryman, the young calligrapher of the Franco-Madagascar Treaty who — under the name of Rabibisoa — had become a page to Her Majesty Ranavolona and whom the Queen sought to recompense for his work and deportment by paying his way through school.

For each of these pupils Brother Gonzalvian had sent Brother Jean Olympe a collection of intriguing guidelines. He proposed that they be instructed in a very special way in French law and administration: both "are destined", he wrote, "for leadership in the reform movement in Madagascar. If you train them to be statesmen, you shall safeguard the great African island..."

It was a great deal to hope. Even on the word of the educator who had so warmly reccommended him, Antoine "hardly succeeded any better at Brother Joseph's establishment" than he had under the aegis of Brother Libanos. Having returned to his own country toward the end of 1875 after an absence of more than three years, "he was passed over". Naturally, the Protestant faction regarded him with suspicion; but it was also possible to think of this son of the leader as unfit to consort with his father. Mark Rabibisoa, on the other hand, preserved "the virtues" that his teachers had detected in him: a man of duty, a faithful Christian and the father of a beautiful family, he was in the world — like Brother Raphael in Religion — that sort of Hova who combined native qualities with European culture. He passed on to his children the principles according to which he had been raised: and one of his sons became a Jesuit.[769] But the political uncertainties of his country would never allowed Brother Gonzalvian's brilliant pupil to effect the action his teacher had dreamed for him.

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[768] Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 110-121.

[769] Brother Gustave of Mary, pp. 103-107.

CHAPTER FOUR

Algeria and Tunisia

Tentatively, haltingly France introduced the fine facade of its African empire into Algeria. After occupying Algiers, Oran and Annaba in 1830, it plunged into the expedition toward Constantine and then into the long and painful struggle against the Emir Abd el-Kadar, who did not surrender until 1847. But, beginning in 1841, when Bugeaud became governor-general, the annexation of the country was decided and gradually realized.

At the outset there was no more than a military administration. A system called "Arab Boards" enabled the officers to control the activities of the native chieftains. However, European colonization was in the process of taking place; farmers were introduced into the plain — the Mitidja — on the outskirts of Algiers; and the government provided them with land and housing. In spite of the fever which decimated them, a certain number survived. This plantation occurred between 1840 and 1848.

Frenchmen mingled with Mediterranean peoples from a variety of countries of origin. The nationalities who rubbed elbows here were both hot-blooded and hot-headed; and they represented scarcely exemplary patterns of adventurism, that were both devoid of morals and lawless. But decent families also came, who planned to seek their fortune and carve out estates in a new environment. Households were begun, which would become the nuclei of a civilization. The birthrate increased; and the Catholic Church would lay claim to most of these newborn infants.

In the last analysis, a nation of Catholics was beginning to emerge alongside Moslem tribesmen. And it was for this reason that the Holy See as early as 1838, in accord with King Louis Philip, set up a Catholic hierarchy on Algerian soil. During the first centuries of the Christian era, North Africa had been a nursery of saints and martyrs: Bishop Dupuch, the first bishop of Algiers, could very well refer to himself as a successor to Augustine and Cyprian and could get excited at the thought of the restoration of a faith destroyed by the sword of Islam. Considering the situation calmly, however, the work of the days immediately to come was confined within narrow limits. In the eyes of the politicians, the conversion of the natives seemed to be a day-dream, and religious propaganda in the Arab world ill-advised to say the least; actually, it was quite mad, for it brought fire to dynamite. And for this reason it was to remain, under whatever government, strictly interdicted.

The field for the exercise of the pastoral ministry opened up wherever colonists, bureaucrats or soldiers resided. Here was sufficient fallow ground for the missionary to expend his efforts and his labors. Bishop Dupuch called priests and Religious to the task, and his choice fell upon De La Salle's Brothers as teachers to his flock. He wanted them for Oran; and then his preference turned to his own episcopal city. This was the burden of his letters dated September 2 and December 25, 1842, addressed to Brother Philippe: "I beg you not to refuse us four or five Brothers...They are to come to Algiers itself...There are already twenty-one Sisters of Charity at work; the government wants you to join them...We have sincerely taken the first step because everything is in readiness, in such a way that no material or moral obstacle stands in the way of your immediate success."

A few months later he pressed his point: he was in agreement with the Minister of War, with General Bugeaud. Furthermore, Father Etienne, the Abbot of La Trappe in Staoueli and Father Caron, Superior of colony's Seminary, joined their solicitations and pleadings to the bishop's petition.

In view of the favorable attitude of the religious and civil authorities, it is surprising to see the project go up in smoke. Perhaps Brother Philippe who only recently had become involved in Smyrna and Constantinople had feared to fragment his forces. Or perhaps the military administration, traditionally slow, mistrustful and timid, had raised difficulties in the final moments. It would not have been strange if the file had gotten buried in some office.

However, at nearly the same time, a small, legally recognized Congregation, the Brothers of St. Joseph, volunteered to perform at a distance services that it had deployed exclusively in the Departments of Sarthe and Mayenne. On the 23rd of April, 1844 a royal decree authorized the group in the most specific terms to open schools in Algeria. The Brothers of St. Joseph were introduced immediately into Philipville; and thereafter they were to be met with in Oran and Annaba.[770]

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The fall of the July Monarchy did not mark a pause in the growth of Algeria. Far from repudiating the royal inheritance, the 1848 Republic sought to deal with the colony in a particularly considerate way. Looking upon it as a part of France although geographically separated, the new Republic granted citizens who were born or naturalized Frenchmen and dwelling in the colony the right to elect deputies. It also sought to stimulate the growth of the colony's population: four villages were founded simultaneously. Seed, agricultural implements and cattle were distributed gratis to land holders. Unfortunately, both skill and energy were wanting to many of the immigrants, who had been among the Parisian unemployed whom the government, anxious to ease the agitation in the capital, had sent to Africa.

Beginning in 1851 parcels of land assigned to Europeans were appropriated from the communal pasture-land of the native tribes. With the Second Empire the program took on an exceptional scope. In nine years eighty-five villages arose to become home for 15,000 colonists who for the most part were hard-working and competent. Once the Kabylie had been conquered the entire country between the sea and the oasis appeared to have been completely pacified.

Executive responsibilities broadened in relation to the extent of administrative jurisdiction and in relation to the number of people subject to jurisdiction. The clergy, in particular, understood the importance of their duties: they could defend genuine civilization and assure the care of souls only to the extent that they were vigilant, patient and dedicated. Bishop Dupuch's successor, Bishop Pavy continued to intensified the work that had been sketched by the founder of the Church in Algiers. Parishes were organized; religious life was reinforced; and, in spite of the reserve, indifference and indeed hostility of much of the official personnel, the cross challenged the crescent.

But in the long run it was necessary to resolve the problem of Christian education. And it was posed in a letter of Father Barreau, pastor of Mostaganem and written to Brother Philippe on October 10, 1851: "I have been given the task by the Bishop and by the local authorities to propose that you take part in our huge diocese and, to start with, in our city...For the moment we are not talking about the Arabs. The children who need schooling are French and Spanish. In addition, there is an occasional Jew or Moor."

The Superior-general did not yet wish to move ahead. No doubt he awaited an initiative on

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[770] Documents concerning the schools in Algeria and Tunisia are collected in the file ID e(nos. 8, 9, 10) and ID file in the Motherhouse Archives. And furthermore Brother Charles Edmond, Visitor of the District, was kind enough to write for our information profuse and invaluable notes for an historical account in which are included unpublished documents collected on site. As supplements we have used the obituary notices detailing the lives of Brother Judore (1879), Brother Angel Peter (1893) and Brother Aimarus (1906) as well as articles published in the *Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes* for May 1907, January and May 1908, January 1912 and October 1932.

the part of the Bishop himself. Bishop Pavy did not take long to show his influence. Quietly he inquired into the prospects of the Brothers' Institute. And it must only have been after an understand with the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot . that he sought governmental intervention.

Louis Napoleon, the Prince/President, solicited — and not without success — favor among Catholics. Since his coup on December 2, 1851, he had taken steps to move toward the throne. Exhibiting friendliness toward the Church formed part of his strategy. The Empire he proclaimed meant "Peace": — peace with France's neighbors, he believed; but social and religious peace, he guaranteed.

The decree of July 14, 1852, promulgated at the request of the Bishop of Algiers, appeared to be an expression of that adroit policy. In the colony it produced results that the future emperor had anticipated.

In the language of that official proclamation, the authorization to "train teachers for all the French Departments" bestowed, by the decree of March 17, 1808, upon the Brothers of St. Yon, called the Brothers of the Christian Schools", was expanded by a sort of corollary: the Brothers referred to would henceforth have the right "to establish and direct schools in the French possessions in North Africa". Louis Napoleon reiterated and extended the action of his uncle Napoleon I. Foutoul, Minister of Public Education and Religion, who countersigned the order, rose to become successor to the Headmaster of the University, Louis Fontanes.

Since the disappearance of the Republic Algeria was returned to the management of military leaders. The Brothers, therefore, were not to be admitted without the explicit approval of the Prince/Dictator. The doors were now open: when would Brother Philippe order his troops to pass through them?

For seven months he remained silent. But another priestly reached him from across the Mediterranean. Fired off from Constantine, its author was the brother and Vicar-general of the Bishop of Algiers. Father Pavy wrote to the Brother Superior of the Institute:

"The Presidential decree of July 24, 1852 has been welcomed with great satisfaction by colonists and magistrates alike...We have been seeking for opportunities to put it to work...The Department of Constantine has been given the go-ahead: the Prefect has charged me with the task of encouraging the introduction of your Brothers into Bone, Philipville and Guelma...He will provide both quarters and salaries...Please let me know whether agree to share in our mission...I hope that your holy habit, up to now unknown in Algeria, will soon be recognized here and rouse the respect of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Maltese and even of Arabs... "

The Vicar-general wanted De La Salle's followers first of all for Bone, which the Hippo of St. Augustine's time. Surely the great doctor of the Church would know how to move Brother Philip's heart in favor of Africa, the land of his birth and of his apostolate![771] Actually, the steps taken on Oudinot St. suggested the quite sincere purpose of avoiding becoming bogged down in a long wait. The Congregation's Regime was simply looking for the absolutely essential details: Bishop Pavy had come out in favor, as Bishop Dupuch once had done, of an initial school in the headquarters of his diocese. Was the region around Constantine better than that of Algiers? Did the Bishop share the views of his Vicar-general? In Paris they didn't think so. But in order dispel all ambiguity, as well as to get a focus on the educational system, the Superior delegated one of his men to visit the site.[772]

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The handpicked inquirer would decide the future. He turned out to be firm and prudent,

[771] Letter dated March 6, 1853.

[772] Brother Philippe's letters to Father Pavy and the Bishop of Algiers, May 27, 1853.

broadminded with a sensitive, impartial judgment. His mind was such that he shattered prejudices and his charm enabled him to smooth over difficulties. And having once blazed the trail, he led his men over it with steps that were both equable and sure.

He was Brother Judore, "in the world" Pierre Carrière Boneil, a southerner, a novice in Toulouse in 1824, an assistant to the distinguished Brother Alphonse in Bordeaux between 1827 and 1847, then Director in Perigueux and finally the first Visitor of the recently created District of Rodez. At every point he had lived up to the confidence placed in him by the Regime, inspiring an affectionate obedience in those who lived under him. Born on February 25, 1810, he enjoyed the vigorous abundance of his forty-four years at the time he was setting out for Algiers. His appearance was prepossessing: a noble countenance, somewhat delicate and a expression through which shown a soul at once virtuous, stabile and sincere.

The impression that he made on the authorities who dealt with him was immediate and enduring. The crowds of people who met him — both native and European — were scarcely less laudatory in their admiration.

Once the environment had been investigated, ideas exchanged and plans devised, Brother Judore, returned to Paris, presented the major Superiors with a soundly optimistic report. On November 20, 1853 a decision of the supreme Council of the Instituted bestowed upon him the responsibility for proceeding, as Director/Visitor, to the opening schools in Algeria.

On December 16, along with four other Brothers, he embarked from Marseille. The entire group was given free passage on a state-owned packet; and Leroy Saint Arnaud, Minister of War, gave them a letter of introduction to the Governor-general of the colony.

The principal military and civilian leaders planned a friendly welcome for the five missionaries of Christian education. The Bishop, too, showed his delight. "His countless kindnesses", wrote Brother Judore, "as well as the encouraging words of the Vicars-general and the pastors assisted us not a little in surmounting the initial obstacles".

The ill-will of some of the low-level administrators and a thorny question concerning a residence, indeed, had cast a bitter shadow over the new life of the Community. Finally, quarters were found for the Brothers in a house on Rue Sallust, a tiny artery situated alongside the cathedral on the outskirts of the Arabic city. There was no lack of the picturesque, although comfort left something to be desired. Twenty years after its conquest by the French, Algiers preserved its network of small streets, its endless stairways, and its shanties in sordid recesses; the modern quarters in Babel-Oued and Bab-Azoun and the verdant suburb of Mustapha were only beginning to take shape.

A feeling of homesickness, then, mingled in the minds of those who sought to spread the Kingdom of God on African soil. Nevertheless, it was impossible to talk about exile, since contact was never lost with the mother-country. France had assigned the teachers their educational task, which would take place in French, and in fact — except by legally binding contract — in city schools, which were to open beginning on February 1, 1854.

Four hundred pupils soon showed up at Rue Sallust. During the following summer the Brothers were given the responsibility for the children in Bugeaud City and the Bab-Azoun suburb. In December they were teaching 840 pupils. The pastor of Our Lady of Victory had, at the same time, put them in charge of his altar-boys. There were fifteen Brothers in the Community, twelve of whom received a salary from the city, which, on the 22nd of February, 1855, was set at 750 francs per Brother. It had been the warm support coming from a Moorish member of the Counsel, named Boukandoura, that had swayed the city Commission.

Presiding at a formal school assembly in the courtyard of the Imperial High School, the Mayor, M. Guiroye, paid a tribute to the Christian Brothers: "We are indebted to them", he said, "for the rapid increase in the school population. I expected nothing less of this remarkable group of men".

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The capital ceased to be the only city to benefit from the work of Brother Judore. In the course of the years 1854 and 1855 the adept and forward-looking Visitor increased the number of school openings.

Oran, where so many Spanish Catholics lived, was the first to be supplied. For reasons we have already touched upon, the Josephite Brothers had failed to satisfy the prefect, the mayor and the pastor; and all the local authorities banded together to secure the services of the Christian Brothers, five of whom assumed the direction of the elementary schools on January 17, 1854.

Blida clamored to have the same Congregation. Situated at the extreme western end of the Mitidja, the city drew its wealth from the magnificent orchards and vineyards on the plain. In a soil that was marvelously fertile and henceforward salubrious European immigrants had taken root. Ample work awaited the three teachers appointed by Brother Philippe, who delivered to the pastor on February 13, 1853, appeared in the classrooms on the 7th of March.

One after the other four schools arose during the autumn of 1855. The settlement at El-Biar, at this time a dependency of the Algiers Commune, was privileged to catch the Superior-general's attention because Brother Philippe planned to open a novitiate in that peaceful and pleasant countryside. He was counting on the "active assistance", the "powerful influence" and the "noble generosity" of M. Guiroye.[773] A tuition-free school was in operation by October 4, and the very small Community of Brothers included a single novice, Brother Eugene of Syria. But it would be a very long time indeed before the components of a novitiate in the genuine sense of the term would be assembled.

Exactly at the same date as at El-Biar the Brothers came to Constantine. Father Pavy had reason to be pleased; his tireless efforts had been rewarded, while the Bishop of Algiers and several other friends of the Institute had contributed to the funding. In ancient and proud Cirta Christianity had resumed its place; and there the men in the white rabats succeeded Jesuit lay-Brothers in "the mission of civilization among the children of Europeans"; Brother Judore who had expressed this pledge boasted that one day the Arabs would acquiesce in becoming the beneficiaries of this zeal.

For the current century such sweeping hopes were scarcely warranted. The beginnings had been quite modest: thirty-five pupils in a room in the priests' house. As early as November the number rose to a hundred — an "amazing" leap, according to a report of Brother Director Odolfe, who, with disarming candor, had a tendency to promote and emphasize his personal merits. Actually he did have a talent for opening and populating his classrooms, for ingratiating himself with the authorities, and for procuring more spacious quarters and auxiliary reinforcements.

From the rocks and ravines of eastern Algeria we move on to the confines of Morrocco. In the heart of the Atlas Mountains, at an altitude of 2500 ft., close-by to springs and age-old olive trees, Tlemcen displayed its delightful architecture, the remains of a long-lost splendor. Colonists, finding the spot to their liking, settled in environs of the native 'méchouar'and hoped that their sons would not be left to stagnate in illiteracy. The pastor, Father Garreix, and the civilian commissioner, M. Brosselard, strove to speed up the advent of teachers. On October 15 the Brothers were in their classrooms and cheered at the sight of the desks filling up with throngs of children.

Between 1843 and 1849, on the road between Tlemcen and Oran, the city of Sidi Bel Abbes was born of a military installation. The expanse and the fertility of the land, left vacant after the departure of 25,000 Arabs, had bound here, in the neighborhood of a koubba, people who had

[773] Letter, dated September 1, 1855.

followed General Bedeau's armies. On June 5, 1849 a decree had recognized the political identity of the settlement. In 1852 a parish was established on the site; and its pastor, Father Preire, urged the members of the town counsel to invite the cooperation of the Christian Brothers. On November 19, 1855 he blessed the school-buildings in the presence of the town's commanding officer, the colonel of the 74th Infantry Regiment and Brother Judore. "I write in order to express my gratitude", he wrote a month later to the Superior-general. "The good that your Brothers have already accomplished is without parallel...Through them and the Sisters the moral, religious and intellectual future of the rising generation is secure".

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Five successful years put the finishing touch to the Institute's reputation in Algeria. The Brother Visitor had none but good relations with the government. And Bishop Pavy held him is special esteem: he liked to refer to him as "his Vicar general" and would add immediately that he would give "this excellent Religious" the responsibilities of that office, "if only he would consent to priestly ordination".

It was, of course, nothing more than a pleasantry. As the bishop was not unaware, the Brother's vocation brooked no rival — exclusively dedicated to teaching with no room for the priestly ministry.

Having achieved prominence through his work in France and in Africa, Brother Judore was about to assume a ranking position in direction of his Congregation. He had been deputized by his District to the General-chapter of 1858, where he received a greater honor and a heavier responsibility at the hands of the Assembly: — he had been selected as one of Brother Philippe's Assistants. Algeria, however, was not to lose him completely, since it had been included, along with Rodez, Toulouse and Béziers, among the territories subject to his control.

At his departure, he left the Brothers' Community in Algiers in more ample quarters than those on Rue Sallust :they were now residing in a former theatre on Rue Intendance. Schools and teaching staffs had finally found quiet. Adult education classes for workers and soldiers had been added starting on March 15, 1859.

Brother Judore's successors, Brother Exuperien (for a year) and Brother Sylvester, from 1859 to 1867 could only continue his policies. However, here, as well as in the Motherland, concessions had to be made on a question that touched upon the one of the Congregation's most venerated rules and customs: the city government in Algiers refused to admit tuition-free pupils whose families could not satisfy the conditions for indigence. It was able to appeal to ministerial decisions by Fortouls and Rouland.[774]The Superior complained, but they were obliged to yield.

In a general way the plans drawn up during the early years were realized: — some of them on broader foundations. At the time it was essential not to be excessive in one's projects: the curious conception of an "Arab Kingdom" had taken root in the brain of Napoleon III; it occasioned a slowing down of the colonizing movement. During the period 1860–1871 scarcely 4500 free land-holders had settled. More so than ever assimilation of natives was declared —and became — impossible.

The Emperor's leading representatives, such as Marshal Pelissier and Marshal MacMahon might very well have been members of the Catholic Church; they were nonetheless practitioners of a policy that had a definite pro-Moslem tendency. Pelissier was severe with the colonists. And his successor in the general administration in 1864, MacMahon had for a slogan: "The Gospel for some, the Koran for others". The Brothers, however, had retained favor with him, and teachers and pupils alike would be made aware of it when, in May of 1865,

774 Vol. V of the present work, pp. 376-379.

Napoleon visited Algeria and when Brother Assistant Judore came to bring encouragement to his loyal collaborators. But the Marshal was only aware of his orders; and with a stroke of his pen he imposed limits to the apostolate.

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Nevertheless, beginning in 1867 a period of new activity was about to open up. That was the year Bishop Lavigerie took over the See of Algeria.[775] On September 16, 1866 Bishop Pavy had died in his St. Eugene residence. "We have lost a true friend, a father, a benefactor", wrote the author of the History of the Algerian schools.

On the 12th of the following January, an Imperial decree, drawn up with the consent of the Pope, raised the diocese to the status of an archdiocese, while reducing its immense territory with the creation of the dioceses of Constantine and Oran. On the same day, Bishop Lavigerie, who had been bishop of Nancy, was appointed Metropolitan for French North Africa; and Bishops Las Cases and Callot were to be his suffragans.

These were the beginnings of a splendid reign; and the Brothers hastened to offer the prelate their respectful congratulations. "It is a consolation for me", he replied, "to meet the sons of Venerable de La Salle established in Algiers where, as elsewhere, they function, and will continue to function, with zeal and modesty."

Other evidences of appreciation were to follow, and, as well, on several occasions indications of genuine confidence. On certain occasions clashes were to occur; and it would happen that the authoritarian and impulsive Archbishop would subject the Religious in his diocese to some harsh tests.

For the task to be achieved under the direction of Archbishop Lavigerie, the Institute delegated one of its best representatives, Brother Aimarus whom we have already met in London. In October 1867, five months after the archiepiscopal enthronement, he left Tunis where, at the end of the present chapter, we shall review his activities. Brother Judore installed him at Rue Intendance as Director of St. Philip's and as Visitor of the District of Algeria-Tunisia. He was still a young man, eager, rich with a variety of experience and striding straight toward his goal, a force in the presence of the powerful personality of the local Leader of the Church.

The founding of a residence school — at first in the cul-de-sac Napoleon and then transferred to the Isly neighborhood — dedicated to St. Joseph had been concluded between Brother Aimarus and the Rector of the Academy on December 24. Here they were looking forward to prosperous times, which never came. But the Brother Visitor did not have to apologize for concluding an undertaking that had been initiated by his predecessors.

In 1868 he replied to an invitation come from Mostaganem and, in 1869 another one from Miliana. It had been a long time since the clergy in these towns had been looking to have Brothers' schools. In this respect, Mostaganem, the second city in the Oran province, had fallen far behind the headquarter city of Oran. The municipal council did not even want to consider the matter. The mayor, rather more agreeable, did not go beyond allowing that the Brothers might, if it seemed to them the right thing to do, make a try at an undertaking, but at their own risk. In the end, a new pastor, Father Gazel, took the trouble to pry out of this recalcitrant Assembly an annual subsidy of 2,000 francs; and the chief magistrate of the Commune himself promised his personal cooperation. Bishop Callot paid 300 frances, wrote to Brother Philippe, and, on the 16th of November, in the presence of three teachers who had debarked only that morning, blessed the classes.

In Miliana, on a plateau dominating the Plains of Chelif, Archbishop Lavigerie assumed

[775] Cf. There are two volumes of *le Cardinal Lavigerie*, Paris, 1896.

nearly the entire expense of a foundation: — lease, maintenance and furnishings. From thirty children on November 9, 1869, opening day, the school population rose to about 100 pupils.

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But the intrepid shepherd had earlier asked the Brothers to undertake a much more important task, one from which he had expected spectacular results — so much so that he told the Superior-general: "It's the beginning of the conversion of Africa and the resurrection of the faith in this ancient Church!"[776]

By way of prelude to these extravagant hopes there occurred a hideous tragedy — the famine of 1867. During the previous year Algeria had been visited by an invasion of grasshoppers and a cholera epidemic. In January an earthquake destroyed some of the most thriving villages in the Mitidja. There followed a totally dry spring, a torrid summer and extraordinarily harsh winter. There was neither wheat nor fodder. Flocks were slaughtered, while cold, snow and floods crowned the catastrophe.

The natives had no reserves of grain. All resources ran out on them at once. From the devastation in the upper plateaus nomads poured into the Tell where shortages were also rampant. Famished multitudes trailed through the countryside, huddling at the entrance to market-towns, strewing corpses along the roads, while in some places the remainder became prey to outbreaks of cannibalism.

Three-hundred-thousand Arabs perished. In a touching letter, Archbishop Lavigerie revealed to the outside world the extent and the horrors of the calamity, the responsibility for which he laid at the door of the military government which had set up a barrier between the tribes and civilization.[777]

He was not satisfied merely to point the finger: he rescued many hundreds of children, the first twelve of whom he sheltered in the episcopal residence. "Bring them to Bouzareah", the Archbishop told Sister Madeleine, the Superior of the Good Shepherd Convent. Very soon Bouzareah, the summer residence for the Junior Seminary, had no longer any more room for its unexpected guests.

At that point Archbishop Lavigerie leased an estate of some 395 acres situated about five miles from Algiers in a valley of the Sahel: Ben-Aknoun, it was called, an estate that had at one time been reserved for the Bey and more recently purchased by the Jesuits. Forty-eight of the prelate's wards found shelter here on January 28, 1868.

The number of refugees, however, continued to grow. There were girls and boys under the care of nuns who, quite understandably, worried over the moral danger. Their dedication was no longer sufficient.

On February 27 the following letter, brief and direct is style, was sent from the Archbishop's residence to the Superior of the Brothers' Congregation: "My Most Honored Brother, you already know through the newspapers of my work with native orphans. To have been able to bring them together is a sort of miracle. But now they must be organized. I would like to found an agricultural orphanage for boys. I have 400 of them, and I think that I'm going to have an estate of nearly 3,000 acres situated about twelve miles from Algiers. Can you provide me with personnel. We need at least ten Brothers, several of whom, of course, in agriculture. There are at least 100 children who are ready right now to work... "

The following day, after a conversation with His Highness, Brother Aimarus also alerted the

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776 Letter dated March 14, 1868.

777 Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire général*, Vol. XI, pp. 574-575.

Motherhouse and, as he put it, half joyfully, half warily, "was building castles in Spain". Would the government yield the 1235 acres to the Institute which, in this way, "would possess a real foundation"? Archbishop Lavigerie's purposes, however, would benefit from being made more precise. "He left me in a confusing uncertainty", confessed the letter-writer. "Still His Highness wants a quick decision. You know how things are here. The fact is that he seems hold the whole of Algeria in his grasp...If your reply is negative, he will be immediately knocking at our door..."

Through a member of the Relief Committee on March 2, the Brother Visitor learned that the land grant was not being contemplated. The funds "which rained down from every quarter into His Highness' hands" would be used to make an independent purchase. By accepting the proposed mission, the Institute would consolidate its position in North Africa. Up to this point its public schools "had been hanging by nothing more than a thread".

In spite of the prediction slipped into the report of February 29, the perplexity which, on March 8, had been translated into excuses and expressions of gratitude in Brother Philippe's letter did not discourage the Archbishop of Algiers. By March 14, the latter had sharpened the focus of his project: Ben-Aknoun would remain (no doubt until further notice) at the center of the entire undertaking. Here farmers would not be the only ones to be trained, but there would be "carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, shoemakers, etc ..." A solution had to be reached immediately: "Imagine", wrote the prelate, "what an institution must be like where 800 children, girls and boys, are thrown together under the care of a few nuns".

As a result, he was asking for Brothers, with a "competent and holy superior."[778] He was undertaking "a work of faith" that "only genuine missionaries, real apostles" would be able to sustain. If we recall that Archbishop Lavigerie anticipated, as the ultimate prize of all his efforts, the introduction of Christianity into Arab circles, the lyrical conclusions will not seem so surprising. After all, was not this the "peerless" task? And was it not God who was calling men of good will through the voice of a new Augustine?[779]

From this time on Brother Aimarus said that he was convinced.[780] He just received a visitor who had "dissipated his final doubts". The spokesperson for the Archbishop was a nun, Sister Paula. Assuming finances and practical arrangements, she outlined eloquently the entire program. It was essential to believe in the success of the project and to rely on Archbishop Lavigerie's generosity. A posture of rejection would seem both culpable and perilous. "Those close to the Archbishop of Algiers assure us that he is attached to us in an extraordinary way, but if we turn our back on him..." After this suggestive suspension of his thought, the Institute's delegate resumes his letter as follows: "We shall have to expect all sorts of privations, and we shall have to arm our souls for sacrifice and effort. But in the long run our Institute, I believe, will draw a great deal of credit for the part it will play in the regeneration of an entire people."

Brother Philippe's acquiescence could no longer be withheld. On March 19 he wrote to the Archbishop: "My Council has decided to attempt what in a sense is impossible..." A list of the names of twelve Brothers selected "to join in" the vast charitable endeavor was sent to the Archbishop's residence. The Superior-general refused to guarantee the competence of the men he had chosen: "Your Highness will understand that, for a while, their function is going to have

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[778] The italicized words are underline in the text of the letter. — The originals of Archbishop Lavigerie's and Brother Aimarus' letters (as well as the drafts of Brother Philippe's replies are contained in File ID e8 in the Motherhouse Archives.

[779] See above, pg. 460 and other statements in the same letter.

[780] Letter to the Motherhouse, March 14, 1868.

to be limited to supervision and discipline."

The group, equipped with free transportation for the crossing, debarked in Africa on April 11. They set out for Ben-Aknoun the next day.[781] Brother Aimarus had considered the agreement between himself and the head of the diocese as final, even though "no documents had been signed". Materially "there was nothing lacking". Morally — with the exception of a confessional and a chapel, which went without saying — the Brothers were to assume "complete and total direction". As against Archbishop Lavigerie, the Brother Visitor felt humbled. "When I leave his office", he admitted, "his project seems to have something of the marvelous about it". But suddenly he feared that he had fallen victim of an illusion; and then he foresaw nothing but chaos and difficulties.[782]

Indeed, even in the eyes of the most optimistic it proved to be a most ghastly chaos. Once the young Arab girls had withdrawn to Rosdon in the care of the nuns, there were 510 boys at Ben-Aknoun. Three-hundred-and-seventy of them were ill. Typhus, ringworms, dysentery, smallpox, and conjunctivitis had spread their ravages over already wretched little bodies. They gave off fetid odors, and seemed like ghosts with distended stomachs and skeletons showing through a grayish skin. Every day death put in an appearance; and, hastily, corpses were thrown into a pit and covered with quicklime — not, however, before a Jesuit priest had traced a final sign of the cross.

Brother Jordy, a former soldier in the Crimea, was in charge of the quarantine area. He had at his command twelve Zouaves supplied by the military administration as janitors, stretcher bearers and for the simpler nursing tasks. Religious served as the principal assistants to the doctor; and Brother Jordy himself, with the help of his confreres, without batting an eye struggled with death.

The Director, Brother Laurentius, took care of those who were well. He divided them into four groups: garden, vineyard, farmyard and dwellings. It was a formidable undertaking to tie down to daily work people who were fiercely independent, inclined to laziness and to pilfering. Flight was not uncommon and some succeeded in taking off for good.

Nevertheless a policy of patience and firmness obtained remarkable results. Most of the boarders at Ben-Aknoun acquired habits of obedience, diligence and order and learned to respect the rights of others.

They played games in ways familiar to the French, picked up a cursory education, and lent an attentive ear to the reading of the Gospel. The Brothers did not leave them ignorant of Christianity, and the Archbishop both approved and encouraged such instruction.

On the other hand, he forbad baptisms that children might run the risk of receiving without adequate preparation and without any visible means of perseverance. Brother Jordy had been baptizing sick youngsters *in extremis*, for which he was sharply rebuked; and then on the complaint of some distinguished Moslems, the Brother was obliged to leave the institution.

Under these circumstances, how was it possible for Archbishop Lavigerie to reach his goal, which continued to be the conversion of the Arabs? It was a lofty ambition for which he was famous; but it occasioned skepticism in official quarters: "Marshal [Mac-Mahon] does not believe in the future of Ben-Aknoun", Brother Aimarus wrote to Brother Judore.[783] "He predicts that the tribal chiefs will demand the children's return when the famine was over." Of course, the governor of Algeria hastened to add, I applaud the dedication of your Brothers, but "you can't make Christians" out of the Archbishop's wards.

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[781] Later on there were as many as twenty-eight Brothers in the institution.

[782] Letters to Brother Judore, April 11 and 15, 1868.

[783] Letter dated April 6, 1868.

At least in part the future would refute these pronouncements. A manifest spirit had been achieved among the orphans, which is sufficiently accounted for by the gratitude and affection they felt for their distinguished benefactor as wells as for their religious teachers. These generous sentiments were to prepare the way for Grace. The Catholic Church was to bless marriages among the natives, former pupils of the Brothers and of the Sisters. Archbishop Lavigerie settled young couples on lands that the Aga Attafs had sold him. It was in this way that there formed around a church the villages of St. Cyprian and St. Monica in the valley of the Chelif. "It was the only successful effort at assimilation," said Admiral Gueydon, who was in a good position to know.

It was not to be said of the generous prelate that his venture was to serve as a model for the politicians. But for their not insignificant cooperation the Brothers of the Christian Schools were to remain quite legitimately proud.

Their effort was to last for nearly two and a half years. Beginning in 1868 it would guide the early steps of Charles Lavigerie's disciples, the White Fathers; two or three times a year the future "apostles of Africa" visited Ben-Aknoun to teach catechism to the young Arabs. Their Co-adjutor Brothers were introduced to conventual life by a Christian Brother, Brother Joannice Emile.

There was a moment when the Archbishop of Algiers would have been delighted to have turned the entire responsibility for the orphanage over to the Institute. But Brother Judore, the Assistant, yielded to a degree of caution that turned out to have been inspired.

The maximum number of wards, 603, were admitted at the beginning of June 1868. Thereafter, deaths, runaways and withdrawals due to family wishes contributed to a growing decrease of that figure.

In 1869 Archbishop Lavigerie effected several changes. He had just purchased of the vast, beautiful Carrée House estate, where he had introduced 136 children. Others were receiving temporary shelter at the St. Ferdinand institution. Several levies of exceptional candidates had occurred in favor of the Junior Seminary. And, finally, in order to stimulate charitable concerns in Europe and America, attractive-looking natives accompanied fund-raisers who had been commissioned by the Archbishop. By the end of the year there were only 320 orphans in Ben-Aknoun, where, nearly all day long they were employed as fieldhands. A mere two hours were set aside for education.[784]

The Brothers' work continued throughout 1870. From January to June Carée House was the center for a band of robust youngsters, under the care of Brother Joannice, to plant grapevines, asparagus, an orange grove and a nursery. But the situation had already appeared to have been strained because of unreasonable demands and the suspicions that were hardly compatible with the rule of life nor with the dignity of Religious personnel. Exhaustion had set in the midst of work that was exceptionally harsh, and a lack of funds was a barrier to the requisite nourishment and rest.

In the meantime the Franco-Prussian War broke out. Archbishop Lavigerie could no longer rely upon the usual alms from the motherland. There followed a tightening up of expenditures and a cutting back of personnel. These were the decisions that he communicated to Brother Aimarus: "I propose," he told him, "that you keep Brother Joannice Emile and two others."

— "Your Excellency, with only three in this sort of institution, community life would be impossible."

— "In that case, would you prefer to withdraw completely?"

— "When we accept a mission, we hope to fulfill it honorably and satisfy the confidence of those who have invited us. In the present case, I do not believe that such a hope is

[784] Note written by Brother Laurentius, Director, File ID e8.

well-founded."[785]

Withdraw, then, became necessary. The Archbishop planned that it should be accomplished in the most civil way possible. In an official letter, dated September 1, 1870,[786] he suggested that Brother Aimarus inform the Superior of the Institute that "unable further to provide salaries and support to the Brothers", the orphanage's founder was "obliged to give up their superb cooperation". He thanked the Congregation for the assistance that it had given him, and he added that he would never forget them.

On September 22 White Father novices replaced the Brothers at the Carrée House.

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This account of Ben-Aknoun deserved a somewhat extended treatment, because it throws light on a genuine project in a missionary country. We shall deal somewhat more briefly with the worries and persecutions to which the Brothers in Algeria had to submit between 1870 and 1871 at the hands of the city governments. These misfortunes remained on the periphery of the Institute's apostolic activity throughout the world; and they lead us into the shabbiest features of French policies.

The situation of the Brothers' schools supported by the public had already appeared problematic to the Brother Visitor two years before the disruptions brought on by the war and the defeat. The initial difficulties had arisen toward the end of 1867. On the occasion of a memorandum by the Governor/Marshal declaring that the children of every religion must be admitted to the public schools,[787] the Algiers city council voted in favor of the creation of strictly "secular" schools. In the long run, MacMahon's personal attitude had prevented the working out of plans that would have corresponded with his words; Archbishop Lavigerie set himself up as the ardent defender of the Brothers; and, as a result, the latter experienced no interruption in the schooling they provided.

Nevertheless, they were put on their guard. And when Napoleon's III's capitulation at Sedan had brought about the collapse of the Empire and the proclamation of the Republic, the "men on the Left", especially in Algeria, seized the levers of power. They decided to dismiss the Religious teachers.

The Archbishop wrote to Brother Aimarus:[788] "If this iniquitous policy is carried out, I want you and your dear Brothers to know that my clergy and I have imposed upon ourselves whatever sacrifice it may take to maintain your supervision over the children...I shall therefore, if it comes to it — and until there shall be better days for our poor France — defray the expenses of your rent and salaries...In so doing I shall be only acquitting a small part of the debt that Algeria has contracted in your regard."

The promise was kept when, for a while, bigotry was allowed to act with free reign. Anti-clerical passions prevailing also in a number of cities that had determined to take their cue from Algiers and Paris, a blast of the storm shook most of the Brothers' Communities in the colony.

An account written by the Brother Visitor to one of his confreres on March 15, 1871[789]

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[785] Brother Aimarus' letter to Brother Judore, dated September 1, 1870.

[786] Therefore, on the same day as the report sent by the Brother Visitor to Brother Assisstant — the day of the Battle of Sedan.

[787] A perfectly proper desegregation with which the Brothers were in agreement.

[788] Letter dated December 17, 1870.

[789] The original is in File ID e10.

summarizes the general state of affairs at that time. I'm in Oran [wrote the narrator], along with Brother Judore, Assistant whose is heartbroken as he contemplates the destruction of his work.

'In Algiers the police, on orders from the Mayor has just (January 2) expelled us from our three public schools in spite of objections and in spite of a petition signed by 6145 heads of families...

"Five days later, furnished with academic authorization, we assembled 1,100 pupils in the courtyard of the Archbishop's residence, in a room belonging to the Jesuits and in stores adjoining one of the parochial churches.

"Prompted by His Excellency, a Committee for Schools, composed of the pastors and three lay-members from each parish was formed and made a decision to do its utmost to neutralize the policy of the revolutionary Commune.

"The Brothers were housed in the archiepiscopal residence, living on the alms gathered by the Committee and the voluntary offerings agreed upon by the parents of the least poor pupils.

"Our school in Blida was, in principle, suppressed. Objections on the part of families and the success achieved at each of the examinations, induced the Commune not to interfere with it until the vacation.

In Miliana the subsidy granted earlier to the school was cancelled on January 1.

In Mostaganem the school had become public in October. It has ceased to be so. There, as in Algiers, the Brothers have preferred to live on alms rather than abandon their pupils.

In Oran the school is being supported until July 1 in virtue of a contract that requires the Commune to give notice of its intentions six months in advance...

In Tlemcen a similar agreement has been ignored by the city government on the pretext that the arrangements, contracted under the Empire, have no longer any legal value. The Brothers have been thrown out by the army, by the constabulary and by the police on orders of the Mayor. One of the teachers, in spite of the children's objections and the shouts of the crowd, was dragged to the police station...Classes are continuing in a stable...Ten or fifteen sons of city employees are the only ones to leave the Brothers for the instruction given by four lay teachers.

El-Biar and Sidi Bel Abbes had remained peaceful oases. In Constantine, a program of secularization had been underway since October of 1870, and it took seven months to be completed. The Christian Brothers were called upon to leave the quarters belonging to the Commune by May 8, 1871, at the latest. They obtained a summary decree which upheld a provisional use of their residence; but they were obliged to give up their classrooms. Functioning as a private school, they found shelter in the garret of the cathedral.

The anti-religious offensive had already lost some of its virulence when the elections for the National Assembly had traced out new paths in France. Admiral Gueydon, selected as Governor of Algeria in April, showed a consideration for the Brothers that seemed prepared to come to their assistance. But the terrible rebellion of the Kabylie left him no leisure immediately to concern himself with the schools.

It was not until March 21, 1872 that he signed the decree which declared illegal the initiatives undertaken by the city council to substitute lay teachers for members of teaching Congregations in the public schools.

A pretty nearly complete return to the former arrangements was realized during the following year. Algiers conformed after the Council of States' decision which, on May 30, 1873, rejected the petitions of the city government. And, then, on November 28, the new Governor, General Chanzy, duly trained by Mac-Mahon, who was now President of the Republic, decreed the reinstatement of the Brothers in Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen and Mostaganem.[790]

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[790] The Brothers were able to continue in Blida; but the city government refused to budget their salaries. It changed its attitude when events began to take a turn.

In spite of the uncertainties of the political future, in spite of the sudden storms encountered in the vicinity of the Archbishop's residence, Brother Aimarus courageously resumed the threads of his labors. On July 1, 1871 he opened a school in Stora, a tiny fishing port administered by a mayor who was dedicated to the Christian Brothers; he also set the groundwork for the beginnings of another school in a closely neighboring city, Philipville. In El-Biar, in December of 1870, he took out a lease on a rural estate, beautifully situated, fertile in fruit and vineyards and including as vast Moorish building. It was here that he settled Brothers who were ill, aged or infirm and there, too, he set up a novitiate. Brother Laurentius, the former Director of Ben-Aknoun, improved the grounds and the gardens. During the early days of 1874 the Regime authorized the outright purchase of "St. Joseph's Institute".

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Why has nothing been said about Tunisia, the eastern end of the Maghreb and the ethnic and geographical extension of Algeria? The Brothers had been there since 1855, and the activities of men like Brother Judore and Brother Aimarus had been expended there with as much success as in the regions that had been annexed by France. But until 1881 Tunisia had constituted a world apart. At risk in European rivalries, however eluding direct expropriation, its existence and progress raised problems that had to be solved elsewhere

The Bey, "possessor of the Kingdom of Tunisia", acknowledged the Sultan of Turkey as his sovereign. Indeed, he ruled in his place. The country was completely open to Europeans; Maltese and Italians had settled there by the thousands; and the English did business there, and France was represented by its own tycoons but also by splendid nationals who were concerned to expand the prestige and influence of their native land. As early as the period of Louis Philippe the government in Paris sought friendship with Tunisia and encouraged Ahmed-Bey to evade the orders coming from Constantinople.

In 1843 Ahmed, who reigned from 1835 to 1855, authorized the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition to found the first French school in Tunis.[791] Two years later he allowed Father Bourgade to open a similar school for boys. The priest with the assistance of two of his countrymen, Lagier and Payen, taught children of all nationalities and all faiths. His program of studies included French and Italian, history, geography and mathematics.[792] For ten years Father Bourgade enjoyed as sort of monopoly. Nevertheless, he served a rather restricted public. He did not reach the simple people — not, of course, that there was any thought of influencing young Moslems who regularly recited verses from the Koran in the mosques. But there was still the Maltese and Italian masses whose only teachers were Jewish. Catholic families, especially among the Maltese, aspired to the establishment of schools that conformed to their faith.

These people petitioned the hierarchy. Residing in Tunis there was a Vicar-Apostolic appointed by the Holy See. At the time this was Bishop Fidelis Sutter, Bishop (*in partibus*) of Rosalia. He was a Capuchin of Italian origins. In his entourage there was a lone Frenchman who belonged to the same Religious Order as the Vicar-Apotolic: Father Anselm des Arcs, Chancellor of the Vicariate, a friendly man, energetic, and influential. When the question of schools arose Father Anselm suggested that they invite the followers of the Venerable de La Salle.[793]

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[791] Hanotaux and Martineau, op. cit., *Vol. III* (Tunisia, by George Hardy), pp. 391-392.

[792] L. Machuel, *l'Enseignement public dans la Régence de Tunis,* Paris, 1883.

[793] L. Machuel, *l'Enseignement public dans la Régence de Tunis,* Paris, 1883. To the bibliography on page 450, it

Bishop Sutter came to Paris toward the end of 1853 and presented his project to Brother Philippe, but no committment was made by either of the parties.

On May 17, 1854 the prelate wrote to the Superior: "Last year you said 'yes, but in due time and not right away'. I am now informing you that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda has communicated to me that such a school would be timely and valuable. Since quarters in Tunis are rather difficult to come by, please tell me approximately when you will be able to send Brothers...The letter amounted to a formal summons. Nevertheless, fearing that it might not be effective, Father Anselm proposed to his ecclesiastical superior that he himself go to France and bring back two Brothers with him; he announced his visit to Brother Philippe in a letter dated July 6.

There was a man who was resolutely opposed to the success of these negotiations: he was Father Bourgade. He appealed to the French Consul in Tunis; he even undertook his own journey to Paris. And before the public authorities he pleaded much less his own personal cause than the national interests. A sincere and eager patriot, he feared that the Brothers, introduced by an Italian and working together with a clergy susceptible to Italian influences might not become, willy-nilly, agents of an awkward policy.

It was scarcely necessary to be familiar with the Institute's position nor with the role of Father Anselm des Arcs in order to see the force of these arguments. The correspondence between Bishop Sutter and the Superior-general, nevertheless, might have, at least from a certain point of view, appeared to supply support for Father Bourgade.

The Vicar-Apostolic had asked that the Brothers "from the outset" be "prepared to teach Italian and French", since the largest number of their pupils would necessarily belong to families who originated in "the Peninsula."[794]From that point forward Brother Philippe was preoccupied with the question of language. Replying to Father Anselm, he promised teachers for Tunisia only on the assumption that the novitiate in Algiers "would admit Italian candidates".[795] And then after the Papal Nuncio in Paris had intervened, the Superior-general gave him as one of the reasons for his postponement the bind he was in to assemble adequate personnel: — "because of the disruptions of the moment, we are unable to draw on Brothers in Piedmont and in the Papal States..."[796]

Finally, the entreaties of Bishop Sutter, the manoeuvres of his Chancellor, the wishes expressed by Rome and, indeed, the assurances of Count Raffo, the plenipotentiary of the Bey,[797] prevailed over the hesitations at Rue Oudinot: Brothers were sent during the early days of the autumn of 1855. The Regime had taken an entire year to make up its mind. "By committing ourselves in this fashion", Brother Philippe declared, "we are promising what we do not have". The Bishop of Rosalia, "knowing that he had placed him in a position where it was impossible for him to refuse,"[798] bid Brother Philip to trust blindly in Providence.

Many details remained to be worked out. An agreement had to be reached on the subject of

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would be well to add Bishop Pons' article published in *La Croix*, April 15, 1921: "*Cinquantenaire du protectorat francais en Tunisie; les précurseurs méconnus: les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes."*

[794] Letter dated May 17, 1854. The originals of Bishop Sutter's letters, in File ID f, are written in Italian.

[795] Ibid., October 15, 1854.

[796] Ibid., October 24, 1854.

[797] Ibid., October 10, 1854. Count Raffo promised his cordial cooperation and the faithful protection of His Highness' government.

[798] Brother Philippe's letter dated February 13, 1855.

gratuity; every effort had to be made to eliminate tuition in any form. If there were somewhat well-to-do families who objected to associating their sons with poor children, some way of starting a semi-residence schools should be considered. Furthermore, there should be no fewer than four Brothers involved.[799]

Bishop Sutter agreed with all of Brother Philippe's proposals. He was awaiting the arrival of Brother Judore, the Visitor of Algeria, for the final arrangements.[800]

Finally these arduous negotiations were terminated. It was agreed that the Vicar-apostolic would provide the Community residence as well as the quarters for the school; that he pay a preliminary subsidy of 4,100 francs and that he guarantee a salary of 700 francs for each teacher. Spontaneous offerings on the part of pupils' parents would not be rejected; but they would be funneled through the Father Chancellor's hands.

The contract was dated Tunis, May 1, 1855 and bears the signatures of Bishop Fidelis Sutter and Brother Judore.

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The leader of the young District of Algeria presided over the beginnings of the schools in Tunis. But the group of Brothers he introduced came from France. Brothers Guillaume, Genereux, Aimé of Jesus, and Azeze of Mary set sail from Marseille on September 5, 1855 and landed in Goulette on the 7th. After two days of quarantine they took possession of their residence in Tunis.

On a narrow, winding street in the Kasbah, it was an Arabic house surrounding a "patio". For a long time it had served as a Capuchin monastery; its chapel, dedicated to the Holy Cross, had at one time, during the slavery period, had done duty as a place of parochial worship for Christians who had regained or who had never lost their freedom. One of the earlier followers of St. Vincent de Paul, Father Le Vacher, had exercised his ministry in this locality.

Renovations, neglected until then, held up somewhat the opening of classes; but on October 22, the Director, Brother Guillaume, welcomed sixty children. During the second week of December, he listed the nationalities of his pupils as follows: Maltese, seventy-six; Sardinians, twenty-two; Sicilians, twenty-one; Neapolitans, five; Tuscans, three; French, fourteen; Spaniards, three; Bavarians, three; Austrians, one; Greeks, three; Tunisians, nine of whom two were Jewish.

The Italians alone made up a third of the school population and, with the addition of the Maltese, they constituted three-quarters. Since their language was the most conveniently spoken, it went without saying that Italian was employed for the purposes of instruction. It was impossible even to think of teaching in any other idiom so large a number of children who only yesterday had been forsaken in total ignorance and who, destined to earn their daily bread at a very young age, would not be attending school for any extended period of time. That was why the tuition-free school was "the Italian school" at least as regards its language.

But the Vicar-Apostolic understood that the Brothers would not forget their own native land. Moreover, people who were well off would like to see their sons able to speak French; and they pressed for the opening of special courses...and at a price.

They got their way. Two classes were operated in which the major lessons were given in the teachers' mother tongue, while Italian, although not neglected, became the secondary language. The episcopal chancellery received payment for the schooling.

The system hastened success. The European portion of the public came out in favor of the

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[799] Ibid.

[800] Brother Philippe's letter dated February 15, 1855.

Brothers in such great numbers that Father Bourgade believed that competition was impossible. And while he retained the precursor's distinction, he could, at the same time, take some satisfaction in the fact that he had been mistaken in his predictions.

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By 1858 the Brothers in Tunis had fashioned a Community of seven Brothers;[801] they maintained three Italian classes and three French classes. The population was delighted to acknowledge the progress and the good behavior of their pupils.

It was at this time that Brother Guillaume decided to take his chances by undertaking a residence school. He therefore remodelled the building on the street in the Kasbah. In an agreement with Bishop Sutter he moved the tuition-free school to Church Street. But there were few or no residence pupils, and during the second year, only three! It seemed preferable to put an end to the expense and divide the pupils up between the two schools.

However, the residence school would not be discontinued until the time of Brother Guillaum's successor, Brother Aimarus. The new Director arrived in Tunis on September 10, 1862, after a sojourn in Savoy where he improved his rudimentary knowledge of Italian. He brought to the project his characteristic energy: — eagerness for study, his excellent work habits and undertakings carried to completion. The quarters on the street in the Kasbah were enlarged, improved; the chapel was restored and returned to purposes of worship.

In 1864 a Bedouin revolt against the Bey Mohammed-es-Sadok threw the capitol into a panic. Many Europeans fled; and others did not dare leave their homes. The schools were empty: scarcely fifty pupils took the chance of coming to classes. Brother Aimarus stood firm and at his post. It was this courageous attitude that inspired the inhabitants of Tunis with respect for the man as well as for the religion he represented and for the nation to which he was so distinctly honored to belong.

Actually, once the storm had subsided, Mohammed-Bey showed where his favor rested. He drew closer to France whose influence had earlier suffered some serious inroads. He asked the Brothers for one of their members to supervise the education of the children in his palace. Brother Aimarus was unable to satisfy him on this point. But he proposed to select a lay tutor and promised that, through examinations, he himself would oversee the results of the instruction that was being provided.

The Bey agreed. A few years later he gave evidence of his gratitude in a sensitive and generous way. A huge financial difficulty had arisen in connection with the tuition-free school. Since its removal to Church Street, the rent had never been paid; the owner, a very kindly Jew deliberately refused to demand payment. But, after his death, his heirs had every intention of making good their claims. They were talking about a significant amount of money that Bishop Sutter did not have in his accounts.

The French envoy, Mr. Valat, explained the situation to the Bey. And on February 22, 1874, Mohammed-es-Sadok, through a decree of eminent domain, assigned "the Raimondo house" (disencumbered of all debt) "to the monks known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools", on condition that it remain forever for educational purposes.

The reason for M. Valat's intervention was not difficult to guess. The importance that France had from the outset associated with the Brothers' Tunisian project had been made clear in several ways. The Rector of the Algerian Academy had come to recognize on the spot the scholastic value of the schools. In 1866 the Imperial government granted a subsidy to the Brothers that had been solicited by the Consul-general Duchesne Bellecourt. Beginning in 1871 the Republic was to pay them annual subsidies. In the religious domain a similar

[801] Beginning in 1860 there would be ten.

development had occurred: the Society for Oriental Schools as early as 1865 was supplying regular aid. Worthy of note, during the following year, was the helpful gesture on the part of the monks at the Grande Chartreuse.

In Tunisia Italy was entertaining ambitions of which the number of its nationals among the immigrants was a sufficient explanation. It witnessed uneasily then emerging from the Brothers' schools a generation whose thoughts disposed it in favor of another country. It, too, at the cost of fresh efforts, opened up serious competition.

The English, on the other hand, although they commanded quite effective means, did not think that it was worthwhile to oppose the development of educational institutions that escaped their control. They left to the Brothers the task of teaching the Maltese, and the British consul had even obtained from the authorities in Malta monies that were intended to pay for classroom furnishings of the poorest of the children.

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When Brother Aimarus left for Algiers in 1867 he left Brother Angel Peter at the head of a superb organization. The Christian educators enjoyed the confidence of parents and the loyalty of pupils. The dedication they had displayed a few weeks earlier in struggling against a deadly cholera outbreak magnified them in the eyes of their adoptive fellow-citizens. Into the schools on the street in the Kasbah and on Church Street three-hundred pupils thronged. While most of them continued to be Italo-Maltese, the French, Greeks, and Jewish and even a few Moslems experienced with the majority a union of minds under the leadership of a teacher in a religious garb.

The new Director had been a member of the Community in Tunis since 1856. Born in 1824 he was over thirty years of age when he entered the novitiate in Paris. The Superiors had sent him to Africa to complete his delayed formation. A fruitful apostolate would demonstrate how Brother Angel had caught up with those who had preceded him in his vocation. As early as 1861 he had performed the functions of Sub-director. A most upright conscience ruled his professional life; he bears witness to it in the notebooks in which he kept an outline of his lessons. In order to live up to all the demands of his situation, he was not merely satisfied to learn Italian; he practiced writing and speaking Arabic. His catechism and history lessons are written in both languages.

A project parallel to his was inaugurated on November 25, 1871 in the port of Goulette. On that day three Brothers met with Father Felix, the pastor of the parish, who had solicited them from the Superior-general through the mediation of the Vicar-Apostolic. But he had not yet built their school. Classes were held in a passageway, and the teachers were lodged with the Capuchins. Thereafter, they nearly perished as the result of the dampness in the new building until Bishop Sutter took pity on them and order the drainage rebuilt.

All of this is preface to the great days when Archbishop Lavigerie, surfacing in Tunis and in Carthage, where he will become something like the executor of the will of St. Louis the King. As a consequence, here as in all the countries of the world open to the efforts of the followers of St. John Baptist de La Salle, we pause only in passing. We indicate the end of a phase, we catch our breath and take on fresh energy in the course of our ascent which, on another day, holds in store for us more spacious panoramas and infinite perspectives.

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